

## Wiktor Szymborski

ORCID: 0000-0002-1827-2616

Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland

E-mail: wiktorszymborski@uj.edu.pl

DOI: 10.55159/tri.2023.0104.02



## Tanks on Monuments, Monument Tanks. On Trench Art and “Gratitude Memorials”<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

The purpose of this outline was to introduce the topic of using armored weapons elements in the erection of monuments. The text discusses the issue of “monuments of gratitude” to the Red Army, which often drew on the motif of the tank monument, using a tank of the liberator of a particular locality. Monuments to the brotherhood of arms between the Red Army and the People’s Polish Army are also discussed. Two unique works that were not created by state order and were not propaganda manifestations are discussed next: the monument in Kasina Wielka and the now demolished one in Zyndranowa. In Kasina Wielka, a local artist designed a monument commemorating Polish soldiers who fell in September 1939. The work uses the turret of a Vickers tank, a real rarity since not a single Vickers

---

1 I would like to thank Mr. Piotr Lulek for his time and providing a range of information about the monument to the 24th Cavalry Regiment in Kasina Wielka, and Ms. Monika Homa, Inspector for Culture, Sports and Cooperation with NGOs from the Mszana Dolna Municipality Office, for providing information about the entry of the memorial to the 24th Cavalry Regiment into the register of monuments.

Suggested citation: Szymborski W. (2023). Tanks on Monuments, Monument Tanks. On Trench Art and “Gratitude Memorials”. *Trimarium. The History and Literature of Central and Eastern European Countries*, 4(4), 47–94.

DOI: 10.55159/tri.2023.0104.02

Submitted: 13.11.2023 / Accepted: 17.11.2023

tank taking part in the operations of the 1939 campaign has survived to this day. Moreover, it shows the grassroots initiative of citizens who wanted to commemorate the clashes in Kasina Wielka. The second monument was erected in Zyndranowa to commemorate the casualties of the 1944 Dukla operation. Importantly, it was again a grassroots initiative. The text discusses the stages of its creation, along with the actions taken by the authorities to dismantle it. The article is supplemented by a table listing “monuments of gratitude” that used elements of World War II military equipment.

### **Keywords**

trench art, monuments, “monuments of gratitude”, Red Army, armored weapons, tanks, World War II

After 1945 in Central and Eastern Europe, the communist powers, which were forcibly imposed on societies by the Red Army, made numerous efforts to legitimize their presence. The propaganda machine used all the media available at the time. The erection of monuments in memory of the liberation of a city, of armed clashes, and the deaths of Red Army soldiers had a particularly strong impact on the public’s imagination. These actions were part of a broader policy of lying about the past, creating an “only right” picture of World War II, on top of building myths both relating to the roots of the Polish People’s Republic and a “Polish-Soviet alliance”. The glorification of the Red Army’s military successes was used to improve the image of the USSR. Reigning over space, the communists wanted to capture the imagination, and to engrave themselves in the consciousness of societies. This included monuments to Joseph Stalin and so-called “monuments of gratitude” to the Red Army, as well as necropolises of Soviet soldiers. By locating military cemeteries in city centers, the old architectural layout was deliberately demolished but, above all, new “sacred” sites were created that were so important to the ceremonialism of communist power. It was near monuments or necropolises that party rallies, anniversary speeches, etc. could be

held (cf. more extensively in Czarnecka, 2015; also cf. Gabowitsch, 2021). This phenomenon did not apply only to Poland. It was even typical of countries that fell within the orbit of the USSR's influence.

The monuments that had such a strong impact on the imagination were relatively inexpensive in post-war realities, as used military equipment or airplanes were utilized in this way (for the use of airplane parts to create monuments in Western Europe, see Winterton's remarks, 2022; cf. Wielgus, 2002; Matuchniak-Krasuska, 2015; Domański, 2015; Radwan, 2006; Wikipedia, Pomnik Lotników Alianckich w Dębnie Zakrzowskiej) and above all, armored vehicles: tanks, self-propelled guns (cf. List of tank monuments: Wikipedia, *Czołg-pomnik; Gdzie w Polsce są jako pomniki T-34?; Były sobie czołgi*) and cannons were often used in the creation of new memorials (Matuchniak-Mystkowska, 2023; Domański, 2015; cf. also Matuchniak-Krasuska, 2015; Ożóg, 2014; Cembrzyńska, 2017). These monuments can also be considered in terms of trench art in the broadest sense (adopting the definition of N. Saunders 2003, regarding trench art cf. publications by Kimball, 2004, Marcacci, 2014; Warin, 2009; Warrin, 2011; Molon, Fusine, 2018).

Tank monuments evoke some reflection. In addition, they are symbolic forms behind which, in addition to historical aspects, there are also political systems and various (changing) ideologies (Ferenc, Domański, 2015, 9; cf. also Matuchniak-Krasuska, 2015; cf. Kattago, 2015). In various European countries you can encounter tank monuments, for example, in Normandy or Italy including the famous Memorial to the 4th "Skorpion" Armored Regiment in the so-called Gorge (Łapiński, 2019; Łydka, 2023; *The Memorial To the 4th "Skorpion" Armoured Regiment; Pomnik Pułku 4 Pancernego "Skorpion"*). However, they perform different functions than those erected after 1945 in Poland, where the propaganda was so important. One can even speak of a kind of symbolic violence associated with the glorification of the military actions of the Red Army.

Dominika Czarnecka characterizes the forms of "gratitude monuments"

In addition to the most popular obelisks, a separate category consisted of monuments, the creation of which used ready-made war props (tanks,

cannons, aircraft) [...] . The use of military artifacts emulated Soviet models. Sometimes props of this kind were placed in the surroundings of a constructed monument as an accessory; then they were only components of the commemoration, e.g. in Grudziądz, Głogów (Czarnecka, 2015, p. 110).

Tanks often drove themselves onto pedestals. Then, engines and, of course, arms were disassembled. Worn-out Soviet armored weapons found a second monumental life, so to speak. This practice was used throughout Central and Eastern Europe, such as in the Eastern Bloc sector of Berlin (Davis, 2016; Gabowitsch, 2021; Grzesiuk-Olszewska, 1995; cf. comments on the use of photos and drawings of monuments commemorating World War II in textbooks used during the Soviet era when young people were supposed to recognize in which foreign capitals these monuments to glory and victory were located, among them a tank on a pedestal – this exercise comes from a 1958 work. Gabowitsch, 2023). The monuments of gratitude were intended to legitimize the Red Army's presence in Poland after the war ended, and they also distorted history. This was served by a nationwide campaign to erect monuments, initiated by the head of the USSR Military Mission, Gen. Siergiej Szatilow, who proposed the creation of a special government commission to build monuments, which was met with a response from the then prime minister (Czarnecka, 2015, p. 92; Czarnecka, 2013 b; also cf. Czarnecka, 2013 a; Golon, 1996).

As shown in Dominika Czarnecka's erudite research on "monuments of gratitude", tanks were erected either as stand-alone monuments,<sup>2</sup> or they accompanied more complex spatial forms. They were erected near or on the site of the graves of Red Army soldiers. The association of makeshift military cemeteries with "monuments of gratitude" was very characteristic: the respect with which graves are surrounded in our culture was also an important propaganda element. Subsequently, as the bodies were usually exhumed and moved to newly established military cemeteries, the "monuments of gratitude" generally remained in their original places. According

---

2 See the list of tank monuments and monuments using World War II weapons elements in Table 1.

to another scenario, the monument itself was built, and then, to emphasize its importance, the remains of soldiers were moved from other locations to the vicinity of the monument (Czarnecka, 2015). In order to emphasize the importance and overtones of the cemeteries of Soviet soldiers, elements of weapons – tanks or cannons – were additionally placed around them or at the cemetery wall or gates, the best evidence of which is the cemetery in Wrocław, where two cannons stand at the main entrance, and the side gates are decorated with a total of four T-34 tanks. The same was done by placing tanks in the military cemeteries of the 1st Polish Army (see tank in the cemetery in Siekierki. Migdalski, 2013). Mentioning monuments related to the 1st Polish Army, it is worth referring to the tank monument that was set up at the mausoleum of the fallen in Studzianki. Both 94 plaques with the names of the fallen and a T-34 tank situated on a high pedestal, which houses a crypt with the ashes of the fallen, were incorporated into the memorial's foundation. The monument was unveiled on August 16, 1964 on the 20th anniversary of the battle (Leszkowicz, 2022; Zielak, 1979; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986). As Mirosław Golon emphasizes:

In addition to the most popular obelisks, it is possible to distinguish – in formal terms – two more basic groups of monuments of gratitude. The first group are objects in the construction of which authentic war props were used and monuments were created by placing cannons (e.g., in Krzeczów in Sieradz province), airplanes or most often – tanks (e.g., in Czarnków and Ostrołęka) on appropriate pedestals (Golon, 1996, p. 614).

Monuments of gratitude in the form of featureless tanks were erected, for example, in connection with the liberation of individual cities by the Red Army (Czarnecka, 2015). In addition, the myth-making element was important: the liberator tank (the first to enter a given city). Reaching for such clear and conspicuous symbols as armored weapons or artillery (cf., for example, the monument in the village of Chlebowo – the ZiS-3 cannon unveiled in 1981, made by young people from the Polish Tourist Society in Szczecin together with the Gryfino municipality to commemorate the 2nd Lusitanian Artillery

Division of the Polish Army in Ciechanowski, 2018) further enhanced the propaganda overtones of the monuments.

“Monuments of gratitude” to the Red Army also commemorated the “brotherhood” of arms with the Polish Army, hence many times the tank monuments glorified both fallen Soviet and Polish soldiers. A separate mention should be made of monuments commemorating the deeds of Polish soldiers. Such as in the case of Studzianki or Mirosławiec where a tank was placed on a pedestal to commemorate the 1st T. Kościuszko Division, the 2nd H. Dąbrowski Division, the Warsaw Heroes of Westerplatte Armored Brigade, and the 4th Heavy Tank Regiment in connection with the battles for the liberation of Mirosławiec on 10/11 February 1945 (Matuchniak-Krasuska, 2015; also cf. Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986; Leszkowicz, 2022; *Pomnik – Czołg. Mirosławiec*), while at the military base in Choszczno there are cannons on a monument commemorating a Polish military unit and French prisoners of war from Oflag II B Arnswalde POW camp (Matuchniak-Krasuska, 2015). The IS-2 tank, which has been located in Krakow’s Nowa Huta from 1969 in the Osiedle Górali neighborhood, commemorates the Battle of Budziszyn. This vehicle was on the equipment of the 2nd Polish Army (Panek, 2016; Urbaniec, 2016). The IS-2 tank set up in Pruszków commemorated the soldiers of the Polish Army: a unit of the 1st Armored Heroes of Westerplatte Brigade. (Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986; <https://fotopolska.eu/Pomnik-czolg-Pruszkow>; Leszkowicz, 2022). Standing by the Narew River, the T-34 tank monument erected to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Polish People’s Republic was unveiled in 1974 to glorify the heroes killed in the fight against German fascism (Nowogród – tank monument; “Tank on the Narew River” monument). On the other hand, a T-34/85 tank set up in Sanok in 1982 glorified soldiers of the People’s Polish Army (LWP) who fought against the Polish underground and OUN units. It was unveiled in connection with the 39th anniversary of the Battle of Lenino (*Sanok. Czołg jako pomnik*; see also discussion regarding plans to remove the monument: *Radziecki czołg z cokołu nad Sanem zostanie usunięty*, 2022). Meanwhile, the IS-2 tank monument in Lębork was erected in 1968 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the People’s Polish Army (*Czołg IS-2 w Lęborku*, 2019).

When characterizing tank monuments, it is necessary to mention a monument that has caused a particularly heated discussion in society. By erecting a T-34 vehicle, the order of such an important place of public memory as Westerplatte was shattered. In 1962, the communist authorities decided to remove the Cpt. Dąbrowski Cross and put a T-34 tank in its place, a decision that understandably aroused great criticism, but the cross happily survived because the driver taking it away did not take it to the landfill but to the rectory in Nowy Port where it was hidden (cf. more extensively: Zołnierczuk, Rykała, 2017; Radecka, 2017; Zajączkowski, 2015; Leszkowicz, 2022).

In addition to the propaganda dimension, the tank monuments also served a very different function. This can be traced in the example of monuments from Częstochowa or Dębica. In Częstochowa there was a monument with a T-34 tank, which stood in the Tysiąclecie district, and the whole installation was complemented by a plaque with the dates of the liberation of the city and the setting of the monument: 16 January 1945-1975, although the tank had been there since July 1974 (Hyszko, 2016; Sobkowski, 2016; Czarnecka, 2013 a). In addition to the propaganda dimension, there was an aspect important for the local community, especially for children, who could play around or on the site at a time when the TV series *Four Tank-Men and a Dog* [*Czterej pancerni i pies*] was highly popular. This monument disappeared by virtue of a Resolution of the Częstochowa City Council on September 12, 1991 (Hyszko, 2016). A tank-monument in Dębica served a similar function, and the local population even nicknamed it “Rudy” referring the popular TV series, not bothered by the fact that the series featured a T-34 tank and not an IS-2, which is now in the Regional Museum (cf. *Lokalne Symbole Kultury Dębickiej – „Rudy 102”*, 2016; *Dębica. Czołg IS-2 w Ogródku Jordanowskim*; the vehicle also appears on the postcard as the “Rudy” Tank).

Dominika Czarnecka’s in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of “gratitude monuments” revealed 476 of these created in the People’s Republic of Poland, of which 38 used armored weapons, aircraft or other military equipment. The list can be supplemented with a tank monument in Neple, a tank monument in Wiśniew, and a monument in Zydranowa. Of these sites, it is worth highlighting the example of Baligród where the artifact was subsequently replaced

by the military themselves. The monument deserves attention because it was originally a T-70 tank, which was replaced in 1975 by a T-34 model, while the original “monument” turned out to be an extremely rare specimen hence it was moved to Poznań to the Armored Weapons Museum of the Land Forces Training Center (*Baligród (podkarpackie) – pomnik wyzwolicielom (T-34)*; *Baligrodzki czołg*, 2022; Trzeszczyńska, 2016; Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 4; Leszkowicz, 2022). Near the tank in Baligród there was a monument to Gen. Karol “Walter” Świerczewski, who was killed at Jabłonki. An obelisk was erected there in honor of “Walter”. The first monument was replaced in 1962 by another one, by Franciszek Strynkiewicz. It showed a bas-relief of Świerczewski’s head with the Piast eagle, as Tomasz Leszkowicz mentions, “made of armored sheet metal” (Leszkowicz, 2022, p. 353).

It is also worth recalling the history of tanks from Borne Sulimowo. Nowadays (since 2010) there has been a T-34/85 memorial tank there, which, however, comes from the collection of the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw. Originally, there was a copy representing an earlier version, equipped with a 76mm cannon, which was taken along by the Russian army withdrawing from Poland. A similar fate befell a vehicle like this located in Kłomino, formerly Gródek, where, like in Sulimowo, the Russians were stationed. In both cases, the fact that they were loaded by rail (on April 2, 1992) when they left for the Polish border was noted in the relevant documentation (Wełnic, 2021).

“Monuments of gratitude” were blatantly hammered into consciousness and were particularly hated by the public, as evidenced by attempts to destroy them while they were still in existence in the People’s Republic of Poland. Communist-built monuments created from military equipment were often removed after 1990. Some were destroyed, given away for scrap to be melted down, or sold to private entrepreneurs or individuals (such as the tank in Hajnówka cf. Czarnecka, 2013a and Table 1; Czarnecka, 2015). For these reasons, the removal of monuments should be considered as part of decomunization. The process of eliminating them in Poland was much more peaceful than in Estonia. There, the greatest emotions were aroused by the removal of a monument of gratitude called the Monument to



the Liberators of Tallinn or the Monument to the Liberator Fighter, most often referred to as the Bronze Soldier, which caused loud Russian protests that resulted in one death and 44 injured (cf. article by D. Czarnecka, “*Ostatnie starcie Estończyków z żołnierzem Armii Radzieckiej*” – czyli o kulisach sporu wokół Pomnika Wyzwolicielei Tallina 1991-2007; Czarnecka, 2013 a; also cf. Kattago, 2009; Kattago, 2015; cf. Gabowitsch, 2021; Ochman, 2010).

The removal of monument tanks or plans to relocate them have repeatedly sparked debate between local authorities and the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN). In Drawsko Pomorskie, T-34 tanks were repainted with NATO colors, and the discussion was about the interpretation of the law on the prohibition of the propagation of communism. It was even proposed to transfer the tanks to the museum in Kołobrzeg or Podborsko, which, however, the local authorities did not want to agree to (Radomski, 2021; also cf. Ochman, 2010; Kałużna, 2018; Kałużna, 2015; Różycki, 2016; Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 90). Protests by residents in Wołomin arose over a plan to move a T-34 memorial tank to the high school in Urle where a military museum was planned to open, and the tank was even repainted pink as part of the protest (Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 448). In addition to the removal of monuments as vestiges of the former system, it is also worth mentioning an exceptional situation when a T-34 tank monument from near Pisz was stolen, and found at a scrap yard in Pruszków (cf. *Czołg-pomnik ukradli i przewieźli kilkaset km!*).

It should be mentioned that in Poland, former monuments using armored weapons, elements related to artillery or other military objects were not, as Joanna Kałużna points out,

subject of art installations. The situation was different in Prague, resulting in the famous Pink Tank, permanently housed in the Museum of Military Art in Lešany, but occasionally transported to the Czech capital, for example, on the 20th anniversary of the departure of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia (Kałużna, 2018, p. 159; cf. Gabowitsch, 2021).

In this context, a very notable case is set by attempts to give a different face to former tank monuments, for example, by repainting a tank in the Czech Republic in Prague pink as a symbol of freedom (Jarysz,

2015). This monument is one of the most recognizable works based on old armored weapons, and is the work of David Černý, who was a student at the Academy of Fine Arts at the time. On the night of April 27-28, 1991, in the run-up to Victory Day, he repainted a tank that was a memorial to Soviet armored crews, the *Památník sovětských tankistů*, pink. Tank No. 23 (*Tank číslo 23*) to this day arouses enormous debate. This 1s-2m tank took part in the battle for Prague, then from July 29, 1945 until the spring of 1991 it was a monument of gratitude for the liberation of Prague. It stood on a pedestal at what was then called the Soviet Tank-men' Square, and understandably, it aroused debate after the Velvet Revolution on what to do with the vehicle. After repainting it pink, the artist was arrested and the paint was washed off, but on May 12, a group of parliamentarians repainted the vehicle again. Soon the monument ceased to have the status of a national cultural monument and was transferred to the Kbely military museum and later to the military-technical museum in Lešany. However, this was not the end of the discussion about the fate of the vehicle, as representatives of the Communist Party of the Czech Republic also took part in the international debate. In 2001, there was even a project by Černý to erect a new monument. It was supposed to be placed in exactly the same place and be a tank dug into the ground. Although the project was accepted by the local authorities, it aroused protests from both the Russian ambassador and the then pro-Russian prime minister of the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, on August 21, 2008, on the 40th anniversary of the intervention of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, another installation was placed there – again painted pink. The odyssey of the pink tank continued. On 20 June 2011, to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the pink tank was placed on a barge on the Vltava River near the Charles Bridge (Tatarenko, 2019; Davis, 2016).

When discussing the use of elements of armored weapons and military equipment to create monuments, two such objects should be mentioned: the first commemorates the soldiers of the 24th Cavalry Regiment and their skirmish in September 1939. It is located in Kasina Wielka in the hamlet of Mogiła and the other is a no longer existing monument in Zyndranowa. Both of these unique works were created not by the Polish state or Soviet Russia. Each

time it was a local initiative. The monument from Kasina Wielka commemorates not the liberation, but the battle fought during the September 1939 campaign. It also deserves recognition because during its construction, parts of a Vickers tank were used, and not, as in a significant number of monuments, various versions of Soviet vehicles such as: T-34, IS-2, ISU-122, and SU-76.

The monument in Kasina Wielka by its form significantly differs from the tanks of the “monuments of gratitude” to the Red Army (regarding the history of the monument cf. *Kasina Wielka. Pomnik żołnierzy 24. Pułku Ułanów*<sup>3</sup> and Lulek, 2012). The creations designed to promote the brotherhood of arms and the only right vision of the past were largely similar: a pedestal/post on which there was usually a T-34. The creators, architects of these works, are usually anonymous (cf. Czarnecka, 2015, for more details). In the case of the Kasina Wielka monument, the case is quite different. It has a well-thought-out artistic form, and its creator was the artist Stanisław Dobrowolski (1927-2013). Born in the village of Słomka, he was educated at the art school in Zakopane and at the Faculty of Sculpture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw. In his home area, he bought a farm in Kasina Wielka and set up his workshop there. His work, especially the monument to the cavalymen, was widely acclaimed. He was awarded the Medal of the Protector of National Sites, the Memorial Medal of the 24th Cavalry Regiment and the Medal for Merit to the Municipality of Mszana Dolna (*Dobrowolski Stanisław – artysta rzeźbiarz i malarz*).

The clashes known as the Battle of Jordanów, part of which was the battle at Kasina Wielka on September 4, were an important event in the history of the Polish Armed Forces and especially the 10th Brigade commanded by Colonel Maczek (cf. memoirs: Maczek, 1990; Skibiński, 1960; Wojciechowski, 2020). The description of the monument itself emphasizes that it commemorates soldiers killed on September 4, 1939. Polish Vickers tanks and tankettes took part in the clashes (*Kasina Wielka. Pomnik żołnierzy 24. Pułku Ułanów*; regarding the history of the tank’s design cf. Jońca, 2014; Korbał, 2019). In the course of the fighting, two Vickers tanks and several

---

3 A full list of pages accessed is provided in the bibliography.

tankettes were lost near Kasina (cf. Sadowski, 2019 a; Sadowski, 2019 b; *Kasina Wielka - 4 Września 1939 roku*, 2022; Korbał, 2019). One of the tanks got stuck in a creek during the retreat, and as it could not move any further it was abandoned (Okoński, 2019). Local people then used its parts, with local blacksmiths forging plough blades from them (information obtained from Mr. Piotr Lulek; also cf. references to the adaptation of Vickers' parts during the construction of its replica. Jocen, 2014).

The sculptor Stanisław Dobrowolski proposed to commemorate the Polish soldiers by erecting a monument in the hamlet of Mogiła. This idea was born in the 1980s, because the local authorities planned to locate a landfill in this place, which aroused widespread indignation among the residents. In order to block these plans, Dobrowolski proposed the construction of a monument (information obtained from Mr. Piotr Lulek). Initially, there was a simple wooden cross (cf. the photo in the publication *650 lat dziejów Kasiny Wielkiej*) at which the population gathered for commemorative Holy Masses on 4 September. To this day, residents gather during patriotic ceremonies in honor of the fallen soldiers in defense of the Homeland (Application for entry in the register of immovable monuments of 21.09.2022). The monument in 1989 was located in a clearing known as Mogiła and bore the inscription "To the fallen in 1939. Honor and Glory". The farmers and their sons helped erect an obelisk cross on the battlefield of the 24th Cavalry Regiment, in honor of those who fell here (cf. document No. DNS-I.5140.16.2022.MN.RK.3). The next step was the erection of a monument made of a tank tower. Two years later it replaced the wooden cross (cf. document No. DNS-I.5140.16.2022.MN.RK.3), and the opening ceremony was held on September 22, 1991 (cf. Application for entry in the register of immovable monuments dated 21.09.2022).

Stanisław Dobrowolski found the turret of a Vickers that was stuck in a bend in the Kasina River (*Kasina Wielka. Pomnik żołnierzy 24. Pułku Ułanów; Vickers E z Kasiny Wielkiej - śladem niezwykłego pancernego artefaktu*). It served as a well casing at one of the farms (cf. document DNS-I.5140.16.2022.MN.RK.3; *Vickers E z Kasiny Wielkiej - śladem niezwykłego pancernego artefaktu*). From the point of view of the history of technology, this turret is a real rarity for it has

retained much of its original equipment – elements of the yoke, 47 mm cannon retarder and the yoke of a 7.92 mm 30 machine gun (cf. Document DNS-I.5140.16.2022.MN.RK.3; *Vickers E z Kasiny Wielkiej – śladem niezwykłego pancernego artefaktu*; also cf. Okoński, 2019; Korbal, 2019); original elements of the turret were copied during the restoration and used to complete the emerging replica of the Vickers tank (cf. the interview with Lt. Col. Tomasz Ogrodniczuk). Among other technical reasons, this monument is highly valuable. After all, very few mementos of Polish tanks participating in the September campaign have survived to this day. When constructing the monument to the 24th Cavalry Regiment, the artist planned to cut patterns into the steel tower. This was possible thanks to the favor of the director of the INCO Abrasive Articles Plant, who not only provided the necessary equipment, but also qualified workers who, having the patterns and templates prepared by Stanisław Dobrowolski at their disposal, performed the work by cutting out the openwork floral and figural decoration: the representation of an eagle in a crown, as well as the image of Christ's head in a crown of thorns (information obtained from Mr. Piotr Lulek; cf. document no. DNS-I.5140.16.2022.MN.RK.3). The monument was created thanks to the wide involvement of local residents. The plot for the monument was donated by the Skwarczek family from the Horniki hamlet and the work involved members of the Association for the Development and Renewal of the Village of Kasina Wielka and the Kasina Wielka Farmers' Club (*650 lat dziejów Kasiny Wielkiej*).

The monument in honor of the soldiers of the 24th Cavalry Regiment was entered in the register of immovable monuments by the provincial conservator of monuments in Krakow by a decision dated June 14, 2023 (cf. document no. DNS-I.5140.16.2022.MN.RK.3). A sandstone block monument, bearing an inscription listing the fallen soldiers of the 24th Cavalry Regiment, was located near the Vickers tower: Cpt. Hempel Zdzisław, Lt. Eng. Gasztold-Bukraba, Zygmunt, Rozycki Antoni, Rymarczuk Józef, Targoński Leon, Kotwica Jan, Górniak Jan, Skrzypek Józef, Wychowiak Bolesław (cf. document no. DNS-I.5140.16.2022.MN.RK.3; regarding the fallen soldiers cf. Pawłowski, 1993; Pawłowski, 1998). The monument underwent restoration in 2021, carried out by the Armored Weapons Museum in

Poznań (Application for entry in the register of immovable monuments dated 21.09.2022; *Wieża polskiego czołgu zostanie odnowiona*).

Another monument unique in the country was erected in Zydranowa. As with the Kasina monument, it did not represent the state's historical-propaganda policy. As stressed by A. Kroh (2016, p. 150): "... The monument, erected in the years 1976-76 in Zydranowa at private expense, out of the need of the heart, by a group of people full of the sincerest intentions, is an absolute rarity." Its additional purpose was to commemorate the Lemkos who fell during the Battle of the Dukla Pass.<sup>4</sup> The monument in Zydranowa is inextricably linked to the Lemko museum. Plans for the establishment of this facility were undertaken in 1968, and the main office was to be located in Bartne and Zydranowa would be its branch office (Gocz, 2017; Gocz, 2018; Drozd, 2013 a; Drozd, 2023 b; Kroh, 1985; Kroh, 2018; Wielocha, 2018; Brej, 2018; Bata, 2002; Szumielewicz, 2000, from chapter IV). The plan was not supported by the state authorities. Teodor/Fedor Gocz placed the Chamber of Memorabilia of Lemko Culture on his farm in 1968 (in addition, the name Regional Museum of Lemko Culture was in use, in Drozd, 2023 a; Drozd, 2023 b; Szumielewicz, 2000; Huk, 2016; Gocz, 2018; Wielocha, 2018). Under the pretext of concern for the artifacts, the Ministry of the Interior authorities intended to seize and confiscate the collection (cf. more extensively the findings based on archives from the Institute of National Remembrance with an edition of selected documents. Huk, 2016; Wielocha, 2018).

In the course of collecting memorabilia documenting Lemko culture, exhibits related to the 1944 Battle of the Dukla Pass appeared. Their accumulation made the Museum Council rename it as the Museum of Lemko Culture and War Memory in 1974 (Drozd, 2023 a; Drozd, 2023 b; Czubaj-Kuźmin, 2011; Szumielewicz, 2000; Kroh, 2016;

---

4 The battle for the Dukla Pass, the Dukla-Prešov operation, ended with horrific losses. According to the assumptions of the Red Army, it was supposed to break the German resistance in 5-6 days, moving 10 km a day. The fighting lasted almost 3 months, causing an enormity of losses and destruction - cf. the mention of the exhibition documenting the battle in Buczek-Kowalik, Buczek, 2017; also cf. information on the official plans of the People's Polish Army to promote the vision of the Dukla-Prešov operation in Leszkowicz, 2022.

cf. *Sprawozdanie porucznika Stanisława Demianiuka z Departamentu Społeczno-Administracyjnego MSW w Warszawie z ustaleń na temat Izby Pamiątek w Zyndranowej przeprowadzonych w dniach 13-14 lipca 1972* containing information about Huk's militaria collection, 2016, document 2, 136). Collecting souvenirs, material testimonies collected from the field of the Battle of the Dukla Pass, the idea of constructing a monument to honor the fallen Soviet and Czechoslovak soldiers arose (Bata, 2002 cf. photo of the first as mentioned by the author of the *ad hoc* commemoration that was constructed in 1973 based on materials collected from the battlefield; Drozd, 2023 a; Czubaj-Kuźmin, 2011). Małgorzata Szumielewicz emphasizes that the initiative to build the monument came from veterans of the Duka Pass clashes, who, when visiting the museum, pointed out the collection of battlefield memorabilia (Szumielewicz, 2000; cf. Gocz, 2017; Gocz, 2018).

In 1974, a decision was made to erect a monument to commemorate the Soviet and Czechoslovak soldiers fallen in the Battle of the Dukla Pass (Drozd, 2023 a). As Roman Drozd emphasizes:

A decision was also made to build a monument commemorating Soviet and Czechoslovak soldiers killed in the Battle of the Dukla Pass, which was part of the new name of the site. The nearby woods contained many remnants of the fierce battle. Among the items found were helmets, shells, artillery and mortar shells, bullets, destroyed parts of armaments, including tanks, but also, most horrifying of all, the remains of fallen soldiers. The construction of the monument seemed natural and necessary (Drozd, 2023 a, p. 235).

Work on the construction began in 1974, and was completed in October 1976. What is noteworthy, the ashes of four soldiers were placed under the monument (Drozd, 2023 a; Brej, 2018; Bata, 2002). In an interview with A. Kroh, Teodor/Fedor Gocz simply and emphatically expressed his motivation to build the monument:

In the fall of 44 I was a fifteen-year-old boy. I saw them with my own eyes and I will not forget them until the day I die. I carried stretchers with the wounded. Maybe they looted and raped elsewhere, I don't know

(sic! W.S.)<sup>5</sup>, but here, they fought and died. I remember fighters who were not much older than myself. They were terribly afraid, but they pushed forward because they believed in what they were doing. They left their bones here. This should be commemorated. Great politics is one thing, Stalin, Bierut; to me it was about soldiers. They deserved this monument (Kroh, 2016, p. 151).

Importantly, local authorities were invited to the unveiling of the monument, as well as representatives from Czechoslovakia and the USSR, the management of the Military Museum in Svidnik, and the Museum of the Brotherhood of Arms in Dukla, the purpose of which was to give the ceremony an international status (Drozd, 2023 b; Kroh, 2016; Bata, 2002). It was also planned to send an invitation to the Polish–Soviet Friendship Society for the opening ceremony, but the letter itself was not sent because the state authorities began the process of fighting the monument (Bata, 2002).

Veterans from both Poland and the USSR, Czechoslovakia and the local Polish–Soviet Friendship Society were involved in the work on the monument. Former soldiers from Slovakia donated granite plaques with inscriptions in Russian, Polish and Slovak (Kroh, 1985; Kroh, 2016; Kroh, 2018; also cf. information on the making of the plaques by the museum in Svidnik. Bata, 2002). Only the damaged plaques remain to this day (Kroh, 1985; Kroh, 2016; Kroh, 2018; cf. photo of plaque from blown-up monument Gocz, 2018; Bata, 2002). What the monument looked like can be reconstructed based on surviving photos or a painting by Teodor Kuziak, *Pomnik Żołnierzy Armii Radzieckiej w Zyndranowej* [*Monument to Soviet Army Soldiers in Zyndranowa*] from 1983 (Kroh, 1985; Kroh, 2016; Kroh, 2018; Bata, 2002).

The monument was to be unveiled on October 6, 1976, on the anniversary of the liberation of Zyndranowa (Kroh, 2016; Drozd, 2023 a; Czubaj-Kuźmin, 2011; Szumielewicz, 2000; Bata, 2002). As in a statement by Teodor/Fedor Gocz quoted by Sylwia Czubaj-Kuźmin:

---

5 Cf. a short description of the size of the crimes against civilian population by the Red Army during the “liberation”; Czarnecka, 2015.



The monument was erected by Lemkos from Zyndranowa because their countrymen were killed in the Red Army ... The monument was about 1.5m x 2m ... it had the shape of a pedestal, topped with a five-pointed star made of mortar shell casings. It was made of stones, helmets and shell casings found on the battlefield of the Dukla Pass (Czubaj-Kuźmin, 2011, p. 165; Szumielewicz, 2000; Kroh, 2016; Brej, 2018).

A barrel ran across the monument to which a star was attached (Kroh, 2016; cf. more extensively photos documenting the construction of the monument. Gocz, 2018). The monument was the work of Lemko soldiers who participated in the Dukla operation: Józef Madzik from Bartne, a Polish Army sapper, Teodor Kuziak, a former Red Army soldier, with the cooperation of former partisans – Paweł Jurkowski and Petro Kohut from Zyndranowa (Szumielewicz, 2000; cf. Kroh, 2016).

The monument was decorated with inscriptions on plaques in Polish, Slovak and Russian: “Eternal glory to the fallen heroes of October 6, 1944-1945. Lemkos 1975” (Kroh, 2016; Drozd, 2023 a, p. 235). The obelisk was decorated not only with a five-pointed star but also with five disarmed mortar shells. The same shells were also embedded in the monument itself (Drozd, 2023 a; Gocz, 2018; Szumielewicz, 2000). As Roman Drozd points out, the authorities reacted strongly. This was also influenced by the appearance of a Czechoslovak television journalist from Košice (Szumielewicz, 2000). The head of the City and Municipality of Dukla ordered the demolition of the monument on October 4 because it did not have the relevant permits, which was only a ploy as the monument was located on private land and no relevant permits were needed for its construction (Drozd, 2023 a; Brej, 2018; Bata, 2002). The next document already made it clear who was to carry out its demolition: the Bieszczady Brigade of Border Protection Forces from Przemyśl. The reasoning was also changed – this time the reason was not permits, but danger posed by the monument, due to the placement of shells and grenades. This charge was serious, and it could have been extended to illegal possession of weapons by Gocz (Drozd, 2023 a; cf. Brej, 2018; Bata, 2002). A special military commission headed by sappers ruled, according to a previously formulated thesis by the

authorities, that the monument posed a danger because it contained 100 pieces of unexploded ammunition: mortar shells, artillery shells, and F1 grenades (Kroh, 2016; Brej, 2018; Bata, 2002). Gocz's explanation that all the embedded shells were disarmed, had no fuses, and were hollow inside (Kroh, 2016; Bata, 2002) did not help.

It should be noted that a delegation from the Regional Museum in Krosno came to check whether the Zyndranowa facility was operating in accordance with regulations. Further, the Building Department of Krosno ruled that the monument was not integrated into the landscape, and did not constitute a whole with the surroundings (Kroh, 2016; Szumielewicz, 2000). Artur Bata cites documents in his book on the history of the Zyndranowa monument:

Protocol for the evaluation of the artistic and architectural value of the monument in Zyndranowa, dated October 5, 1976, states that: the Artistic Commission of the Department of Culture and Art of the Provincial Office, dated October 5, 1976 [...], concluded that the completed monument intended to symbolize Polish-Soviet friendship did not meet the requirements due to low artistic criteria in artistic terms and architecture. The composition of the monument and the materials used are a conglomeration of random elements and formally do not constitute an artistic statement. The monument does not merge with its surroundings and interferes with the perception of the landscape. Situated on the same property, the object made of stone and military elements is also of no artistic value. The commission is proposing to dismantle the aforementioned objects (Bata, 2002, p. 16).

There were also objections from one of the officers regarding the inscription. He believed that the word "sława" does not appear in Polish and should be replaced with "chwała" (Kroh, 2016; Czubaj-Kuźmin, 2011; Szumielewicz, 2000). On October 5, 1976, a day before the scheduled opening, the People's Militia fenced off the area where the monument was located, and attention to unexploded ordnance sign was erected. Teodor/Fedor Gocz was banned from entering the fenced-off area (Kroh, 2016; Szumielewicz, 2000; cf. photo of monument with attention to "unexploded munitions" sign, Kroh, 2016; Bata, 2002).

The authorities, in order to prevent the public opening, decided to demolish the monument. It was blown up by sappers from Dębica on December 1, 1976. The explosion was so powerful that it damaged the Gocz family's house and the plating of the museum buildings (cf. the description of the actions taken by Mr. Gocz after the monument was blown up contained in the Security Office report 18 XI 1977 *Plan działań operacyjnych w sprawie operacyjnej krypt. "Pomnik" dotyczącej Teodora Gocza, działacza społecznego z Podkarpacia, sporządzony w Sekcji II Wydziału III KWMO w Krośnie* in Ślabig, 2016; Kryciński, 2021; also cf. memories of neighbors of the Gocz family describing the blowing up of the monument in Bata, 2002). In addition to destroying the monument, the authorities confiscated militaria from the museum's collection (Drozd, 2023 a; Drozd, 2023, b; Kaczyński, 2018; cf. photos documenting the blown-up monument, Gocz, 2018). The authorities also began judicial harassment of Gocz by charging him with penalties for allegedly misappropriating concrete barriers that were used to build the monument (Drozd, 2023 a; Wielocha, 2018; Bata, 2002). The author and originator of the monument explained the authorities' action by nationality considerations and the state's policy towards the Lemko population. Arguably, the citizens' initiative itself also contributed to this, after all, it was the communist government that was supposed to have a monopoly on historical policy and the commemoration of the past (Drozd, 2023 a; Szumielewicz, 2000). Roman Drozd points out another reason:

In fact, the monument discredited both the local and central authorities. Thirty years after the Battle of the Dukla Pass, the unburied remains of soldiers could still be found on the battlefield. This meant that the authorities had not done everything possible to inspect the site thoroughly and to bury the remains with dignity (Drozd, 2023 a, p. 237).

There was also the aspect of security, not demining the area, and international overtones because the Museum Council tried to invite guests from the USSR and Czechoslovakia. With this, some researchers also explain the use of as much as 24 kg of TNT to destroy the monument so as to obliterate traces of the burial of the soldiers (Drozd, 2023 a; Kroh, 2016; Brej, 2018). There have even been unsubstantiated

allegations that the monument was dedicated to the OUN as well (Gocz, 2017; Gocz, 2018).

These actions were counterproductive; instead of obliterating traces of the site, they made it famous both within the country and abroad (Bata, 2002). For these reasons, the Security Office in Krosno took measures to prevent too much publicity for the museum in connection with the destruction of the monument, and a special operational plan was formulated with the code name "Monument" (Drozd, 2023 a; Drozd, 2023 b; 18 XI 1977 *Plan działań operacyjnych w sprawie operacyjnej krypt. "Pomnik" dotyczącej Teodora Gocza, działacza społecznego z Podkarpacia, sporządzony w Sekcji II Wydziału III KWMO w Krośnie* in Słabig, 2016).

The Security Office efforts can be inscribed in a broader trend of actions taken to liquidate the museum itself, which was salt in the eyes of the authorities because it not only documented the Battle of the Dukla Pass but, above all, reminded of the misfortune of the Lemko population displaced as part of the "Vistula" action (Drozd, 2023a). Hence the projects to dislocate the collection (a plan since the 1970s) to museums in Rzeszów and Łańcut (Drozd, 2023 a; Drozd, 2023b). "We can assume that the central authorities treated the museum as a lesser evil. Unlike the local authorities, who were inclined to liquidate it, as its existence only created problems for them. However, the functioning and protection of the museum may have been aided by the fact that Mr Gocz was a secret collaborator of the Security Office, with the alias Pietrek" (Drozd, 2023b, p. 17; this collaboration, according to Gocz, was a way to protect his facility from liquidation cf. Drozd, 2023 a). Gocz, noted, as the creator of the museum, that it was more difficult for the authorities to liquidate a facility that had an exhibition commemorating the Battle of the Dukla Pass (Drozd, 2023a; Wielocha, 2018).

The history of the unique monument in Zyndranowa did not end with the memorable year of 1976 (cf. more extensively the documents overturning the decisions of the communist Poland's prosecutor's office on the Bata monument, 2002). After the political transformation, a delegation of sappers from Military Unit 2265 from Dębica came to the Gocz family to apologize for the destruction of the monument. As the officers stressed, they had no influence on

the political decision of the authorities. The head of the museum, understanding the situation in which the soldiers were, stated that the monument should be rebuilt, which was done with the help of the Polish Army. Implementation of this 1990s' declaration came to wait until 2004 when an obelisk was unveiled on October 5, located on the site of the monument destroyed in 1976 (Bata, 2002).

The event was unprecedented: in the post-1989 era, a monument was erected to commemorate the Red Army. This second monument at the museum has an inscription in three languages: "Eternal Memory to Fallen Heroes in the Carpathians 1944-1945 Dukla-Svidník-Zyndranowa 2004". Again, in creating the monument, elements of armaments were used: soldiers' helmets, bullet fragments, and a piece of track from a T-34 tank was embedded in front of the monument (Kroh, 2016; Bata, 2002; cf. photos of the monument from its unveiling and dedication ceremony in Gocz, 2018). A ceremony to unveil the monument was held on October 5, 2004 (Brej, 2018). The monument was erected thanks to the initiative of the Army commander, Lieutenant-General Edward Pietrzak and the mayor of the Dukla municipality, Marek Górak, with activists from the Council of the Zyndranowa Museum Society (Brej, 2018; Bata, 2002).

It is worth noting that there is another monument/grave commemorating the fallen tankmen of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in Zyndranowa. It is a memorial site for four soldiers. Fragments of a tank were placed on a commemorative obelisk (*Zyndranowa. Leśna mogiła czołgistów; Zyndranowa – mogiła czołgistów czechosłowackich*).

The monuments erected in Zyndranowa commemorating the Dukla operation remain in the shadow of the elaborate installation consisting of entire vehicles that can be viewed in the so-called Valley of Death on the Slovakian side. Traversing the aforementioned valley, one can see T-34/85 tanks placed on mountainsides and around village buildings. The installation is meant to produce a sense of dynamism. The most famous part of the outdoor exhibit in the Valley of Death is a monument showing the ramming of a German tank by a Soviet vehicle. The monument commemorates the Dukla Operation and the battles around Svidník fought from September 8, 1944 to October 28, 1944. The monument was unveiled in 1959 to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the operation. It shows

a German PzKpfw IV tank being crashed into by a Soviet T-34/85 tank. This arrangement of vehicles is meant to reflect the extremely difficult combat conditions and fierce clashes in the Valley of Death on October 25–27, 1944 (Document No. vHÚ-37-49/2023; Šteiner, 2020; Kadlec, Lichner, Mihálik, Turza, Purdek, 2009).

St. John's Cathedral in Warsaw is the most famous of the monuments built on the basis of tank fragments found in Poland. A fragment of a track was embedded in the wall, bearing an erroneous plaque stating that it was a fragment of a Goliath tank that damaged part of the cathedral (in fact, a part of another vehicle known as the Borgward B IV was embedded, *Katedra w ogniu; Gąsienica niemieckiego czołgu na murze katedry św. Jana w Warszawie*).

In the above review of monuments created using fragments of armored weapons, it would be appropriate to draw attention to issues that go beyond the bosom of the above sketch. The idea was to use pieces of military equipment decorating the necropolises. Thus, the cemetery of Red Army soldiers in Bielsko-Biała 9 Cybinka can be recalled (<https://www.bielsko24.eu/cmentarz-zolnierzy-radzieckich/>), decorated with a cannon placed on a pedestal (Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 536), the cemetery in Kalisz (also cf. discussion regarding the removal of cannons from the cemetery, Kubiak, 2017), the cemetery in Rabka Zdrój (cf. discussion regarding plans to remove cannons from the cemetery. Bafia, 2022), and the cemetery in Wolsztyn with two 76 mm ZiS cannons (Krawczyk, 2021), on top of the cemetery of soldiers of the Second Polish Army in Zgorzelec (Burdosz, 2015). In Łososina Górna, the monument to the Legionnaires was decorated with two cannons, which are not only of Soviet manufacture but were also used during World War II (*Łososina Górna. Eksploratorzy. Forum Zbuntowanych Poszukiwaczy; Łososina Górna i jej atrakcje*). In addition, examples of armored weapons displays in open-air weapons exhibitions deserve separate attention. Such projects were carried out in the People's Republic of Poland under the then historical policy of the People's Polish Army (Sahaj, 2018; Simiński, 2013; Migdalski, 2013; Zielak, 1979; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986; Leszkowicz, 2022).

There are numerous monuments created on the basis of military equipment used during the First and Second World Wars in Poland.

These include “monuments of gratitude” from the communist era, as well as the shrines and crosses so present in the landscape of the Krakow-Czestochowa Jurassic Highlands, which were created from so-called “shrapnel glasses” from World War I (Szymborski, 2022). A special armored trail has even been marked out in the Morawica municipality in the footsteps of the shrines created from the remnants of the armored battle of World War II (*Szlak Pancerny*; cf. the cross in Nieradowo from a tank barrel: *Nieradowo. Krzyż przydrożny z lufy niemieckiego czołgu*; also cf. references to a unique monument located in Jaciążek: a cross made of artillery shell casings contains the ashes of Poles murdered by the Germans in the Pomiechówek camp; in Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 337; *Jaciążek. Krzyż przydrożny z łusek armatnich*). To summarize this brief overview of tank monuments and monuments created from parts of weapons, it should be noted that the monuments erected after 1945 played a very important propaganda role. Using a recurring motif – a tank on a pedestal – the state authorities made these monuments a recognizable part of the landscape. They were so important from the point of view of the authorities at the time that they even appeared on postcards. And so, the city of Żory issuing a postcard with a view of the city next to fragments of the market and a housing estate, showed a tank monument to the brotherhood of arms. A similar view can be seen on a postcard from Pruszków, where a tank monument commemorating the People’s Polish Army was placed next to the city park, a 19th century palace and apartment buildings. Postcards were also issued with a T-34 tank from Westerplatte, or a card showing the Siekierki war cemetery and tank monument next to the Polish Army Museum. Monuments of gratitude and monuments to brotherhood played an important role in the propaganda of the time, and it should come as no surprise that after 1989 some of them were removed. However, on many occasions the city authorities or residents have made efforts to ensure that the “tank monument” remains, only efforts have been made to remove the blatant communist symbolism. The monuments from Kasina Wielka and Zyndranowa significantly deviate from the classic monuments of gratitude or brotherhood of arms. In both of these cases, the huge role of local communities that determined the

creation of these works is evident. With regard to Kasina Wielka, the form was given by an artist; in Zyndranowa, it was a work built by former soldiers and those wishing to commemorate World War II events. The case of Kasina Wielka deserves special attention because it commemorates the events of the 1939 campaign, while the other monuments represent events related to the encroachment of the Red Army. For these reasons and because of the very interesting artistic form created on the basis of the tank turret, the monument commemorating the soldiers of the 24th Cavalry Regiment deserves special attention.

### **Bibliography**

*Documents from the collections of the Mszana Dolna  
Municipality Office:*

Document no. DNS-I.5140.16.2022.MN.RK.3 of 14 June 2023 Decision on entry of the monument into the register of immovable monuments

Application for entry in the register of immovable monuments dated 21.09.2022.

*Document sent by Institute of Military History Bratislava:*

Document no. VHÚ-37-49/2023

*Published works:*

18 XI 1977 Plan działań operacyjnych w sprawie operacyjnej krypt. "Pomnik" dotyczącej Teodora Gocza, działacza społecznego z Podkarpacia, sporządzony w Sekcji II Wydziału III KWMO w Krośnie [18 Nov 1977 Operational Action Plan for the Operational Case Crypt. "Monument" concerning Teodor Gocz, a social activist from the Subcarpathian region, prepared in Section II of the Third Division of the KWMO in Krosno] in A. Słabig (2016). *Kwestia ukraińska w działalności Służby Bezpieczeństwa PRL. Dokumenty i materiały (wstęp i opracowanie)*. Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci



- Narodowej, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 457–463.
- Baczyński, B., Lulek P. (Eds.). (2012). *650 lat dziejów Kasiny Wielkiej [650 Years of Kasina Wielka History]*. Kasina Wielka: Stowarzyszenie Rozwoju i Odnowy Wsi Kasina Wielka.
- Bata, A. (2002). *Wojna o pomnik [The War over the Monument]*. Krosno: Oficyna wydawnicza "Apla".
- Brej, W. (2018). Muzeum w Zyndranowej – podkarpacką perłą kultury łemkowskiej [The Zyndranowa Museum – a Subcarpathian Pearl of Lemko Culture]. *Muzealna Zahoroda. Rocznik Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej. Rocznik poświęcony pamięci Fedora Goacza (1929–2018) i 50. Rocznicy powołania MKŁ w Zyndranowej*, no. 3, 160–174.
- Buczek-Kowalik, M., Buczek, K. (2017). Wykorzystanie dziedzictwa historycznego do kreowania produktów militarnej turystyki kulturowej (na przykładzie Podkarpacia) [The Use of Historical Heritage to Create Products of Military Cultural Tourism (the Example of the Subcarpathian Region)]. *Przedsiębiorczość i Zarządzanie*, vol. 8, no. 5, 5–232.
- Cembrzyńska, P. (2017). Chcą nas zmienić w reliefy i rzeźby [They Want to Turn Us Into Reliefs and Sculptures]. *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, vol. 61, no. 2, 23–33.
- Czarnecka, D. (2013 a). Pomniki wdzięczności Armii Czerwonej w Polsce w latach 1989–1993 [Monuments of Gratitude to the Red Army in Poland in the Years 1989–1993]. In: D. Czarnecka, J. Książek (Ed.) *Krajobraz kulturowy wolnej Polski. Zbiór studiów*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 35–63.
- Czarnecka, D. (2013 b). Próba wysadzenia gdańskiego pomnika wdzięczności Armii Czerwonej w 1949 roku (w świetle akt Wojkowego Sądu Rejonowego w Gdańsku) [An Attempt to Blow Up the Gdańsk Monument of Gratitude to the Red Army in 1949 (in the Light of the Files of the Military District Court in Gdańsk)]. *Zapiski historyczne*, vol. 78, no. 3, 105–128.
- Czarnecka, D. (2015). „Pomniki wdzięczności” Armii Czerwonej w Polsce Ludowej i w III Rzeczypospolitej. Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciw Narodowi Polskiemu. The work was also published in English: Czarnecka, D. (2021).

- “Monuments in Gratitude” to the Red Army in Communist and post-communist Poland. Paris: L’Harmattan Kiadó.
- Czubaj-Kuźmin, S. (2011). Pamięć zbiorowa jako wspornik tożsamości łemkowskiej [Collective Memory as a Support for Lemko Identity]. *Przegląd zachodni*, no. 1 (338), 147–175.
- Czubryt-Borkowski, C., Michasiewicz, J. (1986). *Przewodnik po upamiętnionych miejscach walk i męczeństwa lata wojny 1939–1945* [A Guide to the Commemorated Sites of Struggle and Martyrdom of the War Years 1939–1945]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo “Sport i Turystyka”.
- Davis, J. (2016). Marking Memory: Ambiguity and Amnesia in the Monument to Soviet Tank Crews in Prague. *Public Art Dialogue*, 6:1, 35–57.
- Domański, B., Murzyn-Kupisz, M. (2021). Krajobraz kulturowy a zmieniające się narracje tożsamości miasta – przypadek Gliwic [Cultural Landscape and Changing Narratives of the City’s Identity. The Case of Gliwice]. *Rozwój regionalny i polityka regionalna*, 54, 91–112.
- Domański, M. (2015). Samoloty [Planes]. In: M. Domański, T. Ferenc (Eds.) *Pomniki wojenne formy miejsca pamięć* [War memorials Memorial forms]. Łódź: Akademia Sztuk Pięknych im. Władysława Strzemińskiego w Łodzi, 204–222.
- Drozd, R. (2023 a). Dzieje Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej i jego rola w zachowaniu i propagowaniu kultury łemkowskiej [History of the Museum of Lemko Culture in Zyndranowa and Its Role in Preserving and Promoting Lemko Culture]. *Studia Polityczne*, vol. 51, no. 1, 227–252.
- Drozd, R. (2023 b). Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej [The Museum of Lemko Culture in Zyndranowa]. *Muzealnictwo*, vol. 64, 15–22.
- Ferenc, T., Domański, M. (2015). Pomniki wojenne jako formy ambiwalentne [War Memorials as Ambovalent Forms]. In: M. Domański, T. Ferenc (Eds.) *Pomniki wojenne formy miejsca pamięć* [War memorials Memorial forms]. Łódź: Akademia Sztuk Pięknych im. Władysława Strzemińskiego w Łodzi, 8–13.
- Gabowitsch, M. (2023). Visuals in History Textbooks. War Memorials in Soviet and Post-Soviet School Education from 1945 to

2021. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, vol. 15, no 1, 99–128.
- Gocz, B. (2017). Ochrona dziedzictwa kulturowego Łemków i rola kulturotwórcza Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej [Protection of the Cultural Heritage of the Lemkos and the Culture-Forming Role of the Museum of Lemko Culture in Zyndranowa]. *Muzealna Zahoroda. Rocznik Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej*, no. 2, 12–18.
- Gocz, B. (2018). 50 lat Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej [50 Years of the Museum of Lemko Culture in Zyndranowa]. *Muzealna Zahoroda. Rocznik Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej. Rocznik poświęcony pamięci Fedora Gocza (1929–2018) i 50. Rocznicy powołania MKŁ w Zyndranowej*, no. 3, 7–57.
- Golon, M. (1996). Symbole wdzięczności czy uległości? Pomniki wdzięczności Armii Czerwonej – przyczynek do dziejów propagandy komunistycznej w Polsce po drugiej wojnie światowej [Symbols of Gratitude or Submission? Monuments of Gratitude to the Red Army – a Contribution to the History of Communist Propaganda in Poland after the Second World War]. In: Z. Karpus, T. Kempa, D. Michaluk (Ed.) *Europa Orientalis. Polska i jej wschodni sąsiedzi od średniowiecza po współczesność. Studia i materiały ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Alexandrowiczowi w 65 rocznicę urodzin*. Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 601–618.
- Grygorowicz-Kosakowska, K. (2012). Formy przestrzenne pochówków wojennych z końca II wojny światowej jako element tożsamości miejsca na przykładzie gminy i miasta Czarnków [Spatial Forms of War Burials from the End of World War II as an Element of the Spatial Identity. The Example of the Commune and the Town of Czarnków]. *Architektura czasopismo techniczne. Technical Transactions Architecture*, 109, no. 7, 303–313.
- Grzesiuk-Olszewska, I. (1995). *Polska rzeźba pomnikowa w latach 1945–1995 [Polish Statues in 1945–1995]*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton.
- Huk, B. (2016). Misterium Tremendum władzy wobec zyndranowskiej Ukrainy. Próba likwidacji Muzeum Regionalnej Kultury Łemkowskiej w latach 1972–1974 [Misterium Tremendum of Power Against Zyndranowa Ukraine. An Attempt to Liquidate

- the Museum of Regional Lemko Culture in the Years 1972–1974]. *Muzealna Zahoroda. Rocznik Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej*, no. 1, 129–141.
- Hyszko, M. (2016). “Pomnik-czołg” z Placu im. Siemiona Chochriakowa w Częstochowie 1975–1991 [“Tank Monument” from Syemyon Khokhryakov Square in Częstochowa 1975–1991]. *Ziemia Częstochowska*, vol. 42, 77–96.
- Jarysz, A. (2015). Dzieło sztuki na granicy przeszłości i przyszłości. Historia i patriotyzm w sztuce nieprofesjonalnej [A Work of Art Between the Past and Future. History and Patriotism in Non-Professional Art]. *Sprawy narodowościowe. Seria nowa*, 47, 104–115.
- Jońca, A. (2014). *Czołgi Vickers Mark E [Vickers Mark E Tanks]*. Warszawa: Edipresse Polska S.A (Wielki Leksykon Uzbrojenia Wrzesień 1939), vol. 32.
- Kaczyński, A. (2018). Zyndranowa – trzydziestolecie muzeum łemkowskiego [Zyndranowa – the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Lemko Museum]. *Muzealna Zahoroda. Rocznik Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej. Rocznik poświęcony pamięci Fedora Gocza (1929–2018) i 50. Rocznicy powołania MKŁ w Zyndranowej*, no. 3, 96–100.
- Kadlec, P., Lichner, J., Mihálik, M., Turza, P., Purdek, I., (2009). *Vojenské historické muzeum. Národná kultúrna pamiatka – Dukelské boisko, pamätníky a pamätné miesta [Military History Museum. National Cultural Monument – Dukla Boisko, Memorials and Memorial Sites]*. In: I. Purdek, *15 Rokov Vojenského historického ústavu (1994–2009)*. Bratislava: Vojensky historicky ústav, 102–140.
- Kałużna, J. (2015). Czerwony, bolszewik, ... człowiek? – upamiętnienie symboliczne a miejsca spoczynku i pamięci żołnierzy Armii Czerwonej na terenie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. *Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne*, no. 4, 263–279.
- Kałużna, J. (2018). Dekomunizacja przestrzeni publicznej w Polsce – zarys problematyki. *Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne*, no. 2, 157–171.
- Kattago, S. (2009). War Memorials and the Politics of Memory: the Soviet War Memorial in Tallinn. *Constellations. An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory*, 16, no 1, 150–166.
- Kattago, S. (2015). Monumenty wojenne i polityka pamięci” radziecki pomnik wojny w Tallinie [War monuments and the politics of remembrance” Soviet war memorial in Tallinn]. In: M. Domański,

- T. Ferenc (Eds.) *Pomniki wojenne formy miejsca pamięć*. [War memorials Memorial forms]. Łódź: Akademia Sztuk Pięknych im. Władysława Strzemińskiego w Łodzi, 176–203.
- Kimball, J. A. (2004). *Trench Art An Illustrated History*. California: Silverpenny Press Davis.
- Konecka-Szydłowska, B., Kulczyńska, K. (2012). Różnorodność w jedności. Przykład miast powiatu czarnkowsko-trzecieckiego [Diversity in unity. The example of the cities of the Czarnkowsko-Trzeciecki district]. *Studia miejskie*, vol. 5, 129–143.
- Korbal, J. (2019). *Czołg lekki Vickers MK E*. Warszawa: Edipresse Polska S. A (Wielki Leksykon Uzbrojenia wydanie specjalne, vol. 1).
- Kroh, A. (1985). Problemy współczesnej kultury łemkowskiej na przykładzie Muzeum w Zyndranowej. *Konteksty. Polska Sztuka Ludowa*, no. 3–4, 131–136.
- Kroh, A. (2016). *Za tamtą górą. Wspomnienia łemkowskie*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Iskry.
- Kroh, A. (2018). Problemy współczesnej kultury łemkowskiej na przykładzie Muzeum w Zyndranowej. *Muzealna Zahoroda. Rocznik Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej. Rocznik poświęcony pamięci Fedora Gocza (1929–2018) i 50. Rocznicy powołania MKŁ w Zyndranowej*, no. 3, 63–70.
- Kryciński, S. (2021). *Łemkowszczyzna neutracona*. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Libra PL.
- Leszkowicz, T. (2022). *Spadkobiercy Mieszka, Kościuszki i Świerczewskiego. Ludowe Wojsko Polskie jako instytucja polityki pamięci historycznej*. Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu.
- Łapiński, A. (2019). *Plaże inwazji w Normandii. Pejzaż i historia*. Poznań: Zysk i S-ka Wydawnictwo.
- Łydka, A. (2023). Czołgiści 2 szwadronu na Gardzieli. *Polska zbrojna*, no. 2 (26), 22–31.
- Maczek, S. (1990). *Od podwoły do czołga*. Lublin–Londyn: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Orbis Books.
- Marcacci, J., P. (2014). *Recuperanti e riciclatori delle due guerre mondiali*. Bologna: Guerra e resistenza nel Belvedere '43-'45.
- Matuchniak-Krasuska, A. (2015). Z Dłutowa do Dobiegniewa – od kampanii wrześniowej do niewoli niemieckiej. Analiza

- socjologiczna pomników wojennych w środowisku lokalnym. In M. Domański, T. Ferenc (Eds.) *Pomniki wojenne formy miejsca pamięć*. Łódź: Akademia Sztuk Pięknych im. Władysława Strzemińskiego w Łodzi, 68–89.
- Matuchniak-Mystkowska, A. (2023). Miejsca, ludzie, zdarzenia – wielka historia i społeczność lokalna. *Perspektywy kultury*, vol. 40, no. 1, 125–143.
- Migdalski, P. (2013). Dzieje cmentarza wojennego żołnierzy 1. Armii Wojska Polskiego w Siekierkach. in K. Marciszewska, P. Migdalski (Eds.) *Tym samym pociągami. Przesiedlenia przymusowe, procesy dezintegracyjne i integracyjne na Pomorzu Zachodnim i ziemi lubuskiej w latach 1939–1949*. Chojna-Szczecin: Stowarzyszenie Historyczno-Kulturalne „Terra Incognita” w Chojnie, 141–162.
- Molon, G., Fusine dalle, G. (2018). *La seconda vita. Preziosi cimeli della Grande Guerra. Arte e artigianato di trincea in Italia*, Atelier Grafico.
- Ochman, E. (2010). Soviet war memorials and the re-construction of national and local identities in post-communist Poland. *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 38, no 4, 509–530.
- Ochmański, A. (2011). Waloryzacja potencjału turystyczno-kulturowego Gliwic i powiatu gliwickiego. *Turystyka kulturowa*, no. 1, 37–52.
- Ożóg, K. S. (2014). Pomnik przemocy i przemoc w pomniku – cztery odsłony. *The Polish Journal of the Arts and Culture*, vol. 3, no 11, 89–105.
- Pawłowski, E. (Ed.). (1993). *Księga pochowanych żołnierzy polskich poległych w II wojnie światowej*, vol. I Żołnierze września A-M. Pruszków: Oficyna Wydawnicza „Ajaks”.
- Pawłowski, E. (Ed.). (1993). *Księga pochowanych żołnierzy polskich poległych w II wojnie światowej*, vol. I Żołnierze września N-Z. Pruszków: Oficyna Wydawnicza „Ajaks”.
- Pawłowski, E. (Ed.). (1998). *Księga pochowanych żołnierzy polskich poległych w II wojnie światowej. Suplement*. Pruszków: Oficyna Wydawnicza „Ajaks”.
- Radecka, K. (2017). Polska sztuka komemoratywna w miejscach pamięci związanych z II wojną światową. Funkcja a piękno – signum temporis. *Architecturae et Artibus*, vol. 9, no 2, 29–34.
- Radomski, G. (2021). Między współpracą, grą o niezależność a świadomą opozycją. Polityka historyczna w relacjach rządowo-

- samorządowych – wybrane aspekty. *Świat idei i Polityki*, 20, no. 2, 13–31.
- Radwan, K. (red.). (2006). *Śladami lotniczych tradycji Małopolski (przewodnik dla niestereotypowych turystów)*. Kraków: Muzeum Lotnictwa Polskiego.
- Roguska, A. (2016). Tereny zielone Sławna. in J. Sroka (Ed.) *Siedem wieków Sławna*. Sławno: Fundacja “Dziedzictwo” w Sławnie, 205–216.
- Różycki, B. (2016). Modyfikowanie symboliki w przestrzeni publicznej na przykładzie działań wobec pomników komunistycznych w Polsce po 1989 r. *Społeczeństwo. Edukacja. Język*, 4, 29–44.
- Sadowski, P. (2019 a). Bitwa której nie było. W 80. rocznicę zajęcia Krakowa przez Wehrmacht. in G. Jeżowski, P. Sadowski. *Bitwa której nie było. W 80. rocznicę wybuchu II wojny światowej*. Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, 39–133.
- Sadowski, P. (2019 b). *Jordanów 1939. Historia i pamięć pierwszej bitwy 10. Brygady Kawalerii*. Pcm: Stowarzyszenie Rozwoju Kultury, Sportu i Informacji Lokalnej Nedan.
- Sahaj, T. (2018). *Dark tourism* na przykładzie wybranych “atrakcji turystycznych” Poznania. *Turystyka kulturowa*, no. 4, 7–25.
- Saunders, N. (2003). *Trench Art.: Materialities and Memories of War*. Oxford-New York: Berg.
- Simiński, H. (2013). Budowa Muzeum w Gozdowicach i pozyskiwanie pierwszych eksponatów. *Rocznik Chojeński*, 5, 233–255.
- Skibiński, F. (1960). *Pierwsza pancerna*. Warszawa: Czytelnik.
- Sobkowski, J. (2016). Stan pamięci historycznej młodych częstochowian. *Prosopon Europejskie Studia Społeczno-Humanistyczne*, 15 (2), 99–111.
- Šteiner, P. (2020). Current state of Military Museology in Slovakia. *Muzealnictwo*, vol. 61, 66–74.
- Szymborski, W. (2021). Sztuka okopowa: forma, przykłady, a także jej wykorzystanie w badaniach naukowych – kilka propozycji. *Perspektywy kultury*, vol. 35, no. 4, 337–364.
- Szymborski, W. (2022). Sztuka okopowa a jej wykorzystanie w dydaktyce historii. *Perspektywy kultury*, vol. 36, no. 1, 209–229.
- Tatarenko, A. (2019). *Relikty komunizmu: polityka historyczna wobec materialnego dziedzictwa sowieckiego w Republice Czeskiej*. Lublin: Prace Instytutu Europy Środkowej, no. 1.

- Trzeszczyńska, P. (2016). Cudza pamięć – nasza pamięć. Praktykowanie pamięci w Bieszczadach. *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Etnograficzne*, vol. 44, no. 1, 1–23.
- Warin. P. (2009). *Les objets du tabac de la Grande Guerre. Artisanat de tranchée*. Louviers: Ysec Éditions.
- Warin. P. (2011). *Les objets d'écriture de la Grande Guerre*. Louviers: Ysec Éditions.
- Wielgus, K. (2002). Metodologia badań w archeologii lotniczej oraz kierunki wykorzystania znalezisk. in R. Kowalski, K. Wielgus (Eds.). *Lotnicza historia, archeologia i tradycja miejsca. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Nowy Targ 13–15 września 2002*. Nowy Targ: Muzeum Lotnictwa Polskiego w Krakowie, 199–230.
- Wielocha, A. (2018). Nie żałuję, że zostałem. *Muzealna Zahoroda. Rocznik Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zyndranowej. Rocznik poświęcony pamięci Fedora Gocza (1929–2018) i 50. Rocznicy powołania MKŁ w Zyndranowej*, no. 3, 79–87.
- Winterton, M. (2022). *The Archaeology of the Royal Flying Corps. Trench Art, Souvenirs and Lucky Mascots*. Yorkshire-Philadelphia: Pen and Sword Books Limited.
- Wojciechowski, J. S. (2020). *24 Pułk Ułanów*. Pruszków: Oficyna Wydawnicza “Ajaks”.
- Zajączkowski, K. (2015). *Westerplatte jako miejsce pamięci 1945–1989*. Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu.
- Zielak, J. (1979). *Przyczółek warecko-magnuszewski. Działania 1 Armii Wojska Polskiego oraz ich upamiętnienie*. Warszawa: Rada Ochrony Pomników Walk i Męczeństwa, Wydawnictwo “Sport i Turystyka”.
- Żołnierczuk, M., Rykała, E. (2017). Nieme wołanie o pomoc symboli patriotycznych. *Zeszyty Naukowe Uczelni Vistula*, vol. 57, iss. 6, p. 17–28.

Postcards:

1. Dębica
2. Gdańsk-Westerplatte – two versions
3. Pruszków



4. Siekierki
5. Żory

### Interviews

Interview with Mr. Piotr Lulek conducted on 15.09.2023.

Interview with Lt. Col. Tomasz Ogrodniczuk head of the Division: Armored Weapons Museum in Poznań Branch of the Museum of the Polish Army conducted on 18.09.2023.

### Online sources

Ciechanowski, G. (2018). *Sowiecka i polska artyleria w bitwie o prawobrzeżny Szczecin* [Soviet and Polish artillery in the battle for right-bank Szczecin]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

Czarnecka, D. (2011). "Ostatnie starcie Estończyków z żołnierzem Armii Radzieckiej" – czyli o kulisach sporu wokół Pomnika Wyzwolicieli Tallina 1991-2007 ["The last clash between Estonians and the Soviet Army" or the backstory of the dispute around the Liberators of Tallinn Monument 1991-2007]. Retrieved from: <http://www.kulturaihistoria.umcs.lublin.pl/pl/archives/2555> (accessed on 12.09.2023).

Gabowitsch, M. (2021). What Has Happened to Soviet War Memorials since 1989/91? An Overview. Retrieved from: <https://www.politika.io/en/article/what-has-happened-to-soviet-war-memorials-since-198991-an-overview> (accessed on 12.09.2023).

*The Memorial To The 4th "Skorpion" Armoured Regiment*. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Pomnik Pułku 4 Pancernego "Skorpion"* [Monument to the 4th "Scorpion" Armoured Regiment]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_r](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_r)

ght\_bank\_Stettin\_Sowiecka\_i\_polska\_artyleria\_w\_bitwie\_o\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\_Szczecin (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Warszawa. Pamiątka masakry* [Warsaw. A memento of the massacre].

Retrieved from: <http://www.polskaniezwykla.pl/web/place/17053,-warszawa-pamiatka-masakry.html> (accessed on 22.09.2023).

*Nowogród. Pomnik czołg* [Nowogród. Tank monument]. Retrieved from:

[https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Kasina Wielka. Pomnik żołnierzy 24. Pułku Ułanów* [Kasina Wielka.

Monument to the soldiers of the 24th Cavalry Regiment]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Nieradowo. Krzyż przydrożny z lufy niemieckiego czołgu* [Nieradowo.

Roadside cross from the barrel of a German tank]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Jaciążek. Krzyż przydrożny z łusek armatnich* [Jaciążek. Roadside cross

made of cannon shells] Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Sanok. Czołg jako pomnik* [Sanok. Tank as a monument]. Retrieved

from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Neple. Pomnik czołgu* [Neple. Tank monument]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

[https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Wiśniew. Czołg pomnik* [Wiśniew. Tank monument]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Zydranowa. Leśna mogiła czołgistów* [Zydranowa. Forest grave of tankers]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Łososina Górna i jej atrakcje* [Łososina Górna and its highlights]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Lokalne Symbole Kultury Dębickiej – “Rudy 102”* [Local Symbols of Dębica Culture – “Rudy 102”] (2016). Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

Bafia, Sz. (2022). *Radni Rabki-Zdroju nie zdecydowali, by usunąć pomnik czerwoarmistów – komisja we wtorek* [Rabka-Zdrój councilors not to remove Red Army monument – committee on Tuesday]. Retrieved from: <https://dzieje.pl/wiadomosci/radni-rabki-zdroju-nie-zdecydowali-usunac-pomnik-czerwonoarmistow-komisja-we-wtorek> (accessed on 22.09.2023).

Urbaniec, J. (2016.) *Zapomniane skarby Nowej Huty w Muzeum Czynu Zbrojnego* [Forgotten Treasures of Nowa Huta at the Museum of Armed Deeds]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Łososina Górna. Eksploratorzy. Forum Zbuntowanych Poszukiwaczy* [Łososina Górna. Explorers. Forum of Rebellious Explorers]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_pol](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_pol)

- ska artyleria w bitwie o prawobrzeżny Szczecin (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Gdzie w Polsce są jako pomniki T-34?* [Where in Poland are there T-34s as monuments?] Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Pomnik "Czołg nad Narwią"* [Monument "Tank on the Narew River"]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Pomnik czołg* [Tank monument]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Pomnik Wdzięczności* [Gratitude memorial]. Retrieved from: [https://gdansk.fotopolska.eu/Pila/b2271,Pomnik\\_Wdziecznosc.html?f=147690-foto](https://gdansk.fotopolska.eu/Pila/b2271,Pomnik_Wdziecznosc.html?f=147690-foto) (accessed on 17.09.2023).
- Śliwiński, B. *Pomnik czołg* [Tank monument] Retrieved from: <https://gdansk.gedanopedia.pl/gdansk/?title=POMNIK-CZO%C5%81G> (accessed on 16.09.2023).
- Czołg IS-2 w Łęborku* [IS-2 tank in Łębork] (2019). Retrieved from: <https://infogdansk.pl/czolg-is-2-w-lebork/> (accessed on 23.09.2023).
- Kubiak, D. (2017). *Cmentarz Żołnierzy Radzieckich w Kaliszu. Armata na allegro?* [Cemetery of Soviet Soldiers in Kalisz. Cannons on Allegro?] Retrieved from: <https://kalisz.naszemiasto.pl/cmentarz-zolnierzy-radzieckich-w-kaliszu-armaty-na-allegro/ar/c1-4340681> (accessed on 22.09.2023).
- Radziecki czołg z cokołu nad Sanem zostanie usunięty!* [The Soviet tank from its plinth on the San River to be removed!] (2022). Retrieved from: <https://korsosanockie.pl/wiadomosci/radziecki-czolg-z-cokolu-nad-sanem-zostanie-usuniety/RNk0E3GdCQeo2YWi2DGb> (accessed on 22.09.2023).
- Kasina Wielka - 4 Września 1939 roku* [Kasina Wielki - 4 September 1939] (2022). Retrieved from: <https://muzeumbronipancernej.pl/kasina-wielka-4-wrzesnia-1939-rok/> (accessed on 15.09.2023).

*Czołg-pomnik ukradli i przewieźli kilkaset km!* [Tank monument stolen and taken hundreds of km away!] Retrieved from: <https://pl.misc.kolej.narkive.com/nvgewVmg/zlomiarze-czolg-pomnik-ukradli-i-przewiezli-kilkaset-km> (accessed on 16.09.2023).

*Czołg-pomnik* [Tank monument]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Pomnik Lotników Alianckich w Dębinie Zakrzowskiej* [Monument to Allied Airmen in Dębina Zakrzowska]. Retrieved from: [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pomnik\\_Lotnik%C3%B3w\\_Alianckich\\_w\\_D%C4%99binie\\_Zakrzowskiej](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pomnik_Lotnik%C3%B3w_Alianckich_w_D%C4%99binie_Zakrzowskiej) (accessed on 15.09.2023).

*Katedra w ogniu* [Cathedral on fire]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Pomnik – Czołg. Mirosławiec* [Tank monument. Mirosławiec] Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Były sobie czołgi...* [Once there were tanks] Retrieved from: <https://przystanekprl.pl/architektura/byly-sobie-czolg/> (accessed on 15.09.2023).

*Gąsienica niemieckiego czołgu na murze katedry św. Jana w Warszawie* [German tank track in the wall of St John's Cathedral in Warsaw]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

Welnic, R. (2021). *Legendarny czołg T-34 z Bornego Sulinowa. Ten z pomnika zabrali ze sobą Rosjanie* [Legendary T-34 from Borne Sulinowo. Taken from monument by Russians]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

- Czołg T-34 wrócił do podmiejskiej wsi Wiśniew* [T-34 tank returned to Wiśniew near Siedlce]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Pawłowski, W. (2002). *Dzieje dwóch czołgów z podmiejskich wsi* [Story of two tanks from near Siedlce]. Retrieved from: <https://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/7,34860,1233793.html> (accessed on 16.09.2023).
- Baligrodzki czołg* [The Baligród tank] (2022). Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Krawczyk, N. (2021). *Armaty na cmentarzu żołnierzy radzieckich zostały odnowione* [Cannons at the Soviet soldiers' cemetery restored]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Cmentarz Żołnierzy Radzieckich* [Cemetery of Soviet Soldiers] (2013). Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Smaga, D. (2007). *Wojna o pomnik* [War over a monument]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Zydranowa - mogiła czołgistów czechosłowackich* [Zydranowa - grave of Czechoslovak tank-men]. Retrieved from: <https://www.eksploratorzy.com.pl/viewtopic.php?f=1098&t=32589&view=previous> (accessed on 22.09.2023).
- Baligród (podkarpackie) - pomnik wyzwolicielom (T-34)* [Baligród (Subcarpathian) - Monument to the liberators (T-34)]. Retrieved from:

- <https://www.eksploratorzy.com.pl/viewtopic.php?f=66&t=5253> (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Burdosz, R. (2015). *Cmentarz Żołnierzy II AWP w Zgorzelcu* [Cemetery of Soldiers of II AWP in Zgorzelec]. Retrieved from: <https://www.gazetaregionalna.pl/zgorzelec/3598-cmentarz-zolnierzy-ii-awp-w-zgorzelcu.html> (accessed on 22.09.2023).
- Dębica. *Czołg IS-2 w Ogródku Jordanowskim* [Dębica. IS-2 tank on kids' playground]. Retrieved from: <https://www.pbc.rzeszow.pl/dlibra/publication/20471/edition/18865/content?ref=desc> (accessed on 23.09.2023).
- Szlak Pancerny* [Armored weapons trail]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Panek, D. (2016). *Zabytkowy czołg prawdopodobnie zostanie na osiedlu Górali w Nowej Hucie* [Historic tank likely to stay on Górali estate in Nowa Huta]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Oświęcimski Instytut Praw Człowieka: Chrobaczyński, J. *Jak polityka historyczna ustanawia, filtruje i usuwa bohaterów* [How historical politics establishes, filters and removes heroes]. Retrieved from: <http://oipc.pl/pliki/Jacek%20Chrobaczynski.pdf> (accessed on 11.09.2023).
- Szumielewicz, M. (2000). *Muzeum Kultury Łemkowskiej w Zydranowej jako ośrodek kulturotwórczy* [Museum of Lemko Culture in Zydranowa as a cultural center]. Dissertation written under the supervision of Prof. Tadeusz Chrobak, University of Social and Economic Sciences in Tyczyn, Department of Sociology thesis available at the website: <http://lemko.org/zydranowa/szumielewicz.html> (accessed on 15.09.2023).
- Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok* [List of memorials to Soviet soldiers and partisans in Poland as of 2009]. Retrieved from: <https://static.presspublica.pl/red/rp/pdf/kraj/Aktualny%20wykaz%20istniej%C4%85cych%20upami%C4%99tnie%C5%84%20sowiec>

kich%20w%20Polsce%202009.%20Wersja%20robocza.pdf (accessed on 15.09.2023).

*Kasina Wielka monument to the 24th Cavalry Regiment:*

Kot, K. (2018). *Kasina Wielka – pomnik z wieżyczki czołgu* [Kasina Wielka – tank turret monument]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Wieża polskiego czołgu zostanie odnowiona* [Polish tank turret to be restored]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Kasina Wielka* [Kasina Wielka]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

Okoński, G. (2019). *Do Muzeum Broni Pancernej w Poznaniu trafił unikatowy eksponat! To przedwojenny czołg Vickers E* [A unique exhibit has found its way to the Armoured Weapons Museum in Poznań! It is a pre-war Vickers E]. Retrieved from: <https://poznan.naszemiasto.pl/do-muzeum-broni-pancernej-w-poznaniu-trafil-unikatowy/ar/c1-7417270> (accessed on 15.09.2023).

*Dobrowolski Stanisław – artysta rzeźbiarz i malarz* [Dobrowolski Stanisław – artist, sculptor and painter]. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet\\_and\\_Polish\\_artillery\\_in\\_the\\_battle\\_for\\_right\\_bank\\_Stettin\\_Sowiecka\\_i\\_polska\\_artyleria\\_w\\_bitwie\\_o\\_prawobrze%C5%BCny\\_Szczecin](https://www.academia.edu/70723189/Soviet_and_Polish_artillery_in_the_battle_for_right_bank_Stettin_Sowiecka_i_polska_artyleria_w_bitwie_o_prawobrze%C5%BCny_Szczecin) (accessed on 11.09.2023).

*Vickers E z Kasiny Wielkiej – śladem niezwykłego pancernego artefaktu* [Vickers E from Kasina Wielka – tracing an unusual armored artefact]. Retrieved from: <https://www.zwiadowcahistorii.pl/vickers-e-z-kasiny-wielkiej-sladem-niezwyklego-pancernego-artefakt/> (accessed on 25.08.2023).



**Wiktor Szymborski** is a historian and a Professor at the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University. His research interests revolve around Church history with a particular focus on the history of the Dominican Order in the modern era. Author of monographs: *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Kraków 2011; *Collegium Broscianum*, Kraków 2014; *Bracia z ulicy Freta. Studia nad dominikanami warszawskimi w epoce nowożytnej*, Studia i Źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie, vol. 18, Wydawnictwo Esprit, Kraków 2018. By decision of the Prior Provincial of the Dominican Order and the Provincial Council, appointed to the Scientific Council of the Dominican Historical Institute. Member of the Polish Heraldic Society branch in Krakow, the Society of Friends of Science in Przemyśl and the Historical Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences branch in Krakow. As a hobbyist, he promotes the issue of trench art. Co-author of the trench art exhibition realized at IPN's Przystanek Historia [History Stop] branch in Krakow.

**Table 1**  
**List of “Monuments of Gratitude” to the Red Army Made from Military Equipment in Poland**

No.	Localization:	What it commemorates (as in: Czarnecka, 2015):	Military equipment used:	Bibliography:
1	Baligród	Tank monument to “liberators”, erected at soldiers’ graves	Initially a T-70 tank then the T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 4; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
2	Białystok	Białystok’s “liberator” tank-monument	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 17; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 60; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
3	Brzeziny	“Monument of gratitude” to the Red Army	2 T-34 tanks later transferred to the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw in 1992	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 35
4	Czarnków	Red Army soldiers’ memorial tank at military cemetery	T-34 tank was restored and moved elsewhere	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 66; Konecka-Szydłowska, Kulczyńska, 2012; also cf. Grygorowicz-Kosakowska, 2012; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 341; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok

5	Częstochowa	Tank monument	T-34 tank, dismantled in 1990	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 70; Hyszeko, 2016; Czarnecka, 2013 a
6	Drańsko-Pomorskie	Red Army soldiers' memorial at the location of the original temporary Soviet military cemetery	T-34 tanks flanking the pedestal as a symbol of the Red Army and Polish Army brotherhood	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 90; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
7	Dubienka	Tank commemorating crossing of the Bug river by the Red Army and Polish Army	T-34/85 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 92; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 98; Leszkowicz, 2022, 349-350; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
8	Elbląg	Tank monument - memorial to victory over fascism	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 98; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 123; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
9	Gdańsk	Tank monument to Red Army soldiers	T-34/85 tank, dismantled in 1992/93. T-34 tank announced as a memorial to the Tank-men of the Heroes of Westerplatte, replacement of an American M4A2 (76) tank gifted to the USSR as part of the lend-lease program (Cf. Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 131, 133; cf. <a href="https://gdansk.gedanopedia.pl/gdansk/?title=POMNIK-CZO%C5%82">https://gdansk.gedanopedia.pl/gdansk/?title=POMNIK-CZO%C5%82</a> )	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 102; Czarnecka, 2013 b; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 131; Leszkowicz, 2022, 355

10	Gliwice	Tank monument, commemorating Soviet and Polish soldiers, as a memorial to one of the first tanks that entered the city	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 105; Czarnecka, 2013 a; Ochmański, 2011; also cf. Domański, Murzyn-Kupisz, 2021
11	Głogów	Red Army soldiers monument/victory monument	The sides of the monument were decorated with light cannons (russian 76 mm model 1927) from the battle for the city	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 108
12	Grabownica Starzeńska	Red Army memorial	A Russian cannon ZiS-3 was placed under the arch of the monument	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 125
13	Grudziądz	“Monument of gratitude” to the Red Army	A cannon was placed next to the monument	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 132
14	Hajnówka	Tank monument to Red Army soldiers and officers	T-34 tank; in 1991 sold first to a farmer then to a doctor, who placed it by the Piśz-Szczuczyn road	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 135; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 62
15	Iława	Soviet soldiers' memorial	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 138
16	Kielce	“Monument of gratitude” to the Red Army	Initially there were two cannons (2x45 mm model 1937 53-K) at the monument, with their barrels aimed at the building of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 164

17	Kłodawa	"Monument of gratitude to the Red Army placed on a soldiers' grave	The barrel of a tank wrecked in this city on a concrete slab	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 169
18	Krzeczów	Cannon tank commemorating the Red Army	A 76 mm cannon on pedestal	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 198; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 424
19	Kunowice	Monument to Red Army soldiers, on the site of a makeshift military cemetery	Initially an ISU-122 SPG, replaced by T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 203; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
20	Lębork	Tank monument to Polish Army and Red Army soldiers	IS-2 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 213; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 439
21	Lubrza	Monument to Red Army soldiers, on the site of a makeshift Soviet military cemetery	SU-76 SPG later transferred to the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw, later a 76 mm cannon, then replaced by a PT-76 light tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 225; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
22	Malbork	"Monument of gratitude"	ISU-122 SPG	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 236
23	Nepie	The tank that was first to cross the Bug River commemorates the Red Army and the 1st Armored Brigade of the LWP	T-34/85 tank; according to a plaque that has not survived, it was supposed to commemorate the entry of the Red Army (https://www.dziennikwshodni.pl/biala-podlaska/wojna-o-pomnik,n,1000057771.html)	http://www.polskaniezwykla.pl/web/place/44718,nepie-pomnik-czolgu.html; https://www.dziennikwshodni.pl/biala-podlaska/wojna-o-pomnik,n,1000057771.html

24	Nowa Dęba	Tank monument to Red Army	Tank, dismantled in 1990	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 258
25	Nowe Mias- to nad Pilicą	Monument to Polish Army and Red Army soldiers	T-34 tank, dismantled in 1993	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 262
26	Piła	“Monument of grati- tude” to the Red Army	Plane (LiM-2) adorned ped- estal of monument, dis- mantled in late 1980s	Czarnecka, 2015, 110, Annex 455; <a href="https://gdansk.fotopolska.eu/Piła/b2271_Pomnik_Wdzieczności.html?f=147690-fo-to">https://gdansk.fotopolska.eu/Piła/b2271_Pomnik_Wdzieczności.html?f=147690-fo-to</a> – cf. on the Yak-1 plane location
27	Poznań	Cemetery and monument to Red Army “heroes”	4 Russian howitzers sur- round the site.	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 302; Czubryt- Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 369
28	Pyrzyce	Red Army tank monument	IS-2 tank, two 76 mm 1942 (ZIS-3) 1942 cannons nearby	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 319; Wykaz obiek- tów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
29	Różan	Tank monument to Pol- ish and Soviet soldiers, he- roes of 1939 and 1944-45	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 333; Golon, 1996; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 324; <a href="https://to.com.pl/czolgw-rozanie-zostanie/">https://to.com.pl/czolgw-rozanie-zostanie/</a> ar/6289720 (accessed: 15.09.2023); Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzan- tów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
30	Skiermiewice	Tank monument to Red Army soldiers	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 348; Wykaz obiek- tów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok

31	Sławno	Tank monument to Polish and Soviet soldiers	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 351; Siedem wieków, 2016; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
32	Ścinawa	Tank monument to Red Army soldiers	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 391; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 260; Wykaz obiektów upamiętniających żołnierzy i partyzantów sowieckich na terenie Polski stan na 2009 rok
33	Świdnica	Tank monument to Red Army soldiers, Red Army cemetery	Two anti-tank canons 76 mm 1942 (ZiS-3) adorn the cemetery gate	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 396; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 502
34	Świdwin	Monument (plane and boulder) to Polish and Soviet soldiers	Initially a MiG-19 aircraft then a MiG-17 PF.	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 398
35	Trzcianka	Tank monument to Red Army and Polish Army soldiers	T-34 tank; dismantled and scrapped in the 1990s.	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 410; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 341
36	Wągrowiec	Tank monument, on the site of a makeshift military burial site	T-34 tank, removed due to renovation in the 1950s.	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 430; <a href="https://wagrowiec.naszemiasto.pl/tych-obiektow-juz-nie-ma-w-wagrowcu-miasto-caly-czas-sie/ar/c7-8000959">https://wagrowiec.naszemiasto.pl/tych-obiektow-juz-nie-ma-w-wagrowcu-miasto-caly-czas-sie/ar/c7-8000959</a> (Accessed on 15.09.2023)
37	Wejherowo	Victory monument (tank)	T-34/85 tank, moved to a park in 2009	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 431; Czubryt-Borkowski, Michasiewicz, 1986, 138

38	Wiśniew	Monument to the tank that first liberated Wiśniew	T-34 tank	<p><a href="http://www.polskaniezwykla.pl/web/place/46319,wisniew-czolg-pomnik.html#google_vignette">http://www.polskaniezwykla.pl/web/place/46319,wisniew-czolg-pomnik.html#google_vignette</a>  <a href="https://warszawa.naszemiasto.pl/czolg-t-34-wro-cil-do-podsieclckiej-wsi-wisniew/ar/c8-6549731">https://warszawa.naszemiasto.pl/czolg-t-34-wro-cil-do-podsieclckiej-wsi-wisniew/ar/c8-6549731</a>  <a href="https://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/7,34860,1233793.html">https://warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/7,34860,1233793.html</a></p>
39	Wołomin	Tank monument to Polish and Soviet soldiers	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 448
40	Zydranowa	Monument to fallen Red Army soldiers bearing the inscription <i>Eternal glory to the fallen heroes 06.10.1944-1945. Lemkos 1975</i>	Monument constructed of helmets, shells, mortar shells	Cf. main text.
41	Żory	Monument to the brotherhood of arms	T-34 tank	Czarnecka, 2015, Annex 475; <a href="https://zory.naszemiasto.pl/zory-czolg-byl-kiedys-wizytowka-naszego-miasta-zdjecia/ar/c4-1051009">https://zory.naszemiasto.pl/zory-czolg-byl-kiedys-wizytowka-naszego-miasta-zdjecia/ar/c4-1051009</a>