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**Moshe Kantor Database for the Study of Contemporary
Antisemitism and Racism**

Antisemitism Worldwide

2020



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work transparently and report periodically about the extent of Antisemitism on their platforms and about the steps they take against it.

Poland / Inna Shtakster and Michal Bilewicz

Evolution of antisemitic views in times of the COVID-19 pandemic

Since March 2020 Poland, like other countries in the region, has faced the threat of the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on psychological knowledge, we expected such a pathogenic threat to lead to increased prejudice and more authoritarian attitudes³⁵⁹. But even though the pandemic did in fact lead to stigmatization of several immigrant and minority groups, with acts of verbal and physical aggression directed particularly against people from East Asia³⁶⁰, no antisemitic events of similar scale have been observed. Conspiracy theories blaming Jews for the spread of disease appeared only on the absolute margins of political debate³⁶¹.

The Center for Research on Prejudice at the University of Warsaw conducted a nationally representative longitudinal study of antisemitism in September 2019, March 2020 and September 2020, in order to assess the dynamics of prejudice in times of pandemic. The questionnaire included three subscales, measuring specific components of antisemitic imagery: conspiracy antisemitism (the belief in secret Jewish plots and control), secondary antisemitism (denial of responsibility for crimes against Jews and negation of antisemitism), and traditional antisemitism (blaming Jews for deicide, belief in blood libels)³⁶². Each of these measured participants' agreement with a list of statements. Comparison between measurements at the three points in time did not reveal any significant changes in antisemitism: the average level of all forms of antisemitism remained unchanged.

359 E.g. Murray, D. R., Schaller, M., & Suedfeld, P. (2013). Pathogens and politics: Further evidence that parasite prevalence predicts authoritarianism. *PLoS One*, 8(5), e62275.

360 E.g. <https://radio.lublin.pl/2020/03/lukow-wietnamka-zaatakowana-przez-nieletnich-sprawa-zajmie-sie-sad/>.

361 With some evident exceptions like the openly conspiracist website "Nowe Ateny".

<http://noweateny.pl/International/details/353/KTO-WYGRA-DONALD-TRUMP-CZY-SLEEPY-JOHN-BIDEN-A-WIC-KAMALA-HARRIS-Z-KOMINTERNU-WHAT-THE-FUCK-A-C-TO-ZA-RNICA>.

362 More on this distinction here: Bilewicz, M., Winiewski, M., Kofta, M., & Wójcik, A. (2013). Harmful Ideas. The Structure and Consequences of Antisemitic Beliefs in Poland. *Political Psychology*, 34(6), 821-839.

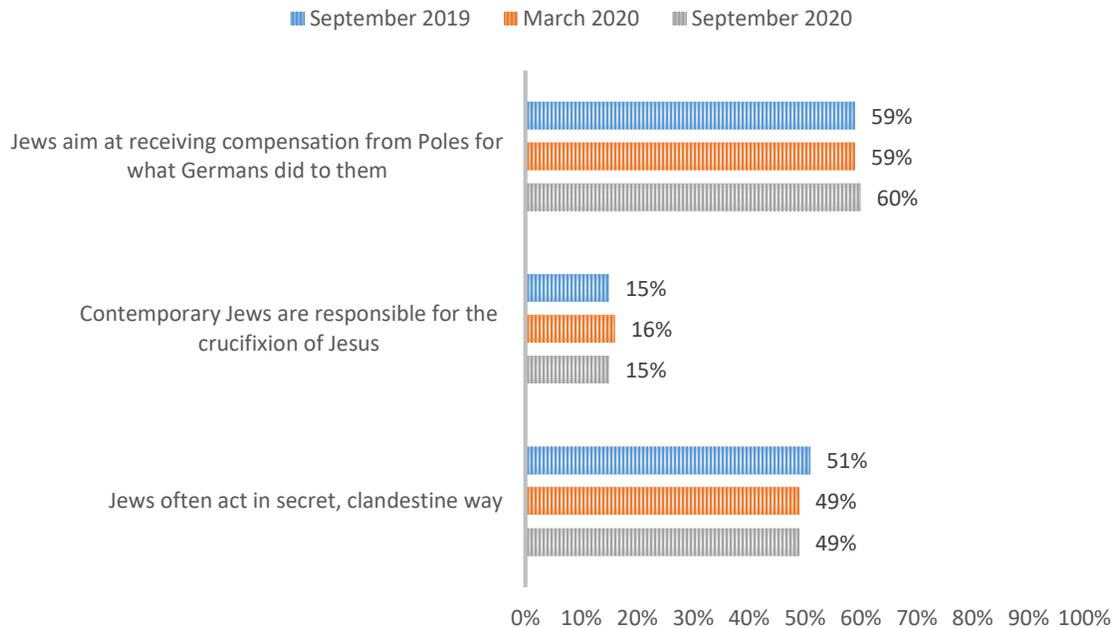


Figure 1. The dynamics of antisemitic stereotyping in Poland based on a nationally-representative online panel study. Bars indicate participants' agreement with three statements from the three-factor scale of antisemitism (sum of positive responses, from "rather agree" to "agree completely"). Initial sample size: N=1078.

In 2019 51% of Poles declared that "Jews often act in secret, clandestine ways". In March 2020 49% agreed with this statement, and in September 2020 also 49% of the participants agreed. 15% of surveyed participants blamed contemporary Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus Christ in 2019, 16% in March 2020 and 15% in September 2020. In 2019 59% of Poles viewed Jewish material claims against Poland as unjustified, and the percentage remained the same in March 2020, rising slightly to 60% in September 2020. We did not observe any significant correlations between participants' antisemitic views and their pandemic-threat perceptions (perceptions of COVID-19 as a serious threat to their lives).

At the same time all these studies showed a high and constant percentage of Poles sharing antisemitic conspiracy theories or expressing negative views of any Jewish material claims. The widespread antisemitic beliefs in Polish society are obviously also known to the politicians. The mobilizing potential of antisemitic topics has been noted by right-wing politicians in the Polish 2020 presidential campaign, as well as in the parliamentary debates about Jewish claims, in which far-right parties aimed to increase their political legitimacy.

Politicized antisemitism

Another study, carried out at the beginning of the pandemic, in March 2020³⁶³, focused on how Poles perceive Israelis. It showed that the declared attitudes of Poles toward Israelis vary across the political spectrum. The voters of the radical right-wing party (Konfederacja) exhibited, on average, a rather negative attitude toward Israelis. Voters of liberal and left-wing parties (Lewica and Koalicja Obywatelska) reported a clearly positive attitude. The voters of the ruling party (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość) expressed ambivalent attitudes. From this study it is quite clear that the views on Jews and Israel are strongly related to political ideologies.

Antisemitic arguments were used in Polish political life quite frequently in 2020. Quite early in the year, the right-wing organization March of Independence Detachments (Roty Marszu Niepodległości) launched a legislative initiative against the claims of the American Jewish organization (“Stop447 bill”), submitting 200,000 signatures in support of this regulation³⁶⁴. The aim of the regulation was to oblige the Polish government to oppose any Jewish material claims against Poland. The campaign around this legislation used leaflets with antisemitic imagery, as well as anti-Jewish rhetoric in speeches in Warsaw city center, presenting Jewish organizations as enemies of Poland³⁶⁵. The legislation was debated in the parliament in April 2020. The radical right-wing party (Konfederacja) expressed straightforward support for the initiative, and, quite surprisingly, the peasant party (PSL – Kukiz15) also supported further proceedings on the legislation. One of the leaders of the parliamentary left, Maciej Konieczny from Lewica, said in the debate: “The extreme right wants to instigate an anti-Semitic campaign. This should come as no surprise. One of the initiators of the project is the former head of the ONR [extreme right-wing movement – referring to the pre-war radical party responsible for anti-Jewish pogroms]. This movement has been cultivating antisemitic obsessions for over a hundred years. Scaring Jews who are allegedly going to plunder Poland fits in perfectly. Nationalist prodding has led to crimes more than once. This was the case when, after a vile campaign, the nationalists murdered President Narutowicz.”³⁶⁶

The most notorious use of anti-Jewish rhetoric was observed during the Presidential election campaign. The election took place in the midst of the pandemic, on June 28 (first round) and July 12 (second round). The first incident related to the antisemitic motif of competitive victimhood occurred during the 80th anniversary of first deportation to Auschwitz concentration camp. The President of Poland took part in the ceremony, but no other candidates were invited due to pandemic restrictions. The radical right-wing

363 <http://cbu.psychologia.pl/2021/03/13/nowy-raport-cbu-polacy-o-izraelczykach-izraelczycy-o-polakach/>.

364 <https://www.pap.pl/aktualnosci/news%2C573962%2Czebrano-200-tys-podpisow-pod-obywatelska-inicjatywa-ustawodawcza-stop-447>.

365 <https://www.rp.pl/Polityka/191109493-Projekt-ustawy-narodowcow-z-antysemityzmem-w-tle.html>.

366 <https://www.wprost.pl/kraj/10315185/sejm-debatowal-o-projekcie-ustawy-stop447-nacjonalistyczne-szczucie-juz-nie-raz-doprowadzilo-do-zbrodni.html?fbclid=IwAR2grTRW2-WynUy0ml3x2g4ZHhom35qTpITRj5soTXwXuqSP8u-8SpuebXQ>.

candidate Krzysztof Bosak suggested that the fact that he had not been invited was an attempt to silence the truth about the Polish ethnicity of Auschwitz victims. Poster campaigns and other commemorative initiatives stressed that Auschwitz was a place of predominantly Polish martyrdom. This issue incited numerous antisemitic responses in the social media.

Quite unexpectedly, the most vigorous use of anti-Jewish rhetoric was observed not in the first round of the election, in which several radical candidates led aggressive campaigns against each other. It was only a few days before the second round of the election that the Polish ruling party leaders, as well as governmentally controlled media, openly used anti-Jewish rhetoric, suggesting that the interests of the Jewish community are hostile to Poland. When the candidate of the liberal opposition, Rafał Trzaskowski, suggested that he supports the restitution of Jewish property, the leader of Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, the Polish ruling party, Jarosław Kaczyński, said that “only someone without a Polish soul, a Polish heart or a Polish mind could say something like that. Mr. Trzaskowski obviously has no such qualities.”³⁶⁷ The main evening news of the Polish state-controlled public station presented the opposition’s candidate as “a believer in the god of Spinoza, the Jewish philosopher”, a person obedient to international Jewish organizations and a former recipient of the George Soros scholarship.³⁶⁸ A program on Polish public TV, entitled “Will Trzaskowski fulfill Jewish demands?” was later reported to the National Media Council, a regulator of state-controlled media, by several Jewish organizations, including the local branch of the American Jewish Committee, and the Chief Rabbinate of Poland.³⁶⁹

Ultimately, the President, supported by the governing party was re-elected with the support of more than 10 million voters - the largest support for any political candidate in the country in the past 30 years. The OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights investigated the elections and reported that Polish public television “failed in its legal duty to provide balanced and impartial coverage. Instead, it acted as a campaign vehicle for the incumbent and frequently portrayed his main challenger as a threat to Polish values and national interests”³⁷⁰.

Antisemitism in culture

Antisemitic incidents in cultural life were relatively rare in 2020. Two events worth mentioning are the publication of the book “Cham niezbuntowany” by journalist and writer Rafał Ziemkiewicz, and the planned concert of Hungarian far-right rock band Hungarica in the state-run Centre for Contemporary Art at Ujazdowski Castle in Warsaw.

367 <https://natemat.pl/314323,kaczynski-atakuje-trzaskowskiego-bez-polskich-duszy-serca-i-umyslu>.

368 <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/poland-has-antisemitism-problem-trump-administration-could-fight-it-635879>.

369 <https://jewish.pl/pl/2020/07/15/organizacje-zydowskie-zlozyly-skarge-na-wiadomosci/>.

370 <https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/poland/455731>.

Rafał Ziemkiewicz, a journalist of the Polish state television and a right-wing weekly, became known for his controversial statements about Jews in 2018. At that time he used a common antisemitic slur (“parchy”) when referring to international responses to the Holocaust law introduced in Poland. His new book, published in 2020, included several remarks that were considered antisemitic by monitoring organizations (such as the Open Republic and Never Again). In his book Ziemkiewicz states, “Zionism became particularly cruel under the impact of the Holocaust or rather the Holocaust myth created by Zionism. According to prominent Zionists, the Shoah proved that Jews have to be ruthless”. Other excerpts suggested that Israeli youth are “trained as killing machines, (...) members of a unique race”. The Open Republic society urged book distributors and sellers to withdraw the book from their shelves³⁷¹, whereas Never Again successfully appealed to the largest Polish e-commerce company Allegro to stop selling the book³⁷².

In August 2020 the Centre for Contemporary Art, a leading state-controlled modern arts institution in Poland, organized a concert of Hungarica, a Hungarian “nationalist rock band”, as part of the celebration commemorating the victory of Polish forces over Soviet Russia in 1920. The band has been accused of using fascist symbols and references to antisemitic movements.³⁷³ In response, several Polish bands that had also been invited to play at the concert refused to participate. Following the protests of several institutions and public intellectuals³⁷⁴, the Centre retracted Hungarica's invitation.

Law suits against scholars

Another troubling issue regarding the situation in Poland in respect to antisemitism is the growing difficulty in performing scientific research on historical and current manifestations of antisemitism. In February 2020 two Holocaust historians, Jan Grabowski and Barbara Engelking, came before the district court in Warsaw because of their investigations on Polish participation in anti-Jewish crimes during the Holocaust. Grabowski and Engelking were taken to court by Ms. Filomena Leszczyńska from the village of Malinowo, who accused the scholars of “defaming the memory” of her late relative, described in a book as a participant in antisemitic crimes. In fact, the case was backed by the Polish League Against Defamation - a right-wing NGO closely associated with the government³⁷⁵. The Grabowski and Engelking trial continued in 2021. Both scholars viewed the lawsuit as a typical SLAPP case (Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation) intended to silence researchers of Poles’ maltreatment of the Jews.³⁷⁶

371 <http://www.otwarta.org/otwarta-rzeczpospolita-w-sprawie-najnowszej-ksiazki-rafala-ziemkiewicza/>.

372 <https://wyborcza.pl/7,162657,26022529,wyjasniamy-dlaczego-mein-kampf-mozna-kupic-na-allegro-a-ksiazki.html>.

373 <https://wyborcza.pl/7,75410,26190501,hungarica-w-csw-aktywisci-apeluja-do-ministra-glinskiego-o.html>, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/07/arts/design/07anti.html>.

374 <http://www.otwarta.org/oswiadczenie-ws-wystepu-zespołu-hungarica/>.

375 <http://www.anti-defamation.pl/rdiplad/aktualnosci/pozew-przeciwko-engelking-grabowskiemu-rdi-wspiera-edwarda-malinowskiego/>.

376 <https://oko.press/prof-engelking-odpiera-zarzuty/>.

In October 2020, another hearing took place at Warsaw District Court – the trial of social psychologist Michał Bilewicz, accused of calling the cartoonist of pro-governmental journals a “notorious anti-Semite”, and using the cartoons as examples in his lecture on secondary antisemitism (specifically the cartoon entitled “Polish Holocaust”, depicting a Jewish soviet officer with a Star of David shooting a Polish patriot)³⁷⁷. On November 19, 2020, the court dismissed all claims in the lawsuit and stated that “There is no doubt that uprooting antisemitism is within the legitimate public interest”.

Such legal cases, although not initiated directly by the state, are backed by institutions related to the ruling party and supportive of the government, generating serious doubt regarding the possibility of further unconstrained research on contemporary and historical antisemitism in Poland.

Poland/Inna Shatkser

In 2020, there were no reported cases of antisemitism-based violence against individual Jews in Poland; however, there were several cases of vandalism of Jewish communal property, including a community center in Wroclaw³⁷⁸ and cemeteries in Tarnow³⁷⁹, Zabrze, Tarnowskie Gory and Dobrodzien.³⁸⁰ There were also, according to an Op–Code and European Community Rights, Equality and Citizenship program report (2014–2020), multiple instances of hate speech directed at Jews on Polish social media. The authors of the report suggest that the Polish government is reluctant to address such hate speech due to the popularity of the racist far right within the country. The report, in fact, noted that politicians and journalists habitually utilize antisemitic discourse, thereby encouraging others to do so as well.³⁸¹

In 2020, indeed, government ministers and their top supporters made antisemitic pronouncements that appeared in the press. In addition to such pronouncements, the Polish government, as in previous years, refused to accept that Poles in substantial

377 <https://www.ijl.org/activity/>.

378 Katarzyna Markusz, ‘Man smashes window of Jewish community building in Poland’, in Jewish Telegraphic Agency, April 17, 2020. <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/man-smashes-window-of-jewish-community-building-in-poland> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021.

379 Katarzyna Markusz, Jewish cemetery in Poland vandalized with spray-paint’, in Jewish Telegraphic Agency, June 15, 2020. <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021.

380 Katarzyna Markusz, ‘Tombstones vandalized at three Jewish cemeteries in Poland’, in Jewish Telegraphic Agency, September 14, 2020. <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/tombstones-vandalized-at-3-jewish-cemeteries-in-poland> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021; ‘Zniszczone groby na zydowskim cmentarzu. ‘Tak, jakby ktos czegos szukal’, in TVN24, September 9, 2020. <https://tvn24.pl/wroclaw/dobrodzien-zniszczone-macewy-na-zydowskim-cmentarzu-4687355> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021.

381 ‘Monitoring and reporting illegal Hate-Speech. Shadow Monitoring Report.’ First Edition. Op Code – Open Code for Hate-Free Communication and Rights, Equality and Citizenship Program of the European Union, p. 5, 7, 9, 10. https://www.nigdywiecej.org/docstation/com_docstation/172/opcode.pdf . Last accessed on February 22, 2021.

numbers took part in the Holocaust and habitually attacked historians writing on this topic. As part of this denial, the government also, as in previous years, refused to discuss demands for restitution of Jewish property confiscated during WWII. This position has substantial popular support in Poland, and the conservative president Andrzej Duda effectively utilized the topic in the summer 2020 presidential elections against his opponent, the Warsaw centrist Mayor Rafal Trzaskowski, who according to Duda was willing to consider restitution. The supporters of Andrzej Duda utilized borderline antisemitic accusations against the ethnically Polish Trzaskowski, suggesting that his willingness to consider restitution is anti-Polish and constitutes a collaboration with foreigners against the Poles. The Anti-Defamation League reacted to this claim pointing out that the Jews whose property had been confiscated were Polish citizens and that such a differentiation between the interests of Jewish and non-Jewish Poles was borderline racist.³⁸² In Poland, numerous organizations and individuals protested as well, claiming that there is no place for such a discourse in presidential elections. Protests were registered by Andrzej Krajewski, a member of the board of the media watchdog organization The Society of Journalists, by Pavol Szalai, an affiliate of Reporters without Borders, and by Prof. Rafal Pankowski, head of the Never Again association.³⁸³

In 2020, Polish authorities and their conservative supporters continued their attacks on historians addressing the sensitive topic of Polish collaboration with the Nazis in the Holocaust. *The Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle* recently claimed that Poland unfortunately seeks to establish national honour through historical amnesia.³⁸⁴ The Polish far-right's furious reception of Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski's book, *Na Posterunku. Udział polskiej policji granatowej i kryminalnej w zagładzie Żydów* (On Duty: The Role of Polish 'Blue' and Criminal Police in the Holocaust), based on a combination of known and newly introduced archival documents as well as interviews with Holocaust survivors and eyewitnesses, constituted just such an attack. In their book, Grabowski and Engelking claim that Polish police played a much more important role in the Holocaust than previously assumed. The book therefore debunks the prevailing belief in contemporary Poland that Poles did not participate in a systematic and organized form in the murder of

382 Cnaan Liphshiz, 'How Poland, Hungary, Russia & UK Labor Party Use Antisemitism in Politics', in *The Jerusalem Post*, February 18, 2021. <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/poland-hungary-russia-and-uk-labour-party-use-antisemitism-in-politics-report-659353> . Last accessed on February 21, 2021.

383 Vanessa Gera, 'Polish state TV seeks to discredit president's key rival', in WPRI, June 10, 2020. <https://www.wpri.com/news/us-and-world/polish-state-tv-seeks-to-discredit-presidents-key-rival/> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021; Timothy Garton Ash, 'For a bitter taste of Polish populism, just watch the evening news', in *The Guardian*, June 25, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jun/25/polish-populism-evening-news-public-broadcaster-presidential-election?CMP=share_btn_fb&fbclid=IwAR2STZvJ8O7tH9SV3ykB4y57y6-0Eb7z1musxJC7RVUEH8Ctqq9wH84QgZQ . Last accessed on February 23, 2021.

384 'Soft-Core Holocaust Denial', in *Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle*, February 17, 2021. <https://jewishchronicle.timesofisrael.com/soft-core-holocaust-denial/> . Last accessed on February 21, 2021.

Jews, but rather did so as individuals; these individuals are depicted as ‘wild weeds,’ who were not part of normative Polish society. Grabowski points out in an interview with the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* that his new book infuriated the far right in Poland, because the policemen in question were, in fact, normative members of Polish society and a number of them were even active members of the anti-Nazi underground. Thus, some of these policemen, who had murdered Jews, are viewed as heroes in Poland due to their underground activities.³⁸⁵ In addition to the attacks on Engelking and Grabowski, the prominent historian Dariusz Stola withdrew his name from consideration for reappointment as the director of the Jewish museum in Warsaw, because the minister of culture refused to formalize the competition committee’s recommendation of Stola for the position. The minister’s refusal was motivated by Stola’s work that called attention to Polish collaboration in the Holocaust.³⁸⁶ In contrast, Przemysław Czernek, a member of the ruling Law and Justice Party (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość; PiS) who in 2019 called for removal of a Holocaust memorial in Lublin because it highlighted Polish complicity in killing Jews, was appointed in October 2020 as Poland’s education and science minister.³⁸⁷

In 2020, the far-right newspaper *Najwyższy Czas!* (Supreme Time) published an ‘investigation’ into whether opposition Senate speaker Tomasz Grodzki had Jewish roots since his ‘face and lively gesticulation may indicate he is of Jewish or semi-Jewish origin’.³⁸⁸ More seriously, the popular right-wing Polish journalist and science-fiction writer Rafal Ziemkiewicz called Jews ‘ruthless’ and the Holocaust ‘a myth’ in his book *Cham Niezbuntowany* (Rudeness Untouched), published in May 2020. Many human

385 Ofer Aderet, ‘The Polish police force had the key role in a Nazi final solution, explosive new research shows’, in *Haaretz*, June 12, 2020. <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/.premium-MAGAZINE-polish-police-had-a-key-role-in-the-nazi-final-solution-explosive-research-shows-1.8914685> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021.

386 Stanley Bill, ‘Former Jewish museum director steps down after standoff with Polish culture ministry’, *The Notes from Poland*, February 11, 2020. <https://notesfrompoland.com/2020/02/11/former-jewish-museum-director-steps-down-after-standoff-with-polish-culture-ministry/?fbclid=IwAR3e3so2ta64NXnxgspm8mG7ii9rzsC23ELb3BIrRNRXwErtetJWE22cerw> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021.

387 Cnaan Liphshiz, ‘Polish politician who called Holocaust memorial a ‘scandal’ appointed education minister’, in *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, October 9, 2020. <https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/polish-politician-who-called-holocaust-memorial-a-scandal-appointed-education-minister> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021.

388 Jolanta Kowalewska, ‘Prawicowy tygodnik tropi pochodzenie marszałka Tomasza Grodzkiego. “Jego fizis wskazuje, że to pewnie Żyd”’, in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, January 29, 2020. https://szczecin.wyborcza.pl/szczecin/7,34939,25646987,skrajnie-prawicowy-tygodnik-tropi-zydowskie-pochodzenie-marszalka.html?fbclid=IwAR3-JMK0BeZMVrLQaYSUWJ9aUITpvq97c_NyaAUBZdfSYhBiYMhymvRyW8. Last accessed on February 23, 2021.

rights organizations, including the Open Republic³⁸⁹ and the Never Again association, protested against the book.³⁹⁰

In sum, restitution and Holocaust were the main source of reported incidents of antisemitism and of borderline antisemitism in the Polish public sphere. Still, there were also other antisemitic pronouncements by public figures as well as vandalism of Jewish communal property. It is important to note, however, that such antisemitic actions and behaviours often drew harsh criticism from within the country.

Portugal / Ruth Calvão

What has changed in 2020

Prejudice or hatred violence already affects part of the Portuguese population, with repercussions not only on direct victims and their communities, but also on the whole of society. Hate speech is growing in Portugal, as can be seen in the results of the last presidential election (24/01/2021), in which the populist right-wing party “Chega” (Enough!) and its radical agenda came in third, only a few votes from second place.³⁹¹

The inclusion of Chega in the register of Portuguese political parties was approved by the Constitutional Court on 9 April 2019. Its current leader André Ventura was elected in the legislative elections of the same year.

Since the 1974 April Revolution, that put an end to 50 years of dictatorship, this is the first time that a radical party has been legalized and gained a seat in Parliament.

In July 2020, Chega joined the European group Identity and Democracy, which supported André Ventura's candidacy for president, with Marine Le Pen physically coming to Lisbon to participate in the campaign.

Chega gained strength in the elections for the Parliament of the autonomous region of Azores Archipelago (October 2020), when two deputies from the party were elected. Consequently, Chega was the decisive party for a democratic right-wing coalition that terminated 20 years of Socialist majority. Although the party stayed out of the regional

389 ‘Polish journalist calls Jews ‘ruthless’ and the Holocaust ‘myth’ in new book’, in Jewish News, <https://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/polish-journalist-calls-jews-ruthless-and-the-holocaust-a-myth-in-new-book/>. Last accessed on February 23, 2021; Hagay Hacohen, ‘Polish science fiction writer calls Israelis ‘killing machines’’, in The Jerusalem Post, June 9, 2020. <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/polish-science-fiction-writer-calls-israelis-killing-machines-630489> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021; ‘<http://www.otwarta.org/-w-sprawie-najnowszej-ksiazki-rafala-ziemkiewicza/>’ in *Otwarta Rzeczpospolita*, May 29, 2020. <http://www.otwarta.org/otwarta-rzeczpospolita-w-sprawie-najnowszej-ksiazki-rafala-ziemkiewicza/> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021.

390 Ben Cohen, ‘Polish Jews express support for Antisemitism campaigner targeted by far right’, in *Algemeiner*, June 16, 2020. <https://www.algemeiner.com/2020/06/16/polish-jews-express-support-for-antisemitism-campaigner-targeted-by-far-right/> . Last accessed on February 23, 2021;

³⁹¹ <https://www.euronews.com/2021/01/21/is-the-far-right-gaining-popularity-in-portugal>.