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THE JEWISH QUESTION IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF *OBÓZ NARODOWY* (THE NATIONAL CAMP) IN 1939–1945

This article describes the attitude of the broadly understood National Camp¹ to the Jewish question under Nazi occupation. More specifically, it examines the nationalists' point of view on the role and situation of the Jewish minority and their proposals for addressing this problem. This particular point of view was shaped by two main factors: the ideology/programme of the National Camp as formulated prior to the outbreak of World War II, and the dramatically different socio-economic and political circumstances which prevailed under occupation. This article examines the extent to which prior ideological and political assumptions remained unchanged by inertia, and how they were modified and revised. The key differences on the Jewish question between the individual nationalist groups should be distinguished.

¹ The term 'National Camp' has a twofold meaning herein: in a narrower sense, there were National Democratic groups originating from *Liga Narodowa* [the National League, LN] and referring to the ideological tradition formulated by Roman Dmowski: *Związek Ludowo-Narodowy* [the People's National Union, ZLN], *Obóz Wielkiej Polski* [the Camp of Great Poland, OWP], *Związek Młodych Narodowców – Ruch Narodowo-Państwowy* [the Association of Young Nationalists – National State Movement, ZMN, RNP], *Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny* [the National Radical Camp, ONR] and their successors under German occupation. In a broader sense, ethno-nationalist groups of various provenance are also included, but inspired by and under the influence of thought of *Stronnictwo Narodowe* (the National Party, SN).

The Jewish Question in the 1930s

The Jewish question was of great importance in Polish social and political life. In the interwar period, Poland was one of the largest global centres of the Jewish nation.² The problem was complicated by the concentration of the Jewish minority within some branches of the economy.³ In 1931, out of 3,111,000 Jewish citizens, 1,140,000 lived from trade and credit; 52% of property commercial outlets and 40% of crafts businesses were owned by Jews; and in 1938, Jews constituted 34% of doctors and 53% of lawyers.⁴

These relations fuelled anti-Semitism based on the ethnic concept of the nation. Anna Landau-Czajka defines anti-Semitism as “an attitude of hostility towards Jews or towards persons of Jewish origin, which is rooted not so much in the layering of specific social conflicts as in certain features attributed to Jews or Jewry in general”⁵ When developing this definition, attention should be paid to the peculiar dynamics of the phenomenon: although it is often based on objective conflicts of interest, it undergoes secondary ideologisation, leading to a generalised hostility towards Jews, and ensuring its persistence irrespective of the primary cause of the conflict. Speaking about the ethnic (as opposed to racial or political) concept of a nation, the author refers to the idea of a community bound by culture stemming from the language and religion. From such viewpoint the basis of anti-Semitism lies in recognising Jews as ‘alien’ and, consequently, denying (or drastically limiting) the Jewish population the right to assimilate.

The 1930s brought a sharp deterioration in Polish-Jewish relations. According to the US Embassy, Poles in the ‘vast majority’ sympathised with anti-Semitism. Włodzimierz Mich wrote: “Almost commonly accepted (by *Narodowa Demokracja* [the National Democrats, ND], *Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego* [the Camp of

² According to Jewish sources, in 1919 4,100,000 Jews lived in Poland, constituting 13.22% of the general public (to compare, the figure in the United States of America was 3,300,000, *The American Jewish Year Book 5681*, vol. 22, Philadelphia 1920, p. 362). At that time, Jewish people constituted 12% of Palestine’s population (*ibidem*, p. 363).

³ See J. Tomaszewski, ‘Antysemityzm gospodarczy między pozytywizmem a rasizmem (1876–1941)’ in *Między pozytywizmem a nacjonalizmem. Przemiany kultury polskiej w latach 1886–1918*, ed. M. Gloger, Warsaw 2017, pp. 229–263.

⁴ J. Tomaszewski, *Ojczyzna nie tylko Polaków*, Warsaw 1985, p. 100; J. Orlicki, *Szkice z dziejów stosunków polsko-żydowskich 1918–1949*, Szczecin 1983, pp. 56–57; cf. W. Alter, *Antysemityzm gospodarczy w świetle cyfr*, Warsaw 1937, pp. 18, 27–28; ‘Żydzi w gospodarce polskiej (2)’, *Ruch Gospodarczy* 1937, no. 3.

⁵ A. Landau-Czajka, *W jednym stali domu*, Warsaw 1999, p. 24.

National Unity, OZN, 'Ozon'], some conservatives, *Chrześcijańska Demokracja* [the Christian Democrats, ChD], the Catholic Church, and even *Stronnictwo Ludowe* [the Peasants' Party, SL]) was the idea of the need to oust Jews from Polish cultural life [...]. Similarly, there was a widespread belief that Jews should be forced out of the economic sphere.⁶ The main reason seems to be the great economic crisis, initiated by the Wall Street Crash of 1929: Poland, in its semi-peripheral position, was one of the most affected countries.⁷ The decreasing purchasing power of society resulted in the intensification of competition among businessmen, which led to an increase in anti-Semitism. New fields of confrontation were emerging. Institutions of higher education⁸ became the arena for the most violent struggles: Poland was characterised by an overproduction of intelligentsia, typical for semi-peripheral countries;⁹ thus, the ethnic Polish youth at universities perceived the numerous Jewish students as rivals on the shallow market of intellectual labour. Anti-Semitism in rural areas, hitherto passive, visibly evolved: the countryside, languishing in poverty, desperately tried to increase its income by bypassing Jewish brokerage and selling products directly.¹⁰ Anti-Semitism arose in substantial degrees in workers' circles, where such moods had been effectively suppressed by the Marxist left until then. Jewish workers sought employment in industry,¹¹ competing for jobs with Polish workers,¹² which resulted in popularisation of slogans such as 'Jobs for

⁶ P. Różański, 'Wystąpienia antyżydowskie na polskich uczelniach wyższych w latach 1936–1937 w raportach ambasady amerykańskiej w Warszawie', *Studia Judaica* 2009, no. 1–2; W. Mich, *Obcy w polskim domu. Nacjonalistyczne koncepcje rozwiązania problemu mniejszości narodowych 1918–1939*, Lublin 1994, p. 61. OZN, a.k.a. 'Ozon' refers to *Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego* [the Camp of National Unity], founded in 1937 by the ruling *Sanacja* camp, which partly adopted nationalist ideology in competing with the SN.

⁷ J. Skodlarski, *Zarys historii gospodarczej Polski do 1939 roku*, Warsaw–Łódź 1995, pp. 264–282.

⁸ P. Różański, 'Wystąpienia...'; M. Natkowska, *Numerus clausus, getto lawkowe, numerus nullus, "paragraf aryjski". Antysemityzm na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim 1931–1939*, Warsaw 1999.

⁹ Z. Wojciechowski, *Mysli o polityce i ustroju narodowym*, Poznań 1935, pp. 93, 98.

¹⁰ "A tide of young peasant elements is quickly rising towards the cities, where they are looking for employment and means of living in trade", noted a *Sanacja* newspaper ('Emigracja żydowska', *Gazeta Polska* 1936, no. 312). The most well-known pogrom of the 1930s – in Przytyk on 9 March 1936 – took place against such a background (P. Gontarczyk, *Pogrom? Zajścia polsko-żydowskie w Przytyku 9 marca 1936. Mity, fakty, dokumenty*, Biała Podlaska 2000. Cf. 'Walka o prawo do straganu a mentalność semicka', *Hasło Podwarwelskie* 1936, no. 35).

¹¹ W. Alter, *Anti-Semitism...*, p. 28.

¹² See for example Z. Verde, 'Pokłosie akcji polskiej w Oświęcimiu', *Hasło Podwarwelskie* 1936, no. 7; 'Żydzi rugują robotników polskich z fabryk', *Głos Pracy Polskiej* 1938, no. 17; 'Jak żydzi się organizują', *Nowa Polska* 1937, no. 46. Anti-Semites emphasised that Jewish factory owners employed Jewish workers. The problem of the economic basis of anti-Semitism among workers definitely requires further research.

Poles only!¹³ Sometimes the class stratification coincided with ethnicity, as in Łódź where *Stronnictwo Narodowe* [the National Party, SN] mobilised Polish workers against Jewish capitalists.¹⁴ Even if a Jew was not the immediate employer of a Pole, in conditions of crisis the living standards of the Jewish middle-class were higher than those of many Poles, causing frustration and envy.¹⁵ As one anti-Semitic leaflet bitterly proclaimed: “The poorest in our own land – it’s us!”¹⁶

All these factors caused a political expansion of anti-Semitism in Polish society: the slogan ‘Swój do swego po swoje’ (“Ourself to ourselves for our own”) gained popularity, as did the idea of the *numerus clausus* and the so-called ‘Aryan paragraph’ excluding Jews from various social organisations. A unique phenomenon was the anti-Jewish press – not the magazines that published anti-Semitic content in addition to their regular content, but those that dealt exclusively with the fight against Jews. Despite their monotony, they were a source of income for a considerable group of publishers and journalists. Most of them were not organisationally associated with the National Camp, but ‘spontaneously’ represented anti-Semitism. This left its mark to varying degrees on many political groups.¹⁷

Nevertheless, the National Camp remained the main anti-Semitic force. In its quest to preserve its monopoly on anti-Semitism, it constantly radicalised its position (the press supported by the National Party featured opinions such

¹³ Signed ‘B.r.’, ‘Brońcie nas przed inwazją’, *Samoobrona Narodu* 1938, no. 44.

¹⁴ J. Giertych, *Po wyborach w Łodzi. Obserwacje i wnioski*, Warsaw 1936. The periodical *Ruch Gospodarczy* wrote: “A characteristic phenomenon of the Polish economy is not the flood of foreign workers, but the relationship between the worker (most likely Polish) and the employer (alien); an independent merchant and a craftsman (alien)” (‘Żydzi w gospodarce polskiej (2)’, *Ruch Gospodarczy* 1937, no. 3; cf. I. Ihnatowicz, A. Mączak, B. Zientara, J. Żarnowski, *Spółczesność polskie od X do XX wieku*, Warsaw 1999, p. 630).

¹⁵ It should be noted that in nationalist psychology, a situation when the ‘guests’ are doing better than the ‘hosts’ is a flagrant injustice.

¹⁶ *Archiwum Akt Nowych* (Central Archives of Modern Records, hereinafter AAN), collection *Zbiór Druków Ulotnych 1911–1939* (hereinafter ZDU), 65, *Nie kupuj u żyda!*, p. 1.

¹⁷ A. Landau-Czajka, *W jednym stali domu...*, pp. 6, 24. For more on anti-Semitism outside the National Camp, see A. Gontarek, ‘Polityka sanacji wobec ruchu narodowego w latach 1926–1935 a kwestia współodpowiedzialności obozu rządowego w rozpowszechnianiu idei antysemickich’ in *Przemoc antyżydowska i konteksty akcji pogromowych na ziemiach polskich w XX wieku*, ed. K. Zieliński, K. Kijek, Lublin 2016, pp. 155–196; S. Mańko, *Polski ruch ludowy wobec Żydów 1895–1939*, Warsaw 2010, pp. 131–132, 138, 189, 194, 200, 207, 212–213, 223, 239, 245–249, 255, 260, 265–266, 270, 280, 287, 301, 311, 321; M. Śliwa, ‘Kwestia żydowska w polskiej myśli socjalistycznej’ in *Żydzi w Małopolsce. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i życia społecznego*, ed. F. Kiryk, Przemysł 1991.

as “Ozon defends the Jews with anti-Semitism”¹⁸). Even before the split [of the National Party] in 1934, Jan Mosdorf announced in *Mysł Narodowa* that anti-Semitism was the essence of the nationalist program.¹⁹ The National Party, competing in this field with *Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny* [the National Radical Camp, ONR],²⁰ consistently sought to make anti-Semitism a party-owned element by directly organising and leading anti-Jewish campaigns.²¹ The Green Ribbon League, established in 1932, was intended to be an organisational formula for the anti-Jewish movement, and aimed at “the absolute boycott of Jewish trade, crafts and liberal professions.”²²

In 1935, the National Party initiated a ‘national economic action’ aimed at increasing ‘Christian’ participation in trade and crafts.²³ A new quality of the 1930s campaign was the transition from a passive boycott (i.e. ordinary boycott propaganda) to an active form, manifesting itself in picketing Jewish stores. A Zionist member of the Sejm, Emil Sommerstein, described it as follows: “Pickets stand in front of shops, stalls or Jewish workshops and do not allow customers to enter. Whoever dares to enter will not return home with the purchased item, they beat you and destroy the goods [...]. Jewish merchants and traders are not allowed to enter the markets in large areas of the country.”²⁴ Picketing was not always associated with violence, but would often lead to it.²⁵

¹⁸ W. Krzycki, ‘Antysemityzm Ozonu’, *Samoobrona Narodu* 1939, no. 10.

¹⁹ J. Mosdorf, ‘Ideologia, nie taktyka’, *Mysł Narodowa* 1933, no. 43.

²⁰ J. Giertych, *O wyjście z kryzysu*, Warsaw 1938, p. 77; cf. P. Różański, ‘Wystąpienia antyżydowskie na polskich uczelniach wyższych w latach 1936–1937 w raportach ambasady amerykańskiej w Warszawie’, *Studia Judaica* 2009, no. 1–2.

²¹ The intensity of anti-Semitism which became a leitmotif of the ideology of the National Camp is evidenced by the fact that one (!) page of a randomly selected issue of the *Szczerbiec* magazine contains titles such as ‘Żydzi do fabryk – polscy robotnicy na bruk’ [Jews to the factories – Polish workers sacked], ‘Czy żydowski mord rytualny’ [Is it Jewish ritual murder], ‘Przewrażliwiona psychika żydowska w oświetleniu wyroku sądowego’ [The oversensitive Jewish psyche in the light of a court sentence] (*Szczerbiec* 1935, no. 1).

²² Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, ‘Do Akademików Polaków!’, leaflet of the Green Ribbon League, <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=22051>, accessed 6 July 2016; see also appeals made by the League in AAN, ZDU, 65; cf. M. Sobczak, *Stosunek Narodowej Demokracji do kwestii żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1918–1939*, Wrocław 1998, p. 343.

²³ R. Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939. Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej*, Wrocław 1980, p. 308; cf. W. Mich, *Obcy w polskim domu...*, p. 86; P. Ponisz, *Sprawa żydowska w Polsce ze stanowiska narodowego i katolickiego*, Częstochowa 1938, p. 69.

²⁴ Quoted from J. Orlicki, *Szkice...*, pp. 90–91.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

Anti-Semitic circles were ambivalent towards violence. On the one hand, some anti-Semites condemned the violence, perceiving it as amoral and counter-productive:²⁶ “A Christian conscience will not allow us to strike a Jew with a baton or another weapon,” wrote Father Leon Pyżalski.²⁷ On the other hand, anti-Semitic journalism often expressed the acceptance of violence²⁸ or even called openly for it:²⁹ “Down with the falsely understood love of thy neighbour! Let its place be taken by the holy hatred of Jewish and pro-Jewish evil,” cried Father Ignacy Charszewski.³⁰ Such bellicose rhetoric did not have to be an actual expression of an inclination towards violence or a direct call to it (Anna Landau-Czajka points out that the language of contemporary journalism and propaganda was much more brutal than it is today)³¹, but it undoubtedly created an atmosphere that stoked the consent to violence.

The ideology of nationalist anti-Semitism in the 1930s specified the concept of the Jew. Jews were consistently treated in terms of ‘the nation’, which ultimately shifted the Polish-Jewish conflict from the religious to the ethnic level. *Wielka Polska* proclaimed that “Jews – regardless of their religion – remain Jews as

²⁶ e.g. P. Ponisz, *Sprawa żydowska w Polsce...*, p. 69; ‘Właściwe metody odżydzania handlu’, *Hasło Podwawelskie* 1936, no. 14; X. Charszewski, ‘Kto w Boga wierzy’, *Hasło Podwawelskie* 1936, no. 25; M. Wiśniewski, ‘O nowy “Cud nad Wisłą”’, *Pro Christo* 1934, no. 8.

²⁷ L. Pyżalski, *Wrogowie ludu. Prawdziwi i mniemani*, Zamość 1938, p. 69.

²⁸ Anti-Jewish magazines often described violence against Jews while refraining from any condemnation of its perpetrators (‘Jak było w Grodnie podczas zająć antyżydowskich’, *Pod Pręgierz* 1935, no. 38; ‘Po wybuchu bomby’; ‘Zajścia antyżydowskie we Lwowie’; ‘Zaprawdę, kamień na kamieniu nie zostanie...’, *Pod Pręgierz* 1935, no. 40). Sometimes more or less unequivocal justifications for these acts could be encountered: “Where the fights are, there must be accidents and victims” (‘Jak trzeba pojmować polski antysemityzm?’, *Hasło Wołynia* 1938, no. 1). In the magazine *Pod Kropidłem*, a photo of Polish women breaking the boycott was captioned: “These two ladies should get a good beating” (‘Szabesgoje m. Radomia pod kropidłem’, *Pod Kropidłem* 1939, no. 1). A local nationalist magazine described a family quarrel in which a husband threatened his wife: “I will shoot you if you go [and buy – J.T.] from a Jew”, and commented, “May there be more such husbands” (‘Kronika Płocka’, *Polska Narodowa* 1936, no. 28). One of the magazines ended an article entitled ‘Wyćpienia żydów “ogniem i mieczem” domaga się “Czarny Korpus”’ (*4.000.000* 1938, no. 12) stating: “The clear face of Germany’s attitude towards Jews is very interesting and Poland could follow their example in many cases.”

²⁹ The ONR leadership made the following appeal: “The fight against Jews is getting tough. During Christmas, many Jewish shops and workshops were gutted by bombs and fireworks. [...] Destroy Jews and Jewish property with whatever and however you are able to” (AAN, ZDU, 154, [no title], n.d., pp. 1, 4).

³⁰ K.C. Law., ‘Przesadna czułość’, *Hasło Wielkopolskie* 1935, no. 10.

³¹ A. Landau-Czajka, *W jednym stali domu...*, p. 11.

far as their spiritual and physical characteristics are concerned.”³² Another anti-Semitic journal drew the line by claiming that “baptism does not change either race or blood.”³³ While at the beginning of the century Jews were accused of refusing to assimilate, in the 1930s they were denied the right to do so. Catholicism, however, prevented nationalists from fully adopting such a racist ideology. Jędrzej Giertych’s view prevailed in the National Camp: “We are not racists – we believe that belonging to a nation is primarily a spiritual fact, and secondarily a racial one.”³⁴

In the 1930s, the process of demonising the Jews was concluded.³⁵ *Naród w Walce* wrote: “Today, the Jewish question is a central issue in world politics.”³⁶ *Samoobrona* explained it thus: “Jewry is the moral gangrene in the world; it is the seedling of all evil that, like bacteria, is found in Jewish blood.”³⁷ *Hasło Wybrzeża Polskiego* stated directly that “the Jew is the Satan established by God for the nations,”³⁸ while *Hasło Wołynia* said that the Jews are “the sons of Satan.”³⁹ They were described as “cockroaches, bedbugs, bugs, a fungus devouring everything”.⁴⁰ There could be no compromise, no *modus vivendi*, with such an enemy. On the eve of World War II, the leader of the National Party announced: “There exists only

³² ‘Jak rozwiązać kwestię żydowską w Polsce?’, *Wielka Polska* 1935, no. 4; see also e.g. ‘W sprawie chrztu Żydów’, *Samoobrona Narodu* 1939, no. 10.

³³ J.K., ‘Żyd nigdy nie przestanie być Żydem!’, *4.000.000* 1939, no. 6; cf. ‘W sprawie chrztu żydów’, *Samoobrona Narodu* 1939, no. 10.

³⁴ J. Giertych, *O wyjście z kryzysu...*, p. 263. Nevertheless, it was sometimes possible to read sophisticated arguments in the nationalist press trying to reconcile Christianity and racism, e.g. *Naród w Walce*, commenting on the encyclical of Pius XI *On the Church and the German Reich* of 14 March 1937 – the text actually condemns racism! – wrote: “It cannot [...] be said that in this global [human – J.T.] race there is no place for special races [...]” (‘Ojciec święty o rasizmie’, *Naród w Walce* 1938, no. 1). The concept of ‘mental racism’ – a kind of a synthesis of cultural and racial nationalism – was also popular: “Our racism is the racism of the Polish Spirit,” *Szczerbiec* proclaimed (‘Pojęcia o “rasowości”’, *Szczerbiec* 1938, no. 5; A.S. Kotowski, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec nazizmu i Trzeciej Rzeszy*, Toruń 2006, pp. 191–192; W. Mich, *Obcy w polskim domu...*, p. 66; A. Landau-Czajka, *W jednym stali domu...*, p. 50; M. Sobczak, *Stosunek Narodowej Demokracji do kwestii żydowskiej...*, p. 429). The concept bears some similarities with the ideas of Julius Evola (A. Wielomski, ‘Teoria ras ludzkich Juliusa Ewoli’, *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 2002, vol. 25).

³⁵ e.g. ‘Demon Wschodu’, *Naród w Walce* 1938, no. 14.

³⁶ ‘Kto nie idzie naprzód, ten się cofa’, *Naród w Walce* 1938, no. 8.

³⁷ Quoted from A. Landau-Czajka, *W jednym stali domu...*, p. 44.

³⁸ ‘My katolicy – a oni Żydzi’, *Hasło Wybrzeża Polskiego* 1936, no. 7.

³⁹ ‘Na drogę istnienia’, *Hasło Wołynia* 1938, no. 1; see also ‘Po czynach ich poznacie!’, *Pod Pręgierz* 1935, no. 27; ‘Pieńko. Kto walczy z Żydami – ten z diabłem walczy’, *Pod Pręgierz* 1935, no. 39.

⁴⁰ ‘Na drogę istnienia’, *Hasło Wołynia* 1938, no. 1.

one nation for which our distrust is so immense that we cannot recognise them as our ally for even a brief moment. This nation is the Jews.”⁴¹

The explicitly formulated strategic aim was the forced emigration of the Jewish population from Poland.⁴² The removal of Jews accused of Communism, fighting Catholicism and planning the demoralisation of society⁴³ would facilitate the healing of social relations and ensure the moral and political unity of the nation. It was also believed that the emigration of Jews would automatically solve Poland's economic problems: both unemployment and the lack of ploughland would disappear; the nationalists foresaw that the most active rural element would flow into the towns deserted by the Jews, creating a native Polish urban class.⁴⁴ Yet in the transitional period, the legal discrimination and full separation of the Jewish minority were planned.⁴⁵ The *numerus clausus* slogan was replaced by the concept of *numerus nullus*.⁴⁶ Jędrzej Giertych wrote: “Regarding the Jews [...] we will

⁴¹ K. Kowalski, *Polska wobec Niemiec*, Warsaw 1939, p. 14.

⁴² J. Giertych, *O wyjście z kryzysu...*, pp. 249, 256; S. Pawłowski, *O emigracji Żydów z Polski i o ich kolonizacji*, Warsaw 1937, *passim*; Konwertyta, *Nawrócony Żyd o Żydach w Polsce*, Warsaw 1938, p. 22; J. Prądzyński, ‘Wysiedlenie Żydów z Polski’, *Hasło Wielkopolskie* 1935, no. 13; ‘Czy współzycie z narodem żydowskim jest możliwe?’, *Hasło Wybrzeża Polskiego* 1936, no. 13; ‘Żądamy wysiedlenia Żydów’, *4.000.000* 1938, no. 1; K. Mazur, ‘Projekt usunięcia żydów z Polski’, *Samoobrona Narodu* 1939, no. 10.

⁴³ Rev. Kazimierz Bisztyga wrote: “With their destructive influence, the Jews spoil us, demoralise us and try to remake us in their own likeness. [...] they strive to conquer, master and make our soul Jewish” (K. Bisztyga, *Żydzi w nowej Polsce*, Cracow 1926, pp. 2–3).

⁴⁴ B. Świdorski, ‘Chłop w szeregach Ruchu Narodowo-Radykalnego’, *Falanga* 1938, no. 10; S. Opolski, ‘Drogi reformy wsi’, *Nowy Ład* 1938, no. 4.

⁴⁵ The earlier dilemma of the anti-Semitic *milieus* – ‘exodus or ghetto?’ – would have been resolved unequivocally by Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak, the undisputed authority in the matter: “Unconditional exodus!” (‘Sensacyjny wywiad “Hasła Podw[awelskiego]” z ks. dr. Trzeciakiem’, *Hasło Podwawelskie* 1936, no. 28; compare X. Charszewski, ‘Ghetto czy exodus?’, *Hasło Podwawelskie* 1936, no. 6; ‘Nasza ankietka: Jak rozwiązać kwestię żydowską w Polsce? Żydzi muszą wyemigrować z Polski!’, *Hasło Podwawelskie* 1936, no. 28, the entire issue). However, there were no plans to exterminate the Jewish population. There was probably only one voice calling for such a solution: a book published under the pseudonym ‘Marek Niedowiarek’ consists of interviews with anonymous politicians presenting various attitudes towards Jews; one of these is ‘Mr Jan’ (whether he was a real or fictional character remains unknown), who advocated “the organised mass use of coercion,” answered the question: “How? Poisonous gases, machine guns?” saying: “These modern means of the most humane combat are probably a little better than savages hitting themselves with clubs or leeches sucking blood from a fish” (M. Niedowiarek, *Rozwiązania sprawy żydowskiej w Polsce. Rozmowy z politykami*, Warsaw 1938, pp. 21–22). Yet, even ‘Mr. Jan’ predicted over “40,000 corpses” (*ibidem*, p. 24).

⁴⁶ For example, S. Boczyński, ‘O numerus nullus’, *Alma Mater* 1937, no. 1; ‘Numerus nullus na wykładach medycznych jest koniecznością’, *Samoobrona Narodu* 1938, no. 44. The idea was treated with rigorous seriousness: “Here, in the orchestra playing for the dance, there was one [!] Jew”, the anti-Semitic weekly reported with alarm (‘Lubelscy kupcy polscy tańczyli w takt żydowskiej muzyki’, *Hasło Podwawelskie* 1936, no. 10).

apply [...] the principle of pushing them into the 'ghetto' in the most rigorous way. Publishing magazines, books etc. in Polish will be forbidden to them. [...] They will be barred from professions like the practice of law, medicine, pharmaceuticals, journalism, etc. [...]. They will be expelled from Polish schools (common, secondary and higher). They will be excluded from holding of state and local government, etc. offices."⁴⁷ This was the ideological baggage with which the National Camp entered World War II.

The Topography of the National Underground

Before analysing the ideological and programme-oriented assumptions of the Polish nationalists and their journalism, it would seem necessary to familiarise the international reader with the organisational structure of the National Camp.

The National Camp was never a monolith. From the late 1920s there were tensions between the moderate national-liberal wing 'old ones' and the radical 'young ones' factions. In 1934, two secessions occurred: the Poznań group of the 'young ones' formed *Związek Młodych Narodowców* (the Association of Young Nationalists, ZMN), while the Warsaw group formed *Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny* (the National Radical Camp, ONR). The ZMN was renamed *Ruch Narodowo-Państwowy* (the National State Movement, RNP) in 1937, which leaned towards the ruling *Sanacja* (Piłsudskite camp) and developed a synthesis of ethnic nationalism and Piłsudski's 'state ideology'. The ONR was delegalised after three months of activity; a year later, it split into the corporationist ONR-ABC group (the avatar of a secret *Organizacja Polska*, Polish Organisation [OP], which included Henryk Rossman, Tadeusz Gluziński and Jan Jodzewicz) and the totalitarian *Ruch Narodowo-Radykalny* (the National-Radical Movement, RNR) led by Bolesław Piasecki (commonly referred to as the *Falanga* or *ONR-Falanga*). However, most of the 'young ones' remained within the ranks of the SN, and in 1935 – with the support of Roman Dmowski – they took control of the party. This success led to another split: the 'young ones' quickly divided into the moderate group of Tadeusz Bielecki and the extremist faction of Jędrzej Giertych and Kazimierz Kowalski.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ J. Giertych, *O wyjście z kryzysu...*, p. 262; cf. A. Landau-Czajka, *W jednym stali domu...*, p. 161.

⁴⁸ J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka. Ze studiów nad dziejami najnowszych Narodowej Demokracji*, Warsaw 1979, pp. 94–105.

After September 1939, those divisions were transferred into the reality of wartime. The nationalist movement came under German occupation in a state of division. An underground report reads as follows: “Four branches can be distinguished in the National Party (SN) at the moment: 1. one submitting to central leadership; 2. the *Ojczyzna* [Fatherland] organisation; 3. Kowalski’s branch; 4. the group of youth operating in the country almost independently.”⁴⁹ Bielecki’s group used the transition to underground activity in October 1939 to take full control over the SN, which resulted in centrifugal tendencies among the other factions. In October 1939, a secret Main Directorate of the SN was established, which included Mieczysław Trajdos (acting president), Witold Staniszkis, Bogusław Jezierski, Zygmunt Berezowski, Władysław Jaworski, Roman Rybarski, Aleksander Dębski and Stanisław Piasecki. A decision was also made to create a military wing of the party called *Narodowa Organizacja Wojskowa* (National Military Organisation, NOW), which was soon to reach 100,000 members.⁵⁰ The central periodical of the underground SN (codenamed ‘Kwadrat’) was the journal *Walka*; other periodicals included *Sprawy Narodowe*, *Wielka Polska* and numerous regional journals.⁵¹ The relatively strong position of the ‘old ones’ faction weakened in favour of Bielecki’s supporters in the first half of 1940.⁵² When the party leadership was taken over by Bielecki’s supporters, other factions began the search for their own organisational forms.⁵³

As early as the first half of November 1939, Kowalski’s supporters formed *Narodowo-Ludowa Organizacja Walki* (the National-Popular Fighting Organisation, NLOW, and also *Narodowo-Ludowa Organizacja Wojskowa* (the National Popular Military Organisation) under Karol Stojanowski’s leadership.⁵⁴ Apart from Stojanowski, the NLOW senior staff included Kazimierz Kowalski, Jan Matłachowski, Szymon Poradowski, Rev. Michał Poradowski, and Prof. Ludwik Jaxa-Bykowski.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ ‘Fragment raportu za okres 10 IX – 10 XI 1940’ [Extract of the report for the period 10 September – 10 November 1940], in “*Ojczyzna*” 1939–1945. *Dokumenty – wspomnienia – publicystyka*, ed. Z. Mazur, A. Pietrowicz, Poznań 2004, p. 55.

⁵⁰ K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka. Konspiracja zbrojna ruchu narodowego 1939–1945*, Warsaw 2000, p. 220; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, pp. 116–117.

⁵¹ S. Lewandowska, *Polska konspiracyjna prasa informacyjno-polityczna 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1982, pp. 97–100.

⁵² J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, pp. 119, 131, 133.

⁵³ K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, p. 56.

⁵⁴ J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 134; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 75–77.

⁵⁵ J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 135; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, p. 76.

The leading NLOW periodical was *Państwo Narodowe*. After some initial successes, at the end of 1940 the organisation “lost its entire political significance”, and its activities “from then on were limited to publishing and propaganda only”.⁵⁶

In turn, the *Ojczyzna* organisation, which was founded in autumn 1939 at the initiative of Poznań activists from the *Narodowa Organizacja Gimnazjalna* (National High School Organisation, NOG), maintained contact with the *émigré* group of Marian Seyda and became a centre for crystallising those oriented to the ‘old ones’ faction.⁵⁷ This formation published the *Polska* and *Ojczyzna* journals among others. Leading activists of *Ojczyzna* included Kirył Sosnowski, Rev. Józef Prądzyński, Witold Grott, and Jan J. Nikisch. Contrary to popular belief, it was not a regional organisation *per se*, as deportations led the members of *Ojczyzna* to operate in the General Governorate as well.⁵⁸

Soon, there were new splits within the SN. Bielecki, who was in exile, was a supporter of the ‘hard opposition’ to the Władysław Sikorski government, joining forces with the ONR (*Komitet Zagraniczny Obozu Narodowego*, the Foreign Committee of the National Camp) against him, and even *Sanacja*;⁵⁹ in January 1942, he removed the moderate group led by Seyda from the SN. Stefan Sacha, the head of the underground structures of the SN in occupied Poland since May 1941, was in favour of a more flexible tactic, inclining to compromise with government circles. This line of activities was also supported by the scattered ‘old ones’.⁶⁰

Interestingly, although the core of Stojanowski’s group were young activists of the SN academic section, the NLOW did not have its own youth section (AAN, collection *Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj 1940–1945*, Government Delegation for Poland [hereinafter DRK], 202/III-40, ‘REM’s monthly report, 20 December 1943, no. 1, p. 2).

⁵⁶ W.J. Muszyński, *W walce o Wielką Polskę. Propaganda zaplecza politycznego Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych (1939–1945)*, Warsaw 2000, p. 37; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 135.

⁵⁷ See J. Kolipiński, ‘Wystąpienie w dyskusji na temat “Ojczyzny”’ in *“Ojczyzna” 1939–1945...*, p. 251; J. Schmidt, ‘*Życie i działalność Mariana Marcinkowskiego*’ in *ibidem*, p. 319; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, pp. 144–148.

⁵⁸ A. Pietrowicz, ‘Organizacja “Ojczyzna” 1939–1945’, *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 2007, no. 8–9.

⁵⁹ ‘Zespolenie sił narodowych’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 20.

⁶⁰ Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne*, London 1982, p. 35; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, pp. 206, 211–213, 255. The mitigated position of the underground SN leadership at the turn of 1942 could be assessed as the first symptom of the demo-liberal evolution that took place in the *émigré* SN after the war (cf. T. Sikorski, “Wyznajemy zasady narodowe polskie i uniwersalne katolickie”. Stronictwo Narodowe na emigracji (1939–1992). Zarys działalności i myśli politycznej’ in *Angielski łącznik. Albin Tybulewicz (1929–2014)*, ed. K. Niewiadomski, M. Jaworski, Warsaw 2016, pp. 26, 31).

As a result, in November 1942 NOW was merged with the *Armia Krajowa* (the Home Army, AK).⁶¹ However, in mid-1942, implacable opposition emerged against the subordination to AK, and gained support both in NOW (August Michałowski was supported by the districts of Kielce, Radom and Łódź, and partially Lublin and Częstochowa) as well as SN (the faction assembled around the youth magazine *Wielka Polska*, published by Witold Borowski). In July, the secessionists appointed *Tymczasowa Komisja Rządząca SN* (the Provisional Governing Commission for SN) (August Michałowski, Witold Borowski, Karol Stojanowski, Jan Małachowski, Władysław Pacholczyk, and Zbigniew Stypułkowski), and the rebellious NOW units (constituting one-third of the forces) were to merge with NLOW to form *Armia Narodowa* (National Army).⁶² This so-called ‘*SN Fronda*’, whose flagship periodical became *Wielka Polska*, established contact with the Szaniec Group, and the military structures of both organisations were joined in September 1942 under the command of Colonel Ignacy Oziewicz into the *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* (National Armed Forces, NSZ).⁶³

The Szaniec Group was the wartime incarnation of the *Organizacja Polska* (Polish Organisation, OP, previously the ONR-ABC), which formed in autumn 1939 around the periodical of the same title. As Tadeusz Boguszewski wrote: “The change of the abbreviation ‘ONR’ to the ‘Szaniec’ Group was not just a change of name. The ONR members’ worldview changed. Individuals and groups, for which the ideas of the pre-war ONR had been unacceptable, began to join the Szaniec Group.”⁶⁴ The group’s leadership included Kazimierz Gluziński, Jerzy Iłakowicz, Stanisław Kasznica, Edward Kemnitz, Władysław Marcinkowski, Tadeusz Salski, Tadeusz Todtleben, and Otmar Wawrzkowicz. Apart from *Szaniec*, other periodicals published included

⁶¹ K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, p. 91; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 258.

⁶² ‘Sytuacja polityczna’, *Biuletyn Centralny* 1943, no. 1; ‘Oświadczenie’, *Walka* 1943, no. 24; ‘Odezwa’, *Wielka Polska* 1942, no. 13; ‘Polska polityka narodowa’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 17; ‘Styczeńniowy zjazd S.N.’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 17; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 92, 235–237, 239, 250, 268; Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, p. 50; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, pp. 260, 263–264.

⁶³ ‘Rozkaz nr 1/43’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 2; ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Walka* 1943, no. 11; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 271–273, 391; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych. Organizacja Polska i Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny w latach 1934–1944. Od studenckiej rewolty do konspiracji niepodległościowej*, Warsaw 2011, pp. 266–267; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 265; R. Sierchuła, ‘Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (1942–1946)’, *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 2007, no. 8–9.

⁶⁴ T. Boguszewski, ‘Jeszcze o NSZ’, *Kultura* (Paris) 1952, no. 50.

Placówka, Praca i Walka, and *Załoga*.⁶⁵ While the Szaniec Group was a political centre, it had a mass military organisation subordinate to it called *Związek Jaszczurczy* (ZJ), formed in October 1939, which numbered between 7000 and 10,000 soldiers, as stated by Krzysztof Komorowski.⁶⁶ The Szaniec Group also operated through numerous front organisations, such as *Młodzież Wielkiej Polski* (the Youth of Great Poland), *Wiara i Wola* (Faith and Will), *Związek Działaczy Ludowych* (the Association of People's Activists), *Organizacja Polskiego Świata Pracy* (the Organisation of Polish Labour), *Medycyna Polska* (Polish Medicine), and *Związek Odbudowy Prawa* (Association for the Reconstruction of the Law).⁶⁷ Moreover, the foundations of an administrative apparatus were also established in the form of the *Komisariat Cywilny* (Civil Commissariat).⁶⁸ As Zbigniew Siemaszko wrote: "The Szaniec Group held more and more elements of the state, independent of any other authorities. It had its own army (ZJ), its own civil administration department (*Komisariat Cywilny*), security service divisions (*Akcja Specjalna* [Special Operations]), financial organisation, press department, and justice system. In those circumstances, the secret *Organizacja Polska*, which managed the entire activity, came close to independently assuming power at the end of the war."⁶⁹ On the other hand, the group recognised the authority of the Polish government-in-exile and wanted cooperation – on an equal basis – with the structures of the Polish Underground State.⁷⁰ This may be assessed as a dual tactic, albeit with the ultimate goal being the hegemony of the National Camp managed by the OP in the future Polish state.⁷¹

The establishment of the NSZ contributed to the formation of a significant political and military centre of the Polish Underground. Apart from the Szaniec

⁶⁵ W.J. Muszyński, *W walce o Wielką Polskę...*, pp. 121–133.

⁶⁶ W. Marcinkowski "Jaxa", *Wspomnienia 1934–1945*, Warsaw 1998, pp. 51–53; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 78, 255, 258; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, p. 217.

⁶⁷ K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, p. 260; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 251–265.

⁶⁸ K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, p. 258.

⁶⁹ Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, p. 39.

⁷⁰ AAN, collection *Armia Krajowa 1942–1945* (Home Army, hereinafter AK), 203/III-128, Report (according to Wilczur's account), 23 March 1943, p. 48; cf. W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 265–266; Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, pp. 40–41.

⁷¹ According to Zbigniew Stypułkowski, the OP planned a *coup d'état* in the structures of the Underground State (W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, p. 311; Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, p. 127). Siemaszko believed that the *Szaniec* Group was "by its very nature ruthless and inclined not towards compromise, but to choosing extreme solutions" (*ibidem*, p. 57).

Group and the *SN Fronda*, the new organisation also included several minor groups with a national-Catholic and anti-Piłsudskite orientation, forming a force of 70,000 soldiers (including the *Polski Obóz Narodowo-Syndykalistyczny* [the Polish National-Syndicalist Camp, PONS], *Legion Unii Narodów Słowiańskich* [the Legion of the Union of Slavic Nations, LUNS], *Tajna Armia Polska* [the Secret Polish Army, TAP], *Organizacja Wojskowa "Wilki"* [the 'Wolves' Military Organisation], *Konfederacja Zbrojna* [the Armed Confederation, KZ], *Zbrojne Pogotowie Narodu* [the Armed Vigilance of the Nation, ZPN], *Zakon Odrodzenia Polski* [the Order of the Rebirth of Poland, ZOP], and *Polskie Wojska Unijne* [the Polish Unionist Army, PWU].⁷² The NSZ commanders-in-chief were successively Colonel Ignacy Oziewicz, Colonel Tadeusz Kurcysz and Major Stanisław Nakoniecznikow. The NSZ never formed a homogenous structure, remaining divided into *Związek Jaszczurczy* (OP) and the SN (*Fronda*) units.⁷³ Attempts to create a political superstructure in the form of *Ruch Narodowy* (the National Movement, RN, 1943) or *Obóz Narodowy* (the National Camp, ON, 1944) were a failure: these entities were only fronts for the OP.⁷⁴ The political leadership of the NSZ made up *Tymczasowa Narodowa Rada Polityczna* (the Transitional National Political Council, TNRP) established in 1943 (August Michałowski, Karol Stojanowski, Jan Matłachowski, Zbigniew Stypułkowski, Jerzy Iłakowicz, Władysław Marcinkowski, Stanisław Kasznica, and Otmar Wawrzkowicz).⁷⁵ The Council was also superior to *Śłużba Cywilna Narodu* (the Civil Service of the Nation, SCN) – a kind of alternative administration to the structures of the Underground State – created to take over power at the moment of liberation.⁷⁶ The periodicals published by NSZ included *Biuletyn Centralny*, *Naród i Wojsko*, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* and *Lux Mundi*.⁷⁷

After several months of activity, the NSZ was hit by a crisis. While the ONR faction had adopted the stance of maintaining independence, the SN faction was

⁷² K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 271, 391. According to the AK's report, the NSZ also included part of *Komenda Obrońców Polski* (Defenders of Poland Corps, KOP) (AAN, AK, 203/III-128, Report of NSZ, 6 May 1943, p. 51).

⁷³ W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 270–271; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 257.

⁷⁴ W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 318–325.

⁷⁵ K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, p. 276; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, p. 269; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 268.

⁷⁶ K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 278–280; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 273–285; Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, pp. 68–86.

⁷⁷ W.J. Muszyński, *W walce o Wielką Polskę...*, pp. 114–120.

inclined to rapprochement with the native SN and the entire Underground State. Under these circumstances, a split within the TNRP occurred in January 1944.⁷⁸ In the spring of that year, the two branches of the SN (*Walka* and *Wielka Polska*) unified, as the NSZ units of the National Democratic provenance did with the Home Army (AK);⁷⁹ at the same time, the OP replaced the TNRP with *Rada Polityczna NSZ* (the Political Council of the National Armed Forces).⁸⁰ The National Camp (the ONR faction) sought allies among the opposition Piłsudskite groups, while “softening” – as Siemaszko called it – its position towards Germany.⁸¹ Both branches of the NSZ (the ONR faction led by Major Stanisław Nakoniecznikow and the National Democratic faction under Colonel Albin Rak) were in sharp conflict, which soon led to the killings of rivals.⁸² In October 1944 Nakoniecznikow was also executed, following an accusation by OP that he had collaborated with the left.⁸³

⁷⁸ ‘Fermenty’, *Walka* 1944, no. 26; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 397–402, 411–412. Władysław Marcinkowski saw the effect of Józef Retinger’s intrigues in this division (W. Marcinkowski a.k.a. ‘Jaxa’, *Wspomnienia...*, p. 107).

⁷⁹ ‘Komunikat Zarządu Głównego Stronnictwa Narodowego’, *Walka* 1944, no. 18; ‘Mianowanie Komendanta Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 12; ‘Rozkaz specjalny nr 19’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 14; ‘Rozkaz specjalny nr 20’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 15; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, p. 417; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, p. 310.

⁸⁰ ‘Uchwała Rady Politycznej przy D-twie NSZ’, *Biuletyn Centralny* 1944, no. 8; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 280–281, 423; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 312–317; Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, p. 128.

⁸¹ W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, p. 325; Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, p. 136. A side effect of this was the collaboration of *Organizacja Toma* (Tom’s Organisation) with the Germans (W. Marcinkowski ‘Jaxa’, *Wspomnienia...*, pp. 124–126; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 352–353; Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, pp. 137, 151).

⁸² ‘Przedwczesni i niepowołani spadkobiercy’, *Walka* 1944, no. 17; “Splendid isolation” Szańca’, *Walka* 1944, no. 25; ‘Rycerze szantażu’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 13; ‘Marnotrawcy odzyskanego spadku’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 15; ‘Z oenrowskiej kuchni propagandowej’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 16; ‘Słowo o “Brygadzie”’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 45; K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, p. 427; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 353–356.

⁸³ K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 431–433; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, p. 354; Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, pp. 147–150. The case remains a mystery. The fact is that Nakoniecznikow established contact with the *Polska Armia Ludowa* commander, General Julian Skokowski. *Polska Armia Ludowa* (the Polish People’s Army, PAL) was left-radical in nature, yet it remained independent of the Communist centre of power until September 1944. One more hypothesis could be added to the existing ones: Nakoniecznikow’s contacts in June may have represented an attempt to create a third force from various groups opposing both the London Government as well as *Krajowa Rada Narodowa* (the State National Council, KRN). The hypothesis may seem daunting, but *Centralny Komitet Organizacji Niepodległościowych* (the Central Committee of Independence Organisations, CKON) of 1939–1941 also focused on an anti-Piłsudskite plane of activists from the radical left to the extreme right. It is also possible to provide examples of other right-wing organisations (*Korpus Bezpieczeństwa*, the Security Corps, KB; *Kadra Polski Niepodległej*, the Cadre of Independent Poland,

While the ONR-ABC grew into the size of a significant political force under occupation, the competitive faction of the national radical trend, ONR-*Falanga*, vegetated on the margins of the Underground. Initially, the Phalangists (ONR-*Falanga* supporters) dispersed into some small organisations, some of which united in the autumn of 1940, creating *Konfederacja Narodu* (the Confederation of the Nation, KN).⁸⁴ According to an AK report, the Confederation was formed by the merger of “military organisations with an extremely nationalist political stance”, and that “the merger was the personal work of Bolesław Piasecki”.⁸⁵ Kazimierz Krajewski emphasises that the KN was not a simple continuation of ONR-*Falanga*⁸⁶; nevertheless, the Government Delegation for Poland assessed KN as “an extreme-right group, based on [...] the *Führerprinzip*”⁸⁷ which caused its isolation in the Underground.⁸⁸ In the autumn of 1943, the KN became subordinate to the AK.⁸⁹

KPN), which followed the Communist-controlled KRN (T. Bednarczyk, *OW – KB – AK – sikorszczycy w ruchu oporu. Rys historyczny Organizacji Wojskowej – Kadry Bezpieczeństwa – Armii Krajowej*, Warsaw 1997, pp. 83–85; J. Radzyńska, *Zawsze niepodlegli*, Wrocław 1991, pp. 195–196).

⁸⁴ Z. Kobyłańska, *Konfederacja Narodu w Warszawie*, Warsaw 1999, pp. 15–17. The KN consisted of *Pobudka*, *Tajna Armia Polska* (the Secret Polish Army, TAP), *Znak*, *Warwel*, *Gwardia Obrony Narodowej* (the National Defence Guards, GON) and *Związek Czynu Zbrojnego* (the Union of the Armed Deed, ZCZ). Both *Pobudka* and TAP were allegedly established by ONR supporters (W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 215, 484; K. Malinowski, *Tajna Armia Polska – Znak – Konfederacja Zbrojna*, Warsaw 1986, p. 22). *Znak* was perceived as “national-monarchist, increasingly social radicalised” (AAN, AK, 203/III-128, *Konfederacja Narodu*, n.d., p. 14).

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*. Bolesław Piasecki initially did not participate in the integration process as he had been imprisoned by the Germans since December 1939. He was released in April 1940 thanks to the efforts of Luciana Frassati-Gawrońska (L. Frassati-Gawrońska, *Przeznaczenie nie omija Warszawy*, Warsaw 2003, pp. 105–112).

⁸⁶ “The ideological and personal basis of the KN was much broader than that of the RNR itself. [...] As the old ideological cadre of the organisation crumbled, volunteers joined the ranks of the military branch of the organisation [...]. Of course, the ideology of the KN was not entirely unfamiliar to them [...]. For most of them, such concepts as ‘universalism’ or ‘Slavic empire’ did not imply much” (K. Krajewski, *Uderzeniowe Bataliony Kadrowe 1942–1944*, Warsaw 1993, pp. 44–45). That was confirmed by a former KN member, Marek Kolendo, stating that “the leader [was] the same, while there were various people [...], both pre-war and new,” and by Stanisław Hniedziewicz: “Do not think that the Confederation of the Nation are Phalangists alone. [...] In our ranks we have people of all political orientations” (M. Kolendo, *Zapiski okupacyjne. Fragmenty wspomnień*, Warsaw 2004, pp. 109, 184). As a result, as Jacek M. Majchrowski noted, “the ideological and political development of the KN was quite chaotic. Different views and ideas crossed there” (J.M. Majchrowski, *Geneza politycznych ugrupowań katolickich: Stronnictwo Pracy, Grupa “Dziś i Jutro”*, Paris 1984, p. 131).

⁸⁷ AAN, DRK, 202/II-22, ‘Ocena ugrupowań politycznych poza stronnictwami P[olitycznego] K[omitetu] P[orozumiewawczego]’, 31 October 1943, p. 107.

⁸⁸ AAN, AK, 203/III-128, ‘Akcja scalania Konf[ederacji] Narodu’, n.d., p. 19; *ibidem*, ‘Konfederacja Narodu’, p. 22.

⁸⁹ Z. Kobyłańska, *Konfederacja Narodu...*, pp. 47–52. It had already been signalled that KN was

Initially, the *Falanga* circle also had a second branch. In October 1939, a group of former *Falanga* activists led by Andrzej Świetlicki attempted to conduct legal activity under the name of *Narodowy Obóz Rewolucji* (the National Revolution Camp, also known as *Narodowa Organizacja Radykalna*, the National Radical Organisation, NOR).⁹⁰ Włodzimierz Sznarbachowski claimed that NOR was part of a twofold plan by Piasecki, who wanted to conduct both underground and legal activity.⁹¹ According to Tomasz Szarota, it was Świetlicki's group that allegedly help the Germans organise the so-called Easter pogrom in Warsaw in 1940.⁹² The collaboration attempt ended in a fiasco: in March 1940 the NOR's premises were closed by the Gestapo; Świetlicki was arrested in May and shot in Palmiry the next month.⁹³

There were also other nationalist groups. The RNP activists focused around *Przegląd Polityczny* found themselves in *Obóz Polski Walczącej* (the Camp of Fighting Poland, OPW), which represented the right-wing of *Sanacja* (the Piłsudskite movement).⁹⁴ The Government Delegation for Poland's report stated that "the core of the OPW is the RNP."⁹⁵ In 1944, it was assessed that "the OPW

making overtures towards *Sanacja's* circles: "This group [...] has a stance towards the government and Polish-Soviet agreements identical to *Sanacja* [...]" (AAN, AK, 203/III-128, 'Konfederacja Narodu', p. 22).

⁹⁰ C. Madajczyk, *Generalna Gubernia w planach hitlerowskich. Studia*, Warsaw 1961, p. 31. The author is referring to a document entitled 'Próby stworzenia polskiego ruchu narodowo-socjalistycznego' (Attempts to create a Polish national-socialist movement) of 9 February 1942, listing representatives of other circles among the co-founders of the NOR, including the conservative Władysław Studnicki, the national socialist Erazm Samborski and Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak. However, one may doubt whether the representatives of these very different, previously unconnected circles would have been able to gather in conditions of wartime chaos into one organisation within just a few weeks. The interruption to the regular flow of information under the occupation led to the circulation of unverified rumours. Perhaps also in this case the author of the document was listing all the persons who could participate in such an initiative because of their anti-Semitic, Germanophile or national-socialist sympathies.

⁹¹ W. Sznarbachowski, 'Bolesław Piasecki. Od skrajnej antyniemieckości do projektów współpracy', *Zeszyty Historyczne* 1990, vol. 94, pp. 80–93. This is denied by Zygmunt Przetakiewicz (A. Dudek, G. Pytel, *Bolesław Piasecki. Próba biografii politycznej*, London 1990, p. 37).

⁹² T. Szarota, *U progu Zagłady. Zajścia antyżydowskie i pogromy w okupowanej Europie: Warszawa, Paryż, Amsterdam, Antwerpia, Kołno*, Warsaw 2000, pp. 39, 45–47, 50–59. The facts reported by Szarota are, however, rather circumstantial in nature than hard evidence: although the NOR could have been active in spring 1940, it did not have to be engaged by the occupier in order to carry out a pogrom.

⁹³ A. Dudek, G. Pytel, *Bolesław Piasecki...*, pp. 107–109.

⁹⁴ Wojskowe Biuro Badań Historycznych, *Obóz Polski Walczącej*, III/821, K. Hrabyk, *Obóz Polski Walczącej. Relacje i wspomnienia*, Warsaw 1960, pp. 21–22, 24, 29–30, 36–38.

⁹⁵ AAN, DRK, 202/II-22, 'Ocena ugrupowań politycznych poza stronnictwami P[olitycznego] K[omitetu] P[orozumiewawczego]', 31 October 1943, p. 108.

has undergone a certain evolution in the nationalist direction. That could be regarded as a return to the concept of the OZN, but [the OPW] tried to establish contact with the SN through the KN.”⁹⁶ Pre-war activists and supporters of the nationalist movement formed several local organisations, such as *Polski Obóz Narodowo-Syndykalistyczny* (the Polish National-Syndicalist Camp, PONS) in northern Mazovia.⁹⁷ Unique in its nature was Ruch ‘Miecz i Pług’ (the ‘Sword & Plough’ Movement), founded outside the National Camp yet closer to it due to its nationalist character.⁹⁸

In analysing the attitudes of particular groups towards the Jewish question, the author will focus on two issues: their assessments of the Jewish community and their programmes for the solution to the ‘Jewish question’.

Confederation of the Nation

Bolesław Piasecki’s underground group originated from the most extreme faction of the pre-war National Camp. In the early period of the occupation, *Konfederacja Narodu* (the Confederation of the Nation, KN) manifested its radicalism by referring to racial phraseology.⁹⁹ The ongoing war appeared to

⁹⁶ AAN, DRK, 202/III-43, ‘Vademecum polityczne’, 22 July 1944, p. 8; AAN, AK, 203/VII-69, ‘Od Konfederacji Narodowej do Obozu Polski Walczącej (OPW)’, 15 November 1942, pp. 27–28.

⁹⁷ See J. Tomaszewicz, ‘Prasa środowisk ekstremistycznych obozu narodowego w okresie II wojny światowej (analiza ideowo-polityczna)’ in *Prasa Narodowej Demokracji. Prasa lokalna, regionalna, środowiskowa*, ed. E. Maj, A. Dawidowicz, Lublin 2013.

⁹⁸ The ‘Sword & Plough’ Movement was founded by Rev. Leon Poeplau SJ, and was initially influenced by the “radical current of French social Catholicism” (J. Mulak, *Polska lewica socjalistyczna 1939–1944*, Warsaw 1990, p. 92). Among its later leaders, Anatol Słowikowski was allegedly a member of the SN before the war, but Zbigniew Grad belonged to the pacifist *Akademickie Stowarzyszenie Przyjaciół Ligi Narodów* (the Academic Association of Friends of the League of Nations) (WBBH, Korpus Bezpieczeństwa [hereinafter KB], III/76/3, ‘Działalność Miecza i Pługa w oświetleniu materiałów kontrwywiadu Delegatury RP na Kraj’, 28 August 1943, p. 3; *ibidem*, III-76-1, Z. Witrowski, *Organizacja tzw. “Obozu Narodowego” Miecz i Pług. Referaty, recenzje, opracowania*, n.p., n.d., p. 4). Additionally, ‘Sword & Plough’ did contain some communists (former or active), such as the NKVD agent Bogusław Hrynkiewicz, Stefan Majchrzak (*ibidem*, p. 160; *Życie na krawędzi. Wspomnienia żołnierzy antyhitlerowskiego wywiadu*, ed. W. Kozaczuk, Warsaw 1980, pp. 79–94; see J. Tomaszewicz, ‘Myśl polityczna Ruchu Miecza i Pługa a ideologia zadrużna’, *Państwo i Społeczeństwo* 2013, no. 41). However, some units of the ‘Sword & Plough’ Movement joined the NSZ (AAN, AK, 203/III-128, ‘Raport N[arodowych] S[i] Z[brojnych]’, 6 May 1943, p. 51; T. Boguszewski, ‘Rozłam’, *Zeszyty do Historii Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych* 1961, vol. 1, pp. 18–21; W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, p. 325).

⁹⁹ Even arguing with the Nazi variant of racism, it was ironically suggested that Slavs constituted a higher race: “[...] it does not undermine Mr. Rosenberg’s legitimate racist theories. It only modifies them a little” (‘Rasa’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 2).

the Confederates as “only [...] a fragment of the centuries-long racial struggle of Slavs against Germans.”¹⁰⁰ The war aimed to create a Slavic “geopolitical and racial bloc”¹⁰¹, whose foundations would be Slavic “common racial origins” and “common historical experiences”.¹⁰² *Nowa Polska* wrote: “For our nation, the Slavic community is something real and substantial. The other Slavic nations, as bound to us by the community of blood, are closer to us than, for example, the Germanic or Romance peoples. We consider our mission to be the transformation of this blood community into a community of political aims.”¹⁰³ As it was explained, “the world and Europe are moving [...] towards the formation of geopolitical and tribal blocs,” and so Slavic unity was necessary; “Slavs can be united by Poland only.” Therefore, the task of the KN was to “transform ethnic nationalism into a tribal nationalism” (i.e. pan-Slavic).¹⁰⁴

The nation was defined as a biological community (“We are of one blood!”)¹⁰⁵, while cultural differences were underestimated (“Belarusian is the same Polish dialect as the highlander or Kashubian dialects”).¹⁰⁶ Bolesław Piasecki noted that “in the mother-base of Polishness, an intensive procreation-oriented policy must be pursued in order to achieve a core Polish basis for biological expansion.”¹⁰⁷ Later, when Piasecki’s *Wielka Ideologia Narodu Polskiego* (Grand Ideology of the Polish Nation) was replaced by Rev. Józef Warszawski’s universalism as the KN’s ideology, the emphasis shifted slightly, recognising the equivalence of “*bios* and *logos*, blood and idea”: “*Bios* with *logos*, the blood bound and married to the idea, the causative force compressed and anchored in the great vault of intentional forces, uniform,

¹⁰⁰ AAN, *Konfederacja Narodu i Konfederacja Zbrojna 1941–1943* (hereinafter KN), 336/1, *Nasze hasła*, n.d., p. 6; Andrzej z Połocka, ‘Prawo ziemi’, *Nowa Polska* 1942, no. 16; cf. B. Pasierb, *Polska myśl polityczna okresu II wojny światowej wobec Niemiec*, Poznań 1990, p. 274.

¹⁰¹ Jan ze Smoleńska, ‘Uniwersalistyczne podstawy kultury polskiej’, *Nowa Polska* 1941, no. 8; ‘Walka rodzi pokój – bierność niewolę’, *Do Broni* 1942, no. 7.

¹⁰² Ryszard z Lignicy, ‘O imperium słowiańskie’, *Młodzież Imperium* 1942, no. 3.

¹⁰³ Andrzej z Połocka, ‘Powstanie – Uderzenie’, *Nowa Polska* 1943, no. 56.

¹⁰⁴ Henryk z Kijowa, ‘Założenia naczelné stosunków polsko-słowiańskich’, *Nowa Polska* 1941, no. 6.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Nasze ideały’, *Orzeł Biały. Narodowy Ruch Imperialny* 1943, no. 1.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Nie damy wschodu Polski’, *Iskra* 1944, no. 2. One cannot agree with Artur Paszko, who perceived ‘purity of blood’ as a “metaphysical category” or metaphor (A. Paszko, *O katolickie państwo Narodu Polskiego. Inspiracje katolickie w ideach politycznych grupy “Szańca” i Konfederacji Narodu*, Cracow 2002, pp. 50, 52; cf. S.S. Faliński, ‘Ideologia Konfederacji Narodu’, *Przegląd Historyczny* 1985, no. 1, pp. 57–76).

¹⁰⁷ L. Całka [B. Piasecki], *Wielka ideologia Narodu Polskiego*, Warsaw 1940, p. 11.

infused with cordial blood and with the intense biological potential of realising and actualising a historical act, a historical deed in itself and by itself – only this is a nation.”¹⁰⁸ The practical result was the conclusion in the Confederation’s internal document that “by not applying the principles of racism, it [is] possible to consider a Jew a Pole in exceptional cases, yet demanding the absolute removal of Jewish religion, customs and culture.”¹⁰⁹

The racial concept of the nation obviously excluded Jews. It unambiguously confirmed the KN’s negative attitude towards the Jewish minority. The Confederates believed that the Polish pursuit of becoming an empire “painfully harms the interests of [...] universal Jewry, partly [...] also the interests of Western powers,”¹¹⁰ therefore, “we will have to fiercely fight a very rich Jewish mob that will mobilise the opinion of the entire civilised world against us.”¹¹¹ Jews were named – alongside Germans and Soviets – among “Poland’s greatest enemies.”¹¹² They were considered “a harmful element in every respect [...] which was in political life always hostile to Poland, which harassed our cultural life and whose role in socio-economic life was also extremely harmful, causing *inter alia* the contortion of the social structure of the Polish Nation.”¹¹³ Confederates would emotionally accuse Jews of being: “responsible for the war. For the fall of the nation. For freemasonry, Communism, for the decomposition of intelligentsia and misery of the masses. They are responsible for the Bolshevik persecution of Poles. For the destruction of churches, the GPU’s pogroms,¹¹⁴ deportations to Siberia, denunciations. For cooperation with the invader. For treason!”¹¹⁵

The Jewish impact on all spheres of national life – economy, culture and politics – was assessed negatively. Since “a considerable part of capitalism was represented

¹⁰⁸ [J. Warszawski], *Uniwersalizm. Zarys narodowej filozofii społecznej*, part 1, Warsaw 1942, pp. 29–30.

¹⁰⁹ AAN, KN, 336/1, ‘Raport z podróży organizacyjnej odbytej w dniach 10–13 II 1942’, p. 57.

¹¹⁰ ‘W Polsce nie będzie anarchii’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 8.

¹¹¹ Bolesław z Wolina, ‘Mobilizacja powszechna kupców, przemysłowców i rzemieślników’, *Do Broni* 1942, no. 4.

¹¹² L. Całka [B. Piasecki], *Wielka ideologia...*, p. 24; Maciej z Gdańska, ‘Za Bugiem – krew’, *Do Broni* 1943, no. 10.

¹¹³ ‘Likwidacja żydostwa’, *Nowa Polska* 1944, no. 14.

¹¹⁴ *Государственное политическое управление* (State Political Directorate), the name of the political police in the USSR from 1922 to 1934.

¹¹⁵ *Życie i śmierć dla Polski*, n.p., n.d., 1942, p. 5.

by an alien factor,” i.e. “Jewish and foreign capitalists,” it was seen as the cause of pre-war misery¹¹⁶ and of a lack of “economic self-sufficiency, the absence of which turns independence into fiction.”¹¹⁷ It was claimed – recalling the names of Tuwim, Słonimski and Leśmian – that “the poetry of the interwar period was, in nearly three quarters, mentally alien to both this soil and to the soul of a man of this soil.”¹¹⁸

The Jewish connections with Marxism were an important reason for the Confederates’ anti-Jewish attitude. Communism was said to be “a new form of Jewish rule over the dull-witted *goyim*”¹¹⁹, “an outbreak of Asian-Jewish nihilism”, and that “Jews suppress the development of nations that threaten them by instilling Communism.”¹²⁰ This was evidenced by the role of the Jewish minority under Soviet occupation: “brutal and inhumane [...] was the conduct of Soviet officials of Jewish origin towards Poles within the Soviet partition.”¹²¹ In 1941 *Fakty na Tle Idei* observed the rise of anti-Semitic sentiment caused by “news of terrible persecution and abuse of Poles at the hands of Jews.”¹²² The anti-Semitism of the KN, however, cannot be simply reduced to anti-Communism. Jews were also associated with democratic liberalism, “the world of capitalism and parliaments, [...] the world of [...] chaos,”¹²³ as it was believed that “capitalist Jews, and with them all international financiers, want the differences between states to be blurred.”¹²⁴ It was emphasised that “Jews behave in a passive or hostile manner when it comes to Polish independence organisations” while at the same time demanding equality in Poland, using their influence in the West for blackmail.¹²⁵

¹¹⁶ Mieczysław z Głogowa [W. Zaleski], *Siła gospodarcza Polski Narodowej*, Warsaw 1942, p. 5; Jan ze Smoleńska, ‘Jeden jest polski ruch’, *Fakty na Tle Idei*, 15 October 1941.

¹¹⁷ Bolesław z Wolina, ‘Kupiectwo – do szeregów!’, *Do Broni* 1942, no. 2.

¹¹⁸ ‘Już nie potrzebujemy’, *Sztuka i Naród* 1943, no. 11–12. It was supposed to originate from the hostility of Jews towards Catholicism (Maciej z Gdańska, ‘Czarna sprawa’, *Nowa Polska* 1941, no. 11).

¹¹⁹ Wiesław z Głogowa, *Chłop i robotnik w nowej Polsce*, n.p., 1942, p. 9.

¹²⁰ Piotr z Witebska, ‘Kara za antysemityzm’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 2. There were also voices emphasising the Russian roots of Bolshevism, which was portrayed as “the modernised and mechanised autocracy of Ivan the Terrible” (Piotr z Roztoki, ‘Mozaika polska’, *Nowa Polska* 1942, no. 4).

¹²¹ Mieczysław z Głogowa [W. Zaleski], *Siła gospodarcza...*, p. 45; see also e.g.: ‘Cripps i rzeczywistość’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 2; Maciej z Rugii, ‘Na ziemiach północno-wschodnich Polski’, *Fakty na Tle Idei*, 26 November 1941.

¹²² Maciej z Gdańska, ‘Pierwsze refleksje nad walką naszych wrogów’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 1.

¹²³ J. ze S., ‘Przekleństwo mówienia’, *Do Broni* 1942, no. 7.

¹²⁴ ‘Walka rodzi pokój – bierność niewolę’, *Do Broni* 1942, no. 7.

¹²⁵ ‘Orientacje polityczne w ghecie warszawskim’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 2.

Piasecki wrote that the cause of the war was the “fight for world domination” between the Jews and Germany, and forecast that “the ongoing war would weaken the two greatest enemies of Poland: the Germans and the Jews.”¹²⁶ The Poles were to take advantage of this, consolidating the transformation of the social structure that had begun during the occupation. Confederate propaganda was pleased to note that the Poles had become “a nation of minor industrialists and merchants”¹²⁷ and stated that “we must permanently remain the owners of all post-Jewish workshops.”¹²⁸ The document ‘Skrót ideologii Konfederacji Narodu’ (Summary of the Confederation of the Nation’s Ideology) announced that “the Jew will not return. After the war, Jews must not be allowed to regain the shops, factories, flats and positions that Poles have now entered”, and that “Jews should be compensated for the war losses from the treasury of the defeated German Reich.”¹²⁹

This effective expropriation of the Jews could only be put into effect by depriving them of their rights as citizens. Thus, the KN openly opposed – at least in the initial period of its activity – the so-called “democratisation of political life, consisting mainly of total equality of rights for Jews.” It forecast that, despite the alliance with Western democracies, “a nation-state organisation with a clear anti-Masonic and anti-Jewish image” would be established. This state would be “a healthy bio-political organism, resistant to the destructive influence of the international mafias.”¹³⁰ *Polska Narodowa* (National Poland) was imagined to be “a state in which the Polish ethnic group is nationally perfectly self-conscious [...], [and] the self-conscious ruling

¹²⁶ L. Całka, *Wielka ideologia...*, pp. 15, 24. There were even more explicit slogans in Confederate journalism: “Germans and Jews set the world on fire – they must burn together”, [slogan] *Do Broni* 1942 [?], no. 13. There were even jokes about the situation of the Jews (‘Polacy są dowcipni’, *Fakty na Tle Idei*, 26 November 1941).

¹²⁷ ‘Szanse ekspansji kulturalnej’, *Sztuka i Naród* 1943–1944, no. 14–15.

¹²⁸ Bolesław z Wolina, ‘Kupiectwo – do szeregów!’, *Do Broni* 1942, no. 2; cf. *idem*, ‘Mobilizacja powszechna kupców, przemysłowców i rzemieślników’, *Do Broni* 1942, no. 4; cf. J. Gapys, ‘Podziemne inicjatywy polityczne. Wizja gospodarki polskiej w świetle Siły Gospodarczej Polski Nowej – broszury programowej Konfederacji Narodu z 1942 r.’ in *Z dziejów Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego na Kielecczyźnie 1939–1945*, ed. J. Gapys, T. Domański, Kielce 2016, pp. 61–82.

¹²⁹ *Wizje Polski. Programy polityczne lat wojny i okupacji 1939–1944*, ed. K. Przybysz, Warsaw 1992, p. 84; cf. ‘W Polsce nie będzie anarchii’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 8; A. Paszko, *O katolickie państwo...*, p. 300.

¹³⁰ Maciej z Gdańska, ‘Przez Polskę narodową do Polski katolickiej, a nie na odwrót’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 3.

nation is perfectly organised.”¹³¹ There was no space for any national minorities in this vision.¹³²

Moreover, there were plans to continue the operation of Jewish ghettos during the immediate post-war transition period.¹³³ The final solution of the Jewish question, however, was imagined in terms of the forced emigration of Jews from Poland. The KN believed that “the Polish government should demand appropriate colonisation areas for Jews”¹³⁴; thus, the Jewish question was to be internationalised.¹³⁵ “Poland will be de-Judaised. We will get rid of this element, harmful in every respect,”¹³⁶ as Confederate journalism proclaimed. “There is no place for Jews in Poland!”¹³⁷

Despite its unequivocal anti-Semitism, the KN strongly condemned the Nazi genocide of the Jews. “Nobody approves of the Hitlerite regime’s methods of solving the Jewish question, contrary to Christian principles” a Confederate journalist wrote.¹³⁸ Another added: “No assessment of this plan [of the Holocaust – J.T.] from a moral point of view can be, of course, a subject of discussion. It is a crime of a scale unprecedented in history. We condemn the German methods of ‘liquidation’ of the Jewish question.”¹³⁹

Describing the mass murders of Jews, the KN’s periodical stated with undisguised disgust: “Anti-Semitism is one thing, yet even the most fervent opponent of Jews would fight them with a different weapon, unless he is German, of course.”¹⁴⁰

Kazimierz Krajewski, describing the KN’s ideology in his study on the UBK, exposes its evolution towards alleviating anti-Semitism.¹⁴¹ However, even if we

¹³¹ Jacek z Winnicy, ‘Do firmowych działaczy katolickich’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 7; cf. AAN, KN, 336/1, ‘Czym jest Konfederacja Narodu?’, n.d., p. 52.

¹³² Jan ze Szczecina, ‘Zadania rządu, jego atuty i błędy’, *Nowa Polska* 1942, no. 2.

¹³³ Maciej z Gdańska, ‘Czarna sprawa’, *Nowa Polska* 1941, no. 11.

¹³⁴ *Wizje Polski...*, p. 84.

¹³⁵ Maciej z Gdańska, ‘Pierwsze refleksje nad walką naszych wrogów’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 1; ‘W Polsce nie będzie anarchii’, *Fakty na Tle Idei* 1941, no. 8.

¹³⁶ ‘Likwidacja żydostwa’, *Nowa Polska* 1944, no. 14.

¹³⁷ Maciej z Gdańska, ‘Czarna sprawa’, *Nowa Polska* 1941, no. 11.

¹³⁸ Mieczysław z Głogowa [W. Zaleski], ‘Siła gospodarcza...’, p. 45.

¹³⁹ ‘Likwidacja żydostwa’, *Nowa Polska* 1942, no. 14.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Niemieckie polowanie’, *Fakty na Tle Idei*, 22 December 1941; cf. ‘Z dnia na dzień’, *Fakty na Tle Idei*, 15 October 1941.

¹⁴¹ K. Krajewski, *Uderzeniowe Bataliony Kadrowe...*, pp. 45–46.

consider the reduction of its intensity,¹⁴² we must agree with Artur Paszko, who, based on thorough research, denies that anti-Semitism disappeared from the KN's journalism after 1942.¹⁴³

It should be mentioned here (although the subject of this article is the ideology, not the practice of the National Camp) that the KN partisan units operating in Podlasie were accused of murdering Jews.¹⁴⁴ Jan Engelgard, inclined towards Piasecki, commented that "Ryszard Reiff [...] hinted that in 1943 the cases of killing Jews who were members of various gangs of thieves could have happened. That concerned the area of Podlasie, where *Uderzeniowe Bataliony Kadrowe* [the Strike Cadre Battalions, UBK] implemented Piasecki's order to "clean the area". [...] Reiff suggests that responsibility for these incidents [...] belonged to Wojciech Kętrzyński (who himself was of Jewish origin) [...]"¹⁴⁵ The problem is that most of the armed forest groups supplied themselves by requisition, so virtually anyone could be considered a 'gang of thieves'; it was the situation of the Jews that forced them to seek shelter in the woods.¹⁴⁶ Piasecki himself, after being arrested by the NKVD¹⁴⁷ wrote: "My deputy as a commander of the KN Battalion, was a Pole of Jewish origin (Wołkowyski), the commander of the first platoon in the second company [was] a Pole of Jewish origin – Kajzebrecht. The latter died a beautiful soldier's death in the battle with Germans at Subocza. I quote these facts to present how, in the evolution of my views, I understand the cooperation of all nationalities for the good of Poland. Wołkowyski became my deputy as early as 1942. So this is what the solution of the attitude towards Jews [who were] Polish citizens looked like in practice, which we found in a common fight against the enemy."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² For example in *Uniwersalizm*, Jews are mentioned only once ([J. Warszawski], *Uniwersalizm...*, p. 13).

¹⁴³ A. Paszko, *O katolickie państwo...*, p. 283.

¹⁴⁴ W. Bartoszewski, *O Żegocie relacja poufna sprzed pół wieku*, Warsaw 2013, p. 140.

¹⁴⁵ J. Engelgard, *Wielka gra Bolesława Piaseckiego*, Warsaw 2008, pp. 170–171.

¹⁴⁶ Marek J. Chodakiewicz stated that "the requisitions carried out by Jews hiding from Germans could not be considered as plundering" (M. Chodakiewicz, 'NSZ i Żydzi', *Ład*, history supplement 1993, no. 9, after S. Rudnicki, 'Mogą żyć, byle nie u nas... Propaganda NSZ wobec Żydów', *Więź* 2006, no. 4, p. 111).

¹⁴⁷ *Народный комиссариат внутренних дел* (NKVD), the body supervising the political police of the USSR from 1934 to 1946.

¹⁴⁸ 'Osobiste oświadczenie Bolesława Piaseckiego z 22 maja 1945 roku' in J. Engelgard, *Wielka gra...*, p. 226.

The Political Wing of the National Armed Forces

The political camp forming *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* (the National Armed Forces, NSZ) had, in fact, two centres: *Organizacja Polska* (the Polish Organisation, OP) and the *Fronda Stronnictwa Narodowego* (*SN Fronda*), but the differences between them manifested in tactical issues. Both groups carried the pre-war baggage of militant anti-Semitism. Jews were portrayed unambiguously as consistent, inexorable adversaries: “Jews were, are and will be Poland’s greatest enemies.”¹⁴⁹ However, whereas before the war the Jewish threat overshadowed all others, Jews later appeared as just one of the nation’s enemies, on a par with Germany, Russia and sometimes Ukraine.¹⁵⁰ *Załoga* proclaimed that “there are two nations [...] whose desire [...] is to rule the others [...]. These are Germans from Berlin and Jews from red Moscow.”¹⁵¹

Praca i Walka noted “the harm done to Poles by Jews cooperating with the Bolsheviks not less [than that caused by the Germans – J.T.].”¹⁵² The ongoing war did not change this antagonistic attitude. However, it was admitted that a tactical alliance of “people of goodwill,” “Jewish capitalism” and Communism was formed against the Third Reich, which “in the fight against the Axis, the camp of international Jewry constitutes a significant part;” yet, as it was emphasised, “it only defends its own skin.”¹⁵³ Hence the *SN (Fronde)*’s *Tymczasowa Komisja Rządząca* (Provisional Governing Commission) criticised the “erroneous view” that Jews, due to their anti-German attitude, constituted “friendly [...] forces.”¹⁵⁴

Moreover, there were attempts to give anti-Semitism a universal dimension. Stanisław Kasznica wrote: “The assumption of Jewish nationalism is the universalism of the rule of a chosen nation scattered all over the world, with all the features of a parasitic being. The dynamics of Jewish nationalism finds inexhaustible sources of inspiration not only in the instinct of the race, but also the religion of this inter-nation.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ ‘Trójkąt wrogów pęka’, *Wielka Polska* 1942, no. 11.

¹⁵⁰ Bracia Budzisz, ‘Jaką Polskę mieć chcemy’, n.p., 1941, p. 7; ‘Kto jest naszym wrogiem’, *Praca i Walka* 1943, no. 7 [?], part 2; ‘Notujemy’, *Praca i Walka* 1944, no. 7–8; ‘Wschód i Zachód (IV)’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 7; ‘Biblioteczka “Szańca”’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 12; ‘Interesy, interesy...’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 4.

¹⁵¹ ‘W dniu 3 maja 1942 roku’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 5.

¹⁵² ‘Słowa... słowa... słowa...’, *Praca i Walka* 1942, no. 4.

¹⁵³ ‘Chwała na wysokości’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 25; ‘Niech odejdą’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 25.

¹⁵⁴ ‘Przegląd prasy’, *Wielka Polska* 1942, no. 14.

¹⁵⁵ W. Górnicki, *Polska po wojnie*, Warsaw, n.d., p. 14; cf. ‘Totalizmy’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 3.

Jews from all over the world supposedly constituted a uniform power consistently pursuing its goals, destructive to Christian civilisation.¹⁵⁶ “10 million Jews rule the world,” warned *Załoga*¹⁵⁷, while *Praca i Walka* announced that “the damned Jewish bane left [...] so much poisonous venom [...] that it is high time for it to suffer a deserved punishment.”¹⁵⁸ *Szaniec* reminded readers that Christ was killed by a “Jewish mob.”¹⁵⁹

The allegations made against Jews by the NSZ's circles were complex. “Jewry in Poland was [...] a factor which [...] played a destructive role [...]. The destructive influence of Jewry on Polish national life was purposeful and methodical,” *Wielka Polska* wrote.¹⁶⁰ “The Jewish demoralisation and pornographic campaign” and the entirety of “Jewish sexualism” would undermine the foundations of the Christian moral order¹⁶¹ and, as a consequence, contribute to the decline in the Polish birth rate.¹⁶² Regarding the economy, the Jews were accused of being exploiters. It was proclaimed that “the capitalists in Poland were mainly Jews and Germans,”¹⁶³ adding that “powerful Jewry did not allow the formation of the Polish middle class.”¹⁶⁴ Finally, Jews were considered the seedbed of common crime.¹⁶⁵

In the journalism of NSZ circles, however, the charge of “Jewish communists” appeared most often. Communism was generally regarded as the creation and instrument of the Jews, who were allegedly working to stimulate the class struggle as “where two are fighting, there [...] a Yid will earn something.”¹⁶⁶ Through Communism, the Jews would control Russia, where “the dull [...] Russian people

¹⁵⁶ ‘Myśli żelazne (cd.)’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 9; ‘Wojna brunatno-czerwona’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 14.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Mędrcy czy paralitycy?’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 8.

¹⁵⁸ ‘W obliczu faktu’, *Praca i Walka* 1944, no. 6.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Cóż jest prawda’, *Szaniec* 1942, no. 7.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Łagodność karygodna’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 7; see ‘Okres niepodległości’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 2.

¹⁶¹ ‘Przegląd prasy’, *Praca i Walka* 1943, no. 7, part 2; ‘Między cnotą a występkiem’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 9.

¹⁶² ‘Więcej kołysek’, *Szaniec* 1940, no. 31–32; ‘Nie ma Polski bez dzieci’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 11.

¹⁶³ ‘Rosja sowiecka w obecnej wojnie’, n.p., n.d., pp. 15–16; cf. ‘Plan Stronnictwa Ludowego i PPS’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1; ‘Dość kontrastów’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 12.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Nie ma Polski bez dzieci’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 11.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Zew krwi’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 4; ‘Unarodowienie narodu’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 4.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Organizacja życia czy samowola?’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 12; cf. ‘Pokój z Rosją – walka z Kominternem’, Warsaw, n.d., p. 5; ‘Po trzech latach wojny’, *Praca i Walka* 1942, no. 3; ‘Którędy droga?’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 4; ‘Moje miasto’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 9; ‘Dola robotnika’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 11.

[...] created a new system at Jewish command.”¹⁶⁷ It was proclaimed that the USSR was ruled by “Yids from the Comintern”¹⁶⁸, while the “Red Army [...] fought indirectly for the rule of Jewry over the world.”¹⁶⁹ New threads began to appear in the image of the Soviet Union as, although “the Jews in Russia [had] liquidated 20 million peasants, workers and Russian intelligentsia,”¹⁷⁰ the awareness of Communism as an independent factor, not only a Jewish tool, was becoming increasingly common. The privilege of not only Jews but also of Russians¹⁷¹ was noticed, and there were even slogans such as “Communism is the bankrupt mask of Russian imperialism!”¹⁷² The role of Jews as a Communist spy network was ‘revealed’ in 1939–1941, when “Jews [...] persecuted Poles at every turn under Bolshevik rule.”¹⁷³ The Communist Underground was also portrayed as the work of Jews under German occupation. The nationalists’ propaganda proclaimed that “‘the proletariat’ [...] is a group of Jewish profiteers”; that *Polska Partia Robotnicza* (the Polish Workers’ Party, PPR) was a “Moscow organisation (some say ‘Moshcow’ [mośkowska, from the name Mosiek, i.e. Moshe – J.T.]),”¹⁷⁴ and *Gwardia Ludowa PPR* (the People’s Guard of the Polish Workers’ Party, GL PPR) were described as “a pack of Soviet paratroopers [*desancistów*], Communist instructors from Spain, and Jews,”¹⁷⁵ or simply “Jewish Communist gangs.”¹⁷⁶ Although it was admitted that

¹⁶⁷ ‘Komunizm zmienił oblicze’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 4.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Wschód i Zachód (V)’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 8.

¹⁶⁹ ‘Armia Narodowa’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 14; cf. ‘Znów ich tu mamy’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 11; ‘Honor, obowiązek, interes – i prawo’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 15; ‘Notujemy...’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 15; ‘Towarzyszy poniosło’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 8; ‘Dlaczego nas oczerniają?’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 15.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Czerwoni volksdeutsche’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1.

¹⁷¹ ‘Wolność narodów sowieckich’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 5.

¹⁷² See *Załoga* 1942, no. 4.

¹⁷³ ‘Na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 19; cf. ‘Życzenia nie na czasie’, *Wielka Polska* 1941, no. 3; ‘Armia Narodowa’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 14; ‘Unarodowienie narodu’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 4; ‘Robak w korzeniu’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 20; cf. ‘Wschód i Zachód (I)’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 4; ‘Trudna sprawa’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 16; ‘Jak w mądrym Rzymie’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 3.

¹⁷⁴ ‘Ambo meliores’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 5.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Robak w korzeniu’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 20.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Z kraju’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 32; cf. ‘Komunikat w sprawie współpracy polsko-sowieckiej’, *Biuletyn Centralny* 1944, no. 9; Viktor, ‘Ramię przy ramieniu’, *Praca i Walka* 1942, no. 1; ‘Wiadomości krajowe’, *Szaniec* 1940, no. 23; ‘Czego chcą’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 10; ‘NSZ potępione – Armia Ludowa uznana’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 15; ‘W kraju’, *Wielka Polska* 1942, no. 13; ‘Opór getta we właściwym świetle’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 20; ‘Armia czekająca na głos z Moskwy’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 43; ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 44; ‘W sprawie akcji pod Borowem’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 46; ‘Przekleństwo tolerancji’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 5; ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 7; ‘PPR działa’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 11; ‘Dwie wojny’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 7; ‘Czerwony upiór w masce patrioty’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 12.

“a significant number of good Poles are in *Armia Ludowa PPR* (the People’s Army of the Polish Workers’ Party, AL PPR), lured by patriotic slogans and ‘deeds’”,¹⁷⁷ they were considered a passive tool.¹⁷⁸ The accusation of being ‘Jewish-Communist’ was extended to the entire Left: the socialists are “folk-frontists [supporters of the Communist People’s Front – J.T.] elbowing their way in like Jews”, who were acting “to the benefit of the rule of international Jewry in a future free Poland,”¹⁷⁹ while the SL’s politicians were “opportunists using Jewish sinecures” and “hypnotised by Jews.”¹⁸⁰

Jewish infiltration was also allegedly exposed in the liberal-democratic centre. Politicians such as Władysław Sikorski and Ignacy Paderewski were accused of philo-Semitism.¹⁸¹ The presence of Jews and people of Jewish origin in the Polish government-in-exile and the state apparatus was criticised as “licensed democracy, counting on the support of the Allies abroad and the national minorities in Poland.”¹⁸² Western democratic liberalism was also considered to be contaminated by Jewish influences (‘Judemocracy’). *Wielka Polska* stated emphatically that the Comintern was “the left wing of ‘the army’ of world Jewry,” while the “right wing” was “capitalism and freemasonry.”¹⁸³ It was believed that “Jews hold a privileged position” in Western democracies¹⁸⁴, and “international

¹⁷⁷ ‘W sprawie akcji pod Borowem’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 46.

¹⁷⁸ Unlike Polish rank and file partisans, Jewish communists (or more broadly Jews in communist units) were treated ruthlessly. “Leaders, Soviet paratroopers, Jews, [Soviet] escapees from POW camps, Kalmyk deserters, ordinary bandits [...] were sentenced to death. On the other hand, the individuals lured by patriotic slogans [...] were released back to their homes” (‘Skomunizowana wioska X spacyfikowana’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 47).

¹⁷⁹ ‘Notujemy...’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 20; ‘Jak kamienie’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 21; cf. ‘Puszczanie farby’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 23; ‘Święto polskiej marynarki handlowej’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1; ‘Przegląd prasy’, *Wielka Polska* 1942, no. 13; ‘Nie wylegną na ulice polskich miast olbrzymie rzesze robotników’, *Zaloga* 1942, no. 5; ‘Żydowskość komuny bez maski’, *Zaloga* 1942, no. 5.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Polski wschód płonie’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 15; cf. ‘Plan Stronnictwa Ludowego i PPS’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1.

¹⁸¹ ‘Ignacy Paderewski † 29 czerwca 1941 r.’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 15; ‘Mazełtop!’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 21; ‘Życzenia nie na czasie’, *Wielka Polska* 1941, no. 3.

¹⁸² ‘Tu chodzi o Polskę’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 13; cf. ‘Przygotowanie współpracy z komuną’, *Biuletyn Centralny* 1944, no. 9; ‘My, nie wy...’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 19; ‘Propaganda oficjalna’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 22.

¹⁸³ ‘Nas fakty nie zaskakują’, *Wielka Polska* 1941, no. 4; cf. ‘Żydowskość komuny bez maski’, *Zaloga* 1942, no. 5. It was believed that freemasonry, identified with democratic liberalism, was the ‘secular arm’ of Jewry (‘Uwaga: Benesz!’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1; cf. ‘Na drodze do Wielkiej Polski’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 5).

¹⁸⁴ ‘Niech odejdą’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 25; cf. ‘Słowa...’, *Praca i Walka* 1942, nr 4; ‘Dwie zagadki’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 25.

Jewry wants to consolidate its influence in Poland” with Western help.¹⁸⁵ Here, however, there was a discrepancy between the founding partners in the NSZ. *Organizacja Polska* saw “all-powerful Jewry in the Anglo-Saxon world [...]”.¹⁸⁶ The President of the United States of America, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was claimed to be a Jew; the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, a freemason; and the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anthony Eden, was believed to be married to a Jewish woman.¹⁸⁷ *Wielka Polska* (the periodical of the *SN Fronda*) stressed otherwise, arguing that the rumours about the influence of Jews in England were exaggerated, as “the Jews are counting on the Soviets” (they were even held liable for the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact).¹⁸⁸

Paradoxically, there were attempts to combine hostility towards Jews with hostility towards Germans. Thus, the historical Germanophilia of the Jews was emphasised (“Yids have always been attracted to Teutons”).¹⁸⁹ Attention was drawn to the alleged convergence of Nazism and Jewish nationalism: “This part of the worldview [Nazi racism – J.T.] was seemingly taken straight from another chosen nation – the Jews, with whom Hitlerism is now in a state of inexorable fight,” Kasznica wrote.¹⁹⁰

Nevertheless, the Polish nationalists from NSZ undoubtedly felt deep discomfort when finding an echo of their views in the propaganda of the hated Third Reich. The depressing awareness that Germans were also fighting against “Bolshevism, Jewry and plutocracy”¹⁹¹ forced them to differentiate themselves from Nazism. Attempts were made to condemn the “idiotic theory” of racism.¹⁹² “Polish nationalism is anti-Semitic, of course,” admitted *Wielka Polska*, but followed up this claim with a reservation: “Yet, there is a fundamental difference between the concepts of anti-

¹⁸⁵ ‘Jak w mądrym Rzymie’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 3.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Czerwoni volksdeutsche’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1.

¹⁸⁷ ‘W obliczu faktu’, *Praca i Walka* 1944, no. 6; ‘Na marginesie’, *Praca i Walka* 1944, no. 7–8; ‘Puszczanie farby’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 23.

¹⁸⁸ ‘Anglia, Żydzi i Polska’, *Wielka Polska* 1941, no. 4.

¹⁸⁹ ‘Dowodzenia wodzów’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 8; “Jestem Polakiem” w “Reichu”, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 11; ‘Prawo jazdy’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 12.

¹⁹⁰ W. Górnicki, *Polska po wojnie...*, p. 13; cf. ‘Skąd to jest?’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 9; ‘W dniu 3 maja 1942 roku’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 5.

¹⁹¹ ‘Nie możemy’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1; ‘Dowodzenia wodzów’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 8; ‘Trzeba mówić – po angielsku’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 9.

¹⁹² “Idiotyczna teoria”, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 9; ‘Wychowanie i oświata’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 13.

-Semitism and racism.”¹⁹³ In the definition of the nation, the ideas of a homeland, language, customs, religion and history were mentioned as nation-forming factors – but not race.¹⁹⁴ Rejection of biological racism did not, however, affect these circles’ attitude towards Jews. In the same article that distanced itself from racist ideology, a *Wielka Polska* journalist wrote: “The assimilation of Jews is a total utopia, [as] [...] the Jewish way of thinking [...] is so utterly opposed to the Polish that [...] innate predispositions must prevail in it.”¹⁹⁵

During the war, the nationalists of the NSZ stuck closely to their pre-war programme on the Jewish question, and moreover, they tried to use the conditions created by the German occupation for its implementation. They emphasised that one of the basic tasks of the nationalist movement was to “prevent Jews from attempting to capture our economic life again.”¹⁹⁶ An opinion writer under the pseudonym ‘Piotr Straża’ explained this as follows: “one has to [...] consider the actual situation created by cutting off Jews in the ghettos and tearing them out of economic life in Poland. There is no void in the places previously occupied by the Jews. They are being taken by Poles. Attempts to return to the former state of affairs would be [...] contrary to the natural tendencies in the development of economic relations in Poland.”¹⁹⁷

In this regard, the plan was to nationalise former Jewish property and later hand it over to Poles, and then the passage of “a law that would prevent inheritance proceedings in Poland for relatives of the further degree living abroad” was announced.¹⁹⁸ Also “economic disposition centres (economic self-government, state-owned, municipal, and private banks, etc.) should be Polishised and made completely independent of direct or indirect alien influence (foreign and Jewish).”¹⁹⁹ When drawing up the ‘third way’ system in the field of economy, it was explained that “a Polish worker will never come to terms with slavery, both when his ruler

¹⁹³ ‘Łagodność karygodna’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 7.

¹⁹⁴ Bracia Budzisz, ‘Jaką Polskę mieć chcemy...’, p. 4; cf. A. Paszko, *O katolickie państwo...*, p. 88.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Łagodność karygodna’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 7; cf. ‘Modły żydowskie’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Waga obecnych czasów’, *Biuletyn Centralny* 1944, no. 8.

¹⁹⁷ P. Straża, *Piastowy szlak*, n.p., n.d., p. 64.

¹⁹⁸ ‘Sprawa majątków żydowskich’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 7; cf. ‘O co walczy Ruch Narodowy’ [leaflet], n.p., [1944]; ‘Kwestia żydowska w Polsce’, *Aktualne Wiadomości z Polski i ze Świata* 1942, no. 6; ‘Żydzi w Polsce’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 43.

¹⁹⁹ W. Górnicki, *Polska po wojnie...*, pp. 88–90.

is the director or banker of a joint-stock company – a Jew, just as when a Soviet commissar, a Jew, would become his master.”²⁰⁰

This economic expropriation would be linked to political discrimination. As “in the Polish state, only the Polish Nation [...] can be the host, the only one and exclusive one,”²⁰¹ and, of course, “political rights for Jews are out of the question.”²⁰² *Wielka Polska* announced that “only Poles can have full civic rights,”²⁰³ and *Szaniec* mentioned democracy “for Poles and our friends from other nations living among us, but [...] not for Germans and Jews.”²⁰⁴ Other Underground political centres were fiercely attacked for demanding the equality for national minorities.²⁰⁵ A publication entitled *Przyszła Polska – państwem narodowym* announced that the ghettos would be retained.²⁰⁶

Limiting the influence of the Jewish minority was treated only as a half-measure. The ultimate goal was the total expulsion of Jews from Poland. While the mass assimilation of Slavic minorities and even individual assimilation of Germans was to be permitted, it was written about the Jews that “we must get rid of [them – J.T.] without exception, as an alien element, absolutely hostile and unable to assimilate.”²⁰⁷ *Załoga* added even more pointedly: “We will chase the Jew away from us. Let him live where he wants [...]. Only, God forbid, [not] with us.”²⁰⁸ Before the war, nationalists generally did not bother about the conditions of emigration (“‘20 groszy in the teeth and then a kick...’ And then off you go!”),²⁰⁹ but they now emphasised “the possibility of the peaceful and humanitarian liquidation

²⁰⁰ *Robotnik w Polsce po wojnie. Materiały dyskusyjne dla zespołów Załogi*, n.p., n.d., p. 8.

²⁰¹ ‘Walczyliśmy o Katolickie Państwo Narodu Polskiego’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 5; cf. Bracia Budzisz, *Jaką Polskę mieć chcemy...*, p. 4.

²⁰² P. Straża, *Piastowy szlak...*, p. 24.

²⁰³ ‘Przekleństwo tolerancji’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 5.

²⁰⁴ ‘Z prasy polskiej’, *Szaniec* 1942, no. 4; see also ‘Dość eksperymentów’, *Wielka Polska* 1941, no. 1; ‘Żydzi w Polsce’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 43; ‘Na drodze do Wielkiej Polski’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 5; ‘Gdy nadejdzie chwila walki – pamiętajmy’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 15.

²⁰⁵ ‘Słowa... słowa... słowa...’, *Praca i Walka* 1942, no. 4; ‘Najważniejszy cel’, *Praca i Walka* 1944, no. 4; ‘Myśli socjalistyczne...’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 21; ‘Ludzie z Tworek’, *Szaniec* 1942, no. 3; ‘W sprawie deklaracji tzw. “Reprezentacji Politycznej”’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 36; ‘Masoneria działa’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 3.

²⁰⁶ ‘Notujemy...’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 12.

²⁰⁷ ‘Jak w mądrym Rzymie’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 3; cf. Bracia Budzisz, *Jaką Polskę mieć chcemy...*, p. 6; P. Straża, *Piastowy szlak...*, p. 24; ‘Mędrzy czy paralitycy?’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 8.

²⁰⁸ ‘Polska – ojcowizna Żydów’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 1.

²⁰⁹ ‘Prowokują...’, *Zwycięstwo* 1934, no. 12–13.

of their [Jewish – J.T.] property in Europe and the creation of a state for them in areas not yet populated.”²¹⁰

However, there was a certain discrepancy on this issue within the NSZ. In 1942, *Szaniec* declared: “We are even ready [...] to give, as in England, full civic rights to Jews, so that they would be in return reduced to English percentage standards.”²¹¹ The next year, however, *Szaniec* announced firmly that “Jews must [...] resign from all claims to it [Poland – J.T.], both those who mock, and those who pray for it.”²¹² On the other hand, *Wielka Polska*, which in 1941 claimed that the weakening of Jewish influence in the West “gives us a lot of freedom in solving the Jewish question [...] in Poland,”²¹³ revised that assessment of the situation at the end of the war. They considered the Jewish question a “situational issue” due to pressure from the Allies, and suggested that the position could be mitigated, declaring that “we can sometimes recognise the compulsion of the situation.”²¹⁴

A separate problem is the attitude of the NSZ circles to the Nazi genocide of the Jews. The publications of this camp did report – albeit sparingly and briefly – on the persecution of the Jewish population.²¹⁵ Initially, however, attempts were made to downplay and relativise the occupier’s anti-Jewish repressions. It was written that German restrictions are perhaps “unpleasant, but irrelevant to the Jews”²¹⁶, that the Jews under occupation feel “like fish in water”²¹⁷, and that they were satisfied with their life in the ghetto.²¹⁸ The collaboration of some of the Jewish population with Germans was strongly emphasised²¹⁹ (including cases when Jews

²¹⁰ ‘Niech odejdą’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 25; cf. “Jestem Polakiem” w “Reichu”, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 11.

²¹¹ ‘Za co’, *Szaniec* 1942, no. 4.

²¹² ‘Modły żydowskie’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1.

²¹³ ‘Anglia, Żydzi i Polska’, *Wielka Polska* 1941, no. 4.

²¹⁴ ‘Przekleństwo tolerancji’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 5.

²¹⁵ ‘Z Warszawy’, *Szaniec* 1940, no. 34; ‘Na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 8, 9, 18, 19, 23; ‘Rządy litewskie na terenach polskich’, *Szaniec* 1942, no. 4; ‘Na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej’, *Szaniec* 1942, no. 4; ‘W kraju’, *Wielka Polska* 1942, no. 11, 13; ‘...Ponieśli i wilka’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 12.

²¹⁶ ‘Żyd – żydem’, *Szaniec* 1940, no. 31–32.

²¹⁷ ‘Żydzi w Belgii’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 8.

²¹⁸ ‘Notujemy...’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 15.

²¹⁹ ‘Za murów ghetta’, *Biuletyn Centralny* 1943, no. 3; ‘Żyd – żydem’, *Szaniec* 1940, no. 31–32; ‘Dwa narody wybrane’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 4; ‘W kraju’, *Wielka Polska* 1942, no. 14; ‘Co piszą inni’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 29; ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 9–10; ‘Teror [sic] i panika’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 20.

handed people helping them over to the Germans).²²⁰ The *Judenrat* of Warsaw was portrayed as the “occupier’s passive tool, used to gradually [...] accustom the Jewish population to increasingly cruel [...] torments, finally culminating in a massacre carried out with the help of the so-called Jewish police.”²²¹ A “tacit German-Jewish settlement” was even suggested!²²² According to *Szaniec*, “Nazi anti-Semitism agrees to [...] carefully hidden compromises with Jewry,” as evidenced by the fact that “Jews are better provisioned by Germans than the Christian population”, and had a self-government and education.²²³ When reporting the persecution of Jews, it was sometimes added that “as always, Poles were primarily affected.”²²⁴ At the beginning of the occupation, NSZ circles were convinced that Poles were in a worse situation than Jews.²²⁵ In 1941, *Szaniec* proclaimed: “[...] there is a fundamental difference in the German attitude towards us and towards Jews. [...] Germans hate us [...], Jews [...] are just despised for their cowardice. [...] Hence, we have ghettos for Jews, and prisons, camps and executions for Poles.”²²⁶

Soon, however, the monstrosity of the Holocaust became so obvious that it could not be denied. *Szaniec* issue 1 from 1943 estimated the number of murdered Polish Jews at one million²²⁷; by issue 7 the estimate had already risen to two million²²⁸, and by issue 9 they stated that “the liquidation of the Jewish settlement in Poland as

²²⁰ ‘Na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 9.

²²¹ ‘Na ziemiach polskich’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 2. For cases of collaborations in ghettos see M. Arczyński, W. Balcerak, *Kryptonim Żegota. Z dziejów pomocy Żydom w Polsce 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1983, pp. 173–174; T. Bednarczyk, *Życie codzienne warszawskiego getta. Warszawskie getto i ludzie (1939–1945 i dalej)*, Warsaw 1995, pp. 230–237; T. Grosse, *Przeżyć! Obrona życia jako wartość podstawowa społeczności getta warszawskiego*, Warsaw 1998, pp. 46–50, 61–63, 66–71; C. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, Warsaw 1970, vol. 1, pp. 228–231. In turn, in 1943 the Jewish diaspora was accused of not believing Polish reports about the genocide of Polish Jews (‘Czerwoni volksdeutsche’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1).

²²² ‘Żyd – żydem...’, *Szaniec* 1940, no. 31–32.

²²³ ‘Kronika łódzka’, *Szaniec* 1940, no. 34.

²²⁴ ‘Lublin ciągle cierpi’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 5.

²²⁵ This conviction was initially widespread in Polish society. Bartoszewski recalled: “At first, there was a view in Polish society that the future for the Jews was already foretold, but a worse fate awaited the Poles. [...] Impressions of German policy indicated this, because before the ghettos’ annihilation, the AB Operation took place. Poles caught in roundups were sent to Auschwitz, and Jews caught in street roundups were not sent to Auschwitz. What a paradox: the Jewish armlet with the star protected [wearers] from street roundups!” (W. Bartoszewski, *O Żegocie...*, p. 48).

²²⁶ ‘Żle, głupio i podle’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 9; cf. ‘Na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej’, *Szaniec* 1942, no. 2.

²²⁷ ‘Gen. Sikorski o prześladowaniach w Polsce’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1.

²²⁸ ‘Tak, to prawda’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 7.

a result of the activities of Hitlerite henchmen is coming to an end.”²²⁹ The genocide of the Jewish population was condemned in the most explicit words – ‘horror,’ ‘monstrosity,’ ‘bestial,’ ‘sadistic,’ ‘animal’ – such terms were used by the press linked to the NSZ.²³⁰ *Wielka Polska* added that “the German methods of fighting Jews are so hideous that there are no words in Polish to stigmatise them.”²³¹ Any cooperation with Germans against the Jews was openly condemned,²³² and the participation of Poles in anti-Jewish activities by the Nazi occupier “should be boycotted” and “would be regarded as national treason.”²³³ As early as 1940, *Szaniec* disassociated itself from the so-called Easter pogrom, calling it the work of Germans at the hands of “social mud [...] under the leadership of the *Volksdeutsche*.”²³⁴ *Biuletyn Centralny* reprinted the ‘Ostrzeżenie’ (‘Warning’) of *Kierownictwo Walki Cywilnej Armii Krajowej* (the Civil Resistance Leadership of the Home Army, KWC AK), threatening blackmailers (*szmalcownicy*) with death.²³⁵ *Praca i Walka* criticised the blackmailing of Jews in hiding as a manifestation of general demoralisation²³⁶, and added that “our youth will not break windows in Jewish stores. [...] Breaking windows is not a policy.”²³⁷

Nevertheless, as Zbigniew Siemaszko noted, while the Nazis’ activities were condemned, the results they obtained were approved of: the removal of Jews from Poland (although emigration was preferred to extermination).²³⁸ *Wielka Polska* declared that “while strongly condemning the inhumane methods of liquidating

²²⁹ ‘Dzisiejsze tło sprawy ukraińskiej’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 9; see also ‘Warszawa’, *Biuletyn Centralny* 1943, no. 4; ‘Na ziemiach polskich’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 2; ‘Opanować nerwy!’ *Szaniec* 1943, no. 3; ‘Orędzie biskupa Radońskiego’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 3; ‘Na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 6; ‘Likwidacja ghetta w Warszawie’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 8; ‘Majdanek’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 15; ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 23, 41; ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 9–10; ‘Na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej’, *Załoga* 1943, no. 9.

²³⁰ ‘Wymordowanie Żydów we Lwowie’, *Biuletyn Centralny* 1943, no. 1.

²³¹ ‘Trójkąt wrogów pęka’, *Wielka Polska* 1942, no. 11; cf. S. Bębenek, ‘Wizja przyszłej Polski w programie grupy “Szaniec”, *Przegląd Historyczny* 1973, no. 1, pp. 117–131.

²³² ‘Niemieckie próby porozumienia się z Polską’, *Załoga* 1942, no. 7.

²³³ ‘Komunikat w sprawie zaciągu do “straży obozowej” baraków żydowskich’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 8.

²³⁴ W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, p. 242.

²³⁵ ‘Ostrzeżenie’, *Biuletyn Centralny* 1943, no. 3. However, as Bartoszewski noted, this was not found in other NSZ periodicals (W. Bartoszewski, *O Żegocie...*, p. 85).

²³⁶ ‘Rozmyślania’, *Praca i Walka* 1944, no. 6.

²³⁷ ‘Polityka młodych’, *Praca i Walka* 1944, no. 6.

²³⁸ Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, p. 82. Siemaszko draws attention to the fact that Kazimierz Gluziński silently omitted the Jewish question in his post-war study on *Służba Cywilna Narodu* (the Civil Service of the Nation).

Jews, which is the mere murder of defenceless civilians, we must state that the very fact of the disappearance of Jews from this territory is a significantly fortunate phenomenon for our nation.”²³⁹ Szczepan Runiewicz explained: “The Jews in Poland were murdered by Germans in a horrible manner [...]. In face of the terrible slaughter carried out in a perfidious and thought-out way by the Hitlerite henchmen with Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Latvians as accomplices, the soul of every Pole shuddered. But what could we do to prevent them from doing it, and did we have a chance to defend the Jews? Everyone who knows the enormity of the German terror towards Poles knows that this was physically impossible. The number of Polish victims murdered until now, and still likely to be murdered, is not much lower than the number of Jews killed.”²⁴⁰

Thus, there were warnings that “feeling of pity [towards Jews – J.T.] could cause [...] Poland’s interests to be forgotten”²⁴¹, and other underground centres – the left, Catholic circles, *Biuletyn Informacyjny* – were criticised for, in the opinion of the nationalists, their excessive involvement in the Jewish question.²⁴²

The NSZ circle postulated that a neutral approach to the German-Jewish conflict should be maintained. By proclaiming the total separation of Polish and Jewish interests, it was believed that “Jews die only on their account, as they are Jews, and not for Polish citizenship.”²⁴³ Then the appeal stated: “We do not interfere in how the two ‘chosen nations’, [...] Jewish and German, settle accounts between themselves.”²⁴⁴ Jews were accused of “hating Poles more than Germans [...] because [they were convinced that – J.T.] it was our duty to defend them against the Germans, although we would have to die doing so.”²⁴⁵

²³⁹ ‘Zmiany w strukturze społeczno-gospodarczej’, *Wielka Polska* 1944, no. 6; cf. *Na drodze do Wielkiej Polski*, n.p., 1943, p. 7.

²⁴⁰ S. Runiewicz, *Awiatyzacja świata i jej wpływ na politykę, strategię i gospodarstwo*, Warsaw 1943, pp. 80–81.

²⁴¹ ‘Trójkąt wrogów pęka’, *Wielka Polska* 1942, no. 11.

²⁴² ‘Na marginesie’, *Praca i Walka* 1944, no. 7–8; ‘Przegląd prasy polskiej’, *Szaniec* 1940, no. 47; ‘Notujemy...’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 12; ‘Żydzi bronili Warszawy’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 24; ‘Robak w korzeniu’, *Zaloga* 1943, no. 20.

²⁴³ ‘Polska – ojcowizna Żydów’, *Zaloga* 1943, no. 1; ‘Modły żydowskie’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1.

²⁴⁴ ‘Żydowskość komuny bez maski’, *Zaloga* 1942, no. 5; see also ‘Niemcy a Żydzi’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 24; ‘Nota ministra Raczyńskiego w sprawie Żydów’, *Szaniec* 1943, no. 1.

²⁴⁵ ‘Żydzi w Polsce’, *Wielka Polska* 1943, no. 43; cf. ‘Notujemy...’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 15. It was also added that “some Berliners believe [...] that Jews were slaughtered by Poles” (‘Propaganda dla idiotów’, *Zaloga* 1943, no. 7). Interestingly, similar statements appeared in the famous ‘Protest’ by

Interestingly, the nationalists did not remain consistent in their indifference. Although this article deals with the Jewish question in the ideology and propaganda of the National Camp, it is also worth highlighting the problem of how these ideas were reflected in practice. Krzysztof Komorowski quotes Tadeusz Bór-Komorowski's report stating that the SL politicians "expressed reservations, arguing that the NSZ troops had cooperated with the Germans in the fight against the Communists, and exterminated Jews"; however, he also states that "during his many years of studying the Underground, the author did not find any confirmation of the murder of the Jewish people in the sources. On the other hand, the GL/AL units in which Jews served, or Jewish forest groups pretending to be GL/AL units, often fell victim to the NSZ."²⁴⁶

Wojciech Muszyński mentions that some ONR members helped Jews (some of whom were even recognised as the Righteous Among the Nations): Jan Mosdorf, Edward Kemnitz, Mirosław Ostromeński, Janusz Regulski, Stanisław Nakoniecznikow, Felicjan Loth, Sławomir Modzelewski and Roman Skiba. Muszyński also mentions the assistance provided to Jewish colleagues by the Bar Associations in Warsaw and Cracow, in which the ONR had great influence.²⁴⁷ Sebastian Bojemski mentions a little-known case of a group of Jews admitted to an NSZ unit during the Warsaw Rising.²⁴⁸ It seems reasonable to say that humanitarian

Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, who initiated institutional assistance for the Jews: "[...] we realise that they [Jews – J.T.] hate us more than the Germans, that they make us responsible for their misfortune. [...] In the stubborn silence of international Jewry, in the German propaganda efforts now trying to cast the odium for the slaughter of Jews upon Lithuanians and... Poles, we feel a hostile action against us is being planned" (quoted after W. Bartoszewski, *O Żegocie...*, p. 63).

²⁴⁶ K. Komorowski, *Polityka i walka...*, pp. 420, 480. As Bartoszewski commented, "as long as groups of partisans fight against each other [...], this is not anti-Semitism [...], but a political issue. [...] However, when it becomes difficult to join a partisan unit due to origin or religion [...], it only determines the situation without a solution" (W. Bartoszewski, *O Żegocie...*, pp. 160–161).

²⁴⁷ W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 242–243; cf. W. Marcinkowski 'Jaxa', *Wspomnienia...*, pp. 108–110; M. Kotas, *Jan Mosdorf. Filozof, ideolog, polityk*, Krzeszowice 2007, pp. 77–79; *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej. Polacy z pomocą Żydom 1939–1945*, ed. W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna, Cracow 1969, pp. 90–91, 116–117, 670.

²⁴⁸ S. Bojemski, 'Polscy narodowcy a Żydzi: praktyka dnia codziennego w czasie okupacji niemieckiej na przykładzie żołnierzy NSZ' in *Złote serca czy złote żniwa. Studia nad wojennymi losami Polaków i Żydów*, ed. M.J. Chodakiewicz, W.J. Muszyński, Warsaw 2011, pp. 353–378; S. Bojemski, 'Sprawiedliwi wśród narodowców Polski', *Frona* 2001, no. 25–26, pp. 336–337. It is also noteworthy that the printing house of *Szaniec* was located in a building where Jews were hiding at the same time ('Od redakcji', *Szaniec* 1943, no. 4).

reflexes gained primacy over ideology here, although they did not have the strength (or maybe time) to modify their approach.²⁴⁹

As Szymon Rudnicki noted, “as the Holocaust progressed, this question [the Jewish question – J.T.] lost its significance, and after the Uprising [in the Warsaw Ghetto – J.T.] it moved to the background.”²⁵⁰ During the Warsaw Rising, Jewish topics completely disappeared from *Szaniec*. This could be explained by the focus on the current struggle, but references to Jews did not appear even in passages where they had previously been obligatory, i.e. in writings regarding the Communist threat. This, of course, did not mean they had changed their views on the Jewish question, but was rather a sign of priorities shifting.

Artur Paszko is convinced that the anti-Semitism of the *Szaniec* Group intensified during the occupation.²⁵¹ Wojciech Muszyński is of the opposite opinion, claiming that “the crimes committed by the occupier against the Jewish population meant that anti-Jewish threads disappeared as the primary topic of OP and ONR propaganda.”²⁵² One can agree that the intensity (and above all the frequency) of anti-Semitism decreased compared to the pre-war period, but this resulted less from a loosening of ideological assumptions than from bringing the fight against Nazi occupier to the fore.

The National Party ('Kwadrat')

Stronnictwo Narodowe (the National Party, SN), led by the Main Directorate, participated in the structures of the Polish Underground State, which led to it assuming a more moderate position. However, the need to compete with the radical groups of the National Camp limited the 'Kwadrat's room for manoeuvre. This is

²⁴⁹ This thesis would be documented by the claim expressed in the memoirs of nationalists that they revised their attitude towards anti-Semitism during the World War II. Maria Rutkowska-Kurcyszowa wrote: “The course of events during the occupation set anti-Semitism in the proper light. [...] it took such monstrous proportions of evil to show everyone how much danger lies in the affirmation of the features of the *Übermensch*” (M. Rutkowska-Kurcyszowa, *Kamyki Dawida. Wspomnienia*, Katowice 2005, p. 45; cf. T. Boguszewski, ‘Rozłam’, *Zeszyty do Historii Narodowych Sił Zbrojnych* 1961, vol. 1, issue 1, p. 18–21).

²⁵⁰ S. Rudnicki, ‘Mogą żyć, byle nie u nas... Propaganda NSZ wobec Żydów’, *Więź* 2006, no. 4, p. 99.

²⁵¹ A. Paszko, *O katolickie państwo...*, p. 280.

²⁵² W.J. Muszyński, *Duch młodych...*, pp. 241, 232.

why their ideological and political differences were poorly expressed; these came in nuances, understatements and a different distribution of emphases.

The nationalists from 'Kwadrat' emphasised their loyalty to the traditional SN's program on the Jewish question.²⁵³ "Our attitude towards Jews remains unchanged. It was always shaped according to their position towards the Polish Nation and State," *Walka* declared in 1943.²⁵⁴ In another issue, the periodical added: "We will not renounce the economic and political struggle against Jewry, we are not touched by the crocodile tears of Jewish financiers and politicians preparing to impose their power on us."²⁵⁵ The party's propaganda was infused with anti-Semitic accents²⁵⁶, although the intensity seemed to be weaker than in the NSZ-related press. After the war, Jędrzej Giertych openly admitted that "the Polish national movement was an anti-Jewish movement; moreover, it was the main anti-Jewish movement in Poland," and was even convinced that "Hitlerism and Fascism [...] had [...] a strong kernel of truth. That kernel of truth was [...] the criticism [...], among others [...], of the role of the Jewish community."²⁵⁷

However, the contemporary propaganda of the National Camp, did not refer to apocalyptic historical and philosophical visions of the eternal struggles of Jewry and Christianity, but focused on current issues.²⁵⁸ The idea of 'Judaeo-Communism' which came to predominate from 1936 took form in the charge of collaboration with the Soviet occupier.²⁵⁹ *Walka* published an interview with a former NKVD

²⁵³ See also T. Baryka, A. Jurand, *Prawdy historyczne*, Warsaw 1944, pp. 4–8; 'Przedwczesni i niepowolani spadkobiercy', *Walka* 1944, no. 17. In 1941, the SN press included the 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion' [*Protokoły [sic] Mędrców Syjonu*] among the recommended readings ('Polecamy wydawnictwa', *Walka* 1941, no. 47).

²⁵⁴ 'WRN-owi w odpowiedzi', *Walka* 1943, no. 37.

²⁵⁵ 'Niebezpieczeństwo pozornego rozwiązania', *Walka* 1943, no. 28.

²⁵⁶ 'Kompleks niewoli', *Walka* 1940, no. 14; 'Żydowska gra bez atutu', *Walka* 1942, no. 11; 'Histeria', *Walka* 1942, no. 41; 'Sojusznicy', *Walka* 1943, no. 13; 'Uprzykrzone Stronnictwo', *Walka* 1944, no. 19; 'Zwiastuny inwazji', *Walka* 1944, no. 19; 'Ocena przeciwnika', *Żołnierz Wielkiej Polski* [supplement of *Walka* 1944, no. 5]. Typically, intellectuals of Jewish origin were denied Polishness, for example Tuwim, Hemar and Słonimski ('Polscy intelektualści na diasporze', *Walka* 1944, no. 25).

²⁵⁷ J. Giertych, *Nacjonalizm chrześcijański*, Krzeszowice 2004, pp. 28, 50.

²⁵⁸ For example, there were publications about Jewish desertions and denunciations ('Bez komentarzy', *Walka* 1943, no. 13; 'Skazani', *Walka* 1943, no. 14; 'Zwiastuny inwazji', *Walka* 1944, no. 19; '21 czy 4495?', *Żołnierz Wielkiej Polski* [supplement to *Walka* 1944, no. 27]). The economic dimension of Polish-Jewish antagonism was mentioned relatively rarely.

²⁵⁹ 'Sowietyzacja naszych ziem wschodnich', *Walka* 1940, no. 14; 'Białoruś... na Mazowszu', *Walka* 1940, no. 25; 'Granice Polski', *Walka* 1940, no. 32; 'W Łomży niewielkie zmiany', *Walka* 1941, no. 44; 'Z miasta Orląt', *Walka* 1942, no. 42; 'Między Wisłą a Bugiem', *Walka* 1943, no. 29; 'Poznać – to zwyciężyć', *Walka* 1943, no. 37.

prisoner who said that “Bolshevik occupation opened the eyes of many Poles. [...] [Jews – J.T.] enthusiastically welcomed the Bolsheviks, took all major positions in the administration. They are solely responsible for the mass deportations, arrests and executions of Poles [...]. Hatred of Jews is widespread, and the settlements will be bloody.”²⁶⁰

Jews also allegedly constituted a Communist fifth column under German occupation. “Jews appeared to be the most ardent agents of Moscow”²⁶¹ *Walka* wrote, adding that “Bolshevik ‘Polish patriots’ are mostly pretended by ‘Poles with payots [sidelocks].”²⁶² The Communist underground was referred to as “Communist-Jewish gangs”²⁶³ that plunder the Polish population²⁶⁴ and provoke German repression.²⁶⁵ Zygmunt Berling’s army (he was, of course, considered a Jew) apparently had a Jewish command.²⁶⁶

According to the SN press, Jews also dominated the Soviet Union and the global Communist movement.²⁶⁷ However, new accents appeared here, and something more was seen in Bolshevism than being merely a Jewish tool. In one of its articles, *Walka* divided the expansion of the USSR into prime factors, distinguishing between Russian imperialism, Communism and “Jewish policy.”²⁶⁸

Unlike the ONR circle, criticism of the ‘masonic’ and Jewish influences in Western democracies appeared only marginally (although sporadic criticism of Jewish pacifism²⁶⁹ or “grovelling before the great capitalist Jewish financier”²⁷⁰ should be noted).

²⁶⁰ ‘W więzieniu sowieckim’, *Walka* 1941, no. 34.

²⁶¹ See *Walka* 1944, no. 11.

²⁶² ‘Hultajska trójka’, *Walka* 1944, no. 19.

²⁶³ ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Walka* 1944, no. 7; cf. ‘Nowe dywersje komunistyczne’, *Walka* 1943, no. 33; ‘Jedna Armia Ludowa o dwóch obliczach’, *Walka* 1943, no. 36.

²⁶⁴ ‘Komunizm w walce o armię’, *Walka* 1943, no. 35; ‘Kontyngenty’, *Walka* 1943, no. 32.

²⁶⁵ ‘Między Wisłą a Bugiem’, *Walka* 1943, no. 29.

²⁶⁶ ‘Przed próbą ostateczną’, *Walka* 1944, no. 1; ‘Zdrajców pod sąd’, *Walka* 1944, no. 22; ‘Wesele córki zdrajcy’, *Walka* 1944, no. 25.

²⁶⁷ “Na białe niedźwiedzie”, *Walka* 1941, no. 29; ‘Ghetto’, *Walka* 1941, no. 49; ‘Historia uczy’, *Walka* 1942, no. 42; ‘Hitleryzm i komunizm’, *Walka* 1943, no. 15–16.

²⁶⁸ ‘Tajemnice czerwonej Moskwy’, *Walka* 1940, no. 13; cf. ‘Zagadnienie rosyjskie’, *Walka* 1942, no. 22. Articles were also written about Communism which did not mention the Jews – something previously unheard of (‘Dyplomacja i rewolucja’, *Walka* 1940, no. 33).

²⁶⁹ ‘Postawa, która daje wielkość’, *Walka* 1940, no. 11; ‘Tragedia Francji’, *Walka* 1942, no. 45; ‘Francja wraca do grona narodów walczących’, *Walka* 1942, no. 48.

²⁷⁰ ‘Zwiastuny inwazji’, *Walka* 1944, no. 19.

Aversion to Jews meant that during the early stages of the occupation the SN press did not want to see the unprecedented nature of the Jewish tragedy. Jews were accused of lacking solidarity with Poles: “Jewry in Poland under German occupation [...] promotes submission and adaptation.”²⁷¹ It was believed that the German occupier were allowing “Jews [to] lead a bearable life.”²⁷² The existence of autonomous Jewish institutions was emphasised,²⁷³ and rumours were repeated about a German plan to create a “Lublinland.”²⁷⁴ It was reported that “Jews are privileged by anti-Semitic German racists,” suggesting that they should become the “support of Nazi rule” in Poland.²⁷⁵ As early as in 1942, *Walka* claimed that “behind the barbed wires of the Łódź ghetto [...], Jews suffer from hunger, dirt and misery. [...] But they have relative peace.”²⁷⁶

Later, however, it became impossible to ignore the martyrdom of the Jewish population. The dramatic living conditions in the ghettos drew attention (“there is misery, hunger and disease”)²⁷⁷, although the stratification into a luxuriant bourgeoisie and an emaciated proletariat was also emphasised.²⁷⁸ As time passed, *Walka* published increasingly dramatic reports: after the closure of the ghettos, the systematic mass murders began.²⁷⁹ In 1944, *Kwadrat’s* periodical had to admit

²⁷¹ “Niech żyje przyszłość”, *Walka* 1940, no. 22; cf. ‘Żydzi wobec Niemców i Polaków’, *Walka* 1940, no. 18.

²⁷² ‘Za Bugiem – niemieckie porządki’, *Walka* 1941, no. 39; cf. ‘U stóp Jasnej Góry’, *Walka* 1941, no. 37.

²⁷³ “Gazeta Żydowska”, *Walka* 1940, no. 17; ‘Ghetto’, *Walka* 1941, no. 49.

²⁷⁴ ‘Rezerwat dla Żydów w Lubelszczyźnie’, *Walka* 1940, no. 28; cf. E. Gigilewicz, *Lublinland – państwo żydowskie w planach III Rzeszy*, Radom 2004; M. Gilbert, *Atlas historii Żydów*, Kryspinów, n.d., pp. 98–99; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 13 (Lif-Mek), Detroit – New York – San Francisco – London 2007, p. 244.

²⁷⁵ ‘Gubernia Generalna – Paradisus Judaeorum’, *Walka* 1940, no. 10; cf. ‘Niszczenie kulturalne Polski’, *Walka* 1940, no. 19.

²⁷⁶ ‘Łódź krzepnie w walce’, *Walka* 1942, no. 6.

²⁷⁷ ‘Wiadomości z Łodzi’, *Walka* 1940, no. 32.

²⁷⁸ ‘Ghetto’, *Walka* 1941, no. 49.

²⁷⁹ ‘Represje w Częstochowie’, *Walka* 1940, no. 24; ‘Zamknięcie ghetta’, *Walka* 1940, no. 33; ‘Swastyka nad Wilnem’, *Walka* 1941, no. 34; ‘Walka z zebrzącymi żydziakami’, *Walka* 1941, no. 41; ‘Z COP-u’, *Walka* 1942, no. 9; ‘Dalsze pogromy Żydów w Lubelskim’, *Walka* 1942, no. 16; ‘Z kraju’, *Walka* 1942, no. 20, 25; “Sojusznicze bomby”, *Walka* 1942, no. 32; ‘Wrześniowe gwiazdy’, *Walka* 1942, no. 34; ‘Granatowe kanalie’, *Walka* 1942, no. 36; ‘Na brunatnej taśmie’, *Walka* 1942, no. 38; ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Walka* 1943, no. 17, 18; ‘Nikczemna zbrodnia i ponura obłuda’, *Walka* 1943, no. 32; ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Walka* 1943, no. 35; ‘Z Warszawy’, *Walka* 1943, no. 42; ‘Korespondencja z Lubelskiego’, *Walka* 1943, no. 52; ‘Terror w Warszawie’, *Walka* 1943, no. 53; ‘Wiadomości z kraju’, *Walka* 1944, no. 3, 23. It should be noted that there was more information about the genocide of Jews in *Walka* than in the NSZ press.

that Poles were “the nation most hated – after the Jews [emphasis – J.T.] – by the Germans.”²⁸⁰

The SN clearly distanced itself from the Nazi genocide. As early as in 1940, *Walka* announced: “Germany will never be able to engage the Poles in active cooperation against Jews because this is our own matter, with which we can deal in a proper way.”²⁸¹ In 1942, *Walka* further declared: “Regardless of any position of the Polish nation concerning the Jewish people [...] – we emphasise our profound abomination of similar mass actions” (i.e. executions).²⁸² A year later, the magazine reported that “we are not indifferent to the Jews’ torment. [...] a human being dies, and dies in an incredibly cruel way – a human being who, even though a parasite in our land, has the right to live and has the potential for moral growth.”²⁸³

In 1944, *Walka* reprinted an appeal from *Krajowa Reprezentacja Polityczna* (the National Political Representation, a joint commission of Polish underground political parties) entitled ‘Do narodów świata’ (To the nations of the world), which stated that the genocide of the Jews “eclipsed in its cruelty the grimdest legends of ancient times.”²⁸⁴ However, this did not mean a revision of the party’s essential political stance.²⁸⁵ “We condemn the bestiality of the Hitlerite thugs with full emphasis,” *Walka* wrote, “but we do not renounce our economic and political struggle against Jewry.”²⁸⁶ Jews were not treated as a part of the Polish nation, but as a different nation with completely different purposes: “Jews are fighting Hitlerism on their own account [...]. We don’t care about the Jewish-German fight. We cannot go [...] either with Germany against the Jews or with the Jews against Germany.”²⁸⁷

The ‘Kwadrat’ press explained that, although Germany was the common enemy of Poles and Jews, the Jews were the allies of another enemy of Poland – the Soviet Union.²⁸⁸ That was the reason why, in the face of the Polish people’s wartime

²⁸⁰ ‘Chwile ostatnie’, *Walka* 1944, no. 13.

²⁸¹ ‘Linia generalna i jej konsekwencje’, *Walka* 1940, no. 18.

²⁸² ‘Fachowcy przy robocie’, *Walka* 1942, no. 28.

²⁸³ ‘Człowiek i idea’, *Walka* 1943, no. 46.

²⁸⁴ ‘Do Narodów Świata’, *Walka* 1944, no. 5.

²⁸⁵ ‘Dmowski w oczach wrogów’, *Walka* 1942, no. 44.

²⁸⁶ ‘Niebezpieczeństwo pozornego rozwiązania’, *Walka* 1943, no. 28.

²⁸⁷ ‘Linia generalna i jej konsekwencje’, *Walka* 1940, no. 18.

²⁸⁸ ‘Myślimy o całości Polski’, *Walka* 1940, no. 34.

tragedy, “we cannot despair now when the grim Jewish massacre takes place.”²⁸⁹ Even compassion for the fate of the Jewish population could be combined with contempt!²⁹⁰ The SN was afraid that after the war “Jews would undoubtedly try to return to their tenement houses, shops, brokering and businesses: ‘Our’ poets, Tuwim, Słonimski and others, would surely be happy [...] still to shoot, in Polish holiness, the bullets of Jewish cynicism from behind the fence”²⁹¹, which is why the SN planned to “deprive the Jews of a material base and political and propaganda influence.”²⁹² The SN’s ‘Tezy generalne programu wsi i rolnictwa’ (General theses of the rural and agricultural programme) of 1944 pointed out that “the overwhelming influence of Jews and of international factors [...] led to the degeneration of the country’s economic relations.”²⁹³ After all, the war had “eliminated the main mass of the Jewish element,”²⁹⁴ Poles had taken their places in trade and services, and the aim of the nationalists was to consolidate this state of affairs.²⁹⁵ The Jewish problem was considered to have essentially been solved by the Germans; typically, *Walka* did not mention anything about Jewish property when announcing the confiscation of German property.²⁹⁶

The ‘Kwadrat’ programme upheld the demand to establish a nation-state: “our homeland is the exclusive property of Poles.”²⁹⁷ The slogan ‘Poland for the Poles’, which had followed the national movement from its beginning, was now justified by the disloyalty of the national minorities: “There are [...] no grounds for those who live on the territory of the Polish state [...] such as immigrants, like Germans and Jews, [...] to be able, because of their residence alone, to determine the fate of the state of which [...], in the vast majority, they were [...] determined enemies.”²⁹⁸ However, there were some hesitations. In 1943, *Walka* published a surprising statement, motivated

²⁸⁹ ‘Histeria’, *Walka* 1942, no. 41.

²⁹⁰ For example: “We saw, above all, the tragedy of a nation too cowardly to fight a war, and suffering cruel torments perhaps just for its cowardice” (‘Zwiastuny inwazji’, *Walka* 1944, no. 19).

²⁹¹ *Wizje Polski...*, p. 209.

²⁹² ‘Niebezpieczeństwo pozornego rozwiązania’, *Walka* 1943, no. 28.

²⁹³ *Wizje Polski...*, p. 398. There were also self-critical accents: “It would be [...] a great mistake to [...] blame the Jews for everything” (‘Handel na wsi’, *Walka* 1942, no. 27).

²⁹⁴ ‘O narodowy program gospodarczy’, *Walka* 1944, no. 8.

²⁹⁵ ‘Handel na wsi’, *Walka* 1942, no. 27.

²⁹⁶ ‘Gospodarcze cele wojny’, *Walka* 1942, no. 1.

²⁹⁷ *Wizje Polski...*, p. 210.

²⁹⁸ *Ibidem.*

by the need for an inter-party compromise: “It is the will of the nation that national minorities [...] have the same rights as the Polish population if they [...] meet the state’s obligations.”²⁹⁹ There were also declarations to refrain from violence towards Jews (reserving its use only if an attempt to trigger an armed revolution occurred).³⁰⁰ The solution of the Jewish question was seen in emigration. Tadeusz Baryka wrote: “We see [...] that there are no significant obstacles to the mass emigration of Jews from Poland. Of course, they won’t do it voluntarily. After the war, we need to create such living conditions that they will apply to leave Poland by themselves.”³⁰¹

Nevertheless, the tone of expression was changing. In 1943, it was stated harshly that “Jews and Germans [...] have deprived themselves once and for all of any place [...] within our country.”³⁰² A year later, the ‘population regrouping system’ was mentioned only for “all Germans and Ukrainians,” with no mention of Jews (perhaps because after the Holocaust the issue was considered obsolete).³⁰³ *Walka* saw the solution of the Jewish question not only in the creation of a Jewish state but also – as perhaps the only nationalist group in occupied Poland – noted the convergence of such plans with the goals of the Zionist-revisionists.³⁰⁴

The most far-reaching reorientation can be seen in the *émigré* SN structures, whose views were expressed in *Mysł Polska*. This can undoubtedly be explained by the pressure from the liberal-democratic environment in Britain, but it should be noted that not all groups of nationalists yielded to such pressure (e.g. the circle connected with the *Jestem Polakiem* weekly).³⁰⁵ The position of *Mysł Polska* could hardly be called philo-Semitic. The periodic maintained the dogma that the Polish and Jewish nations (and further, their interests) should be separated.³⁰⁶ Emphasising that “in the General Governorate, almost the entire Jewish element, which had an absolute majority in this part of the country before the war, was eliminated,”

²⁹⁹ ‘W czwartym roku wojny’, *Walka* 1943, no. 33.

³⁰⁰ ‘Niebezpieczeństwo pozornego rozwiązania’, *Walka* 1943, no. 28.

³⁰¹ T. Baryka [T. Przewozowski], *Kwestia żydowska i masoneria w Polsce*, Warsaw 1942.

³⁰² *Wizje Polski...*, p. 210.

³⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 402.

³⁰⁴ ‘Układ angielsko-żydowski (?)’, *Walka* 1940, no. 16.

³⁰⁵ ‘Jestem Polakiem w “Reichu”’, *Szaniec* 1941, no. 11; Z.S. Siemaszko, *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne...*, p. 35; T. Sikorski, “Wyznajemy zasady...”, p. 19; K. Kaczmarek, ‘Próby “legalizacji” Obozu Narodowo-Radykalnego (Grupy “Szańca”) i wejścia jego przedstawicieli w struktury władz RP na wychodźstwie 1939–1941’, *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 2008, no. 1.

³⁰⁶ B. Zawisza, ‘Żydzi w Polsce’, *Mysł Polska* 1944, no. 79.

it announced that “a return to pre-war relations would not be possible here.”³⁰⁷ The dislike of Jews was apparent in several of its texts.³⁰⁸

Compared to the underground nationalist periodicals in occupied Poland, these accents were few, mitigated, and sometimes completely absent (even in themes where the Jewish motif had otherwise imposed itself, such as the Soviet occupation of Eastern Polish territories).³⁰⁹ An important innovation was the discontinuation of treating the Jewish community as a monolith.³¹⁰ The discrepancies among Jews about their own identity (national or religious groups) were noted, as was Jewish criticism of Zionism.³¹¹ The differences between Jewish political forces started to be recognised, and their assessment was differentiated. While the revolutionary Marxist *Bund* and the General Zionists were considered enemies (“a Jew using the money of a second Jew to send a third Jew to Palestine”), *Aguda* gained a positive assessment, as “representing moderate Jewry, adapting within the limits of their national and religious views to Polish statehood,” and Zionist-Revisionists were described as “striving [...] for a true Jewish state in Palestine, to where they want to direct significant masses of Jews [...] from Central and Eastern Europe.”³¹²

These assessments allowed for the search of Jewish partners in the pursuit of achieving the SN’s main postulate: the mass emigration of Jews from Poland. “We have always believed that the trouble with Jews results precisely from the fact [...] that Jews do not have their own state home,” *Mysł Polska* wrote in the context of American support for a Jewish state.³¹³ As a result, the publisher meticulously searched for all Jewish voices in favour of emigration to Palestine.³¹⁴ Moreover,

³⁰⁷ W. Lęgowski, ‘Przebudowa gospodarczo-społeczna Polski’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 28.

³⁰⁸ ‘Antysemityzm a czarny rynek’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 27; ‘Z amerykańskich zagadnień’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 35. Symptomatically, *Mysł Polska*, reprinting an English reportage containing the statement that “the Poles are attuned against the Jews in their feelings”, did not bother to deny it (‘W oczach Anglików’, *Mysł Polska* 1941, no. 7; cf. ‘Znamienny atak’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 22–23).

³⁰⁹ B. Łomżanin, ‘Społeczeństwo Ziem Zachodnich’, *Mysł Polska* 1941, no. 4; ‘Ziemie polskie pod okupacją sowiecką’, *Mysł Polska* 1941, no. 6.

³¹⁰ This previously absent diversity of opinions can be seen, for example, in a critical poetry review which assessed Julian Tuwim negatively (his poem was called “the falsest in tone”) but spoke favourably of Antoni Słonimski (J. Rembieniński, ‘Wiersze o Warszawie’, *Mysł Polska* 1941, no. 5).

³¹¹ ‘Z prasy żydowskiej’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 31.

³¹² ‘Cienie’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 19.

³¹³ ‘Żydowski “national home”’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 25–26.

³¹⁴ ‘Konieczność żydowskiej emigracji z Europy’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 19; ‘Przyszłość Żydów po wojnie’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 19; ‘Rewizjoniści’, *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 22–23; ‘O sprawiedliwość dla

while demanding the departure of the Jews from Poland, the *émigré* nationalists did not intend to use any other opportunities to get rid of their unwanted co-inhabitants. The fact that Polish Jews from the Eastern Borderlands were recognised by Soviet authorities as citizens of the USSR was seen by *Mysł Polska* as a long-term threat to Poland's sovereignty.³¹⁵ Anti-Communism prevailed here over anti-Semitism.³¹⁶ After the war, Jędrzej Giertych claimed: "Polish nationalists [...] stood without reservation in defence of the persecuted [Jews – J.T.]. [...] in the hour of historical trial; this [national – J.T.] movement was not tempted to take advantage of the situation created by Hitler's victories to apprehend the Jewish community in Poland with the brutality dictated by national egoism – and adopted a Christian attitude."³¹⁷ This simplification is undoubtedly too far-reaching, omitting many uncomfortable facts, but the change in position (or at least the confusion) was also noted by external observers. The report 'Sytuacja polityczna w Kraju' (The political situation in the country) prepared in June 1943 by OPW stated that "the SN experienced a strong ideological and organisational shock. The main pillars of this party's ideology – sympathy for Fascism, pro-Russian orientation and the 'Hitlerite' tone in the Jewish question – had collapsed."³¹⁸ Another document noted that "the SN, despite its anti-Semitism, has compassion for the fate of Jews regarding the methods of their destruction."³¹⁹

This compassion could be seen most clearly in the personal worldview and activities of particular nationalists. Jerzy J. Terej, a historian who had otherwise been critical of the National Camp, stated that "for many people, often throughout entire political circles, [...] even [...] under the spell of past nationalist slogans,

Żydów', *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 29; 'Wymowny rzecznik żydowskiej Palestyny', *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 32; 'Tragedia żydowska', *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 36.

³¹⁵ 'Z prasy żydowskiej', *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 31; 'Żydzi z Polski w Rosji', *Mysł Polska* 1942, no. 36.

³¹⁶ Needless to say, the Holocaust was condemned with even greater force. Describing "the terrible inhuman slaughter that the Germans are carrying out on the Jews," it was emphasised that "there are and there will be no Poles among these henchmen" (J. Rożdżański, 'Rzeź Żydów', *Mysł Polska* 1943, no. 39).

³¹⁷ J. Giertych, *Nacjonalizm...*, p. 52.

³¹⁸ S.J. Rostworowski, 'Sytuacja polityczna w Kraju w 1943 r.', *Dzieje Najnowsze* 2002, no. 3.

³¹⁹ 'Charakterystyka życia organizacyjnego na Ziem[ach] Zachodnich (przez Delegata RP)' [5 June 1941] in *Armia Krajowa w dokumentach 1939–1945*, vol. 6, London 1989, p. 190.

the occupier's genocidal activity triggered a sense of a moral obligation to assist the persecuted, and made it necessary to revise the views considered to be fundamental in the past."³²⁰ He explained that there was, "on the one hand, the conviction that in the face of the occupier [...] the stratification of the citizens of the Republic of Poland must not be allowed, even if a particular national group had previously been denied these civil rights. On the other hand [there was] the position that the Jewish question should be distinguished [...] from its human, current aspect."³²¹ In principle, it is possible to agree with Wojciech J. Muszyński, who described the anti-Jewish stance of nationalists during the occupation as "mainly theoretical".³²²

The SN did not participate in the structures of the *Żegota* Council for Aid to Jews.³²³ However, several nationalists did help Jewish fellow citizens personally, both members of the SN authorities (e.g. Tadeusz Mikułowski, the chairman of *Rada Wychowania Narodowego przy ZG SN*, the National Education Council of the SN's Main Directorate, and Jan Dobraczyński, a member of *Centralny Wydział Propagandy ZG SN*, the Central Department of Propaganda of the SN's Main Directorate), as well as field activists associated with the national movement (e.g. Marcei Godlewski and Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak³²⁴).

It seems that the nationalists' attitude to the Jewish fate is best reflected by this quote: "one can [...] see them as enemies of our culture, our economic independence [...], and at the same time sympathise with the miseries of the defenceless [...], murdered brutally by the hands of fellow believers, and then by Ukrainians or Latvians."³²⁵

³²⁰ J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 229. This revision concerned, among others, one of the leading nationalist intellectuals, Adolf Nowaczyński (M. Domagalska, *Antysemityzm dla inteligencji? Kwestia żydowska w publicystyce Adolfa Nowaczyńskiego na łamach "Myśli Narodowej" (1921–1934) i "Prosto z mostu" (1935–1939) (na tle porównawczym)*, Warsaw 2004, p. 245).

³²¹ J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 230.

³²² W.J. Muszyński, 'Polscy narodowcy: antyżydowskość głównie teoretyczna' in *Złote serca czy złote żniwa...*, pp. 319ff.

³²³ J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 231.

³²⁴ W. Bartoszewski, *O Żegocie...*, pp. 93, 169. W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej...*, pp. 147–149, 817–818; J.J. Terej, *Rzeczywistość i polityka...*, p. 228; M. Klecel, 'Jan Dobraczyński – wielki pisarz, wielkie uwikłanie', *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 2007, no. 8–9; J. Rokicki, 'Ks. dr Stanisław Trzeciak (1873–1944). Szkic biograficzny', *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 1999, no. 2.

³²⁵ 'Zwiastuny inwazji', *Walka* 1944, no. 19.

Other Nationalist Groups

The minor nationalist formations represented the full spectrum of anti-Semitism, from extreme to relatively moderate.³²⁶ The spokesperson for the most belligerent variant were the united organisations of *Ruch Miecz i Pług* (the Sword & Plough Movement), which was only loosely associated with the National Camp. Members of Sword & Plough had the ambition to develop a new model of nationalism, different from the “decadent nationalism of National Democracy,” modelled on Mussolini’s “young, spontaneous Italian nationalism.”³²⁷

The movement belonged to the underground organisations most hostile to Jews.³²⁸ The periodical *Miecz i Pług* wrote “a Jew is a member of the Jewish people who [...] works [...] to gain power in a country that has recognised him as a citizen,” and “the interest of Jewry [...] almost always conflicts with the interest of the country in which they live.”³²⁹ It warned that Poland was threatened by “burdening us with Jews in the future” and “Jewish participation in government and economic slavery.”³³⁰ It rejected all “foreign or Jewish designs”³³¹, and went so far as to say that “if democracy consisted only in protecting Jewish interests, then [...] to hell with democracy.”³³² Sword & Plough members even criticised the Warsaw Ghetto insurgents for displaying the Polish flag, writing about this desperate manifestation of Polish patriotism (the circumstances of which ruled out opportunism) that it was “laughable, if not cynical.”³³³

³²⁶ Most of the groups discussed here belong to the ‘National Camp’ in the broader sense of the term (see remarks in footnote 1); apart from the *Ojczyzna* organisation, they had only an indirect connection to the structures and ideological traditions of National Democracy. Nevertheless, PONS can be treated as a splinter of the pre-war national movement, and the ideology of OPW was influenced by the former ZMN. The most problematic is the classification of the *Miecz i Pług* Movement, which was generally made up of people without prior political involvement, although ultimately this organisation found itself in the ranks of the NSZ.

³²⁷ ‘Jakim winien być polski nacjonalizm?’, *Miecz i Pług* 1940, no. 16.

³²⁸ WBBH, KB, III-76-1, Z. Witrowy, *Organizacja tzw. “Obozu Narodowego” Miecz i Pług. Referaty, recenzje, opracowania*, pp. 67–68; cf. e.g. ‘List Otwarty’, *Miecz i Pług* 1942, no. 17; ‘Kompleks Sruła Rubingartera’, *Młody Nurt*, 25 November 1943; “Wiadomości Literackie” i żydy w “camera obscura”... narodu’, *Młody Nurt* 1944, no. 14.

³²⁹ ‘Czy rzeczywiście rozbrat z demokracją?’, *Miecz i Pług* 1942, no. 16.

³³⁰ AAN, collection *Miecz i Pług* (hereinafter MiP), 208/4, ‘Polacy’ [leaflet], n.d., p. 5.

³³¹ *Ibidem*, ‘Dlaczego powstaliśmy’, p. 3.

³³² ‘Czy rzeczywiście rozbrat z demokracją?’, *Miecz i Pług* 1942, no. 16.

³³³ “Wojna” niemiecko-żydowska’, *Nurt Młodych* 1943, no. 4; cf. WBBH, KB, III-76-1, Z. Witrowy, *Organizacja tzw. “Obozu Narodowego” Miecz i Pług. Referaty, recenzje, opracowania*, pp. 67–68.

Miecz i Pług emphasised that “one of the main points of our programme [...] is the removal of Jews from Poland,” and announced that “the Jewish problem, if Hitler [...] does not do so first, [...] we will resolve in Poland forever.”³³⁴ “The removal of Jews by means of humanitarian methods”³³⁵ was foreseen, and the emigration was supposed to be forced by social boycott, the nationalisation of the economy and administration, retaining the ghetto (which was to be fenced!) and the deprivation of citizenship.³³⁶ However, even this organisation rejected extermination as a method of fighting Jews: “We do not approve the mass Hitlerite murders [...] of Jews”³³⁷ and “we leave Herodism and sadism to the Germans.”³³⁸

The extremism of Sword & Plough’s members most clearly manifested itself in the sphere of current politics. The danger of ‘Judaeo-Communism’ justified cooperation with Germany.³³⁹ Moreover, the Jewish influence also allegedly extended into the Polish Underground State. The AK was accused of conducting “subversive and sabotage actions, [...] benefiting [...] only the Red Army,” and inspired by Jews.³⁴⁰ The reason for this was seen in “favouring the Jewish minority in the press and propaganda”³⁴¹ and so the demand was raised to “expel Jews from military organisations, even if they occupy leading positions.”³⁴² Anti-Semitic accents resounded even in criticism – uncommon on the right wing – of Vatican policy.³⁴³ The members of Sword & Plough were also accused of assaulting Jews

³³⁴ ‘O tym pomyślcie w Londynie’, *Miecz i Pług* 1942, no. 14.

³³⁵ AAN, DRK, 202/II-22, ‘Ocena ugrupowań politycznych poza stronnictwami P[olitycznego] K[omitetu] P[orozumiewawczego]’, 31 October 1943, p. 108.

³³⁶ ‘Czy rzeczywiście rozbrat z demokracją?’, *Miecz i Pług* 1942, no. 16; B., ‘Polska “przemienionych kołodziejów”’, *Kolumna* 1943, no. 3.

³³⁷ “‘Wojna’ niemiecko-żydowska’, *Nurt Młodych* 1943, no. 4.

³³⁸ ‘Czy rzeczywiście rozbrat z demokracją?’, *Miecz i Pług* 1942, no. 16.

³³⁹ AAN, MiP, 208/3, ‘Letter of “Konstanty” to Waclaw Kruk, 23 August 1943’, p. 5; *ibidem*, ‘Letter of Jan Kubin to the *Miecz i Pług* Directorate’, n.d., p. 13; WBBH, KB, III-76-1, Z. Witrowy, *Organizacja tzw. “Obozu Narodowego” Miecz i Pług. Referaty, recenzje, opracowania*, pp. 44, 47; ‘PPR przyznaje się’, *Miecz i Pług* 1943, no. 25; cf. M. Broszat, *Narodowo-socjalistyczna polityka w sprawie Polski 1939–1945 (Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik 1939–1945)*, Warsaw–Poznań 1966, p. 276. It should be noted, however, that *Miecz i Pług* adopted an anti-German position in its external propaganda.

³⁴⁰ ‘Czekamy na jedność’, *Droga* 1944, no. 9; ‘List otwarty od redakcji tygodnika *Miecz i Pług*’, *Miecz i Pług* 1943, no. 30.

³⁴¹ ‘Czekamy na jedność’, *Droga* 1944, no. 9.

³⁴² [Slogan in] *Miecz i Pług* 1943, no. 30.

³⁴³ “Even Rome [...] did not attempt to protest. Instead, we heard a loud concern for the Jews” (AAN, MiP, 208/4, ‘Polacy’ [leaflet], p. 9).

(although these were robberies, not assaults of an ideological nature). In one report, we read that the leaders of the movement, Zbigniew Grad and Anatol Słowikowski, “personally assaulted the rich Jews in hiding [...]. The morality of both equals zero.”³⁴⁴ These and other facts meant that the Sword & Plough movement had “a very high probability of provocation.”³⁴⁵ This led to the execution of the movement’s leadership in September 1943.

It is not difficult to find anti-Semitism in the ideology of another splinter group, *Polski Obóz Narodowo-Syndykalistyczny* (the Polish National-Syndicalist Camp, PONS). In PONS propaganda, the enemies were mentioned on equal terms: “Jewry, Communists and Fascists, criminal totalitarianism.”³⁴⁶ “The Future Poland cannot be a country [...] of Jewry [...]” announced *Biuletyn Informacyjny PONS* (PONS Information Bulletin).³⁴⁷ This was justified by the fact that “Jews in their mass were and are an element hostile to the Polish state; deprived of their homeland [...], they try to kill all feelings of nationalism and religion in Christian nations.”³⁴⁸ Therefore, it was declared that “not [...] racism or national chauvinism, but the love of one’s nation and healthy self-defence instinct has forced National Syndicalism to put forward [...] a demand to remove Jews and their influence from Poland.”³⁴⁹ Polish citizenship would be granted to people of Aryan origin only, while others would obtain the status of subjects.³⁵⁰ Other groups were criticised by PONS for their silence on the Jewish question.³⁵¹

³⁴⁴ AAN, AK, 203/VII-67, ‘Miecz i Pług’, n.d., p. 43; cf. WBBH, KB, III-76-1, Z. Witrowy, *Organizacja tzw. “Obozu Narodowego” Miecz i Pług. Referaty, recenzje, opracowania*, p. 128.

³⁴⁵ AAN, DRK, 202/II-22, ‘Ocena ugrupowań politycznych poza stronnictwami P[olitycznego] K[omitetu] P[orozumiewawczego]’, 31 October 1943, p. 108; cf. *ibidem*, 202/II-34, ‘Taktyka Gestapo’, p. 1. A member of the *Miecz i Pług* Main Directorate wrote: “To me, personally, there is no doubt that Andrzej and Doktor are in the service of the Gestapo” (AAN, MiP, 208/3, ‘List “Konstantego” do Wacława Kruka’, 23 August 1943, p. 6).

³⁴⁶ [no title], cf. *Biuletyn Informacyjny PONS* 1941, no. 4.

³⁴⁷ ‘Zjednoczenie Narodowe’, *Biuletyn Informacyjny PONS* 1941, no. 6.

³⁴⁸ *Wolność – wielkość – sprawiedliwość*, Warsaw 1942, p. 5; cf. ‘Dźwięki historii’, *Biuletyn Informacyjny PONS* 1942, no. 4.

³⁴⁹ *Wolność – wielkość...*, p. 5.

³⁵⁰ O. Grott, ‘Narodowy syndykalizm jako lewicowa odmiana nacjonalizmu polskiego okresu II wojny światowej’ in *Lewica polska. Koncepcje – ludzie – działalność*, ed. E. Krasucki, T. Sikorski, A. Wątor, Wrocław 2012, p. 296.

³⁵¹ ‘Kompleks niższości’, *Biuletyn Informacyjny PONS* 1941, no. 29.

The *Pobudka* [Reveille] group, considered one of the splinters of the pre-war *Falanga*, emphasised the Jewish question in a different manner.³⁵² It maintained its anti-Semitic position, claiming that “the events of the ongoing war have proved that Jews are completely alien to us and even a hostile element, that they do not feel themselves to be citizens of our state.”³⁵³ At the same time, however, it considered that “our decisions must be constrained by the sake of the [...] voice of Jewish money speaking through the mouths of English lords and American ministers.”³⁵⁴ The displacement of Jews from Poland by means of “humanitarian methods” remained the strategic goal,³⁵⁵ starting from “recognising them as citizens of the Jewish state” and allocating them “territories” for settlement.³⁵⁶ In the transition period, Jews would be treated as “foreigners residing temporarily in Poland.”³⁵⁷ The priority for *Pobudka* was to prevent chaos at the moment when Jews left the ghetto and returned to their property, thus “a slow and evolutionary discharge of the ghetto” was anticipated.³⁵⁸ Although it was reserved that “we do not have any hatred towards Jews,”³⁵⁹ and “the Polish Government would not issue any anti-Jewish ordinances,”³⁶⁰ they were still threatened: “The failure to resolve the Jewish question in the manner we propose must lead to the Polish State solving this problem unilaterally.”³⁶¹ Notably, the leader of *Pobudka*, Witold Rościszewski, was personally involved in the activities of the Council for Aid to Jews.³⁶²

Anti-Semitic echoes resounded in the programme and propaganda of *Obóz Polski Walczącej* (the Camp of Fighting Poland, OPW, the right-wing of *Sanacja*), into which they were, as we recall, brought by activists from the pre-war RNP.

³⁵² According to official sources, it was supposed to assemble the “most ‘pro-state’ elements of the former ONR” and probably the “imperialists” of the former *Polityka* periodical (AAN, DRK, 202/II-22, ‘Ocena ugrupowań politycznych poza stronnictwami P[olitycznego] K[omitetu] P[orozumiewawczego]’, 31 October 1943, p. 108; *ibidem*, 203/III-128, ‘Konfederacja Narodu’, p. 14).

³⁵³ *Wizje Polski...*, p. 181.

³⁵⁴ ‘Europa w dniu zwycięstwa’, *Pobudka* 1942, no. 5.

³⁵⁵ *Wizje Polski...*, p. 181.

³⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 175–176.

³⁵⁷ ‘Dzwon na trwogę’, *Pobudka* 1942, no. 5.

³⁵⁸ ‘Przewidywania’, *Pobudka* 1942, no. 5.

³⁵⁹ *Wizje Polski...*, p. 181.

³⁶⁰ ‘Przewidywania’, *Pobudka* 1942, no. 5.

³⁶¹ *Wizje Polski...*, p. 181.

³⁶² W.J. Muszyński, ‘Sprawiedliwy z ONR “Falanga”’, *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 2010, no. 11.

An OPW periodical wrote about “the machinations of global Jewry, [...] about Jewish crimes under the Soviet occupation,” stating that “one cannot [...] put Jewry on the same level with other allied nations because the nature of their participation in the war is completely different.”³⁶³ The OPW’s ideological declaration stated that Jews “were a disloyal factor, and even harmful to Polish interests” and announced the de-Judaisation of trade, the deprivation of the Jewish and German minorities of political rights, and finally their deportation.³⁶⁴ However, the intensity of this group’s anti-Semitism was significantly lower. The OPW emphasised their “condemnation of the German method of exterminating Jews,”³⁶⁵ dissociating themselves from anti-Semitic riots.³⁶⁶ It criticised the Judeo-centrism of the integral anti-Semites, claiming that “getting rid of the Jews alone will not heal Poland.”³⁶⁷ The movement also distanced itself from the concept of ‘Judaeo-Communism’, as in the eyes of Piłsudski’s supporters Communism was a Russian phenomenon.³⁶⁸

Ojczyzna [Fatherland] was the most moderate group of National Democratic provenance. This circle remained faithful to the principles of National Democratic ideology. Its goal was the nation-state, as one of *Ojczyzna*’s members wrote: “Alien tribal groups have become the force hindering [the development of the nation – J.T.]. Minorities have sought to completely isolate their cultural life from Polish influences. [...] Within our country we could not freely spread Polishness.”³⁶⁹ Moreover, the understanding of the nation in *Ojczyzna*’s circles was exclusivist, based on the criterion of origin: “there can be only one criterion for belonging to the Polish nation: Polish blood, Polish ancestry. The will of the person concerned should play a non-decisive role, in regard of his truly [...] actual blood connections

³⁶³ ‘Obietnice premiera’, *Państwo Polskie*, 6 December 1942.

³⁶⁴ AAN, ‘Polityczne ugrupowania w Kraju w okresie okupacji’, 211, vol. 7, ‘Projekt deklaracji z listem przewodnim Komitetu Organizacyjnego’, n.d., p. 4; *Deklaracja ideowa OPW*, Warsaw 1942, pp. 6–8.

³⁶⁵ ‘Obietnice premiera’, *Państwo Polskie*, 6 December 1942.

³⁶⁶ ‘Niemcy organizują rozruchy’, *Słowo Polskie* 1940, no. 2. The unspecified ‘Dmowski supporters’ were also criticised for “approving and even actively cooperating today in the German action against the Jews” (‘Na marginesie pewnego nekrologu’, *Słowo Polskie* 1941, no. 13).

³⁶⁷ ‘Czego nie dostrzegamy’, *Nurt* 1943, no. 5.

³⁶⁸ *Polska–Rosja*, Warsaw 1943.

³⁶⁹ F. Chociatowski, ‘Struktura kulturalna Polski’, *Kultura Polska* 1939 [sic], no. 2–3. Nevertheless, in 1979 another member of the group, Juliusz Kolipiński, mentioned a “nationally uniform population” among the positive sides of the ‘People’s Republic of Poland’ (*“Ojczyzna” 1939–1945...*, p. 253).

with Poland.”³⁷⁰ The other feature of Polishness – Catholicism³⁷¹ – excluded the Jewish population too. This approach conditioned the movement’s attitude towards the Jewish question. For example, it was said that the Jewish civilisation: “did not recognise national elements (except its own nation), [it] is anti-spiritual. [It] is based on intellect. It believes in materiality only. [...] It completely blurs [...] the line between truth and falsehood, just as it blurs the line between good and evil [...]. Ethical relativism is an absolute Jewish foetus. In this respect, the influence of Jewish civilisation is the most destructive.”³⁷² These generalisations were followed by accusations of a contemporary nature, primarily cooperation with Communism.³⁷³

Nevertheless, the anti-Jewish accents in *Ojczyzna*’s writings compared with other nationalist groups, were rare. For example, in the publication *Honor i Ojczyzna* (Warsaw 1943), a solution to future economic problems was seen in the development of industry and the colonisation of former German lands, while the de-Judaisation of the cities (the mandatory demand of radical nationalists) was not mentioned.³⁷⁴ “The monstrous murder of Jews by Germans” was openly condemned.³⁷⁵ Finally, and most importantly, the basic doctrinal assumptions were gradually softened. In 1943, *Zachodnia Straż Rzeczypospolitej* wrote that “the coming, new Poland will be a country of the Polish nation, but also a country for those minority groups with whom co-existence will prove possible or necessary.”³⁷⁶ Admittedly, this referred to Slavic minorities, but it was said specifically about Germans that “there

³⁷⁰ ‘Problemy polskości na Ziemiach Odzyskanych (artykuł dyskusyjny)’, *Informacje z Zachodnich Ziem Rzeczypospolitej (Be-Zet)* 1942, no. 4. This approach resulted from the specific situation of the Germanised Western Territories. On this basis it was claimed: “In the German population of the recovered lands the Polish blood flows and the Polish nation cannot renounce their children”; “we must save every drop of Polish blood” (‘O polskosc ludności nadodrzańskiej’, *Informacje z Zachodnich Ziem Rzeczypospolitej (Be-Zet)* 1942, no. 2).

³⁷¹ F. Chociatowski, ‘Struktura kulturalna Polski’, *Kultura Polska* 1939 [sic], no. 2–3.

³⁷² J. Cieszkowski [Aleksander Rogalski], ‘Cywilizacyjne znaczenie Ziem Zachodnich’, *Kultura Polska* 1939 [sic], no. 4. There were also more explicit opinions: “Jews [...] are dishonourable and their women are shameless” (M. Miechowski, ‘Katolicyzm w polskim wychowaniu narodowym’, *Kultura Polska* 1939 [sic], no. 6).

³⁷³ ‘Prawda o bolszewikach i PPR’, *Zachodnia Straż Rzeczypospolitej*, September 1943; ‘Patrzymy na Ziemię Wschodnie RP’, *Zachodnia Straż Rzeczypospolitej*, October 1943.

³⁷⁴ ‘*Ojczyzna*’ 1939–1945..., p. 439.

³⁷⁵ ‘Polska i Rosja’, *W Walce* 1944, no. 18a.

³⁷⁶ ‘Co zrobić z mniejszościami?’, *Zachodnia Straż Rzeczypospolitej*, December 1943.

can be no place in Poland any more” for them. Two years later, one of *Ojczyzna*’s leaders, Juliusz Kolipiński, wrote in his manifesto upholding the postulate of the nation-state that “we want to be hospitable hosts for groups alien to our national organism, provided they cooperate for our good. Everyone, irrespective of their origin, race or religion, may become a member of the Polish nation as soon as the Polish national consciousness awakens in him and is supported by a deed.”³⁷⁷

This meant a complete redefinition of the concept of nation in the direction of inclusiveness.

Conclusions

Attempting to determine the attitude of the National Camp to the Jewish question under the occupation is an extremely difficult task, and not only because of the emotions raised by this issue. The nationalists were inconsistent in their views, and their concepts were often incoherent. The context of the German occupation compared to the pre-war situation are of key significance to understanding them. In some cases, an ideological analysis must rely not on matter present, but on matter absent.³⁷⁸

Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some general conclusions based on the accumulated (but still incomplete) research material:

1. The war introduced dissonance to the National Democratic worldview, which in the 1930s recognised Germans and Jews as equal enemies. Germany became a primary enemy, threatening not only the independence but also the very existence of the Polish nation, while Jews found themselves in the role of allies, albeit unwanted. The radical wing of the National Camp was also confused by the similarity of some Nazi slogans (the fight against Jewish freemasonry, plutocracy and liberalism) to its own ideology.

2. Despite this new situation, the nationalists did not renounce their nationalist programme aimed at establishing a homogeneous nation-state. Renouncing the foundation of this worldview, and its anti-Semitic implications, was difficult. Initially,

³⁷⁷ “*Ojczyzna*” 1939–1945..., pp. 190–191.

³⁷⁸ It is tempting to try and undertake a quantitative analysis comparing the frequency of Jewish themes in the publications of nationalists of the pre-war and occupation periods. However, a serious difficulty may be encountered here because of the incompleteness of the underground press archives, which could distort the results.

the luggage of pre-war concepts was transferred into the reality of occupation, and attempts were made to apply old patterns to the new situation.³⁷⁹ It should also be added that the brutal conditions of occupation somewhat desensitised those occupied to suffering and, no less than the nationalist ideology, led to a refocusing on their fellow victims.

3. However, it is possible to notice a certain, though rather timid, modification of the ideology and vocabulary of the National Camp. The intensity of the anti-Semitic attacks decreased; there were signs of compassion for the exterminated Jews; the Jewish question began to be separated from the Soviet threat and, at the end of the war, there was a will to tactically soften the positions on some issues. The furthest-reaching symptoms are visible in the emphasis of the need to build a Jewish state in cooperation with Jewish partners (*Mysł Polska*) or in the redefinition of the concept of a nation (*Ojczyzna*). In general, however, this evolution did not keep up the pace with the course of events, and it was not adequate to the situation.³⁸⁰

4. Even the most intransigent factions of the nationalist movement cut off from the Nazis' genocidal methods and rejected the possibility of using the situation under occupation to actively fight the Jews, since this would have meant actual collaboration with the occupier. The extreme factions of the National Camp tended to maintain a certain neutrality in this conflict, and the mainstream declared more or less moderate sympathy for the massacred Jews, which sometimes took the form of active assistance. Notably, the help given to the Jews did not lead to the earlier worldview being given up. On the contrary, this help was usually a logical consequence of National-Catholic ideology. Firstly, Christian ethics

³⁷⁹ Cf. R. Łętocha, *Katolicyzm a idea narodowa*, Lublin 2002, p. 238.

³⁸⁰ The fundamental findings regarding the new situation were drawn up by Zygmunt Przetakiewicz, a pre-war Falangist who, with the Zionist Edward Tohari-Warszawski, signed a declaration entitled 'O nowe drogi w stosunkach polsko-żydowskich' (On new paths in Polish-Jewish relations) in 1944. It stated, among others, that: "the re-colonisation of Poland by Jews would not be desirable for Poles or Jews. Each formed nation needs its own state for its life and development [...]. It is the moral duty of Poles towards Jews [...] to help them create an independent Jewish state. [...] Those Jews [...] who would temporarily want, and will have to, stay in Poland will remain there as citizens of a friendly Jewish state, with the rights of friendly foreigners. The time of the Polish-Jewish struggle is over" (Z. Przetakiewicz, *Od ONR-u do PAX-u (Wspomnienia)*, Warsaw 1994, pp. 59–60). However, this was an individual initiative, which had no further resonance of influence in the political thought of the National Camp.

demanded the condemnation of the Nazi genocide; secondly, the national interest demanded total resistance to any actions by the occupier.³⁸¹

5. While asserting the persistence of anti-Semitism in the nationalist worldview under the occupation, it should be noted that this was an anti-Semitism without genocidal consequences, an anti-Semitism that did not take up the slogan of total war against the Jews. The brutalisation of life under occupation did not contribute to the radicalisation of the National Camp – quite the contrary. Władysław Bartoszewski stated that “in Poland, anti-Semitism during the war significantly decreased, at least in central Poland, [...] compared to the pre-war attitude, regarding the mass attitudes.”³⁸² It seems that – *toutes proportions gardées* – this also applied to the nationalists.³⁸³

³⁸¹ Władysław Bartoszewski noted that Jews were blackmailed mainly by “demoralised lumpenproletariat youth” for criminal, non-ideological reasons; these informants reported not only Jews, but also Poles (W. Bartoszewski, *O Żegocie...*, pp. 78, 99–100).

³⁸² *Ibidem*, pp. 194–196.

³⁸³ Bartoszewski recalls “people of a rather National Democratic provenance who [...] completely changed their attitude during the war and took an active part in providing aid” (*ibidem*, p. 93). According to the researchers in the field, “[these] [anti-Semitic – J.T.] threads were less frequently exploited in propaganda than [they had been] prior to the war, and a number of circles which hitherto had had a negative attitude to Jews came onto the path of revising their position. The Holocaust [...] had a sobering effect, even on many of those who were under the influence of pre-war anti-Semitic propaganda” (W. Borodziej, A. Chmielarz, A. Friszke, A.K. Kunert, *Polska Podziemna 1939–1945*, Warsaw 1991, pp. 190–191).

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SUMMARY

Anti-Semitism was, as well as anti-Germanism, one of the most emblematic components of the ideology of the National Camp, which was already clearly radicalising in the 1930s. During World War II, contrary to the assumptions of this ideology, Poland found itself on the same side of the barricade as the Jews. Nazi Germany removed the Jewish population from Poland (thus implementing the nationalists' pre-war demand), but the inhumane methods of Nazi anti-Semitism were unacceptable to Polish nationalists. The new situation led to a modification of nationalist ideology, a complex process. Initially, as a rule, the traditional anti-Semitic attitude was emphasised, with even some suggestions of German–Jewish collaboration. As the genocide of the Jewish population progressed, the anti-Jewish threads in the propaganda of the National Camp were gradually silenced, and there were notes of compassion for Jews. Finally, attempts were made to revise the attitude towards the Jewish question. The theoretical thought of the National Camp, however, did not keep up with practice here, and no new program was fully formed until the end of the war. This evolution did not affect the entire National Camp equally: its radical factions remained attached for longer to traditional anti-Semitism.

KEYWORDS

nationalism•anti-Semitism•Holocaust•Nazi occupation•resistance