

The Routledge History of Antisemitism



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

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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.”¹ 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.² 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.”³ 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.

*

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 Jew⁴ – 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).⁵

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.”⁶

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.⁷ 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.”⁸ 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.”⁹

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.¹⁰ 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.”¹¹ 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.”¹² Nevertheless, by the end of the 1930s, “[i]ntercommunal antagonisms, and rising anti-Semitism, caused great anxiety.”¹³

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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

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.¹⁶ 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*.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.”¹⁹ 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.”²⁰ Joanna Michlic refers to a process of “the ethno-nationalization of Communism in Poland with anti-Jewish elements.”²¹ 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.²²

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,”²³ 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.²⁴

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*.²⁵ The soul-searching debate led to an official apology to the Jewish people by President Aleksander Kwaśniewski at the site of the pogrom.²⁶ 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 1968.²⁷ In the words of the journalist Ben Cohen, the "anti-Semitic atmosphere of 1968 has returned."²⁸ 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.²⁹ Antisemitic tropes were also prominent in Polish reactions to the Congressionally mandated JUST ACT report that was issued by the State Department in 2020.³⁰

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.³¹ 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.³² 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."³³

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.³⁴ 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 (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.
- 28 Ben Cohen, "The Dark Return of Polish Anti-Semitism," *Commentary*, February 16, 2018.
- 29 Anti-Defamation League, "Radio Maryja: 25 Years of Anti-Semitism," January 26, 2017, <https://www.adl.org/blog/radio-maryja-25-years-of-anti-semitism> (accessed May 31, 2020).
- 30 The JUST ACT (The Justice for Uncompensated Survivors Today) Report can be accessed at <https://www.state.gov/reports/just-act-report-to-congress/>. It describes restitution and compensation efforts made to Holocaust survivors and their heirs for assets seized by Nazi German in 46 European countries (and in some cases included property seized by post-war Communist regimes as well).
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CONTRIBUTORS

Mehnaz M. Afridi is Professor of Religious Studies and Director of the Holocaust, Genocide, and Interfaith Education Center at Manhattan College. She teaches courses on Islam, the Holocaust, Genocide, comparative religion, and Feminism. Her book *Shoah through Muslim Eyes* (Academic Studies Press, 2017) was nominated for the Yad Vashem International Book Prize for Holocaust Research. She won the 2022 award for the Lasallian Educator of the Year.

Rifat N. Bali is an independent scholar. He is a graduate of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE) of Paris and an associate member of the Alberto-Benveniste Centre for Sephardic Studies and the Sociocultural History of the Jews (École Pratique des Hautes Études/CNRS/Université Paris/Sorbonne). He is the winner of the Alberto Benveniste Research Award (Paris) for 2009 for his publications on Turkish Jewry.

Yehuda Bauer is Professor Emeritus of History and Holocaust Studies at the Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Academic Advisor to Yad Vashem. He was the founding editor of the *Journal of Holocaust and Genocide Studies*. Bauer has written numerous articles and books on the Holocaust and Genocide. In 1998, he was awarded the Israel Prize, the highest civilian award in Israel, and in 2001 he was elected as a member of the Israeli Academy of Science. Bauer has served as advisor to the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research, and as senior advisor to the Swedish Government on the International Forum on Genocide Prevention.

Christine Beresniova specializes in Holocaust pedagogy. She currently works with the Stan Greenspon Holocaust and Social Justice Education Center. She previously held educational leadership roles at J Street, the South Carolina Holocaust Council, and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Her book *Holocaust Education in Lithuania* won notable mention from the Association of Baltic Studies. She has published articles in *European Education*, *David Magazine*, *Tablet*, and others.

Judit Bokser Liwerant is Professor of Political Science at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), where she is the director of the Graduate School of Political and Social Sciences. She also heads the Academic Committee of the Universidad Hebraica. Her BA and Master studies in sociology and political science were at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and she holds a PhD in political science from the UNAM. She is a member of the Mexican Academy of Science and was the recipient of a National Annual Research Grant of the National Council of Science and Technology. She is the associate director of the *Mexican Journal of Political and Social Science*. She has

published numerous books as author and editor and many scientific articles and chapters in the field of political theory, collective identities, and contemporary Latin American Jewry.

Christina von Braun is a cultural theorist, author, filmmaker, and Professor of Cultural Theory and History at Humboldt University Berlin. Professor von Braun's works include 50 films and numerous books on the history of ideas, mentalities, and gender. In 2012, she was the founding director of the Selma Stern Centre for Jewish Studies Berlin-Brandenburg. Her recent publications include Christina von Braun, *Geschlecht. Eine persönliche und eine politische Geschichte*, Berlin 2021; and Christina von Braun/Micha Brumlik (Eds.), *Handbuch Jüdische Studien*, Köln 2021.

Holly Case is Professor of History at Brown University. She is the author of *Between States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during WWII* (2009) and *The Age of Questions* (2018).

Robert Chazan is S.H. and Helen R. Scheuer Professor of Hebrew and Judaic Studies in the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University and Co-Director of the Programs in Education and Jewish Studies. Professor Chazan's research focus is Jewish life in medieval Europe, and he has published extensively on these subjects. Professor Chazan has served as Founding Chair of the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies, as President of the Association for Jewish Studies, and as President of the American Academy for Jewish Research. He also currently serves as Co-Director of the Wagner-Skirball Double Masters Program in Jewish Professional Leadership and as Co-Director of Re/Presenting the Jewish Past, a program designed for improving the teaching of Jewish history in Jewish day schools.

Roney Cytrynowicz is a historian (PhD, Department of History, University of São Paulo). He is the author of *Guerra sem Guerra: A mobilização e o cotidiano em São Paulo durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial* and other books on Jewish history and immigration to Brazil. He was the head of the document collection of the Brazilian Jewish Historical Archive (2000–2017).

Deborah Forger is a scholar of Ancient Judaism (including the New Testament) with an additional focus on early Jewish-Christian relations. Though later polemics suggest that Jews and Christians differentiated themselves based on their views of God's body, her work complicates this picture by analyzing how first-century Jews envisioned God in bodily form. Her work is situated at the intersection of embodiment theory and sensory analysis. It also addresses questions of where, how, and when the ways parted between Jews and Christians and how scriptural hermeneutics impacted, complicated, impinged upon, and fortified those separations.

Jeffrey Herf is Distinguished University Professor at the Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park. He is the author of *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge U.P., 1984), *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Harvard U.P. 1997), *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust* (Harvard U.P., 2006), *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* (Yale University Press, 2009), *Undeclared Wars with Israel: East Germany and the West German Far Left, 1967–1989* (Cambridge U.P., 2016), and *Israel's Moment: International Support and Opposition for Establishing the Jewish State, 1945–1949* (Cambridge U.P., 2022).

Susannah Heschel is the Eli M. Black Distinguished Professor of Jewish Studies at Dartmouth College. Her numerous publications include *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (University of Chicago Press), which won a National Jewish Book Award, *The Aryan Jesus:*

Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany (Princeton University Press), and *Jüdischer Islam: Islam und Deutsch-Jüdische Selbstbestimmung* (Mathes und Seitz).

John-Paul Himka (PhD, 1977, University of Michigan) is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Alberta. He is the author of *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: OUN and UPA's Participation in the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry, 1941–1944* (ibidem-Verlag, 2021) and other books on the history of Ukraine.

David Hirsh is a senior lecturer in sociology at Goldsmiths, University of London and Director of the London Centre for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism. He is the author of *Law against Genocide* (Glass House Press), *Contemporary Left Antisemitism* (Routledge), and *Left-Wing Antisemitism in the 21st Century: From the Academic Boycott Campaign into the Mainstream*.

Monika Hübscher is a PhD candidate at the University of Haifa in Israel and also works as a research associate for the project “Antisemitism and Youth” at the University Essen-Duisburg in Germany. She has received fellowships from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah for her research. She was a visiting scholar at the University of Bielefeld and Aarhus University. Together with Sabine von Mering, she co-edited the volume *Antisemitism on Social Media* and has published several papers on antisemitism, Holocaust memory, and antisemitism on social media in English and German.

Benjamin Isaac is the Lessing Professor of Ancient History Emeritus at Tel Aviv University. He is a recipient of the Israel Prize for History and is a member of the Israel Academy. His many books include *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford, 1990, 1992), *Roman Roads in Judaea* (2 vols., Oxford 1982, 1996), *The Greek Settlements in Thrace* (Leiden 1986), *The Near East under Roman Rule* (Leiden 1997), *The Invention of Racism in Antiquity* (Princeton, 2004), and *Empire and Ideology in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2017).

Steven Leonard Jacobs is Professor of Religious Studies and Emeritus Aaron Aronov Endowed Chair of Judaic Studies at The University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL. His work focuses on the Holocaust, antisemitism, and historical and contemporary genocides.

Jonathan Judaken is the Goldstein Professor in Jewish History and Thought at Washington University in St. Louis. He is the author of more than 50 academic articles on the history of existentialism, anti-Semitism, racism, and on post-Holocaust French Jewish thought. He has written, edited, or co-edited seven books, most recently completing *Critical Theories of Anti-Semitism: Confronting Modern Judeophobia* (Columbia University Press).

Anthony Julius is a professor in the Faculty of Laws, University College London and Deputy Chairman of law firm Mishcon de Reya. Among other topics, he has written on literary antisemitism (*T.S. Eliot, anti-Semitism and literary form*, 2003), English antisemitism (*Trials of the Diaspora*, 2012), and antisemitism in the university (“Willed ignorance,” 2022). He is currently writing a biography of Abraham for Yale University Press and a book on free speech for OUP.

David I. Kertzer has been the Dupee University Professor of Social Science since coming to Brown in 1992. He is also Professor of Anthropology and Italian Studies. His more recent books include *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (1997) (finalist for the National Book Award for Nonfiction, published in 12 languages) *The Popes Against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (2001), *Prisoner of the Vatican* (2004), *Amalia's Tale* (2008), *The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in*

Europe (2014), and *The Pope at War: The Secret History of Pius XII, Mussolini, and Hitler* (2022). In 2015, Kertzer was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in Biography for *The Pope and Mussolini*. In 2005, Kertzer was elected as a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is the past president of the Social Science History Association and of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe, and served as provost of Brown University from 2006 to 2011.

Rotem Kowner is a historian and Professor of Japanese Studies at the University of Haifa, Israel. He has written extensively on Jewish communities in the Japanese empire and attitudes toward Jews in contemporary East Asia. Most recently he has edited the volume *Jewish Communities in Modern Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 2023).

Richard S. Levy taught at the University of Illinois at Chicago from 1971 until his retirement in 2019. He wrote hundreds of articles and reviews and delivered dozens of presentations on these topics across the United States and internationally. He earned academic acclaim for his work on twentieth-century German history, including his 1975 book *The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany*. Levy was also the editor of the influential two-volume *Antisemitism: Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution* (2005) and *Antisemitism: A History* (2010). Richard S. Levy passed away in July 2021.

Meir Litvak is Professor of Middle Eastern History and Senior Research Associate at the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies at Tel Aviv University. He has published extensively on modern Shi'ism and Islamist anti-Semitism. His most recent book is *Know Thy Enemy: Attitudes towards Others in Modern Shi'i Iranian Thought* (Brill, 2021).

Cary Nelson is Professor Emeritus of English at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is the author or editor of over 30 books, including the forthcoming *Peace and Faith: Christian Churches and the Israel-Palestinian Conflict*.

Sara Offenberg is an associate professor at the Department of the Arts in Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. She holds an interdisciplinary PhD (*summa cum laude*) from the Department of Jewish Thought and the Department of the Arts at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. She is the author of *Illuminated Piety: Pietistic Texts and Images in the North French Hebrew Miscellany* (2013) and *Up in Arms: Images of Knights and the Divine Chariot in Esoteric Ashkenazi Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (2019). Between 2014 and 2017, Offenberg was the co-editor of the journal *Ars Judaica: The Bar-Ilan Journal of Jewish Art*, and she is presently (since 2021) the managing editor of *Mabatim: Journal of Visual Culture*. Her research focuses on chivalry and warriors in Hebrew manuscripts, German Pietists, Hebrew illuminated prayer books, and Jewish-Christian relations in medieval art and literature.

Rafal Pankowski is a professor at the Institute of Sociology of Collegium Civitas in Warsaw, Poland, and a co-founder of the “Never Again” Association. He has published several books, including *The Populist Radical Right in Poland: The Patriots* (Routledge, 2010).

Jonathan Ray is the Samuel Eig Professor of Jewish Studies at Georgetown University. His publications on Sephardic history include *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia, After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry*, and *Jewish Life in Medieval Spain: A New History*.

Per Anders Rudling is an associate professor of history at Lund University and currently a Wallenberg Academy Fellow, funded by the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation. He holds MA degrees from Uppsala University (1998) and San Diego State University (2003) and a PhD from the University of Alberta (2009). He has held post-doctoral fellowships at the universities of Greifswald (2010–2011) and Lund (2012–2014). In 2015

he was a visiting professor at the University of Vienna, and from 2015 to 2019 he was a senior visiting fellow and coordinator of European Studies at the National University of Singapore.

Suzanne D. Rutland (OAM, PhD) is Professor Emerita at the Department of Hebrew & Jewish Studies, University of Sydney, a past president of the Australian Association for Jewish Studies, patron of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, and a member of the Australian IHRA Delegation. She is a widely published author on Australian Jewry.

Haim Saadoun is an expert in Jews of Arab Lands in the Modern Era. He is a member of the Open University and the director of Yad Itzhak Ben-Zvi Institute's Documentation Center of North African Jews during World War II. He is the founding editor of the Series "Jewish Communities in the East in the 19th and 20th Centuries." He has written and edited 15 books and dozens of articles on Jews in Muslim lands, especially North Africa. He has also served as a consultant to international organizations involved in Holocaust research.

Maurice Samuels is the Betty Jane Anlyan Professor of French at Yale University. He specializes in the literature and culture of nineteenth-century France and in Jewish Studies. He is the author of four books, including *The Right to Difference: French Universalism and the Jews* (Chicago, 2016), which won the MLA's Scaglione Prize for the best book in French Studies. His new book, *The Betrayal of the Duchess*, a study of France's first antisemitic affair, was published in 2020 by Basic Books. He also co-edited *Nineteenth-Century Jewish Literature Reader* (Stanford, 2013) and edited *Les grands auteurs de la littérature juive au XIXe siècle* (Hermann, 2015). A recipient of the Guggenheim Fellowship and of the New York Public Library Cullman Center Fellowship, he has published articles on diverse topics, including romanticism and realism, aesthetic theory, representations of the Crimean War, boulevard culture, and writers from Balzac to Zola. He has directed the Yale Program for the Study of Antisemitism since 2011. He is currently working on a biography of Alfred Dreyfus for the Jewish Lives series at Yale University Press.

Jonathan D. Sarna is University Professor and the Joseph H. & Belle R. Braun Professor of American Jewish History at Brandeis University, where he directs its Schusterman Center for Israel Studies. He also is the past president of the Association for Jewish Studies and Chief Historian of the National Museum of American Jewish History in Philadelphia.

Lawrence H. Schiffman is the Judge Abraham Lieberman Professor of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University and Director of the Global Network for Advanced Research in Jewish Studies. He specializes in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Judaism in Late Antiquity, and Talmudic literature.

Monika Schwarz-Friesel holds the chair in general linguistics at the Technical University of Berlin. She is the author of several books on antisemitism and the power of language, including *Inside the Antisemitic Mind: The Language of Jew-Hatred in Contemporary Germany* (2017), which she co-authored with Jehuda Reinharz.

Milton Shain is Emeritus Professor, the Isidore and Theresa Cohen Chair in Jewish Civilisation, at the University of Cape Town. He received his PhD from the University of Cape Town. He specializes in the history of South African Jewry and the history of anti-Semitism and was Director of the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research until his retirement at the end of 2014. He is particularly interested in cultural representations of the Jew over time and the ways in which these are transformed to align with dominant discourses. His most recent book *Žakor v'Makor: Place and Displacement*

CONTRIBUTORS

in *Jewish History and Memory*, co-edited with David Cesarani and Tony Kushner, was runner-up in the “Anthology and Collections” category of the National Jewish Book Award in the United States for 2009. *The Roots of Antisemitism in South Africa*, published by the University Press of Virginia and Witwatersrand University Press in 1994, won the UCT book prize in 1996.

Marc B. Shapiro holds the Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Chair in Judaic Studies at the University of Scranton. His latest book on the thought of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook will be published by Littman Library.

Doyle Stevick is the founding Executive Director of the Anne Frank Center at the University of South Carolina and twice a Fulbright Fellow to Estonia. His first two books addressed citizenship education and the next three Holocaust education, including, with Zehavit Gross in 2015, *As the Witnesses Fall Silent: 21st Century Holocaust education in Curriculum, Policy and Practice* for UNESCO’s International Bureau of Education.

Magda Teter is Professor of History and the Shvidler Chair of Judaic Studies at Fordham University. She is the author of books, including *Blood Libel: On the Trail of An Antisemitic Myth* (2020) and *Christian Supremacy: Reckoning with the Roots of Antisemitism and Racism* (2023). Teter received fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Cullman Center at the NYPL, and others.

Gil Troy is an American presidential historian and Zionist activist. He is the author of *The Zionist Ideas* and is the editor of the new three-volume set, “Theodor Herzl: Zionist Writings,” the inaugural publication of The Library of the Jewish People (www.theljp.org).

James Wald teaches modern European history at Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts. His research areas involving antisemitism include Nazi ideology, the survival of Christian supersessionist thinking in secular modernity, and the Khazar myth. His current research project is a book on antisemitism in the Polish Army in Britain during World War II.

Martina Weisz is a research fellow at the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (SICSA). She studied Political Science and International Relations at the Universidad Nacional de Rosario in Argentina, and holds a PhD from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Mark Weitzman is the Chief Operating Officer of the World Jewish Restitution Organization. He is a member of the official US delegation to the International Holocaust Remembrance Authority (IHRA) where he spearheaded IHRA’s 2016 adoption of the Working Definition of Antisemitism and was also the lead author of IHRA’s Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion which was adopted in 2013. Among his many publications is *Antisemitism, the Generic Hatred: Essays in Memory of Simon Wiesenthal*, which won the 2007 National Jewish Book Award for best anthology, and which has appeared in French, Spanish, and Russian editions.

Robert J. Williams is the Finci-Viterbi Executive Director Chair of the USC Shoah Foundation, UNESCO Chair of Holocaust Education at the University of Southern California, and Advisor to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. He has published several policy pieces on antisemitism and Holocaust commemoration, and he is currently working on two manuscripts. The first is a study of the establishment of postwar media in US- and Soviet-occupied Germany, and the second is an analysis of post-communist efforts to restore the reputations of fascists and others involved in genocidal crimes.

CONTRIBUTORS

Ruth Wodak is Emerita Distinguished Professor of Discourse Studies at Lancaster University, UK. She was awarded the Wittgenstein Prize for Elite Researchers in 1996, an Honorary Doctorate from University of Örebro in Sweden in 2010, and an Honorary Doctorate from Warwick University in 2020. She is a member of the British Academy of Social Sciences and a member of the Academia Europaea. In March 2020, she became Honorary Member of the Senate of the University of Vienna. She is a co-editor of the journals *Discourse and Society*, *Critical Discourse Studies*, and *Language and Politics*. She is the author of multiple publications, the most recent of which is *The Politics of Fear. The Shameless Normalization of Far-Right Populist Discourses* (Sage, 2021). See <http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/profiles/Ruth-Wodak> for more information.