

# The Routledge History of Antisemitism



Edited by Mark Weitzman, Robert J. Williams and James Wald

# THE ROUTLEDGE HISTORY OF ANTISEMITISM

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*and James Wald*

Designed cover image: Star of David (on the entrance gate) with beam of light inside the Jewish memorial, former Nazi German Dachau concentration camp, Munich, Germany. Maurice Savage / Alamy Stock Photo.

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## ANTISEMITISM IN POLAND

### From “Polin” to “Antisemitism without Jews”

*Rafal Pankowski*

For many centuries, Poland was an important center of Jewish life and culture and many Jews today trace their roots to the historical Polish territories. Many of them are well aware of the history of antisemitism in Poland which often affected their ancestors. The Shoah – one of the most extreme cases of mass murder in human history – was conducted by the German Nazis and their collaborators largely on Polish soil. Millions of Polish and other European Jews perished in the extermination centers located in Poland. Auschwitz, Treblinka, and other death camps are globally recognized symbols of genocide and the sites remain strongly embedded in both universal and Polish history. The Nazi Holocaust, the mass murder of the Jewish population, spelt the end of the large Jewish community in Poland and it represented the tragic culmination of antisemitism as Europe’s “longest hatred.”<sup>1</sup> While the role of the German Nazi perpetrators is generally well documented, the scale of local collaboration is still a matter of fierce debate, which started in the wake of Jan Tomasz Gross’s seminal publication about the 1941 Jedwabne pogrom.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the history of antisemitism in Poland attracts wide international interest as well as scholarly and political controversy. Moreover, the persistence of antisemitism in Poland after the Holocaust (illustrated by, but not limited to, the 1946 Kielce pogrom) illustrates the longevity of antisemitic stereotypes and ideology even in the form of “antisemitism without Jews.”<sup>3</sup> It provokes additional questions about the nature and foundations of antisemitism, questions which are related both to the specific Polish case and to the more general issues of antisemitism as a long-term phenomenon, a paradigmatic form of xenophobia in East-Central Europe and beyond.

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Abraham ben Jacob (Ibrahim ibn Jakub) was a Jewish merchant who traveled in Europe in the second half of the tenth century as an envoy of the Cordoban caliphate. He was the first person in history to write about the country later known as Poland (many standard histories of Poland refer to Ibrahim ben Jacob as an “Arab traveler” rather than a Jew<sup>4</sup> – one of many instances where the involvement of Jews in Polish culture and history has been omitted from the hegemonic national narrative). The Hebrew name of the country, Polin, is related to a legend according to which God told Jews traveling through East European forests to “polin” (Hebrew for “rest here”). Undoubtedly, the first Jews who arrived to “Polin” in the early period of state formation played a role in that process, not least as coin minters. Some coins issued under early Polish monarchs bore Hebrew letters.

Symbolically, the coronation sword of Polish kings (“Szczerbiec”), which is said to have belonged to Bolesław I (reigned 992–1025), bore a Hebrew inscription (in Latin letters), which indicates it may well have been a gift from the monarch’s Jewish subjects. According to Marcin Kornak, the Hebrew sentence suggests a Kabbalistic significance and the sword was in fact produced in the thirteenth century as a symbol of gratitude to Prince Bolesław the Pious for the groundbreaking 1243 Statute of Kalisz, which gave Jews unprecedented personal protection and communal autonomy. Ironically, in the twentieth century, the Szczerbiec sword became the main symbol of the modern antisemitic political movement known as Endecja (National Democracy).<sup>5</sup>

The process of Jewish settlement intensified because of migration after crusades, persecutions, and expulsions from other (especially Western) European countries. For example, in the late eleventh century there was a wave of Jewish settlers who had been expelled from Bohemia (current-day Czech Republic).

The Jewish community was an increasingly significant part of Polish society during the Jagiellonian period (1385–1572). Soon after the 1385 Union between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Polish framework of Jewish rights was extended to Lithuania (though in 1495 the Jews were, for eight years, expelled from Lithuania). Because Poland had a reputation as a haven, the number of Jews in Poland (and Lithuania) grew especially rapidly by the end of the Jagiellonian period: from 150,000 in the mid-sixteenth century to 300,000 at its close. Jews were prominently employed by the monarchs, as well as by the powerful magnates, as doctors, teachers, tax collectors, and diplomats.

The steady influx of Jews was due to both the relative economic prosperity and the toleration (and royal protection) which they experienced. Nevertheless, some restrictions on the Jewish presence were introduced in the sixteenth century. In certain towns, Jews were restricted to certain districts while other towns banned them altogether. Warsaw, the future capital, was an example of the latter (in 1525) while the former applied in Kraków, where Jews were resettled from the city center to the Jewish quarter, Kazimierz.

Medieval church teaching was hostile to Judaism and papal edicts demanded a strict separation of Jews from Christians. The papal teachings were echoed by the church in Poland. Nevertheless, the actual social practice was very different from the church’s demands: the level of interaction between Christian and Jews was relatively high and the Jewish role in society and the economy was significant. This is not to say that medieval anti-Judaism in Poland was free of violent hostility. For example, an allegation of ritual murder led to anti-Jewish violence in Kraków in 1407. Polish historian Paweł Jasienica noted wryly: “At times Poland shared in the antisemitism that was most shameful feature of Europe. Antisemitic riots took place in Kraków in 1407, as well as in Neisse, Frankfurt and Canterbury.”<sup>6</sup>

In the mid-1450s, the fiery Franciscan preacher (later proclaimed saint) John of Capistrano toured Polish cities. Under his influence, riots and expulsions took place in several locations. In 1556, Jews were accused of a host (sacramental bread) profanation in the central Polish town of Sochaczew, and a Jewish man and a Christian woman were subsequently sentenced and executed for the alleged crime. Alarmed by a looming wave of persecution, the Jewish communities intervened with the royal court, which renewed their security guarantees in Poland: the last Jagiellonian monarch Zygmunt August (reigned 1548–1572) issued an edict to this effect.

Arguably, the Poland of the first part of the seventeenth century could still be characterized as “*Paradisus Iudaeorum*” (a Jewish Paradise, ironically the phrase in fact originated

in an anti-Jewish pamphlet). Each king reaffirmed the privileges and protected status of the Jewish communities.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the Counter-Reformation produced a much less favorable climate as illustrated by anti-Jewish riots initiated by students of the Kraków University in 1637. Teller and Kąkolewski write of the situation in the second half of the century: “Jews became useful pawns in the Counter-Reformation campaign, whose goal was to preserve the Commonwealth as a Catholic state. Attacks on Jews ranged from verbal abuse and casual violence to full-fledged judicial murder.”<sup>8</sup> Accusations employed the medieval imagery of blood libel, desecration of the host, and the like. Because of the smears, “[h]undreds of innocent Jews were arrested and tortured and in some cases were executed.”<sup>9</sup>

During the period of the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century, as elsewhere in Europe, various steps toward the emancipation of the Jews took place, but some leading intellectuals of the Polish Enlightenment (e.g. Stanisław Staszic, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz) expressed virulently anti-Jewish views, pioneering a “modern” form of antisemitism in Poland. During the period of the partitions of Poland in the nineteenth century, a new ethno-nationalist movement emerged which excluded the Jews from an imagined national community. The appearance of modern political antisemitism in the late nineteenth century was partly related to an influx of Jews from other parts of the then Russian Empire (these Jews were often called Litvaks, which was the term used to describe Lithuanian Jews). More importantly, it was also related to the social changes that accompanied industrialization and mass politics. The so-called “National Democratic” movement (Endecja) led by Roman Dmowski (1864–1939) was mainly supported by the Polish middle classes and promoted an ethno-nationalist version of Polish identity. A founding father of modern-day Polish antisemitism, Dmowski became a lifelong vocal opponent of minority rights in Polish society. The leaders of Endecja emphasized Roman Catholicism as a central element of Polish national identity, leading to an exclusion of Jews.<sup>10</sup> In the well-known formulation “Polish-Catholic” (Polak-katolik), the Christian faith was often reduced to an identity marker, a type of ethno-religion. Dmowski’s movement never seized full political power, but arguably, his vision of Polish identity gradually became hegemonic and still informs Polish views on the idea of the nation.

Until the outbreak of World War II, Poland remained one of the key centers of Jewish life in the world. At the same time, antisemitism and mistrust increased. During the wars on the eastern front in 1919–1920, several Polish military units were guilty of anti-Jewish pogroms. A wave of antisemitism swept Poland again in the mid-1930s when the far-right youth groups National-Radical Camp (ONR) and All-Polish Youth (MW) frequently clashed with left-wing and Jewish students. The radical nationalists campaigned under the slogan “Poland for the Polish” and called for a cap on admissions of Jewish students to the universities (“*numerus clausus*”) and a total ban on Jewish students (“*numerus nullus*”) in the long term. University authorities gave in to these demands, backed up by violent campaigns, to varying degrees. In many universities the so-called “ghetto bench” was introduced, requiring Jewish students to sit on one side of the lecture room.

Antisemitic views had an influence on 1930s academia. For example, Jagiellonian University professor Feliks Koneczny championed Poland as the defender of “Latin civilization” which he praised as the highest achievement of humanity juxtaposed with the destructive influences of “Jewish civilization.”<sup>11</sup> The late 1930s movement “Zadruga” was arguably the most extreme of the antisemitic groups that appeared then. Its radical ideology mirrored the neo-pagan tendencies in Nazi Germany and rejected Christianity as a Jewish invention.

Zadruga attracted only a handful of sympathizers, but in the twenty-first century it serves as an inspiration for the most extreme groups on the contemporary far right.

In 1936, Prime Minister Felicjan Sławoj-Składkowski condemned violent acts committed against the Jewish community while at the same time endorsing calls for an economic boycott of Jewish businesses. The discriminatory practices did assist the Communist movement in making some inroads among the increasingly marginalized Jewish community. However, contrary to right-wing nationalist stereotypes of “Jewish communism” (*żydokomuna*), the clandestine Communist party only had the support of a small minority of Polish Jews. According to Jan Gross, “Polish Jews were the most law-abiding and state-supporting community in interwar Poland.”<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, by the end of the 1930s, “[i]ntercommunal antagonisms, and rising anti-Semitism, caused great anxiety.”<sup>13</sup>

One more example of the increasing tension and antisemitic behavior could be found in sports. In 1906, the first Polish football clubs, Cracovia and Wisła, were formed in Kraków. Over the next decades, Cracovia became a symbol of ethnic inclusiveness, not least due to substantial Jewish involvement in the club’s development.<sup>14</sup> Wisła, however, symbolized ethno-nationalism; in the 1930s, it endorsed calls for the banning of Jews from Polish football.

During World War II, organized political collaboration with the German Nazi occupiers was rare in Poland. Arguably, the Nazis themselves were simply not interested in winning over the Polish populace due to their anti-Slavic ideology of racial superiority. The “dark blue police” were among the few Polish institutions that remained in existence during the German occupation. The overall role of the “dark blue police” is controversial, not least in the context of their auxiliary role in oppressing the Jews.

The far-right ONR created a military organization, the National Armed Forces (NSZ). The NSZ remained outside of the mainline Polish resistance (the Home Army, AK) and positioned itself as an enemy of both the Germans and the Soviets as well as domestic Communists and Jews (the latter two groups were often lumped together in NSZ propaganda). The legacy of the NSZ (which continued the guerilla struggle against communists until the late 1940s) has remained highly controversial in Polish historical debates despite its official recognition as national heroes by the post-2015 authorities. The youngest generation of the Polish far right eulogizes the NSZ and its ideology.

The distance between the Poles and the Jews resulted not only from the Nazi policy of physically separating the two communities by closing the Jews in the ghettos but also from the strongly perceived divisions of ethnicity and religion, reinforced by the wave of antisemitism preceding the war.

The reality of Polish-Jewish relations during the Nazi occupation cannot be reduced to the heroic narrative of inter-ethnic solidarity exemplified by the Righteous among the Nations. Apart from the Nazi-enforced regime, the social and cultural distance between Jews and ethnic Poles meant the actual space for active solidarity was limited. In 1995, Marek Edelman (a former resistance leader in the Warsaw Ghetto) reminisced,

The Jews were a class apart. Because during this war it so happened that for many they ceased to be Polish citizens, whom one could help; these were just Jews one could despise. (...) Goebbels’s propaganda and the pre-war antisemitism did the job.<sup>15</sup>

The rise of antisemitism in the 1920s and 1930s had been an important factor contributing to the social distance between Poles and Jews during the war. It is sometimes pointed out

that Polish antisemitism had its roots in political, religious, and economic hostility rather than in biological racial theory. It was discriminatory but not exterminationist, unlike the German Nazi variety of European antisemitism.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, some well-known pre-war Polish antisemites participated in wartime efforts to save Jews. They contributed to the activity of a special underground organization formed by the Polish resistance to aid Jews, code-named *Żegota*.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, through widening the social gap between the Jews and the ethnic Polish majority and the accompanying distinction between Jews and Poles, the antisemitic movements of the pre-war period unwittingly facilitated the Holocaust. Attitudes toward the Nazi treatment of the Jews in Poland varied: sympathy for the victims was widespread but indifference, if not outright enmity, is the common theme of the survivors' testimonies. The far-right nationalist press in the underground continued to churn out antisemitic propaganda. Even when it condemned the Nazi excesses, it emphasized a determination to rid Poland of Jews through forced emigration after the war.

After 1945, the Jewish community in Poland numbered some 250,000–400,000 (in contrast to 3,500,000 in 1939). The communist authorities were often reluctant to help Jews who had survived the Holocaust and were victims of post-war antisemitism. Jews returning to their former communities were often met with hostility and violence.<sup>18</sup> In this context one needs to remember that “the war eliminated a large part of the Polish Jewish community, but it did not eliminate the pre-war antisemitism.”<sup>19</sup> Many Jews left the country in several waves of emigration, for example after the Kielce pogrom in 1946, and in 1956, when the emigration regime was liberalized (and a new wave of popular antisemitism could be observed). The regime resorted to anti-Jewish policies which found some acceptance among a wider public, and this campaign peaked in 1968. In the late 1960s, as the Soviet bloc gained allies in the Arab world, “anti-Zionist” language became widespread across Warsaw Pact member states. In Poland, it resonated with a legacy of popular antisemitism. “Zionism,” as a term employed in the communist propaganda, simply served as shorthand for being Jewish or sympathizing with Jews. The “Zionists” (i.e. Jews) were presented as a united group working for the benefit of Israel, the United States, and West Germany. In this vein, Mikołaj Kunicki notes, “the regime ... gradually incorporated—even if selectively—elements of the Polish nationalist canon: namely, the glorification of the national past, Germanophobia, and anti-Semitism.”<sup>20</sup> Joanna Michlic refers to a process of “the ethno-nationalization of Communism in Poland with anti-Jewish elements.”<sup>21</sup> By 1968 only 25,000–30,000 Jews lived in Poland and about 15,000 were effectively forced to emigrate as a result of the official witch-hunt. The violent crushing of the democratic student movement by the authorities in March 1968 was accompanied by aggressive “anti-Zionist” propaganda. The government media stressed the “cosmopolitan” background of the student activists, noting their alleged family connections with the Jewish Communists of the Stalinist period. Jan Gross writes,

[a]s to the persistence of the *żydokomuna* (Jewish communism) myth in popular memory, one may attribute it, among other reasons, to an attempt by Poles who had been complicit to deflect their own guilt over having contributed to the triumph of communism.<sup>22</sup>

In particular, the Jewish-communist family background of the student leader Adam Michnik was frequently exploited by the propaganda. Such attacks on Michnik were repeated during

the ensuing decades and well into the late 2010s. Many of the rhetorical themes developed and popularized during the 1968 “anti-Zionist” campaign have been in circulation ever since, including during the post-1989 period.

Today, they feature prominently in the discourse of the Polish far right. Since 1989, Michnik has been the editor-in-chief of the country’s main newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Some consider him a founding father of Polish liberal democracy, which makes him a frequent target of hatred among the nationalist populists. As a part of the repressive measures that followed the student unrest, hundreds of students were expelled from universities, while professors, such as Zygmunt Bauman, who were seen as sympathizers of the student movement, were fired and often emigrated. It took many years for Polish academia to recover from these losses, especially in the humanities.

After the post-1989 democratic transition it was sometimes stated that “the negative stereotype of the Jew appears in everyday conversations of people of the middle and older generation,”<sup>23</sup> but according to a widespread assumption it would gradually disappear as the new generations, born and/or socialized in a new, liberal democratic system, would be generally free of it. Despite the small size of the Jewish community (estimated at around 10,000 people), a revival of Jewish life in Poland was heralded and several cultural initiatives reflected a renewed interest in the Polish-Jewish legacy. The reality turned out to be rather more complex, and a transmission of antisemitic ideology to the younger generation also took place over the years, through channels such as football culture, “white power” music, and online propaganda, as documented by watchdogs such as the “Never Again” Association. Physical attacks on Jews have been relatively rare, but antisemitic acts often took the form of desecrations of Jewish cemeteries and monuments. Groups such as the re-formed ONR and MW have drawn from the far-right traditions of the 1930s and by the mid-2010s they carved out support among a sizeable section of the young generation.<sup>24</sup>

One of the most thorough debates on the difficult aspects of the wartime past – but also on the more general themes of antisemitism, xenophobia, and violence in Polish history – followed the publication of Jan Gross’s ground-breaking book, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*.<sup>25</sup> The soul-searching debate led to an official apology to the Jewish people by President Aleksander Kwaśniewski at the site of the pogrom.<sup>26</sup> In the wake of the discussion provoked by Gross’s books, Poland made progress in coming to terms with the past. It stood in marked contrast with other societies in Eastern Europe which found it difficult to even start a similar discussion. Since the mid-2010s, however, the process has been largely halted due to the changed political climate and the official restoration of the image of “national innocence.”

The conflict over rival visions of Polish history intensified when a new law criminalizing the expression of certain historical views was enacted by the Polish parliament in January 2018. The law was ostensibly meant to ban usage of the inaccurate term “Polish death camps,” but its wording was much broader, and included

whoever accuses, publicly and against the facts, the Polish nation, or the Polish state, of being responsible or complicit in the Nazi crimes committed by the Third German Reich ... or other crimes against peace and humanity, or war crimes, or otherwise grossly diminishes the actual perpetrators thereof, shall be subject to a fine or a penalty of imprisonment of up to three years.

The controversy which erupted upon the bill's passage not only led to a major international crisis, complete with high-level protests by representatives of Israel and the United States, but also unleashed an unprecedented wave of anti-Jewish sentiment in Polish media and politics on a scale unheard of since 1968.<sup>27</sup> In the words of the journalist Ben Cohen, the "anti-Semitic atmosphere of 1968 has returned."<sup>28</sup> Although some of the law's provisions were subsequently modified (the threat of imprisonment was replaced with the possibility of a fine), the recent surge in antisemitic discourse is likely to have long-term repercussions.

In the third decade of the twenty-first century, antisemitism in Poland appears far from extinct and retains features of both "traditional" and "modern" antisemitic imagery. The far-right Radio Maryja, founded by the Catholic priest (Redemptorist) Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk in the early 1990s, together with its plethora of satellite outlets, remains a significant actor in Polish society and politics. It has been well known for airing xenophobic and, often, antisemitic content alluding to Jews as ancient enemies of Christendom.<sup>29</sup> Antisemitic tropes were also prominent in Polish reactions to the Congressionally mandated JUST ACT report that was issued by the State Department in 2020.<sup>30</sup>

Several "revisionist" historians have continued to whitewash the history of antisemitic violence and discrimination. They include Dr. Ewa Kurek, a graduate of the Catholic University of Lublin who has claimed that Jews in the Nazi ghettos were satisfied to have their self-government and live in isolation from the Polish environment.<sup>31</sup> Several far-right revisionist historians have found employment in senior positions at the influential, state-funded Institute of National Memory (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, IPN), among them Dr. Mariusz Bechta, the editor of a neo-fascist magazine *Templum Novum*, and Arkadiusz Wingert, the publisher of David Irving's books in Polish translation.<sup>32</sup> In another example of the mainstreaming of the antisemitic discourse of Holocaust revisionism, a well-known author and political commentator on Polish state-run television TVP, Rafał Ziemkiewicz (who has a long history of anti-Jewish remarks), published a book in 2020, which included statements such as, "[u]nder the influence of the Holocaust, or rather the myth of the Holocaust which it itself constructed, Zionism developed a particular cruelty."<sup>33</sup>

In a climate of increasing nationalist sentiment, especially after 2015, cultural institutions and museums (such as the Museum of World War II in Gdańsk and the Polin Museum of the History of the Polish Jews in Warsaw) have been pressurized to sanitize their exhibitions and downplay the evidence of antisemitic pogroms in Polish twentieth-century history. However, numerous Polish historians and public intellectuals have continued their efforts in uncovering, and dealing with, the difficult past.

In October 2019, a newly formed far-right group, Konfederacja (Confederation), which campaigned on an openly anti-Jewish platform, received 6.7 percent of the national vote and won 11 seats (out of 460) in the Polish Parliament. The bulk of its support came from younger voters, which suggests the longevity of antisemitism as a potential tool of political mobilization is not to be forgotten.

Finally, of course, the persistence of ready-made antisemitic stereotypes could once again be observed in the wake of the 2020 coronavirus pandemic when numerous antisemitic conspiracy theories once again found an audience, this time mostly through social media channels.<sup>34</sup> Many of the stereotypes hark back to the medieval accusations against Jews for spreading the plague, yet one more illustration of the long-term legacy of the "longest hatred."

Notes

- 1 Robert Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (New York: Pantheon, 1991).
- 2 Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
- 3 Paul Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism without Jews: Communist Eastern Europe* (New York: Doubleday, 1971).
- 4 E.g. Jerzy Topolski, *Żarys dziejów Polski* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interpress, 1982), 26.
- 5 Marcin Kornak, “Wyszczerbiona historia Po-Lan-Yah,” *Nigdy więcej*, 19/2011, [http://www.nigdywiecej.org/pdf/pl/pismo/19/35\\_Wyszczerbiona\\_historia\\_Po-Lan-Yah.pdf](http://www.nigdywiecej.org/pdf/pl/pismo/19/35_Wyszczerbiona_historia_Po-Lan-Yah.pdf) (accessed September 26, 2019); also Marcin Kornak, “Wyszczerbiona historia Po-Lan-Jah,” *Midrasz*, 2/2012.
- 6 Paweł Jasienica, *Polska Jagiellonów* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1979), 82.
- 7 Adam Teller and Igor Kąkolewski, “Paradisus Iudaeorum, 1569–1648,” in *Polin. 1000 Year History of Polish Jews*, ed. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Antony Polonsky (Warsaw: Museum of the History of the Polish Jews, 2014), 20.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 95.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Roman Dmowski, *Kościół, naród i państwo* (Krzeszowice: Dom Wydawniczy Ostoja, [1927]2002).
- 11 See e.g. Feliks Koneczny, *O cywilizację łacińską* (Krzeszowice: Wydawnictwo Ostoja, 2006). It has been argued that Koneczny’s writings had an influence on the renowned British author Arnold Toynbee’s theory of civilization (and, indirectly, on Samuel Huntington’s, too). Given Koneczny’s strong antisemitic leanings, it would have been rather embarrassing for Toynbee. The claim does not seem to have been substantiated by anything else other than the fact that Toynbee wrote a short preface to an English-language edition of Koneczny’s writings. Cf. Rafał Pankowski, *The Populist Radical Right in Poland: The Patriots* (London: Routledge, 2009), 203, n. 61.
- 12 Jan Gross, *Fear. Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz. An Essay in Historical Interpretation* (New York: Random House, 2006), 242. See also Paul Hanebrink, *A Specter Haunting Europe: The Myth of Judeo-Bolshevism* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2018).
- 13 Norman Davies, *Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland’s Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 110.
- 14 Maciej Kozłowski, *Naród Wybrany – Cracovia Pany. Ż wielokulturowej historii polskiego sportu*, (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Nigdy Więcej, 2015).
- 15 Witold Bereś, Krzysztof Burnetko, *Marek Edelman. Życie. Do końca* (Warszawa: Agora SA, 2013), 657.
- 16 Paul Lawrence Rose “‘Extermination/Ausrottung’: Meanings, Ambiguities and Intentions in German Antisemitism and the Holocaust, 1800–1945,” in *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide*, ed. John Roth, Elisabeth Maxwell, Vol. 3 (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001): 726.
- 17 Nechama Tec, *When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- 18 Gross, *Fear*.
- 19 Kula, *Narodowe i rewolucyjne*, 222.
- 20 Mikołaj Kunicki, *Between the Brown and the Red: Nationalism, Catholicism, and Communism in 20th-Century Poland—The Politics of Bolesław Piasecki* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 4.
- 21 Joanna Beata Michlic, *Poland’s Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 231.
- 22 Gross, *Fear*, 243.
- 23 Feliks Tych, *Żydzi w Polsce dzisiaj*, in *Pamięć. Historia Żydów Polskich przed, w czasie, i po Zagładzie*, ed. Feliks Tych (Warszawa: Fundacja Shalom, 2004), 200.
- 24 Rafał Pankowski, *The Populist Radical Right in Poland: The Patriots* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- 25 Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); followed by *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz* (New York: Random House, 2006); and *Golden Harvest*, co-authored with Irena Grudzińska-Gross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- 26 “The Official Address Delivered By The President of the Republic of Poland Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski On July 10, 2001, in Jedwabne, Poland,” <http://www.radzilow.com/jedwabne-ceremony.htm> (accessed August 10, 2019).

- 27 Rafal Pankowski, "The Resurgence of Antisemitic Discourse in Poland," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 12, no. 1 (2018): 21–37.
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