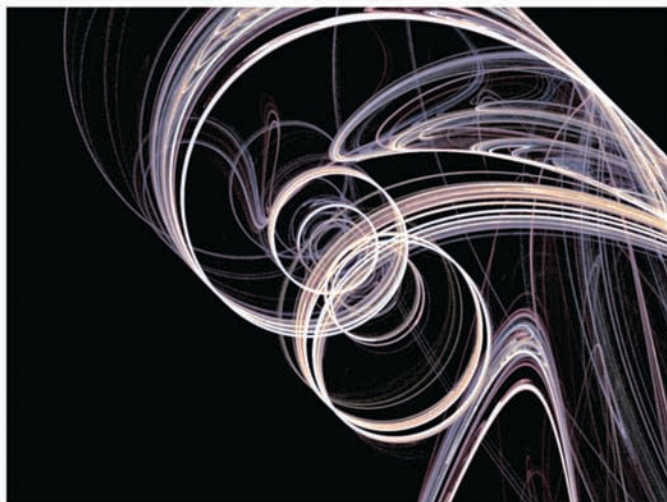


POLISH STUDIES –
TRANSDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES 22

Alina Cała

Jew. The Eternal Enemy?

The History of Antisemitism in Poland



PETER LANG

Alina Cała

Jew. The Eternal Enemy?

Jew. The Eternal Enemy? is the first monograph that provides a wholesome overview of the history of Antisemitism in Poland. Alina Cała critically analyzes the Polish manifestation of the gruesome phenomenon against the backdrop of historical events in all Europe, as she traces the formation of the ideology and its difference from Judeophobia. A special notion requires Cała's meticulousness in research of the archives referring to the Catholic Church and folk culture. Most importantly, Cała does not end with the historical perspective but uses her studies to shed light on the events permeating in the thirty years of the recent Polish history as an independent country.

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Introduction

The main purpose of this work is an attempt to explain the genesis and causes of Antisemitism in Poland. I shall try to address several important questions: What models has it followed? How have they been distributed? What forms have they assumed? And were these forms endemic, or rather borrowed from others? Or, perhaps, borrowed and subsequently transformed? In order to answer these and similar questions, I trace changes in an Antisemitic propaganda, examining the emergence, consolidation, popularization, and social impact of its particular strands. My hope is that thereby we will be able to discern the functions they have performed contributing to the petrification of this phenomenon in Poland. This book is largely based on my earlier research, as I have been interested in the Polish-Jewish relations in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, including the process of assimilation of Jews in the second half of the nineteenth century and its resulting phenomenon of Antisemitism. Thus, it is a culmination of an important phase of my work, summarizing my previous findings, while also drawing on abundant achievements of other scholars, both Polish and foreign.

I shall emphasize that the most important subject of this work is not the Antisemitic movement itself,¹ but it is rather ideas which have contributed to its emergence, becoming an intellectual foundation of its political agenda. That is why the history of Antisemitic movements and parties – which is to say, the problem of state politics toward Jews and the so-called “Jewish question” – is only cursory addressed. Rather, what I underscore is the genesis of Antisemitic imaginations and biases, the stereotype and image of the Jew, transformations of their content, propaganda techniques, and mechanisms of social influence. To that end, I had to move back in time and briefly describe the formation of the image of the Jew since the foundation of Christianity, the emergence of Judeophobia, the discussions about the place of Judaism and its professors in modern Europe and, finally, the emergence of Antisemitism and modern movements that have employed it in Western countries. Chapters devoted to these subjects form an introduction to the main part of the book. In the most important part, in which Poland is addressed, these problems are necessarily related to the national camp and the Catholic Church that have stimulated the formation and proliferation of Antisemitism. Of course, it is impossible to utterly ignore the political history and social attitudes of the period in question, but they nonetheless remain only at the margins of this study.

1 The term *Antisemitic movement* is here understood as a specific form of social movement: organizations, political parties, associations, and sociable circles created by proponents of Antisemitism, whose aim has been to popularize this ideology and fulfill its purposes.

The chronological and geographical scope of the first part of this book is very wide, ranging from Middle Eastern antiquity through the European Middle Ages to the twentieth century. It seems neither possible nor necessary for this historical panorama to be addressed in depth. For ways of thinking, beliefs and imaginations, ideological calques and stereotypes are fixed products of human mind, which is why their transformations can be analyzed by using what can be called condensed images – that is to say, by selecting events or social processes which have had the greatest impact on the petrification or transformation of worldviews. This “gallop through history” is facilitated by the abundant academic literature devoted to the genesis of Judeophobia at the close of antiquity, the shifting position of Jews in medieval and modern Europe as well as political Antisemitism in Western Europe. The chronological outline of this subject in Poland begins with a brief presentation of the position toward Jews in the Old Polish tradition (with a special emphasis placed on differences related to their particular situation in the country). Later, I shall address the transformation which took place in the Enlightenment and continued throughout the nineteenth century until its last quarter when Poland became influenced by the anti-Jewish politics of tsarist Russia, on the one hand, and by political “novelties” from the West, corresponding to the processes of national awakening, on the other. I devoted much space to the interwar period which was in many respects intensive and full of events significant for this study. The chronological outline is concluded by a presentation of contemporary times, that is to say, of Antisemitic propaganda during the Polish People’s Republic and the development of this phenomenon until as late as 2010.

Scholars researching the Polish strain of Antisemitism find themselves in a much more inconvenient situation than their Western European colleagues. For, so far, neither the beginnings nor the history of the nationalist movement and its ideology have been sufficiently researched. The same is true with respect to the history of Jews in Poland, and especially to Polish-Jewish – or, more generally, Christian-Jewish – relations. Existing descriptions of the interwar period still contain “blind spots:” for example, we do not know the exact number of anti-Jewish incidents and collective actions during 1918–1920 and 1935–1938, let alone their circumstances. In this case, I had to rely mostly on my own research.

In my research, I employed methodologies from several different fields of the humanities: history, sociology, literary studies, cultural anthropology, and ethnology. It was this interdisciplinarity that made it possible to examine problems and phenomena from different viewpoints, which, in turn, required a diversified source base. I relied on historical, sociological, psychological, and philosophical works as well as ethnographic field research and sociological surveys, archival sources, press, political writings, fine literature, websites and iconography. This body of sources was also supplemented by a huge collection of Antisemitic leaflets from 1968–2005 which I handed over to the archive of the Jewish Historical Institute.

Chapter 1. What Is Antisemitism?

Social sciences struggle with defining the precise subject of their research. Just as the understanding of the notion of “nation,” or “society” remains nebulous, so does the definition of Antisemitism. Sociologists and historians unceasingly discuss the semantic scope of the term and the exact description of the phenomenon. Some works confuse different elements; for instance, they identify the negative stereotype of “Jew” with Antisemitism, while other texts conclude the extent of the phenomenon from the so-called “Bogardus scale,” which measures declarations of sympathy and aversion, but indicates only ethnic distance. Therefore, a typology of the phenomenon should precede any satisfactory definition of the object under consideration. Given Antisemitism’s longevity and geographic spread, it is not a simple task to describe it, but nonetheless a necessary one. At present, every researcher uses the same broad term to speak about a slightly different phenomenon or about its different aspects. Suffice it to recall the amazement of German scholars at the results of their early 1990s survey in East and West Germany. The same questions led to answers both different and difficult to understand. Although neo-Nazi movements enjoyed growing support in the former GDR, the level of Antisemitic attitudes turned out to be much lower than in the western part of the country.² It remains unclear whether the survey method failed or Communism has effectively protected East Germans from Antisemitism. During a 1993 conference at the Technische Universität Berlin, the first Russian-led survey caused major controversy, when its authors claimed that only 2% of anti-Jewish attitudes were evident in Saint Petersburg. We do not know whether these results were correct, or tendentiously presented. Maybe the methods failed, transferred from Western European studies, or the scholars investigated a phenomenon different from the forms present in other countries. Another example offer the 1991 measurements of Antisemitism in Poland, which Demoskop used to determine that 17 % of Polish society displays Antisemitism.³ In the same year, the Center for Public Opinion Research (CBOS) conducted its own study which found that 5 % of Poles show “extreme Antisemitism,” 10 % a “strong” one, while 16 % – “moderate or weak.”⁴ In both cases, even though the institutions listed – different – criteria for Antisemitism, the precise object of investigation and the cause for such figures remain unknown.

The matter grows even more difficult, because analyses of complex phenomena rooted in many cultures require interdisciplinary methods. Sociologists

2 W. Bergman, R. Erb (1990), *Antisemitismus in der politischen Kultur seit 1945*, Opladen.

3 R. Cohen, J. L. Golub (I 1991), *Attitudes toward Jews in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia*, New York.

4 *Antysemityzm w Polsce. Komunikat z badań CBOS*, Warszawa 1991.

study Antisemitism's typology, functions, dynamics, cyclical nature, and its ambivalent relation to crises which incite social frustration.⁵ Those scholars try to pinpoint the mechanism of how ethnic conflicts turn into physical violence. Is there a simple direct link between the activity of Antisemitic organizations and the spontaneous violence of pogroms? Armed groups who "hunted" Jews in Poland and the frenzy of "ritual murder" reached their peak in 1945–1946, right after the war, but it remains unclear whether and how both factors affected the outbreak of pogroms in Chełm, Rzeszów, Kraków, and Kielce. In the early 1990s, the reach of anti-Jewish attitudes was larger in Poland and Slovakia than in Hungary; however, it was in Hungary where most anti-Jewish violence occurred.⁶ What was the decisive element that enabled the events? Was it only the size of the Jewish minority? Or, perhaps the better organization of skinhead groups along with the sympathy of some politicians? Historians, on the other hand, argue about the origins of Antisemitism: Was there Antisemitism in the ancient world? And, in modern era, is there one yet changing Antisemitism? Or, are there different Antisemitism's, very little interrelated with each other? Hence, greatly divergent opinions and evaluations proliferate; such that juxtapose medieval persecutions of Jews with the Holocaust; or, on the contrary, such that negate the existence of Antisemitism until the rise of modern Antisemitic movements.

Depending on the research assumptions, two types of definition dominate the field. The first one links the concept of Antisemitism to all historical ages. A frequently repeated definition was first formulated by Jean-Paul Sartre in 1946. This version emphasizes that the background of the phenomenon form irrationality and frustration along activist attitudes, which demand discrimination or persecution:

If a man attributes all or part of his own misfortunes and those of his country to the presence of Jewish elements in the community, if he proposes to remedy this state of affairs by depriving the Jews of certain of their rights, by keeping them out of certain economic and social activities, by expelling them from the country, by exterminating all of them, we say that he has anti-Semitic opinions.⁷

Helen Fein formulated a similar definition in a collection published in the series *Current Research on Antisemitism* by the Berlin Research Centre on Antisemitism at the Technische Universität:

I propose to define antisemitism as a persisting latent structure of hostile beliefs toward *Jews as a collectivity* manifested in *individuals* as attitudes, and in *culture* as myth, ideology, folklore, and imagery, and in *actions* – social or legal discrimination,

5 S. Epstein (1993), *Cyclical Patterns in Antisemitism*, Jerusalem.

6 R. Cohen, J. L. Golub, 1991.

7 J.-P. Sartre (1995), *Antisemite and Jew*, New York, p. 8.

political mobilization against the Jew, and collective or state violence – which results in and/or is designed to distance, displace, or destroy Jews as Jews.⁸

The sociologist Aleksander Hertz, in turn, authored a slightly different definition:

An Antisemite is a person, who perceives Jews as alien and hostile, then assumes a negative disposition toward them ... and, finally, supplements this disposition with a rational form. Such person expresses this disposition by negatively evaluating Jewish qualities and using them to explain the necessity of active opposition to Jews by way of isolating them, on the one hand, and active fight against them, on the other hand.⁹

Antisemites rationalized their belief in the objective existence of “Jewish qualities,” as argued by Hertz, in two ways: that they are a result of historical circumstances and therefore subject to change; or, that they result from Jewish biological nature and remain immutable. G. I. Langmuir separated Antisemitic from xenophobic attitudes by arguing that the latter are typical for intergroup relations in all cultures. Langmuir considered that Antisemitism is not so much an unfair generalization or a reluctant judgment, but above all a deeply rooted belief that is not only untrue, but fantastic – and which the researcher called “chimerical assertions.”¹⁰ Still, others describe Antisemitism as a manifestation of antipathy or hostility toward Jews “throughout history and throughout the world.”¹¹ Some Israeli and American works tint this broad understanding ideologically, in extreme cases serving political purposes; for instance, when trying to simplify the complicated and multi-faceted Arab-Israeli conflict to Antisemitism only, or when considering Antisemitism to be anti-Zionism. The latter approach leads to a paradoxical situation, in which one should consider as Antisemitic the program of the Bund, hostile to Zionism, as well as exclude from the circle of Antisemites those who agree that Jews should live only in Israel.

The second, narrower way of understanding the word “Antisemitism” refers to the ideologies and political movements of the nineteenth century in Central and Eastern Europe, which have spread in many countries.¹² The most well-known definition

8 H. Fein (1987), “Dimensions of Antisemitism,” *The Persisting Question*, ed. H. Fein, Berlin-New York, p. 67.

9 A. Hertz (1992), *Socjologia nieprzedawniona*, Warszawa, pp. 390–410 (chapter *Sprawa antysemityzmu*).

10 G. I. Langmuir (1990), *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism*, Berkeley, p. 334.

11 See, for instance, the entry *Antisemitism Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), Jerusalem, Vol. 1.

12 For the use of this work, I assume an approximation of the colloquial understanding of the word “ideology” as a subjective set of arguments and imagination which serve the conviction toward a political or cultural idea; see Z. Bauman, “Ideologia,” *Encyklopedia Socjologii*, Warszawa 1998, Vol. 1, pp. 297–301. The term “political movement” encompasses not only political parties but also social organizations and associations which realize the guidelines of a political current.

of this type formulated Hannah Arendt in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951). Thomas Nipperdey defined it similarly:

Antisemitism meant neither naive nor religion-based antipathy, but a secular ideology and a post-emancipatory movement against Jews as part of the bourgeoisie society. Even though this new enmity based on diverse motives, together they appeared as a new protest movement against the modern world, not traditionally conservative but, in a way, proto-fascist. ... Antisemitism was symptomatic of the crumbling of values of the bourgeoisie world, which became an integral part of anti-liberal nationalism.¹³

Nipperdey argues that Antisemitism was, indeed, historically associated with earlier manifestations of hostility toward Jews, especially in the Christian world, but those phenomena were different in quality from the political Antisemitism and should be addressed with a different term. In the English-language literature, one can find the term “Judeophobia” employed with this meaning.

Recognizing the limitations of this approach, I nevertheless lean toward the second definition of Antisemitism understood as a product of the post-Enlightenment period, different from the preceding Judeophobia. This choice stems from general theoretical assumptions, methodological benefits, as well as practical conclusions of my earlier research: discovery of a diversity of hostile images and unfavorable attitudes to Jews.¹⁴ However, forms of discrimination against Jews in European culture in different epochs remain linked with each other. Undoubtedly, there is a certain historical continuity in this respect and the modern persistent stereotype of a Jew retains attitudes developed long ago.

One of the aims of this book is to reflect on the phenomenon and to refine its definition. I propose the following definition as introduction to further considerations:

Antisemitism is an ideology, worldview, or political current which includes a set of prejudices that justify hostile attitudes toward Jews. Related mostly with the formation of nationalism and totalitarianism, Antisemitism stems from the tradition of Judeophobia. Antisemites sometimes referred to racism and wrongly distinguished Jews as an anthropological race. In broader term, Antisemitism means social attitudes that are verbally or physically aggressive, unfavorable generalizations or prejudices against the Jews, and their justification based on religion, nationality, race, politics, or economics.¹⁵

13 T. Nipperdey, R. Rurüp (1976), “Antisemitismus – Entstehung, Funktion und Geschichte eines Begriffs,” Nipperdey, *Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie*, Göttingen.

14 As “image” we should understand the wholesome image of a group and culture which means both the components provided by culture (stereotypes, prejudice, sometimes superstition) and opinions/approaches extracted from personal contacts and observations.

15 Compare “Antysemityzm,” *Encyklopedia Socjologii* (1998), Warszawa; as well as A. Cała, H. Węgrzynek, G. (2000), *Dzieje i kultura Żydów polskich*, Warszawa.

Antisemitic attitudes refer to the Jewish community, although they affect reactions toward its individual representatives. It is therefore a generalized aversion to someone because he is a Jew and not because of his behavior or personal faults. Or, to put it more subtly, Antisemites believe that the assumed “defects” or deeds of a Jewish individual originate from the fact that he or she belongs to the Jewish community. However, the three are separate: Antisemitism as an ideology, Antisemitism as a worldview, and Antisemitism as a political movement.¹⁶ They do not always intertwine, because one may subscribe to the ideology without identifying with any organization advocating political Antisemitism. Antisemitic parties may manipulate the intensity of propaganda, use it as a sociotechnical tool, while their activists – more or less sincerely – renounce the Antisemitic worldview. Some develop an obsessive hostility to Jews, which becomes part of their psychological mechanisms of coping with life; we should understand such Antisemitism as pathological and characterized by a distorted perception of reality. Such pathology differs from paranoia, because it may be a group and social phenomenon, which inclines to produce narratives or ideologies that would consolidate and uphold it. I understand “pathology” here as do physicians; that is, as a symptom that harms all the affected.

We should specify the “components” of Antisemitism: negative stereotype, declared aversion, generalized judgement, prejudice, superstition, sense of threat, verbal aggression, conspiracy theories, xenophobic attitudes, psychological mechanisms of frustration and displacement, explanations of mutual interdependence. Sometimes the phenomenon assumes subtler forms, such as sympathy for Jews coincident with themes of ideological Antisemitism; that is, when a person admires the supposed “leadership abilities” of Jews but this only strengthens the belief that “Jews rule the world.” Some sociologists define this form with the term “hidden Antisemitism.”

Although Antisemitism contains a considerable dose of xenophobia, the two are not identical. Xenophobia is present in every culture in the form of distrust to all otherness, not just ethnical, and forms an attitude driven by fear of the outside world. One cannot simply condemn this common phenomenon, because its harmfulness depends on its intensity. Xenophobia proves useful when motivating caution in relations with others, but it may raise anxiety leading to aggressive reactions, which sometimes become destructive. Attitudes close to xenophobia are

16 The term “worldview” we understand here more broadly than ideology which means convictions based on the effects of education, intergenerational transfer, individual experiences, and psychological conditioning, which compose a personal image of reality that influences one’s attitudes, but not always actions. The convictions that compose the worldview rarely are internally consistent and consequent, they may contain elements from diverse sources; e.g., an ethical system based on the Decalogue despite atheism or an approach against Antisemitism along prejudice against other ethnic groups.

willful jealousy and willingness to negatively judge others, which then affect aggression levels encoded in culture. Xenophobia of societies largely depends on prosperity, culture, and history: for instance, the more xenophobic groups are those, which cherish virtues of a warrior and live under a threat of frequent wars.

An important role in Antisemitism play generalized anxiety and negative judgments. Antisemites attempt to persuade others not only that they are threatened by the Jews but also that they themselves are victims of persecution by the rest of the society, their own state, or other political groups. To perceive oneself as a “besieged stronghold” is an important component of a consciously applied tactic, in which the anti-Jewish narrative becomes a model argument against all other “internal enemies,” such as leftists, freemasons, or homosexuals. This strategy strengthens Antisemitic xenophobia and directs it not only against Jews; which leads one to suppose that Jews are merely its means to another end. As the Polish present day reveals, Antisemitism is quite possible without the presence of Jews. Even though current conflicts refer to completely different issues and, at times, exacerbate xenophobic attitudes, the mythical power inscribed in the image of “the Jew” has already petrified the main veins of propaganda. The 1990s frictions surrounding the Carmelite nun convent in Auschwitz allowed Antisemitic activists to test their influence on the public opinion.¹⁷ Accusations against “Jews” appealed then to the proven resource of such suggestions as the Jewish desire to “dominate Poland” or even “make Poles into alcoholics.” The Auschwitz conflict did not negatively affect the fast pace, in which Western European Antisemites adopted elements of the “Auschwitz lie” narrative.

The principle of exclusion accompanies the phenomenon of xenophobia. Peasant traditional closed communities formed according to this principle, that is to say, by creating a series of overlapping circles of belonging and exclusion. Such groups threw out or marginalized misses with children, old maidens, illegitimate children, cripples, mentally ill, and eccentrics by way of stigmatization and scorn. Folk culture excluded smiths, witch doctors, and weather charmers in a different manner. In their case, an ambivalent mixture of respect and fear allowed members of the community to still ask for their services and authority. Noblemen, priests, and bourgeoisie remained outside of the rural community, although rarely encountered with open enmity. However, there were instances of hatred between

17 The convent of the Carmelitan nuns was founded in 1984 in close proximity to the Auschwitz Museum. As a result of the protests of European and American Jews, in 1986, during the meeting in Geneva, representatives of the Vatican agreed to transfer the monastery. The realization was delayed by the opposition of parts of the Polish episcopate. This led to a long-lasting and loud conflict. On the one hand, repeated protests and Jewish demonstrations, on the other – the mobilization of Polish Antisemitic activists who began to set up crosses before the monastery and occupy the area (1997–98). Pope John Paul II contributed to the end of the dispute, and in 1998 he demanded that the crosses be removed before his visit to Poland.

neighboring villages. In turn, communities did not automatically exclude representatives of different language, religious, or national groups but, depending on the situation, locals often positioned them in the place of the witch doctor, the eccentric, the bourgeoisie, or the hated neighbor.

Xenophobia and the circles of exclusion/inclusion rest on the function of guarding social cohesion. In a similar way operates ethnocentrism, which persuades members of a culture that it is “the only right one” by fostering a set of beliefs about its unique value. Ethnocentrism seems then to be a milder form of xenophobia, which manifests itself in worldview instead of attitudes. Ethnocentrism is different from national megalomania: you may be very critical thinking about your own society, yet you cannot imagine a situation in which you would have to function away from what you know, unable to understand other customs. Ethnocentrism very strongly influences the perception of reality. That is, it subordinates knowledge about the world to the opinions of the group and narrows the horizon of ideas. The ultimate criterion of truth is group opinion. Polish ethnographers often encounter a phrase that expresses this attitude, “This is true, because everyone says so.” For the speaker, this argument is often sufficient proof of even the most fantastic revelations. Thus, ethnocentrism must not necessarily lead to hostility toward different groups, but it certainly hinders efforts to understand, contact, and exchange ideas with others. Unfortunately, even in present day Poland, some authors of history textbooks reproduce this assumption.

What facilitates the adaptation of a reality presented by xenophobia and ethnocentrism is stereotype. Stereotype refers to many cultural phenomena and social interactions – and this book concentrates especially on the latter. Stereotype is a simplistic image of own or another community; it refers to an ethnic group, a nation, a social stratum, a subculture, or even a professional group; it comprises generalized opinions, emotional reactions, and behavioral patterns toward a given group. Thus, the term “stereotype” includes cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components.

The cognitive aspect of a stereotype is a collection of opinions about a group, usually untrue and unrelated to own experience. Generalized judgments about members of other groups are to confirm the value of one’s own culture and identity. In this sense, stereotypes about other groups are significant for their ability to foster own self-definition. When a farmer speaks about “those from the city that do nothing and earn much,” these words stem not only from the lack of knowledge about the nature of intellectual work or the role of trade and industry, but above all from the glorification of farming as the most appropriate way of life. The negative stereotype of the Romani people confirms one’s own group in the belief that stationary life is better than nomadic. In turn, the stereotype of a diligent and enterprising German portrays avarice and praises a rural rhythm of work in the preindustrial community, where monetary transactions coexist with barter. Interestingly enough, the emotional element of a stereotype may disagree with sympathy for or enmity to a given group, whereas the stereotype about oneself often lacks content and conveys also the negative “flaws” and “vices.” Stereotypes

about the positive characteristics of “others” serve also as pedagogical reminders. Folk culture reminds about Jewish devotion as a model for imitation, while the Polish proverb “let us love each other like brothers but settle up like Jews” expresses a slight contempt for the parsimony of others, yet encourages meticulousness in commercial relations.

Although stereotype is to guard group identity and its culture, this is not its only function. Stereotype also instructs in how to behave in contact with a representative of the stereotyped group. Various elements of a stereotype will suggest different approaches. Conflicts foreground negative attributes, while peace motivates the application of positive stereotypes. You may believe that all Jews are frauds yet buy in a Jewish shop and foster amicable relationship with a Jewish neighbor. Stereotyping Romani as thieves prevents hosting them at home, but does not deny the service of Romani fortune tellers. Physicians more likely receive expensive gifts if a stereotype attributes bribery to them, although this does not hinder their high placement in social hierarchy.

Stereotypical perception of reality fosters prejudice; or, hasty conclusions from encounters with what is different and incomprehensible. As prejudice interprets customs of a different religious group with suspicion, xenophobia and negative stereotypes fill the content of interpretation. One led by prejudice may observe a realistically described Torah scroll in a synagogue, only to later call it “the golden calf.” Or, he or she may observe the Jewish tradition to lock a padlock after the birth of a child, only to explain that the child is to be “mysterious and cunning.”¹⁸ Encounter with a Romani will raise fear of theft. A rock musician will receive traits of a reckless dreamer. Finally, since the stereotype about women is that they are submissive, they will more frequently receive worse paid job offers than men.

Even images of ethnic groups may contain superstitions. Such images play a role in culture protection and regulate attitudes toward others. However, while stereotypes promote group unity and enable peaceful contacts with others by always employing an equal number of negative and positive traits, prejudices discourage any contact at all and sometimes even promote violence. The latter emerges especially in times of social disorder, when ethnic animosity rises along with physical aggression aimed at “aliens,” accused on the basis of superstitions. Usually dormant and degraded to warnings for disobedient children (“keep acting rudely and a Jew/Romani will take you away”), superstition regains the whole of its ominous potential in times of social disorder or economic deprivation. Rumors of Jews kidnapping children incited the last pogroms in Poland, which occurred in Chełm, Kraków, and Rzeszów in 1945, and in Kielce in 1946.

The origin of superstitions is very archaic. For instance, the belief that Jews commit “ritual murder” spread in Western Europe between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, but dates back to the literature of the ancient Roman Empire. Also the conviction that Romani “kidnap children” hails from medieval times. Both

18 A. Cała (1995), *The Image of the Jew in Polish Folk Culture*, Jerusalem, p. 84

superstitions may be deduced from accusations of cannibalism. Nineteenth-century Polish sources describe the panic that the arrival of Napoleonic troops stirred among the Jewish population of Brody. The inhabitants feared that the French soldiers would kidnap the children to devour them. The scare led to riots. Jews attacked the local garrison and entered the headquarters.¹⁹ Until recently, the belief that there are people cannibalizing others, just as if this was their daily meal, was part of the image of Africans. Even today one may encounter cartoon jokes depicting “the savages” in the process of cooking white men in a pot as preparation for dinner.

We find superstitions in the images of many groups, but some disappeared long ago while others retain astonishing vitality. For instance, sixteenth-century Polish texts nearly equal Germans with the Devil. The very word “Germans” holds, in Polish, a trace of an archaic superstition. The etymology of the Polish word *niemiec* reveals that it means “the one who is mute, who does not speak.” The superstition hidden in this word suggests that the mute Germans, *niemówiacy*, are not “normal” people. Such belief leads then to a symbolic exclusion of Germans from the human community. If someone is “not quite human,” then the rules of morality do not apply to Germans. So named, then, *niemiec* is someone less than a human and more of an animal that could be killed for no reason and without consequences. However, culture prevented such dangerous lawlessness by the customs of hospitality. As much as each “alien” is a threat, the menace may be dispelled by available ceremonial and magical rituals, such as sharing food or exchanging greetings: shaking hands, bidding “good day,” or wishing “God bless you!” These rituals appear in proverbs, such as the Polish “Gość w dom – Bóg w dom,” “When a guest is in the house, God is in the house.” Already the Bible offers a story about unknown travelers who turn out to be the messengers of God. Polish folklore offers a legend Jesus and Saint Peter travelling together in disguise, so one should better be hospitable to all guests. The moral of these contradicting folk wisdom is that one should behave with caution toward strangers but also with “decency.” This attitude will lessen the threat, while may bring unknown rewards.

In most countries, there are groups that differ in their social, ethnic, cultural, or religious backgrounds. State or custom law treats these groups differently than the rest of the citizens. This usually results in the isolation of the group that differs, sometimes accepted by both parties. Separation promotes dis-integration and exclusion. If law sanctions such exclusion, it means segregation. In consequence, the less intergroup relations there are, the greater the social distance becomes, the more stereotypical judgments and prejudices abound, superstitions replace the knowledge of culture and the personal experience from encounters between different groups. Segregation always appears together with discrimination, which is a legal disability that sometimes results from legislation itself but, at present, most often stems from legal custom. For instance, we may count here the treatment of

19 See J. S. Bystron (1935), *Megalomania narodowa*, Warszawa; Bystron (1980), *Tematy, które mi odradzano*, Warszawa (chapter *Obcy jako ludożercy*).

peasants in the Polish Commonwealth, the legal position of national minorities in the Second Republic of Poland, or the situation of African Americans in the United States of America.

Discrimination requires arguments, which derive from negative stereotypes, prejudices, and superstitions. For instance, Texan law abolished as late as at the end of the 1960s segregated black citizens in means of transport based on their alleged “bad smell.” Men denied women entry to universities and voting rights, because men deemed women foolish, reckless, and responsible for the original sin. There is a feedback loop between superstition, prejudice, discrimination, and segregation. Prejudice justifies discrimination and superstition sanctions exclusion, while all result from ignorance by mutual isolation. Such was the situation of Jews in medieval Europe. In consequence, the excluded and unseen group enters the role of a “scapegoat” – it becomes symbolically responsible for various misfortunes.

The mechanisms above apply also to racism, a misconception that there are better and worse human races. In the popular form, racism has much in common with dehumanizing superstitions. In the nineteenth century, pseudo-scientific anthropological theories that link appearance with morality developed racism into an ideology that attracted many educated people. Such ideology justified discrimination against people of different skin color. However, because the perceived difference of appearance is very subjective, people separated Jews and Germans into different racial groups, considering the former to be evil incarnate, the latter to be “superhuman.” Until very recently, Americans ascribed white people to “Caucasian races,” while calling Africans, Asians, Indians, Jews, and Arabs – “colored people.” Who is called “black” differs between countries even today: Poles apply the term to Romani, Muscovites use it for Chechens, and Germans for Arabs and Turks. We need to keep in mind that contemporary genetic studies overturned not only the past speculations linking morality with appearance, but even the sheer division of races based on skin color. Scientists now regard skin color to be a secondary trait. The genetic diversity between the different peoples of Africa, humanity’s cradle, is greater than between Africans and people deemed white-skinned. The difference between people is less than 0.001% of genetic code, which in no way prevents us from mixing and having offspring.

Chapter 2. Judeophobia: Formation of the Image of Jews in Europe

2.1. Theoretical Framework

Many sources reveal that the hostile attitude to Jews stems from conflicts within Christianity and remains deeply rooted in European culture. This does not mean, however, that hostility manifests itself everywhere and always with the same intensity. There are periods in history that mark relatively peaceful coexistence between Christians and Judaists as well as countries that in different epochs offered Jews untroubled life. Nevertheless, cultural interacted in all times, people moved from one group to another, and sometimes Jews even acculturated to their host community. Judaists contributed greatly to European culture and history. Medieval Europe owes to Jewish philosophers the discovery of Aristotle's thought that was preserved by Islamic scholars. Cabalistic ideas inspired several Renaissance thinkers such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola or Johannes Reuchlin and, later, even Polish Romanticism. For its part, Christianity itself influenced Jewish culture and, to a certain extent, Judaism. For instance, the latter adopted ascetic practices based on the Franciscan notion of poverty, whereas the nineteenth-century reformist movement drew on Protestant tradition. European approach to Judaism changed with time, but also with the changes in local politics.

Scholars, who treat modern, nineteenth-century Antisemitism as a separate new phenomenon, distinguish its earlier forms by another name. However, historians understand this phenomenon differently and its definition remains lacking. Some researchers separate the dislike to Judaists as a historical phenomenon delimited from the Middle Ages to Counter-Reformation. Others, such as Grzegorz Ignatowski, extend the meaning of the term and describe it as a "dislike, discrimination, and even hostility to Jews because of their religion, were some of the reasons would be theological."²⁰ This understanding includes the part of modern Antisemitism, which refers to religious difference, and thus we should count in the ranks of judeophobes both Justin the Martyr (d. 167), bishop Eusebius (d. 339), and Stanisław Trzeciak (1873–1944). Langmuir emphasizes the dichotomy

20 G. Ignatowski (2001), "Antyjudaizm," eds. J. Tomaszewski, A. Żbikowski, *Żydzi w Polsce*, Warszawa. Compare S. Musiał (2001), *Antysemityzm czy antyjudaizm*, "Midrasz" No. 50 – using a very interesting semantic analysis, the author criticized the intention to use the term "Judeophobia" in order to transfer all responsibility for the Holocaust to "atheistic" Antisemites.

of irrationality and rationalization available in the attempts to distinguish between the phenomenon of Judeophobia and Antisemitism:

Judeophobia I take to be a total or partial opposition to Judaism – and to Jews as adherents of it – by people who accept a competing system of beliefs and practices and consider certain Judaic beliefs and practices as inferior. Judeophobia, therefore, can be pagan, Christian, Communist, or what you will, but its specific character will depend on the character of the competing system.²¹

To call hostility toward Jews in such different epochs with the same term seem not to explain more but rather further complicates the understanding of the phenomenon.²² It is, thus, inadequate to state that Judeophobia means only “opposition to Judaism.” Such approach would also include the secular Jewish culture that sometimes is aggressively anti-religious. It would be paradoxical to call Jewish anti-religiosity “Judeophobia” and link it thus together with medieval persecutions. In turn, we cannot equate the latter with anti-religious activities of communist regimes in Europe, even though both used violence.

I would rather apply the term “Judeophobia” to the explanations of hostility toward Jews that base on religious difference. That is, especially when religious argument appears in cases unrelated to religion, such as conflicts with economic, political, or even criminal background. We should speak of Judeophobia when religious justifications sufficed as motivation and explanation for persecutions. The most glaring historical example are massacres of Jews conducted by the crusaders. Another example is the year 1394, when the King of France expelled Jews and justified his actions with Catholic devotion, even though they were more after the estate of the exiled. This expulsion was, therefore, a political action against an ethnic group under the guise of religious “opposition.” Finally, the most glaring example of Judeophobia is the case of the Spanish Inquisition, when it burned baptized Jews at the stake, despite the victims were already Catholics with little knowledge of Jewish origin. Although executions for alleged “ritual murders” may have resulted from a series of tragic judicial errors, they based on religious difference and religion-related magical speculation.

In this sense, the term “Judeophobia” would refer mainly to the Middle Ages and the Early Modern era, notwithstanding that we notice elements of Judeophobia even much later; for instance, until 1965, the official teachings of the Catholic Church accused Jews of deicide, which justified acts of violence even in the twentieth century. Both medieval burghers and twentieth-century Antisemites used the juxtaposition of “Jewish” and “Christian” commerce, which expressed economic competition by way of denominations. Religious justification of hostility toward

21 G. L. Langmuir (1990), pp. 311–352.

22 A balanced critique of the theoretical assumptions adopted by Langmuir can be found in the last chapter of the work by P. Schafer (1997), *Judeophobia*, Cambridge, Massachussets.

Jews slowly lost its importance in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, when it became secondary for the ideology of Antisemitism – with the exception of the peasant cultures of Central and Eastern Europe, where the Christian faith overlapped with the relics of the pre-Christian system of beliefs. Thus, folk culture assumed mythological aspects of the image of the Jew that differed greatly from medieval Judeophobia, in which they found their origin.

2.2. Sources of Judeophobia

Some historians trace the genesis of Judeophobia as far back as to the ancient conflict between Hellenism and monotheism.²³ It seems, however, that the ancient phenomenon was something completely different to the medieval one, because even when they had similar manifestations, they had different backgrounds. The struggle between the Greek tradition – considered better – and the ancient Judaism began in the third century was a religious-cultural conflict that divided not only the communities of Judea but also the neighboring countries and religions of the Middle East. Social elites Hellenized but the people remained unaffected, which at times led to bloody rebellions, religious syncretism, or the emergence of new religions. Today it is hard to discern whether greater resistance stirred Greeks and Romans or local separatists and rebels. Hellenistic polytheism differed from both Judaism and the complex Persian pantheon. So, if we want to speak of ancient Judeophobia, then we need to consider it as one of the elements – not the most important – among political problems, bloody wars, social unrest, and religious clashes within the influence of the Roman Empire.

Sides of this cultural conflict were antagonistic partners independent of Rome's political domination. Even though Judaism differed greatly from contemporary religions, it still fit in the pluralistic idea of Pax Romana, but not in the Hellenistic pantheon. Judaists under Roman rule experienced neither cultural nor social disadvantage. Indeed, repressions accompanied the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 AD, but justified politically, not religiously, and without lasting changes to social stratification. Both the Palestinian and the diasporic populations represented full stratification divided into farmers, slaves, merchants, privileged, priests, temple service, and soldiers. Jews integrated well with the local communities throughout the Roman Empire and received the status of Roman citizens in 212 AD.

Today, researchers find fragments or mentions of Hellenic literary works from Egypt, which confirm ancient prejudice against Judaism. Josephus's (37–94 AD)

23 See for instance J. N. Sevenster (1975), *The Roots of Antisemitism in the Ancient World*, Leiden; J. G. Gager (1983), *The Origins of Antisemitism*, New York; L. H. Feldman (1993), *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, Princeton; J. Méléze-Modrzejewski (2000), *Żydzi nad Nilem od Ramzesa II do Hadriana*, Kraków; M. Perry, F. M. Schweitzer (2002), *Antisemitism*, New York.

Against Apion is one of them.²⁴ Josephus argues against an Alexandrian author Lysimachus (360–281 BC), who describes Moses as the leader of lepers that led them into the desert so that they became nomadic robbers. This distortion of the Biblical story, perhaps due to ignorance, maligned the origins of the Hebrew as ritually impure Egyptians, rejected by the gods and the people. Cultures of almost all societies frequently created false etiological myths nearly to the present day. These myths always indicate cultural, ethnic, or social distance, but they do not give sufficient evidence of acute conflicts, deep-rooted hostility, or even racial prejudice.

There were two traditions of writing about the Jews in the Roman Empire. On the one hand, Greek and Latin authors positively compared the achievements of Judaist culture to the ideas of Greek philosophers. On the other hand, there were also very critical authors who rejected monotheism and regarded its followers as dangerously rebellious, even if less “barbaric” than e.g., the Gauls. The critics formulated such prejudices as those of unclean origins, “strange” religious practices, donkey cult, or simply godlessness. When arguing with Apion, Josephus recounts even the accusation of cannibalism, which was an early version of the “ritual murder” superstition. A similar charge relates Juvenal (60–127 AD), who repeats after the Hellenic writer Democritus (c. 460-c. 360 BC), that every seven years for Pesach, Judaists feast on the entrails of a foreigner.²⁵ One may find in this allegation a contemporary fear of infringement of commercial interests; after all, the laws from Dt 15:12–15 made Judaists set free their slaves every seven years, in the jubilee year; but the work of slaves was one of the most important sources of wealth of the Hellenistic elites. Ignorance of dietary principles required by religion, such as the need for dishes to be prepared in a strictly ritual manner, led foreigners to accuse Jews of lacking hospitality, which was afterwards associated with the myth of the Cyclops, who was to devour his guests.²⁶ One may only speculate about a connection between the aversion of Latin authors to Jews and the medieval superstitions. Maybe the notion transferred the small circles of the educated monks who studied ancient scriptures? But Christian culture could have created the story of Jews-the cannibals on its own, without referring to the Hellenistic heritage. The charge of cannibalism was common in relations between diverse groups.²⁷ However, in comparison with antiquity, these accusations assumed new form and function in the Middle Ages.

Christianity has not emerged in a violent way from Judaism but left it through a long process. The significant divisive element of this process were the differences between the communities of heathen converts and the Judeo-Christians. The members of the former carried different traditions and religious sensitivity. We see

24 J.M.G Barclay, S. Mason, eds. (2009), *Flavius, Josephus. Translation and Commentary. Against Apion*, Brill.

25 J. Trachtenberg, 1997, p. 113.

26 J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 2000.

27 See S. Bystroń, 1980.

this when Saint Peter converts Cornelius the Centurion in Acts 10–11. Heathens converted easier after the missionaries abandoned the complex dietary regulations of Judaism, although not without enormous opposition from Jewish Christians; this resistance lingered even after Saint Peter's vision in Acts 10:9–16. A compromise appeared, based on Judaist tradition, which recommended that the converted heathens abstain from foods sacrificed to idols, meat from animals killed by strangulation, and blood. Christian Jews retained all the traditional dishes, which in Romans 1:14 was difficult in ethnically mixed communities. Still, another problem raised the requirement of circumcision, which triggered a discussion described through numerous instructions in the Epistles of Saint Paul, who in Galatians 2: 11–14 even argued about this with Saint Peter. An opponent of circumcision, Acts 16: 1–4 describe that Saint Paul has, however, circumcised at least one of his disciples. Paul has nevertheless initiated Christian departure from the Mosaic Law, sometimes even by creating customs opposite to Judaism, as in the recommendation from 1 Cor 11: 4–7 that men uncover heads in prayer. Judging by the fourth century sermons by John Chrysostom, the problem with “Judaizing” Christians persisted; that is, there were believers convinced of the necessity to observe the Mosaic Law, attend the synagogue, and celebrate Jewish along Christian feasts.²⁸ Some Middle Eastern Christian communities retained Judaist customs until the expansion of Islam in the seventh century.²⁹

Monotheist religions are typically universalist and exclusivist, which has always negatively affected their cooperation. Ancient heathen cults posed lesser threat precisely because they differed so much from Judaism and Christianity. Both monotheisms actively convert non-believers and operate in similar social environments. In times when Judaism held legal recognition, Roman authorities fought the spread of Christianity. In fact, Romans perceived Christians to be a Judaic sect or simply Judaists, which made the authorities to apply the same prejudices and superstition to both: donkey cult, cannibalism, and incest.³⁰ Due to differences in legal status and missionary competition, the new religion of Christianity increasingly emphasized its own distinctiveness. Hence, we should probably position the beginnings of rivalry and enmity between Judaists and Christians in the late

28 See J. Iluk (2006), *Żydowska politeja i Kościół w Imperium Rzymskim u schyłku Antyku*, Gdańsk, Vol. I.

29 See H. Shanks (1992), *Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism – a Parallel History of Their Origins and Early Development*, Washington; M. Simon (1972), *La Civilisation de l'Antiquité et le Christianisme*, Lyon.

30 The Roman Christian, Minucius Felix, recalled a pagan superstition that catechumens were forced to puncture a child plastered with cake, whose blood was then consumed during the Holy Mass. H. Węgrzynek (1995), *Czarna legenda Żydów*, Warszawa p. 22. Also see M. Whittaker (1984), *Jews and Christians in Greco-Roman Views*, Cambridge, Massachussets.

antiquity, which resulted in the connecting of Christian faith with Roman culture, against its Middle Eastern roots.

The more important for the rise of Judeophobia were undoubtedly not the actual differences between religions but the internal contradictions of the emerging doctrine. We may assume that not the differences but the similarities between religions raised the anxiety of the Church Fathers, as they criticized the “Judaizing” Christians.³¹ Around the second century AD, adaptation of the Old Testament tradition became an important problem for Christian theology. A term clearly associated with Judaists, “the chosen people,” was central to the divine plan described in the Bible, but Christians believed that they should be the sole and legitimate of this title.³² The issue of “election” has become an uncomfortable and disturbing legacy. Hence, theologians used all their abilities to interpret the Sacred Scripture in the following way: all Biblical texts refer to the Trinity, Christ, and Christians,³³ whereas the history of Judaism describes their continuous departure from God and rejection of His commandments, which culminated of their greatest sin: the crucifixion of the Messiah.³⁴ Early Christian theologians increasingly emphasized Jewish guilt for the death of Jesus, relieved Pilate and Romans of the theological and political responsibility for the event, and applied both instead to the Sanhedrin and Judaist priests. The issue very quickly became an important matter of Christian apologetes. Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430) argued that the Jewish guilt was unintentional and stemmed from their failure to recognize the Messiah. However, in later Middle Ages, theologians emphasized that the Jews recognized Christ and

- 31 In the “Sixth Speech Against Judaizers and Jews,” John Chrysostom argued, “That is why I hate the synagogue so much because it owns the Law and the Prophets, and I hate it so much more than if it did not have them” – quote after J. Iluk (2006), p. 224.
- 32 In the Apocryphal *Epistle of Pseudo-Barnaby* from the second half of the second century, the idea of transferring the Alliance from Judaists to Christians was best presented, which some Church historians have acknowledged as the basis of Christian Judeophobia. Others look for its genesis at the end of the fourth century, in the statements of John Chrysostom. See M. Horoszewicz (2001), *Przez dwa millenia do rzymskiej synagogi*, Warszawa, pp. 27, 71; also Whittaker (1984).
- 33 In the thoughts of the Fathers of the Church there were ideas that the Jews “falsified” the content of the Old Testament and “favored” their Chosenness, whereas, from the time of Abraham, it belonged to those peoples who later adopted Christianity. See M. Perry, F. M. Schweitzer (2002); R. R. Ruether (1987), “The Theological Roots of Antisemitism,” ed. H. Fein, *The Persisting Question*.
- 34 Reducing the guilt of Pilate can be found in the Gospels, especially in Lucas and John, in several apocrypha, e.g., in the Gospel of Nicodemus, as well as in the writings of Origen from the third century and John Chrysostom from the fourth century. Perry and Schweitzer (2002, pp. 29–39) remark on the inaccuracies contained in the Gospels, which may indicate that their authors or compilers no longer knew the realities of Judea at the turn of the century, for example, because of the ritual purity of the priests in Sanhedrin, it could not gather on a Friday or the eve of Pesach.

rejected him consciously, due to their hatred of God. From the thirteenth century onward, Christian priests, especially Franciscans and Dominicans, popularized this last version.³⁵

Theologians explained the sheer existence of Judaism as atonement or God's punishment for the killing of Christ. According to this worldview, Judaists were to be living in humiliation as a visible sign of the inevitability of divine wrath and, thus, as proof to the Gospel's verity.³⁶ Supporters of this idea referred to the cyclic notion of time, in which "guilt" and "punishment" are to burden not only the crowds in Jerusalem in the moment of the Crucifixion, but all their descendants. Such interpretation of the events surrounding Christ's death had serious implications for the Christian doctrine; it weakened the mystical aspect of the Passion and introduced logical contradictions.³⁷ We could even say that this interpretation blurred the saving message of the Crucifixion and compared it to the myth of the blood sacrifice. In the ancient understanding of law, should guilt be punished with a blood sacrifice, justice is done, social order is restored, and the original state of things is returned. Thus, if the punishment of Judaists was continuous atonement for the martyrdom of Jesus, then the Crucifixion created no change in the world. The simplification of the Passion of Jesus Christ into a crime story greatly facilitated the propagation of faith among "simpletons," especially the converted heathens, but trivialized its mystery. Thus, the simplified Passion led to a renewal instead of a change of order, which made its internal structure resemble Greco-Roman myths or Mithraic mysteries.³⁸ Christianity, however, sought no physical destruction Jews. After Emperor Theodosius banned Roman paganism and all other religions in the fourth century, Judaism was the only non-Christian denomination tolerated; mostly because the Church still hoped to Christianize Judaists and the moment of the disappearance of Judaism was to mark the end of the world.³⁹

The Jewish diaspora, which consisted of old-established municipalities in the former Roman Empire, was well integrated with the local population and nothing indicated any threat to their coexistence. Although, in the early centuries of the new era, rabbis and creators of the Talmud rejected the Sadducean tradition to actively fight against syncretism and borrowings from Hellenistic culture. These leaders insisted on kosher meals, condemned Greek philosophy, theaters, and

35 P. Démann (1949), "Żydzi w chrześcijańskim nauczaniu," *Homo Dei*, Vol. 18, No. 5.

36 See E. E. Fischer (1984), "Research on Christian Teaching Concerning Jews," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Vol. 21.

37 See J. D. Crossan (1995), *Who Killed Jesus? Exposing the Roots of Antisemitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus*, New York; R. Lowry (1977), *The Rejected-Suitor Syndrome*, "Journal of Ecumenical Studies," Vol. 14; H. Maccoby (1992), *Judas Iscariot and the Myth of Jewish Evil*, London.

38 R. Girard (1977), *Violence and the Sacred*, Baltimore.

39 Ch. Burns (1997), "The Popes and the Jews: from Gelasius I to Julius III (492-1555)," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 1.

Hellenized Jews, who they called “epicurean,” a term used for the godless until quite recently. However, for a long time, their efforts proved fruitless. Diasporic Jews lived like their “wicked” neighbors, wore similar attire, attended theaters, engaged in social interactions, participated in feasts and rites, sometimes even broke the kosher rules. Proselytism occurred between religious boundaries that were still fluid. One of the scandals in the fourth century was created by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Gamaliel, who decided to become Judaist.⁴⁰ The Christianization of most of the Mediterranean population was superficial, because extreme monotheism clashed with polytheistic traditions, hence the popularity of cults of local holy men and ascetics. Early Christians assumed the Jewish custom of pilgrimaging to the grave of the Maccabean brothers and their mother in Antioch (2 Maccabees 7), where the followers of both religions came together. Such meetings sometimes inspired a change of religion. At the right time to stop this trend, the Pope’s envoy found the grave Stephen Martyr in Jerusalem and brought his remains to Majorca in 417. Because the Sanhedrin killed Saint Stephen, the cult of the relics of the “protomartyr” was linked to the anti-Jewish thread and spread rapidly. The future apostle Paul actively participated in the stoning of Stephen in Acts 7: 54–60, which added an element of perversion to the motif yet strengthened another component of Judeophobia: the accusation that Jews hate Christians to the point of murder.

Ideological Judeophobia spread initially among Mediterranean theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries, who spun many of their Biblical interpretations around it. Secular authorities and the people, separated from these debates, received a ready-made “product” in the form of highly simplified and trivialized ecclesiastical teachings, which revolved around disobedience to God, deicide, and collaboration with demons. The nature of this hostility remained theological, devoid of a social aspect. The enmity developed during the missionary competition between Christianity and Judaism, which lasted roughly until the fifth century, when Judaism lost its strength and events of conversion happened only sporadically.⁴¹ However, Christian fear of competition lingered, which evidences the rise of anti-Jewish legislation, aimed primarily to prevent proselytism by way of hindering interfaith relations.

Christian authorities actively worked to isolate the followers of both religions by law even before Christianity was legalized in 311 by the Emperor Galerius’s edict of toleration. In 306, Christian leaders condemned mixed marriages, celebrations,

40 G. F. Moore (1966), *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, Cambridge, Massachusetts; I. Husik (1960), *A History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, New York; I. Abrahams (1975), *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, New York.

41 The population losses of Jews during the invasions and wars, which led to the fall of the Roman Empire, influenced the cessation of proselytizing. A late Roman Jewish tomb from the third century was found in present-day Hungary, but there is no sign of continuity of Jewish settlement until the tenth century, when groups of Jews arrived along with the German burghers.

and feasts. In 335, Roman laws forbade Jews to circumcise their slaves and, in 384, to buy slaves of Christian denomination. In the economics of late antiquity, dependent on slave labor, these laws greatly hindered Jews from farming. Later, Judaists lost their right to hold public functions. However, there was no possibility to uphold all these provisions. Judeophobia obtained legal sanction only after the recognition of Christianity as a state religion in 391. Successive Church synods repeated the same bans, which proves that they were ineffective for a long time. The accumulation of restrictions very slowly led to the reduction of Jewish occupational activities to city jobs such as trade and craftsmanship. This long process lasted until the tenth-eleventh century⁴² mostly due to the demands of everyday life and the interests of rulers and their subjects, who had little incentive to implement the synodical decisions quickly. Nevertheless, the social status of Judaists gradually declined, which resulted in their thirteenth-century loss of full freedom for the sake of becoming “the property of the treasury,” or *servi camerae*. Rulers swore to assure their safety, even through forced baptism, but they acquired Jewish property in return; that is, at any time Jews could have been exiled and their property taken away from them.

The Christian majority implemented these legal constraints to prove that Jews as the people who committed deicide receive punishment in the form of a God’s curse. At the same time, the regulations secured economic and political advantage for the followers of Christianity. In such situations, sociologists observe a regularity: discrimination appears with justifying ideology. Only in this case the ideology was first to initiate the mechanisms of segregation and discrimination, hundreds of years before they even began. This mechanism was still developing slowly between the fifth and the eleventh centuries, but it inevitably led to the dis-integration and gradual isolation of Jews, which ended in their social marginalization. Still, Christians treated Jews differently than heretics.⁴³ People may have hated Jews but needed them, not only for their economic functions, but also for their theological significance. Jewish presence was essential in both the etiological myth of Christianity and speculations about the Antichrist and the end of the world. Simultaneously to Christian restrictions, Talmudic norms disseminated throughout the Jewish world, condemning acculturation and imitation of infidel customs. European Judaists fully accepted these regulations not earlier than by the twelfth century.⁴⁴ Exclusion of Jews from Christian communities motivated the development of different customs, and we should perceive the ensuing Talmudic

42 M. Horoszewicz, 2000, pp. 67–78.

43 J. M. O’Brien (1968), “Jews and Cathari in Medieval France,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, No. 2.

44 Iberian Jews, especially the elites, though they recognized the authority of the Talmud, did not fully conform to the moral norms derived from it, giving rise to the distinctness of the Sephardic culture. See H. J. Zimmels (1958), *Ashkenazim and Sephardim*, London.

recommendations as defensive and compensatory. For instance, when in the ninth to tenth centuries synods forbade Jews to trade in liturgical objects and to leave homes during some Catholic holidays and processions, the Rabbinic law confirmed these prohibitions with the production of own justifications. Eventually, both religions legally restricted intergroup relations, but it was the ruling Christianity that decided how Jews should earn money and place themselves in the social hierarchy.

Such aggressive Judeophobic propaganda accompanied legal and customary exclusion, but beginning with the ninth century, it became less inventive in theology and more schematic. What the Church Fathers intended in their writings as invectives was now interpreted literally as Jewish qualities, which developed prejudice against them. With the passage time, local priests and wandering preachers took over from the Christian intellectuals the role to propagate Judeophobia, which rooted prejudice in both the secular elites and the uneducated people. While the Church Fathers and theologians had considerable knowledge of Judaism – even from reading the scriptures – the less educated lower clergy or the illiterate laymen knew nothing about it and easily settled for prejudice. In effect, prejudice became general belief, also due to segregation by law, which made personal experience of intergroup contacts increasingly more scarce, poor, and limited. The false information of Jewish “perversions” had since spread even to regions with no Judaists at all.⁴⁵

2.3. The Origin of the Superstitious Image of the Jew

The propaganda of Judeophobia spread throughout the world along with the progress of Christianization. While in the early Middle Ages the Mediterranean countries cultivated strongest Judeophobia, the prejudice weakened later into the epoch. It was nevertheless in the Mediterranean countries where Judeophobia’s final ideological form developed in the package of anti-Jewish laws and conceptual clusters propagated by the Church. These ideas reached Western Europe belatedly, but immediately became an important component of the newly-formed Christian identity. Jews also settled these areas later, which made them lack the social integration they knew in the former Roman Empire. Thus, Western Europeans hosted Jews, already armed with specific “knowledge” about the newcomers, derived from religious teaching superimposed on the more elementary fear of strangers, which substituted any possible attempts to become familiar with – or learn from – each other. Hence, Judeophobia overlapped with ethnocentrism and restricted mutual relations. Between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries, Western and Central Europe became the place, where the medieval image of the Jew achieved its final, propagated to the East.

45 R. Chazan (1997), *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism*, Berkeley – Los Angeles.

However, the Christian world was not homogeneous and Jews' position varied greatly between countries and cities. The new rulers of Spain, the Arian Visigoths, forced Jews to baptize on a massive scale, while treating converts with relentless suspicion and restrictions. Even after the local Christians abandoned Arianism, the particular council of 694 decided to deprive all Jews of their property and children, including converts, and to enslave them. Jewish life improved only after the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Once Christians took back Spain in the fifteenth century, Jews suffered a repeat of forced baptisms and, later, persecutions of Marranos, which perhaps would not have come to mind if not for the earlier patterns. The pursuit of total annihilation of Judaism and the belief that baptism cannot restore the "purity of blood" – thus discriminating against even the distant descendants of converts – greatly contrasted with the practice in the rest of the Christian world. Outside of Spain, there were forced baptisms but converts received a plethora of career opportunities in return, not only in secular life. In France, legal exclusion of Jews was negligent, which allowed Jews to gain favorable privileges in some cities. After the Eastern Schism of 1056, a marked difference in the approach to Jews emerged between the Catholic and the Byzantine Church. The former promoted the conversion of all heathens, infidels, and heretics, even by force. The price the Catholic Church paid for this approach was superficial Christianization and adaptation of pagan elements. Byzantium had less missionary zeal toward Jews, although anti-Judaist ideology was particularly aggressive there in the early Middle Ages. Between the fifth and sixth centuries, Byzantium subdued the uprisings incited by rebellious Middle Eastern Jews in an extremely bloody manner, up to attempts of complete annihilation of their population. However, between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, Jews enjoyed greater freedom in Byzantium than in most Catholic countries.⁴⁶ At the same time, Jewish position in Muslim countries was generally better than in the Christian world. Despite their belief in the superiority of Islam over other religions, Muslims developed no Judeophobia.⁴⁷

Later, the religious zeal of the Crusades led to unprecedented mass persecutions of Jews.⁴⁸ However, the enthusiasm to murder held by the subsequent waves of crusaders enjoyed no support of the rulers.⁴⁹ The Bishop of Speier sheltered local Jews in his own castle. Emperor Henry IV ordered his feudal lords to protect all

46 See E. Benbassa (1999), *The Jews of France*, Princeton; R. Wistrich (1991), *Antisemitism*, London; *The Jews* (1972), ed. L. Finkelstein, New York.

47 See B. Ye'or (1985), *The Dhimmi*, London; D. F. Green (1976), *Arab Theologians on Jews and Israel*, Geneva (introduction).

48 In 1010, Europe experienced a solar eclipse, a number of weather anomalies, floods, subsequent epidemics, and famine. These were considered divine punishment sent to mankind for the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in 1008, and the Jews were blamed for it despite the fact that the followers of Islam did this. Between 1010 and 1012, there were crowd attacks on Jewish communities in Orleans, Rouen, Limoges and Rome. J. Trachtenberg,, 1943 p. 160.

49 Interceded Pope Alexander II, who instructed the French knights not to harm the Jews during the Spanish campaign. On the subject of crusades see S. Runciman,

Jews. Pope Urban II, who in 1095 promoted the liberation of the Tomb of Jesus from the hands of the Saracens, remained silent, but the church hierarchy disapproved of the outbreak of violence. The hierarchy was rather disturbed by the strength of the outburst that was gradually getting out of control of the secular and clerical authorities. This violence proved the popularity of ideological Judeophobia in parts Europe. Although the Papacy never rejected ideological Judeophobia, the Pope tried to control the outburst by issuing protective bulls that were to give Jews defense, but not very effectively; for instance, *Sicut Iudaeis* by Callixtus II from circa 1120 or *Pro Iudaeis* by Innocent III from 1199. Crusades mark a clear turning point in the history of Europe, and the history of European Jews. One of crusades far-reaching effects were geopolitical changes and the closure of many Middle Eastern trade routes which, along with potential exclusion from the guilds, forced Western European Jews to focus on monetary transactions, denounced as usury by both priests and rabbis.⁵⁰ Beginning with the thirteenth century, Jews operated as servants of the royal chamber, *servi camerae regis*, by making their rulers wealthy, playing a mediatory role between the states, and becoming a pawn in the game between the subjects and the authorities. From these times comes the association of Jews with money and wealth obtained in a dishonest, harmful manner. Social position of Jews was then redefined: their status as *servi camerae* no longer meant service to the prince but a serfdom-like lack of personal freedom.

After the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Byzantine Empire, a side-effect of the crusades, Christianity has lost some of its standing due to the expansion of Islam and heretical movements in Europe. This was a challenge not only for social order but also for Catholic identity. Both the hierarchs and the laymen felt needed more precision about the identity and duties of a Christian. This motivated a shift toward a more repressive model of religiosity and the state.⁵¹ Campaigns against heretics impacted the content of prejudice against Judaists. The Church utilized the “heresy” model without regard for truth and without doctrine analyses of sects and branches of Christianity. The Church attributed all with beliefs that were mock-reversals of Catholicism, such as orgiastic elements of ritual and witchcraft.⁵² At the same time, the formal Christianization of Europe was completed, although still without all social strata to the same extent. With the progress of this process, Catholicism unawares adapted elements of other cultures, mainly Germanic. The concepts of a magician, a witch, and partly a heretic absorbed folklore elements and the pre-Christian beliefs that it preserved. The fear of Satan, an important manifestation of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century religiosity, emerged mostly from the identification of the pagan pantheon with demons.⁵³ Further source of

1951–1954) *A History of the Crusades*, Cambridge, vol. Vol. 1-3. On the effects of the crusades for the Jews, see G. Lerner. (2000) *Crociate. Il millennio dell’odio*, Roma.

50 See J. T. Noonan (1957), *The Scholastic Analysis of Usury*, Cambridge.

51 J. Cohen (1982), *The Friars and the Jews*, Ithaca.

52 G. Klaniczay (1990), *The Uses of Supernatural Power*, Cambridge – Princeton.

53 R. Kieckhefer (1976), *European Witch Trials*, London.

superstition provided images of Christ's Passion, depicted with ever-increasing sadistic exaggeration; for instance, they presented Jesus during nightlong cruelties and humiliations after his arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane: whipped and pierced with nails, crowned with thorns until "blood gushed out with brain." To contemplate Christ's suffering stressed the humanity of the God the Son in a polemical contrast with Byzantine Christianity, which emphasized Jesus's divine nature.⁵⁴ One of the effects of the changes in the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, were the relatively rapid spread of anti-Jewish superstitions and the growing wave of persecutions of Judaists. Sometimes Jews fell victim to the mob, while, sometimes, to the political games between burghers and magnates or between the church hierarchy and the state authorities. All these conflicts were always articulated in terms of religion or magic.

Reluctantly implemented or even ignored before the twelfth century, anti-Jewish ecclesiastical legislation was now effectively introduced. The Church added new restrictions, no longer resisted by either secular authorities or society. The nature of these laws changed: their original purpose was to prevent the long-feared proselytism, isolate Judaists, and lower their social status. But beginning with the thirteenth century, Judaism lost its competitiveness and segregation became a broadly accepted fact. The legislators were now concerned not so much with the exploitation of Jews, but also to distinguish them as victims by clothing or markings.⁵⁵ The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 decreed these restrictions aside other, but they were introduced only after the Council of Basel in 1434. The symbolism of the imposed markings was unequivocally pejorative; for instance, Jews in France wore yellow patches to remind of the coins Judas earned by selling Jesus.

The dehumanization and mythologization of Judaists originated from the accusations that they "hated Christ" and committed "deicide." When the Church "discovered" the existence of the Talmud in the thirteenth century, the hierarchs noticed not its relationship with the Old Testament but, instead, considered it proof of the Jewish rejection of the true God and the source of evil. Theologians adopted a superficial reading of the Talmud, which underpinned the belief that Christians were now God's chosen people. This understanding facilitated the condemnation of the sacred books of modern Judaism. In the fourteenth century, Christians identified the Talmudic Messiah with the Antichrist. Beginning with the thirteenth century, theological charges gained popular versions not only the everyday utterances, but also in iconographic symbols, sculptures, and paintings, all created in the new Gothic style.⁵⁶ Animosity to Judaism and heresy hid in such antitheses as "knight—usurer,"

54 See J. Tokarska-Bakir (2008), *Legenda o krwi*, Warszawa, part 1.

55 The original intention of the distinctive outfit and markings was, paradoxically, to ensure the security of the Jews as *servi camera*. See J. Cohen (1982).

56 See J. Tokarska-Bakir (2008), pp. 74–78. The author pointed out the relationship between the symbolism of a mill or millstones that grind flour into a host (containing the body and blood of Christ) and a symmetrical belief about the blood added to matzo.

“the seeing—the blind (to the Truth),” “the saved—the condemned,” “the angel—the devil,” and finally “the Church—the synagogue of Satan.” They expressed a dualistic worldview and a religiosity derived partly from pre-Christian beliefs. An important element of these superstitions played fight against Satan under the guise of a heretic, a Jew, or a sorcerer. In Crucifixion paintings, figures of executioners and witnesses with caricatured faces sometimes wore dresses used by contemporary Jews. In such ceremonial theater as mysteries, Jewish characters were funny, dirty, and simultaneously repulsive and dangerous. There, Jews often played the role of the Devil’s allies, who fight with black magic. We should seek the sources of the bestialization of Jews in these simplistic representations that ridiculed and diabolized them. With time, these contained increasingly more superstition. They were created on the level of belief, without any need for the physical presence of Judaists, negligible impact of any ethnic, economic, or social conflict. In this way, Jews became symbols, rather than neighbors or inhabitants of the same country or city, but with different customs. They became strangers in a sacral understanding, opposed to Christians on both the personal and the cosmogonic plane.

Christians of the late Middle Ages ascribed to Judaists such “perverse” physical characteristics as male menstruation or childbirth through mother’s navel.⁵⁷ Jews were to hide tails, horns, and twisted feet under their garments.⁵⁸ Christians of the time believed that Jews are particularly susceptible to such diseases as hemorrhoids, scrofula, ringworm, hernia, whereas resistant to leprosy, smallpox, tuberculosis. Until very recently operated the superstition, originated in the Middle Ages, that employed Jews with a specific smell called “factor judaicus,” which could disappear only after baptism. These qualities fostered the perception of Jews as “Satan’s allies,” thus “beasts” excluded from humanity, whose killing would violate no social or ethical norms. Judeophobia triggered the process of segregation and discrimination that resulted in violence. Developed and justified by the superstitious image of Jews, violence spread while conscience slumbered. Lateran legislation of 1215 initiated this mechanism by marking Jews as potential victims of aggression. Hence, persecutions became a cyclical phenomenon.

The outbreak of plague in 1347–1349 decimated the population of many European countries. One of the effects of the “black death” was the scapegoating of Jews. As “Satan’s allies,” Jews were to actively creating the evil on the Earth: Christians accused them of bringing the disease and poisoning wells. There were precedents to the latter accusation. The population of Opava killed 27 Jews on this charge in 1163, the same happened in Wroclaw in 1226, Vienna in 1267, Vaud in 1308, Eulenburg in 1316, and Franconia in 1319.⁵⁹ The accusation based on the assumed Jewish “ritual impurity,” which was to “poison” everything that they touched. Some cities forbade Jews from trading – or even touching – food

57 In Poland of the 1960s, there was a saying that “Jewesses have horizontal pussies.”

58 Crooked feet or “hoof” are the traits that the devil had in folk beliefs.

59 J. Trachtenberg (1943), p. 205.

in marketplaces. During an epidemic in Chillon over Lake Geneva, in the autumn of 1348, the local population accused Jews of conspiring to murder Christians by throwing poison into the well. This motif quickly spread in Western and Central Europe, prevented not even by the Papal bull of 1348, in which Clement VI denied the veracity of such slander.⁶⁰

The plague epidemic popularized superstitious imagination, which incited new persecutions and massacres. In 1349, the burghers of Strasbourg burned two thousand Jews. The event turned out as more of a ritual ceremony. The convicts burned on a wooden scaffolding over a pit prepared by Christian volunteers.⁶¹ All this accompanied Jewish ritual music and a set of elaborate humiliations, beyond the medieval practice “to display one’s offense;” rather to excite the onlookers. Some details of this ritual repeated during the future outbursts of hatred toward the Jews. Contemporary culture prescribed not only the violence, but also its form. Even the smallest everyday manifestations of aggression pervaded invariably through centuries. To throw a dead cat into a synagogue, to disturb a funeral with noise or a church bell – such actions entertained both the medieval German and the twentieth-century Polish youngsters.

It was the German culture that formed the image of a dehumanized “Jew” with beastly characteristics. From fifteenth to seventeenth centuries the most popular sculptures, woodcuts, and drawings in the region were *Judensau*, which depicted Jews in an obscene manner; for instance, as sucking milk from a pig.⁶² Iconography often presented them since with large noses, which referred to an old and widespread tradition of associating the size of the nose with male fertility. Christianity associated big noses with perversion, obscenity, and devilishness; and, thus, nose became a symbol of sinners, witches, and infidels. This symbol trickled to other Western European countries, only to return at the end of the nineteenth century and become an indispensable distinguishing feature of Antisemitic caricature in Germany and later wherever spread the ideology.

The Jews encountered one of the direst persecutions after the accusation of kidnapping and murdering Christian children. The first known accusation of this kind appeared in the English town of Norwich.⁶³ People found a young boy’s body there in 1144. Six years later, a monk from the local abbey, Thomas of Monmouth, described the incident as an act of “crucifixion” supposedly conducted by Jews. In a short period of time, similar reports spread not only in England, but also in France, and later in Germany. In the second half of the twelfth century, authors of such calumnies were mostly the monks, who wrote chronicles – usually several years after the supposed events. We do not know whether the superstition originated from the

60 See J. Delumeau (1990), *Sin and Fear. The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries*, New York.

61 J. Delumeau 1990.

62 See I. Shachar (1974), *The Judensau*, London.

63 See J. Tokarska-Bakir (2008), part 1, for the analysis of the legend of blood.

literate clerics or the folk traditions. Its contents were gathering. Robert of Torigny penned the extended “classical” version of the superstition at the end of the twelfth century by linking several “cases,” which he associated with Jewish actions during Easter, when they were to commit “murders” by reproducing the death of Jesus during religious practices.⁶⁴ Torigny’s chronicle gained popularity and contributed to the popularization of the superstition. Some of the accusations appeared only in written sources and resulted in no consequences. However, local worship developed around some of the “victims,” which usually translated into repressions against the local Jews, but still without legal sanction of the secular or ecclesiastical authorities. The first official trials happened in Fulda in 1235 and Lincoln in 1255, which effected in the execution of 18 Jews.⁶⁵ Since then such trials became the norm. Widespread use of torture usually motivated not only confession but also denunciation of many other “perpetrators,” leading to further trials, collective executions, an often also to pogroms. Not even the Papal bulls – for instance, by Innocent IV in 1247 or Gregory X in 1272 – prevented the events. The popes tried to argue with Old Testament as proof that Jews do not sacrifice humans and are forbidden to consume animal blood, not to mention human blood. Historians estimate the number of accusations of “ritual murder” in the Middle Ages to range from 80 to 150 cases.⁶⁶ Most of them appeared in the German culture between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Some, like the one from Endigen in 1462, had political undertones. Judaists fell victim to the power struggle between the burghers and the local magnate.⁶⁷ The wave of calumnies and processes dropped after 1570 both in Protestant and Catholic countries, including Austria. This was mainly due to the intervention of state authorities, which gained control over local jurisdictions. In the sixteenth century the superstition moved east, to the Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. Although, some occurrences still appeared in German Catholic countries.

The “theological” and folk versions of this superstition formed between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶⁸ The former emphasized reproductions of Christ’s death. The kidnapped were to be innocent boys, usually 4–7 years old, with wounds similar to Jesus’s, occasionally described also as circumcised, castrated, or disembowelled. Some sources appear similar to the accounts of Apion, described in the work of Joseph Flavius, while, in other instances, they contain a vision of an anti-Christian

64 J. Cohen, 1982, pp. 239–340.

65 J. Trachtenberg 1943, p. 118.

66 These discrepancies come from the separate counting of trials and slanders, as well as the discovery of inaccuracies and repetitions in documents from the era. See H. Węgrzynek (1995); Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka (1995), *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce w XVI-XVIII w.*, Kielce; S. Musiał, S. Buttaroni (2003), *Mord rytualny*, Kraków – Norymberga – Frankfurt nad Menem.

67 P. R. Hsia (1988), *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, New Haven, pp. 33–35.

68 V. Turner (1969), *The Ritual Process*, New York.

conspiracy of the Jewish community or a group of rabbis.⁶⁹ The Parisian court of the 1270s was fascinated with the story that, every year, Jews murder a Christian in underground crypts to “offend” Christianity.⁷⁰ The folk variants varied more and focused on the magical properties of the blood of the supposedly Jewish victims. Boys and girls were to be in equal danger of kidnapping. Sometimes the blood of an adult servant was to be enough, extracted without apparent damage, for instance during sleep. Folklore speculated about the possible uses of this blood. Jews were to utilize blood for rituals – often alongside heart or liver – but also for the production of matzo, wine, or magical curatives that were to hide their inhuman visual traits. Jews were to drink the blood or rub it in the skin. Elsewhere, such obtained dried blood was to cause plague. The widely popular version of this superstition speaks about the kidnapping and murdering of a child in order to add its blood to matzo or wine to be used later during the celebration of the feast of Pesach. This version developed in German culture between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, only to spread Europe-wide in the fifteenth century.

The belief that Jews murder for ritual purposes remained one of the most persistent superstitions which survived to the present day. Western European law excluded this matter at the end of the 16th, while Eastern European law in the second half of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, attempts at persecution under such unavailable law persisted, with notable examples from Transylvania in 1791, Polish region in 1815–1816, and Neuenhoven near Düsseldorf in 1834. Between 1829 and 1844, three similar accusations appeared in Western Europe. The first accusations of Jewish ritual murder in the Russian Empire appeared in the 1820s.⁷¹ As revealed the unfortunate role of the English and French consuls in the case of Damascus “ritual murder” in 1840, the belief remained alive in folk cultures of

69 The theme of the congress of Jews from all over the country, or a group of rabbis, despite the similarity to Antisemitic conspiracy theories, had more in common with the concept of law from that time, in which it was popular to burden with collective responsibility. Likewise, accusations of an alliance with the Moors and then with the Turks resulted more from identifying the followers of Judaism with heretics than from accusations of treason in the present sense.

70 G. I. Langmuir (1996), p. 284.

71 In 1823, the first such trial took place in Russia, as a result of which a dozen or so Jews from the Vitebsk Governorate were sent to Siberia in 1831; after the revision of the trial, those who survived were released in 1835. Next accusations appeared in the Georgian village of Suram (raised by the inhabiting Poles in 1847), Saratov (1852), and Szawlach near Kaunas (1861), in Kutaisi in Georgia (1875), in the Crimea (1878), and a year later in Berdyczów and Daugavpils. The superstition appeared as justification for the pogroms in Odessa (1859 and 1871), Jelizavetgrad (1881), and Nizne Novgorod (1884). Accusations also appeared in 1902 in Vilnius and in 1903 in Dubossary and Chisinau. Last riots inspired by superstition are a crowd attack on a Jewish hospital in Moscow in 1921. Nowadays, blood libel was put forward by the newspaper *Pravda* in 1993 (No. 85 from 5V).

many nations, especially with Catholic roots, even among the educated.⁷² The last twenty years of the nineteenth century witnessed the renaissance of this slander, inspired this time by the Antisemites in the Rhineland, Romania, Austro-Hungary, Prussia, Russia, and France. The accusations of ritual murder again appeared in the courts, which discarded most, but not all. Judges considered the matter in Uniejów near Kalisz in the Kingdom of Poland in 1879 only to pass the verdict of 12 years of exile. It was only the appeal that enabled acquittal. Also in 1879, the court in Kutaisi judged nine Georgian Jews under the same accusation, which again ended with acquittal. Antisemitic press and attempts to intimidate witnesses accompanied similar trials in the Hungarian Tiszaeszlár in 1883, in Prussian Danzig in 1885, and in the Czech region in 1899.⁷³ Moreover, the court of Luchno in Vitbesk governorate found a Jewish guilty of “ritual murder of a maid” in 1885. That same year people of Cracow blamed the Ritter family of “murder of a Christian girl for religious purposes.” Three Galician jurisdiction bodies sentenced the couple to capital punishment. Only the intervention of the Austro-Hungarian authorities prevented the execution.⁷⁴ Similar charges appeared in the French city of Ingrandes in 1892 and, between 1887 and 1891, in 22 other European countries.⁷⁵ The last and world-famous trial took place in Kiev in 1911–13 against Mendel Bejlis. Activists of the reactionary Union of the Russian Nation filled this accusation, which soon became the symbol of backwardness of the tsarist jurisdiction. The accusers had to use a Catholic priest in the role of an expert to confirm Jewish “blood libel,” because this superstition was always weak among the Orthodox clergy. In the Polish migrant community in the USA, a conflict between Polish nationalist activists and Zionists led to four such accusations in 1919. Ku Klux Klan activists tried to use this story to incite anti-Jewish riots in Massena, New York, in 1928.⁷⁶ The superstition was recorded to still exist in England in 1967. It has kept its vitality even longer in the Eastern Europe. Even today, allusions to Jewish ritual murder recur in Romania, Russia, Lithuania, and Poland. Orthodox Belarussian clergy reinstated the cult of the supposed victims, and in 1997 national television broadcasted a program about this “crime” of the past. Belief in this superstition was recorded in 1961–62 in Islamic Soviet republics and some Arab countries propagate it even today.⁷⁷

72 Cf. Jonathan Frankel (1997), *The Damascus Affair*, Cambridge.

73 Tomasz G. Masaryk involved himself in the defense of Leopold Hilsner, convicted for murdering a girl and a woman. Although Masaryk achieved a revision of the trial, but only so that the court abandoned the “ritual” interpretation of the crime and qualified it as a sexual murder. Hilsner was released only in 1916.

74 A. Cała, 1989, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim, 1864–1897*, p. 183.

75 M. Perry, F. M. Schweitzer, 2002, p. 45.

76 See A. G. Duker (1991), “Twentieth-Century Blood Libels in the United States,” ed. Alan Dundes, *The Blood Libel Legend*, Madison.

77 See R. Wistrich (1991); On blood libel in the Arabic countries, see D. F. Green (1976); On blood libel in post-Communist countries, see W. Benz (1993); Also the series *Acta Analysis of Current Trends in Antisemitism*: L. Sekelj (1998), “Antisemitism and Jewish

The allegations that Jews desecrate the host stem from the dogma of transubstantiation, adopted by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.⁷⁸ Then, the Jews were supposed to steal the host from the church, usually with the help of a Christian, to torment it like Jesus on the cross in a synagogue or house. As an effect of tortures, miracles were to occur, that revealed the physical presence of Christ's body and blood in the consecrated host. This superstition was, in fact, a variant of the "ritual murder" in its "theological" version, because in the stories the child Jesus conveyed in the host bled or punished the infidels on site.⁷⁹ However, while the version with the kidnapping expressed insecurity, the one with the host manifested a triumphalism. The Orders propagated such legends as useful tools for reviving faith. Often, the orders associated the legends with the foundation of a church, which were to be constructed in the site of such miraculous events of the past. While some popes opposed the accusations of Jews as poisoning wells or performing blood rites, they inclined to believe in Jews that were to torment the child Christ in the host. In this case, the popes were most probably persuaded by the practical benefits of Catholicism, who furthered the piety of the people with the construction of new temples. The number of trials increased steadily: from seven cases in the thirteenth century, thirteen in the fourteenth century, and twenty to thirty in the fifteenth century, the numbers were to fall to five as late as in the sixteenth century. The first allegations appeared in Belitz near Berlin in 1243, then in Paris in 1290, in Deggendorf in Bavaria in 1337–1338, and in Brussels in 1370. Written sources offer about 100 cases in the Middle Ages to happen mostly, again, in German countries. Not all accusations ended in court. Many records described legends, which originated years after the alleged incident, initially not at all linked with the Jews. The reformation contributed to the decline of this superstition. The last trial in Western Europe happened in Berlin in 1510, which ended with the execution of 28 Jews. Still, occasional accusations raised the French in Nancy in 1761 and Romanians in 1836.⁸⁰

Ritual murder and tortures of a Host are superstitions that allude to the taboo of cannibalism; a threshold which in Europe's pre-Christian and Christian cultures trespassed quite frequently. For magical purposes, people consumed tinctures made from dead bodies and used ointments prepared by the executioner from convicts' bodies.⁸¹ Polish folk culture remembers cases of digging up

Identity in Serbia after 1991 Collapse of the Yugoslav State" (nr 12); L. Dymerskaya-Tsigelman, L. Finberg (1999), "Antisemitism of the Ukrainian Radical Nationalists" (nr 14); V. A. Shnirelman (2000), "Russian Neo-Pagan Myth and Antisemitism" (nr 15); A. Kovacs (2002), "Antisemitic Prejudices in Contemporary Hungary" (nr 17). On blood libel in contemporary Poland, see chapter 9 of this book.

78 The acceptance of this dogma was the culmination of a long process of "visualization" of the concept of holiness: from prophecy and asceticism to the cult of the relics. See G. Klaniczay (1990).

79 M. Rubin (1999), *Gentile Tales*, New Haven.

80 M. Horoszewicz (2001), p. 128.

81 See H. Zaremska (1986), *Niegodne rzemioslo*, Warszawa.

Jewish graves to embed pieces of their bodies in the walls of a building to secure the happiness and prosperity of its inhabitants.⁸² Christians used human blood for medical and witchcraft purposes. Hosts were popular in “white” and “black” magic, which ranged from pet feeding and love spells to abortion procedures. To accuse Jews of desecrating the host was, therefore, a Christian attribution and projection of their own belief; for instance, the Jews would need to believe that the host contains the “body of Jesus” – recognize his divinity – in order for them to engage in torture. In turn, folk tales provided the motif of “children kidnappings” by werewolves or evil witches, who were to feed on children, or demons that were to change them.⁸³ Folklore coexisted with religious practices of mortification and contemplation of the Passion, which channeled sadism and perverse sexuality. This prepared ground for witch hunts which had been practiced in the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The witches faced charges similar to the Jews: children kidnapping and bloodshed for magical purposes, but without eschatological references.⁸⁴ Witness and accused testimonies, inquisitors’s inquiries, and folk beliefs mixed into a model of applied imagination of magic. Magical spells became a fashionable form of “counter-culture,” which reached peak popularity in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries. The growing demand for “witchcraft” and the belief in the magical abilities of the Jews, paradoxically, fostered interfaith encounters. Christians bought amulets from the Jews and used their services as fortune-tellers, charmers, and medics. German and Slavic folk magic used even the matzo with “blood;” it was to best protect from lightning, hail, and fire, but also treat moles and magical diseases.⁸⁵

Church teachings, sermons, iconography, and such ceremonial theatrical forms like mysteries were not the only sources of hostility against Jews. Further instances came with treatises by secular scholars, legends, proverbs, and fairy tales. Simultaneously to the emancipation of secular from ecclesiastical authority and the rise of the bourgeoisie in Western Europe of the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries, anti-Jewish hostility slowly separated from its theological roots, only to become a part of folklore and culture. Religious explanations more often hid economic rivalry of the burghers, who sought to expand their business to money

82 A. Cała (1995), pp. 184–186.

83 Faith in werewolves became popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, along with witch hunts.

84 Historians find several peculiarities in the accusations of “ritual murder” and witch-hunting, among others the occurrence of both phenomena within Western Christianity and its lack in Orthodox churches. Established in the twelfth century, the Inquisition began witchcraft trials in the following century. Their number increased until the Reformation. Between 1450 and 1550, around 100,000 women were executed in Germany alone. See R. Kieckhefer (1976).

85 See J. Trachtenberg, (1997), (1943), p. 130; R. Gansiniec (1957), “Eucharystia w wierzeniach i praktykach ludu,” *Lud*, Vol. 44.

transactions, forbidden by the Church. Theological and folk Judeophobia, ethnocentrism and rivalry-related tensions again incited spontaneous bloody persecutions and their new justifications, mixing old superstitions with the new image of a ruthless Jewish usurer. But this conflict remained considerably irrational and expressed more by prejudice and superstition than economic arguments. Shylock's cruelty based on his hatred for Christians and innate appetite for human flesh, not interest in money.⁸⁶

Jewish presence became especially redundant, whenever their exploitation lost its profitability. The first expulsion of Jews occurred in Brittany in 1239 under the pressure of the crusaders. Despite arguing on the basis of piety, the crusaders hardly concealed the main reason was the liquidation of their debts incurred with Jewish lenders. Religious zeal motivated also the King of England, Edward I, who expelled Jews in 1290; what is more, he made them pay a high price for their expulsion. These situations became the model for analogous actions. Southern Italy also removed the Jews that same year. France expelled the Jews several times between 1306 and 1394/95, when the king finally seized their property.⁸⁷ The exiles moved east, to the German states and Bohemia. Though the Jews found no peace there, as they encountered constant persecutions, hostility, and rejection. Between 1420 and 1470, the Rhine, Bavarian, Swabian, and Franconian cities removed Jews on multiple occasions; the Principality of Moscow rejected them as well, as did Spain in 1492 and Portugal five years later. In the early sixteenth century, Jewish population in most Western and Southern European countries was negligible. From these waves of expulsion originated mass Jewish settlement in the Polish lands, where people received them not for compassion but because the country required settlers, especially with capital and knowledge of new technologies.

Langmuir considers the rise and spread of the irrational image of the Jew – between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries – to be the beginning of Antisemitism.⁸⁸ According to Langmuir, Antisemitism became a secular overtone to the ecclesiastical Judeophobia. Even though the Church's consistent policy prepared ground for the appearance of this image through the exclusion and branding of the Jews, it still had little in common with theological Judeophobia. Justified with beliefs, Judeophobia developed nevertheless with folklore and magic, rather than Christian doctrine. I find it difficult, however, to agree with Langmuir, who contrasts the plebeian form of Christianity with a more sublime elitist form. In the Middle Ages, the two sides of Christian faith remained closely intertwined, and the Church pulpit was the main communication channel through which the clergy propagated the superstitious irrational image of the Jew, which Langmuir calls "chimeric."

86 J. Katz (1961), *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*, New York.

87 See E. Benbassa (1999, chapter 2); J. Katz (1961).

88 Langmuir (1996).

2.4. Adaptation of Judeophobia in the Polish Territories

About sixteenth century, the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth became the largest cluster of Ashkenazi Jews in the world.⁸⁹ Despite shifting borders, the area remained this way until the World War II. Until the Chmielnicki uprising of 1648 and considering that the area was a tumultuous one, the Jews enjoyed relatively tolerable conditions of life, which does not mean that there were no cases of collective aggression. In the Middle Ages, however, aggressive actions were less frequent than in the West and without state sanction. The 1267 Synod of Wrocław, established very restrictive norms in line with the tendencies prevailing throughout the Church. The Synod banned the employment of Christian servants by Judaists, ordered them to live within walls or moat, and wear a conical hat like the one in German duchies. These restrictions never came to life, in spite of their repetition and the addition of new ones by subsequent national synods, such as the 1745 Synod of Chełmno, which postulated to limit the rights of the converts. Aside from the short period of sixteenth-century religious freedom, the laws protected the dominance of Catholicism. Until the end of the eighteenth century, conversion to Judaism was punished by death. Medieval burghers in Wielkopolska and Silesia consisted mostly of ethnic Germans, who brought the enmity toward Jews that was rooted in their region. The popular 1454–55 sermons of the Franciscan, Jan Kapistran, incited anti-Jewish riots in the west of Poland. Similar disturbances occurred in 1407 in Cracow and when the papal legate campaigned in 1463 for a crusade against the Turks. The king intervened in all these cases by defending the Jews and punishing the attackers. From the Black Death in 1348 until the end of the fifteenth century, there have been about 20 anti-Jewish gatherings in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in total.⁹⁰ B. D. Weinryb calculated 53 cases of collective anti-Jewish violence between 1534 and 1717.⁹¹ Antagonisms between the religions grew toward the end of the fifteenth century, as testify the expulsion of the Cracow Jews to the Kazimierz village and their brief expulsion from Lithuania in 1495.⁹²

89 The number of Jews in the Polish lands in the fifteenth century is estimated at 20,000 to 30,000, which is 0.6 % of the total population, and in the mid-seventeenth century – at around 500,000, or 5 %. See A. Polonsky, J. Basista, A. Link-Lenczowski (1993), *The Jews in Old Poland, 1000–1795*, Kraków.

90 M. Horoszewicz (2001), p. 151.

91 B. D. Weinryb (1973), *The Jews of Poland*, Philadelphia, p. 153.

92 There is no consensus between historians whether it was expulsion or transfer by mutual consent. The former would stem from the prohibition of settling in Kraków, and the latter from quite favorable settlement privileges and no traces in the Jewish sources testifying that they would see it as repression. See M. Bałaban (1985), *Dzieje Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, Vol. 1, pp. 173–176; A. Wyrozumka (1995), *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, Kraków.

The Polish state located Jews within the social structure and not in the periphery as did the Western societies. While in the medieval Europe the status of Jews as *servi camerae* limited personal freedom, the same status functioned differently in the Polish lands between the 12th and 14th centuries, due to the force of the customary “law of hospitality.” The Jews in Poland did become the property of the king or prince, but remained under his protection and could count on the provision of the contracted terms of living. Their security was protected, the murderer of a Jew could expect the same punishment as the murderer of a nobleman. In return for special taxation, the Jews gained almost full professional freedom and, until the fifteenth century, they could own land and farm.⁹³ Not subject to the city law, the Jewish community could have largely governed itself. The kehillas had broad powers, from the organization of religious life, social welfare, education, to judicial power; with the exclusion of offenses subject to the death penalty. Furthermore, they usually held economic responsibilities such as the collection of taxes, their turn over, and lease of some financial functions from royal officials, nobles, or sometimes clergy. Some representatives of the Jewish elites held important state offices such as tax collectors or saltworks administrators; or, they served as suppliers, lenders, minters, and physicians. Beginning with the fifteenth century, the Jewish community was gradually becoming a minority, mediating between the various states of feudal society. Their community was a sort of a separate social estate, though never formally defined.

However, the Jewish community was subject to numerous restrictions, the privileges granted by the rulers left it with many opportunities, such as the choice of settlement and profession. In the sixteenth century, the king relinquished jurisdiction over Jews to the noblemen, whose lands they inhabited. This enabled the Jewish communities to sometimes negotiate rights even more favorable than those guaranteed by the king.⁹⁴ The Jews did not occupy the lowest position in the social hierarchy, their standing was undoubtedly higher than that of the peasant serfs. Judging from the Jewish sources, they placed themselves quite high, equal even to the position of the nobility. The Jews derived even some cultural patterns from the nobles.⁹⁵ The Polish church rarely interfered in this system or did it ineffectively.

93 The possession of farms by Jews was confirmed for Silesia and Greater Poland in the twelfth and thirteenth century, and in Mazovia in the fifteenth century. See H. Zaremska (1991), “Chrześcijaństwo i Żydzi w średniowieczu,” *Mówią Wieki*, No. 6, pp. 31–37.

94 A. Kaźmierczyk (2002), *Żydzi w dobrach prywatnych w świetle sądowniczej i administracyjnej praktyki dóbr magnackich w XVI–XVIII w.*, Kraków; G. D. Hundert (1992), *The Jews in a Polish Private Town*, Baltimore.

95 In medieval Poland, the outer clothing of the Jews was not much different from what Christians wore. Traditional men’s clothing, by the Jews called *kapote* and in Polish *chalat*, only developed in the eighteenth century under the influence of the noblemen’s *żupan*. Many elements of the women’s dress and the habit of wearing a wig by married women was borrowed from German townfolk in Polish cities. See B. D. Weinreich (1973); M. Rosman (1990), *The Lord’s Jews*, Harvard.

Nobility sometimes even pointed out in the issued privileges that, within their estates, the synodal laws against the Jews will not apply. As the rivalry between Jewish and Christian burghers grew, the former could count on the rulers, while the latter – on the Church. Conflicts ended usually in a compromise, with the representatives of all parties, including the Jews, negotiating the terms.

With the rise of the political and economic role of the nobility, from the sixteenth century onward, a mutual dependence developed between them and the Jews. The self-governing Jewish communities began to act as banks, handled funds entrusted to them often by bishops and monasteries, disposed of agricultural products on behalf of the nobility, and sometimes manage their estates.⁹⁶ The debts raised with them by the nobility and clergy provided the Jews with a guarantee of security. In Western Europe, expulsion was often the solution to the accrual of debts with the Jewish communities. In Poland, the exile of Jews would result in the inability to recover money.⁹⁷ The Jews were indispensable also to the peasants: as the recipients of their products and deliverers of material goods otherwise unobtainable. Jews were artisans, merchants, and bankers. They performed various services, among other things, they rented taverns, sold alcohol, healed, and sometimes foretold the future or played music. Christians appreciated the Jews for the transfer of information as innkeepers, traveling merchants, and estate factors. They settled and colonized the eastern frontier lands. The diversity of Jews' social roles and their place in the state structure influenced their image. Polish population perceived them not only as a religious but also a social group. Hence the multitude of contacts and interrelationships but also a multitude of conflict situations and forms of aggressive behavior encoded within the culture.

The ideas of Judeophobia appeared in Polish lands with a long delay. Actually, we may talk about a synchronization of the German irrational image of the Jew and the one who spread in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with local variants in Lithuania and Red Ruthenia, only from the middle of the sixteenth century or even the beginning of Counter-Reformation. The dogma of transubstantiation and Eucharistic worship, which the clergy propagated in Poland between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, contributed to the spread of the legends about host desecration. Beginning with the sixteenth century, Christians increasingly more often suggested that the Jews were the culprits of, usually, past events, therefore requiring no lawsuits. The first death penalties for this accusation were passed in Sochaczew in 1556. The Apostolic Nuncio, Alojzy Lippomano, and the local Dominicans contributed to the decision. The Catholic clergy inspired persecution in several other cases in the second half of the sixteenth century and their role in disseminating the superstition was crucial. In total, we know of seventeen

96 This applied to some private cities like Tykocin.

97 Such justification was put forward during the discussion on the reform of the position of Jews during the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792), when some deputies began to demand their expulsion or forced baptism.

similar accusations at the time, eight cases filed with courts, and three ended with acquittal.⁹⁸ The last investigation in this matter took place in Lubno in 1744.

The first Polish mention of a Jewish “ritual murder” appears in Jan Długosz’s *Historiae Poloniae* (1455–1480).⁹⁹ The first trial on this charge happened in Mazovian Rawa in 1547. Eight such trials happened until the end of the century, half of them ended with acquittal. Judging by the number of indictments, the belief in the kidnapping of Christian children for their blood spread more quickly and profoundly than that in host desecration. Documents prepared until the mid-seventeenth century reveal sixty-two cases of slander, twenty-eight lawsuits, thirteen of which ended in executions and eight in acquittals.¹⁰⁰ The overwhelming majority of lawsuits occurred between 1590 and 1620 in central Poland, less in the southern part of the country and much less in Lithuania and Ruthenia. In the 1720s the allegations spread to Ukraine, where their number peaked in the eighteenth century. Last such lawsuit in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth took place in 1786.¹⁰¹ Allegations of host desecration and “ritual murder” sometimes combined, but the former was never as popular as the latter. Such symbolic connotations as the saving power of the Christian blood or the eschatological meaning of the Eucharist played a lesser role in Poland, probably because of the country’s weaker Christianization. Court records, statements of forced testimony, and legends of such alleged murders reflect similar themes that previously existed in Western Europe. However, the “theological” version (reproduction of the crucifixion) occurred in Poland sporadically, always mixed with folk motifs. There are instances that describe how Jews kidnap or buy children from poor parents, usually before Easter, which are as often girls as boys and sometimes even devout youngsters or adult girls. Jews of these accounts feed their “victims” with delicacies and then torture or strangle; they slit their throats, cut their flesh, and puncture it with needles. Sometimes, the Jews were to carve on them the sign of the cross, skin them, eviscerate, or castrate to devour or lick Christian organs during religious rituals. Blood was to be gathered

98 H. Węgrzynek (1995) is willing to accept the number of court hearings as a complete one because it has documented sources, while we do not know if the others were not the product of imagination of their authors. However, Węgrzynek is not consistent when citing information (p. 139) about four other processes between 1692 and 1744.

99 H. Węgrzynek (1995), pp. 32–38.

100 H. Węgrzynek enumerates (1995, p. 115) that in the preserved court files and in the literature from the era one may find descriptions of sixteen processes, while Jewish sources mention five other deaths of the accused. In another place (p. 141), however, Węgrzynek writes about 28 court cases. In turn, Guldon and Wijaczka (1995, p. 94) give the total number of eighty-two accusations and trials between 1547 and 1787 (sixteen in the sixteenth century, thirty-three in the seventeenth century, and thirty-two in the eighteenth century).

101 King Stanisław August Poniatowski ordered in 1787 that the court in Olkusz refrain from complying with the sentence. J. Goldberg (1986), “The Changes in the Attitude of Polish Society Toward the Jews in the 18th Century,” *Polin*, Vol. 1, p. 37.

in a large pot and used to get rid of the “Jewish fetor,” treat the wound after circumcision, prevent miscarriage, consecrate a synagogue, and – of course – to produce matzo. The transfer of Slavic magic effected in the images of such uses of the blood “stolen” from Christians as: to grease the door, to ensure success by burying blood by the corner; to inject it into eggs for fertility; to wash the eyes of Jewish newborns so that they could gain sight.¹⁰² What remains nevertheless puzzling is the fact that the cult of alleged “victims” developed so poorly in the Polish lands. Despite several attempts, the Holy See refused to recognize their sanctity. Perhaps what contributed to such effects, were successful interventions in the Vatican by Jewish representatives from Poland.¹⁰³ The allegations against Jews in Poland initially came from the church elites and some intellectuals. The clergy inspired also the first lawsuits. Convent schools propagated the irrational image of the Jew. Thus, it was the Catholic Church that contributed most to the implantation of Judeophobia in Polish culture; above all among the upper classes, because they were educated and read devotional literature, and later in folk culture.

2.5. Summary

The chapter above reproduces the process which led to the rise of Judeophobia: it started with the efforts of Christian thinkers to adapt the Old Testament legacy and separate their new religion from Judaism, their efforts effected influenced the rooting of the superstitious image of the Jew in European culture and folklore. The threads of these developments follow different paths; hence the argument cannot always remain chronological. Set aside regional and time differences, the attitude of the Catholic and, to a large extent, also the Orthodox Church toward Judaism was consistently negative. Catholicism turned away from its roots and propagated the image of Jews as the killers of God, enemies of Christianity, renounced and humiliated by God. Discriminatory legislation and repetitive persecution formed the European way of perceiving Jews as ritually impure allies of the devil. This image finished and solidified a long process: from religious polemics among the early Christians, through religious competition, legal exclusion and social isolation, to branding and victimization. These actions dehumanized Jews, bestowed upon them supernatural qualities, and identified with an active element of devilish evil.

102 Oskar Kolberg noted this last superstition in the mid-nineteenth century. It was also noted by S. M. Dubnow in *Historia Żydów w Rosji i Polsce*, published at the beginning of the twentieth century. During field research in 1976, I was possible to hear it from two respondents in the Zamość region (A. Cała, p. 130, there is an error, should be 2 instead of 72) It was also noted by J. Tokarska-Bakir during her research in Sandomierz (2008, pp. 427–434). Of an analogous belief, but related to Mazovians (Poles from Central Poland) wrote Jan Chryzostom Pasek in his memoirs (1691–1695).

103 The Vatican intervened on several occasions, in 1540, 1650, and 1758.

Simultaneously, this prejudicial image absorbed elements of European pre-Christian beliefs. One of the properties of the medieval image of the Jew comes to the fore: the prejudice referred primarily to men. Although repression and persecution affected also women, stereotypes about them functioned poorly. Prejudice about the Jewess developed only in the nineteenth century, in the era of emancipation and assimilation, as a literary concept.

The Middle Ages developed five permanent structural features of the image of the Jew:

1. a mythical belief that Judaists “evenly inhabit” the whole world as the result of God’s curse;
2. a perception that Jews form a single unified group, in line with the medieval legal practice of collective responsibility, hence the term “Jew” referred to both the individual and the whole population;
3. a justification of discrimination by way of a religious belief that the Jews may have the right to live, but should depend the kindness of Christian and must not rebel against this fate;
4. an assumption that Jews are strangers, no matter how long do they live in one place such as the Mediterranean countries, which they inhabited as long as the local nationalities;
5. a formation of the image of the Jew in isolation from them, which enabled the attribution of fantastic, irrational, and devilish qualities.

We may distinguish gradual attitudes and social behaviors accumulated with time: the ideology of Judeophobia (conveyed in religious polemics and legislation); segregation and discrimination; ethnocentrism; secondary ideology (a dehumanized image that attributes supernatural characteristics and justifies persecution); economic rivalry expressed in religious terms. The passage of time encoded these many “layers” in European culture alongside patterns of aggression and violence, which then moved gradually from the west to the east of Europe, until they reached Ukraine at the time of the Cossack Revolts. Such positioning predestined the Jews to the role of “scapegoats.” What brings this fact to light is the mechanism of violent reaction against this minority in the face of a social or economic crisis. Since the Crusades, the blood of Judaists marks public backlash to natural disasters, economic crises, wars, and social revolts.

Above all, however, the main effect of Judeophobia is that “the Jew” became for the Christian culture the synonym of alien, bizarre, hostile, and scary. This is the thread that begins in the Middle Ages and in the nineteenth century merges with the ideology of Antisemitism.

Chapter 3. The Formation of the Ideology of Antisemitism in Europe

3.1. Theoretical Framework

The exact chronology of the rise of modern Antisemitism as ideology and movement remains unfathomable. Historians mention various insufficient and debatable factors. Hostility toward Jews links not with their numbers, economic standing, or political substance, because the birthplace of modern Antisemitism saw little of Jewish population or influential. Instead, the areas with the largest and most culturally distinct Jewish communities experienced the anti-Jewish movement at a later stage in the form of a secondary phenomenon, which does not mean they held an unequivocally positive image of the Jew. Hannah Arendt in *The Origin of Totalitarianism* (1951) associated the rise of Antisemitism with the role played in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries by the “Court Jews” and, later, the wealthy bankers who funded monarchs and governments. Although the figures of the Rothschild’s or Baron Hirsch strongly influenced the imagination of the public and the Jews themselves, their actual influence was not significant enough to cause such a strong response in the political life of several European nations.¹⁰⁴ Instead, the Jewish tycoons symbolized the audacious “insolence,” with which these few families exceeded their role of pariahs and entered universally accepted positions in the society. In other words, they either drawn opposition against the principle of equal opportunities or demonstrated its absence. As soon as the idea of the inevitability of Jewish emancipation spread, the names of the tycoons lost their importance, even though they did not completely disappear from Antisemitic rhetoric.

Furthermore, Hannah Arendt traces the genesis of modern Antisemitism to the decline of nation states and the attack on the state by proto-imperialistic organizations. However, Arendt narrows her focus to the history of Germany, Austria, and France. Moreover, Arendt identifies the term “nation state” with constitutional monarchies and describes the subsequent political systems as imperialism, which does not define the states formed after the First World War precisely. In these states, Antisemitism only gained political significance the moment they formed changed into republics ruled on behalf of the majority nation. Their governments were too

104 The Rothschild family gained property as bankers of the Prussian government, then set up bank houses in Vienna, Paris, and London, becoming the precursor of international monetary policy. Maurice de Hirsch (1831–1896) was a banker from Bavaria, who conducted business in Austro-Hungary. He was interested in the situation of Eastern European Jews, founded a network of vocational schools for Jewish children in Galicia, and co-financed Jewish settlements in Palestine and Argentina.

weak to issue colonial demands, but nationalist groups assumed an imperialistic rhetoric aimed mostly toward national minorities. In the United Kingdom, the most imperialistic country of the nineteenth century, the Antisemitic movement was of little importance or political influence. However, Arendt rightly remarks on the contradiction between powerful constitutional monarchy in Prussia or Austria and German nationalism, which, along with other political currents, demanded democratization and sought to undermine bureaucratic structures.

In my opinion, Stanisław Ossowski best expressed the problem of the relationship between systemic projects and the genesis of Antisemitism. Ossowski defines nationalism as a clash of two opposing aspirations: "National ideology ... could be framed ... as a synthesis of two contradictory tendencies: the old antinational conservative state ideology and the anti-state revolutionary national ideology with an outward energy."¹⁰⁵ The proponents of the former represented such constitutional monarchies of the nineteenth century as Austria-Hungary, Germany, or the United Kingdom, and expected the authorities to act as arbitrators in the face of conflicting class and ethnic interests. Romanticism formulated a new, revolutionary definition of the nation as a spiritual community. This definition stems from Hegelian philosophy, which imbued it with idealistic and mystical musings on the "spirit of the nation." Its enthusiasts fought for the people's emancipation, who they understood as a community not necessarily ethnically homogeneous. Although these proponents rarely included national minorities in their project, many Romantics in Germany, Austria, and even Poland advocated for the (legal or merely societal) emancipation of the Jews, still perceived mostly as a socio-religious rather than a national group. The People's Spring realized these postulates, although its achievements proved fragile. Simultaneously, however, democrats of the Romantic era elevated the wellbeing of the idealized nation above all other state interests. This led to two opposing ideas of a nation as a civic society (as devised in the Revolutionary France) or a nationalist community modelled after aristocratic elitism.¹⁰⁶

Let us distinguish here between the terms "nationalism" and "chauvinism." Both utilized a similar ideology, but offered different solutions to organize the state. The former struggled to secure the superiority of the ethnic group in power. In Europe, it generally meant the dominant nationality in the population. Globally, however, it the power happened to lie with one of the coequal nations or even with a minority. The ruling ethnic group gained the advantage of this sort by the higher material and social standing, strengthened and maintained by easier access to the privileges of elite membership: state positions, better education, and economic situation. The ruling group resolved possible ethnic tensions in two ways: either by seeking to denationalize the subordinate groups (e.g., by forced assimilation or the reinforcement of acculturation and integration processes) or by allowing a degree

105 S. Ossowski (1966), *Dziela*, Vol. 3, p. 244.

106 See B. Porter (2000), *When Nationalism Began to Hate*, New York-Oxford.

of autonomy. The former solution introduced Prussia (assimilation) and France (integration), the latter by Austria (albeit not Hungary) and the English colonies in Asia. Chauvinism was a slightly different systemic project. Chauvinists applied the theories of evolutionism and social Darwinism to all external and internal conflicts, ethnic included. They considered legal and custom-based discrimination as well as any class differences to be a natural state of affairs and the result of a linear evolutionary process, in which better forms supersede the lesser. Wielding slogans of solidarism, chauvinists eagerly adopted a mysticism of blood bonds as the nation's foundation and narrowed the Romantic definitions of the "spiritual" nation to a biological, tribal affinity. According to this concept, the state is to be a guardian rather than an arbiter, with strong authority and subordinate citizens. Chauvinists never emphasized the integration of national minorities, largely ignoring their particular interests, and resolved conflicts by force. Supporters of conservatism, nationalism, and chauvinism opposed the emancipation of the Jews, but the latter two motivated no yearning for a return to the feudal past (as did the conservatives), but rather stemmed from the idea of the nation and its role in the state. Antisemitism became the sole link between these contradictory systemic projects and enabled their cooperation. It seems that this was the reason for the close interconnection of the "Jew-biters" and the late-nineteenth-century right, even though there was no shortage of similar attitudes in the early socialism.

For Ossowski, chauvinism seems virtually identical to right-wing and left-wing totalitarianism, befitting both the Third Reich and Stalinist Russia. Arendt, instead, sees totalitarianism as a separate institutional entity. As the main difference Arendt stresses the role of terror, which served not only to eliminate and intimidate opponents, as was the case in all ancient and modern tyrannies, but as a tool to reign over perfectly obedient masses.¹⁰⁷ Anyone could fall victim to repression at any time, their innocence understood as the subject of persecution regardless of deeds. What totalitarianism shared with imperialism was a desire for conquest, not only through colonial exploitation but, above all, ideological transfer. That is why totalitarianism sought to establish international structures, "pan-movements," as Arendt puts it. While chauvinism was able to function within a parliamentary system, even if it wanted its limitation, totalitarianism abandoned the idea of democratic and civil institutions wholly, at most allowing their existence in a mock-up form.

3.2. The Revaluation of Judeophobia: Seventeenth to Nineteenth Century

The structural aspects of the Jewish image, formed in the late Middle Ages, remained mostly unchanged, although perception of Judaism's nature and the

107 H. Arendt, (1951), p. 44.

role of its followers in society changed with time. The works of humanists and rationalists, later romantic and positivist philosophers introduced these issues to intellectual discourse, whereas the tumultuous events of the nineteenth century – into the political sphere. The intellectuals that inquired into Judaist characters believed their considerations to hold great importance, yet these were disproportionate to the population of Western European Jewry and its effective economic and political influence. This fascination with Jews and their religion refers that people still attributed them with a symbolic function, although with lesser connection to Christian theology than before. Nevertheless, the plebeian and folk culture did not absorb intellectual concepts easily, because they clung to the superstitious image of the Jew. Rather, these were the popular beliefs and universal opinions that influenced the educated thinkers more.

There are numerous scholars, who analyzed Western European highbrow discourse about the Jews from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century; among others, Jacob Katz (1980), Leon Poliakov (1971, 1985), and Vambero Morais (1974).¹⁰⁸ It seems unnecessary to precisely summarize the ideas of individual early modern thinkers in the face of such diverse source literature. Let us focus on those threads, instead, which prepared ground for the growth of the Antisemitic ideology, regardless of the original intensions of the authors.

The humanist and rationalist turn sparked interest in in-depth Biblical studies. One of the scholars, protestant orientalist Johann Andres Eisenmenger (1654–1704,) learned Hebrew and Aramaic from Frankfurt and Amsterdam rabbis to understand the Talmudic and rabbinic legacy. His learnedness, however, never weakened his conviction of a deliberate lie ingrained in Judaism. In the two-volume work *Entdecktes Judenthum* – prepared in 1680–1700 and published in 1710 – Eisenmenger attempts to prove that Judaism is a “lesser” religion ethically and morally, but also by way of theology.¹⁰⁹ Eisenmenger analyses Judaist literature to prove that the following resulted from Rabbinic laws: a “double moral standard” in relations with Christians, hostility toward gentiles, and disloyalty to the state. Even if Eisenmenger’s sources are correct in German, he uses them out of context and misinterpreted in a biased way. Whenever citing past accusations of “ritual killing,” Eisenmenger implies their veracity. Modern methodology that heralded the scientific era has served, in this case, to justify superstitions, which belonged to the medieval thought. Eisenmenger’s work reveals a shift of emphasis from “God’s will” – formerly the final undeniable explanation of the Jewish fate – to the negative image of Judaism as a source of damning moral and character

108 Also see J. Katz (1972); Sh. Almog (1990), *Nationalism and Antisemitism in Modern Europe 1815–1945*, Oxford; as well as countless works by the so-called “Frankfurt school,” among others by C. Detlev (1987).

109 The Austrian Jews regarded this book as dangerous and intervened with the emperor to forbid its dissemination. Eventually, the book was released in Berlin (with the consent of Frederick I) after the author’s death and did not gain much publicity.

traits of its followers. This transposition foreshadows a new rhetoric in the Age of Enlightenment. Much later, in the nineteenth century, Eisenmenger's book became a source for some publicists, which contributed to the emergence of a new type of Judeophobia, or more precisely, clerical Antisemitism.¹¹⁰

Eisenmenger's contempt for Judaism stems from his studies of Talmud and post-Biblical rabbinic writings. However, most rationalists focus on the reinterpretation of the Old Testament. English and French deists rejected all the elements of religion contrasting with the "common sense" and "natural laws" as man's fantasies rather than divine revelations, which simultaneously made them overcome the legacy of theological and popular Antisemitism. Rationalists presented the teachings of Moses as a good source of rational ethical principles and set them against future "foreign" influences, which they believed to come from the pagan Egyptians or the caste of the priests.

Enlightenment thought elaborated various deist themes. Encyclopaedists never rejected the authority of religion entirely, but denied Christianity the right to organize societies, which made them question the idea that the Jewish fate was due to a God's plan or curse. The idea of the social contract enabled the long process of change and revision of the Jewish status as minority, and their emancipation. The idea to recognize Jews as fellow citizens with equal legal protection provided by the state developed relatively late and remained difficult for the European societies. One of the many obstacles was the traditionally negative image of the Jew and critical attitude to Judaism, reinforced by the severe lack of its knowledge.

Enlightenment critics of religion considered Judaism to be a superstitious relic, in that sense even worse than Christianity.¹¹¹ Voltaire projected his ideas on contemporary Jews and explained their character "flaws" with Biblical stories.¹¹² Such interpretation sanctioned a new, secular, and negative stereotype of the Jew, which, in fact, stems from the very Christian tradition rejected by Voltaire. Whereas, for example, the Middle Ages interpreted Jewish "love" of money as the effect of their relations with the Devil, Voltaire derives it from ancient history, along with a conviction that this and other vices characterize all their generations (e.g., lack of "valor," political cunningness, or "creativity"). Although stripped of obviously

110 See J. Katz (1980), chapters 1 and 12; also, Katz (1972), "The Sources of Modern Antisemitism: Eisenmenger's Method of Presenting Evidence from Talmudic Sources," *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Jerusalem, Vol. 2, pp. 210–211.

111 See B. E. Schwarzbach (1971), *Voltaire's Old Testament Criticism*, Geneva; also, J. Katz (1980), chapter 3.

112 Voltaire speculated that Jews, like the Gypsies, would be absorbed by society when the higher level of knowledge would eliminate the need to use their services – usury and divination. Educated individuals will become part of the aristocratic elite of philosophers while the rest will abandon their "superstitions" and cease to stand out in any way. See Voltaire (1994), *Political Writings*, Cambridge, Mass.

supernatural elements, the image of Judaists remained irrational and concealed the historical continuity that links it to the legacy of Judeophobia.

The introduction of equal rights for Jews in Revolutionary France (1791) followed by the establishment and subsequent rejection of the Napoleonic Code in countries dominated by the French Empire such as the Netherlands, Rhineland, Westphalia, Switzerland, and Northern Italy (1792–1815) triggered the initial discussions about the Jewish emancipation and their place in European societies. Within these debates, both the supporters and opponents of Jewish emancipation employed available stereotypes. The former alluded to argumentation drawn from Christianity or the Enlightenment. Among those who referred to secular reasoning were the three German philosophers, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), and Johann Fichte (1762–1814). They believed that the followers of Judaism were characterized by inexorable negative traits of character that baptism cannot change and, when presented with civil rights, will still remain alien, unfamiliar, and hostile. Literature and newspapers exploited the image of sinister Jewish usurers as a unified Jewish financial community linked by international bonds that facilitated trade and the accumulation of usurious capital at the expense of the society. According to this stereotype, the Jews were to refrain from global affairs yet eagerly observe the non-Jewish majority for their profits.¹¹³ Although such an idea derived from a rather superficial and very tendentious, mercantilism-inspired analysis of contemporary economics, its similarity to later conspiratorial fantasies seems to be of some importance. In this context, some participants of the discussions referred to the Jewish minority with the term “a state within a state.”¹¹⁴ Fichte used the term in the most deliberate way, occasionally accusing the followers of Judaism of double moral standards and faith in a vengeful, jealous God. One rather macabre metaphor of his suggests that the only way to free the Jews from their distinguishing negative qualities is to cut off their heads and fit new ones.¹¹⁵ The writer and philosopher, co-creator of the modern

113 Such vision proposed Ernst Traugott von Kortum (1795), *Über Judentum und Judenhaupt sächlich in Rücksicht ihres Einflusses auf bürgerlichen Wohlstand*, Nuremberg. See J. Katz (1980), chapter 4.

114 As recalled by J. Katz (1980, Chapter 4), the accusation of creating a “state in the state” was referred to the Order of the Jesuits, various corporations, guilds, and the Freemasons movement in the Age of Enlightenment. It was an argument criticizing the existing system, in favor of the concept of the enlightened monarchy, in which all social and professional groups should be subordinated to the state. The person to have used this accusation for the first time in relation to the Jews was Johann Heinrich Schulz (1784), *Philosophische Betrachtung über Theologie und Religion überhaupt und über die jüdische insonderheit*, Frankfurt – Leipzig. Also, see J. Katz (1971), “A State within a State,” *Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities Proceedings*, Vol. 4.

115 J. G. Fichte (1793), *Beitrag zur Berichtigung der Urteile des Publikums über die französische Revolution*, Jena.

idea of the nation, pastor Johann Gottfried Herder, described them as a “strange Asiatic folk,” “parasitic growth on the bodies of other peoples,” and demanded that the state treat them as newcomers. Herder believed that, in the future, individuals who abandon their mercantile and financial professions – the main source of their flaws – could gradually acquire civil rights; however, under strict supervision of the state, which should monitor how much have they lost their “Jewish” qualities. The program in question did not differ much from the politics instituted after the partition of Poland, which segregated the Jews into the “tolerated” and the *Betteljuden*.

Kant, in the book *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* (1793), proposed the adoption of a rationalist version of Christianity as precondition of Jewish citizenship. Kant defined Judaism as fundamentally alien to Christianity, which was formed in opposition to the older religion. Kant criticized the Old Testament ethics, which Judaists supposedly followed, because they were to impose “formalistic observance of the laws,” threaten with the wrath of God, and lack the “internal moral law.” Similar negative traits of Jewish culture appeared in the works of the author of the idealistic concept of the nation: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). Hegel perceived Israelites as incapable of altruism and spiritual exaltation, detached from others and hostile toward the world. Hegel argues that these stereotypical traits form the suprahistorical “essence” of the Jewish people, which extends from Abraham to the present. It comes hardly as a surprise, then, that Hegel denied Jews the rights enjoyed by the Christian citizens. Hegel’s rumination on the matter of the state eventually led to a shift in his position and, in 1820, he advocated equality, even though his opinion of Judaism remained unchanged.¹¹⁶

There were friendlier voices during the long-lasting deliberations on Jewish equality in the German states, especially from the liberals. However, during and after the Vienna Congress they became less and less numerous. The fall of Napoleon saw the emergence of German romantic nationalism concentrated on the idea of common culture and mentality, and rooted in Christianity. In his essay *Judenthum in allen dessen Theilen aus einem staatswissenschaftlichen Standpuncte betrachten* (1821), the liberal Rudolph Holst referred to Eisenmenger’s book *Entdecktes Judenthum* to oppose “universalist” Christianity with “particularist” Judaism, which purportedly “allowed” theft and even murder of infidels. Eisenmenger’s work inspired other liberal writers of the Romantic era, such as Alexander Lips (1819), C. H. Pfaff (1819), and Johann Baptist Graser (1828); all of which viewed the German national identity as exclusively Christian. They excluded Jews from such community. Their alleged strangeness was a symbolic and, thus, convenient projection of everything that stood in opposition to national values. The accusation of intentional Jewish separatism gained considerable power at the time, even though

116 See J. Katz (1980), chaptr 5; also, Sh. Avineri (1960), “The Hegelian Position on the Emancipation of the Jews,” *Zion*, No. 25.

it was far from the truth. The Jews were becoming less different from their German contemporaries and even their religion – reformed Judaism – imitated Protestant Christianity.¹¹⁷

Despite the dominant position of opponents of Jewish emancipation, the status of the Jews in German states did not deteriorate after the Vienna Congress. The Jews took up previously banned professions and settled in previously forbidden areas. Access to education gave birth to an affluent elite of assimilated Jews able to contribute to German culture. Despite, or maybe even because of that, many perceived the Jews as a caste – a detached, unified community that collectively works for its own good – “a state within a state.”¹¹⁸ Those nationalist, who equated national identity with Christianity, decided that baptism is the only condition to accept the Jews. Supporters of secularism bound the inclusion of Jews into the nation with their abandonment of all stereotypical traits as well as religion, and called for the state to coerce them into changing. The demand for expulsion of the defiant and the threat of violence pervaded their postulates with radicalism and a significant degree of cruelty. This manifested itself soon in riots, which occurred in 1819 in Bavaria (Würzburg, Bamberg, Bayreuth). Disorder spread to Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Hamburg, and 30 smaller cities; even to Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark.

Perhaps echoes of debates about Jewish emancipation reached the townsmen, who reacted with aggression. Emancipatory debates could have had some indirect influence on social attitudes. It is, however, doubtful that philosophical discourse and press debates incited the riots. The impulse came instead from the social tensions. To put it more precisely, it was a spontaneous rebellion against weakened segregation and a defense of discrimination, the disappearance of which caused the feeling of lawlessness and fear of competition from former pariahs, who entered previously forbidden professions and bought houses in affluent districts. It is of no coincidence that public demonstrations began in Bavaria, where the Jews could not settle until very recently. In Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Würzburg, where the first 13 wealthy Jewish families settled in 1813, the legal position of the Jews was not yet determined and heated discussions about their equality continued. However, the fear of change found expression in a rather medieval manner, as indicated by the rioters’ cries “hep, hep.” It was a distorted call of the Crusaders: “Hierosolyma est perdita,” Jerusalem is lost.¹¹⁹ Intellectuals took no part in the riots, but it fell upon them to examine their causes and effects. Violence was condemned by all, yet many found justification and pointed to the guilt of the Jews, who they accused of isolating themselves from the society and growing economic influence. Markedly,

117 See A. D. Low (1979), *Jews in the Eyes of Germans*, Philadelphia.

118 Jacob Friedrich Fries was the first to use the term “caste” (1816), *Über die Gefährdung des Wohlstandes und Charakters der Deutschen durch die Juden*, Heidelberg. See J. Katz (1980), chapter 6, 12.

119 J. Katz (1973), “The Hep-Hep Riots in Germany in 1819,” *Zion*, No. 38.

all condemned the Jewish self-defense groups, organized during the Hamburg riots (20–26 August 1819).

As long as the issue of emancipation remained open, participants of the debate expressed fear that the Jews would not be loyal citizens, honest shopkeepers, or simply, credible members of the society. These fears focused on an alleged claim of “separatism.” When Jewish integration became fact, Christians started to fear competition while other phobias became apparent in accusations of “Jewish domination” and the undermining of the ethos of social service by the supposed inclusion of “mundane,” unethical elements into the noble professions of doctor, artist, and journalist.¹²⁰ Conservative opponents of the Young Germany movement blamed its assimilated Jewish members for their foreignness and practice of implanting “Asian” features into national German literature. For Richard Wagner, these features appeared in music, which he described as unsavory, “Jewish,” and “barbaric” sounds. Wagner considered these to be a foreign intrusion, which the “healthy organism” of the nation should instinctively expunge.¹²¹ This led Wagner to invent the neologism “Verjudung” (Jewification), which gained huge popularity in Antisemitic press. All of these threads fed conspiracy theories that the late nineteenth-century Antisemitism eagerly embraced and facilitated in politics.

In France, where the Jews gained full equality and citizenship through a single legal act (1791), the fact of their emancipation quickly became self-evident without need for much debate. However, most noticeably, Jewish emancipation derived not from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, but it required a separate legislative act adopted during the turbulent debates of the Constituent Assembly. Napoleon’s plan of 1806 and 1807, for the appointment of the Grand Sanhedrin, an advisory body, provoked protests from some of the emancipation’s opponents. The emperor’s decision was criticized by his own uncle, Cardinal Joseph Fesch, who warned that the assembly of Jewish representatives from different countries in one place threatened the end of the world. Fesch’s worries originated in the same story as the worries of opponents of Jewish settlement in England – in the prophecy from the legend of the Wandering Jew. However, the conservative Louis de Bonald alluded to traditional Catholic Judeophobia. He warned of the effects of Jewish emancipation as they were to be “Christian-haters,” “adulterers,” and still carry the curse for the great crime of deicide. De Bonald believed that Jewish emancipation would eventually lead to them reigning over Christians. Joseph de Maistre expected the Jews, in his eyes a “damned sect,” to aim to undermine the Christian law and order by inspiring revolutions. De Maistre stated, “Everything leads to the belief that their money, their hatred, and their talents are in the services of great conspirators.”¹²² Clericalist circles criticized

120 See J. Katz (1980), chapter 12.

121 See L. Poliakov (1985), Vol. 3; J. Katz (1986), *The Darker Side of Genius*, Hanover, N. H.; R. S. Levy (1991), *Antisemitism in the Modern World*, Lexington.

122 M. Senkowska-Gluck (1994), *Życie po rewolucji*, Wrocław, pp. 149, 181.

emancipation as part of an attack on the idea of a secular state. Their militancy escalated during the restoration period, however softened due to wounds that the Church suffered during the Great Revolution and the June Rebellion of 1832.

Utopian socialists contributed to the discourse as part of their societal analyses and their quest to cure society's ailments. Charles Fourier (1772–1837) based on a popular Alsatian stereotype when he debated the supposed Jewish traits of unproductivity, usury, and thirst for Christian riches. According to Fourier, the Jews held a patriarchal attitude (*esprit patriarcal*) opposed to the Christian *esprit corporatif*, which was to convey a noble pursuit of social solidarity. Fourier believed that the state should re-educate the Jewish population by forcing them to abandon commerce-based occupations in favor of farming or industrial work. Furthermore, Fourier cautioned that, should the Jews be allowed to collaborate exclusively among themselves, they will soon dominate French trade as they had Polish.¹²³ Nonetheless, Fourier imagined a new role for the “reformed” Jews: as denizens of his utopian *phalanstères*. This ambivalence of a very negative image of the Jews and, at the same time, faith in their ability to change and even pioneer the social change was shared by many students and followers of Fourier. One of them, Alphonse Toussenel, was more pessimistic. In 1845, Toussenel published the essay *Les juifs roys de l'époque, histoire de la féodalité financière*. Toussenel shifted focus from the Alsatian Judaists, distinct in their culture and professional structures, to the large, assimilated, and integrated Jewish communities in major French cities. Among the members of these communities were the forbearers of the modern banking system, which Toussenel accused of exploiting the rest of the society with financial “feudalism.” The second edition of his essay, published in 1847, further emphasized the anti-Jewish tone of his work. Toussenel praised the policies of Tsarist Russia, which maintained its Jewish subjects in isolation, where they could practice their customs, thereby protecting the rest of the society from their negative influence. Toussenel even criticized supporters of Saint-Simons by attributing them with Jewish ancestry, which was far from the truth. In his passionate and insistent attacks on bankers and industrialists of his time, Toussenel emphasized their Jewish origins: “Monsieur Rothschild, de la tribu de Juda,” “Monsieur Fould de tribu de Benjamin,” etc. Toussenel's pamphlet soon became a template for other French writers (e.g., Jules Michelet, Georges-Marie Mathieu-Dairnvael, and Pierre Leroux).

Although most German radicals, among them David Friedrich Strauss, Ludwig Feuerbach, Friedrich Wilhelm Carové, and Karl Grun, advocated the emancipation of the lower classes, and therefore the Jews, not all of them were sympathetic to the Jewish minority. For Bruno Bauer, hatred of Jews became a vehicle of departure from the Hegelian camp and made for his undismayed acceptance of

123 Ch. Fourier (1846–48), *Le nouveau monde industriel et societaire in oeuvres complètes*, Paris, p. 421. See J. Katz (1980), chapter 9, pp. 121–123

conservatism.¹²⁴ The Hegelians true to their mentor believed in an “essence” of individual nations, understood in practice as stereotypes rationalized with intellectually refined validations. Many sought explanations of particular Jewish qualities both in public opinion and in the ancient past; mostly in the Old Testament, in accordance with the rationalist tradition. Hegelians considered the “Jewish character” to be rigid and eternal, which aligned their ideas with future racist concepts, although without the biological connotations of the latter.

Karl Marx (1818–1883), himself a member of a Jewish family, also shared a negative opinion of his ancestor’s culture. In the article *Zur Judenfrage* (1844), he expressed doubt of the possibility of Jews’ full integration with the bourgeois society, in which the alienated have to act based on purely egoistical motivations. Marx denounced both the social system and Judaism for imposing such principles as selfishness, greed, dishonesty, lack of altruism, and hypocrisy. According to Marx, both were supposed to promote the cultivation of detestable flaws inherent to capitalism. Despite such severe evaluation, Marx disagreed with harsh anti-Jewish opinions of B. Bauer. Marx considered Bauer’s ideas to be scientifically unsound and stressed that it was not ancient Judaism that shaped the character of modern Jews, but bourgeois values that shaped their creed. Some modern critics accuse Marx of Antisemitism. It is an exaggeration, as his sentiments somehow reflect the common stereotype prevalent in German culture and public opinion of the time. Marx himself avoided the development of threads of Antisemitic narrative in his work.¹²⁵ Despite harsh language, Marx argued much less radically than Fichte, Hegel, or especially, Herder. Marx’s views, however, have had an imprint on the attitudes toward the “Jewish question” of many Marxists, including Lenin. They understood it as a social and political problem with the Jews as much as with the Antisemites. Marxists shared the belief that building a classless society would solve the problem automatically, as they perceived the Jew to be a quintessential capitalist. That is why Antisemitism was defined by the Marxists as a rebellion of the exploited against the exploiters, not against the political system itself. When the concept of Jewish nationalism appeared, the Marxists denied Jews the right to national self-identification, which proved to be of serious consequence for their position in the Soviet Union.

3.3. Ideological Ties of Antisemitism

Most of the anti-Jewish arguments that have bolstered Antisemitism were already present in Western European journalism of the mid-nineteenth century. These sentiments received especially broad coverage in German press, particularly in Prussia, upheld by a prolonged debate on Jewish emancipation that started with the

124 Bauer defended Old Testamental theology as the only one from among the radicals, which made his views close to Christian conservatism. See B. Bauer (1838), *Die Religion das Altes Testament*.

125 See J. Carlebach (1978), *Karl Marx and the Radical Critique of Judaism*, London.

Enlightenment and continued all the way to the ratification of the Reich's constitution in 1871, which ensured all citizens with equal rights, regardless of religion. This long, politicized discussion fostered the use of repetitive journalistic calques, which then became widespread opinions of, especially, the educated. The Jewish image gained new features in the second half of the nineteenth century but, at the same time, became fragmented and self-contradictory. Nothing linked the folklore-derived beliefs, superstition, prejudices, stereotypes, and intellectual sentiments. Precursors of Antisemitism connected them and, eventually, formed them into an ideology.

Intellectual discourses of the latter half of the nineteenth century glued the elements together with ideas such as evolutionism, social Darwinism, and racism. Creators of the evolutionist theory believed in linear progression of civilization and morality: from primitive forms to ever more perfect. Should one hold a lower social position, the underlying reason was to be most probably coming from a lower evolutionary phase. This theory accommodated also a ranking of societies and nationalities that placed the Jews quite low, which fell in line with the Christian tradition and Western European culture. Social Darwinism contained more ominous predictions. By the transposition of Darwin's theory of evolution onto social relations, Europeans considered themselves to be more "developed" and judged that it is beneficial to humanity to subjugate "primitive" peoples. This idea validated imperialism, colonial wars, and existing social hierarchy. A more threatening conclusion lingered in these speculations: that groups which did not "show promise" should be isolated or exterminated. Racism marked the potential victims of such operations.

The Enlightenment gave birth to the concept of human races. Firstly, Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) distinguished four different skin types: Caucasian, Asian (Mongolian), American, and African. German anatomist Johan Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840) added the Malay race and his pupil, Georges Cuvier (1769–1832), reduced the number to three by considering the American and Malay breeds to be part of the Mongolian race. They all believed the white (Caucasian) race to be the most perfect. In 1781, Ludwig von Schläzer (1735–1808), a German linguist, classified languages according to their similarities and differences. Schläzer labelled the family of related Middle Eastern languages "Semitic" and most European languages as stemming from one "Aryan" proto-language, which origins he positioned in India. J. G. Einhorn (1794) popularized these two classifications and transferred them onto two groups of people: Semites and Aryans. Initially, the groups referred to different tribes, who spoke either Semitic or Indo-European languages. It was Christoph Lassen (1800–1876) in *Indische Altertumskunde* (1847) and Ernest Renan in his 1848 book *De l'Origine du langage*, who almost simultaneously linked the two languages with races.¹²⁶ Thus, the concept of the Semitic and Aryan race appeared and, even though blatantly unscientific, was easily absorbed

126 J. Katz (1980), chap. 8. See Sh. Almog (1967), "The Racial Motif in Renan's Attitude toward Judaism and the Jews," *Zion*, No. 32.

by the nineteenth century science. Furthermore, many scholars, especially Anglo-Saxon and German, tended to equate race and nationality. They frequently spoke of contemporary Germans as the “Germanic race.”

The pseudoscientific racial deliberations served to justify the African slave trade, discriminations, and, at times, even the slaughter of colonial peoples. Consequently, almost from the very beginning, these notions were an ideology presented under the guise of science. However, their usage in the anti-Jewish discourse was not immediately apparent. Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882) in *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1855), influenced by earlier remarks of Renan, was one of the first to apply the racial criterion to historical analysis and juxtapose the terms “Semites” and “Aryans.” Nonetheless, at the lowest position in his racial hierarchy system Gobineau did not place the Jews. According to Gobineau, Jews were a “creative” race, virtuous, and one that played an important role in antiquity.¹²⁷ Furthermore, Gobineau believed that the Aryans had lost their racial purity over the course of history, which made them lose their physical and moral powers. Due to the enormous popularity of the essay, especially in the university circles, Gobineau emerged as the creator of the ideology of racism. In his assessments, however, Gobineau was much less aggressive than his compatriot and predecessor Renan, who, particularly in later works like *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (1858), considered the Semitic “race” to be the most primitive and degenerate. Fearmongering with images of racial, physical, or moral “degeneration” began to play an important role in public and scholarly discourse of the late nineteenth century and, subsequently, gave rise to e.g., eugenics. Popularizers of the threat of degeneracy pictured compared it to epidemic: people from a specific group were to be its carriers, hence required the counter-measure of isolation.¹²⁸

To assign stereotypical immutable flaws to Jews no longer needed explanations in Biblical texts, as racism provided enough argument. Through the course of the 1860s, German conservatives such as Johannes Nordmann, Hermann Wagener, and Bruno Bauer gradually absorbed racism and used such terms as “race” and “blood” interchangeably. They believed the difference of the Jews was not only reflected in their “tribal” mentality but also in physical appearance, a different bodily shape. Bauer even called them “white negroes.” Despite all this harassment, the German conservatives have not yet employed the theory of biological determinism and still believed in the possibility of Judaist’s “rehabilitation.” It was Eugen Dühring (1833–1921,) an economist, philosopher, and anti-religious freethinker, who drew ultimate conclusions and created the racist variety of Antisemitism. In his book

127 L. Poliakov (1971); M. D. Biddiss (1970), *Father of Racist Ideology*, London.

128 See M. Gawin (2003), *Rasa i nowoczesność*, Warszawa (especially the introduction and chapter 1). The author notes that while in the Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Polish countries the principles of eugenics were propagated by leftist circles, in Germany the most interested were racists and Antisemites.

Die Judenfrage als Rassen-, Sitten- und Kulturfrage (1881), Dühring defined the Jews as a degenerate race and considered all their stereotypical attributes to be conditioned biologically and, thus, ineradicable. Based on his analyses of Biblical and historical events, Dühring insisted on the inferiority of the Jewish “race” and its negative impact on the rest of society. Hence, Dühring saw no benefit or justification for its existence, demanded the rejection of the Old Testament, and traced the “Aryan” origins of Jesus.

Misogynism filled the Aryan myth and placed Jewish men in the position of “Aryan” women. Paradoxically, the first to notice this convergence and approach it with gravity was a philosopher of Jewish origin and Vienna citizenship, Otto Weininger (1880–1903). In the famous book *Geschlecht und Charakter* (1903), Weininger argues that Jewish men have mostly traits “typical” for women: they are weak, passive, prone to hysteria, mundane, and materialistic. In truth, Weininger’s observations only drew the image of the Jew prevalent in German culture. His observations that Jews are sickly and frail echoed medieval superstitions, which considered them susceptible to certain diseases, while resistant to other. Convictions that Jews are more likely to suffer from mental illness circulated among the nineteenth-century physicians, which motivated psychiatrist to diagnose Jews with such conditions more easily, while hospitals often treated Jewish cases as “hopeless.”¹²⁹ Weininger drawn this supposed “mental instability” and “feminine” weakness from Jewish “racial” traits and, thus, combined misogyny with racist Antisemitism. Incidentally, fin-de-siècle literature attributed new roles to the sexes and “races.” Previously absent in the traditional image of the Jew, there appeared a figure of a debauched, scheming Jewish woman. Her antithesis was to be the gentle and faithful “Aryan” woman, exposed to the humiliating lust of the wicked Jews. Erotic fantasies woven into the racist schema.¹³⁰

Another binder that held the elements of Antisemitic ideology together, even though a less “learned” one, was conspiracy worldview. One may subscribe it to the part of culture described as “folklore” or, more precisely, to its specific form, designated to incite fear. The scare folklore like tales of werewolves, vampires, and witches serves an important function to this day and not only as entertainment. These stories teach caution and wariness when dealing with the world, therefore foster xenophobic attitudes. At times, they may lead to mass hysteria, like in the case of the witch hunts. Conspiracy theories have long appeared in the anti-Jewish discourse, but only the Antisemites drew full conclusions. After a brief period of experimentation, the Antisemites quickly discovered their propagandist potential and effectiveness. Conspiracy theories, thus, became an important, if not

129 A. Goldberg (1992), *A social Analysis of Insanity in nineteenth-century Germany*, UMI, Ann Arbor (dissertation).

130 See K. Theweleit (1987), *Male Fantasies*, Minneapolis; also, B. Umińska (2001), *Postać z cieniem*, Warszawa.

fundamental, ingredient of popular Antisemitism of the less educated, although many intellectuals shared the belief in the “Jewish conspiracy.”

Those inclined to believe in conspiracies sometimes build their own paranoid visions, but more often they will use those already established in culture. The suspicions that certain organizations desire to take over the world is not a new phenomenon in European mentality. We suspected Templars of such plans and counted those among the reasons that led to the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. The shock produced by the French Revolution inspired more conspiracy theories, especially because secret societies played a significant role in its developments. In 1796, German states witnessed the circulation of doctored documents, which were to unearth allegedly secret plans of the (non-existent) Illuminati sect. One year later, John Robinson, a professor at the University of Edinburgh, published in Dublin the book *Proofs of a Conspiracy Against All the Religions and Governments of Europe*. Concurrently, the French Jesuit priest Augustin Barruel (1741–1820) who, at the time of revolution, found refuge in England, issued the *Mémoire pour servir à l’histoire du Jacobinisme* (1797–1798). Soon, the work was translated into English, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and Polish. The main thesis of this five volume study accused the Freemasons of instigating the French Revolution. Barruel discerns a connection between them and the medieval Templars. Barruel claims that the latter founded a secret super-government to ensure their survival, create favourable conditions for the establishment of Freemasonry, and, eventually, incite a bloody revolt against the rightful rule and the Catholic Church in France. From the 21 alleged members of this super-government, at least 9 were to be Jews. It seems significant that initially, the readers largely ignored the aforementioned 9 Jewish members of the super-government. The images of Masonic machinations influenced readers’ imagination more strongly. During the Bourbon Restoration, Barruel returned to Paris to develop his conspiratorial theory. Barruel accosted the police and even the Vatican with reports of Jewish plots to topple all the other religions and turn Christians into slave-followers of Judaism.

The theme of Jewish secret machinations appeared from time to time in popular fiction and journalism, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Under the guise of Sir John Retcliffe, Herman Goedsche (1815–1878) published the novel *Biarritz* in Berlin in 1868. Goedsche, a Prussian journalist, postal clerk, and secret service agent, describes a furtive gathering in the chapter “Auf dem Judenkirchhof in Prag,” which is held once every 100 years by the members of the Sanhedrin, the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel. The schemers discuss strategy to conquer the world and subjugate Christians. The Jews want to accumulate gold, undermine the authority of the Church, incite revolutions, take over the press, and so on. A German scholar and a Christened Jew, who eavesdropped on the gathering, foil their mischievous plot later. However, the chapter about the secret meeting at the Jewish cemetery in Prague began to live on its own. Frequently republished under various titles and as a separate work, primarily in Germany, the text received Russian and Polish translations along with a new name, “The Rabbis’ Speech.” Rabbi Reichhorn was to be its author and one of the participants of the

fictional meeting, who later revealed its secrets. In such way, people started to read the work of literary fiction as a true documentation of an event.

East Europeans had also contributed to the narrative of the “Jewish Conspiracy.” Jakov Brafman (1824–1879), a veteran soldier converted from Judaism to Orthodoxy in 1858, published the *Kniga Kagala (Kehila Book)* in 1869 in Vilnius.¹³¹ The book contains a tendentious reading of the partially falsified document of the Kehila in Minsk. The matter seems particularly poignant, given the fact that the documents were translated from Hebrew by the maskilim hired by Brafman, who themselves had a very critical view of the traditional organization of Jewish communes. The maskilim ended in a very embarrassing situation, when they had to protest the books’ contents to which they contributed. Brafman argued that Kehila, while formally non-existent since 1844, continued to function and created a secret network, through which the Jewish elites exploited their fellow believers and took advantage of Christians. Christians received Brafman’s revelations, which never explicitly mentioned “conspiracy,” as a discovery of Jewish “secrets” and harmful anti-social intentions. Brafman’s work provoked a great response in Russian press, especially anti-Jewish, and gave rise to a wealth of publicist imitators.¹³² In 1873, the work was reissued in Russia in French. The Polish translations of Brafman’s text reached four editions, published between 1874 and 1877, and one finds traces of its influence in the first Antisemitic publications in the Kingdom of Poland and in Galicia.¹³³ The book was distributed by the Tsarist authorities to civil institutions of the Empire and the Vistula Country. Judging by the polemical response from Vienna, the pamphlet’s perception transcended the borders of Russian and Polish culture.¹³⁴ Likewise, the book *La Conquête du monde par les Juifs*, published in 1871 in Basel, gained popularity in Russia and Poland. Its author was an English Muslim operating under the alias of Osman-Bey. Two years later, also in Basel, the piece appeared in German as *Die Eroberung der Welt durch die Juden* and in 1874, in Petersburg as *Pokorienije mira jewriejami*.¹³⁵ The Polish language edition came out

131 See J. Klier (1995), *Imperial Russia’s Jewish Question (1855–1881)*, Cambridge, chapter 7, 12, 16. Klier writes that the date of the first publication of *Kniga Kagala* was a year earlier. Further editions appeared in 1875, 1882, and 1888, broadened with Antisemitic motifs.

132 For instance, K. Wolskij (1887), *Jewriei w Rossiji*, Petersburg. This was a compilation of fragments from *Knigi Kagala*, *The Rabbis Speech*, and *Les Juifs rois de l’époque* by Toussenel. See J. Klier (1995), chapter 12.

133 The Polish translations which I have found are J. Brafman (1877), *Żydzi i kahały*, Lwów; T. Jeske-Choiński (1914), *Żydzi i kahały*, Warszawa.

134 J. Seiberling (1882), *Gegen Brafmann’s “Buch des Kahal,”* Wien.

135 J. Katz (1980), p. 219. Osman Bey (also used the nickname Kibrislizade) was Frederick Millingen, the son of an Islamized English doctor living in Istanbul. A few years later, he renounced Islam and fought against the Turks in the Russo-Turkish War of 1878–79.

in 1876 in Lviv. As was in the case of *Biarritz*, the book also featured a theme of a secret meeting of the Jewish council, this time set in Cracow.

Theologian Gougenot de Mousseaux and Jesuit priest E. N. Chabauty were French clericalist writers who introduced into the conspiratorial schema the idea of Satan, who was to use the Freemasons to spread the satanic cult.¹³⁶ In turn, the journalist Gabriel Jogand-Pagès fulfilled the work begun by Father Barruel, when under the pseudonym Leo Taxil published articles in 1892–1894, which combined the conspiracies of the Jews, Freemasons, and Satan.¹³⁷ Jogand-Pagès’ arguments threatened with Jewish domination, which provided a ready-made form that fit easily in the conspiracy theories of the Antisemites of France and elsewhere.¹³⁸ The figure of Satan allowed to blame the Jews for virtually everything, regardless of internal coherence or logic. Jews were to be responsible for revolutions and wars, capitalism and attempt to overthrow it, bourgeois exploitation and provocative radicalism. Antisemitic journalists developed the individual themes by way of testing their effectiveness. The figure of the Jew was neither an object of observation nor an element of philosophical ponderings nor social concepts; rather, it became a matter of faith, as it was in the Middle Ages – a symbol of the all evil.

Due to its resemblance to the superstitious image of the Jew in the Judeophobic tradition, the conspiracy thread was especially popular among Catholic thinkers, as it also contained a practical dimension. The thread was a convenient argument in the struggle for political influence against the secular states such as Italy or the French Republic. The Vatican seemed to give credence to the allegations of the Masonic-Jewish-Satanic schemes until Leo Taxil’s scandalous admittance of mystification (1897) and the political defeat of the Dreyfus affair (1899). French Catholic writers contributed greatly also to the renewal of another anti-Jewish superstition, the “ritual murder.” Blood libel was popularized by Louis Rupert in *L’Église et la synagogue* (Paris 1859) and the journal *L’Univers*, published by Louis Veuillot, at the time of the “Mortara case” in 1858.¹³⁹ Both Rupert and Veuillot referred to

136 Gougenot de Mousseaux (1869), *Le Juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens*, Paris. E. N. Chabauty (C. C. de Saint André; 1880), *Franco-Maçons et Juifs, sixième âge de l’église d’après l’Apocalypse*, Paris; Chabauty (1882), *Les Juifs, nos maîtres!*, Paris.

137 In 1897 Taxil denounced his revelations, revealing that they were a mystification invented by him “for fun and profit.”

138 The popularity of the “Judeo-Masonry” thread in France stemmed from the fact that the French Masonic lodges accepted Jews, unlike their Prussian and Austrian counterparts. In 1884, Alfred Rastoul began publishing the monthly *La Franc-Maçonnerie démasquée*, propagating the motif of Masonic conspiracies fulfilling the orders of the “princes of Judah.”

139 The six-year-old child from a Jewish family named Mortar, from Bologna, was taken away from his parents and placed in a monastery because the pope recognized the baptism that a servant gave him in his infancy. This case triggered press discussions in many European countries.

the legal case launched in 1840 in Damascus, against a group of Jews accused of “ritual murder” following the disappearance of a Capuchin monk and his Arab servant. French and English diplomats stationed in Turkey played a significant role in pressuring the local authorities to hand down a conviction. Catholic orders partook in the events; they only just began to operate in the Ottoman Empire without obstructions, while spreading West European Judeophobia. The press discussion that swept through Western Europe between 1840 and 1858 divided the public opinion. Even though the subject eventually waned under the blows of the liberal critics, we should consider the voices of “blood libel” supporters of the time to introduce the clericalist variety of Antisemitism. Several years later, this superstitious belief was rekindled by August Rohling (1839–1931), a professor of Catholic Theology at Münster University. In the book *Talmudjude* (1871), Rohling champions the blood libel by way of attributing to himself a thorough knowledge of the Talmud and rabbinical writings while, in reality, all his “knowledge” comes from the reading of Eisenmenger’s *Entdecktes Judenthum*, albeit without much understanding. Rohling’s career ended in 1885 with a scandal, which nonetheless contributed to the popularity of his book in the Antisemitic circles.

Toward the end of the century, the Vatican withdrew from unequivocal support of aggressive anti-Jewish propaganda, yet did not prevent the emergence of a specific, clericalist variant of Antisemitism, to which the hierarchy’s stance remained, to put it lightly, ambivalent. What characterized this variation were the threads of traditional Judeophobia adapted to modern times. Above all, the Catholic Church opposed the social integration of the Jews, if not the very idea of Jewish equality. The Church adopted a position that the Jewish minority should be discriminated against and segregated, for such was to be God’s divine plan. The institution rejected the more “learned” rationalizations, such as evolutionism, social Darwinism, and, above all, racism. The Church considered racism, particularly its theory of polygenesis, to undermine the very basis of Christianity and its dogmas of mankind’s descent from Adam and Eve, the Original sin, and, above all, the eschatological expectations for the conversion of the Jews. The rejection of racism was further determined by the fact that anti-Jewish racism was initially championed by such freethinker critics of religion as Dühring.¹⁴⁰

All “conspiracy” theories were only precursory to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which serves as the “bible” of Antisemitism to this day, although the term “apocrypha” would be more appropriate here. This work was inspired by the head of Okhrana’s foreign outposts, Pyotr Rachkovsky, in order to sow confusion among Russian émigrés. *The Protocols* were Okhrana’s second attempt to

140 The Lutheran church did not propagate the old superstitions, nor did it tie the Jewish fate so closely with eschatology, but it also did not reject racism, thanks to which it absorbed secular Antisemitism easier. The distinction of clerical Antisemitism should therefore be referred primarily to Catholicism and Russian Orthodoxy, especially after the 1905 revolution.

produce such falsification. The first was in Paris in 1895, commissioned by General Orzhhevsky. They produced *The Secret of Jewry*, which, however, was locked away in the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Petersburg, coupled with a very critical note by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Pyotr Stolypin. A few years later, the agents' efforts proved much more fruitful. As basis of their new forgery, the tsarist secret police used *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Montesquieu et Machiavel* penned by a Parisian attorney Maurice Joly (1829–1878) in Brussels in 1864, a pamphlet of Napoleon III's government, which never even contained the word "Jew." The enumerated dialogues between Montesquieu and Machiavelli became "protocols," their content put into the mouths of the "Elders of Zion," who were to meet during a secret Zionist congress in Basel. Additional fragments modernized the "Jewish plots" against the world. Certain references, like the Zionist congress or the subway construction in Paris, let readers suppose that the text was compiled between 1897 and 1901.¹⁴¹ People attributed also other documents to these "elders;" for instance, an abstract of the *Catechism of a Revolutionary* by the radical Sergey Nechayev (1847–1882) or singular utterances from Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Demons*.¹⁴²

The National Library in Paris holds a copy of Joly's work with handwritten annotations in Russian in two distinct styles. This may suggest that the modification of Joly's pamphlet was the work of several people. Currently, we know that the *Protocols* compiled Matvei Golovinski, a writer working for the Okhrana and member of the Holy Brotherhood, a group founded in 1881, which specialized in publications that aimed at discrediting leftist activists. In 1903, a member of the chauvinist Russian organization, the Black Hundreds, Pavel Krushevan published the *Protocols* in its domestic journal *Russkoje Znamya*. In 1905, the book appeared in St. Petersburg twice: by the Black Hundred's G. W. Butmin and as an appendix to a book by an Orthodox mystic, Sergei Nilus, who treated this conspiratorial narrative as proof of the forthcoming reign of the Antichrist. Nilus dedicated his book to Tsar Nicholas II.¹⁴³ Despite warnings from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who were aware of the counterfeit's origin, the lecture became a favorite of Tsar and Tsarina. During the revolution of 1905, they recognized it as fulfilment of the prophecy and ordered its dissemination among soldiers. The Tsar would later retract this command but the *Protocols* already circulated among officers, shaping their attitude toward Jews to a great extent. The Nilus version, somewhat different

141 The latter date provided J. Tazbir (2003, pp. 55–57), who based on the newest findings of the Russian historian, Mikhail Lepiekhin, who found information about the origins of the *Protocols* in the Okhrana archives.

142 J. Tazbir (2003). Also, see J. Katz (1970), *Jews and Freemasons in Europe, 1723–1939*, Cambridge, Mass.; S. E. Bronner (2000), *A Rumor About the Jews*, New York; N. Cohen (1967), *Warrant for Genocide*, New York.

143 During the election campaigns of the First and Third Duma (1906–07), the prophecies of Nilus and the *Protocols* were published four times under the title *Wragi roda tschelavietcheskogo*.

from the previous ones, was the basis for the next, extended edition of 1917, which was in turn translated into other languages.

The success of the Bolshevik revolution launched the pamphlet's international career. The White Guard peddled the book¹⁴⁴, which made them organize Jewish pogroms while the "white" Russian émigrés popularized the pamphlet abroad. They identified the "Elders of Zion" with the Bolsheviks and considered the October Revolution to be living proof of deceitful Jewish plans for world domination. In 1920, almost simultaneously, translations appeared in Germany, France, England, Italy, the Scandinavia, Romania, Greece, Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Hungary. In the United States of America, the industrialist Henry Ford (1863–1947) promoted the pamphlet's key points in his own newspaper *The Dearborn Independent* (May–October 1920) and then in the book *The International Jew*, sold in half million copies. In a series of 1921 articles for *The Times*, the English journalist Philip Graves exposed the *Protocols* as plagiarism of *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Montesquieu et Machiavel*. Thus, Graves greatly contributed to the decline in popularity of the Antisemitic pamphlet in the United Kingdom, where, up to the 1930s, it was published only twice, in minor publications and low volumes. However, the revelation did not impede the staggering success of the work in other countries, where its volumes and popularity only grew. *The Protocols* have reached Franco's Spain, Argentina, and even Japan. Many French joined the organization Rassemblement Antijuif de France, whose main purpose was to distribute the pamphlet. Under its influence, the writer Ferdinand Céline became a supporter of Nazism. *The Protocols* appeared also in Fascist Italy, but garnered less popularity and state support, at least not until the German occupation in 1943. Among other reasons, the situation stemmed from Mussolini's regime recognition of Vatican's authority, which proclaimed in 1938 *L'Osservatore Romano* that belief in the authenticity of the *Protocols* "speaks poorly of its readers" intelligence."¹⁴⁵

The pamphlet earned particular popularity in Germany. After the First World War, the book distributed the "white" Russian émigrés, Pyotr Shabelsky-Bork, Fyodor Viktorovich Vinberg, and Gregor Bostunitsch. They found a wealthy benefactor in Prince Otto zu Salm-Horstmar. The first German translation, *Die Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion*, appeared in 1920 and became a bestseller, counting among its enthusiastic readers the recently dethroned Emperor Wilhelm, in exile in the Netherlands. One year later, the edition financed by the Antisemitic Verband gegen Überhebung des Judentums reached a volume of 120,000 copies. By the time Hitler came to power, the pamphlet appeared 33 times in comparably large volumes. The book received elaborate commentaries and publicist supplements, many by Alfred Rosenberg, the future architect of the Third Reich's racist propaganda. The *Protocols* were constantly referenced by the flagship Nazi journal *Der Stürmer* (1923–1945),

144 In the Denikin military units, the shortened version of the *Protocols* was read aloud to those soldiers who were illiterate. See J. Tazbir (2003).

145 J. Tazbir, 2003, p. 15.

edited by Julius Streicher (1885–1946), who received death sentence for war crimes in the Nuremberg trial. Hitler himself admitted that the *Protocols* inspired his *Mein Kampf* (1925–27) and, after coming to power, he ordered the book to be included as compulsory reading in school programs. The Nazi Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage reissued the *Protocols* annually in multiple languages with the intention to create an Antisemitic International that operated on basis of the principles attributed to the “elders.” Among other things, the Institute organized conferences of Antisemitic activists from different countries, in 1937 gathering representatives from 22 countries, including a delegate from Japan.

Both the conspiratorial theme and racism found their way into fin-de-siècle esoteric deliberations popular. People juxtaposed the legendary “Aryans” against the “Semites” in narratives of considerable dramatic flair. The German theosophists created a vision of an eternal clash of these two “races.” Such historic conflict, however, lacked a special role for the Germans and the concept of “Aryans” – which the Germans were forced to share with e.g., the Slavs – gathered too many to creatively develop the German chauvinistic mystique. The missing link was found in the Nordics. In accordance with the systematics of the racist pseudoscience, the Nordics should be considered as a “subrace.” However, racists disliked the situation and eventually distinguished the Nordics as a separate race, which they equated with the Germans. The English Germanophile and son-in-law of Richard Wagner, Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927), authored the very popular in Wilhelmine Germany two-volume *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1899). Chamberlain is among the first to attribute the Germans with a particular historic role. Chamberlain believes that the Germans constitute no specific race but, rather, an evolutionary-distilled mixture of the best biological traits of the Aryans and Nordics which, in turn, made them the most perfect creators of human civilization. Chamberlain argues that German destiny is to progress and establish a new, better world. On the contrary, he claims that evolution led the Jews to accumulate the traits of the most degenerate races. All positive elements of Jewish history and culture are to result from foreign influence; for instance, Chamberlain claims that the Jews inherited the Ten Commandments from the Egyptians. The Jews themselves should be unable to rise spiritually enough to uphold any religion or to create anything of value, continues Chamberlain, and therefore they seek to assume reign over all nations. On the basis of this logic, Chamberlain claims that Jesus was no Jew but an “Aryan.”

Paul de Lagarde (1827–1891) authored one of the many threads of theosophical speculations. De Lagarde endeavored to create a “religion of the future,” in which elements of Christianity, purified from what he considered to be the negative influences of ancient Judaism, would be filtered through the pagan legacy of the “Aryans.” Fascination with pagan past surfaced most frequently in the Pan-Germanic movement and moved into Nazi ideology. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), the Austrian creator of the philosophical school called anthroposophy, combined the völkisch idealization of rural life with Hellenistic mythology and neo-paganism alongside the Nietzschean

Zoroastrianism, to which he added racism and a belief in the historic mission of the “Aryans” in their most perfect form: the “Nordic” Germans. Steiner believed that the existence of the Jews, their religion, and their way of thinking was a “mistake of History” and they should perish.¹⁴⁶ “Ariosophy” was another, parallel development of theosophy originated in Vienna. Its authors developed Steiner’s racist myth of the “Aryans” into a complex cosmogony that broadened Jewish conspiracy from its “universal” into “cosmic” dimension. Ariosophy influenced young Hitler and Himmler.¹⁴⁷ Yet another thread was the one associated with the völkisch Thule Society, which referred to the neo-Romantic concept of environmental purity – in which one may find the origins of ecology – along the ominous ingredient of “racial purity.” The person who in 1919 picked swastika for the symbol of the NSDAP was Friedrich Krohn, an associate of the Thule Society. Rudolf Hess and Alfred Rosenberg also sympathized with the organization.

After coming to power, Hitler tried to marginalize the esoteric and völkisch currents within his own party; he believed that spiritual speculation weakens the Nazi movement’s activism but avoided direct attacks on the Christian tradition. When both German Catholics and Lutherans criticized Rosenberg’s book *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1934), Hitler also joined their voices, which did not in the least hinder the author’s further career in the Third Reich. Likewise, *Mein Kampf* contains numerous references to the Bible, where Hitler claims that, since Germans are God’s people, “there cannot be two chosen peoples,” hence “two worlds face one another: the people of God and the people of Satan;” meaning the Jews. Hitler analyzed the history of mankind with the use of Voltaire-like exegesis of the Old Testament. Hitler referred to the racist speculation that Jesus was an illegitimate son of a Roman legionnaire of Germanic origin, Mary was not a Jew, and King David had a predominance of Aryan features inherited from his Amorite mother.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler utilized various threads of Antisemitism to create a simplified amalgamation devoid of subtlety, which focused entirely on the ardently praised anti-Jewish phobia. The book’s contents served totalitarian metaphysics and, at the same time, projected an ideal and rational organization of the society. Simplistic ideology and fervor attracted many readers.¹⁴⁸ Nazi propaganda used well-known phrases, already established in the widespread awareness. The word *Judenrein* – which literally means “cleansed from the Jews” – made an appearance in the program of Adolf Stöcker’s Christlichsoziale Arbeiterpartei during its 1878 founding convention. The völkisch movement introduced terms *Blut und Boden*,

146 R. Steiner (1968), *Geschichte der Menschheit*, Dornach, p. 189.

147 N. Goodrick-Clarke (1985), *Occult Roots of Nazism*, Wellingborough.

148 See P. Hassner (2002), *Koniec pewników*, Warszawa; G. L. Mosse (1972), *Kryzys ideologii niemieckiej*, Warszawa; D. Gassman (1971), *The Scientific Origins of National Socialism*, London; E. C. Król (1999), *Propaganda i indoktrynacja narodowo socjalistyczna w Niemczech (1919–1945)*, Warszawa.

“blood and soil,” and *Lebensraum*, “living space,” already in the nineteenth century. Heinrich von Treitschke, a very popular and influential historian, authored the slogan “The Jews are our misfortune!” and called the proposed “solution” of the Jewish “question,” “an extermination” which was later used by the Nazis as a euphemism for mass killing in gas chambers. Nineteenth-century German anti-Jewish notions often contained bloody metaphors. Even if Fichte proposed to give Jews new heads in order to alter their characters, he was far from implementing the idea which, nevertheless, slowly introduced an agreement that the “Jewish question” cannot be resolved amicably. Dühring was the first to use the term “extermination” in relation to the postulated fate of the Jews. Although lacking any specific plan, Dühring understood the notion as “eradication” in the same way one deals with “vermin.” In a sense, the schematic of the evolution of Medieval Judeophobia repeated: the harrowing epithets of by the Fathers of the Church have long been merely a form of discourse, only to enter the literal image of the Jew in the late Middle Ages and, then, serve as justification to persecution. The Nazi propaganda constantly dehumanized the image of the Jew by comparison with vermin and introduced “extermination” as euphemism for mass murder. The public grew accustomed to battle rallies to “defend from the Jews,” “face them head on,” “prevent the domination,” “unite in face of danger,” “remove the foreign body,” or “purge the plague,” long before these slogans were used by the Nazis. In fact, even the peak of the Antisemitic wave at the end of the nineteenth century in Germany proceeded without bloodshed. There were no pogroms like in Russia or Hungary or campaigns of terror as in France. The discrepancy between the viciousness of journalists and the social reality, in which the Jewish population enjoyed considerable economic and social stabilization, made these words sound serious only to zealous Antisemites while the vigilance of the rest became dulled. When the Nazis appropriated these slogans, although in changed meaning, the content remained, so their listeners never noticed that these were no longer metaphors or epithets.

Religious Judeophobia, neo-pagan theosophy, and anti-religious racism all gathered in the Nazi ideology. The last ingredient proved to be difficult in practical use. All examinations of cranial and facial shape, skin complexion, hair and eye color, measurements of body proportions, or blood composition analysis failed to yield any results, because they could not yield. Racist anthropologists suffered painful failures, for example, after the examination of the graves in the old Jewish cemetery in Altona, which found the proportions of the bones to be closest to those attributed to the “pure” Nordics. The racist utopia could not be proven scientifically, so the definition of the Jew adopted by Nazi legislature had to refer to religion. Indeed, the annihilation was not a result of systemic projects, but rather a gigantic “ritual murder,” albeit not carried out by the Jews but on them. Furthermore, the “extermination” was also an attempt for world domination modelled on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which Rosenberg understood as a project of social engineering; however, again, this time instituted not by the Elders but the “Nordic” Germans.

The fall of the Third Reich disgraced Antisemitism as a political concept, however failed to extinguish the phenomenon. On the contrary, the first post-war

years observed an increase in anti-Jewish attitudes in Europe and the Americas; although there is no evidence that the increase effected from Nazi propaganda in all cases.¹⁴⁹ The conspiratorial thread proved to be a more durable carrier for Antisemitic ideology than racism. The career enjoyed by the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* continued onward. Until the outbreak of the Second World War, the book's readership remained among Christian cultures, with the exception of Turkey and Japan, where the first translations appeared in the 1930s. The three associates of Goebbels, who found refuge in Egypt after the war, propagated the pamphlet in this country. One of them even became an advisor to President Naser.¹⁵⁰ This probably contributed to the fact that excerpts of the *Protocols* were included in Egyptian school textbooks in the 1950s. In 1951 the pamphlet was published in Lebanon. Beginning with 1967 and the intensification of the Israeli-Arab conflict after the Six-Day War, the number of issues in Muslim countries increased. The Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia governments sponsored print.¹⁵¹ International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations began to distribute the English version in the United States. They found supporters in the ranks of the radical African-American organizations, such as Louis Farrakhan's nationalist movement. The belief in an American-Jewish conspiracy against the Arab countries became the ideological inspiration for Islamic terrorism. In a slightly less irrational fashion, the idea of an alliance between the US government and the Zionists, harmful to the world, appeared in the rhetoric of certain leftist movements, especially in France. Multiple reissues of the *Protocols* appeared in Eastern Europe after the fall of Communism and the renaissance of right-wing radicalism, with the Internet providing a new vehicle for their propagation. The belief in the Jewish pursuit of world dominance is doubtlessly the strongest determinant of Antisemitism, which simultaneously exhausted its "creative drive." Few new elements appeared until the invention of the "Holocaust denial," which fits well the imagery of the Jewish "conspiracy." Admittedly, modern Antisemites do not apply the classifications of "Aryans" or "Nordics," which have faded into obscurity; yet speculations over genetic determinism hide the danger of a new form of racism. Certain themes of German theosophy re-emerge in the ideology of the neo-Pagan movements.

3.4. Summary

Even though the perception of Jews changed through the centuries, some threads continued and accumulated strength. For this reason, it is difficult to accurately

149 V. Morais (1974); also, see W. Bergman, R. Erb (1990 – introduction). Of some Antisemitic incidents in the world wrote *Biuletyn ŻAP* published in 1944–49.

150 About the publication of the *Protocols* in the Egyptian weekly *Al Moussawar* wrote *Biuletyn ŻAP*, No. 6 (254) from 22 I 1947, p. 6.

151 M. Kramer (1995), "The Saliency of Islamic Antisemitism," *Reports on Antisemitism*, Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, No. 2.

determine the exact origin of Antisemitic ideology. In the second half of the nineteenth century several models of the ideology in Western Europe mixed and, thus, gave birth to even more varieties. One of them adapted Christian Judeophobia: in its folk form, a vessel for many superstitions, like the blood libel or the association of the Jews with the Devil. However, new social context made them operate differently. Alongside historical transformations, these threads have largely decomposed, becoming an increasingly marginalized folklore, separate from worldview and religious belief. In the deliberations of Christian intellectuals, superstitions ceased to play a significant role; even if some Catholic clergymen started to use them to propagate faith. The clerical environment rejected the equality of the Jews, because they believed that discrimination and segregation realized God's plan. This concept carried a religious and political aspect. In its justification, the clergy referred both to the evangelical accusation of deicide and to the Talmud, which they considered the source of Judaism's inherent vice and ethical inferiority. Conspiracy theories of a Jewish-Masonic plot, popular in the late nineteenth-century France, began to strongly bind the emerging variety of Catholic Antisemitism.

The secular model introduced by Voltaire attributed the Jews with stereotypical negative qualities and traced their origins to the Old Testament. nineteenth-century German philosophers employed these features with the appearance of objectivity and immutability available in all Jewish generations, from antiquity to the present. From this point, the reasoning required but a single step to consider Jews biologically determined, which made the authors of the racist model of Antisemitism. What characterized German Antisemitism, was the large involvement of high culture, the intellectual circles, scientist, and academics in the creation of Antisemitic ideology both in the religious and secular form. Their efforts made Antisemitism utilize modern propaganda and social engineering. In Germany, Antisemitism developed alongside nationalist and chauvinistic consciousness, which alluded to Christian and neo-Pagan symbolism. In Prussia and Austria, the conspiratorial theme surfaced at a slower pace than in the neighboring countries, but theosophical speculation enabled its incorporation into national mysticism and pseudoscientific racism. On the other hand, in France, two opposing environments contributed to the spread of Antisemitism: pre-Marxist socialism and clerical royalism. It was only at the height of the Dreyfus's affair that the French Left began to oppose Antisemitism and so, not unlike in Germany, the ideology of Antisemitism moved completely to the right-wing circles. Its connection with nationalism was somewhat weaker than in Prussia, but instead served as justification of colonialism.

These different models and types of Antisemitic ideologies exerted influence on Eastern Europe, with varying intensity. French conspiracy theories impacted the imagination of Russian, Polish, Hungarian and Romanian Antisemites more than German pseudoscientific arguments. The German model, however, shared its strong linking of the ideology with nationalism, the political right, and slogans of economic Antisemitism.

Chapter 4. The Origins of the Antisemitic Movement

4.1. Origins of Antisemitic Movement in Prussia, Austria, Hungary, and France

First to witness the birth of organizations with an Antisemitic backbone was Prussia. For most historians, the success of the Antisemitic movement in Germany is linked to the economic crisis, which broke out in 1873 with a series of bankruptcies and lasted, with minor fluctuations, until 1896. Historians also point to German nationalism, which contributed to the shaping of a homogeneous state hostile toward ethnic diversity and which used the administration to impose Germanization; and at political intrigues taking place when the parliamentary system was being formed.¹⁵² These are certainly important factors which resulted in Jews “standing out” at a time when they have just started to enjoy equal rights and take the opportunity of integration and social advancement; especially in Berlin, where their number had increased.¹⁵³ Having considered cultural autonomy of Jews, their number, social mobility, political affiliations, or even participation in risky business ventures, it is still not enough to explain why it was them who became “scapegoats” focusing so much fear and hatred. Consequences of the economic crisis and party conflicts swept through the society in more than one country, but nowhere else, not in France nor in Austria, where the Antisemitic movement emerged later, had they such political repercussions.

The correlation between the onset of the movement and economic hardship or social conflicts stems from an assumption that antisemitism was a product of real social tensions; namely, the so-called “Jewish question,” understood as an issue brought out by Jews. In fact, this was rather an internal issue of Christian societies. The assumption that it was a Jewish issue finds support in the origins of the Antisemitic movement, which date back to the time before the economic crisis and tense interactions with the Jewish community when people still remembered their patriotic and cultural contribution during the Spring of Nations and the Young Germany movement. The new attitude manifested itself for the first time through Richard Wagner.¹⁵⁴ He and the frequent guests of Wagner’s house in Bayreuth

152 See, for example, Sh. Almog (1990); D. Claussen (1987), *Grenzen der Aufklärung*, Frankfurt a. Main; P. Pulzer (1988), *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria*, Cambridge, Mass.; D. Telman (1995), “Adolf Stoecker,” *Jewish History*, No. 9; R. Wistrich (1991); see also L. Poliakov (1985) and H. Arendt (1951).

153 However, it is hard to describe this increase as rapid. Between 1860 and 1880 the percentage of Jews in the population of Berlin raised from 3.5 % to 4.8 %, which was much slower than in other European capitals (especially in Vienna).

154 A.D. Aberbach (1988), *The Ideas of Richard Wagner*, Lanham.

formed a tight social circle which, in the 1860s and 70s, forged anti-Jewish and racist views. The circle consisted of Bernard Förster, a teacher by profession, Elisabeth Nietzsche, the philosopher's sister, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Some of its members were related. Chamberlain became a son-in-law of Wagner and Elisabeth married Förster. At first, they focused on boycotting Jewish participation in social events by refusing them invitations to Wagner's house and banning musicians of Jewish origins from local art events. In the 1870s, Förster joined "A German Seven," a group of ideologues and politicians who saw an exclusion of Jews as a way of restoring the power of Germany. He put much effort to bring this racist utopia into existence: in 1886, he and his wife set up a settlement in a Paraguayan jungle, where only carefully selected, exemplary, and "racially pure" Germans lived. The philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) also initially belonged to Wagner's circles, but he had famously broken off their friendship in 1876. In his letters, Nietzsche criticized Wagner and condemned German nationalism and Antisemitism, especially in its Christian version. He was also very upset about his sister's marriage with Förster. Wagner, in turn, came to be considered as the flagship German artist by the Hitlerites, while Elisabeth contributed to the view of Nietzsche as a Nazi philosopher. Some scholars suspect that she even went on to falsify the meaning of his last work, *Will to Power*.¹⁵⁵ Hitler, to be sure, did not read Nietzsche, but he invoked the philosopher's various formulations and terms, such as, for instance, the "overman," "Hebrew slave-ethics," or "master race." Other Hitlerite propagandists, like Goebbels and Rosenberg, also read Nietzsche's passages in a way convenient for the Nazi ideology, but they did not recommend studying his thought.¹⁵⁶

In 1841–1845, Richard Wagner and Bruno Bauer started their public activity as social radicals and proponents of limiting the civic equality of Jews. Wilhelm Marr's (1818–1904) way to Antisemitism was equally tortuous. He belonged to the German Youth Movement and during the Spring of Peoples served as a deputy of the National Constituent Assembly. After the breakdown of the revolutionary movement, he was in exile in America until 1859. He had four wives, of which three were from Jewish convert families. A sworn atheist, he wrote a critique of Jewish orthodoxy and Judaism, *Der Judenspiegel* (Hamburg 1862), which was his first publication touching on the Jewish issue. Although he supported assimilation, he was also critical of assimilated Jews. In his critical remarks, which he largely borrowed from Voltaire, Bauer, and Nordmann, he even went on trace a biological genesis of the faults of his contemporary Jews. And while years later he described this book as "philo-Semitic," it already contained the seeds of his later views. In 1873, he published *Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germanentum. Vom nicht konfessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet* (The Victory of Judaism over

155 See W. Santaniello (1994), *Nietzsche, God, and the Jews*, New York.

156 See *Nietzsche and Jewish Culture*, ed. J. Golomba (1997), London-New York. S. Mandel (1998), *Nietzsche and the Jews*, New York.

Germanism: Viewed from a Nonreligious Point of View), which gained considerable popularity and was reprinted twelve times. In this work, the author proclaimed the title “victory” as a fact, claiming that it was Germans themselves who made it happen by voting for Jewish politicians and allowing them to become lawmakers or judges and to “take over” the press and finance. If the main goal of his earlier work was to shock Jewish readers to the point of making them rapidly wipe out their “faults,” assimilate and develop the noble German virtues, then in the present work he regarded such a transformation as impossible and even detrimental. He believed that since the character of Jews, also those who embraced assimilation, was predetermined, it could not be changed and an integration of Jews within German society threatened its “Judaization.” Hence, he called for giving up inter-party conflicts and uniting forces in order to prevent this threat. He believed that such a unity should become the main political goal of all Germans and encouraged them to create anti-Jewish organizations.¹⁵⁷ This appeal was to resonate several years later: for example, in April 1879, Alexander Friedrich Pinkert founded the Deutsche Reform-Partei (German Reform Party) in Breslau, while in October the same year the Antijüdischer Verein (Anti-Jewish Society), gathering circles centered around a conservative-sponsored journal *Deutsche Wache*, was created. Wilhelm Marr became the leader of this Society which quickly changed its name to Antisemitenliga (Antisemitic League) and popularized the term “Antisemitism”¹⁵⁸ by publishing a journal entitled *Zwangloser antisemitischer Hefte* (Independent Antisemitic Journal, Berlin 1879–80, No. 1–3). The term “Antisemitism,” informed by the Arian myth, was meant to move the hostility against Jews away from any justifications of a religious nature and toward a new definition of this community – biological, not confessional. Marr’s activity contributed to the entrance of the anti-Jewish movement onto the political stage, which is why he is often considered as the founder of modern political Antisemitism.

In 1878, the Reverend Adolf Stöcker (1835–1909) founded the Christlichsoziale Arbeiterpartei (Christian Social Workers’ Party). Initially, it was not Antisemitic, and its founder was not interested in the “Jewish question,” aiming his critique principally at liberals and socialists, and trying – with poor results – to attract workmen with the party’s program. Stöcker first expressed his reflections on the Jewish “ill-conceived” emancipation in the public speech delivered on 19 September 1879 which won him great popularity. He reproached the Jews of his day for their conviction of being equal to Christians and thundered that they should rather be thankful for the constitutional provision for their equality as an expression of the State’s grace toward a foreign nation. Moreover, he argued, they had already abused the law by acting as if they wanted to be ahead of Germans, encroaching various realms of their life. He accused them of destroying the

157 See M. Zimmerman (1986), *Wilhelm Marr*, New York.

158 The first appearance of the term “Antisemitism” was in the third edition of Prussian *Staatslexikon* of Rotteck and Welker in 1865.

economy, striving to “Judaize” German culture, and poisoning the mentality of those around them. In 1880–81, his party managed to gather over quarter million signatures to support an anti-equality petition to the Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. The petition called for removing Jews from state schools and universities, banning them from holding public offices, implementing legal limitations on the number of Jews in the country and closing German borders to Jewish immigrants. The petition was launched by Bernard Förster, whose wife engaged with great enthusiasm in the signature-raising campaign and was proud of winning such a high number of supporters. Searching for religious justifications of his hostility against Jews, Stöcker invoked Lutheranism and pointed to the Talmud as a “source of the corruption” of Orthodox Jews. He also reproached Reformed Judaism for striving to weaken Christian faith and spreading atheism. To be sure, he did not wish to convert Jews but, as a reverend, he must have believed in the validity of the baptism sacrament and accept converts as genuine Christians, despite suspecting them of insincere intentions. This attack on Judaism was linked to a criticism of liberalism as the state’s binding ideology. Serving as a court chaplain, he had to temper his anti-state radicalism, though (at least until Wilhelm II’s reign, when he lost the court’s support). However, he came to fully understand the socio-technical power of Jew-baiting, which attracted wide audiences to his passionate speeches and finally won him a seat in the Prussian Parliament and Reichstag.¹⁵⁹

Stöcker’s speeches gained so much enthusiasm among his audience that they gave the impulse to the foundation of the so-called “Berliner movement.” It was not a political grouping but a host of independent organizations and social circles united by a common purpose of promulgating Antisemitism and boycotting Jews from the society. Their members, mainly students and the middle class, could sympathize with different political parties and ideologies. They founded anti-Jewish associations, organized public speeches and discussions, and issued Antisemitic pamphlets and brochures. They managed to expel Jews from student corporations by gaining majority seats in their governing bodies. They also called for banning Jews from the Reichstag. Several intellectuals supported these actions: for example, Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896), a very well-known historian and conservative politician, the author of *Ein Wort über unser Judenthum* (*A Word about Our Jewry*, Berlin 1879), or a popular journalist Otto Glagau (1834–1892). The movement organized noisy street demonstrations, during one of which, in 1881, the protesters attacked Jewish passers-by and demolished shops owned by Jews. The movement spread out in many German cities, even exceeding the state boundaries.

Among those who drew practical conclusions from different strands of Antisemitic ideology and presented them in the form of political recommendations was Theodor Fritsch (1852–1933), hiding under the pseudonym of Thomas Frey. He was an engineer by training and a member of the movement since 1881. During an

159 See P. Pulzer (1988), Chapter 10: *Stöcker and the Berlin Movement*; see also R. Gutteridge (1976), *Open Thy Mouth for the Dumb!*, Oxford.

Antisemitic rally in Kassel (1886), he took the floor to criticize the aspirations to create a united party as unrealistic. Instead, he believed that the goals he defined could be accomplished by spreading the ideology across all social groups and milieus regardless of their political sympathies or confession. He thereby largely contributed to the development of modern Antisemitic propaganda. Of course, Fritsch regarded himself as a free-thinker, but he made a conscious link between the anti-Jewish religious motives and racism. His *Antisemiten-Katechismus*¹⁶⁰ (Catechism for Antisemites, 1887) recommended to break social and professional ties with Jews, avoid them and ban from all associations, clubs, and organizations. This list of practical recommendations was supplemented with passages taken from Rohling's *Talmudjude (Talmud Jew)*, which described a "double morality" allegedly imposed by rabbis to instruct Jews about how to act in their relations with Christians; and some excerpts from Dühring's racist reflections. The work was confiscated, but it was subsequently retitled as *Handbuch der Judenfrage (Handbook of the Jewish Question)* and reprinted in as many as thirty-six editions until 1896. It was thanks to Fritsch, among others, that Germany became a center of abundant Antisemitic literature and materials: press, leaflets, caricatures (also printed as postcards), posters, brochures, pamphlets, and pseudo-scientific dissertations. The ideological motives and iconographic signs, as well the means of their promulgation, spilled over onto other European countries as ready-made standards. This tendency developed with a striking rapidity: in many Central European countries, the phenomenon of Antisemitism appeared almost simultaneously to its German counterpart or with only a couple of years delay.

Marr and Stöcker pursued two different models of Antisemitism (lay and religious) which, despite employing quite similar rhetoric, could not be reconciled. In fact, this was the main reason for the political weakness of their parties. Antisemitism was successful only as a social movement which ignored other ideological differences among its members. In spite of the leaders' efforts, it proved impossible to create a strong, unified Antisemitic party which would become an important parliamentary force capable of influencing the legislative process. Even when, since 1886, part of the numerous associations and small parties united under the name "Deutsche Antisemitische Vereinigung" (German Antisemitic Association), the movement managed to get only sixteen Reichstag seats in 1893, reaching the peak of its potential – a success which was never to be repeated. At the turn of the centuries, the movement's popularity lessened, and it lost much of its earlier force. It seemed to be withdrawing from the political stage. However, there still functioned a swarm of small, ephemeral, but very loud associations and parties, for instance, the Deutsch-Soziale Antisemitische Partei (German Social

160 Its full title was *Antisemiten-Katechismus. Eine Zusammenstellung des wichtigsten Materials zum Verständniß der Judenfrage* (Catechism for Antisemites: A Summary of the Most Important Materials for Understanding the Jewish Question).

Antisemitic Party) founded by Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg in Westphalia.¹⁶¹ It criticized the parliamentary system and did not take part in an electoral game.

If in Germany a clear alliance was made between conservatism and nationalist Antisemitism, in Austria it was mostly former members of the liberal camp who contributed to the establishment of the movement. One of the first Austrian Antisemitic activists was Georg von Schönerer (1842–1921), a son of an ennobled inventor and industrial pioneer. In 1873, von Schönerer was elected as a parliament deputy for the German Liberal Party, but in 1880 he founded the People's Party (Volkspartei). He was a free-thinker, hostile to Catholicism. To be sure, his statements bore Antisemitic accents already in 1879, but the Volkspartei was initially not interested in the Jewish question, as one of the authors of its program (written in 1882) was Heinrich Friedjung, a historian and journalist of Jewish descent. In 1885, when the party entered the parliament, von Schönerer started to consider Antisemitism as an integral part of its program. Therefore, he postulated that the civic equality granted to Jews should be withdrawn, that segregation should be implemented in education, that mixed marriages should be banned, and that Austrian borders should be closed to Jewish immigrants fleeing from Russia. He was also the first Austrian politician to assume a racial definition of the Jewishness in 1903, very much in the same vein as was done later in the Hitlerite Nuremberg Laws.

Von Schönerer devised the political tactics employed by many of his successors, including the Nazis. For example, he gained supporters through a network of sociable clubs and informal societies (organizing meetings in pubs for workers, merchants, students, etc.), as well as sport and cultural associations or history interest groups. He also coined and popularized among his party's sympathizers the pseudo-medieval greeting *Heil*, which was later picked up by the Hitlerites. His party became the main competition for the Austrian Christian Social Party (Christlichsoziale Partei) founded by Karl von Vogelsang in 1887 and led by Karl Lüger (1844–1910). The rivalry between these two parties had ultimately brought about the fall of Volkspartei.¹⁶² Fighting for influence, they outmatched one another in using Antisemitic rhetoric, but Lüger, whose position was informed by Catholicism, eschewed racist appeals. None of the parties called for violence, and they never organized demonstrations. In 1897–1910, Lüger served as Vienna's mayor, but his policy was in practice much more benign to Jews than the propaganda of his party.¹⁶³ During his government, no limitations or restrictions had been imposed on them.

161 Since 1879, Sonnenberg was associated with the Berliner movement.

162 In spite of the dissolution of Volkspartei, Schönerer had been elected to the Czech parliament in 1896.

163 Lüger came from the liberal camp and initially did not exhibit any biases against Jews. He distanced from the Antisemitism of Christlichsoziale Partei in spite of accepting its social program. He became an Antisemite only when he decided to

Despite similar economic (a deep crisis since 1873) and demographic conditions (a rapid increase of Jews in Vienna's population from 2 % in 1860 to 10 % in 1880), the progress of the Antisemitic movement was much slower in Austria than in Germany. One of the reasons for this state of affairs was the conservative and multi-ethnic character of the country and the authority of the emperor Franz Joseph who was a skillful arbiter, but rather unwilling to allow a free political party game. Meanwhile, the liberal reforms implemented by Bismarck encouraged political activity in the society, also in the form of Antisemitic parties and organizations. The Austrian government actively resisted the proliferation of Antisemitism, hampering its development in political life. But after democratization of the election system in 1882, a new political stage started to emerge, making room for an Antisemitic movement, which was largely influenced by Germany. The similarity between the names of Lüger and Stöcker's parties is not accidental, and neither is that between the Reformverein founded by craftsmen in 1882 and the name, as well as the program, of its German counterpart. The Reformverein association called for banning Jews from political, economic, and social life (including serving public offices). They urged not to vote for Jewish candidates to the parliament, not to buy from Jews and not to contact them. At the end of the eighties of the nineteenth century, a majority of student corporations became *judenrein* – for Austrian students, it took several years to get to this point, whereas their German fellows needed only several months. People like Lüger contributed to the proliferation of Antisemitism among the Catholic part of the Austrian (ethnically German) middle class and peasantry. In turn, Schönerer's Antisemitic nationalism (and racism) became rooted among large parts of the Austrian middle class and intelligentsia. Lüger and Schönerer's ideas, especially the slogan of economic boycott, emanated into other countries of the Habsburg empire: Hungary with Transylvania, Czech with Moravia and Silesia as well as Galicia.

Victor (Győző) Istóczy (1842–1915), a *déclassé* landed noble, attorney, and deputy to the Hungarian Parliament from one of two liberal parties, was the key figure in forming the foundations of the Antisemitic movement in Hungary. In 1875, Istóczy formed a small parliamentary faction,¹⁶⁴ which called for halting the influx of Jews from Czech, Moravia, and Galicia and for limiting equality laws they had enjoyed in Hungary for barely a decade. In the liberal atmosphere of the time, most deputies and the wider public were rather amused by Istóczy's speeches and trivialized their significance. However, his suggestion – proposed by the parliamentary tribune in 1878 – that the government should support the idea of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, aside threats of “lawful” wrath against Judaism's followers, incited a scandal whose echoes also resonated in the press

tie his carrier to this party. Hence, one may assume that he treated this ideology in a rather instrumental manner.

164 In 1882, his fraction was joined by five independent MPs.

of neighboring countries.¹⁶⁵ However, at the same time, they earned him esteem among the German Antisemitic activists. Wilhelm Marr cited Istóczy's speech, praising the idea of displacing Jews to Palestine.¹⁶⁶ Istóczy started to publish an Antisemitic monthly *12 röpiratot* (*12 pamphlets*, 1880–1884) and a similarly oriented humorous journal *Füstölö* (*Smoker*, 1880). He also became a mentor for students who demanded to impose limitations on the number of Jewish students at Budapest universities. They launched a petition, signed by more than four hundred people, who called for the *numerus clausus*. At the beginning of 1881, they tried to establish an anti-Jewish corporation, but these efforts were disrupted by the police. However, as soon as the police broke up the gathering, street riots ensued. In 1882, Istóczy took part in the International Antisemitic Congress in Dresden. He co-authored the concluding document of the Congress.¹⁶⁷ In the same year, he left the liberal circles and founded an Antisemitic party with a statute modeled on the German Antisemitic League. The party managed to gain seventeen seats in the 1884 elections.

Despite the success of the assimilation and integration of Jews within the Budapest society, despite their participation in political life and support for the liberal option, they could not prevent the sudden shift of political atmosphere in 1883. The backdrop of this shift was the increasing discontent with the Jewish immigration from Russia (consisting of victims of pogroms and tsarist restrictions). Local authorities in the regions of Hungary that witnessed the largest wave of refugees appealed to the government and parliament to block it. In 1882, on the eve of Passover, a fourteen-year-old peasant girl disappeared without a trace in the Hungarian village of Tiszaeszlár. Her body was later found at the banks of a river. The local Catholic community linked this fact with the superstition of "blood libel." The case received much publicity in the press thanks to Jozsef Adamovics, the Catholic priest of Tiszaeszlár, who asked Istóczy to intervene in face of an alleged indifference of local courts, which he viewed as corrupted. A trial ensued that lasted for over a year (in 1882 and 1882 1883) and ended with an acquittal. This verdict, however, did not calm down the public. Istóczy did much to stir up social tensions, especially by organizing demonstrations in Budapest. As a result, anti-Jewish riots took place in several provincial towns and (twice) in Bratislava.

The Tiszaeszlár case reverberated widely in Europe. Pressured by both Austrian and German, Antisemites the trial was plagued with sensational turns of events

165 S. H. Peltyn, the editor of the Warsaw assimilationist magazine *Izraelita* (1878: "Pogadanki," No. 24, 25, "Państwo utopijne," No. 25, "Sąż-li Żydzi narodem?," No. 30–31), devoted a lot of attention to the speech of Istoczy. Peltyn wrote about the panic that the MP's speech caused among the Hungarian Orthodox Jews, who were afraid that it might be a prelude to expulsion from the country.

166 W. Marr (1879), *Vom jüdischen Kriegsschauplatz, eine Streitschrift*, Bern.

167 J. Katz (1980, chapter 19, 21); A. Handler (1989), *An early Blueprint for Zionism: Gyoza Istoczy's political Antisemitism*, New York.

and scandals, which gained much attention of the press across the continent. August Rohling, a professor of theology, testified under oath that the accusation of ritual murder was utterly justified and cited both rabbinic literature and his own work, *Talmudjude*, as evidence. His speech, discussed in Austrian and Prussian dailies, provoked a response from the rabbi of Floridsdorf (a Vienna's district), Samuel Bloch, who accused Rohling of incompetence and perjury. Rohling, in turn, brought a defamation lawsuit against Bloch, but he withdrew the complaint in 1885, as he was well-aware that he would have lost in court had the judge demanded to verify his competence. However, Rohling managed to promote his work which was largely a plagiarism of Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*. The publicity of the Tiszaeszlár trial made the question of "ritual murder" reappear. The acceptance from part of Catholic milieus, the silence of Vatican, the ambivalence of conservatives and the agitation of Antisemites – all contributed to a revival of this superstition. Soon, new attempts were made to press charges in courts.

Antisemitism gained a permanent presence on the Hungarian political stage. The first daily propagating hatred against Jews in this country started to appear in 1889. In 1990s, the conservative and anti-Jewish People's Party was founded. It called for maintaining the Christian character of the country and established a group of commercial and financial cooperatives which were aimed to eliminate Jewish economic influence. Among the party's supporters were some influential university figures who blocked the career development of their Jewish colleagues. In this atmosphere, different informal discriminatory practices became widespread, despite the government's policy which pursued a full integration of Judaism's followers into the society.

The Dresden Congress, organized in September 1882, was an important stage in crystallizing of a new political Antisemitism. The aim of the Congress was to build a unified program and trans-party and international movement operating across several European countries. Three Hungarian MP's participated in the Congress. Ivan von Simonyi chaired the meeting, and Istóczy came with a ready manifesto "to the Christian governments and nations threatened by Judaism," which formed the basis of the concluding document. Key German Antisemitic activists were also present: Adolf Stöcker, Ernst Henrici, Alexander F. Pinkert-Waldegg from Breslau, as well as Karl von Zerboni from Austria and several anonymous visitors from Russia. Based on the tactics adopted by Schönerer's Volkspartei and the Berliner movement, the participants of the Congress called for founding associations whose goal would be to end the "domination" of Jews. However, they did not manage to establish a unified political organization due to their ideological differences. The hatred of "Semites" alone was not enough to cement the movement.

In April 1883, the second Congress was held in Chemnitz. It was presided by Otto Glagau and attended by activists from France, Romania, Serbia, Hungary, and Germany. Austrian representatives were absent, as the government of this country opposed the Congress. This meeting also did not fulfill the expectations to create a unified party organization or an international movement. The differences

between Antisemitism based on religious justifications (represented by Stöcker) and Antisemitism stemming from the tradition of free-thinking and searching for justifications in racism or biology revealed themselves even more powerfully than in Dresden. The concluding document recommended boycotting all Jewish-owned shops, companies, and newspapers. The main goal of this initiative, which was to be pursued by local anti-Jewish associations, was to bring about complete social isolation of Jews. Two further congresses in Kassel (1886) and Bochum (1889) did not attract as much attention of the press and as many Antisemitic activists as had the previous ones.

In France, the first Antisemitic periodicals, founded between 1881 and 1883, had been unable to stay on the market for a longer time than a couple of months. An important cause of their failure was their secular character – they drew much on the Voltairean rationalism and employed an anti-Jewish rhetoric which turned away from the tradition of Judeophobia. A. Vrecourt, the publisher of a weekly paper called *L'Antisémitique* (issued in the provincial town of Montdidier in 1883–1884), gave an enthusiastic account of the conference in Chemnitz and corresponded with Istóczy about the possibility of establishing the Alliance Antijuive Universelle. According to his ambitious plans, the organization was to unify the international Antisemitic movement, with the exclusion of its German supporters, who were no longer welcome after the 1870 war between France and Prussia. Despite gaining the support of several Chemnitz delegates, the initiative did not achieve any significant success. The publication of a fake speech, allegedly given by Adolf Crémieux during the founding meeting of Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1860, may have contributed to a proliferation of conspiracy theories, but it did so only in Russia, not in France.¹⁶⁸ The vast majority of French papers ridiculed the Antisemitic movement while disapproving of the Tiszaeszlár proceedings and anti-Jewish persecutions in the tsarist empire. It was only the Dreyfus case that brought about a consolidation of the movement, revealing its alliance with the right wing, royalists, and clericalists, and in the process forcing the left wing to take the opposite side despite its traditional tendencies inherited from utopian socialism.¹⁶⁹

The writings of Édouard Adolphe Drumont (1844–1917), a journalist influenced by the German model of Antisemitism, were instrumental in the campaign

168 The alleged “speech” of Crémieux – full of conspiracy schemes – was published by the conservative magazine *Rus'* (1883, No. 21). After the polemicists pointed out the forgery, the publisher of *Rus'*, Ivan Aksakov, defended himself by arguing that – regardless of whether the document was real or not – it reveals the intentions of the Jews. The same tautological arguments were later put forward in defense of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

169 There is plentiful literature about the Dreyfus case. For new overviews of the theme, see A. S. Lindemann (1991), *The Jew Accused: Three Antisemitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank, 1894–1915)*, Cambridge, Mass.

against Dreyfus. His two-volume work titled *La France juive. Essai d'histoire contemporaine* (1886) initially did not sell well because of its negative review in *Le Figaro*, but it soon gained such publicity that it was republished in several editions in just one year. Although the work provoked sharp criticism among French intellectuals and liberals, it received a very warm welcome in some milieus, especially from clericals, but also from several proponents of Fourierism. In fact, it was a derivative of similar pamphlets published in Germany, which demonstrated an alleged Jewish domination of the country's economy, politics, and culture – usually by using arbitrarily selected and tendentiously interpreted historical facts. Similarly to Marr, Drumont defined the Jewish community in purely biological terms, emphasizing that Jews, both orthodox and assimilated, and even converts to Christianity, pursued the same pernicious goals directed against the welfare of the French nation. Both his arguments and conclusions were remarkably extreme: he employed a variety of means, from the “ritual murder” myth through an anti-government rhetoric to pseudo-revolutionary calls for an immediate armed intervention against “Jewish” banks to put an end to the “Jewish domination” which meant, in fact, open calls for violence. In 1889, Drumont founded *La Ligue Nationale Antisémitique*, but it functioned for barely a year. All his attempts to combine contradictory political tendencies – socialist and republican, on the one hand, and Catholic and monarchic, on the other – into a unified movement had come to naught. His flirtation with free-thinking Antisemites caused the Church hierarchy to take a distant stance toward the organization. In fact, this was decisive for Drumont's defeat in the 1889 elections to the Paris city council. In 1892, Drumont started the daily *La Libre Parole*, which became the recognized organ of Antisemitism in France. During the Dreyfus trial the paper awakened interest among wide circles of readers; it largely shaped the public's opinion toward the defendant and provoked Antisemitic rage against the attempts to reopen the trial.¹⁷⁰ Open calls to violence, anti-government radicalism, and very aggressive hate speech – these were the features that distinguished *La Libre Parole* from analogous propaganda in Germany and Austria.

The paper was popular not only in France but also in the colonies. In fact, the Dreyfus case provoked an even stronger response among the French elites of Algeria than in France itself. In 1898, Max Régis, an activist of *La Ligue Nationale Antisémitique* and the publisher of *L'Anti-Juif*, became a governor of Algeria. It was Régis who was responsible for the police passivity during the wave of Antisemitic violence which took place in several Algerian cities. He also helped Drumont to get elected in 1899 to the French parliament, where they managed to

170 *La Libre Parole* demanded the removal of Jews from the officer corps already in 1892, accusing them of disloyalty to the state. When the Dreyfus case began, the editors greatly relied on it. In 1910, the newspaper was bought and radically transformed, ceasing to propagate Antisemitism.

found an Antisemitic faction that consisted of eighteen deputies. The group's success, however, turned out to be short-lived, as none of its members was re-elected in 1902. The faction's members proved to be weak politicians, completely devoid of charisma, but because they could not restrain their exuberant ambitions, they soon fell into conflicts with each other. Moreover, they were unable to formulate political postulates or start legislative initiatives. Even though their Antisemitism could gain considerable social support, it was the only thing they had in common. Indeed, it was an emotional propaganda bursting with aggression, rather than a political program.

In the late nineties of the nineteenth century, the Antisemitic movement had reached its apex. An important figure in this respect was Jules Guérin, a former activist of La Ligue Nationale Antisémitique, co-editor of *L'Anti-Juif*, and founder of the Grand Occident de France, an Antisemitic organization modeled on Freemasonry. In 1899, Guérin established a hit squad of the so-called "butchers" who organized anti-Jewish riots (in Lyon, Nantes, Tours, Bordeaux, Marseille, and elsewhere in France) and perpetrated terrorist attacks against liberal and leftist supporters of a revision of the Dreyfus sentence. As distinct from Prussia and Austria, the outburst of Antisemitism in France and Algeria was infused with violence. The Dreyfus case showed that the movement could count on the support of the middle class and a considerable part of the intellectual circles. However, in terms of its organizational capacities, it was even weaker than its Hungarian counterpart. No stable Antisemitic political party was ever founded in France, even though there were several associations, such as Jeunesse Antisémitique or Patrie Française. French Antisemitism carried no significant social consequences and soon was pushed to margins of political life. It was propagated by the most influential French Catholic periodical, *La Croix* (first issued in 1880), but it proliferated mostly in French provinces, not in the cities, which were the largest centers of Jewish population; as if to confirm the sociological thesis that it is lack of contact that reinforces bias and prejudice.

The most durable of nineteenth-century Antisemitic organizations in France was the monarchist L'Action Française founded by Charles Maurras in 1899. It was an entity which exceeded the framework of royalist conservatism, as its program had more in common with totalitarianism. Maurras treated Catholicism instrumentally, associating it with the ancient Roman heritage, social discipline and a hierarchical system of power. His heterodox reflections were soon added to the Index of Forbidden Books, but the organization managed to firmly establish itself in France and achieved considerable success, reaching a membership peak of sixty thousand by 1934. L'Action Française propagated an ideology in which the image of the Jew was far more mythologized than in the earlier propaganda of German Antisemites. The core of its program was shaped by the notion of "Jew-masonry" and related conspiracy theories, which were created and developed mostly by clericals to be later picked up by French Antisemitic journalists engaged in the Dreyfus Affair.

4.2. Antisemitism in Russia

Modern Antisemitism started to develop in nineteenth-century Prussia and quickly spread across other Central-European countries. Northern, Southern European, and Anglo-Saxon countries proved relatively immune to Antisemitism, but they were not utterly free of Antisemitic agitation. The first countries to be affected by Antisemitism were Germany's neighboring countries, especially Austria-Hungary, France, and Poland, where new Antisemitic organizations embraced the ideology, tactics, and political programs inspired by their German counterparts. Similarly to other mass parties, they initially sought support among social elites, but at the end of the century, they also turned to poorer and less educated classes. Combining different, contradictory elements of conservatism and nationalism, they became precursors of Antisemitic chauvinism, which ultimately situated them on the right side of the political spectrum. As it was impossible to create a strong, unified party under the aegis of Antisemitism, it remained just a label for loose social movements or ideological addition to the programs of several right-wing European parties, while organizations based solely on this ideology remained on the margins of political life.

A different model of Antisemitism was developed in Russia. Like in other European countries, also Russian culture included the traditional forms of anti-Jewish hatred, inherited from the Byzantine Judeophobia. What it shared with almost all Christianity was the blaming of Jews for "murdering the God;" but it was also infused with the fear of the Judaizers derived from the writings of the Church Fathers, especially John Chrysostom,¹⁷¹ and typical for the Orthodox Church. In the nineteenth century, these traditions were adapted to contemporary conditions and reinforced by the Roman Catholic Judeophobia. These Western influences were manifested especially by multiplied accusations of "ritual murder." It is symptomatic that in the 1830s–1860s, they were inspired mostly by state officials, and never by Orthodox priests. Belief in this myth was absent from the Russian Orthodox Church. Since the end of the 1830s, the attempts to press charges for "ritual murder" became more frequent, which may testify to the proliferation of the myth among the elites. However, it was as late as the beginning of the twentieth century when it was adopted in the Orthodox Church together with modern Antisemitism. The beginnings of the latter in Russia can be dated to the 1860s. The alleviation of censorship by Tsar Alexander II at the end of the 1850s opened the possibility of initiating a press debate about reforming the state, including granting equality to Jews. Soon, some Russian journalists, opposing not only emancipation but also assimilation policies, employed a set of stereotypical accusations. Jews were said

171 The expulsion of Jews from the Grand Duchy of Moscow in the fifteenth century was justified with the accusation of contributing to the creation of a Judaizing heresy. The sects created in the Raskol period (seventeenth century) were also accused of "Judaizing." See S. W. Baron (1976), *The Russian Jews under Tsars and Soviets*, New York.

to deliberately isolate themselves from the Slavic people, to have no bonds with Russia, to make peasants drink heavily, and to exploit them (even if Jews in Russia were not allowed to produce and sell alcohol, and in many governorates of the pale of settlement¹⁷² peasants lived in better conditions than in other areas). Moreover, the Antisemitic journalists viewed the Talmud as a source of moral corruption and hatred to “goys.”¹⁷³

In the 1870s, anti-Jewish periodicals started to propagate conspiracy theories, accusing the “fanatic groups” of Judaism-believers of perpetrating ritual murders; this was the “enlightenment” version of the myth, borrowed from Polish Jew-baiters. These motives, together with some borrowings from the Western-European ideology of Antisemitism, became an expression of conservative and nationalist tendencies. They manifested themselves in the policy of Russification of the state and the ideology of Slavophilia, and a decade later – in the Panslavic movement, which employed a narrative similar to the “Aryan myth,” but referred to an idealized image of Slavs. There were also liberal papers, such as *Golos*, which expressed anti-Jewish phobias and incorporated some forms of Western Judeophobia.¹⁷⁴

In Ukraine, in turn, a nationalist movement has slowly developed, invoking the traditional image of Jews as a tool of exploiting the Ukrainian people by “Polish masters.” At the same time, Russian and Ukrainian journalists often quoted opinions of the Polish reactionary press, adopting its stereotypical judgments about Jews. The second source were French conspiracy theories, but the third was German journalism and Antisemitic ideology.¹⁷⁵ This was mostly due to the specificity of the country’s political system banning party activities. Hence, Antisemitism could not find expression in the form of a political program or an organized movement, but this did not hinder the popularization of its ideology, whose vehicles were not

172 The Pale of Settlement (ros. *chertá osédlosti*) was the area in which the Tsar allowed Jewish settlement. In 1836, the zone encompassed the Kingdom of Poland and the following governorates: Vilnius, Grodno, Minsk, Volhynia, Podolia, Yekaterine, Vitebsk, Mohilev, Chernov, Taurid, part of Chernivtsi and Poltava, Kiev (without the Kiev city), and Bessarabia. Its range changed several times. The prohibition to settle outside the zone was in force until the end of Tsardom, although in 1915 the tsar allowed for residence in some Russian cities, such as Moscow or St. Petersburg.

173 Judeophobia was exploited in particular by Ivan Aksakov (1823–1886), the precursor of Slavophilia and opinion-forming publicist. His periodical, *Dien*, contained an article by A. Aleksandrov “A few words about the Talmud” (No. 25 of 31 March 1862) which held allegations typical of Catholic Judeophobia. On the ideology of Slavophilism, see A. Walicki (1975), *The Slavophile Controversy*, Oxford.

174 *Golos* collaborated with J. Brafman who developed there his conspiracy theories, attacking the Alliance Israélite Universelle and accusing the Russian Jews of striving to create a “Jewish kingdom.” See J. D. Klier (1995), pp. 16–18.

175 See J. D. Klier (1995), pp. 125–159; and J. D. Klier (1989), “Russian Judeophobes and German Antisemites,” *Jahrbucher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Vol. 37, No. 4.

only the press but also state structures, especially the security apparatus which contributed to fabricating the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The outbreak of the First World War had not changed the generally anti-Jewish attitude of the Russian government. The situation of Jews became hopeless in the territories of Galicia, which were occupied by the tsarist army in 1914. Military divisions, whose activities were hardly controlled by their commanders, perpetrated numerous crimes, including robberies and murders. Part of the Jewish population, as an “uncertain element,” was deported into deep Russia – many were unable to survive hunger, exhaustion, and diseases. An empire-wide law was implemented which deprived Jews of the rights they had enjoyed in the autonomous Galicia. To be sure, in 1915, the tsarist government loosened political repressions, suspending the “May Laws” and promising to improve the situation of Jewish people in Russia, but in the face of successive military failures, it started to make increasingly frequent use of anti-Jewish rhetoric, accusing Jews of battlefield defeats and administrative malfunctions of the falling empire. The Black Hundreds did not cease their virulent Antisemitic agitation, reproaching Jews for their alleged German sympathies, national treason, espionage, and even for supplying the army with poisoned food. By virtue of their connections to force structures, they largely contributed to the proliferation of anti-Jewish attitudes both in the officers’ corps and among ordinary soldiers. These attitudes manifested themselves especially during the intervention of the “Whites” against the Bolshevik Revolution. Passages from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were read to illiterate soldiers by officers, who identified Bolsheviks with Jews. Russian units perpetrated numerous massacres of Jewish people in the combat territories.

The times of the Soviet Union noticed a continuation of the anti-Jewish state policies – starting from the repressions of the 1930s through the trials against physicians accused of “poisoning” the Party oligarchs to the “anti-Zionist” campaigns launched in the 1970s and the return to practices reminiscent of *numerus clausus*.

4.3. The Antisemitic Movement and Ideology Before and After the First World War

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Antisemitic parties started to lose their force in Western Europe. They did not achieve any spectacular political successes, and it seemed that would soon fade from the political stage. At the same time, however, nationalism was becoming increasingly more popular. The outbreak of the First World War inspired a wave of patriotic enthusiasm across all conflicted nations. People embraced various forms of national fraternization, also with Jews as citizens of European countries. The German government and army command started to combat all acts of Antisemitism as disturbing internal peace. This contributed to a temporary decrease of anti-Jewish attitudes in German society. However, Antisemitism returned alongside first frontline defeats and emerging

economic difficulties. A similar situation was in Austria, where anti-Jewish resentments increased after a period of enthusiasm. The reason was an inflow of thousands of Galician Jewish refugees who fled from the Russian army's persecution. Unjustified accusations of espionage were put forward against Jews; in a number of cases, military courts went as far as to issue death sentences. The end of the war did not bring change in these hostile attitudes. On the contrary, the after-war trauma – together with the fall of *ancien régime* and the economic crisis – had only strengthened the hostility.

The first World War caused vast losses in the Jewish population, reaching as high as over a hundred thousand deaths till 1919. This was a proportionally higher number than in other populations of Eastern European countries. Jews were dying on the front lines as soldiers fighting for different sides of the conflict. They were also victims of massacres, hunger, and epidemics. The greatest wave of pogroms occurred in 1918–1919 in Ukraine, where virtually all villages populated with Jews were attacked, often repeatedly (for example, the town of Skvyra underwent as many as seven raids). The Ukrainian People's Republic army (Petlurans) was responsible for 40 % of these crimes, other Ukrainian formations, bands, and peasants for 25 %, the "Whites" for 17 %, the Bolshevik army for 8.6 %, and Polish soldiers and groups of people for nearly 3 %.¹⁷⁶ The unspeakable atrocities which they perpetrated were reminiscent of the Khmel'nitsky massacre: mass rapes, stomach slashing, impaling of babies on bayonets, crushing of children's heads against rocks, plucking out of eyes – all were included in the repertoire of tortures. The fact that Jewish population suffered heavy losses did not diminish Antisemitism, contributing, on the contrary, to its proliferation across Europe. Politically active Jewish elites sought to resist it by developing political conceptions which aimed at making the Jews subjects, not objects of politics. However, neither the conception of national or cultural autonomy nor the Zionist dream of a Jewish state nor the faith in the socialist utopia of equality nor the loyalist politics of the Orthodox could effectively solve this problem. The political fragmentation made this minority even weaker. Its vulnerability and dependence on majority societies was evident, which rendered it an easy target of frustration-driven aggression expressed through a variety of accusations. Jews were accused of causing the war, destroying the economy, inspiring social unrest, initiating the revolution in Hungary and Bavaria, and dominating the Bolshevik government in Soviet Russia. The image of Jews as "weak victims," who are at the same time "all mighty and dangerous," made the conspiracy version of Antisemitism particularly appealing, for this was the only way of overcoming the logical contradiction inherent in this image. Hence the post-war career of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

In the Western world of the 1920s, Antisemitism was so popular an ideology that it started to influence mass culture. Let us take as an example several quotations

176 L. B. Miliakowa, ed. (2007), *Kniga pogromow*.

from early Agatha Christie. *The Mystery of the Blue Train* (1928) begins with the following description:

A little man with a face like a rat. A man, one would say, who could never play a conspicuous part, or rise to prominence in any sphere. And yet, in leaping to such a conclusion, an onlooker would have been wrong. For this man, negligible and inconspicuous as he seemed, played a prominent part in the destiny of the world. In an Empire where rats ruled, he was the king of the rats... His face gleamed white and sharp in the moonlight. There was the least hint of a curve in the thin nose. His father had been a Polish Jew, a journeyman tailor. It was business such as his father would have loved that took him abroad tonight.¹⁷⁷

This short passage provides the essence of the Antisemitic image of the Jew: the description of the shape of the nose (a stereotype popularized by anti-Jewish caricatures), the comparisons to disgusting animals, and the allusions to a “world conspiracy” and to the “Judeo-Commune.” The passage also expresses the contradiction between an “inconspicuous” appearance and a prominent influence on the “destiny of the world,” exercised stealthily, as it were, “in moonlight.” The impact of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* on this characteristic is clear. In another Christie’s novel, *Lord Edgware Dies* (1933), we read about “faint traces of Semitic ancestry” and a “claw-like hand” of a Jewish millionaire (an image known from Antisemitic caricatures). The novel also ascribes traits such as “love of money,” intelligence, and nouveau riche snobbism – all fitting within the traditional stereotype of the Jew in English literature from Shylock to Dickens. Only in 1932, Agatha Christie, through the mouth of a protagonist of *Peril at End House*, permitted herself to make the following high-minded assertion: “He’s a Jew, of course, but a frightfully decent one.” However, in defense of the author, it is important to mention that all Antisemitic allusions had vanished from her books after Hitler’s rise to power, and in *Three Act Tragedy* (1934) she even allowed marriage between a noble girl, idealized as a personification of British virtue, and a Jewish boy.

Similar, malicious references to Jewish figures were widespread in European popular literature of the interwar period. Fine arts, in turn, generally avoided Jewish themes. The blooming phenomenon of modern Jewish art was too young and little-known to make any difference in this regard. A caricatural image of the Jew became so popular that it virtually replaced the objective image or description. For those who did not encounter Jews on a daily basis, caricatures were the only accessible source of knowledge. They believed the real Jew was an individual with a big, curved nose, clawed hands, small, often “bleary” eyes – and these traits were described as “Semitic appearance,” a term taken from the racist version of Antisemitism.

In the interwar period, Antisemitism retained its nineteenth-century political significance as a powerful weapon against liberalism, secular state, and social

177 A. Christie, *The Mystery of Blue Train* (Glasgow: HarperCollins, 2001), pp. 9–10.

radicalism. In France, for example, organizations such as the Jeunesses Patriotes (founded in 1924), the Catholic Ligue des Croix-de-Feu (1927), Parti Populaire Français, and Rassemblement Antijuif de France operated alongside the influential L'Action Française. During the 1930s, forty-seven Antisemitic periodicals were published, including "Gringoire" and "Candide" with a print run of half million, and many smaller, printed in thirty to fifty thousand copies each. Also some recognized French intellectuals and writers, like Louis-Ferdinand Céline, Jean Giraudoux, and Paul Morand, were proponents of this ideology. Already in 1925, the priest Ernest Jouin – an editor of *La Revue internationale des Sociétés Secrètes* overtaken by an anti-masonic obsession – praised Hitler and Nazi Antisemitism. In turn, Solidarité Française and Francisme, which were organizations founded in 1933 under the influence of Hitlerism, initiated one of the first French editions of *Mein Kampf* (1934).¹⁷⁸ The Antisemitic right was politically active in many other countries, not only Germany, Russia, and the Central and Eastern European region but also in the US and Great Britain, where they emerged as a relatively new phenomenon.¹⁷⁹ In England in the 1930s, several smaller parties, and even a considerable faction of the conservative Tories, shared pro-Hitlerian sympathies. Only in Southern Europe (the Balkan countries, Italy, Spain, Portugal), right-wing radicalism rarely appealed to anti-Jewish phobias.

The anti-Jewish hostility was a basis of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei's program adopted in 1920 (the party itself was founded in 1919). The authors of the program denied civic rights to everyone who did not have "German blood," especially Jews. In 1921, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) became the party's leader, who intended to build a utopia based on isolation of "racially pure" Germans from everything that he believed to be "degenerating." This was a more radical political project than nationalism or chauvinism – it was to become the most consistent combination of totalitarianism and racist Antisemitism. The initially marginal party was rapidly gaining popularity not only among middle-income bourgeois and indebted peasants but also among the intelligentsia. After acquiring power, Hitler created a vast machine of state violence to exercise repressions against all

178 E. Benbassa (1999), pp. 155–155. The French stream of Antisemitism was opposed by a strong pro-republican values movement which also defended the Jews. Apart from the liberals, it gathered social-democrats and "Philo-Semite" Catholics, represented by the order of the Holy Mother of Zion – founded by converts from Judaism, the Ratisbonne brothers – as well as Dominicans and organizations such as Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique. The number of pro-Jewish publications was nearly as numerous as Antisemitic, which differed from Central European countries, where anti-Jewish propaganda encountered weak resistance. See P. J. Kingston (1983), *Antisemitism in France during the 1930s*, Hull.

179 On Antisemitism in Anglo-Saxon countries, see A. Pendlebury (2006), *Portraying the Jew in First World War Britain*, London; M. W. Grunberger (2004), *From Haven to Home*, New York; J. Freedman (2000), *The Temple of Culture*, New York; M. Wallace (2003), *The American Axis*, New York.

groups of people which did not conform to his idealized model of society, especially the left and Jews as well as other minorities, the mentally ill or homosexuals. And he sought to subjugate and control all those who did not “fit” within this model. In internal policy, Hitler employed terror and brutality by establishing fighting squads, Draconian laws, and the system of concentration camps to destroy the opposition and independent press. The Nazis reformed education by introducing the cult of Fuhrer, Antisemitism, and militarism. They also banned abortion, as Stalin did in the Soviet Union. For they treated women as a reproductive material, creating factory-like facilities where selected women from the countries dominated by Germany were forcefully impregnated by “racially pure” Germans.

The complete subjection of the individual to the state lead to social passivity but also made room for activities such as delation. The purpose of such a policy was to build a “state-of-exception” society under the aegis of Antisemitism – as a means of both mobilization and intimidation. The proponents of Nazism intended to popularize this ideology; in spite of their German chauvinism, they aimed to spread it widely throughout the world and create a kind of pan-movement. It was racism and Antisemitism which were to blur the contradiction between the tribal particularism and the universalist aspirations: the club of “true Germans” became open for all fellow “Nordic Aryans,” and the measure of their Aryanness was their Antisemitism rather than the shape of their skulls.

Chapter 5. The Representation of Jews in Polish Culture and Models of Interfaith Relations

5.1. The Evolution of Folk Images and Relations in Polish and Jewish Folk Culture

Peasants living in the Polish territory Christianized relatively late, not until the Counter-Reformation, when the clergy reached all Polish and Lithuanian villages and settlements. However, even then, folk Catholicism differed from official teachings of the Church mainly in that peasants – who until the twentieth century were typically illiterate – became familiar with holy books through oral or iconographic accounts. As a result, passages of the Gospel and sermons morphed into a system of folk tales and parables loosely linked to the prototype, which sometimes even reflected an archaic pre-Christian structure. As much as they were distant from teachings of priests, such legends and rituals provided for a comprehensive worldview, also referred to as the folk bible. The notion is defined by M. Zowczak in the following manner:

A folk bible may be considered a specific adaptation system for texts and Biblical traditions, because it merges Christian festive cycle with family and annual rituals. The overlapping of these three spheres leads to cross-referencing and, finally, to a synthesis which renders the culture coherent and gives its participants a strong sense of identity.... Both the evangelical and apocryphal lives of Christ and Mary, symbolically framed in the natural cycle of vegetation, represent the paragon of life itself. Each deed and each event, no matter how small, alludes to such paradigm and may be included in or opposed to it. What unifies this culture is probably its universal character, namely the belief that the culture represents objective reality. Such attitude seems to arise when an individual existence, the surrounding world, and lives of Biblical characters are all interlinked.¹⁸⁰

Some folk tales contain references to apocrypha absent from official teachings of the Church. Such intertextuality proves that cultural motives indeed migrated and suggests that followers of various religions – Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity, Judaism, and even Islam – connected more than we believe. Each of the above religions favored different apocrypha originated from the broad Judeo-Christian tradition. To illustrate the migration of motives and their unexpectedly adaptive features, one may look at legends of Jesus and Saint Peter. They are far from

180 M. Zowczak (2000), *Biblia ludowa*, Wrocław, pp. 478–479.

religious orthodoxy and show Jesus as a wise man, whose teachings about life are often full of contradictions. It is true that he produces miracles, but he is also subversive and good-humored; whereas Saint Peter, his companion, tries to be cunning but in the ends usually acts stupidly. In the stories, Saint Peter appears to be a devoted friend but, from time to time, tries to outsmart Jesus. His adventures give rise to teachings, which usually contradict our typical sense of morality. Once, Saint Peter tries to sell a goat but without success, as it is old, meager, and does not give milk. Jesus advises him not to tell the truth and falsely claim that the goat is young, healthy, and gives milk. He also says that cheating is a natural part of trading.¹⁸¹

While wandering, Jesus creates different species of animals and plants or landscapes, such as hills or rivers. Some of his acts result from a perverse sense of humor, as in the story noted down in 1984 in Sieniawa, a small town near Przemyśl:

A long time ago, when Jesus Christ was wandering the earth, Jews did not want to believe in his signs and miracles. On the contrary, they wanted to outsmart him. When Jesus was walking along a river, Jews wanted to cheat him and they hid a woman under the bridge. The woman had a long curly braid. Jews ... asked Jesus: "Who is under the bridge?" He pondered for a moment and replied: "A magpie." And he quickly walked away, otherwise they would torment and kill him then and there. Jews ran under the bridge and saw that instead of the woman there is a magpie with a long tail.

The origins of the above story date back to the eighth century and come from the apocrypha "Childhood of Christ," the same one, which in German culture gave origin to the image of Jews sucking on swine udders. It is worth noting that Polish folklore had a similar legend; inhabitants of Dąbrowa Białostocka passed it in 1984:

The Jews cannot eat pork because they think pigs are their aunts. When Jesus was still alive, Jews tried to ridicule him. They covered a sow and piglets under a bowl and ask Jesus: "What is it?" "A woman with babies," he replies. They start laughing but soon they see a woman with babies coming from beneath the bowl and so they think that men come from pigs and that is why they do not eat pork.¹⁸²

Such stories reference Jews as those who committed deicide. The story above is also an example of a popular folkloric genre, in which people turn into animals, trees, or stones. In this way, the tales of the wandering Jesus and Saint Peter contain elements of Hasidic beliefs in soul migration, where sinful souls may repent for their sins by incarnating animals, plants, or stones. This similarity may suggest cross-referencing.

181 Tales of the wandering Jesus and Saint Peter may be found in the small collections by J. Piechota: *Gawędy iwkowskie* (Kraków 1976); *Komedyje iwkowskie* (Warszawa 1982).

182 A. Cała (1995), p. 114

In 1903, in *Materiały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne*, A. Saloni published a tale from the environs of Łańcut, in which Jesus and Saint Peter come across a Jew and take him on service.¹⁸³ Together they come to a manor whose master is sick. Jesus promises to cure him, closes himself with the servant and the patient in a room and demands that the latter be killed, cut into pieces and then put together. Then, Jesus breathes life into the corpse and the gentleman becomes once again healthy, strong, and young. As payment, Jesus demands three pieces of cheese, which he puts in a bag to be carried by the Jew. In their journey, Jesus also cures a judge in a similar manner and asks for a shovel. The servant is dissatisfied, because he has to carry the tool and, as he is hungry, he secretly eats a bit of the cheese. Finally, they visit the king, where Jesus applies the same technique to heal the king's son. To the Jew's satisfaction, they are finally rewarded with coins. At a mountaintop, Jesus orders the Jew to take out three pieces of cheese so they may eat. The Jew takes out two pieces and three times denies having eaten one.

And so, they went to the sea and Jesus with Saint Peter walked on the water, but the Jew was knee-deep in the water with each step. Jesus asks the Jew:

"Admit, you've eaten the cheese."

"I swear I have not or I'll drown nine times."

Now, there is only the Jew's head that is sticking from the water and Jesus asks:

"Say then, who ate the cheese?"

"I swear I have not eaten the cheese or I'll drown nine times."

Jesus lifts the Jew from the water when he is almost drowning and orders him to dig a hole. The servant obeys unwillingly because he thinks that he will have to bury the coins he has, however, to his surprise, he finds treasure. Jesus orders him to divide everything in four; for Jesus, Saint Peter, himself and "the one who ate the cheese." At this moment, the Jew admits his fault. Jesus reprimands him and recalls previous denial but divides the treasure in three parts. They resume the journey but the lucky finder thinks how to flee. In the end, the Jew succeeds, returns home, and becomes very rich. "Cheated even Jesus," say the last words of the parable.

The origins of the tale are very old. It shares surprising similarities with stories circulated in medieval France and Germany, whose main protagonist is the Jewish physician of Charles the Bald, Zedekiah. Zedekiah was believed to possess magical powers and, according to some stories, he was curing men by cutting off their hands, feet, and head, only to joint them back, with no detriment to the patients. In 1387, the abbot of Tritthenheim wrote down another version of the story: Zedekiah threw the man in the air, cast a spell which tore him apart, and, when the limbs fell on the ground, he rejoined them into a single healthy body.¹⁸⁴

183 Vol. 6, pp. 418–419.

184 In Muslim culture, there functioned a related tale, in which in the city of Mesopotamia, Kufa, a Jewish magician healed patients in a similar manner (J. Trachtenberg, p. 66).

The above tales feature a surprisingly immoral teaching, which alongside characteristic protagonists are a distant echo of a pre-Christian mythology. Interestingly, Saint Peter is a rather passive observer of the events and plays no real part in the story, which evolves around the dynamic of Jesus and the Jewish servant, whose portrayal corresponds with common stereotypes about Jews – cunningness, dishonesty, and greed – but at the same time keeps an element of sympathy. In fact, it looks as if the servant replaced Peter, the not-so-holy saint, who in many other stories bears similar negative character traits. In general, the Jew and Saint Peter both represent the devil, but with features unknown to Christian theology. Slavic mythology describes the devil as God’s antagonist, who takes active part in the creation of the cosmos. God created an island and – by trying to push God in the water – the devil shaped the island into the world we know today. Attempts to mimic God’s creativity produced, however, quite grotesque and deplorable results. It was the devil who deformed the perfect work of God. God created man and the devil formed unclean orifices in his body; unclean but much needed. The reality and the progress of time may exist only due to the unstable balance between these two forces, which represent purity and impurity, good and evil; intertwined in matter, nature, and human nature.¹⁸⁵ Such is the meaning of teachings contained in the oldest Slavic legends.

Some legends about Jesus wandering with Saint Peter, popular in Slavic culture, migrated to Jewish folklore, in which the two protagonists transformed into Tzadik Elimelech and his brother, Reb Zushya. In the magazine printed by Orthodox Jews in Polish *Echo Żydowskie*, there is an example of a borrowing from the tale about Moses titled “The Dishonest Old Man.”¹⁸⁶

Moses, holding his magical staff, went to the mountain of Horeb. On his way, he came across an old man standing on a crossroads. The old man bowed his head and Moses replied with a friendly greeting by asking where he was going.

“I am wandering the earth,” the old man replied.

“Do you have food with you? This land is a desert. There are no vines, no fig trees, nor any plants.”

“I have two small loafs of bread,” the old man replied.

“And I have three small loafs,” Moses said. “Let’s make a deal. I give my three loafs and you give yours. On the road, we will share what we have.”

Since then, the old man carried all five loafs of bread and they traveled together. Each time they stopped to rest, they divided one loaf in half until they ate four loafs. When Moses asked for the fifth, the old man claimed he had had only four. At that moment two deer appeared.

185 R. Tomicki (1976), “Słowiański mit kosmogoniczny,” *Etnografia Polska*, Vol. 20, No. 1.
186 *Echo Żydowskie*, No. 28–29 (21 January 1934).

“Take that staff,” Moses said. “Raise it in front of them.”

As soon as the old man got hold of the staff, the deer stopped and froze. Moses killed the deer, ate the meat and encouraged the old man to eat as well but forebode him to break any bones. After the meal, Moses took his staff, placed it on the bones of the dead deer and said a short prayer. Suddenly, the bones got covered with skin and started moving. Very soon both deer were resurrected and ran away far on the desert.

Moses said to the old man:

“By the God who resurrected these two animal corpses, didn’t you fool me with our last loaf?”

The old man swore falsely once again that he had not eaten the bread.

They continued their journey in scorching heat and Moses used his staff to make water come from rock. Again, Moses asked the old man to admit that he had lied, but again the old man swore falsely. After three days and three night they came to a settlement, where inhabitants mourned the death of the patriarch and founder of the family. Moses put his staff on the lips of the deceased, who returned to life in an instant. For the third time, Moses asked the old man to admit that he had lied, but again the old man swore falsely.

Upon hearing the old man saying all those false oaths, the face of Moses turned pale and he said:

“This old man must be one of those hypocrites who stain the world with lies and falsehood.”

Moses mentioned the stolen loaf no more.

They continued to walk until they reached a spring, where Moses wanted to bathe, so he asked the old man to hold his staff. The old man stole it and ran away. He came to a village, where he saw children playing. He decided to try out the power of the staff by killing one of them. Then, he tried to resurrect the child but in vain. Moses came running just in time. He resurrected the child and saved the old man from certain death at the hands of wrathful crowd. Again, they traveled together. In a valley, Moses took in his hands three clods of earth, prayed, and turned them into gold.

The old man desired this gold and asked Moses who the owner was. Moses replied:

“The one who ate the last loaf of bread will get two clods of gold and the one who didn’t, one.”

“It was me, I ate the bread,” the old man said. “I only made a false oath.”

“Since you finally admitted the truth,” Moses said, “I am giving you all three clods of gold.”

With these words Moses bade farewell to the old man and never saw him again.

Here the tale should come to an end, but the twisted message of the Polish version was not very clear to Jews. That is why they added a cruel moral at the end. The old man was tired of carrying three heavy clods of golds and asked a passing caravan for help. He promised that he would share the treasure with the merchants, if they let him ride on a camel. Then, the old men offered them poisoned bread.

The merchants were already scheming to kill him and, feeling the poison flowing through their veins, they managed to crush the old man's skull before they died. "And the gold clods are still there, right on the desert edge." In this way, the tale's ending resembles a fable with a moral close to Judeo-Christian ethical tradition.

The fact that the Jew in the above legend of Jesus bears features of a demon/co-demiurge is neither accidental nor meaningless. The association adapted Western European Judeophobia to Polish traditions. Church teachings presented Jews as diabolic and, thus, Slavic peasants associated them with demons who, on the one hand, corrupt God's creation but, on the other hand, initiate the cycle of life. Such association influenced interfaith relations: they became ambiguous. The Jews did not belong entirely to the real world anymore. They linked the two worlds of people and of the co-demiurge, of the secular and the supernatural sphere.

Next to the beggar and the lame, the Jew became a necessary figure in the ritual representation of winter time, especially in the nativity play, borrowed from the Western Europe, which reconstructs the miraculous birth of the Baby Jesus, as well as in folk variations of this tradition, such as *Herody*, which stages the Massacre of the Innocents and the death of Herod the Great. The festivities provided continuity between the end of a vegetation cycle and the beginning of another one. They took place during a dangerous period, when any distortion of rituals could lead to cosmic changes that would result in natural disasters, bad harvest, and hunger. Figures of strangers represented underworld powers which decided about the time, when vital forces of the earth would start flowing again, so that the earth and, consequently, men and animals may return to life. That is why the role of strangers, especially of the Jew, filled (masculine) fertility signs. Among the strangers' attributes counted bearded masks and furry clothes that symbolized abundance, and the actor playing the Jew was supposed to say bawdry jokes and flirt with women. However, even though his lines frequently alluded to sex and birth, his main task was to solicit and collect offerings, which were to seal an arrangement with supernatural forces.¹⁸⁷

In the spring, when blooming nature proved that the underworld forces fulfilled the arrangement, the latter became unnecessary. The first spring thunder meant that God reformed the chain, by which the devil had been bound in his underground cave and which would prevent his escape and total chaos. In Ukraine, women sung and clapped hands to guide souls of the dead away. In Hungary, there was a similar tradition but with drums. In Poland, the dead were guided with rattles and whistles, some decorated with faces of bearded Jews. During the hungry period, people drowned a dummy of the goddess Marzanna to exorcise winter forces. It is worth noting that Marzanna is a female. Winter rituals emphasized the association of masculinity with the underworld and femininity with fertile soil. Therefore, the magical ritual, during which women roll on arable soil, was to provide not only better harvest but also safe labor. At times, newly-wed women

187 A. Cala (1995), Chapter 5.

performed the ritual. Due to similar associations, weddings always eagerly hosted strangers. People believed that strangers bring fertility and prosperity to the new family. Sometime, people dressed as Gypsies attended Polish weddings, holding a doll in one hand and a broom in the other; the attributes of witches.¹⁸⁸ Figurines of Jews that one may buy in Cracow on Easter Monday also symbolize fertility, just like the ritual of *Śmigus-Dyngus*, which takes place that day, when people spray each other with water. The figurines are to provide happiness.

On Easter, in several villages near Przemyśl people used to hang dummies of Judas. The inhabitants of the city of Pruchniki cultivate this tradition to this day.¹⁸⁹ On Holy Thursday, they sew these dummies, stuff them with straw, and dress them up. At times, people stole the clothes used for these dresses from local Jews. They hang Judas on a tree or a pole. After the Good Friday service, the crowd, the priest, and the local elite would take Judas down and drag him on a rope toward the river, where he was burned and then drowned. Sometimes the ritual involved small boys that hit the dummy with sticks until it was completely torn apart. This tradition seems to be linked to the ritual of the drowning of Marzanna, with the significant change of gender. Habituants attributed various meanings to the ritual, which means that its symbolism remains uncertain. Lack of precise symbolic meaning may suggest that the ritual is not very old, even though such practices were probably known in Medieval Europe.¹⁹⁰ The ritual almost entirely disregards the evangelical life of Judas with plenty of references to Jews in his stead. “We used to say: so, Judas, you seek money just like a Jew,” recalls one of the witnesses. Another described a board that enumerated Jewish vices.¹⁹¹ Before the Second World War, the parade with the dummy passed in front of Jewish houses, that could signal a physical threat. The Jews rested inside and did not go out. Houses with open shutters could lose glass. Sometimes, people forced the Jews to buy themselves out. In 1968 Pruchnik, the dummy was made similar to Moshe Dayan, an Israeli general, whose caricatures appeared in Polish newspapers that waged an anti-Zionist campaign. After 1989, the dummy received a red tie, probably as a symbol of the *żydokomuna*, the Judeo-Communists. In 2001, the German word “Jude” replaced the traditional inscription

188 The “Jew” watched over the rite of the bride’s transition to the husband’s family. A description of the participation of a gypsy and a Jew in a wedding can be found O. Mulkiewicz-Goldberg (1978), “Obcy w obrzędzie weselnym,” *Literatura Ludowa*, No. 2 (22), Wrocław. A mention of a similar custom appeared in *Obrazki wiejskie* (Warszawa 1852, volume 4) by J. K. Gregorowicz, who described a village bride entertaining wedding guests in the guise of a Jewish wandering trader, shaking a sack with goods.

189 In addition to Pruchnik, this custom existed until the last war, among others, in Studzianie, Urzejowice, and Kańczuga.

190 The rite of “hanging Judas” was celebrated in some areas of Germany, Austria, France, and Spain from the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. See D. Nirenberg (1996), *Communities of Violence*, Princeton.

191 A. Cała (1995), pp. 163–164.

“Judas traitor.” One of the interviewees justified this change by referring to the Gospel, “A Jew sold another Jew for thirty pieces of silver. So he deserves to be punished.” Others provided antisemitic reasons: “before the war, there were many Jews here, all shops theirs, and there was only one Pole selling pork;” “after when Jews fucked Poles over Jedwabne, I myself became an antisemite.”

Jewish figures frequently appear in Christian culture, especially in its mythical origins, namely evangelical and apocryphal descriptions of the life and journeys of Jesus. Folk culture added to these origins its own touch. The antagonistic relation between Judaists and Jesus threw its shadow on the entire Biblical legacy. One could say that wherever Jesus is, Judaists have to be there as well. And vice versa, as shows the following explanation of the origins of matza, which also identifies Jesus with Moses:

When Jesus was passing the Red Sea with his staff, he was so tired that patches appeared on his back. And so they bake their matza in the shape of a patch.

Catholic neighbors usually explained Jewish customs and rituals by comparison to Christianity. There was a widespread belief that, even though Jews did not acknowledge Jesus, they believed in the Holy Mary. Moreover, the black clothes of the Orthodox Jews was to mean their regret for killing Christ. Even though Jews did not believe in Jesus, the Christians explained that they “understood that they had done wrong.”¹⁹² The killing of Jesus justified Jewish fate and destiny: “When during the war my father went to the ghetto to secretly visit Mendel, Mandel said: In the end, this blood trickled on us.”¹⁹³

Even the End of the World could not come without Jews having both an active and passive role. The Antichrist would be borne from a Jewish woman said to be a prostitute, to underline her unchastity.¹⁹⁴ This event would also seal the fate of Judaists, who in an optimistic version were to convert to Christianity and, in a pessimistic one, perish. Usually, the two versions merged into one, as show the words of an inhabitant of Narola (Przemyskie Region, 1984):

In 1985 ... a huge world war will start, initiated by Israel and China. Israel is rich and arrogant, so it will be destroyed. China, on the contrary, was selected by God and, after the war, it will become a great empire. Jews will be fleeing from Israel to the east, but they will be surrounded from three sides and many of them will die; the survivors will convert to Christianity.... The Antichrist has already been born in China from a Jewish adulteress and a pagan.

192 Siczka, Przemyskie, 1984.

193 Siczka, Przemyskie, 1984.

194 Belief about the origin of Antichrist from a Jewish harlot is very old in Christianity. For the first time, it appeared in the writings of Lactantius, a thinker from the fourth century. In the tenth century, the monk Adso clarified that this harlot was impregnated by the devil.

The version below, however, is more optimistic:

Others say that, before the End of the World, all Israelites are to come to one place, to this Palestine of theirs.... Even before the war, Jews were saying that the End of the World was approaching and that they would all die. The Jewish nation is very smart, they know from their old books what is to come.... Who knows, maybe the Israeli religion will win. This is the religion chosen by God, the problem is they did not believe in the Messiah because they thought that a great king would come, not poor Lord Jesus. They pray for forgiveness for the horrible crime, for the crucifixion of Lord Jesus. When Lord Jesus comes, Jews will be forgiven because they follow Ten Commandments like no other nation and this is the only crime they have committed.¹⁹⁵

Older generations of peasants often saw the signs of the End of the World in the Second World War because “war never comes from people, but from God. It is God who wages the war.”¹⁹⁶ The extermination of the Jews was preceded by miraculous signs, such as extinction of quails, a thunder on Holy Thursday, appearance of a star shining very brightly or the Holy Mother revealing herself to Jews.

Myths and rites had a complex bearing on inter-community relations. Since Jews were believed to possess supernatural powers, one had to approach them carefully so as to avoid fatal consequences. Jews were feared for their curses, which were said to work every single time, and for this reason their sacred places were left in peace. If one went to a synagogue or demolished a Jewish cemetery, they could become ill, die or lose prosperity in life, and such bad luck would be inherited from one generation to another.¹⁹⁷ Magical properties displayed by Jews could also serve a good cause. A Jew met on the road was a positive sign, unlike coming across a nun, a priest, or a woman with an empty bucket. At certain occasions, Christians asked Rabbis to intervene in various situations, foretell future, reverse undesirable events, or even make revenge “at distance.” One could achieve similar effects by making small offerings to a collection box in a synagogue or by paying for a candle. Peasants believed that prayers during Sukkot would bring rain, so they sometimes asked Jews to pray in order to bring desirable weather. Jewish doctors and medics were highly appreciated. Sometimes Christians assumed Jewish rituals. The former borrowed amulets and magical incantations, because they were to be very effective. Both creeds gave much credit to *tzadiks*, who were said to be able to produce miracles. *Tzadiks* became mythical figures, with small differences between Jewish and Christian representation. The latter called them “Jewish saints” and prayed at

195 Tarnogród, Białskopodlaskie, 1976.

196 Huta Brzuska, Przemyskie, 1985. Similar justifications for war as a punishment for the sins sent by God also functioned in Jewish folk culture.

197 This category includes stories about supernatural punishments that fell on those who, during the occupation murdered or denounced Jews, or enriched themselves on the property they abandoned.

their tombs, where they would leave notes with prayers, like the Hasidic Jews.¹⁹⁸ Slavic folk culture viewed Judaists in an antagonistic manner. On the one hand, Slavic Christians perceived Jews as dangerous yet useful demons and magicians; while, on the other hand, they were to resemble holy tzadiks and rabbis. Such representations gave rise to fear and fascination. People protected their own culture but, at the same time, left a back door for external influences and borrowings.

Intergroup relations followed a model of “peaceful isolation,” coexistence free from conflicts, with little mutual knowledge and strictly organized cross-community contacts. The model, accepted by both sides, shaped in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in relation to the Polish class division. What guarded the structure were the state, two religions, social norms, stereotypes, privileges, and superstitions. In reality, Christians infrequently visited synagogues or participated in Jewish family celebrations; the Jews likewise. But, nevertheless, the two groups still attentively watched their respective religious services and sometimes participated in family celebrations, especially weddings and funeral processions. Children playing together or friendly neighbors crossed the invisible borders. Such relationships appear in nursery rhymes, which mimic Hebrew words like (in Polish transcription) *Ele mele dutki* (Hebrew: *Eli melech ha-olam* “God, King of the World”). Some children learned Yiddish from their Jewish playmates. On certain occasions, villagers asked Jewish innkeepers for advice, to intercede in disputes with noblemen, or sometimes even to do matchmaking. The innkeeper provided knowledge about the world, similar to wandering merchants or tailors hired for small services. In other instances, peasants asked rabbinical courts to settle disputes with Jews and, even if the decision disfavored them, the Christians accepted. Love affairs were not that rare, even though mixed marriages remained uncommon, as they required conversion to Christianity and would never receive acceptance of either community. That is, to a certain degree, theory and practice of life operated against each other. Christians crossed intercultural borders by domesticating all with whom they had a personal relationship. Features attributed to the entire community applied not to “our” little Abram, who could have been considered “a decent man, even though a Jew.” This Abram became an exception to the rule. Sometimes, villagers juxtaposed their Jewish neighbors to Jews from the town, who were “impossible to stand.” Contacts with the latter were limited and rather anonymous, hence the stereotypical perception, easily falsifiable under closer examination.

At the same time, however, Christians always maintained a certain level of traditional aggression, which manifested itself through harassment, pseudo-jokes, daily discrimination, conflicts, and arguments. Until the mid-thirties of the twentieth century, Galicia retained customary humiliations that originated from the canon law, such as paying homage to Church dignitaries (“Torah homage”) and the obligation

198 See Ch. Chajes (1934), “Baal Szem Tow u chrześcijan,” *Miesięcznik Żydowski*, No. 5–6; H. Grochowska (1904), *Srul Rabi Szim, Lud*, Vol. 10, p. 517.

to hang out carpets along the route of a Catholic procession. Throughout centuries, people forgot the original intentions of synodal statutes so much that they considered the disappearance of religious submissiveness to show a rise of Antisemitism; that is a destruction of “ancient” norms of mutual respect. At school, Jewish children faced bullying and beatings. School boys jeered, mocked, threatened, and tugged them; they sometimes pushed lard in their nostrils. The tradition of interfering in religious rituals was deeply rooted. Christians threw animal corpses or waste products into synagogues, covered door handles with lard, threw stones at funeral processions or set church bells on their course, and broke windows in Jewish houses. In villages, teenage boys formed groups called *kawalerka*, “the bachelors,” to plays rude jokes on strangers, such as the disabled, eccentrics, infidels, or even young women. People disapproved of their behavior but condoned it all the same, just like other petty wrongs associated with young age. Mock aggression was considered part of initiation into manhood, just like military service. *Kawalerka* was easily used for political purposes by the Polish nationalists in the late thirties or the Nazis at the beginning of their occupation of Poland. At present, we may compare *kawalerka* to such informal groups from the high rises as football hooligans, skinheads, and other, who commit acts of vandalism or violence for entertainment.

Everyday harassment of Jews had limited variations, absorbed into culture, and easy to distinguish, also for local authorities, which underestimated all such conflicts, attributing them to tradition. Authorities reacted, on the other hand, when they discovered that the harassment was not spontaneous but had a political background. In 1881–1882 near Lublin, the tsarist police let go perpetrators of beatings of innkeepers or rude jokes during Jewish rituals. However, the police intervened at signs of agitation, such as anti-Jewish fliers. If this was the case, the police led a thorough investigation to find whether the agitation originated from the Okhrana, illegal political parties, or individuals.¹⁹⁹ The police adopted a similar approach in the interwar period. It should be emphasized that Jewish culture did not have groups similar to *kawalerka*. On the contrary, the Jews criticized aggressive youth and taught them to always pay respect to old people. As a result, there was little space for rebellious behavior. This is the reason why the Jewish community considered the “pranks” of Christian youngsters even more tiresome. Combined with the leniency of the authorities, the multiplication of even the smallest harassments gave rise to the feeling of insecurity.

The fragile balance between the theory and practice of inter-communal existence collapsed at times of economic crises, famines, plagues, wars, social revolts, and other similar events of disorder. Instead of principles of peaceful isolation from the time of peace, disorder formed a “world á rebours” and extracted the opposite attitudes and actions. The mechanism of “scapegoating” initiated and – more or less spontaneously – manifested through symbolic aggression or group violence.

199 H. Bałabuch (1993), *Zajścia antyżydowskie w 1881 i 1882 r. na Lubelszczyźnie w ujęciu władz gubernialnych*, “BŻIH” No. 167/168.

Mindlessly angry, the perpetrators justified their emotion with a list of wrongs, prejudices, and generalities, which reflected their own sufferings, misery, hopelessness, or dislike of elites. Sometimes, blood libel was the catalyst for violence. The humorous saying to scare insolent children, “a Jew will come and take you,” at times of crisis had the power to transform peaceful and ordinary people, adult men and women, into an unruly mob ready to commit any cruelty: set houses on fire, rob, beat, violate, torture, and kill.

The blood libel prejudice had different variations. According to the most common belief, Jews were to add a drop of blood to matza, which did not, however, require the death of the donor. Sometimes, interlocutors added that the blood was procured by one rabbi, who sent it to all Jews in the world. Others described tortures of children, who were said to be closed in a rolling barrel full of nails. Kolberg noted a rare variation of the prejudice in the first half of the nineteenth century, confirmed later also near Zamość in 1976. This version described the Jews to use Christian blood to rinse the eyes of their newborn babies, who were to come to the world blind like dog puppies. A few believed that Jews kept fresh blood in a receptacle on the door. They probably referred to a mezuzah. After the war, the rationalized variation assumed that the holocaust survivors suffered from anemia, cured only by consuming blood. A priest from Kielce voiced the idea, which Marcin Łoziński recorded in the 1985 film *Świadkowie (Witnesses)* that documents the Kielce pogrom of the 4 July 1946.²⁰⁰ All post-war mass outbursts against Jews, including the pogrom of Kielce, began with rumors about alleged kidnapping of Christian children.²⁰¹ Such rumors also spread during demonstrations of workers in Poznań in 1956, but insufficiently to incite the crowd. The popularity of blood libel lasted until the 1970s. In a study from 1975–1978, from among 94 inhabitants of villages and a small town in the east and south Poland only 12 respondents clearly denied that they believed in such a prejudice. 52 respondents stated that the idea was certainly true, as confirmed the opinions of others, prewar leaflets circulating on fairs, and alleged eye-witnesses. The remaining respondents were unsure. The prejudice seemed to subside in the eighties, but at the beginning of the twenty first century the Antisemitic propaganda returned.²⁰²

Until modern times, folk representation of Jews was too archaic to integrate racist ideology. Even the expression “Semite look” applied only to traditional clothing, beard and side curls, or a manner of speaking. The term much more seldom referred to hair or eye color and never to a “prominent nose.” Interestingly, no stereotypical image of a Jewish woman functioned in folk culture and she was usually perceived as similar to Polish women. Character traits that peasants attributed to Jews form two antagonistic groups:

200 Joanna Tokarska-Bakir also noted the notion (2008, pp. 427–434).

201 A. Cała, H. Datner-Śpiewak, 1997, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce 1944–68*, pp.15–74.

202 It seems that the prejudice is now on the rise, as show studies of prof. Joanna Tokarska-Bakir (2008).

Group solidarity – Hostile attitude toward non-Jews
 Pious, attached to religion – Godless, atheist
 Calm – Cowardly
 Good neighbor – Cunning, mysterious
 Conscientious, persevering – Lazy, loafer
 Good merchant – Not fit for farm work
 Adroit financier – Dishonest, manipulator
 Smart, diligent – Canny, sly
 Compliant – Bothersome
 Polite and friendly – Insincere, treacherous
 Clean – Dirty

Up close, some features refer in fact to the same aspect (smart – canny) but judged differently on different occasions, even though a respondent usually gave them in sequence. This specious contradiction made allowed for a flexible approach. Depending on the type of contact and circumstances, one could refer to either positive or negatives features. The stereotype reflects a preindustrial rural system of values, which encounters Jews mainly as merchants. Certain respondents highlighted Jewish skillfulness, even though they usually perceived the profession negatively. People linked assumed Jewish cowardice with avoidance of military service, which refers to the second half of the nineteenth century, when it was obligatory for young Jewish men. Jewish virtues applied not to their professions. As neighbors, Jews were considered good, polite, kind, friendly, and calm – the obverse of their alleged cowardice. Christians depreciated Judaism as a religion but admired Jewish piety and attachment to faith. People criticized Jews for their bothersome nature and tendency to cheat in commerce, even though they were to be more moral than one's own group. Furthermore, peasants idealized strong family ties in the belief of chastity of Jewish unmarried maidens, children's respect for the old, husband's faithfulness, abstinence, and calm. However, people attributed Jews with nothing but vices in the sphere of most common contacts – that is, in commerce – and with nothing but virtues in their internal social life; in theory, they were inaccessible to their Christian neighbors. This division reveals where the cultural border lay, serving to protect the exclusivity of a culture.

Catholicism shaped the attitudes of the majority of Poles toward Jews. The Church transmitted Western European Judeophobia of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The Jesuits organized mass education of the gentry in the seventeenth century, which made Judeophobia first spread among the social elites. Through systematic Christianization of peasants in the 17th and the 18th centuries, Judeophobia reached villages, where remnants of pre-Christian culture modified it profoundly. Delay in the spread of Judeophobia allowed for the constitution of a specific social deal, in which Jews assumed an in-between position, above peasants, and became a part of the generally accepted social hierarchy. In Poland, there existed no spatial separation between Christians and Jews. There were no ghettos surrounded with a wall, as in medieval German states or sixteenth century Italy. Even the historical

district of Kazimierz in Cracow, the same as in all other Jewish districts, always had a few Christian families, and sometimes wealthier Jews moved to non-Jewish districts. Until the emancipation, however, there were such towns as Kielce that forbid Jewish settlement. In the first half of the nineteenth century, in big cities like Warsaw, Lublin, or Cracow, courts extended such prohibition over prestigious streets, which stimulated the growth of separate districts for poor Jewish families.

Due to urbanization in the second half of the nineteenth century, cities like Warsaw, Łódź, Białystok, Lviv, or Vilnius evolved into multi-national centers, where old norms and dependencies weakened. Instead, social hierarchy developed and became a framework, in which social classes of different creeds arranged their relations. Assimilated wealthy families or intellectuals aspired to Polish salons and usually had little contacts with Orthodox Jews. Fin-de-siècle Antisemitism slowed the process but assimilated Jews would still frequent theaters or coffee houses more often than an Orthodox synagogue or a kosher restaurant. The disappearance of ethnic divisions was the most visible among criminals.²⁰³ A similar process had already happened among medieval vagrants. Polish thieves used services of Jewish fences, mixed Polish-Jewish gangs appeared, criminal jargon absorbed words from Yiddish and Hebrew. The local Warsaw dialect that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century also contains traces of Polish-Jewish contacts. Yiddish influenced not only its vocabulary but also, to a certain degree, its grammar rules.

As a result of excessive urbanization of the Jewish population – due to its expulsion from the villages– the nineteenth-century Congress Poland saw the appearance of new towns, whose habitants were predominantly Jews. Peasants had short but regular contacts with Jews at fairs and weekly markets. Landed gentry had more frequent contacts only with certain Jews, such as their estate factors or wandering merchants and craftsmen, who came to offer their services. In Galicia, where no expulsions happened, almost each village had one or two Jewish families, usually innkeepers, seldom farmers. In the province, people called their Jewish neighbors by their first names or a nickname: one went to buy from “Abraham” or “Moshe.” In big cities, ethnic distance between Judaists and Catholics was greater and inter-community relations remained rather anonymous. In cities, one usually said: “The Jew that lives nearby;” one went to buy “from the Jew.”

In cities with up to 90 % Jewish population, the remaining Christians had diverse class positions. At one end, the minority comprised the elites, such as the mayor, pharmacists, the chief of police, sometimes physicians and lawyers. In the nineteenth century, the elite members were Polish or Russian and, after Poland regained independence, mainly Polish. Even in the eastern regions of the Second Republic of Poland, it was uncommon to see Ukrainians, Belarussians, or Lithuanians join the upper circles. Few doctors or pharmacists, who came from ethnic minorities, entered the “crème de la crème” and only if they were assimilated. At the

203 M. Rodak (2007), *Mit a rzeczywistość* (Myth and Reality), Warsaw (an unpublished PHD thesis, IHPAN).

other end, there was the Christian mob, poor or living in misery. They typically represented the majority. Class divisions mixed with ethnic divisions but nearly overlapped in the small-town system of social hierarchy. Both the Christian elite and the mob perceived the Jews as a homogeneous group. The former stratum considered them inferior, the latter thought they were all rich possible employers. For Jews, contracts with all local Christians were frequent but unimportant. They had a separate social hierarchy with their own highly respected individuals, wealthy elites, and poor mob. Some enjoyed prestige irrespective of their financial status. Strong local ties made them feel deeply connected to their town, which they called *shtetl*. Economic and social interdependencies among different Christian and Jewish social strata evolved into a complex yet fragile system of services, where both groups could coexist, but which was a source of potential conflicts.

In independent Poland, all Jewish inhabitants obtained voting rights and could run for office.²⁰⁴ They usually represented a minority which did not reflect the actual number of voters or threaten traditional local elites. This was mainly due to the fragmentation of votes cast on various Jewish parties or local apolitical alignments to the detriment of the biggest Orthodox party, Agudat Israel. The composition of local authorities reflected a specific pattern, in which the Jews seldom became mayors but sometimes assumed the position of deputy mayor. Among commission members and lay judges, Jews were always in the minority, however, they were willingly appointed for financial positions. Both communities accepted the division and it quickly became customary. The few attempts to change this custom attacked even the Jewish councilors, usually Orthodox.²⁰⁵

5.2. The Representation of Jews in High Culture

As historians, ethnologists, and sociologists have only started the historic study of lower social groups, using recent methodologies, the above representation of Polish-Jewish relations in the provinces is just an overview. Comprehensive and detailed studies are yet to be performed. The representation of Jews in villages and small towns was reconstructed based on ethnographic studies, which were launched for the first time as late as in the nineteenth century by Oskar Kolberg. Unlike sociological studies, which provide little information about Jews before the nineteenth century, literature from the Old Polish period can shed some light on the evolution of the perception of Jews throughout centuries.²⁰⁶ Old texts contain

204 In Galicia and the Prussian Partition, Jews were earlier granted voting rights.

205 See Marcin Urynowicz (2003), *Żydzi w samorządzie miasta Koziennice w okresie międzywojennym, 1919–1939*, Warszawa: H. Kozińska-Witt (2015), “Juden in den Städten oder zwei Fragen an die Stadtgeschichte,” *Dekonstruieren und doch erzählen. Polnische und andere Geschichten*, eds. Jürgen Heyde et al., Göttingen, pp. 261–267.

206 See J. Tazbir (1986), *Szlaki kultury polskiej*, Warszawa: (1986), *Świat Panów Pasków, Łódź* (chapter “Żydzi w opinii staropolskiej”); J. Goldberg (1986), “The Changes in the Attitude of Polish Society Toward the Jews in the 18th Century,” *Polin* Vol.1;

traces of opinions, which resemble those later found in the Antisemitic propaganda. Even though at the end of the nineteenth century, Polish Antisemites borrowed most of their convictions from the Western Europe, they highlighted their resemblance and made a conscious reference to Polish journalism of old.

Whenever Old Polish literature represented Jews, it always described them with various invectives from the Christian tradition; they possessed nothing but vices, such as subversiveness, falsehood, debauchery, and adultery. The oldest references to Jews date back to the medieval chronicles of Gallus Anonymus (twelfth century), Wincenty Kadłubek (twelfth-thirteenth century), and Jan Długosz (fifteenth century). The latter was the first to mention “ritual murder” and the “torturing of the host.” In *Błędy talmudowe* (1540), Jan Dantyszek (1485–1548) depicted Jews in the following manner:

Jewish people are coarse, with no humanity
 They are full of debauchery, and rage.
 They are obstinate, and treacherous,
 Making flatteries, but shameless.
 They set up traps everywhere, even though they are stupid,
 Fallible and deluding, repulsive and conceited.
 Jews set up snares for others,
 They are brutal, cruel, jealous and savage.

Interestingly enough, this description does not refer to Jewish witchcraft and sly nature deducted from such abilities. It contains, however, invectives used against the lower states (thick-skinned, sycophantic, repulsive, savage, and jealous). Conceit appears only because the Jews refused “the only right” faith. The words “raging,” “deceitful,” “treacherous,” “setting up traps,” and “snares,” and reference to economic relations with Christians will continue to appear until contemporary Antisemitism. The verses quotes Augustyn Kołudzki (?–1720), who is the author of a very popular Polish history textbook which solidified these stereotypes, *Tron ojczysty albo pałac wieczności w krótkim zebraniu monarchów, książąt i królów polskich* (Homeland’s Throne or the Eternity’s Palace in a Gathering of Monarchs, Princes, and Kings of Poland; 1707).²⁰⁷

The second half of the sixteenth century saw the rise of works written not only by clergyman, but also lay persons, including burghers, who wanted to stigmatize Jews. The sixteenth-century authors criticized king’s privileges for the Jews. These authors also made economic accusations and warned people against “Jewish competition.” During the Reformation, in *Postylla* (1557), Mikołaj Rej, a great poet of Polish Renaissance, points out the stubbornness with which Jews continue

(1986), *Żydowscy konwertycy w społeczeństwie staropolskim*, eds. A. Izydorczyk, A. Wyczański, *Spółczeństwo staropolskie*, Vol. IV; M. Rosman (2005).

207 J. Pisulińska (2004), *Żydzi w polskiej myśli historycznej doby porozbiorowej (1795–1914)*, Rzeszów.

to practice their “erroneous” faith. Similar accusations, voiced in a much more aggressive manner, makes Jan Górski in *Okazanie kilku błędów z niezliczonego bluźnierstwa* (Overview of a Few Errors in an Uncountable Blasphemy; 1569).

Since the end of the sixteenth century, literary inclined even more toward the propagation of prejudice. In *Żydowskie okrucieństwa, mordy y zabobony* (Jewish Cruelties, Murders, and Superstitions; 1589 or 1598), Przeclaw Mojecki claims that Jews use Christian blood to separate conjoined fingers of newborn babies and add it to mixtures that they offer to magnates in order to gain their favors. Mojecki believes that the sixteenth-century Jews were not the rightful descendants of “the people of Israeli beloved by God” but of German mercenaries, who had plundered the ancient Jerusalem.²⁰⁸ Mojecki’s works became the cornerstone for other propagators of the blood libel, such as Szymon Hubicki in *Żydowskie okrucieństwa nad Najświętszym Sakramentem y dziećmi chrześcijańskimi* (Jewish Cruelties Done to the Most Blessed Sacrament and Christian Children; 1602). In *Proces kryminalny o niewinne dziecię Jana Krasnowskiego* (Criminal Prosecution in the Case of the Innocent Child of Jan Krasnowski; about 1713), priest S. Żuchowski lists all trials involving the blood libel in Europe that he knew. In *Żywoty świętych* (The Lives of the Saints; 1610), priest Piotr Skarga (1536–1612) claims that Jews kill Christian children to add their blood to matzo and show their contempt to Christ as well as to “free themselves through Christian blood from the stench that accompany them from their birth.”²⁰⁹

In *Zwierzciadło Korony Polskie* (Polish Crown’s Mirror; 1618), Sebastian Miczyński adds economic and political accusations to typical invectives, blood libel prejudice, torture of the Blessed Sacrament, and the poisoning of wells. Miczyński warns:

they are infernal, spiteful, and wicked. They ruin, tempt, and kill innocent children; they poison Christians. At the same time, they enjoy greater privileges than Christians.... They keep rats in the pantry, a fox with the geese, a wolf in the shed, a snake in the grass, fire in the coffer!

Miczyński accuses Jews of spying for Turkey, and magnates of favoring these “rats and foxes.” King Sigismund III, who found the aggressive tone of the book to be a threat to public order, forbade its printing and selling.²¹⁰ The blood libel also mentioned the Craciv Jesuit M. Bembus in *Kometa, to jest pogróżka z nieba* (The Comet, or a Threat from the Heavens; 1619) and Bazyli Wąglicki in *Swawola wyuzdana żydowska* (Jewish Licentious Frolicking; 1648). Similar accusations appeared in the anonymous pamphlet *Dekret o zamęczeniu przez Żydów dziecięcia katolickiego*

208 K. Bartoszewicz (1914), *Antysemitizm w literaturze polskiej XV-XVII w.*, Warszawa, p. 43. See również M. Bałaban (1914), “Antyjewrejska literatura na rubieży 16 i 17 w.,” *Jewrejskaja Starina, Petersburg*; E. Szlufik (1992), “Kilka uwag o uprzedzeniach ekonomicznych wobec Żydów,” *The Jews in Poland*, Kraków, Vol. 1.

209 Qtd. after J. Tokarska-Bakir (2008), pp. 108–109.

210 M. Bałaban (1931), *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu*, Kraków, pp. 173–176.

ferowany w grodzie żytomierskim (The Decree of the Jews Martyred A Catholic Child Set in the City of Żytomierz; approx. 1753) and in *Złość żydowska przeciw Bogu i bliźniemu...* (Jewish Malice Against God and Neighbor; 1758) by priest Gaudenty Pikulski. Prejudices against Jews appeared in some church paintings. Compared with the Western Europe, Polish Judeophobic pamphlets were much less numerous, with only thirty until the mid-seventeenth century. Moreover, some Polish authors, even though less frequently, praised Jews. Among others, we find positive attitude to Jews in *Opis Sarmacji azjatyckiej i europejskiej* (The Description of Asiatic and European Sarmatia; 1517) by Maciej Miechowita, a play by Deodat Nersesowicz *Świat na opak wywrócony* (World Turned Upside Down; 1663), or the comical interludes by Piotr Baryka *Z chłopa król* (The Peasant King; 1637).²¹¹

Even though it is impossible to determine the readership of the growing number of such anti-Jewish pamphlets, it is certain that they were reprinted and that – even in the twentieth century – Antisemitic authors referred to them. One of the most popular pamphlet was *Sekret żydowskiej przewrotności wyjawiony i światu polskiemu w przestrodze pożytecznej pokazany* (The Secret of Jewish Perversity Revealed To the Polish World As a Warning), written by Vilnius Jesuits, which saw many reissues in the eighteenth century and shaped common opinions about the Jews, in particular among the Clergy.²¹² Clerical opinions also influenced the picaresque novel about Dyl Sowizdrzał, a character originating from German culture (Till Eulenspiegel, 1515). This novel's first Polish edition dates back to 1532, with peak popularity in the seventeenth century. One of the stories opens with the following admonition: “one villain always comes across another, one villain always cheats on the other. As such is the story of Jews from Frankfurt, which Sowizdrzał passed on his way back from Rome.” Sowizdrzał plays a joke on the Jews by selling them “prophecy” pills made of human feces. Believing that they would learn the date of the coming of the Messiah, the most prominent Jews took the pills “and saw a tree with such berries.” Sowizdrzał, on his part, “continued his journey while spending the Jewish money.” From an ethnological perspective, the story fits in the category of tales of “stupid neighbors.”²¹³ Its facetiousness concentrates on the impurity of feces, uncommon in Polish tales of this type.

During the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792), members of the Sejm, noblemen, clergy, and burghers discussed whether to change the status of Jews in Poland. Orthodox and Hasidic Jews and Haskalah followers participated in the debates as well. The Jews agreed that changes were necessary and proposed that the ban on settlement in certain towns, economic limitations, and the separate tax regime be lifted. Haskalah followers also voiced ideas for moral revival.²¹⁴ Christian opponents

211 See J. Tazbir (1992), “Cruel Laughter,” *The Jews in Poland*, Vol. 1, Kraków.

212 J. Goldberg (1986); J. Tazbir (1986); Idem (1989), “Images of the Jew in the Polish Commonwealth,” *Polin*, Vol. 4. K. Bartosiewicz (1914).

213 A. Cała (1995), pp. 164–170

214 See A. Eisenbach, J. Michalski, E. Rostworowski, J. Woliński (1969), *Materiały do dziejów Sejmu Czteroletniego*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, Vol. 6.

of the reforms referred to stereotypical accusations against Jews. The author of an anonymous letter to Stanisław Małachowski, Marshal of the Four-Year Sejm, claimed that Jews encouraged peasants to drink and “teach them disdain for masters.”²¹⁵ The accusation that Jews “encourage drinking” and incite others elaborates another anonymous rhymed text, *Zwierciadło polskie dla publiczności...* (The Polish Mirror Unveiled for the Audience; 1790).²¹⁶ The rhyme characterizes Jews in the following manner:

They reproduce like rats, avoid hard work
 There are thousands of such loafers, how do they earn their living?
 They cheat and commit crimes, attack estates
 Steal or borrow money...
 They set snares, traps, and always think how
 To ruin you...
 Talmud absolves them of any wrongdoing
 If they fast well, they are allowed to kill and cheat.

The original text follows the Latin *Bibliotheca Sancta* by Sixtus of Siena, published in Cologne in 1626 (first issue: Venice, 1566), and claimed that the text would “shed light on their secret.” This opinion, loosely related to the Latin thesis, is the first mention in the Polish literature of the Jewish conspiracy theory. *Zwierciadło* concludes that Poles should exile Jews “naked.” The anonymous *Katechizm o Żydach i neofitach* (Catechism About Jews and Neophytes) drew the opposite conclusion, even though, at the same time, the publication criticizes Jews with great passion.²¹⁷

A Jew is mostly a loafer, trickster, cheater, thief, swindler, vagabond. Due to his fanatical faith, he is unable to support national affairs, almost like a drone in a beehive.

The book argues, however, that this condition could be changed, and mentions the traditional position of the Church:

besides the main creed, others, which enjoy privileges to different degrees, should be tolerated as well.

In other words, Judaists should be inferior to Christians but should enjoy a limited religious freedom.

When asking the king to maintain the ban on Jewish commerce in the city, Warsaw merchants complained that Jews “all squeeze in, to the detriment and misery of citizens” and provided examples of Jewish unreliability in commerce that “would never concern any Christian merchant because it would be contrary to his

215 Anonim (II–III 1789?), “Do JW Małachowskiego Marszałka Sejmowego,” A. Eisenbach i in. (1969), pp. 95.

216 A. Eisenbach i in. (1969), p. 236–266.

217 Anonymous (III 1792), A. Eisenbach et al. (1969), pp. 467–468.

nature and faith.”²¹⁸ This is yet another reference to the prejudice according to which Judaism tolerates dishonesty. Priest Piotr Świtkowski believes that “granting them civil rights, namely town rights, would destroy the rights of burghers and would ruin towns.” Instead, Świtkowski recommends that Kehilas should be deprived of their judiciary authority.²¹⁹

A vast majority of Christian supporters of the reforms claims at the time that “Jewish people ... cannot be useful to the country; on the contrary, they are becoming a burden.”²²⁰ Mateusz Butrymowicz, the most pro-Jewish participant of the discussions, notes the following: “For centuries, Jews have been a burden in many countries. They seem to have a natural inclination toward laziness, hypocrisy, and idleness. That is why there have been expelled.” However, Butrymowicz also defends the Jewish faith: “Their moral teaching is just like ours, except for certain moralists who claim that when Jews harm or cheat on Christians, they do not sin.”²²¹ Michał Czacki, another supporter of the reforms, thinks that their purpose is to “make people who are a burden to the country useful” and suggests that Jews should “renounce their faith” to become “true” Poles. While criticizing Judaism, Czacki lists stereotypical accusations: belief that they are chosen people, prohibition to form ties with other nations, separation from others through kosher food, superstitious nature, wickedness mixed with pride, hatred and cruelty toward others, and usury, which he traces back to the Book of Exodus, when Israelites “fled” from Egypt with objects borrowed from Egyptians.²²² This Biblical reference also made Franciszek Karpiński: “Due to their false principles of faith, deducted from the times when they borrowed expensive objects and fled with them from Egypt, Jews do not think they sin when they cheat on a non-Jew.” That is, they consider Poland to be similar to Egypt and so they cheat “poor people.” Karpiński believes, however, that “if they are treated kindly and without disdain,” they will not “sin on the basis of the prejudice” and “will become better and more useful to the country.”²²³ This approach toward Jews is rather instrumental and, toward their religion, highly prejudiced.

In *Lejbe i Sióra, czyli listy dwóch kochanków* (Leybe and Sura, or Letters of Two Lovers; 1818, published in 1821), Jan Ursyn Niemcewicz proposed similar program of reforms and presented Jews in an equally prejudiced, although less direct, manner. We should underline, however, that such opinions put the

218 (7 VIII 1791), A. Eisenbach et al. (1969), p. 285.

219 (I 1792), A. Eisenbach et al. (1969), p. 409.

220 (30 XI–4 XII 1789), A. Eisenbach et al. (1969), p. 119.

221 Mateusz Butrymowicz (II 1789), A. Eisenbach et al. (1969), pp. 79–80.

222 Michał Czacki (1790), A. Eisenbach i et al. (1969), pp. 207–209. See A. Eisenbach (1991), *The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland 1780–1870*, Oxford for a detailed review of the debate over Jewish emancipation in the Enlightenment.

223 Franciszek Karpiński (3 V 1792?), A. Eisenbach et al. (1969), p. 484. Karpiński (1741–1825) is one of the most eminent Polish sentimentalists poets.

enlightenment reformers in the mainstream of their times. More radical activists of Jewish Haskalah, involved in the Berlin circles that gathered the followers of Moses Mendelssohn, also proposed restrictions on Kehilas or their abolition, linguistic constraints, ban on traditional clothing, or obligatory examination before marriage. However, contrary to the Polish reformers, Jewish radicals did not depreciate Judaism and demanded the introduction of these changes – even if by force – not as a first step but together with equal rights.

The loudest voice in the Age of Enlightenment was that of the priest Stanisław Staszic (1755–1826). Unfortunately, Staszic was extremely hostile to Jews and, for this reason, we may consider him the precursor of Polish Antisemitism. Numerous references to Staszic by Polish Antisemites at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century support this view. Staszic argued that the Jews should become members of burgher class, but believed that they were competitors of Christian manufacturers. His essay *Przestrogi dla Polski* (Warnings for Poland; 1790) the same accusations and clichés were voiced with even greater passion and hatred. Staszic warned that Jews would impede the development of agriculture and ruin cities; a claim repeated by Polish Antisemites at the end of the nineteenth century.²²⁴ Staszic accuses Jews of spreading “laziness, stupidity, drunkenness and poverty” among peasant serfs, compares Jews to “a mob,” “leaches,” “parasites;” claims they are benighted, lazy, inattentive, dishonest, and argues that these vices come from Judaism. While vehemently criticizing Jews for their pernicious influence, which in fact resulted from excessive monopoly practices of the nobility such as propination laws, Staszic praised them for strong family ties:

Jewish family customs are by far superior. There is neither debauchery nor promiscuity; adultery and depravity are less frequent; the young and unmarried do not prevail over fathers and husbands. They distinguish themselves from other European nations by their abstemiousness; they do not eat or drink in excess, the young are modest, spouses are faithful, love between parents and children is strong.²²⁵

This dichotomy between the idealized private life and condemned public and professional life – reflected in the stereotypical perception of Jews – appeared in folk culture, the nineteenth-century literature, and even the Antisemitic church journalism from the interwar period. Such ambivalence did not exist prior to the Enlightenment. Instead, anti-Jewish authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth century accused Jews of adultery and debauchery, both vices assigned by default to “foreigners.” Furthermore, unlike in previous centuries, the speakers of the Four-Year Sejm did not mention irrational phantasms, even those opposing the reforms. However, the speakers usually represented elites and intellectuals.

224 The association of Jews with dirt and poverty of provincial towns was a typical motif in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature. See. E. Prokopówna (1989), “The Image of the Shtetl in Polish Literature,” *Polin*, Vol. 4.

225 S. Staszic (1795), *Ród ludzki*.

Polish courts ceased to examine blood libel cases relatively late. In 1787, King Stanisław August Poniatowski had to intervene to prevent the court in Olkusz from issuing a judgment in such a case. It seems that in many social circles this prejudice never really disappeared; for instance, blood libel voiced priest Stefan Łuski, the editor of *Gazeta Warszawska* (1774–1793).²²⁶ In the 1760 *La Pologne, ditte Paradis de Juifs* (Poland, the Paradise of the Jews), bishop Józef Andrzej Załuski strived to adjust the accusation to the Age of Reason. Załuski argues that we should not blame the entire Jewish community for the ritual killings committed by a “fanatical sect” or “fanatical individuals.” Moreover, Załuski created a new rationalized version of the prejudice. Irrespective of the above, the Enlightenment contributed to the disappearance of the prejudice from the public discourse for a long time, mainly by silencing history textbooks from any mention of the blood libel. Even though the rationalized and less radical version of Załuski’s blood libel only sometimes reappeared in the nineteenth-century anti-Hasidic discourse, it was to return in force more than one hundred years later, especially in Russia.²²⁷

Staszic’s reforms only concentrated on moral and religious restrictions, such as the abolition of Kehilas and obligatory use of Polish, whose aim was to impose assimilation without the promise of emancipation. As a member of the Committee for the Amelioration of the Jews (1802), appointed by tsar Alexander I, Staszic prevented the Jewish minority from acquiring civil rights and successfully suspended the Napoleonic Code for the Jews in the Duchy of Warsaw. Moreover, Staszic was one of the authors of restrictive laws adopted by the Council of State, appointed in 1817. While defending the interests of burghers in the Napoleonic Era, Staszic continued promote Jewish membership in craft guilds with the argument that it would have a positive impact on cities. As a matter of fact, all those speakers, who accused Jews of “idle” intermediation and trading, were wrong. Even though Jews could not access guilds, they engaged in various craftsmanship activities in small towns. For instance, the 1793 town of Sierpc had fifty-eight Jewish craftsmen, including thirty-three tailors, bookbinders, glaziers, goldsmiths, turners, etc., compared with thirteen merchants and twenty-two innkeepers. In Kutno, the disproportion was even more significant with 131 craftsmen and forty-six merchants.

Unlike his later Antisemitic followers, Staszic did not advocate the expulsion of Jews. Moreover, he believed that Jews could change and become “useful,” even though their change should be “forced” like with peasants, whom Staszic thought insufficiently mature to become citizens. Staszic clarified his opinions in the article “O przyczynach szkodliwości Żydów i środkach usposobienia ich, aby się społeczeństwu użytecznymi stali” (On the reasons why Jews are harmful and the

226 See E. Ringelblum (1932), “Żydzi w świetle prasy warszawskiej wieku XVIII,” *Miesięcznik Żydowski*, No. 2.

227 See M. Wodźniński (2004), “Krew i chasydzi,” Kamińska-Szmaj I., *Księga poświęcona pamięci Profesora Jerzego Woronczaka*, Wrocław, pp. 199–212.

means to make them useful to society) published in *Pamiętnik Warszawski* (Warsaw Diary; 1816). There, Staszic describes Jews as “a plague that penetrates and ruins our miserable nation.” Since we should not eradicate the Jews in a “violent manner,” expel from the country, or relocate to uninhabited regions of Bessarabia or Crimea – argues Staszic – the best option is to submit them to a “more stringent supervision” and “designate isolated areas in towns where they would live, separated from other dwellings ... surrounded with a buffer which would prevent any contact between Jewish dwellings and Polish houses ... accessible only through a gate” like in the past.²²⁸ Although tsarist authorities did not establish ghettos, they did designate areas in Warsaw where Jews could not reside. Staszic would probably support such policy. Hence, surprisingly, Staszic, an Enlightenment thinker, praises the Middle Ages with great ardor. He believed that Jewish communities perfectly operate in a “secret corporation, a mysterious order,” and that its “secret tools” continue to work “to the detriment of the hospitable nation.” For this reason, Staszic demands a strict ban on “secret meetings, gatherings, and activities.” That is, Staszic applied a reasoning that resembles the future Antisemitic propaganda and may have been one of its sources; especially since the above-mentioned article was often referred to and quoted by Polish Antisemitic journalists. First, Staszic mentioned a conspiracy, a project itself not entirely unknown to his contemporary journalists. However, he presented a comprehensive theory with elements of the concept of the “internal enemy.” Staszic also linked the conspiracy to Masonry, even though he did not draw dire consequences from such a comparison. Staszic believed that the Masons formed secretive circles which were not, however, entirely harmful.

The perception of Jews deeply rooted and persevered over generations mostly due to history textbooks, almost devoid of Jewish history, present in as little as 0.2–0.3 % of the overall content.²²⁹ In his seven-volume book *Historia narodu polskiego* (History of the Polish Nation; 1780–1786), based on the chronicles of Wincenty Kadłubek, Adam Naruszewicz accuses the courts in the times of Mieszko Stary of biased judgments which severely punished students for “even the slightest harm inflicted on Jews.” At the same time, Naruszewicz justifies such violent behavior. His opinions repeated other textbooks, for instance *Dzieje panowania Zygmunta III* (History of the Reign of Sigismund III; 1819) by Jan Ursyn Niemcewicz. The most popular textbooks were *Historia powszechna dla szkół narodowych na klasę III* (History for National Schools, Class 3; 1781) by Józef Kajetan Skrzetuski; *Historia powszechna dla szkół narodowych na klasę IV, dzieje greckie zawierająca* (History for National Schools, Class 3, with Greek History; 1786) by his brother, Wincent Skrzetuski, and *Historia książąt i królów polskich* (History of Polish Princes and Kings; 1770) by Teodor Waga, last issued in 1864. The above textbooks ascertain

228 For a discussion of Staszic’s article see M. Janion (2004), “Mit założycielski polskiego antysemityzmu,” ed. J. Hensel, *Spółczesność europejskie i Holocaust*, Warszawa. The text “O szkodliwości...” is cited after: S. Staszic (1816), *Dzieła*, Vol. IV, Warszawa.

229 J. Pisulińska (2004).

that Jewish presence in the history of Poland had a negative impact. They explain the favorable attitude of Kazimierz Wielki toward Jews by his affair with the Jewess Esterka; they blame a Jewish doctor for the poisoning of king Jan Sobieski (“the Jewish doctor, Jonas, from Montserrat, administered the king too much mercury, that is quicksilver, and accelerated his death” – T. Waga); finally, they claim that Jews feel “repulsion” to other creeds, are “lazy” and have a negative impact on the economy by encouraging peasants to drink alcohol.

Joachim Lelewel, considered a friend of the Jews and supporter of their emancipation, in his history books opposed the negative opinions regarding the adverse impact of Jews on towns and the economy and praised Jews for their intransigent morality, diligence, and intra-communal solidarity. Nevertheless, Lelewel sometimes reiterated the unfavorable opinions of his predecessors about their bribery of medieval courts or the privileges awarded to the Jews by Bolesław the Pious, a Czech prince, reaffirmed by subsequent Polish rulers. Like Naruszewicz, Lelewel also blames the Jews for anti-Jewish violence, notes that Jonas “administered mercury” to the king, claims that the Jews are “cunning” and engage in usury, “deprive landed gentry of their lands,” “use tricks” in commerce, incite the nation to drink alcohol, and consider Poland to be their “paradise on Earth.” Lelewel also states that Talmud is harmful and, last but not least, he mentions the “German chatter of the Ashkenazim” and their favorable attitude to Germans. Lelewel describes Jews with such negative adjectives as “destructive,” “calculating,” “sly,” “speculating,” “enslaving Poland.”²³⁰ In *Polska odradzająca się, czyli dzieje polskie od roku 1795 potocznie opowiedziane* (Polish Rebirth or Polish History from 1795; published 1836), Lelewel declares:

Jews are a separate nation. They do not marry, nor make family ties with any Christians; they eschew military service and farm work, they speak ugly German. For a long time, they have distinguished themselves from Christians through their beards, sidecurls, clothing, and customs which appear untidy to Christians.

And Lelewel adds:

Israelites only spoke so much Polish and thought so much about Poland as was necessary for their trading and scheming. They detested Christians and, in some of their sects, this resentment grew in force.

Despite making a few Jewish friendships, after the emigration from Poland, and his support for Jewish emancipation, Joachim Lelewel believed in the stereotypes of his predecessors. The same stereotypes appear in all the Romantic textbooks which do not entirely omit Jewish themes. In his didactic poem, *Dzieje narodu polskiego i Polska z grobu* (History of the Polish Nation and Poland from the Graveyard; Wrocław, 1859), Wincenty Kraiński characterizes Jews under the reign of Władysław Łokietek in the following manner:

230 J. Lelewel (1962), *Dziela*, Warszawa; qtd. after J. Pisulińska (2004), pp. 80–93.

Jews are sly; they squeeze in everywhere,
They have become too harmful; they enforce usury.
Jews engage in small trade and craft,
They cheat and betray.

After the Congress of Vienna, the enlightened perception of the Jews gradually changed and was later only expressed by conservatives. The conservatives kept their condescending tone, the belief that Judaism is a “superstitious” religion which isolates their followers from the society, and the idea that Jews have a negative impact on Polish economy. Their opponents expressed different economic opinions which undermined the latter concept and explained that the stereotypical “vices” attributed to Jews resulted from the historical past and, for this reason, we should grant Jews equal rights without the obligatory renouncement of customs, language, and clothing. Such approach anticipated the liberal program later developed by the Polish literary group called the Positivists. Wawrzyniec Surowiecki (1769–1827), an economist, major Walerian Łukasiński (1786–1868), a Mason and political activist, and Józef Pawlikowski (1767–1829), a Jacobin, believed that, through emancipation, Jews would assimilate with the society, which makes superfluous any restrictions and prohibitions aimed at encouraging this change.

Certain romantic emigrant Polish authors the most decisively undermined the Enlightenment perception of Jews. Some of the authors bore the features of philo-Semites, others believed in a conspiracy of the Jews and neophytes. The first group gathered such poets as Juliusz Słowacki (1809–1849), Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821–1883), Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), and other messianic artists gathered in Paris around Andrzej Towiański (1799–1878). It should be highlighted that the opinions and conduct of Adam Mickiewicz were unique in the culture of European Christians. In opposition to the Judeophobia tradition, the circle of messianic artists inspired by Andrzej Towiański not only rejected religious prejudices but they actively engaged in Jewish spirituality, although they had few occasions to establish deeper relationships with the Jews. Despite Mickiewicz’s repeated yet unconfirmed allusions to the Jewish origins of his mother, he received no lessons about Jewish religion and customs at home. There is no certainty whether Mickiewicz’s mother was a member of the sect of Jakub Frank. Instead, Mickiewicz received a Catholic upbringing. His contacts with Judaism were limited to a few visits to synagogues in Paris and Rome and Mickiewicz’s conversion of Gerszom Ram to Christianity, in the form proposed by the sect of Andrzej Towiański. Mickiewicz also provided support to Jakub Kreitel, a Jewish tailor, who made uniforms for Polish insurgents of 1830 and then left Poland as a political refugee who settled in Paris. The above and a few other contacts with Jews led Mickiewicz neither to profound relationships with nor to a deeper understanding of Jewish culture. The friendship between Mickiewicz and Armand Lévy, son of a baptized Jew, did not contribute either. The father of Armand cut his ties with the Jewish community and baptized his son just after his birth. Armand gained the interest in the Jewish and Polish cause only through Mickiewicz.

Towiański's Philo-Semitism was the result of their national mysticism, shaped by various concepts of Józef Oleszkiewicz, Jakub Boehme, Louis de Saint-Martin, Emmanuel Swedenborg, and, to a certain degree, Hegel. But most of all, the mysticism of Towiański's sect was founded on the esoteric writings of Józef M. Hoene-Wroński (1776–1853) who referred to his contracts with rabbis. However, even if such direct influence did occur, the cabalistic motives must have been Christianized. Towiański's sect consciously referred to the mystic tradition of Judaism. As we may read in Mickiewicz's *The Books of the Pilgrimage of the Polish Nation*:

The spirit of the Polish nation ... after its downfall was forced to *completely enter into itself, concentrate in itself* like no other since the fall of Israel. This way, Poland learned about the secret of the history of Israel, became their representative and assumed responsibility for them.

The passage above becomes clear only through the lens of the Lurianic Cabala, which assigns eschatological meaning to the subsequent exiles of Jews and their suffering throughout the ages. The words marked in bold above have their equivalents in the terminology applied by Isaac Luria (1543–1572). Luria was a cabalist who lived in Safed in Palestine. Luria believed that the exile of Jews from Jerusalem, and then from Spain, reflected the self-sacrifice of the omnipresent God who "entered into himself" and "concentrated in himself" – "tzimtzum" in Hebrew – to create the world through gradual emanation of God's substance in the emptiness so obtained. Mickiewicz believed that the mystic union of Poles and Jews would be rely on the fact that the first group could not achieve freedom without the latter because the history of both nations reflected a cosmogonic mystery of the "self-limitation" of God, both before the act of creation as well as during the Crucifixion.

Due to reasons which gave rise to the formation of the Jewish Legion in Turkey in 1855, some claimed that, to a certain degree, Mickiewicz is a father of Zionism.²³¹ But in truth, his mystic beliefs focused rather on eschatological understanding than real chances of Jews to fight for their independence. The joint fight and martyrdom of Poland and Israel was to close the cycle of history and lead to the salvation of the world. We may link the above expectations to the often-quoted sentence from *Skład zasad Legionu Polskiego* (The Rules of the Polish Legion), which presents the principles of the Polish Legion formed in 1848 by Mickiewicz:

For Israel, our elder brother, go honor, brotherhood, and help on the road to their eternal and temporal good. All rights equal.

Irrespective of the metaphysical speculations, the sentence contains the promise of equal rights, even though we do not know whether the declaration "to their eternal and temporal good" was not dependent on certain conditions. This suspicion grows when compared to the unconditional postulate regarding the emancipation

231 See R. Brandstaetter (1932), "Legion żydowski Adama Mickiewicza," *Miesięcznik Żydowski*, and his other articles published in the weekly "Opinia" in 1934.

of women. It is certain that Mickiewicz did not support the ideas of Enlightened reformers who wanted the Jews to abandon their culture and faith.

In his speculations, Luria paid much consideration to the concept of *gilgul nefesz*, the migration of the souls, which was to be an opportunity for the living beings to repent for their sins or perfect their sanctity in repeated incarnations. Similarly, messianic Romantics perceived the migration of the spirit of the Chosen People, from the times of the ancient Israelites through French revolutionaries to Polish martyrdom, as a series of individual incarnations. Mickiewicz thought that he is the incarnation of an Israeli prince and that his lover, Xawera Deybel, is Abishag. Such thinking shows that Mickiewicz aimed high and aspired to the role of King David. *The Books of Pilgrimage of the Polish Nation* contain, however, sentences which show that Mickiewicz focuses more on “spirits” than the contemporary Jews.²³² When considering the requirement of “spiritual development,” Mickiewicz argues that Jews are below Poles. His approach toward estate factors and “trading affairs” resembles that of a typical nobleman.

In *The Manuscript Found in Saragossa*, Jan Potocki (1761–1815), older from Mickiewicz by one generation, described a Jew-Cabalist. Even though he bore features typically associated with the Jews – he was an adept of the occult sciences – Potocki’s work praises them contrary to the tradition. As a result, the Jew could assume the role of a spiritual leader and mentor of the main protagonist.²³³ The opinions of the Romantics contributed to the establishment of a short-lived but enthusiastic Polish-Jewish alliance during the Spring of Nations. The coalition appointed Dow Ber Meisels, an Orthodox rabbi, as a senator of Cracow and a delegate to the Austrian parliament (1846). Before the January Uprising (1863), Jews and Poles formed one more alliance, when both groups participated in the patriotic protests of 1861 in Warsaw, violently repressed by Russian soldiers. The death of the Jewish teenager Michał Lande, shot during the demonstration on the April 8, 1861, inspired Norwid to compose the poem *Żydowie polscy* (Polish Jews) and Karol Baliński to write the narrative poem *Hasło polskie* (Polish call). Even though the Polish Romantic idealization of the Jews was temporary, it still was a rare phenomenon in the European literature of the nineteenth century. We should remember that the Towiański sect’s fascination with the Jewish culture was mostly superficial and filtered through their mystical speculations, which other members

232 See A. G. Duker (1974), “Adam Mickiewicz’s Anti-Jewish Period,” *Saló Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, Jerusalem, Vol. 1. See also his: “Mickiewicz and the Jewish Problem” (1951), ed. A. Kridl, *Adam Mickiewicz*, New York; “The Mystery of the Jews in Mickiewicz’s Towianist Lectures on Slave Literature” (1962), *The Polish Review*, No. 3. See also J. Maurer (1990), *Z matki obcej...*, London. The author analyses affinities between Mickiewicz and Jakub Frank’s teachings.

233 The novel had not been published until the twentieth century, so it could not influence the image of Jews in the eyes of the author’s contemporaries.

of the Polish emigration did not share. The members of the circle were considered heretics. People gossiped that Towiański is a Russian agent and Mickiewicz is insane. At that time, Norwid notes with outrage that the words “Elder Brothers,” used to describe Jews, contradict Catholic teachings which apply chosenness and seniority from the followers of the Old Testament to the believers in the New Testament.

In *Un-Divine Comedy* (1835) by Zygmunt Krasiński (1812–1859), the so-called “third Polish Romantic Bard,” depicts a grim image of Judaists and neophytes, which makes it one of the precursors of Antisemitic conspiracy theories. One of the sources used by Krasiński was an 1818 text by his father, General Wincent Krasiński, *Aperçu sur les Juifs de Pologne* (Insight into Polish Jews), which young Krasiński read in 1830 in the book *Tableau de la Pologne ancienne et moderne* (An Overview of Old and Modern Poland) by Leonard Chodźko. In his work, General Wincent Krasiński suspects that the Polish Jews are faithful to one national leader who “depends on the General Superior who resides in Asia and names the Prince of Slavdom.” In turn, “converts” are also subject to this secret authority; in every capital, the residing dean “selects and determines the profession for each child of the neophytes: administration, police, army, trade.”

The anonymous author of *Sposób na Żydów czyli środki niezawodne zrobienia z nich ludzi uczciwych i dobrych obywateli* (The Reliable Ways to Make Jews Honest and Good; 1818), journalist Gerard Witowski (1787–1837), replied to the claims of General Wincent Krasiński. Witowski argues that the latter is too gentle and suggests that, as a temporary measure, Jews and neophytes should be forcibly detained, then, as a final measure, expelled to “Tartary.” Witowski describes this idea using the medical metaphor of “amputation.” Witowski even schedules a date for the operation which was to happen in the “Spring of 1819, just after the Jewish Easter.” Witowski drafted an entire plan of the expulsion: “So as not to deprive us of capital, Jews should waive their rights in favor of the Government, which would feed them during their journey and provide them with resources for the first days of the colony.” In other words, Jews would have to finance the entire enterprise on their own. Witowski fantasizes that the expelled will be divided into three hundred columns, each composed of one thousand individuals, moving at a speed of two miles per day. One of the supporters of this approach was Ludwik Janowski, the author of *O Żydach czyli judaizmie, czyli wykrycie zasad moralnych tudzież rozumowania Izraelitów* (On Jews or Judaism; that is, on the Identification of the Moral Principles or Reasoning of the Israelites; 1819). Janowski believes in the “blood libel” and argues that the “secret killings of Christians are taking place in our country.... the Jews need their blood for certain rituals.” Janowski also refers to the Jewish revolutionaries:

The principles of Judaism and its political foundation always inclines Jews to revolutionary thinking and makes them believe that, after the collapse of other nations, a vast and powerful Kingdom of Israel will rise on their ruins: for this reason, Jews must be considered nothing more but fierce enemies of the state.

Wincenty Krasiński had a deep influence on Luigi A. Chiarini (1789–1832), an Italian priest, the count's resident and his son's teacher. Chiarini came to Poland in 1819. Since 1822, he taught Hebrew and Greek at the University of Warsaw. He also served as a censor of Jewish books (until 1824) and an adviser of the Old Testament Committee founded in 1825 with the task of working out the principles of a "moral reform" of Jews. The Talmud, a central text of Rabbinic Judaism, was what Chiarini believed to be the main source of the corruption of the Mosaic religion's followers – which was very much in the vein of traditional Judeophobia. He insisted that in order to prepare a proper educational program for the Jewish government schools, the Talmud should be translated into French. This, as he went on to argue, would make it possible to expose its most anti-Christian and "immoral" passages. He solicited donations for this purpose, but without success. Therefore, he published *Théorie du judaïsme, appliquée à la réforme des Israélites de tous les pays de l'Europe, et servant en même temps d'ouvrage préparatoire à la version du Thalmud Babylone* (Paris, 1830). The author dedicated this work to Tsar Nicholas I and ultimately received funding for his educational reform.

According to Chiarini's work on the Talmud, the noble Mosaic faith epitomized in the Old Testament has been corrupted in the course of history – first, by Talmudism, then by Rabbinitism, and finally by Hassidism. Chiarini attributed ritual murders to the Hassidim, pointing to an alleged incident in Warsaw in 1827. Influenced by General Krasiński, he accused Frankists of conspiracy. He believed, in good faith, that after revealing the sinister meaning of the Talmud it would be possible to reform Judaism and persuade the Jews to return to the true "Mosaic faith," thereby making them helpful rather than harmful to the country. Chiarini's beliefs sparked controversy. M. Jost and L. Zunz, German-Jewish reformers, reproached the priest for his incompetence and reliance on medieval prejudices²³⁴. In his review of Chiarini's Hebrew grammar textbook (1826) and Hebrew-Polish dictionary (1829), Abraham Stern accused the author of having insufficient knowledge of Hebrew. Also maskil Jakub Tugendhold criticized Chiarini's works. The project of translating the Talmud came to naught, even though Chiarini managed to publish two volumes titled *Le Thalmud de Babylone, Traduit en Langue Française et Complété par Celui de Jerusalem et par d'Autres Monuments de l'Antiquité Judaique* (Leipzig, 1831). However, this was not so much a translation as a recapitulation of the Talmud's genesis and meaning, supplemented with Chiarini's incompetent but erudite commentary²³⁵.

234 M. Jost, *Was hat Herr Chiarini in Angelegenheiten der Europäischen Juden Geleistet? Eine freimütige unparteiische Beleuchtung des Werkes „Théorie du Judaïsme,”* Berlin 1830; L. Zunz, *Beleuchtung der „Théorie du Judaïsme” des Abbé Chiarini,* Berlin 1830.

235 R. Marcinkowski, "Luigi Chiarini (1789–1832) – An Anti-Judaistic Reformer of Judaism," *Studia Judaica* 2004, Vol. 7, no 2(14); Sz. Dubnow (1918), *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, Philadelphia, pp. 100–115

Romanticism provided favorable conditions for the emergence of conspiracy theories. A. Burrel's revelations – translated by the priest Karol Surowiecki, first in a shortened version in 1805 and then in the full, four-volume edition – were well-known and popular in Poland.²³⁶ It influenced the publication of the *Letter of the Lisbon Rabbi to the Brest Rabbi, translated from the Rabbi-Talmud dialect* (1817) written by the priest Michał Dłuski. The author argued that there was a continuity between the secret associations founded during the Babylonian captivity and the Masonry.²³⁷ Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, in turn, drew heavily on German sources when writing *Moszkopolis. The Year 3333 or an Incredible Dream (Moszkopolis. Rok 3333, czyli sen niestłuchany)*, a futuristic projection of “Judeopolonia,” the new state of Poland governed by Jews who have pushed aristocrats into the role of hard-working laborers and taken their place in palaces.²³⁸

All these works had a local impact, but the German translation of his *Un-Divine Comedy*, published in 1841, could have inspired Goedsche to write his story *At the Jewish Cemetery in Prague* in 1868. Let us here recall this chain of borrowings. *The Kahal Book*, which Brafman published in 1869, was widely distributed in Poland and commented in Vienna (1882). In 1887, two other books important for Antisemitism had their premieres: Rohling's *Talmudjude* (based on Eisenmenger's seventeen-century work) and Osman Bey's *Conquest of the World by the Jews* in three language versions (French, German, and Russian). This was also the year when Marr published his “Der Sieg des Judentums...,” and while it is hard to demonstrate an immediate influence, the convergence of titles is indeed striking. What is certain is that Marr's works influenced Durmont's “La France juive” (1886). In turn, Hippolytus Lutostansky, a former Catholic priest who converted to the Orthodox Church and fled to Russia from the Catholic Church law, published a book arguing that Jews used Christian blood for their ritual practices (1876). In the 1913 trial against (Menahem) Mendel Beilis, the Kiev court relied on Lutostanski's findings as an evidentiary material. The prosecution's expert was Justinas Bonaventura Pranaitis (1861–1917), a professor of Hebrew at the Saint Petersburg Clerical Academy, a teacher of several Polish clerical Antisemites, and the author of *Christianus in Talmude Judeorum* (1892), a work which was essentially a repetition of Rohling's (and hence Eisenmenger's) theses. The history of

236 K. Surowiecki (1805), *Święte tajemnice masonii sprofanowane. Wyciątek z dzieł...*, Lviv–Warszawa; K. Surowiecki (1812), *Historia jakobinizmu wyjęta z dzieł ks. Barruela “Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme,”* Berdyczów, Vol. 1–4.

237 L. Hass (1980), *Sekta farmazonii warszawskiej*, Warszawa, p. 454. The work did not have anti-Jewish overtones. Prelate Dłuski wrote it in defense of Freemasonry, because he himself was a member of the Vilnius lodge. He claimed that Jesus also belonged to the secret society.

238 Cf. M. Janion (2000). The author analyzes German-language sources which influenced Niemcewicz when writing this anti-utopia. See also R. Brandstaetter (1932), “Moszkopolis J. U. Niemcewicza a mitologia antysemitcka w Polsce,” *Miesięcznik Żydowski*, Issues 7–12.

conspiracy theories culminates in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* published at the turn of centuries. To be sure, the book was a plagiarism of a French language text, but its Russian compliers must have known Brafman and Bey's works. To sum up, the motif of the Jewish conspiracy has developed through a cultural exchange between Eastern and Western European Jew-biters.

In Polish romantic literature, the image of Jews was not necessarily based on the Church tradition. In fact, it was much more complex and miscellaneous. The romance literature of the first half of the nineteenth century developed the motif of tragic love between a Jewess and a Christian, usually from the nobility (or, much more rarely, between a Jew and a noblewoman).²³⁹ A reversal of this motif was also popular – an image, far distant from reality of that time, of rich Jews trying to “slip into” the nobility through marriage. Aleksander Bonikowski followed this scheme in his 1828 short story *Kazimierz Wielki i Esterka* (*Casimir the Great and Esther*). The author interpreted King's affection to Esther as an effect of a spell which the girl cast on him. Thus, their relationship becomes a symbol of diabolic intrigues weaved by the Jews who seek to gain domination over Poland²⁴⁰.

Different figures of Jews appeared in the works of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812–1887).²⁴¹ The author tried to depict them realistically, as distinct persons with individual features, which does not mean that he avoided falling into stereotypes. Kraszewski was the first one to introduce a later popularized image of a nouveau-riche, materialistically oriented Jew who clumsily imitates the behavior of the Polish nobility. On the other hand, Jankiel from Adam Mickiewicz's *Sir Thaddeus*, an Orthodox Jew bursting with patriotism, became a model for several Polish prose writers, e.g., Władysław Syrokomla and Ignacy Chodźko, whose *Pustelnik w Proniunach* (*A Hermit in Proniuny*, 1858) describes Abraham Iłski, a Jewish innkeeper, in such a way as to raise associations with the Bible patriarch. Chodźko seemed to deplore that such noble figures are rarely to be found among contemporary Israelites who increasingly tended to become “ordinary” Europeans. The image of noble and wise Orthodox Jews, as opposed to the assimilated ones, has been recurring in the writings of some later conservative authors.

239 E.g., Anna Nakwaska (1821), *Le Juif Abraham*; J. F. Królikowski (1830), *Romans w romansie*; Paulina Krakowowa (1839), *Żydówka*; I. Hołowiński (1847), *Rachel*. For a discussion of the figure of the Jew in nineteenth century literature see: Magdalena Opalski (1986), *The Jewish Tavern-Keeper and his Tavern in Nineteenth Century Polish Literature, Jerusalem*; M. Inglot (1999), *Postać Żyda w literaturze polskiej lat 1822–64*, Wrocław.

240 Ch. Shmeruk (1985), *The Esterke Story in Yiddish and Polish Literature*, Jerusalem.

241 See Polin (1989), Vol. 4: Magdalena Opalski, “Trends in the Literary Perception of Jews in Modern Polish Fiction;” Michael Steinlauf, “Mr Geldhab and Sambo in *Peyes*,” and Polin (1987), Vol 2: Anna Żuk, “A Mobile Class;” Mieczysław Inglot, *The Image of the Jew in Polish Narrative Prose of the Romantic Period*.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Jewish figures started appearing in different literary genres, especially in drama, where the figure of the Jew often served to depict the degeneration of noble features, such as honesty or reverence, in favor of pragmatism based on material wealth. In *Żydzi* (*Jews*), a play written by Józef Korzeniowski (1797–1863) in 1834 and staged in 1843, all Polish protagonists had negative features, while the figure of Aron Lewe, a Jewish usurer, paradoxically embodied positive values such as honor and tradition. In Zygmunt Sarnecki's (1837–1922) *Zemsta pani hrabiny* (*The Revenge of the Lady Countess*, 1869), the mother invoked the Christian virtue of devotion to force her daughter into marriage with a disgusting banker named Goldberg. In *Nasi zięciowie* (*Our Sons-in-Law*, 1886), Kazimierz Zalewski (1849–1919) condemned the readiness of young noblemen to marry daughters of rich Jewish tradesmen, merchant, bankers, etc. In Zalweski's *Malżeństwo Apfel* (*Apfel's Marriage*, 1887), Christian parents called for cancelling their daughter's marriage after her neophyte husband had lost his wealth. Of course, what the authors of these works also criticized was the patronizing and hypocritical attitude of the nobility toward the nouveau riche; this issue became the main theme of Edwarda Lubowski's (1837–1923) play titled *Przesady* (*Superstitions*, 1876). In Sarnecki's *Słoneczniki* (*Sunflowers*, 1882), on the other hand, the "conversion" of a neophyte Merker from cosmopolitanism to "Polishness" is sealed when he refuses his daughter to marry a foreign prince after hearing that a Pole saved his (Merker's) father from the Kiev pogrom perpetrators.

As Magdalena Opalski observed, 700 belletristic works related to Jewish themes appeared between 1820 and 1905 (half of which was written between 1885 and 1905). The works of Positivist writers – like Eliza Orzeszkowa's (1841–1910) *Makower*, *Mirtala*, *Meir Ezofowicz*, and *Gedali*, Maria Konopnicka's (1842–1910) *Michał Duniak*, *Mendel Gdański*, and *Jakton*, or Aleksander Świętochowski's (1849–1938) *Chawa Rubin* – described the Jewish community, while the figures of Christians, if present at all, were only a backdrop. All these works presented Jews in a quite schematic manner, even though the protagonists were often provided with complex individual features. The difference between the positivist works and earlier representations of Jews was that these works usually contained positive assessments of capitalist entrepreneurship understood in terms of patriotic activity. They were illustrations of the authors' views on Poland's social issues, even if their plots were sometimes located in historically and geographically distant settings, like ancient Rome in Orzeszkowa's *Mirtala*. The novel is a far echo of the romantic allegory pointing to the similar fates of Israel and the Polish nation. Although Orzeszkowa made much effort to learn about the Jewish culture (she even went on to take lessons in Hebrew, but did not persevere long), her novels still depicted Jewish figures in a rather Polonocentric way. In most of her novels, Orzeszkowa juxtaposed the positive type of the Jew with its negative counterpart: for example, a vile Orthodox (*Meir Ezofowicz*) or a rude and ruthless moneygrubber (*Eli Makower*). Noble assimilated protagonists were opposed to those assimilated in a "wrong" way, that is, for material reasons

and without patriotism. At the end of her life, she condemned the emergence of Jewish national identity.²⁴²

Maria Konopnicka, who was another eminent positivist writer, declared having “no sympathy for the Jews.” At the same time, however, the author was able to draw a piercing portrait of the Jewish community in *Mendel Gdański*, where she expressed her dismay at the Warsaw pogrom of 1881. Aleksander Świętochowski, in turn, limited his descriptions to the miserable and hopeless existence of the Orthodox Jews who did not realize the great opportunities coming along with assimilation.

In the conservative camp, Klemens Junosza Szaniawski (1849–1898) in his novels *Muzykanci*, *Łaciarz*, *Froim*, *Slup* and *Cud na kirkucie*, often fell into comic exaggeration – well-known in the traditional aristocratic imagery of lower estates – but he could not hide his fascination with the exoticism of the Jewish world, the alterity belonging to the “familiar” landscape seen through the eyes of a conservative who did not long for change. Some of Szaniawski’s novels can be read as belletrized ethnographic essays. To be sure, the author was a proponent of assimilation, but this did not preclude him from describing assimilated Jews with a patronizing contempt:

Progress slightly trimmed the man’s beard, while tradition saved his skullcap and the two side curls dangling frivolously from his temples. Progress shortened his capote by several inches, but tradition, as if to spite her rival, drew the white fringes – the *tzitzit* – from under his velvet waistcoat. Progress made his shoes shine on occasions, while tradition, striving to preserve his *tubeteika*, sprinkled it with feathers – and thus, by virtue of the struggle between these two powerful forces, Jankiel was able to become the greatest dandy among the Jews and the most zealous Jew among the dandies of this town.²⁴³

Given the popularity of Szaniawski’s novels, this manner of representing Jewish figures proved appealing to a considerable crowd of readers. Still, it is worth underscoring that Szaniawski was the first Polish writer to become interested with the Yiddish literature, appreciating especially its comic quality.

In general, the positivist writers have consciously sought to revalue the image of the Jew. They tried, not without difficulties, to abandon the former, estate-based perception of the Jewish community. In Orzeszkowa’s early letters, Jews still appear in a negative context: when she complains about being forced to sell a forest to “Yids,” who “delighted in mud,” or about a “Jewish monopoly” in commerce.²⁴⁴

242 See Orzeszkowa’s essay “O nacyonalizmie żydowskim (On Jewish Nationalism),” printed post-mortem in *Kurier Warszawski*, 1911, No. 264–267.

243 K. Junosza-Szaniawski (1884), *Na zgliszczach*, Warszawa.

244 E. Orzeszkowa to J. Sikorski, letter 20 (1868), letter 38 (1869), E. Orzeszkowa (1954), *Listy zebrane*, Wrocław, Vol. 1, pp. 28, 60.

However, after becoming fascinated with the Jewish culture, she embraces a different, almost Mickiewicz-like tone:

...every nation is in possession of a higher power and wisdom, a kind of particular vocation by which it lives, acts, and suffers. Perhaps, every nation is destined to add its own single syllable to this grand expression of the unconscious striving of the whole humanity. While the Polish nation is destined to freedom, the Israeli nation is committed to faith in the Single God. Both these great ideas are so hard to embody that the nations which bring them to existence have to suffer martyrdom ... This great community, stemming from the highest realms of spirit, is what should unite our nations and I am in a great wonder why it still has not resulted in love between them.²⁴⁵

Orzeszkowa's idea to establish the Sanhedrin consisting of the progressive rabbis and assimilated intelligentsia in order to introduce changes in customs was of romantic origins.²⁴⁶ And so was her fascination with the Jewish orthodoxy. In one of her letters, the writer confessed:

In the end, I managed to capture a rabbi who exulted every time he could acquaint someone with the Talmudic knowledge. He is a true source of Jewish wisdom, has a long white beard, sagacious eyes, and speaks Polish very well.²⁴⁷

It seems, however, that she adopted much sterner attitude toward the "misassimilated" Jews:

They are overwhelmed by a rush toward civilization ..., which comes in the form of an almost superstitious adoration. This reverence to everything which belongs to a higher level of civilizational development is undoubtedly the primary source of its ridiculousness – the boastful display of one's civilized outfit, the civilized design in houses, or the use of civilized languages.²⁴⁸

This view is in fact a less virulent version of the image of *nouveau riche parvenus* known from theatrical plays.

Orzeszkowa's list of the Jewish "virtues" – "cleverness, forethought, thriftiness, great skills in terms of financial calculation and action, the ability to self-organize into a consistent body with a strong sense of solidarity in each of its parts"²⁴⁹ – had its source in the common opinions, which were by no means rooted

245 E. Orzeszkowa to S. H. Peltyna, letter from 12/24 May 1871. Cf. I. Butkiewiczówna (1937), *Powieści i nowele żydowskie Elizy Orzeszkowej*, Lublin, pp. 6–8.

246 E. Orzeszkowa (1882), *O Żydach i kwestii żydowskiej*, E. Orzeszkowa (1913), Pisma, Warszawa, Vol. 9, p. 42. This Napoleonic idea was propagated also by J. U. Niemcewicz in his brochure *Przeostroga dla współziomków na rok 1809*, Wrocław 1808.

247 E. Orzeszkowa to J. K. Gregorowicz, letter 1 (1870), E. Orzeszkowa (1954), *Listy zebrane*, Warszawa, pp. 12–13.

248 E. Orzeszkowa (1882), *O Żydach i kwestii żydowskiej*, p. 31.

249 Orzeszkowa, *O Żydach i kwestii żydowskiej*, p. 26.

in Romanticism. Indeed, this stereotype, with slight modifications, has been still in force today. In her letter to Erazm Plitz written in 1890 – at the time when Antisemitic journalism was gaining voice in Poland – Orzeszkowa complained that Polish society, instead of seeking alliance with Jews, “worked hard” to make them its enemies. She also added that “this can be a horrible enemy – populous, multi-talented, and internal.”²⁵⁰ The funny parvenus became dangerous, for they were civilized, active, and self-conscious. What is worse, they belonged to the Polish nation and therefore constituted an internal threat.

In the first two decades after the January Uprising (1863), there was a fashion in Warsaw to attend the salons of the assimilated intelligentsia; “progress” and lack of prejudice were also fashionable. However, it was permissible to give “good advice” and to criticize “faults” – which, in practice, meant paternalism, stereotypical judgments, unjust generalizations, and lack of acceptance. Like the Enlightenment reformers, Polish positivists were convinced of the essential “uselessness” of the Jewish population, which could only be useful after being “civilized” and Polonized. Together with the Jewish assimilators, though often through polemics, they tried to endow these postulates with substantial content. They defended them against the charges of conservatives and called for the Polish elites to launch them “on society.” At the same time, they cultivated a very critical image of the orthodox Jewish community. Aleksander Świętochowski even went so far as to employ epithets such as “dark mass,” “horde” and degraded Jews almost to the status of animals, describing assimilation as a form of “humanization.” As he wrote,

Shmuel makes the peasants drunk David cheats citizens in grain trade Abram, a provincial banker, kills them with usury, ... a fanaticized Kike would rather die in front of a scaleless fish than touch it with his lips. ... All members of the Jewish horde are ready to degrade themselves to obtain even the slightest profit. At a mere prospect of reward, they will just quietly wipe the spit of contempt from their faces Therefore, those are right who talk about Jews in the language of contempt; or, in other words, those are right who condemn the eastern barbarian and social vermin designated by the term “Jew.”²⁵¹

Świętochowski thereby depicted a stereotypic image of the Jew which came close to its Enlightenment predecessor. He displayed a similar bias toward peasantry:

The Jew exploits others and destroys their well-being, the peasant burns, steals, and kills – both are responsible for disasters which require constant caution and preventive efforts.²⁵²

250 E. Orzeszkowa (1954), Vol. 1, p. 217.

251 A. Świętochowski (1877), “Żydowskie złoto (Jewish Gold),” *Przegląd Tygodniowy*, No. 48, pp. 551–552.

252 A. Świętochowski (1890), “Patentowanie obywateli (Patenting of Citizens),” *Prawda*, No. 1.

What the Świątochowski found especially irritating was the ethnic and religious diversity of Jews (he even coined the expression “Jewery-breeding”). Like the thinkers and reformers of the Enlightenment, the writer demanded the abolition of all traditional Kehila institutions, especially Cheders, which, in his view, served to “support and propagate separatist tendencies.” As an anti-clerical freethinker, who described Catholicism as a kind of “fetishism,” Świątochowski believed that “the mighty fortress of Judaism has to be attacked.”²⁵³ In fact, to achieve this purpose, he would even go as far as to declare support for an intervention of the tsarist authorities into Polish internal affairs. With the passage of years, his growing intolerance for ethnic diversities, together with a vain hope for harmonized economic development, made that which he once believed to be a mere “minor issue” rise to the status of the fundamental problem affecting the Kingdom of Poland. Not surprisingly, this conviction led the Polish creator of positivism and the co-founder of the assimilation program to embrace Antisemitism in the interwar period.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the press has begun to play an increasingly important role in shaping public opinion. In the seventies, the struggle between conservatives and positivists was fierce, and it was precisely the problem of the place of the Jewish community in Polish society was one of the major issues under debate. Conservatives adapted the stories known from the past to the time of scientism, eliminating superstition. Klemens Junosza-Szaniawski titled his program *Our Jews in Towns and Villages* (1889), and the pronoun “our” which he used was very characteristic of the nobility’s “utility-oriented” way of thinking about society. As noted by an author in the conservative journal “Wiek” (1873, No. 65): “The Jew is a necessary equipment in our farm, without which it is hard to manage. (...) We do not, however, equate ourselves with Jews, we do not recognize them as equal individuals; nor do we enter into friendship with them.” And he called for a “social union” thanks to which “Jews would no longer by masters holding – against our best interest – a trade monopoly in their hands.” Here, one may hear an echo of the Enlightenment journalism which identified all Judaism believers with the not highly respected profession of merchant. Conservatives exploited the image of a Jewish nouveau riche which they knew from the theatrical stage rather than real life. The image was convenient, though, as it made it possible to reject the “social union” without feeling remorse that it would be to detriment of the country. They listed the following Jewish flaws, characteristic of both the nouveau riche and the assimilated: “stepping into the spotlight,” “seizing the industry,” “greed” and “selfishness,” as well as the mania of imitation, “this blind and unconditional adoration for everything unfamiliar and foreign,”²⁵⁴ including – to our horror! – teaching their daughters five or even six foreign languages, which

253 A. Świątochowski (1882), “Liberum Veto,” *Prawda*, No. 1, A. Świątochowski (1976), *Liberum Veto*, Vol. 1, p. 250.

254 Jacek Soplica (W. Olendzki) (1876), “Sprawy bieżące (Current Issues),” *Niwa*, No. 19, p. 152.

“forces them to read books,” making them sick and unable to take care of their husband and children.²⁵⁵ In “Kurier Warszawski” (1876, No. 78), Ludwik Niemojewski published a short poem titled *Postęp* (*Progress*), a satirical recapitulation of the anxiety of change shared by the social class to which he belonged:

Once Shmuel and Moshe and Abi or Ike
 Delivered some goods or bothered with leasing,
 Ate grain every day and on Sabbath a pike,
 Kept wisely away from all secret dealings
 Now Shmuel’s cart’s wheels can splash you with ooze,
 The stock buyer Moshe is ready to strike,
 Abi cocks his nose up, collecting his dues,
 While the world bows down before mighty Ike;
 It’s all about money, I say, in a word,
 Which robs us of honor – it’s progress, my lord!

The tightening of Russia’s restrictive policy toward Jews, especially the implementation of exceptional laws (1882), encouraged a change in the tone of conservative journalism. Those who decided to voice their opinion could be more daring in calling into question the principle of equality (granted in 1863 in the Kingdom of Poland), freely presenting their prejudices and rejecting the positivist idea of progress. In 1884, Stefan Godlewski made it ruthlessly clear: “the principle of equality before the law is a beautiful ideal, but applied to everyone without reservations it becomes an inherent contradiction.”²⁵⁶ A year later, he justified this view as follows:

The Jewish population is ignorant and morally degenerated, and the so-called “Jewish intelligentsia” consists largely of people who acquired wealth through exploitation and, only in a small part, of people who hold a sober and honest view of things.²⁵⁷

Such opinions had their origins in literature, but their surely influenced the way people looked at the world. Antoni Zaleski, who can hardly be described as a “Jew-eater,” wrote:

There are certain notions and views on which we and Jews will never agree with each other. For in the utmost depth of our hearts and thoughts reside powerful and irreconcilable instincts, which will always produce disharmony, a shock, and a kind of nervous disruption. There is nothing we can do about it, since nature also has its laws – different blood, tradition, education, and views will sooner or later come to the surface.²⁵⁸

255 D. Zgliński (1877), “Zbytki w klasie kupieckiej (Frills in the Merchant Class),” *Niwa*, No. 11, pp. 82–88.

256 Chorąży (S. Godlewski) (1884), “Sprawy bieżące (Current Issues),” *Niwa*, No. 4, p. 73.

257 Chorąży (S. Godlewski; 1885), “Sprawy bieżące (Current Issues),” *Niwa*, No. 21, pp. 780–783.

258 XYZ (A. Zaleski; 1888), *Towarzystwo warszawskie*, Kraków, p. 268.

With the popularization of the theory of social Darwinism, the alterity of Jews came to be understood in purely biological terms, as something instinctively felt in the nervous system. Still, we cannot label this position as racism, since Zaleski declared his willingness to accept all baptized Jews in Polish society. In the writings of many conservatives, however, such declarations clashed with the romantic motif of the “renegades,” who deserved contempt after leaving the ranks of their faith.

To be sure, several nineteenth-century Cracow and Warsaw-based historians challenged the prejudices, which usually characterized great historical syntheses. Positivist shifts in methodology made them adopt a more objectivist stance recognizing external conditions and historical processes. This does not mean, though, that they all appreciated the contribution of the Jewish population to the history of Poland. As J. Pisulińska (2004, pp. 223–224) noted, all nineteenth-century history textbooks “for the people,” while devoting scarce space to Jewish themes, almost invariably presented a particularly negative picture of the community, limited to a few passages, mostly about “promoting heavy drinking,” usury, and exploitation, sometimes also providing practical indications concerning the need to avoid Jews. Compared to the previous epochs, the number of references to Judaism increased slightly (reaching an average of 0.4 % of a given textbook), and Jews were no longer depicted as anonymous figures. Now, it was more preferable to write about individuals, especially those who engaged in the struggle for independence. For example, Berek Joselewicz (1764–1809) – a colonel in the (Grand) Duchy of Warsaw’s army fighting in the Kościuszko Uprising (1794) – became one of the most prominent heroes. The textbooks usually criticized religious intolerance and superstition. They praised assimilation, while condemning all linguistic and moral differences. Sometimes they invoked the positivist stereotype of the Jew, emphasizing such qualities as moderation, thriftiness, industriousness, intelligence, briskness, and efficiency in business. In turn, as Anna Landau-Czajka pointed out,²⁵⁹ all history textbooks for children from the second half of the nineteenth century to the end of the interwar period promoted positive attitudes toward Jewry. However, they failed to provide information about Jewish culture and religion, while the repertoire of moralizing stories used in teaching usually depicted Jews as victims.

Some of the historiographical works which appeared at the turn of the centuries contained statements reflecting Antisemitic views of their authors.²⁶⁰ Sometimes they included the allegations derived from various racist theories, referring to geographical determinism and attributing specific psychological characteristics to the nations that they described. During the same period, a leftist, socialist vision of

259 A. Landau-Czajka (2002), *Co Alicja odkrywa po własnej stronie lustra*, Warszawa, pp. 386–398.

260 For example, Feliks Koneczny (1905), *Dzieje narodu polskiego opowiedziane dla młodzieży*, Warszawa; ksiądz Ignacy Kłopotowski (1908), *Dzieje Narodu Polskiego treściwie opowiedział Stary Matus*, Warszawa.

history was emerging, rooted in Marxism and emphasizing the role of social history. Left-wing authors employed a range of new methodologies, reaching into different fields of the humanities, such as sociology. As an example, we can cite *Social Outline of the Polish State* (1901) by Kazimierz Gorzycki. To be sure, Gorzycki did not avoid false generalizations, describing “women trafficking,” alongside usury and grain trade, as a “typically” Jewish occupation, but he also drew attention to the economic system that had set Jewry as a mediating minority:

the nobility used Jewish intermediaries to run trade business and financial matters in general; a peasant in need usually asked an intermediary or a Jewish barkeeper for advice and for help when he committed an offence against his lord or appealed for a pardon. This natural mediation in rural matters gave the Jews an equal social prominence as conducting financial business.

Among more positive examples of history textbooks, one may cite Józef Dąbrowski's *Historia Polski* (*History of Poland*, 1907, 1909), even though it repeated the accusation against Jews of contributing to the collapse of cities and described Antisemitism as a justified response to their “domination in trade.” In his *Historia demokracji polskiej w epoce porozbiorowej* (*The History of Polish Democracy After the Partitions*, Zurich 1901), Bolesław Limanowski, another socialist, adopted a positivist image of the Jewish community, fearing its economic “domination,” while at the same time promoting assimilation. Limanowski also criticized Catholic traditions as a source of anti-Jewish attitudes held by Poles. Utterly exceptional, however, was Kazimierz Rakowski's synthesis *Wewnętrzne dzieje Polski. Zarys rozwoju społecznego i ekonomicznego* (*Internal History of Poland. An Outline of Poland's Social and Economic Development*, 1908). The author, who was a deeply believing Catholic and a proponent of Christian Democracy, presented the history of the Jews in a particularly favorable light. He emphasized not only their contribution to the development of the country but also the injustice and wrong inflicted on them by Christians. Moreover, he estimated that the hatred of the “urban mob” toward Judaism was due to people's superficial knowledge of the principles of the Catholic faith.²⁶¹ In the interwar period, textbooks based on earlier authors' studies – for example, of the Cracow conservative school which was overly critical of the Jewish heritage – were in use in history teaching. Most of them skipped the problem of minorities or presented it in stereotypical and prejudiced ways, sometimes to the point of expressing racist or Antisemitic views.²⁶²

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, works appeared which presented naturalistic images of poverty and exploitation. Several authors blamed Jews for this state of affairs. In these works, Jews symbolized a deeply inhuman system, as in Maria Konopnicka's *Nasza szkapa* (*Our Nag*, 1893), where an archetypal figure of Trade appears. Kazimierz Laskowski's *Pamiętnik eks-dziedzica z*

261 See J. Pisulińska, 2004, pp. 225–260.

262 A. Landau-Czajka, “Koledzy czy wrogowie?,” *BŻIH*, No. 183/184.

dopiskami eks-pachciarza (*A Diary of an Ex-Heir with an Ex-Confectioner's Notes*, 1904) and *Zrośli z ziemią* (*Knitted with the Earth*, 1913), Artur Gruszecki's *Szachraje* (1990) and *Dla miliona* (*For a Million*, 1900), Michał Bałucki's *W żydowskich rękach* (*In Jewish Hands*, 1884) and *Przeklęte pieniądze* (*Cursed Money*, 1899) echoed older prejudices of the Enlightenment's discourse mixed with the new-fashioned theories of social Darwinism. In *The Doll* (1890) by Boleslaus Prus (1847–1912), Jews were usually supporting figures, but they played an important role in illustrating the author's views. Prus was a proponent of assimilation and at the same time a sworn and ruthless critic of the economic activity of Jews (this second aspect comes to the foreground in his novel *Placówka*). Prus's weekly chronicle reflected the evolution of his views – from the praise of assimilation combined with the critique of the assimilated through a defense of orthodox separateness to an adoption of certain components of Antisemitic ideology to which Prus seemed to be inclined at the end of his life.

Junosza-Szaniawski's later novels were full of hostility, while at the same time bursting with satirical passion. This is true especially of *Na zgliszczach* (*In the Ruins*, 1884), *Pająki* (*Spiders*, 1894), *Czarnebloto. Pająki wiejskie* (*Czarnebloto. The Rural Spiders*, 1895), *W pajęczej sieci* (*In a Spider's Web*, 1896), *Pod wodę* (*Under the Water*, 1899). The protagonists of these novels were Jewish usurers, whom Szaniawski knew very well, as he struggled himself with financial difficulties. The author described them as absolute and soulless if comic characters. These works are considered to be pioneering in presenting the Antisemitic image of the Jew, because they included verbal signs and stereotypes that entered the repertoire of the Antisemitic rhetoric, especially the association of Jews with spiders (or a "spider's web"). Fiction of that time illustrated a mature Antisemitic ideology. For example, Teodor Jeske-Choiński (1854–1920) published one of the first novels expressing such an attitude, titled *Na straconym posterunku* (*In a Lost Station*, 1884).

The turn of the centuries also saw a simultaneous development of modernism which introduced the figures of Jewish women derived partly from the Polish romantic tradition and partly from Western literature. *Panna Mary* (*Miss Mary*, 1899) by Kazimierz Tetmajer (1865–1940), *Hetmani* (*Hetmans*, 1911) by Joseph Weyssenhoff (1860–1932), and *Węże i róże* (*Snakes and Roses*) by Zofia Nałkowska (1884–1954) elaborated the motif of "femme fatale," that is to say, beautiful but unscrupulous and morally degraded Jewish women. The figure Rachel in Stanisław Wyspiański's (1869–1907) *Wedding* was more rooted in the Polish romantic tradition, acting as an intermediary between the two alien worlds of Jews and Poles, very much like the great romantic heroines of the first half of the nineteenth century, who were ready to compromise their religious and family ties for the sake of love. *The Promised Land* (1899) of the Polish Nobel Prize winner Władysław Reymont (1867–1925) includes both the modernist portrayal of sensual but unholy Jewess and the proto-Antisemitic ideas liked to Darwinian determinism, on the one hand, and to the nineteenth-century critique of capitalism, on the other. After the First World War, at the other end of the political spectrum, works started to appear which presented newborn leftist ideals. It is striking, however, that Jewish

characters and themes were virtually absent from these works. The only exception was Stefan Żeromski's *Early Spring* (1864–1925), but the Jews in this novel were presented in a negative light.

Apart from “fine” literature, second-rate fiction was emerging which was strongly dominated by satire.²⁶³ While more ambitious works were also focused on discussing contemporary social or artistic problems, as they sought to be moralizing and didactic, to design the future of the country or influence the reality, popular literature was generally deprived of these ambitions. Far from trying to change or improve the world, it showed everything in a cracked mirror in order to provide entertainment. However, it was far more “mass” in character, influencing not only a narrow elite but also less-educated social groups. In fact, it was a continuation of the tradition of medieval interludes which presented the poor as “ridiculous” by definition; also the Jewish figures in interludes created a comic effect with their dress, gestures, way of talking, etc.

This strand of popular art was also indebted to the tradition of “Eulenspiegel” (Pol. *Sowizdrzał*) literature in which the lower estates took their revenge by ridiculing the elites and “strangers.” This kind of comedy was meant to express social distance rather than hostility, even though, of course, it also served to depreciate the portrayed groups.²⁶⁴ A whole repertoire of such schematized comic figures can be found in the stories by August Wiltonski (for example, *Ramoty i ramotki*, Poznań 1862), Jan Kanty Gregorowicz (*Obrazki wiejskie*, Warsaw 1852), and Walery Wielogłowski (*Obrazki z obyczajów ludu wiejskiego*, Kraków 1882; published in 4 editions). Some can be traced from the strand folktales – categorized by ethnographers as the “stupid neighbors” stories – in which representatives of various groups recognized as “alien” (noblemen, priests, Jews, Gypsies, etc.) became victims of various tricks and jokes based on clever frauds or deception – or, on the contrary, they perpetrated such a mischief themselves. Of similar provenance was a very popular play by Aleksander Ładnowski (1815–1891), *Berek zapieczętowany, albo Żyd w beczce* (*Berek Sealed; or a Jew in a Barrel*), which had been performed repeatedly between 1849 and 1870.²⁶⁵ Numerous similar works – for example, *Polski Żyd albo każdy ma swój dzień; Niepotrzebne swaty żydowskie; Z Żyda król; or Ładnowski's: Kimedia pod tytułem Żiwi i umarli czyli Powstanie na kuszer albo Psy*

263 Interestingly enough, Jewish characters hardly appeared in adventure literature or Polish criminal novels.

264 See, Eugenia Prokopówna (1988), “Śmiech szlachecki w satyrycznych obrazach żydowskiego świata,” *Studenckie Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Studenckie Zeszyty Polonistyczne*, No. 3, Kraków. For more about similar attitudes of peasants toward other social and religious groups, see. M. Nowik (1977), *Miejsce i rola komizmu w życiu społeczności wiejskiej na przykładzie wsi Trześniów, woj. krośnieńskie* (unpublished MA thesis, the archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Warsaw).

265 There were several, slightly different versions of this comedy, such as *A Jew in a Barrel* or *Ike Sealed*.

wilka pożarzy lub Tajfel Lorbe Fuszer, and *Życie i śmierć Jaśnie wielmożnego Święte Pamięciów Pana Rzegote Zająćkowski, gojm a grojsse inkwizytor* – were played in café theaters. The heroes of these plays – dressed in gaberdines and yarmulkes, and with side curls hanging from under their hats – kept unwittingly falling into trouble. Their adventures, usually resulting in unexpected tumbles or being shut in a barrel, triggered laughter among their spectators, many of whom were of Jewish descent.

By the end of the century, the burlesque plays evolved toward vaudeville. Among examples of this trend one may list *Wesele Ojzerka i Ryfki* by Konstanty Lewisohn (who was an actor of Jewish origin), K. Krumłowski's *Żydek wesoty* and *Nocne ptaki*, and Felix Kwaśniewski's *Zięć firmy L. M. Feinband i Spółka*. The Jewish protagonists (necessarily with large noses, although not always dressed in gaberdines) often delivered satirical monologues, kept repeating "Oy vey," parodied the Jewish language, sang cuples, and imitated Chassidic dances.²⁶⁶ A short review of this theatrical repertoire exploiting the figure of a Jewish nouveau riche was a sigh of poor Chaim, the hero of the "comic-fantasy" opera *Piekło (Hell)* by Feliks Szober (1846–1879): "Not all Jews are bankers. I'm groaning because I'm poor. Oy vey, oy vey!" Szober was the most popular author of the so-called "garden repertoire of the 1870s." He came up with a pair of characters: a rural petty nobleman, Barnaba Fafuła, and his guide at Warsaw's pubs, Józio Grojseszyk. His burlesque plays: *Podróż po Warszawie* (1878), *Barnaba Fafuła i Józio Grojseszyk na wystawie paryskiej. Śmiesznotka w 5 aktach* (1878), and *Piekło. Operetka komiczno-fantastyczna w 5 aktach* (staged posthumously in 1880) won the hearts of the audience of both Christian and Jewish denominations. The juxtaposition of two characters of different confessions and estates produced not only a comic effect but also a kind of catharsis – a release of class and intercultural tensions affecting the cosmopolitan city.

The comic quality of vaudeville plays was linked primarily to gesticulation and language errors made by the Jewish figures who tried to speak Polish, producing surprising associations. In general, when touching on Jewish topics, this popular but mediocre literature usually petrified traditional stereotypes, presenting Jews as dodgers, frauds or comic characters, who did not deserve any respect. Their only virtue was that they sometimes aptly summed up the reality with their incisive if

266 One of the composers of music for garden theaters was Adolf Sonnenfeld, who specialized in polkas, quadrilles, mazurkas, and parodies of the Chassidic music called *majufesy*, a word derived from the Hebrew phrase *Ma aftit yafit* – "How beautiful." These were the first words of the Sabbath song, usually sung a capella at a morning meal. In vaudeville plays, in turn, the orchestra played the song's melody, while the actor was dancing and singing cuples. This, in fact, had nothing to do with the serious atmosphere of the Sabbath. In the interwar period the word *majufesnik* was an insult in Yiddish, which served to designate a servile Jew. See. Ch. Shmeruk (1992), "Majufes," *The Jews in Poland*, Kraków, Vol. 1.

cynical remarks. It is not hard to see that only a thin line separated this type of art from Antisemitism, even though the audience did not see it as an attack on Judaism and its followers.²⁶⁷ This strand of literature influenced both Polish and Jewish twentieth-century authors of cabarets. In the interwar period, however, Jewish characters disappeared almost entirely from Polish drama, finding their place only in the Jewish theater.²⁶⁸ At that time, readers could enjoy the works of Jewish authors such as Shalom Asz, J. Opatoszu Izrael Joshua Singer and his brother Isaac Baszewis Bashevis Singer, who described their community without the stereotypes which often characterized the works of Polish artists. But apart from Shalom Ash, who enjoyed fair popularity, the rest of them was not widely known to the Polish audience.

Wiech's (Stefan Wiechecki's, 1896–1979) feuilletons were a continuation of this “plebeian” strand of comedy. It is estimated that Jewish topics covered about 25 % of his columns in 1936–1939. Although these texts were not meant to be realistic, they sometimes came close to fact literature, as they were often incrustated with court reports or defendants' testimonies in a stylized Warsaw dialect. Wiech portrayed Jews as ridiculous figures, whose comic quality was primarily due to their peculiar behavior and “tricks” which fooled them. The discussed works reflected the model of interfaith relations characterizing poorer classes of Warsaw's society. They also revealed – en passant, as it were – the trouble suffered by Jews as a result of discriminatory legislation (for example, the adventures of a merchant sentenced to two days of detention for engaging in trade on Sunday in *Roztańczonej Areszt*).²⁶⁹ What pictures can we see in the cracked mirror of Wiech's satire? For instance, kosher restaurants, which, as distinct from taverns, were rarely

267 Another thing is that young Zionists condemned this tomfoolery; a critique of such vaudeville plays also appeared in the “Izraelita” weekly. See e.g. H. Cohn (1896), *Żydzi – komedia Korzeniowskiego*, “Izraelita,” No. 13; *Z teatru*, “Izraelita,” No. 44. Young Zionists sent many protest letters to the press. Noach Prylucki was arrested in 1903 for a protest he organized in a garden theater against Stanisław Dobrzański's “Złoty Cielec.” M. Steinlauf (1989) made an interesting comparison of these vaudeville plays with American minstrel shows of the second half of the nineteenth century, which featured the comic character of black Sambo (played by a white actor) giving funny monologues, singing, dancing and tumbling.

268 A collection of such songs was released in 2001 by Stasiak Wielanek, a Warszawa's street bard, in the Zic Zac Music Studio, BMG. See also his (1994), *Szlagiery starej Warszawy*, Warszawa.

269 The ban on Sunday trade was passed in the Polish Sejm in 1919. It was supported by both the right (National Democracy and Christian Democracy) and the left side of the political spectrum. National Democracy saw it as a possibility of restricting the activities of the Jewish competition. For Christian Democracy, it was an expression of a religious rule. Finally, left-wing politicians believed it to be one of the safeguards of workers' rights. The ban was often breached by both Christian and Jewish tradesmen.

witnessed drinking bouts: “The guests drink little or nothing, but they speak a lot and loudly, and eat much” (*Koszerny Kozak*, p.8). At Carnival balls, Jews dressed up as Cossacks, police inspectors, “robe” noblemen or “a young Tatra Goral,” as Mr. Beniek Berlinerszpic. In satirical literature of the end of the nineteenth century, the imitation of Polish customs and the “impersonation” of public figures was a popular means of ridiculing the assimilated Jews. A similar function was attributed to the figures of Jewish bachelors, who sought marriage for material reasons (*Zemsta górala*, p. 9):

And he seduced Miss Rita Cwafuszerówna, the well-dowered only daughter of the biggest mercer, even though he received a lot of letters from other beauties, who represented businesses of equal importance.

It is important to underscore that Polish literature, which described Jews using so abundant and diverse artistic means, was a unique phenomenon on the European scale. This allows one to observe that Jews were very important for the modern identity of the nineteenth-century Poles. It is worth mentioning one more specific feature, namely that no Polish author at the time would have written such a phrase as the one appearing in the following text by a German traveler: “I came to Kęty, a poor town, where the market was full of carriages, horses, peasants, cattle, pigs, and Jews.”²⁷⁰ This sequence of words gives a sense of social distance felt toward Jews (and peasants) in the Prussian culture. In the Polish society, this distance was smaller, because the Jewish population was more numerous, more diversified in terms of wealth, and was not pushed to the margins of society.

Even a brief discussing the image of Jews in the Polish literature does not allow us to say that fine literature presented them in a more favorable light. The first one to make such a claim was Alexander Herz (*Żydzi w kulturze polskiej*, Paris 1961), who later influenced several other scholars. This subjective canon of national literature, established after the Second World War, was based on the exclusion of some widely-read and high-quality novels which expressed a scornful or hostile attitude toward Jews. Certainly, apart from political conditions, one of the reasons behind this exclusion was the trauma of the Holocaust.

If one may propose some generalizations for this very diverse body of literature, journalism, historical syntheses, and textbooks, then it would be most accurate to say that the Polish authors rarely presented Jewish figures for their own sake or in order to depict Jewish customs. Typically, Jews acted as symbols, personifying social, cultural, and moral problems – always from the Polish point of view. The Jewish figures were designed to provide either positive or negative models of behavior, or to illustrate the authors’ social programs and views. That is why they

270 A passage from a travelogue by a Prussian subject Georg Forster. Cf. *Polska Stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, Warszawa 1963, Vol. 2, p. 48. See also A. Żuk (1987), p. 177.

were often schematically – even if sometimes vividly – described. But they lacked background and complexity.

Despite numerous social and economic relations between Poles and Jews, the image of the latter in the Polish culture (both plebeian and higher) was scarcely influenced by knowledge derived from personal contacts. The image of this group was composed of judgments and convictions inspired by the Catholic Judeophobia, folk culture, and estate or (subsequently) class stereotypes. Personal experiences, which often stood in contradiction with these opinions, were usually pushed away from the social discourse and never became part of the intergenerational message. The Polish people were not accustomed to believing in what they could see with their own eyes – they preferred to listen to authorities. Traditionally, this kind of authority was in the hands of clergymen. However, in the twentieth century, it was party leaders who started to play an increasingly important role in shaping public opinions.

Chapter 6. The Emergence of the “Jewish Question” and Antisemitic Ideology in Polish Lands

6.1. The Beginnings of the Antisemitic Movement and Propaganda in Poland

Political Antisemitism, which developed in Prussia and Austria-Hungary, began to penetrate the Polish lands from the turn of the 1870s and 1880s. The Western influences – a fully formed doctrine and propaganda techniques – collided with the paradigms of Russian origin. The latter included conspiracy theories, in the form of translations of Brafman or Osman Bey, and the imitation of violence, as indicated by similar forms and justifications of mass anti-Jewish rallies. As with the reception of Judeophobia, the first recipients of both Western and Eastern ideological “novelties” were the educated, while the patterns of violence more strongly impacted the rebellious poor. However, especially in the twentieth century, this does not mean that the latter initiated and partook in anti-Jewish manifestations on their own. At the end of nineteenth century, some figures among the intelligentsia made Antisemitism an essential component of Polish nationalism. With the development of the national consciousness, Antisemitism radiated eastward to encompass the Polish ethnic enclaves in the towns of Western Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania. For Ukrainians and Lithuanians, Polish nationalism was a model for their own National Revival movements; hence, it also could not part with the hostility toward Jews. The Belarussians remain a European phenomenon, as modern nationalism failed to spread among them until recently.²⁷¹ The influence of political Antisemitism was also relatively weak there, although the traditional Christian image of Judaism was present, accompanied by a sense of class inferiority in relation to the Jews felt by the, mostly peasant, Belarussian population.

In Southern Poland, one of the first Antisemitic ideologists and activists was a deputy to the Diet of Galicia and Lodomeria and the Vienna State Council, Teofil Merunowicz (1846–1919), who was an Eastern-rite Catholic of Polish national identity. In 1879, Merunowicz published as many as three essays: *Żydzi. Studium społeczne* (Jews. A Social Study), *O metodzie i celach rozpraw nad kwestią żydowską* (On the Method and Aims of Inquiries in the Jewish Question) and *Żydowscy radykaliści* (Jewish Radicals). A year later, Merunowicz became famous for the

271 R. Radzik (1998), *Przyczyny słabości białoruskiego procesu narodotwórczego w XIX i XX wieku*, “Kultura i Społeczeństwo” No. 3.

seven petitions he had brought to the parliament which caused protests by the Jewish organizations and for which the Vienna press began to compare him to the Hungarian deputy Istóczy.²⁷² Merunowicz accused the Jews of selfishness, aversion to their surroundings, conscious isolation from the rest of society, and radicalism. Merunowicz also became convinced that Jews threaten the social and economic life of Poles as well as Christians in general. He utilized a number of calques drawn from Prussian Antisemitic publications (Herder and Marr, among others) in an attempt to uncover the traces of the "plot of Berlin's and Vienna's stock exchange moguls," or the harmful influence of the Rothschild's in Galicia. Merunowicz also took from Rohling when, with the alleged quotations from the Talmud, he asserted the double moral standard that was to characterize the Jews; their materialism and support for "progress" which, in his eyes, was nothing more than "scam." Merunowicz expressed belief in the blood libel when he commented on the Tiszaeszlár affair and the trials of the Ritter family in Cracow. However, the strongest imprint on Merunowicz's imagination made Brafman's conspiratorial musings on the Kehillas, and so, while performing his parliamentary duties, Merunowicz loudly demanded the abolishment of Jewish organizations, cleverly pointing out their incompatibilities with the established law. Despite the many borrowings from German Antisemitic activists, the influence on Merunowicz's views mostly stemmed from the program of the Cracow conservatives rather than Western European nationalists. Believing that Jews can change their ways when explained the evils that they committed, Merunowicz published his projects of forced Polonization in the assimilatory journal *Ojczyzna* (Fatherland). His ideas have received a sympathetic reply even from the intellectualist Aleksander Świętochowski, despite the latter's usual aversion to dilettante efforts to solve Polish problems. On the other hand, Cracow's conservative paper *Czas* criticized Merunowicz. The journalists accused him of alienating the Orthodox Jews from Poles while favoring the progressive, Germanized Jews.

Father Stanisław Stojałowski (1845–1911), employed Antisemitic agitation to organize a popular movement among the peasantry of Southern Poland. Stojałowski came from the Jesuit Order, studied in Belgium, and returned to the country in 1875, where he purchased two newspapers intended for the rural readers, *Wieniec* (Wreath) and *Pszczółka* (Little Bee), with Merunowicz among their authors. While in Poland, Stojałowski began to organize cooperatives and communal reading rooms. In 1893, he joined Związek Stronnictwa Chłopskiego (Peasantry Union), an organization with ties to the conservatives; however, he was expelled shortly

272 The petitions were first published in *Gazeta Narodowa*, and later in a separate brochure *Siedem próśb wniesionych do sejmu w sesji w roku 1880 w sprawie równouprawnienia Żydów* (Lviv 1880). Merunowicz was also an author of the pamphlet *Żydowska polityka narodowa doby obecnej* (1919). For a detailed discussion of Merunowicz's views see: A. Żbikowski (1993/94), "Rozwój ideologii antysemityzmu w Galicji w drugiej połowie XIX w.," *BŻIH*, No. 167/168 i 169/171.

after. In 1896, Stojałowski founded Stronnictwo Chrześcijańsko-Ludowe (Popular Christian Party). His political activity among the peasantry raised concern among the Catholic hierarchy. The latter suspended Stojałowski in 1888, 1894, and 1896; when he was serving a prison sentence in 1885, the bishops even excommunicated Stojałowski. However, Stojałowski had wealthy patrons, the most helpful of which was Countess Anna Potocka. Thanks to her financial support, Stojałowski left for Paris, where he established contact with the Catholic clergymen Paul Naudet, Jules Auguste Lemire, and Emmanuel Boyteau. They were the precursors of the Christian social movement; hence, they concentrated not only on the spiritual condition of the workers and the poor but also on their material wellbeing. It was due to the intercession of these French priests that Stojałowski was able to successfully appeal to the Apostolic See to lift the excommunication. Stojałowski returned to the country through Austria where he also met with the Christian social activists. Back in Poland, Stojałowski won a seat in the Austrian parliament, where he supported the socialist deputies; however, this alliance proved short-term. In 1909, Stojałowski was able to establish a coalition between his party and National Democracy.

Stojałowski was the type of activist whose views did not precisely fall within Galicia's pre-existing political currents. His social radicalism mingled with the desire for national unity, to which the closest was the concept of solidarism. This, however, stood in conflict with the radicalism of the bleak Galician reality that made the dream of peasant and landowner cooperation a mere fantasy. The only thread with which Stojałowski could link the contradictory elements of agrarianism, populism, conservatism, and nationalism was Antisemitism, which proved to be the most enduring element of his worldview. The alleged threat posed by the Jews was the only argument for Stojałowski that could justify the need for an alliance between landowners and peasants. Stojałowski primarily used the slogans of economic struggle with the Jewish middlemen, themes of Catholic Judeophobia, and visions of conspiracy. Stojałowski contributed to the propagation of clerical Antisemitism in the community of Southern Poland's clergy and the emerging popular movement. Stojałowski probably likely bears part of the moral responsibility for the peasant uprisings that broke out in the Rzeszów region in 1898 and later in 1918–1919. Father Stojałowski's radical social activity received continuation in the activities of Fr. Eugeniusz Okoń (1882–1949) and Tadeusz Dąbal (1890–1938), founders of the left Chrześcijańskie Stronnictwo Radykalne (Christian Radical Party; 1919) and deputies to the parliament accused of initiating anti-Jewish riots.²⁷³ Stronnictwo Ludowe (People's Party), founded in 1895 by Bolesław Wysłouch, also advocated the fight against the Jewish middlemen. Their program

273 J. Tomaszewski (1996), "Sprawozdanie komisji rządowej w sprawie rozruchów antyżydowskich na Rzeszowszczyźnie wiosną 1919 r.," *BŻIH*, No. 180; W. Stankiewicz (1963), *Konflikty społeczne na wsi polskiej 1918–1920*, Warszawa.

also contained proposals for the expulsion of Jews from Poland. The factions found its continuation in the right-wing Polish People’s Party *Piast*.

Modern Antisemitic ideology appeared quite early in the Kingdom of Poland, especially in Warsaw. Some historians tried to trace its origin to a quarrel between the publisher of *Gazeta Warszawska* (Warsaw Newspaper), Antoni Lesznowski, and a group of assimilated Jewish intelligentsia that happened in 1858–1860, which some journalists dubbed the “Jewish war.”²⁷⁴ However, this was not a manifestation of a conscious political or nationalistic program as evidenced the period of “Polish-Jewish fraternity” which followed immediately after and led to the active participation of the assimilated Jews in the January Uprising (1863). The incident in question was symptomatic to the defensive behavior of the conservative segment of the Polish elite, alarmed by the growing participation in the cultural life of the representatives which they perceived to come from a lower social group.²⁷⁵

An important turning point in the history of Polish Antisemitism became the Warsaw pogrom that happened on December 25 to 27, 1881.²⁷⁶ This event was the result of the devastating panic that fired during mass at the Holy Cross Church. The rumor that a Jewish pickpocket triggered the hysteria by shouting “Fire!” incited the locals to direct their anger at the Jews. The locals formed groups that vandalized and pillaged Jewish stalls and shops almost in the whole city. They killed two people, injured twenty-four, and robbed more than two thousand Jewish families. Some of the circumstances of this pogrom resembled the corresponding wave of anti-Jewish violence in Russia, which inspired suspicions about the involvement of the Tsarist agents. Firstly, the pogrom preceded anonymous agitation in the form of leaflets and hostile graffiti on the walls, which appeared in the capital during the half-year prior to its outbreak. Similar anti-Jewish propaganda accompanied the demonstrations in the south-western governorates of the Russian Empire. As

274 More about this incident: K. Bartoszewicz (1912), *Wojna żydowska*, Warszawa; S. Hirschhorn (1921); J. Shatzki (1947–53), *Geszichte fun Jidn in Warsze*, New York, Vol. 2; A. Eisenbach (1972), *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa; A. Cała (1989), rozdz. 1.

275 J. D. Klier (1995), pp. 51–66.

276 The pogrom wave in Russia reflected the rise of anti-Jewish incidents in the Kingdom. The tsarist rulers worried about this and tried to prevent the increase in tensions, including addressing the Catholic clergy with a request to calm the moods. The administrator of the Archdiocese of Warsaw, Father Antoni Sotkiewicz, wrote a pastoral letter in May 1881, appealing: “If bad people would pretend to be religiously fervent to convince you against believers of other faith, do not be deluded, endure the test of your faith, and reject all vicissitudes victoriously.” The proclamation was also issued by the Warsaw rabbi, both documents quoted S. H. Peltyn in *Izraelita* (1881), pp. 155–156; while the first also *Przegląd Katolicki* (1881), No. 21. On the reaction of the Catholic, Evangelical, and Orthodox Churches to the wave of pogroms, see K. Lewalski (2002), *Kościoty chrześcijańskie w Królestwie Polskim wobec Żydów w latach 1855–1915*, Wrocław, pp. 128–140.

in the case of Jelizavietgrad from April 15, 1881, the Warsaw police remained passive during the events, with its commander absent on the day of the outbreak of the riots. Only on his return did the army and police quickly take control of the situation and arrested two thousand and six hundred people. About a third of the detainees were workers, and there were also several dozens of artisans and custodians. Unfortunately, the make-up of the rest of the rioters remains unknown; however, there was a large group of women present among them. The tension of the pogrom continued for several weeks.

Regardless of their particular views, the Polish public opinion was shocked by the events of the Warsaw pogrom. People spontaneously organized charity fundraisers. The famous actress Helena Modrzejewska donated her income from a performance in Cracow. Maria Konopnicka wrote a novella "Mendel Gdański," in which she warns that the cause of Polish independence would suffer from growing Jewish indifference to a hostile homeland. Eliza Orzeszkowa tried to corral progressive intelligentsia, while she herself was ready to actively defend the followers of Judaism in case the atmosphere of hostility in Grodno was to end in riots. The press published in Congress Poland and Galicia saw a heated discussion about the causes of such barbaric behavior. Although everyone condemned the riots, the discourse quickly shifted into polemics on the subject of the "Jewish question," which gathered many puzzling and disturbing accents. Some articles and letters assumed that it was the Jews themselves that carried the guilt. The conservatives accused Jewish of "swindle" while labeling the assimilated as the "nouveaux riches." The positivists condemned the latter for slow and weak assimilation. The tone and sentiments resembled those invoked by the German journalists after the wave of Bavarian 1819 pogroms. It appears that a significant portion of the arguments after the Warsaw pogrom became a model for the future discussions in Poland whenever Poles committed crimes against Jews. This particularly applies to the process of transferring guilt to the victims.

A lesser-known incident happened in 1883 Żyrardów, an industrial town near Warsaw. At the end of April, 180 workers protested against wage cuts and redundancies in an Austrian-owned textile factory. When the protest escalated on the next day, the police dispersed the demonstration and killed three people, including a boy of fifteen, and injured many others. The reaction of the outraged workers was surprising: they attacked the local Jews. One of the justifications reported by the police was, "In Warsaw, at the time of the Jewish pogrom, no one shot at the people, while in Żyrardów, when we did not want to work for the Germans, they killed our brothers and sisters."²⁷⁷ The riot manifested a spontaneous strike movement that was rising throughout this decade, but its participants alluded to the Warsaw pogrom, which indirectly inscribed them in the wave of pogroms

277 N. M. Naimark (1979), *The History of the 'Proletariat'. The Emergence of Marxism in the Kingdom of Poland, 1870–1887*, "East European Quarterly," pp. 139–14. Qtd. after: B. Porter (2000), *When Nationalism Began to Hate*, New York-Oxford, p.140.

that swept through the Pale of Settlement in Russia. Like in Russia, the Żyrardów pogrom was motivated by a primitive social revolt that transferred responsibility on the innocent co-inhabitants. The Żyrardów events received no reaction from the press or the elites of the nearby capital. To a degree, one could say that they passed unnoticed, as did other protests of workers, like the riots of the unemployed at the Castle Square in Warsaw on the 2nd of March, 1885.

In 1883, the weekly *Rola* began to circulate in a most favorable attitude of the tsarist censorship. Its editor, Jan Jeleński (1848–1909), who stemmed from the positivist circle, saw the Warsaw pogrom as an inspiration for the establishment of his newspaper.²⁷⁸ Already then, Jeleński was the author of several quite popular anti-Jewish brochures: *O skierowaniu Żydów ku pracy w rolnictwie* (On Moving the Jews to Work in Agriculture; 1873), *Nasz świat finansowy* (Our Financial World; 1874), *Żydzi, Niemcy i my* (Jews, Germans, and Us; 1876), *Dworacy Żydów* (Servants of Jews; 1878), *Narada z Kubą, jakby sobie radzić bez Żydów* (Discussion with Jacob on How to Live Without Jews; 1880), and *Żydzi na wsi* (Rural Jews; 1881). Jeleński started with the postulates of the “productivization” of the Jews; an utterly utopian idea, however brimming with a naïve belief that its realization would solve most of the Polish problems, including the woes of the Jews. Jeleński fantasized:

Because all these [Jewish] masses which today fanatically seek to live in poverty, when taught the beneficial effects of agrarian work, would love their profession even more.... Our citizens-landowners then receive a good source of labor for agriculture, which they especially lack now, when the ownership relations change so harshly²⁷⁹. Since our Polish peasants are innately lazy and slow, not to mention the whole working class, direct competition from the Jews would motivate mobility in search of a salary and general stronger pressure to work. Small townships would then transform from current stinky Jewish settlements into neat centers of industry, manufacture, and commerce.

Later Jeleński noticed the threat that the Jews and Germans posed to the economy of the country: “soon, there might approach a moment in which ... it will no longer be the Jews and Germans who dwell among us but ... it will be us ... who dwell among them.”²⁸⁰ Jeleński, however, did not demand a limitation of equal rights and praised assimilated intellectuals. Jeleński proposed to streamline “rational loans” to combat usury and stated that “we only need to assume a protectionist-securing approach in regard to the Jews,”²⁸¹ which meant fair competition in the

278 See A. Cała (1989), Chap. 14. *Rola* outlived its publisher by several years. The paper ceased to be published in 1913, giving space to an outburst of anti-Jewish pritis.

279 It is an allusion to the abolishment of serfdom by the tsarist’s rulers of the Kingdom of Poland in 1861–1864.

280 J. Jeleński (1877). *Żydzi, niemcy i my*, Warszawa, p. 82. The brochure had four editions in a couple of years.

281 J. Jeleński, 1877, p. 69.

economic field. When the Positivist press ridiculed Jeleński's arguments, he accused the critics of "servitude" toward Jews, who "surely shall not exploit us, if we will not give them such an opportunity."²⁸² In his next work, Jeleński instructed the peasants:

Only a stupid or evil man may hate the Jews because they are Jewish and have a different faith.... We should not despise or hate the Jews because they are Jewish, but we should watch out for them and make do without them because they cheat most often and want to live by the work of others.²⁸³

Another of Jeleński's pamphlets described the exploitation of landowners and peasants by the Jews. Here appears the traditional accusation of inducing alcoholism as well as a conspiratorial theme which was a definite echo of Brafman's *Kniga Kahala* (*Qahal-Kehillah Book*):

This is no accidental or momentary exploitation or simple fraud but this is *organized exploitation* which stems from a conspiracy of broad circles of profiteers, who collude beforehand who and when to exploit, always with the help of the local innkeepers, where each organization may operate and where it may not (usually through agreements signed at rabbi's); thus, they agree how to "interfere" other traders.²⁸⁴

Jeleński's dilettante views on the economy did not change in the least, and he continued to proclaim them stubbornly in *Rola*. In an increasingly aggressive way, he demanded the segregation of the Jews in the form of social and economic boycotts. Later, Jeleński questioned the principle of equality, which he did not do before. While in his earlier publications he wrote about the "fanatical" Hassidim and the assimilated plutocrats respectively with hateful passion and cool indifference, Jeleński did praise the Jewish intelligentsia. However, Jeleński then began to criticize the postulate of assimilation, championed by the Positivists and accepted by most conservatives. He accused the assimilated of virtually everything: the "bleakness" of liberalism in politics and destruction of the "vividness" of nobility. Jeleński saw the Jews responsible for "cynicism, religious indifferentism, materialism, greed, servility, and careerism" in the social life, while Jewish journalists implanted "speculation, terrorism against other beliefs" and... "realism in art and literature." Jeleński considered the Jewish lawyers to be "swindlers and barrators" while doctors to treat their duty as "standard procedures."²⁸⁵ His associate wrote:

We prefer a stupid orthodox Jew than the civilized zero because the former believes in something, is something, while the latter gives no guarantee. The latter will sell

282 J. Jeleński (1878), *Dworacy żydów*, Warszawa, p. 2.

283 Jan Mrówka (J. Jeleński; 1880), *Narada z Kubą, jakby sobie radzić bez żydów*, Warszawa, pp. 6–7.

284 J. Jeleński (1881), *Żydzi na wsi*, Warszawa, pp. 4–5.

285 J. Jeleński (1885), "Najgroźniejsi," *Rola*, No. 12, pp. 133–134.

you everything for commercial gain because he is the supporter of remorseless, cruel utilitarianism.²⁸⁶

The program of economic changes was rather miserable and hardly different from the previous ideas of rural cooperatives and establishing of affordable credit to combat usury. Antisemitism dominated the program while the anti-German sentiment was poorly represented. The newspaper described itself as “conservative with a thoroughly democratic fundament” and “democratic with an eminently conservative direction,”²⁸⁷ which rather aptly fits the definition of chauvinism coined by Stanisław Ossowski. However, what distinguished the newspaper, was its pro-Russian loyalism, which hindered the expression of Antisemitism in political terms, as well as its close association with Polish nationalism. For this reason, the newspaper lacked any ideological speculations or discussions regarding its program, although allusions to Western European chauvinistic concepts were nonetheless present. When Jeleński wrote in a programmatic article, “There should be only one big party in Poland,” he dreamed of national unity yet, in the conditions of the Russian partition, there was no possibility of an outright attempt to create a political party, especially one that only represented Poles.²⁸⁸

Rola was the Polish precursor of modern propaganda and agitation techniques created by the Antisemites in Germany. The newspaper largely shaped the symbolism and language of Polish Antisemites, for instance its references to King Bolesław Chrobry and his sword Szczerbiec. Jeleński’s associates eagerly utilized calumnies, slander, insinuations, and personal attacks. Numerous issues came together in the form of “campaigns” which embraced aggressiveness to stir emotions, simplified presentation of events, one-dimensional and tendentious judgments, and exaggeration of everyday struggles. By 1892, the pages of *Rola* were filled with protests against adverts (perceived as the manifestation of dishonest, “Jewish,” competitiveness), personals (considered to be Jewish inspired “procurring”), and summer camps funded by Hipolit Wawelberg, organized for children of different faiths. *Rola*’s associates emphasized that all of these “grand” campaigns are to “lift the veil” and “uncover” the machinations taking place “behind-the-scenes,” suggesting a secretive, outrageous, and corrupt nature of the phenomena described while, actually, it all meant a struggle against modernity. The thematic monotony also used by Western European Antisemites was a device one could compare with modern advertising, repeated ad nauseam by the media, until it is deeply ingrained in memory, available almost without any conscious effort.²⁸⁹ This idea was aided by catchy slogans like “bread for our own” coined in 1885. The language utilized by the propaganda was a specific one: imprecise,

286 Pancerny (T. Jeske-Choiński; 1883), “Na posterunku,” *Rola*, No. 19, pp. 8–9.

287 *Ćwierćwiecze walki. Księga pamiątkowa “Roli”* (1910), Warszawa, pp. 106, 110.

288 Redakcja, “Czego chcemy?” (1883), *Rola*, No. 1, pp. 1–2.

289 See V. Morais (1976), *A Short History of Antisemitism*, New York, p. 197.

allusive, prone to use phrases such as “particular,” “certain opposition forces,” “certain circles,” “known to all,” “some,” “in general.”

Journalists associated with *Rola* employed a literary style full of vague word clusters whose meaning was hard to decipher at the time (for example, “legal struggle,” “Jewish-irreligious circles,” “our collective self of land property”). Some of these clusters were later taken over by National Democratic journalists and filled with content by nationalist ideologues. The manipulation of meanings was intended for inexperienced, inattentive readers who sought a confirmation of their prejudices and anger toward the world they did not quite understand. The tactic was to suggest that there existed danger not only on the part of Jews but also on the part of the “liberal-irreligious” press, as it was described by the publisher of “*Rola*” who extended this label to a number of conservative periodicals. In fact, we do not know to what extent this feeling of being in a “besieged fortress” was sincere, and to what extent it was a deliberate strategy (known to Western European Antisemites alike). It surely helped to justify delations of which the journal’s editors were proud and which were very useful for the tsarist censorship. A libel published in *Rola* contributed to blocking the initiative of funding a positivist publishing company “*Światło*” (Light) in which many eminent figures were engaged (Orzeszkowa and Świętochowski, among others). In another case, the disclosure of the name of an author of a pseudonymously published polemic led to the loss of his lawyer’s license, while a sued journalist was sentenced to jail for his article criticizing Jeleński.

Representing the type of journalism, which later began to be called tabloid, *Rola* resembled *La Libre Parole*, but was a decade ahead of the French journal. Analogies can be found in some anti-Jewish Russian periodicals and German Antisemitic brochures and books. Jeleński and his associates turned the agitation techniques propagated by T. Frey (Fritsch) into direct indications, mainly in the form of advice on how to socially boycott Jews and their “courtiers.” Contrary to German Antisemites, they did not avoid old superstitions. When the Tiszaeszlár trial started, they were convinced beforehand of the defendants’ guilt and shared their views openly. They also exploited this superstition during the Cracow trial against the Ritter family.²⁹⁰ They started experimenting with conspiracy theories, first using borrowings from the French clerical press (from 1896 on) and later also by the black-hundredists’ publications. The Russian sources inspired attacks against proponents of socialism by associating them with the “Jewish conspiracy,” which was to become a very appealing subject to the public in the future. Despite their deep conviction of the inferiority of Judaism, their journal rarely published critiques of this religion. In fact, it was limited to the use of deprecating terms or notation; for instance, the word “Talmud” written in lowercase. What was more often condemned was the alleged “irreligiousness” of assimilated Jews, in this respect also associated with liberals.

290 “Judaica. Sprawa Ritterów,” *Rola*, 1885, No. 39.

Initially, the public opinion of the Polish Kingdom was hostile toward *Rola*, and Jeleński was generally treated as an intruder in the journalistic world. Moreover, he was completely deprived of good manners and suspected of having too close relations with the occupant.²⁹¹ We do not know much about which social circles read this small-circulation magazine issued in two thousand copies.²⁹² It favored herbal snobbism, but judging from the letters addressed to the editorial office, it was read mostly by Warsaw’s middle class (and, albeit to a much lesser extent, bourgeois, intelligentsia, and provincial Catholic clergy). There is no evidence of its popularity among the landed nobility. Despite its frequent references to clericalism, the journal was criticized in *Przegląd katolicki* (Catholic Review, 1863–1915), an unofficial organ of the Warsaw Archdiocese.²⁹³ The emotional and aggressive tone of *Rola* – often resorting to inflaming invectives, slander, and insinuations – was something new in journalism and inspired much criticism. Since 1886, however, the conservative *Niwa* (Lea) started adopting this violent style. In fear of a planned extension of the “May laws” to the Kingdom, several Jewish members of the Stock Exchange Committee, including Jan Gotlieb Bloch (1836–1902) and Henryk Natanson (1820–1895), sent a memorandum to the authorities, which (using a pioneering method of statistical analysis) argued for the beneficial role that the Jewish community played for the economic development of the country and warned against negative consequences of imposing in the Kingdom the restrictions that were in force in the Russian settlement zone.²⁹⁴ Several fragments of this document appeared in *Niwa* with a tendentious commentary, whose author accused the authors of the memorandum and all assimilated Jews of arrogance and of planning to “dominate” the economy. Russian censorship never allowed the full text of the memorandum to be printed, nor did it allow publishing of Bloch’s explanations.

Jeleński propagated Antisemitism also through the reading-rooms which he founded, making sure they were supplied with anti-Jewish literature, both domestic and foreign. He managed to draw a group of fine journalists, such as Teodor Jeske-Choiński, Konstanty Wzdulski, K. Kułakowski and F. Lutrzykowski (hiding under

291 In 1875, Jeleński founded a private lending library in Warsaw to provide funds for the journal. However, some journalist suspected that the author gained the funds by virtue of the support of “official factors” (that is, Okhrana). Such a suggestion appeared in the article “Antysemityzm polski w Ameryce” published in *Wolne Polskie Słowo* (1889), No. 53. See also B. Porter (2000), p. 164.

292 See A. Jaszczuk (1986), *Spór pozytywistów z konserwatystami o przyszłość Polski (1870–1903)*, Warszawa, p. 223.

293 For more about the attitudes of Polish Catholic clergy to *Rola*, see A. Jaszczuk (1986), pp. 123–125; B. Porter (2003), “Making a Space for Antisemitism,” *Polin*, Vol. 16, pp. 426–427.

294 A. Eisenbach published the text of the memorandum (1976), “Memoriał w sprawie sytuacji ludności żydowskiej w Królestwie Polskim,” *BŻIH*, No. 100. See also (1979), “Aleksander Kraushar w sprawie memoriału Komitetu Geldowego w Warszawie z 1886 r.,” *BŻIH*, No. 109.

the pseudonym “Boleslaw Szczerbic”). Some of them also published on their own. Konstanty Wzdulski made use of the buzz around the “stock exchange memorandum” to publish a brochure *Żydzi polscy w świetle prawdy* (Polish Jews in the Light of Truth, 1887), which retained its popularity in the interwar period. Wzdulski believed that Jews – despite the fact that they inhabited Polish lands for centuries – remained “foreign spirits,” characterized by the unpredictable “Asian nature,” greed, and insincerity. He described Jews as a stronger tribe which could not be assimilated. They contaminated, as he went on to argue, the “moral health” of the receiving societies. It was the Polish people of the former Commonwealth which was responsible for allowing the Jewish community to grow so large, in terms of both population and wealth. It is not hard to see that these arguments echoed Wilhelm Marr’s *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum*. However, Wzdulski criticized the violent Warsaw pogrom of 1881 and called for embarking on a lengthy – possibly centuries-long – social effort to eliminate the “harmful effects” of the equality of Jews, which proves that he never thought about their expulsion or other drastic solutions, even though he did not oppose discriminatory legal restrictions against them.

Teodor Jeske-Choiński (1854–1920) became the most persistent propagator of conspiratorial theories. At the same time, one may find in his writings the most conspicuous references to Western European authors writing against Jews. Jeske-Choiński cited different passages from Martin Luther, Kant, Fichte, von Treitschke, and Drumont to support his claims. He also referred to Tacitus and Stanisław Staszic’s writings. His paper *Heinrich Heine* (1889) repeated the theses contained in Dühring’s *Die Judenfrage als Rassen-, Sitten- und Kulturfrage*. The poet was accused of “low moral motives,” stemming from “his Jewish soul.” In his study *Na schyłku wieku* (*At the End of the Century*, 1893), Jeske-Choiński used the same scheme to analyze the work of the Danish literary historian Georg Brandes, who gave a series of popular lectures in Poland. To be sure, in this study he still rejected racism, mocking Cesare Lombroso’s theories. Although he used a variety of racist terms, he attributed to them arbitrary (and variable) meanings – for instance, identifying “Aryans” with Catholics, or with Poles, or with an alleged community of “Roman-Germanic-Slavic” peoples, which stood in sharp contradiction with *Rola’s* programmatic hostility toward Germany²⁹⁵.

In 1886, the journal *Głos* (Voice) was founded in Warsaw.²⁹⁶ One of its founders, Jan Ludwik Popławski (1854–1908), was a publicist of the positivist paper *Prawda*

295 Th. R. Weeks (1997), “The „International Jewish Conspiracy” Reaches Poland: Teodor Jeske-Choiński and his Works,” *East European Quarterly* Vol. 31, no 1.

296 As a result of repressions after the demonstration of April 7, 1894, *Głos* was suspended. Publication of the paper was resumed in 1901, when it started to appear as an organ of the ND. In the same year, it was purchased by Jan Władysław Dawid, becoming an organ of socialists. Eventually, it was closed by the Russian authorities in 1905.

(Truth). A group of young intellectuals collaborating with him belonged to the “non-humble” generation which criticized both liberals and conservatives, accusing them of amicability, passivity, and lack of realism in assessing social problems. Soon they split into two groups of socialists and nationalists who engaged in fierce polemics with each other, but until the end of the nineteenth century (and occasionally even until the 1905 revolution) they entered strategic alliances: for instance, in their educational efforts for the people or in editing *Przegląd socjalistyczny* (Socialist Review), a paper published in Paris (1892). Moreover, there were some nationalists who had a brief socialist episode in their biographies. The boundaries between the nationalist and socialist currents were quite fluid, but their ideological differences were clear. One of the features which distinguished these groups was related precisely to their attitudes toward Jews stemming from different models of the nation that they assumed.²⁹⁷ Popławski declared himself to be a nationalist after 1888, but his Antisemitism became evident already in the first issues of *Głos* (starting from issue 4). Although he advocated civic assimilation (that is, the acculturation of Jews into the Polish national consciousness), he doubted the possibility of achieving it due to the “fundamental religious and anthropological differences.” This was the first favorable reference to racism in Polish journalism.²⁹⁸ Popławski quickly realized that any form of Jewish assimilation (even the one involving conversion) would still be harmful to Poles. His colleagues suggested that it would be better for both sides if the Jewish intelligentsia focused on “autonomous activities.” At the same time, however, they emphasized the danger linked to what they described as “Jewish distinctiveness.”²⁹⁹ As distinct from *Rola*, the nationalists associated with *Głos* put forth their arguments in a calm and content-oriented manner, avoiding personal attacks. Nonetheless, contrary to their intellectual pose, the postulates they advocated were not much different from what Jeleński preached in a more hysterical form. The idea of “autonomous activity” concealed the traditional segregationist postulates, that is to say, a call for social and economic boycott justified by the “alterity” of the Jewish community. The importance of *Głos* lay in that it developed the arguments which formed a relatively consistent nationalist political and ideological program. In this respect, it was again much different from *Rola*, whose journalists did not seem to be fully aware of what they in fact propagated. They rather experimented with Antisemitism, trying to find out which elements of this ideology proved most appealing; for instance, they demanded the assimilated

297 As for the conceptions of nation, the role of “people,” and historiographic visions in socialist and nationalist thought, see B. Porter (2000), Chapters 5–6.

298 (J. L. Popławski; 1886), “Antysemitizm i sprawa żydowska,” *Głos*, No. 4. An account of this version of racist Antisemitism can be found in a series of W. Ziemiński’s articles “Czem jest Izrael,” *Głos* 1890, No. 33–42; 1891 No. 9. In *Szowinizm po polsku* (Warszawa 2009, pp. 104–119), G. Krzywiec discusses the series as well as public reactions to it, suspecting that its real author was Roman Dmowski.

299 J. K. Potocki (1891), “Antysemitizm Głosu,” *Głos*, No. 8.

to be baptized only in order to subsequently attack all neophytes; or they called for “blood mixing,” while at the same time protesting against mixed marriages. In turn, the nationalist journalists writing in *Głos* often associated patriotism with Antisemitism, emphasizing the “tribal” (apart from religious and socio-economic) aspects of the Jewish question. They made it much clearer that they were against the postulates of baptism and assimilation. They even suggested that it was necessary for this minority to emigrate, even though they never mentioned anything about the idea of coercive emigration: “It is much easier to emigrate for three millions of Jews than for six millions of Poles, who are more native, after all.”³⁰⁰

By 1891, the outlines of the anti-Jewish program were formulated, which soon became a property of the National Democracy. Its main focus was to emphasize the economic struggle and segregation, even though from the very start it also contained more ominous declarations: “Every society must continue to strive to destroy the Jews – we may call it extermination, getting rid of, or assimilation, but it does not alter the essence of this task.”³⁰¹ This did not sound innocent at all, especially given the pogroms in Russia from just a few years ago or the “May laws” established by the tsar in response to the wave of violence and resulting in expulsions, among other things.

The National League formed a link between a fully-shaped Polish version of Antisemitic ideology and the creation of an Antisemitic movement on the Polish soil. It was crowned in 1897 by the establishment of the Democratic-National Party which was illegal until 1905.³⁰² The National League was founded in 1893 as a result of a split in the Polish League, a secret personnel organization aimed at stimulating patriotic activities in all three partitions. The National League was also keen to serve such a function and to extend its operation to all partitions. After the repressions that broke it up in 1894, the League’s leadership moved to Lviv, where it could count on patriotic youth associations. It was in Lviv, where *Przegląd Wszepolski* (All-Polish Review, 1896–1914, 1922–1926) started to appear together with *Polak* (Pole, 1896–1905), which was a paper for peasants. In order to dominate the existing institutions, like “Sokół” (Falcon), as well as educational, scientific and cultural associations, publishing houses, newspapers,³⁰³ charitable, economic and regional organizations, they employed the strategy invented by Georg von Schönerer, that is to say, the strategy of agitation through participation in various, not necessarily political endeavors. Despite having similar views, the philosopher Wincenty Lutosławski (1863–1954), the founder of *Eleusis* (1903–1913),

300 W. Ziemiński (1891), “Czem jest Izrael,” *Głos*, No. 9.

301 (J. L. Popławski), “Antysemityzm i sprawa...”

302 See R. Wapiński (1980), *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939*, Wrocław; T. Wolsza (1992), *Narodowa Demokracja wobec chłopów w latach 1887–1914*, Warszawa; B. Porter (2000), Chapters 6–8.

303 For instance, in 1902 they took over the editorial office of the Lviv *Słowo Polskie* (Polish Word).

complained about the ruthless methods with which they tried to dominate his own organization. He accused them of creating “conspiratorial inner circles,” using “conspiracy methods,” “party stoutness,” and “combating opponents using all possible means, without scruples”³⁰⁴ With the intensification of the conflict between Poles and Ukrainians, the nationalists gradually gained influence among the small-town intelligentsia in the Southern Poland provinces. Only Cracow, which was a conservative bastion, had for long remained relatively immune to their influence. In 1904, the League had only seventy-seven members from Galicia (mainly from Lviv), while in the Kingdom the number of its members reached nearly 300. Nevertheless, its influence grew rapidly, which soon made it possible to legalize the Democratic-National Party in 1905. In the elections to the Galitian National Parliament in 1907, the party won almost 40 % of the vote, and at the peak of its popularity in 1908–1909 it had 20,000 members and 386 rural circles. However, in the elections of 1911, it failed to repeat this success, receiving only 16 % of the vote. The party also cooperated with the people’s movement, especially Stojałowski’s party, and established closer ties with conservatives, with whom it competed at the beginning of the century.

In the Poznań district (the Prussian partition), the League gained its first supporters in 1898. As in Galicia, also here the nationalists tried to dominate the existing Polish organizations, which is why they soon came into the conflict with local conservatives. Although the Catholic hierarchy in this area has long fought against them, they soon found individual supporters among the clergy. In 1904, the League established a secret National Defense Association, which operated in Great Poland, Silesia, and Warmia, also reaching Polish immigrants even in the furthest parts of Germany. It supported school strikes³⁰⁵, which won it new supporters. It started to legally operate in 1909, establishing the Polish Democratic Society, and a year later the Democratic National Association. The party became a springboard for the political career of the Seyda brothers: Władysław (1863–1939), Zygmunt (1876–1925), and Marian (1879–1967). It was also supported by Roman Szymański, the editor of the Poznań *Orędownik* (Advocate, 1872–1922), which combined a version of agrarian ideology with violent attacks on Jews. In 1912, the National Democracy had seven representatives in the Reichstag, who cooperated with other five deputies recruited from a group of activists associated with *Orędownik*. Together, they constituted the Polish majority in the Reichstag. Nonetheless, the party was not numerous; in 1912, it encompassed 500 people, mostly intellectuals

304 A. Wątor (1993), *Działalność Stronnictwa Demokratyczno-Narodowego w zaborze austriackim do 1914 r.*, Szczecin, p. 46. Cf. G. Krzywiec (2007), “Wokół genezy polskiego nacjonalizmu integralnego,” *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, Vol. LXVII, pp. 62–64.

305 Strajki były protestem uczniów i ich rodziców przeciwko wprowadzeniu nauczania religii w języku niemieckim. Wybuchały w różnych miejscowościach zaboru pruskiego w latach 1901–1907.

and the middle-class bourgeoisie, with very few supporters among workers and peasants.³⁰⁶ Still, the party was influential due to its positivist activity in a large number of institutions, such as cooperative banks, professional organizations, reading-rooms, etc. It propagated its political ideas in a paper edited by M. Seyda, *Kurier Poznański*, which had reached a print run of 7000 copies in 1914.³⁰⁷

In Great Poland, Antisemitism was employed not only by nationalists and populists but also by conservatives and clerics. Since the turn of the centuries, in the face of the weakness of liberal and socialist movements, most of the Polish press adopted anti-Jewish attitudes, invoking the well-known repertoire of accusations: economic (“domination” and “exploitation”) and nationalist (the alleged alliance with Germany and the German Eastern Marches Society). Initially, the superstition of “ritual murders”³⁰⁸ was quite rarely brought up, but the situation changed in 1900 due to the anti-Jewish riots that broke out in Chojnice (then Könitz) and other nearby towns after blood libel.³⁰⁹ Antisemitism was strengthened by the interaction between the strong Polish right wing and the German conservative allied with the German Eastern Marches Society. German liberals, who were favorable toward Poles and Jews, were left alone on the political scene, which forced them to enter a compromise with German conservatives. The price was to cease the German Eastern Marches Society’s loud-mouthed Antisemitic propaganda, but this did not inspire any changes in its program. As a consequence, however, Polish activists and politicians started to play a leading role in expressing hostility toward Jews.

The program of the Democratic-National Party in the Russian partition, published in *Przegląd Wszchepolski*³¹⁰ (1897), did not contain any mention about Jews. However, its program of 1903 was different in this respect. Discussing the principles of internal politics, the nationalists declared their desire to “coexist” with all national minorities. They also championed mutual tolerance and the right

306 For the social structure of the ND in Great Poland in 1914, see W. W. Hagen (1980), *Germans, Poles and Jews*, Chicago-London, p. 257.

307 J. Marczewski (1964), *Narodowa Demokracja w Poznańskim (1900–14)*, Warszawa; R. Jaworski (1998), *Swój do swego (1871–1914)*, Poznań. For the program of the ND in Great Poland, see (M. Seyda; 1906), “Nasz program,” *Kurier Poznański*, No. 1.

308 The superstition of “ritual murder” was repeatedly referred to by *Postęp*, which declared itself to be “against the Jews and defending the Polish, Christian, and Catholic people from Jewish exploitation.” On different allegations against the Jewish community in Poznań press, see. R. Jaworski (1998), pp. 186–189.

309 See M. Wojciechowski (1995), “Niemcy, Polacy i Żydzi w Prusach Zachodnich w l. 1877–1920,” ed. B. Breysach, *Ze sobą, obok siebie, przeciwko sobie*, Kraków; G. Berendt (2007), “Zajścia antyżydowskie w rejencji koszalińskiej na łamach prasy,” eds.. M. Jaroszewicz, W. Stępiński, *Żydzi oraz ich sąsiedzi na Pomorzu Zachodnim w XIX i XX w.*, Warszawa.

310 *Przegląd Wszchepolski*, 1897, pp. 242–247. Cf. B. Toruńczyk (1983), *Narodowa Demokracja. Antologia myśli “Przeglądu Wszchepolskiego” (1895–1905)*, London.

of each nationality to free cultural development. Due to the sharp Polish-German conflict in the Prussian partition, they declared taking actions aimed at “weakening these hostile elements,” even though they did not mention Germans – or, for that matter, any other minority groups – by name. Yet, they singled out Jews, devoting to them a whole separate paragraph (with three sub-paragraphs). Refusing to recognize the “Jewish element” as a “political nationality,” the nationalists declared their willingness to fight against “all political and organizational efforts [of the Jewish community],” forcing Jews to “undergo cultural assimilation” and demanding their “absolute subordination to Polish national interests.” Otherwise, they threatened to combat Jews “ruthlessly” in order to deprive them of their “social positions.” The party program considered only “individual Jews” to be “Poles, equating them with the rest of their compatriots in terms of their rights and duties,” but provided that “[w]ithout a doubt, they are ready to join our society in its national aspirations ... even in the spheres where it is necessary to limit the role of the Jewish element.”³¹¹

There was a significant contrast between broad and conciliatory formulations addressed to other minorities and the detailed and hostile paragraph devoted to exclusively the Jews. Let us note, however, that the program, although it appeared in *Głos*, did not call for Jewish emigration from Poland. In the text quoted above, one may clearly notice the seeds of anti-Jewish obsession, which was soon to become a distinctive feature of the party. It is striking given the fact that before 1905 the nationalist press rarely addressed Jewish topics, which were almost entirely absent from publications for the people. Even descriptions of the turbulent events of the 1905 revolution, although condemning the PPS Polish Socialist Party and the Bund for their role in organizing strikes and riots in Warsaw, were initially devoid of anti-Jewish aggression.³¹² However, in the report by Dmowski sent to the Chief of National League in Paris of (August 1905), the Jews – together with “socialist cosmopolitans” – were accused of taking deliberate actions which aimed to disorganize the Polish nation by agitating the people to embrace the goals that had nothing in common with national interests. According to the report, the Jewish agitation was related to activities such as the struggle for the constitution and “equal rights for the Jews in Russia,” or the inciting of workers to strike.³¹³ From that time on, socialists were increasingly identified with the Jews or described as their “minions.”

311 B. Toruńczyk (1983), pp. 69–70. For Bolesław Hirsztfeld, the involvement in the League’s activities had ended with his suicide. In his farewell letter, he wrote about the hostile attitude of the League’s leaders to the Jews.

312 B. Ostoją (Z. Balicki; 1905), “Zanik zmysłu politycznego,” *Przegląd Wszepolski*, pp. 103–104.

313 Central Committee of the National League to the National Treasury Committee (4 August 1905), The Report for 1904–1905. Cf. W. Pobóg-Malinowski (1934), “Do historii Ligi Narodowej,” *Niepodległość*, No. 10; see also Dmowski’s “Półpolacy” (1902), *Przegląd Wszepolski*, No. 8.

Jan Ludwik Popławski and Roman Dmowski (1864–1939) were the authors of most of the anti-Jewish articles published in *Głos* and *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, but it was Dmowski who resorted to sharper and more radical tones. Antisemitism as a programmatic principle was recognized by Dmowski only in 1902, in his *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka* (Thoughts of a Modern Pole), published first in the *Przegląd Wszechpolski* and a year later as a brochure, which was repeatedly reprinted until 1939. Jews were described as “internal enemies,” who were even more dangerous to the “spiritual existence of the nation” than the occupants. Dmowski expressed his hatred to Germany in much weaker terms and could not quite understand its economic struggle with Poland. He recognized the Western European nationalist “hierarchy of nations,” according to which Germans were considered the most “civilized,” alongside the French and English people. Moreover, he gave prominence to racism, when he stated in one of his articles that he was not a “true chauvinist,” as he privileged the life of the white race over that of the “Negro barbarians,” even with respect to the nations hostile to Poland.³¹⁴ The complex of national inferiority (also expressed, albeit less emphatically, by Wzdulski and Jeske-Choiński,) was characteristic of his views. Jews, as Dmowski argued, should be combated, not because of their harmfulness or alterity, but because they were an older and stronger nation than Poles, which is why he saw them as competitors in the struggle for survival:

They have a civilizational individuality which has crystalized through the centuries and is therefore too strong and vivid to assimilate to such a young nation [as Polish], which has only begun to shape its character. Hence, it seems more probable that they would absorb our majority – spiritually as well as, in part, physically.³¹⁵

It was an original transformation of the conspiracy motif: Jews were threatening because of their very existence, not because of their conspiracies.³¹⁶ Dmowski changed the meaning of the term “Jewish question.” It was no longer a Polish problem that could be solved (as the positivists believed). The point was that the Jews were a problem themselves. This allowed him to focus on the promotion of hatred with a vague and indefinite purpose. Dmowski called for “Polonization” of the city populations, propagating the idea of “displacement” of Jews – even though it was not clear how it could be done and where the “displaced” could settle. After 1905, he touched on Jewish topics more and more frequently. His article “Chwila obecna w naszej polityce” (The Present Moment in Our Politics) described socialists as “hysterics and psychopaths,” fully dependent on their “comrades from abroad”

314 R. Skrzycki (R. Dmowski; 1903), “Szowinizm,” *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, p. 124.

315 R. Dmowski (1933), *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka* (Thoughts of a Modern Pole), Warszawa, p. 202. See also R. Dmowski (1909), *Kwestya żydowska* (The Jewish Question), Warszawa.

316 The motif of conspiracy was a recurring topic of Dmowski’s writings since his “Listy warszawskie,” *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, June 1903, pp. 617–621.

and Jews, who were the real authors of the “humiliating policy” of the PPS.³¹⁷ In “Podstawy polityki polskiej” (The Basics of Polish Politics), Dmowski identified Freemasons and Jews.

One may argue about the extent to which the National Democracy was “democratic” and the extent to which it was “nationalist” before the 1905 revolution. In 1903, Zygmunt Balicki (1858–1916) deprecated “chauvinism,” while at the same time criticizing a “cosmopolitanism of progress.”³¹⁸ Popławski was a democrat in his attitude to the peasant movement, but his vision of the nation was certainly nationalist. After the 1905 revolution, these egalitarian tendencies vanished in the vision of a disciplined and unified nation predestined to lead an eternal “struggle for existence” with its external and internal “enemies.” Since the beginning of the twentieth century, imperialist tendencies, directed mostly against Ukrainians and Lithuanians, came to the fore. The National Democracy inspired anti-Ukrainian and anti-Jewish riots at the university in Lviv. And when the agricultural strikes broke out in eastern Galicia (1902 and 1906), they agitated for bringing it Polish strikebreakers in order to influence the national proportions.

According to the distinction I have adopted in this book, from the 1905 revolution at least to the end of the First World War, the ND was nationalist, but not chauvinist. Yet, there were important differences between the views and temperaments of individual ideologists. Popławski was concentrated on a peasants’ problems and activities of the nationalists in the village decreased after his death. Thus, nationalist sympathies were shifted toward noble courts. Balicki was an advocate of national egoism,³¹⁹ but he did not think that anti-Jewish hostility was a necessary component of national consciousness. Dmowski, in turn, was an Antisemite and a thorough nationalist, a proponent of class solidarity and of a strong state. In general, he did not question democracy, although he saw it in a specific way, namely – as limited by the “national interest,” which in practice consisted in conformity with the concepts and policies of the National Democracy (at the threshold of independence, Dmowski called into question the principle of generality of elections; instead, he proposed establishing a Supreme National Council, similar to the Russian Duma, with appointed, not elected, members). He often invoked Darwinian social theory which inspired him to argue that Poland should fight against Germany, not Russia – which, according to a common stereotype, was

317 *Przegląd Wszepolski*, 1905, p. 242. In 1903, Dmowski accused the Jewish intelligentsia of “self-interested” socialist sympathies in terms of “the understanding of the interests of their race” and their “psychological type.” See Skrz. (R. Dmowski; 1903), “Historia szlacheckiego socjalisty – przyczynek do psychologii politycznej społeczeństwa polskiego,” *Przegląd Wszepolski*, p. 759. *Przegląd Wszepolski*, 1905, p. 357.

318 B. Ostoja (Z. Balicki; 1903), “Powrotna fala kosmopolityzmu,” *Przegląd Wszepolski*, p. 91. See also B. Porter (2000), pp. 15–17.

319 Z. Balicki (1902), *Egoizm narodowy wobec etyki*, Lviv.

“barbaric” and therefore unable to threaten such a civilized nation as Poland.³²⁰ This turn to far-right and a pro-Russian realpolitik (between 1905 and 1907) caused a great deal of confusion in the organizations sponsored by the League of Nations. For a short period, Dmowski sympathized with the pan-Slavic movement, which stood in contradiction to his earlier renunciation of any cooperation with Russians, even those who supported the Polish cause. When he became a Duma deputy and president of the Polish Circle (1907), he stood for the autonomy of the Kingdom within the tsarist empire.³²¹ At that time, his anti-Jewish phobia began to trump his political pragmatism. When – during the Duma’s debate on a municipal reform – the Russian liberal party of constitutional democrats (cadets) called for granting electoral rights to minorities, the National Democracy strongly opposed it. The Polish Circle was now left in political isolation, which allowed the Russian right to enforce resolutions privileging Russians and minorities over ethnically Polish voters.³²² Dmowski discounted his failure, once again invoking the threat of the “domination of Polish politics by Jews.” Thus, Jews had ultimately become the main point of reference for both the motives of his political choices and for the justification of their effects.

In October 1912, the ND used the same bogey, albeit with better results, when Eugeniusz Jagiełło from the marginal PPS-Left was elected as a Duma deputy from the city of Warsaw. In response, the nationalists unleashed a propaganda campaign with the unprecedented level of anti-Jewish hatred, which turned out to be extremely effective. A large group of positivists adopted anti-Jewish positions, supporting the slogans of the economic and social boycott of Polish Jews.³²³ When studying Warsaw’s press of the time, one may think that the Jewish question became the most important problem of the Kingdom of Poland, more important than its relations with the occupants and even than the “national struggle” itself. This outbreak of Antisemitism was rather unexpected – after all, in Germany and Austria-Hungary, the intensity of the anti-Jewish movement and propaganda decreased, while in Russia liberals pressured the government to address the problem of improving the situation of Jews. It was not a consequence of economic and political which was rather stable. Some impulses may have come from

320 See *Narodowiec* (R. Dmowski; 1901), “Listy do przyjaciół politycznych,” *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, p. 24.

321 Dmowski justified his political choices in his (1908), *Niemcy, Rosya i kwestya polska*, Lviv.

322 See more T. Weeks (1994), “Nationality and Municipality,” *Russian History*, Vol. 21, No. 1.

323 The postulate of the economic boycott of the Jews was included in the National Democracy’s program adopted in December 1911. Thus, the Duma elections merely furnished an opportunity, and provided a pretext, to spread it. See. B. Halczak (2000), *Publicystyka narodowo-demokratyczna wobec problemów narodowościowych i etnicznych II Rzeczypospolitej*, Zielona Góra, p. 53 (fn. 22).

the Czech Republic, where strong Antisemitism was associated with independence aspirations.

The ethnic antagonism, created on paper and in the minds of the Polish intelligentsia, has dramatically influenced the reality. The mobilization of public opinion has resulted in initiatives such as the refusal to treat Jewish patients by physicians and the declaration that they would prescribe only medications produced by Christian chemists. The Society of Polish Culture refused to cooperate with Jewish artists, which resulted in a split and a subsequent fall of the organization. The boycott slogans were adopted by the Women’s Equality Association and even published in some children’s magazines. Some teachers refused to accept Jewish pupils in schools, which in turn was condemned by more liberal educators. The Grabów gmina, influenced by the Duma’s deputy, passed a resolution on the displacement of Jewish families and several other villages followed in its footsteps. The agitation resulted in repeated acts of violence. Under the influence of nationalists, groups of junior high school students started to “watch” market squares, intimidating the buyers and sometimes destroying the products from Jewish stalls (for instance, they used to spill kerosene on meat). In Wieluń and Modrzejów, peasants set fire under houses inhabited by Jews, and local fire brigades refused to extinguish them. The political effect of the boycott was an increased dependence of the ND on Russian reactionary circles, which were hostile to Poland and pursued Russification policies.

Soon it turned out how absurd – from the economic viewpoint – was the declaration of boycott against Jews. In fact, it affected only the poorest – Jewish stallholders and Polish suppliers, mostly of peasant origins. Polish traders and intermediaries raised the prices of the goods they were selling and took advantage of the confusion to counter peasant cooperatives that were the same competitors for them as they were for Jewish intermediaries. Jewish owners of textile and garment factories were oriented toward the Russian market, which is why the boycott activities caused them no harm at all. The dismissal of Jewish agents brought the Warsaw Credit Society to the verge of bankruptcy. Many companies, which cooperated with Jewish suppliers or relied on Jewish businessmen and customers, were afraid of losses, so they continued to work with Jews, trying to conceal this fact.³²⁴ As a result, they were condemned in the Antisemitic press – there was a large number of such denunciations, which clearly shows that it was impossible to suddenly break down these ties and dependencies that were constitutive of the domestic economy. In short, it was impossible to fight the “Jewish” trade without fighting the Polish trade... And while the real problem at the time was the country’s backwardness, Antisemitic journalists ran ferocious attacks against all forms of modernization as allegedly inspired by the Jews. It is not hard to see that the slogan of economic boycott – borrowed from the West and mechanically transposed to

324 An analysis of the economic effects of the boycott in 1912 was conducted by J. Lange (1914), *Sprawa żydowska jako zagadnienie ekonomiczne*, Warszawa.

the areas where the Jews usually belonged to the the class of burghoise – made absolutely no sense. It was also a mystification because the economic rhetoric served to conceal the boycott's purely ideological goals. After all, the Antisemitic propaganda could change only people's consciousness, not the economic or social status quo.

To be sure, all members of the National Democracy were Antisemites, but proponents of this ideology could also be found outside of the party. It was specifically Polish to adopt Antisemitism by part of followers of liberalism, a political doctrine which at the turn of the centuries was usually labeled as "progressive." It is true that some Antisemitic activists came from the positivist (like Jan Jeleński) or liberal (like von Schönerer or Istoczy) milieus, but they quickly moved to the positions labeled as "obscurant." One of the consequences of the failure of the 1905 revolution was the proliferation of what journalists called "progressive Antisemitism" in all three partitions.³²⁵ Within a few years, between 1907 and 1912, many proponents of positivism – including its spiritual father, Aleksander Świątochowski – became fierce Antisemites, while maintaining their liberal positions with respect to all other issues. A similar sudden ideological breakthrough characterized journalists and activists such as Andrzej Niemojewski (1864–1921), Kazimierz Ehrenberg (1870–1932), Adolf Nowaczyński (1876–1944), and Iza Moszczeńska (1864–1941). One may ask, however, if this shift was indeed "sudden"? After all, positivists largely contributed to the popularization of the idea of national unity in terms of language, customs, and culture. The concept of assimilation of Jews was a consequence of this view. Although understood in a similar way as the "peasant issue" and other social problems, the "Jewish question" was quickly singled out. In the case of peasants, it was sufficient to "civilize" and educate them. Jews, in turn, were expected to do more: to give up their outfit, customs, language, mentality, and possibly also religion. The idea that the Jewish culture could positively influence Poland was as terrifying for them as it was for Roman Dmowski. To be sure, they initially wrote about the benefits of an "exchange" of national virtues (a belief which was rooted in the romantic conception of the "spirit" of the nation, characterized, like an individual man, by "virtues" and "vices") in the competition between Polish and Jewish shopkeepers – but the postulate of economic struggle could be devoid of aggressiveness only insofar as it remained merely a postulate. At that time, however, it had led some intellectuals and journalists to embrace anti-Jewish positions – for example, Jan Jeleński or the novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz, as it was evidenced by his texts in *Niwa*. At the

325 See, for example, J. Baudouin de Courtenay (1911), *W sprawie "antysemityzmu postępowego"*, Kraków; the phenomenon of "progressive Antisemitism" was also discussed in T. Stegner (1990), *Liberalowie Królestwa Polskiego*, Gdańsk (pp. 113–130); T. R. Weeks (1995), "Polish "Progressive Antisemitism" 1905–1914," *East European Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 2; R. Weeks (1998/99), "Fanning the Flames," *East European Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 28, No 2.

end of the nineteenth century, liberals announced a “bankruptcy of assimilation,” even though it stood in sharp contradiction with the fact that increasingly more Jews underwent Polonization.³²⁶ However, the assimilationist ideology had clearly lost its appeal. In fact, it was not the assimilation movement that went bankrupt but the positivist belief that assimilation could reinforce the unspecified “survival forces.” Positivists must have felt disappointed, since they had quite unreasonable expectations, hoping that the accession of Jewish intellectuals to the Polish nation could help overcome all internal and external problems. Instead, the modernization of Poland went very slow and the country was as weak and far from independence as it was in the past. It was weak enough to be threatened by an emerging Jewish nationalism (it is surprising but the Ukrainian and Lithuanian nationalisms were much less feared despite the fact that they undermined the idea of restoring the pre-partition borders of Poland in the future). It was precisely these bitter thoughts that led them to conclusions which were not very different from Antisemitic diagnoses of reality. In the 1890s, Bolesław Prus began to praise the traditional Jewish community, but he was quite hateful about assimilated Jews and their participation in social life, while at the same time condemning Antisemitic aggression. Eliza Orzeszkowa, in turn, tried to restrain her emotions, but she believed that the hostility toward the Jewish minority was justified and that there was not enough room for the “two nations” in Poland (although there were clearly more nations that coexisted in Poland at the time).³²⁷

In 1913 Aleksander Świętochowski started to promote the superstition of “ritual murder,” which stood in complete contradiction to the freethinking rationalism with which he identified. In 1914, the author published a brochure *Dusza żydowska w świetle Talmudu* (The Jewish Soul in the Light of the Talmud), recognizing Jewish spiritual qualities as inextricably linked to the “immoral” religion shaped by the Talmud. Thus, it was a clerical version of Antisemitism, which could be surprising given the fact that the author was also a sworn atheist. Niemojewski often juxtaposed “Polish democracy and patriotism” and “slavery and despotism” of Judaism, as well as “rationalism and free will” and Jewish “dogmatism,” claiming that a Polish freethinking democrat had no choice but to oppose Jews and embrace Antisemitism. After the First World War, Niemojewski focused on analyzing the “anti-ethics” of Judaism,³²⁸ drawing heavily on Old Polish anti-Jewish literature and following the tradition of Judeophobia, which seemed to be extinct since

326 During the census carried out in 1897, 20 % of Jews in Warsaw declared Polish nationality. This is surely an indication of the extent of assimilation, though it is far from precision, as only part of those who declared Polish nationality were truly assimilated. See G. Zalewska (1996), *Ludność żydowska w Warszawie w okresie międzywojennym*, Warszawa.

327 See S. Blejwas (1984), “Polish Positivism and the Jews,” *Jewish Social Studies*, No. 46.

328 See, for example, A. Niemojewski *Etyka Talmudu*, Warszawa 1917; *Prawo żydowskie o gojach*, Warszawa 1918.

the Enlightenment.³²⁹ Undoubtedly, his writings were influenced by Rohling's *Talmudjude*, which he knew either from the original or from the Pranaitis version.

Teodor Jeske-Choiński became very popular before the First World War. Along with some Darwinist slogans, he promoted racist terminology, distinguishing "Aryans" from "Semites." The author drew arguments from the writings of German ideologues and, in this respect, he was probably the greatest erudite among all Antisemites. By the way, it is worth mentioning that he also drew on Jewish authors, primarily from the grand elaboration of the Jewish history by Heinrich Graetz, although all passages he quoted received a biased interpretation, usually proving the existence of racially determined "defects" of the Jewish population. In his *Żydzi oświeceni* (Enlightened Jews; 1910), Jeske-Choiński defined Judaism as a combination of an "anti-Christian" religion, which was alien to "Aryans," and an inferior race. In *Poznaj Żyda* (Meet the Jew; 1912), in turn, different features attributed to Jews – such as strong will, poor creativity, and the lack of abilities for poetry and philosophy – were derived strictly from the "Semitic blood," while the large nose, business talents, and tendencies to "jobbery" were said to stem from an admixture of the Hittite blood. Jeske-Choiński was certain that King David was a blue-eyed blonde, owing to mother's "Arian" race. He based these claims on a variety of sources, especially the works of Dühring and Chamberlain, even though he did not go so far as to speculate on the racial components of Jesus. His appraisal of the Talmudic morality, which he believed to be promoting the idea of Jewish domination over "goys" and the enslavement of Christians, was surely based on Rohling's arguments. Similarly to Marr and Durmont, Jeske-Choiński referred to Jews as the "inner invaders," calling for a consolidation of forces and a mobilization of all accessible means (including violence) in order to combat this danger. Such more or less disguised calls for the use of force were utterly absent from nineteenth-century Polish Antisemitism because everyone remembered how the public opinion reacted to the Warsaw pogrom.³³⁰

Before the First World War, Antisemitic writers began to rediscover the writings of Staszic and Old Polish anti-Jewish literature. The Antisemitic propaganda became a self-contained construct which was particularly resistant to all rational arguments, feeding exclusively of itself. The label "Jews" conferred on the community became one of the most persistent and falsifying stereotypes. Despite the virulent attacks on the assimilators, "Litvaks," Zionists, and subsequently Jewish socialists, the Polish nationalists failed to discern the cultural and political

329 For a discussion of Niemojewski's views on this issue, see T. R. Weeks (1995), pp. 64–65; J. Michlic (2006), *Poland's Threatening Other*, pp. 56–57.

330 Most of Jeske-Choiński's works published in the twentieth century – such as *Legenda o mordzie rytualnym* (*The Legend of the Ritual Murder*, 1914), *Program i metoda Żydów* (*The Jewish Program and Method*, 1914), *Historia Żydów w Polsce* (*History of Jews in Poland*, 1919) – were largely a repetition of the arguments put forth by Dühring, Drumont, and Chamberlain.

diversity of the Jewish community. Thus, biased or disoriented readers received a picture of a group which perpetrated a withering “attacked” from all sides: the Jews were both capitalists and revolutionaries, seeking to encroach the Polish nation, calling for national rights for themselves, and at the same time propagating cosmopolitanism. This was the image Dmowski had in mind, but it was also burned into the minds of many of his contemporaries. It was extremely difficult to read it otherwise than as exposing an overwhelming conspiracy, which was all the more terrifying for having an unclear purpose. It was not without significance that the language of hatred became popular also in some liberal circles. In *Kultura Polska* (1908–1912), a journal published by Świętochowski, Jews were often described with dehumanizing terms such as “bedbugs,” “wandering rats,” and “Turkish dogs.” This rhetoric was also widely employed in German Antisemitic journalism. In fact, it anticipated the Hitlerite propaganda.

The last twenty years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century were a period of consolidation of the modern national consciousness among the intelligentsia, urban populations, and small-town elites. While Western European nationalists believed that the domination of their peoples stemmed from their civilizational superiority and historical justice, their Polish counterparts did not, and could not, indulge in such self-confidence. Our native megalomania was martyrological and masochistic, characterized by an underlying inferiority complex and fear, which is why it was not that scornful, but produced an even stronger sense of threat, turning xenophobic attitudes into an obsessive phobia. Both positivist and nationalist literature and journalism made much effort to present the Jew as a personification of this threat. Diverse arbitrarily selected signs attributed to Jews in literary and Catholic tradition has brought them into a national sacred space, but mostly as a dark and negative force. Just as the “deicides” who “deliberately” rejected Jesus, so the modern Jews – who “should” have inspired a beneficial transformation the homeland, but refused to do this – became identified with a purely negative figure of the “devil,” utterly deprived of the ambivalence which characterized it in the Slavic folk culture. Patriotism came to be increasingly manifested through hostility to others, rather than national pride.

6.2. The Attitude of the Catholic Church of the Kingdom of Poland Toward Antisemitism

Dmowski’s Antisemitism belonged to the secular current of this ideology; his masters were Dühring and Marr, rather than Stöcker or Lügner. It is a small wonder that he exhibited a distant attitude toward Catholicism as long as the clergy remained averse to nationalism. After all, he came from the generation of intellectuals committed to a scientist vision of the world, which stood in sharp opposition to the Christian teaching. In his definition of the nation, Dmowski mentioned the religious bond only in the fourth place. He also allowed the suspension of the Decalogue in the face of the “instincts” or “will” of the race. Although members

of the National Democracy defended priests against repressions, they treated the institution of the Catholic Church primarily as a useful tool of “disciplining” the Polish people. Adopting a purely instrumental approach to religion, they insisted that the Church had to be put under control of the “nation.”³³¹ When the National-Democratic Party was founded, Polish hierarchs were distrustful of the emerging structures of political life. This was because they remained faithful to the 1832 papal encyclical *Cum Primum*, adopting loyalist attitudes in all three partitions and rejecting all nationalist ideas such as national egoism or struggle for existence. The Vatican condemned racism and social Darwinism, but it did not reject their Judeophobic aspects and never refuted any of the segregationist and discriminatory synodal decrees which have been passed since the Middle Ages.

The specific phenomenon of Catholic Antisemitism appeared on the Polish lands in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It overlapped somewhat moldy remnants of Judeo-phobia, which were still part of the teaching of the Church, but since the Enlightenment no longer played a central role. Polish devotional prints from the first half of the nineteenth century hardly associated devotion with aversion, let alone hatred, toward Jews, even though the superiority of Christianity over Judaism was assumed as an axiom. The accusation of “ritual murders” was relatively rare at the time: in the Polish lands, no cult of the alleged victims was recognized by the Vatican, although some churches (for example, in Sandomierz and Łęczycza) still contained artifacts reminiscent of this prejudice. In general, one may contend that Judeo-phobia was no longer alive, but the memory of it was well established and rooted in Catholic culture.

When the Jewish community was granted civic equality in the Kingdom of Poland, the Church began to slowly depart from a strict observance of the former synodal laws (which, in practice, were rarely observed anyway). Before the Easter of 1862, the Archbishop of Warsaw, Zygmunt Szczęsny Feliński, sent a memorandum to the clergy in which he forbade granting absolution to Catholics employed by the Jews. It happened at the time when Polish-Jewish relations were fraternal, and thus it triggered protests in several press titles. A year later, referring to the decision of the Apostolic See, he took a milder stance, believing that being in service of Jews is not a “heavy” sin insofar as it does not stand in contradiction with Catholic devotion and religious practices. This position was supported by

331 J. L. Popławski promised “a vigorous defense of the rights and interests of the Catholic Church and religion” (“even against the hierarchy of the Church”), but he also emphasized that the party “does not stand in a denominational position.” Catholicism was considered as a national institution in 1903 (*Przegląd Wszechpolski*, 1903, pp. 721–758). However, the ND demanded control over the ecclesiastical authority, independence of “our national affairs from the views of ecclesiastical policies,” and giving the Church the role of a “separate political factor, but only in the sphere of religious affairs.” See also B. Grott (1993), *Religia, Kościół, etyka w ideach i koncepcjach prawicy polskiej*, Kraków, p. 57.

Bishop Ruszkiewicz in 1904 when *Rola* started its campaign against the employment of Catholic servants by the Jews. He even accepted a more temperate account, writing that this kind of service “is not a sin at all.” For the priest Józefa Szpaderski, an author of popular homilies, distraction, Talmudic “blind faith,” and destitution of Jews were the “signs of rejection and divine punishment.” Although he described them as “the most sworn enemies of Christianity,” he hoped that “the time will come when they will be bestowed with mercy.” Szpaderski expressed a very traditional attitude toward the followers of Judaism. He believed that the low position of Jews in Christian societies was a consequence of God’s punishment, but he never put forth an allegation of “deicide,” at least not directly. In his principles of pastoral education for clerics (1874), priest J. Krukowski stated that Jews should not be excluded from “Christian love,” but “it is important that Christians never enter close or friendly relationships with Jews, become their servants, etc.” For everyone should acknowledge the superiority of the “Catholic religion over the Jewry” and the latter’s harmful influence on the “Christian character and customs.” He also added:

The parson should therefore eagerly encourage his parishioners to make peace with Jews in order to give an edifying example; that said, obeying the laws of the Church, he shall not allow Jews ... to seat in the Church benches during the Catholic service or to take part in Catholic funerals, holding candles in their hands; nor shall he allow Catholics to engage Jewish teachers for their children, or to take part in Jewish festivities, especially during our Lententide or Advent, or to read papers infused with Jewish principles, or to attend Jewish devotions in synagogues.³³²

These recommendations were an interpretation of the old synodal legislation, but what also found expression in them was a very different everyday practice. However, it is not hard to discern similarities between these echoes from the past and the social boycott proclaimed by modern Antisemites. Attitudes derived from traditional Judeo-phobia found their continuation in *Rola*’s journalism and the National Democracy’s program assumptions.

The editors of *Przegląd katolicki* (Catholic Review) were rather uninterested in Jewish topics. Focused on the “novelties” of Protestant religion from a few hundred years ago, they were for long unready to accept the aspects of Jew-biting unrelated to the Judeo-phobic argumentation, such as racism or social Darwinism.³³³ It is symptomatic that one of the statements concerning Antisemitism published in *Przegląd katolicki* contained an allegation that “it was a product of Protestantism.”³³⁴

332 J. Krukowski (1874), *Teologia pasterska katolicka. Dla użytku seminariów duchownych i pasterzów dusz*, Lviv, p. 453. Cf. K. Lewalski (2002), p. 102. The textbook appeared in four editions in the nineteenth century and was widely in use by the Polish clergy during the interwar period.

333 See, for instance, an article “Walka o byt,” *Przegląd Katolicki*, No. 2 (1883).

334 J. b. P. (1900), “Coś o antysemityzmie,” *Przegląd Katolicki*, No. 22–25. See also an analysis of this article by B. Porter (2003), pp. 428–429.

Although the weekly combated “progressiveness,” Freemasonry, and socialism, none of these was linked to Jews.³³⁵ In 1887, the author of an article titled *Kilka uwag o antysemityzmie* (Several Remarks on Antisemitism) wrote:

Those who privilege race over free will, who make human offenses dependent solely upon tribal features, do not recognize the influence of the Sacrament ... True, thinking Catholics cannot go hand in hand with Antisemites.

To be sure, this did not mean that the image of the Jew depicted in *Przegląd katolicki* was positive and devoid of prejudice. On the contrary, during the Tiszaeszlár trial, the journal’s editors adopted an accusatory attitude, sharing their faith in “ritual murder.”³³⁶ It was liberalism, though, with its emphasis on materialism and free-thinking, that constituted a much more important problem for them:

In their moral degeneration, Jews are the true progeny of the present epoch. But are they the only ones? ... Absolutely not; alongside the gabardine delinquents, we meet various representatives of progressive intelligentsia behind court bars.

The author described Antisemitism as a “plague” and proposed a remedy: it is necessary for Judaists to “elevate their morality” and for Christians to “invigorate the spirit of love.” He believed that Jews had positive qualities, too: piety, group solidarity and strong family values, especially the total “subordination of the wife to the husband” and “discipline and obedience” of the children. This view brings to mind a similar opinion which Stanisław Staszic expressed a hundred years earlier. There is also an echo of the idealization of family cohesion in the folk image of Jews.

However, in the course of time, some elements of Antisemitic ideology started to permeate the journal’s outlook. Initially, its editors were interested only in the religious, not economic, social or political aspects of the “Jewish question.” Replacing Protestantism with Judaism as a subject of their criticism, they wished to prove that Catholicism is the only right confession, a depository of undeniable truth, and that atheism is a mortal sin. Consequently, it was precisely Jews, especially assimilated ones, whom they suspected of proliferating atheism. In the 1890s, they started a debate about assimilation, assessing it negatively as a threat to the purity of faith. At that time, they no longer avoided political themes.

In 1896, Marian Morawski (1845–1901), a Cracow Jesuit and professor at the Jagiellonian University, began to propagate in the pages of *Przegląd Powszechny* (Universal Review) a program he called “asemitism.”³³⁷ In Morawski’s opinion, his

335 It is worth mentioning that this was despite the fact that the theme of “Jew-Masonry” already existed in Western European Catholic literature.

336 “Z powodu sprawy tiszta-eszlaarskiej,” *Przegląd Katolicki* (1883), No. 5, p. 72.

337 Morawski also published a brochure titled “Asemityzm” (1896). In 1898, he summarized his ideas in *Niwa Polska*. See also Sz. Rudnicki (2004), “Asemityzm,” J. Warzecha (ed.), *Słowo Pojednania*, Warszawa.

program was devoid of Antisemitic hostility: it was a positive program of “self-defense” against Jews. He recommended that Catholics should promote their own initiatives in all areas of life to counterbalance “Jewish solidarity.” However, he insisted that they should do this without resorting to hatred and violence. With the help of ecclesiastical institutions, Catholics should develop and strengthen national resources, capability, and forces, but they should do so without demanding any restrictions to be imposed on Jews. Instead, they should treat Jews like all foreigners (which meant in practice that the civic equality of Jews should be limited). In general, Catholics should avoid all contacts with “Semites,” especially in private life.³³⁸ It is not hard to hear in this an echo of Merunowicz’s arguments (copied from Brafman), especially his attacks against the institution of Kehillah.

However, these considerations were intermingled with accusations derived from the traditional Polish repertoire (“turning peasants into alcoholics” and demoralization of the lower classes), clerical Antisemitism (causing the French Revolution, promoting liberalism, combating religion), secular Antisemitism (“immoral” capitalism, socialism, propagating pornography, human trafficking), and – of course – conspiracy theories. Morawski rejected the idea of racism, but he was convinced that the harmful nature of Jews resulted from their “innate spirituality,” which implied that it was conditioned both religiously and biologically. The program allowed assimilation, but only in the form of conversion.

In practice, apart from its less aggressive if more hypocritical language, Morawski’s program was not much different from Antisemitism. The requirement that Catholics and Jews should live side by side without contacting or “mixing” with each other was nothing more or less than a call for segregation. Indeed, the strengthening of “national resources, capability, and forces” was just another name for disrupting the economic activity of Jewish population, even though – as distinct from nationalists, and in accordance with common sense – the proponents of “asemitism” did not think it was possible to remove Jews altogether from the economy, because “it would create a gap, which would be hard to fill.”³³⁹ Nonetheless, this was the first comprehensive (not only religious) project of clerical Antisemitism on the Polish lands as a program of country’s policy.

The Ukrainian writer and publicist Ivan Franko rightly criticized the originators of “asemitism.” He was also the first one to announce prophetically:

[As soon as the people’s minds] “will be sufficiently prepared and fanaticized by the asemitic education, one may expect that the moment will come when anti-Jewish *hetze* burst out without priest Morawski’s help. And when there will be bloodshed, when windows will clink and houses will burn, priest Morawski and Jesuits will

338 Morawski even advised that children of different confessions should go to separate schools.

339 W. Czerkawski (1903), “Refleksje nad stanem kwestii żydowskiej u nas,” *Przegląd Powszechny*, No. 2.

grasp their crosses and go out to contain the storm, to save the Jews from doom and the people from perpetrating crime. And if they will turn out helpless in the face of frantic, unbridled elements, if the Jews will be harmed, the noble and gentle Fathers Jesuits will not feel guilty.³⁴⁰

What Franko failed to foresee was the fact that when the actual slaughter happened (and it happened only two years later), Morawski did not grasp any cross, but he merely brought himself to ambiguously condemn violence, casting blame on victims.³⁴¹ With the passage of time, the Jesuit lost their postulated gentleness, and from 1905 they allowed Jeske-Choiński to publish in his series of *Listy z Warszawy* (Letters from Warsaw) in *Przegląd katolicki*. Priest Morawski's considerations have largely contributed to shaping the views of Church hierarchs regarding the "Jewish question."

It was only in 1890s, when Polish law enforcement and press noticed the problem of "human trafficking," which itself began to increase as a result of the growing emigration to both Americas. In Galicia and the Kingdom, many Jewish pimps were involved in this business, which gave Antisemites a pretext to accuse all Jews.

In fact, however, there were also Catholic or mixed gangs, such as Warszawskie Towarzystwo Wzajemnej Pomocy (Warsaw Society for Mutual Assistance) founded in 1890 – an organization which beguiled women under the guise of charity. Moreover, it was Jewish women and girls who fell victim to such groups much more frequently than Catholics.³⁴² Yet Antisemites directed the charge of women trafficking to Jews exclusively, presumably because it accorded well with the established xenophobic schemes which pointed to an alleged competition in terms of "possessing" women. The suspicion of women being depraved by Jews could have its roots in the Judeophobic Church legislation which has obsessively returned to the problem of Christian nurses employed by Jews to suckle babies.

In response to the 1905 Revolution, a social movement was created within the Catholic Church, which aimed to raise the moral and material position of the people, and was focused mainly on the struggle against the Jewish "exploitation." In October 1905, Archbishop Wincenty Popiel appointed a Social Work Commission in the Archdiocese of Warsaw. The Commission supported the opening of Christian shops and taverns, but it also called for boycotting "Jewish" ones. The majority of the clergy involved in this movement threatened to refuse to absolve those who were buying "from the Jews," rented flats to them or simply

340 I. Franko (1896), "Jezuitom w kwestii żydowskiej," *Tydzień*, No. 12. Cf. M. Jagiełło (2001), *Próba rozmowy*, Warszawa, Vol. 1, p. 39.

341 M. Morawski (1898), "Co teraz robić?," *Przegląd Powszechny*, No. 58 (August extra, pp. 1–8).

342 See. E. J. Bristow (1983), *Prostitution and Prejudice*, New York. Gangs of human traffickers had various international ties. For example, the aforementioned Warsaw Society for Mutual Assistance cooperated with pimps even from China and Japan.

entered into any social contacts with their community.³⁴³ In 1907, the clergy also supported the National Democracy’s project of founding peasant cooperatives, whose aim was to exclude Jewish intermediaries. Thus, the institution of the Church became implicated in the propagation of economic Antisemitism in the Kingdom. It also became increasingly more frequent that clerical journals hardly renounced their ties with Antisemites and nationalists. This resulted in a growing number of priests engaged in the National Democracy’s activities.³⁴⁴ In the pages of a nationalist newspaper, priest Marceł Godlewski (1865–1945), the founder of the Christian Workers’ Association (1905), prepared a far-fetched adaptation of the Gospel in order to justify the economic boycott of 1912:

Those who favor Jews invoke their neighbor’s love, but they forget that Christ commanded us to love our own kind in the first place, which He also confirmed by deed, when replying to the woman of Canaanite: “It is not good to take one’s *sons’ bread* and throw it to the *dogs*.”³⁴⁵

In 1906, Ignacy Kłopotowski (1866–1931) began to publish two periodicals, *Posiew* (*Seed*, 1906–1913) and *Polak-Katolik* (*Pole-Catholic*, 1906–1910, 1914–1929), which he soon described as “eminently Catholic and Antisemitic,” and their program included in the slogan invented by Jeleński: “Do not hit the Jew, but do not let him hit you.” The editors not only praised the activities of *Rola* but also learnedly followed its language and propaganda techniques, including the inventing of slogans: “A Pole is a Catholic, not a Catholic – not a Pole,” “buy from your compatriot, support your compatriot, avoid the Jew,” “Pole to Pole and Pole for Pole,” etc. They began to explore a conspiracy theory, referring mainly to Brafman’s *Kniga Kagala*.³⁴⁶ The clergy revived the discussion about the truth or falsehood of the accusations concerning “ritual murder.” The majority agreed to accept a softened, Enlightenment version of the superstition, according to which a “fanatic sect” or

343 The tsarist authorities opposed this activity of the clergy, fearing the propaganda of Polish patriotism and a proliferation of religious intolerance, which was linked to a danger of social disorders. Several bishops condemned those priests who preached anti-Jewish slogans, threatening to “convict” them to a retreat or even remove them from offices. However, there were also contrary instances. For example, bishop Aleksander Kakowski (1862–1938) supported the boycott of Jews in 1912. See. K. Lewalski (2002), pp. 255, 265, R. Modras (2004), *Kościół Katolicki i antysemityzm w Polsce w latach 1933–1939*, Kraków (chapter 1).

344 In 1901, eleven priests belonged to the National League (eight from the Kingdom, three from Lithuania). See T. Wolsza (1992), p. 115. On p. 117, the author listed the names of fourteen members of the National Circle of Priests.

345 M. Godlewski (1912), “Samoobrona, czy nienawiść?,” *Gazeta Poranna 2 Grosze*, No. 96.

346 See K. Lewalski (2002), p. 229–230, przyp. 31, 33; P. Zawadzki (1993), “Protokoły Mędrców Syjonu w polskiej myśli antysemitycznej,” *BŻIH*, No. 167/168. One of the editors of *Polak-Katolik* was Antoni Skrzynecki, previously associated with *Rola*.

“fanatic individuals” among Jews committed such murders, so it made no sense to blame the whole community.³⁴⁷ Along with the absorption of various Antisemitic themes, Catholic prints have more and more often proved the truth of the “ritual murder” as a practice allegedly commanded by Judaism or the Kabbalah,³⁴⁸ which in fact undermined the authoritative enunciations of several Popes. The authors of such prints sought to overcome the contradiction by emphasizing that the belief in “ritual murders” do not belong to the dogmatic sphere, but depends on individual conscience. In practice, though, the majority of Polish clergy shared this belief, spreading the superstition which seemingly had lost its appeal. It did not take long for this to have an effect. In the years 1911–1914, there were forty accusations of “ritual murders,” including one in Sosnowiec during the Bejlis trial.³⁴⁹

6.3. The National Democracy During the First World War: From Hate Speech to Violence

When the First World War broke out, the National Democracy unanimously took the side of Russia which entered an alliance with England and France against Austria and Prussia. After the German troops invaded Warsaw, the party’s leaders fled the country and, as a result, Antisemitic propaganda became slightly weaker. Roman Dmowski launched his diplomatic career, but he was rather inept, as his activities were largely dominated by anti-Jewish prejudices. His trip to England resulted in a sharp conflict with a Foreign Office official and an adviser to the English government, Lewis Namier, whom he considered to be a Polish Jew.³⁵⁰

347 In this version, the belief in “ritual murder” was expressed by priest Szpaderski in his homilies and by the editors of *Przegląd Katolicki* during the Tiszaeszlár trial (1883, No. 13). During the Bejlis trial (1911–1913), they adopted an even less explicit position, considering such accusations in the past as folk legends, but without excluding that the murders might have been carried out in the twentieth century as a “reaction to oppression” (1911, No. 20). See. K. Lewalski (2002), pp. 140–153; B. Porter (2003), pp. 415–430.

348 For example, priest Jan Władziński (1913), *Semityzm i semici*, Warszawa, pp. 65–66. The author of an anonymous dissertation (1914), *Żydzi, mordy rytualne a Kościół Katolicki (Jews, Ritual Murders and the Catholic Church)* drew on the work of Pranjaitis’ *Christianus in Talmude Judaeorum*.

349 J. Żyndul (2009), “Bejlisy, czyli polska reakcja na proces kijowski,” *KHŻ*, No. 4/232.

350 Lewis Bernstein Namier (1888–1960) came from a Galitian family of landed nobility of Jewish descent. His father, Józef Bernstein, was a veteran of the January Uprising (1863), while grandfather fought in the November Uprising (1830). His father was baptized. Ludwik learned about his Jewish origins only as a teenager. He began to study in Lviv in 1906, but he had to break after two months due to the anti-Ukrainian riots organized by the National Democracy. He continued his education in Lausanne and England. As a soldier in the British Army, Namier took part in the First World War and subsequently worked in the Department of Propaganda (1915–1917) and Information (1917–1918) of the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs; from 1917, he

Dmowski tried to discredit him by making denunciations to Prime Minister David Lloyd George and demanding Namier’s resignation from the office.³⁵¹ As a consequence, Dmowski ended up as a persona non grata. As Jan Zamorski, a National Democracy activist, recalled:

Dmowski was dismissed from London after he passed a message, through Seyda, that we should not count on Lloyd George to support the Polish cause. For this gentleman has a Jewish lover whose husband sponsors his political career, and Jews are the greatest enemies of Poland.³⁵²

If this anecdote is true, it reflects a fairly low level of Dmowski’s diplomatic skills and the extent of his doggedness. This was not the only such case among members of the National Democracy. The party’s leader in the US displayed a similar lack of tact and foresight when he manifested his anti-Jewish phobia during his talks with Louis Marshall, president of the influential American Jewish Committee. This made Ignacy Paderewski so angry that he threatened to resign from the Polish National Committee.³⁵³ In a telegram to J. Smulski, Paderewski, who was soon to become Polish prime minister, begged the addressee to take Dmowski from the United States:

Unfortunately, Dmowski does not realize the gravity of the situation, systematically underestimates strength and influence of opponents and believes that his arguing will win in spite of everything. I am sorry to say that his attitude, however proud and truly patriotic, has done immense harm to our case... Highly important recent events necessitate his presence in Paris or London, and I am at a loss to understand why he prefers to stay here, stimulating fresh animosity. If it continues, I shall be obliged to resign.³⁵⁴

was responsible for the affairs of Northern and Eastern Europe. He was a member of the British delegation in Versailles. In the interwar period, he became a proponent of Zionism. After finishing his career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was the secretary of the Jewish Agency, at the same time lecturing in history at the University of Manchester. In 1952, he was granted noble rank.

351 Dmowski’s activities in England, his conflict with Lewis Namier, denunciations and intrigues they pursued against each other, are described in Paul Latawski (1987), “The Dmowski-Namier Feud, 1915–1918,” *Polin*, Vol. 2; the entire volume is devoted to the Jewish issues in Poland at the threshold of independence.

352 J. Zamorski, *Pamiętniki* (a record of 14 Sept. 1918), Jagiellonian Library, Manuscript 9075 III, Vol. 24, p. 3. Qtd. after B. Halczak (2000), p. 57 (fn. 47).

353 The Polish National Committee (KNP) was established in 1917. Apart from the United States, it had offices in Paris, Rome, and London. The governments of the Entente countries recognized the Committee as an institution representing Polish interests. As for Dmowski, he failed to succeed in trying to become a recognized representative of the future Polish government.

354 See: T. Radzik (1988), *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki w latach 1918–21*, Lublin, p. 20 (fn. 43). To be sure, Paderewski justified the slogans of the boycott, throwing the responsibility for it on Litvaks, but at the same time

Dmowski returned to Poland even more confirmed in his biased opinions:

When my stay in the United States was coming to an end, I had the same knowledge as when I was leaving to America – namely, that the Jews are the most sworn enemies of our cause.³⁵⁵

Dmowski spread the opinion about the impact of “secret Jewish influences” on the policies of both Lloyd George and the then US president, Woodrow Thomas Wilson. The overestimation of the political power of Jewish lobbying was one of the reasons behind the decision to remain in the shadows during the Versailles negotiations.

Reports of the widespread pogroms that ensued in Polish lands immediately after the end of the First World War appalled Western societies. Accounts of the pre-war boycott of Jewish trade, Dmowski’s contestation of the postulate of civic equality, the refusal to include a representative of the Jewish community in the Polish National Committee, and, finally, the rejection of the Zionists’ demands for national and cultural autonomy – all contributed to a stirring up of Jewish public opinion in the United States. In response, activists of Polish immigrant organizations from both the right and the left wings of the political spectrum tried to mobilize the Polish community in America, adopting a simple, if somewhat ineffective, tactic of denying the facts. In press articles and published statements, the activists claimed that all pogrom reports and protocols were an invention of German propaganda. If there were any disturbances, they were just “fair” outbursts of anger against “speculators,” many of whom were Jewish. They suggested that the Jewish press, which allegedly favored Russia and Germany, exaggerated both the extent of the riots and the number of victims. Several immigrant newspapers described the pogroms in a deeply Antisemitic manner:

we allow the possibility that, here and there, some local communities took it out on Jews, simply seizing the opportunity furnished by the weakening of social bonds and the loosening of legal and state orders, but it is important to understand that, since the earliest times, these people have known Jews as parasites – as their ruthless exploiters who have always sided with the enemy.³⁵⁶

There were some incidents when people, indignant at betrayal and provocations, punished one or another kike trying to instill Bolshevism in Polish soil. Yet it is not Poles but Jews who should be blamed for this.³⁵⁷

he was in favor of granting civil equality to Jews; see G. J. Lerski (1987), “Dmowski, Paderewski and American Jews,” *Polin*, Vol. 2, p. 116.

355 R. Dmowski (1988), *Polityka polska i odbudowanie państwa*, Warszawa, Vol. 2, p. 94.

356 K. Wacht (2 Dec. 1918), “W kwestii Żydów,” *Dziennik Chicagowski*. Qtd. after T. Radzik (1988), p. 24.

357 “Agitacja żydów przeciw Polsce i jaka sąąd dla nas nauczka,” *Naród Polski* (28 May 1919). Qtd. after T. Radzik (1988), pp. 58–59.

The Jewry went berserk seeing that the victims, whom they sucked dry to the last drop, slipped out of their hands. That is why they now want to morally destroy their victims in the eyes of the world. For they strive to hold our nation economically dependent and to create a Jewish state on Polish lands, while we sleep and do nothing to contain these machinations.³⁵⁸

This kind of argumentation could influence only Polish public opinion, shaping faith in the “anti-Polish conspiracy” of American Jews, arousing mutual hostility instead of social solidarity, and disrupting the ties between Polish peasant and Jewish immigrant communities. The press campaign proved politically ineffective – it mostly harmed Poland and Poles, while the conviction of “conspiracy” was simply false. The Jewish community in America was not homogeneous and sometimes supported Polish interests. For instance, the National Defense Committee included several Jewish socialist activists who called for unconditional acknowledgment of Polish independence. However, in contrast to the press discussion after the Warsaw pogrom in 1881, the anti-Jewish riots which occurred shortly after the First World War were not met with condemnation from any major Polish group. Ignacy Paderewski’s government issued an appeal calling for containment of the anti-Jewish action. Right-wing MPs demanded the government to prevent pogroms and punish their perpetrators, while at the same time claiming that “it is necessary to develop a vigorous action against Jewish slanders which mislead the world’s opinion.” Even the leftist Polish People’s Party “Wyzwolenie” (Liberation) presented a similar resolution.³⁵⁹ Only Jewish organizations protested loudly. Itzhak Grynbaum wrote on behalf of the Zionists:

We do not suspect any Polish party of contributing to it [i.e., to the pogroms] because it would mean that it harmed the Polish State directly. It would prove that Poland is not worthy of independence, let alone able to rule over others ... We do not understand, however, how can similar shameful events be treated with such a sinister indifference? ... Why have you passed these incidents over in silence? Why has the pogrom movement not been suppressed in the bud?³⁶⁰

The justifications of the anti-Jewish pogroms provided a model for similar actions in the future— not only collective violence, committed by military formations or the crowd, but also individual ones. Both civilians and the military participated in the escalating cycles of violence. Polish soldiers perpetrated anti-Jewish assaults, robberies, rapes, and acts of public humiliation (for example, the cutting of beards of Orthodox Jewish men). Recruits to the “Blue Army,” a Polish military formation organized in the USA by Józef Haller were indoctrinated already in the United

358 “Nagonka żydowska,” *Sokół Polski* (29 May 1919). Qtd. after T. Radzik (1988), p. 59.

359 G. Radomski (2000), p. 45.

360 “Oświadczenie w sprawie napaści na Żydów,” I. Grynbaum (1919), *Materjały w sprawie żydowskiej w Polsce*, Warszawa, Vol. 1.

States. It is worth to mention an officer in Pittsburgh who encouraged volunteers with the following words: "It will be a part of your duty as such patriots to exterminate those fellows with the earlocks."³⁶¹ Members of the Polish officer corps, who received training in the Tsarist army and were often supporters of the National Democracy, also displayed very hostile attitudes toward Jews. Finally, anti-Jewish hostilities were perpetrated by nationalist activists: for instance, on November 11th, 1918, a group of nationalists assaulted a meeting of Zionists in Kielce, killing four people.³⁶² Ironically, this happened at the moment when the Zionists were adopting an address in support of the independence of Poland.

The more or less organized actions of various armed groups inspired a disorganized, spontaneous activity of the Polish people, leading to further outbreaks of violence whose number is still unknown. According to current knowledge, only in six months, from November 1918 to April 1919, there were at least 130 such incidents. In 1919, a special US government committee in Poland documented such cases in eight different cities: the assaults in Kielce, the pogroms initiated by the army in Lviv (November 21–23, 1918; at least seventy-three dead),³⁶³ Pinsk (April 5, 1919; thirty-eight dead),³⁶⁴ Lida (April 17, 1919, thirty-nine dead), Vilnius (April 19–21, 1919; 60 or sixty-five dead),³⁶⁵ Minsk (August 8, 1919; thirty-one victims); and spontaneous riots in Kolbuszowa (May 7, 1919; eight dead) and Częstochowa (May 27, 1919; five dead). In Żytomierz, the Polish army killed fifty-six Jews, in Bobrujsk – several dozens.³⁶⁶ The committee did not record numerous smaller acts of collective violence; for instance, in Przemyśl (November 1918), Cracow (April 1918),³⁶⁷ Kalisz (March 1919, one dead), Miechów,

361 T. Radzik (1988), p. 40.

362 I. Lewin, N. M. Gelber (1990), *A History of Polish Jewry during the Revival of Poland*, New York, pp. 59–60.

363 For further discussion see J. Tomaszewski (1984), "Lwów, 22 listopada 1918," *Przegląd Historyczny*, No. 2; W. W. Hagen (2005), "The Moral Economy of Popular Violence," ed. R. Blobaum, *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland*, Ithaca, NY-London; D. Engel (2003), "Lwów, 1918," ed. J. D. Zimmerman, *Contested Memories*, New Brunswick.

364 For a discussion of the circumstances of the Pinsk pogrom, see J. Lewandowski (1987), "History and Myth," *Polin*, Vol. 2. Lewandowski estimates the number of victims as lower, more precisely – 33. For further details see J. Tomaszewski (1986), "Pińsk, Saturday 5 April, 1919," *Polin*, Vol. 1; G. Radomski (2000), p. 44; I. Lewin, N. M. Gelber (1990), pp. 143–148.

365 About the pogroms in Lida and Vilnius see S. Liekis, L. Miliakova, A. Polonsky (2001), "Three Documents on Anti-Jewish Violence in the Eastern Kresy during the Polish–Soviet Conflict," *Polin*, Vol. 14 (the study contains a list of names of 38 victims murdered in Lida and the description of their deaths, see pp. 132–138); P. Różański (2006), "Wilno, 19–21 kwietnia 1919 roku," *KHŻ*, No. 217.

366 L. B. Miliakova (2007), doc. 135, 139, 235–236.

367 J. M. Małecki (1992), "Zamieszki w Krakowie w kwietniu 1918 r.," *The Jews in Poland*, Kraków.

Lublin,³⁶⁸ Dąbrowa Górnicza, Wieluń, Stopnica, Busko, Szydłów, Chmielnik, Klimontów, Pacanów, Pińczów, Chełm (June 3, 1919), again in Krakow (June 6–7, 1919),³⁶⁹ the assault by Haller’s soldiers on Jews in Warsaw (June 26, 1919),³⁷⁰ and robbery attacks of peasant groups in several dozen towns of the Rzeszów region in 1918³⁷¹ and 1919.³⁷²

Many anti-Jewish atrocities occurred during the Polish-Bolshevik war in 1920. Some of them were spontaneous while others were organized by the armies of both sides. The army of General Stanisław Bułak-Bałachowicz, allied with the Polish troops, perpetrated a number of pogroms in Belarus. Anti-Jewish violence was a part of the tactics Bułak-Bałachowicz employed in a guerrilla struggle against the Bolsheviks. It resulted in more over 25,000 deaths among the Jewish population.³⁷³ The Bolshevik soldiers, in turn, were usually motivated by material gain, whereas the Polish army justified its violence as national self-defense, accusing Jews of treason or of siding with the Bolsheviks. Such accusations resulted in several thousand Jewish soldiers (including volunteers and officers) being interned in the camps of Jabłonna, Modlin, and Zegrze. Before the repeated protests of Jewish organizations and the PPS finally led to the liquidation of these camps, several people had been tortured to death while several others died as a result of bad conditions, hunger, and diseases.³⁷⁴

One can distinguish several waves of Polish pogroms. The first wave was the 1898 peasant revolts in the Rzeszów region. These events were very similar to those in the 1880s in western parts of Russia: they broke out spontaneously, and it was not Antisemitic agitation that provoked them but, rather, some rumors about “the emperor’s consent.” We do not know much about the proliferation of this model of violence. In particular, it remains unclear how was it possible that the

368 H. Bałabuch (1998), “Antyżydowskie zaburzenia w Lublinie 24–25 kwietnia 1919,” ed. T. Radzik, *Żydzi w Lublinie*, Lublin, Vol. 2; I. Lewin, N. M. Gelber (1990), pp. 149–153.

369 I. Lewin, N. M. Gelber (1990), pp. 135–136, 183–188, 233–235.

370 There were several anti-Jewish incidents in Warszawa during the autumn of 1918. See I. Lewin, N. M. Gelber (1990), p. 49–50.

371 See I. Grynbaum (1919), p. 18–25; I. Lewin, N. M. Gelber (1990), pp. 51–52, 135–138, 149–151.

372 See J. Tomaszewski (1996), “Sprawozdanie komisji rządowej w sprawie rozruchów antyżydowskich na Rzeszowszczyźnie wiosną 1919 r.,” *BŻIH*, No. 180; J. Tomaszewski (1996), “Trzeci maja 1919 roku w Rzeszowie,” *Almanach Żydowski, 1996–1997*; about the role of civil militias, see A. Leinwand (1972), *Pogotowie Bojowe i Milicja Ludowa w Polsce w 1917–1919*, Warszawa.

373 L. B. Miliakowa (2007), doc. 239–250; J. Tomaszewski (1992), “Polish Society Through Jewish Eyes: on the Sources of Anti-Polonism,” *The Jews in Poland*, Kraków, Vol. 1. Despite numerous accusations of war crimes and MPs’ interpellations, Bułak-Bałachowicz, who eventually settled in Poland, had never been punished.

374 A. Ciołkosz (1971), “Dzielnica żydowska” obozu w Jabłonie,” *Zeszyty Historyczne*, Paris, No. 20.

events which occurred in the South-Western governorates of Russia were repeated in a similar form in a different country. Given the high level of illiteracy in the Polish population, one may rule out the influence of the press or political circles.³⁷⁵ Rather, one may put forth a hypothesis that the anti-Jewish attitudes were popularized through a “whispered” propaganda, that is to say, through rumors and gossip transmitted by the Polish and Ukrainian people living in Eastern Galicia and the Russian part of Ukraine. The absence of accusations of “ritual murders” may point to the Eastern origins, as this superstition was not popular in the Greek-Orthodox folk culture of Galicia. It was present, however, present in the Catholic folk culture of this region.

Another series of spontaneous riots in the Rzeszów region broke out in 1918 and 1919. The Jewish community became an important target of anger, perhaps more than ever before. Traditionally, there were rumors about “Pilsudski’s consent” (the loyalist theme), but this time they were also accompanied by strongly Antisemitic agitation. Moreover, at least in several cases, political activists (not only of the National Democracy) provoked turmoil or even initiated violence. In 1918–1922, Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian (both Red and White) armed formations perpetrated pogroms and massacres, which resembled not only the 1903–1906 wave of Russian pogroms, inspired or organized by the Black Hundreds, but also the anti-Jewish hostilities of the regular Russian army in Galicia after the outbreak of the First World War. It is worth mentioning that, in justifying the post-war pacifications, the perpetrators usually referred to political issues: the fear of Bolshevism identified with Jews, or the desire to pacify all minorities in order to make them subordinate to a particular vision of the nation-state. Similar acts of collective violence occurred, too, in Soviet Russia (committed mainly by White troops, more rarely by Red ones) and, although to a much lesser extent, in several Eastern-European countries (Hungary, Czechoslovakia). Nonetheless, the scale of these incidents was incomparably smaller than in Russia during the civil war³⁷⁶ or in Poland at the threshold of independence. A positive exception were the Baltic States (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia), which remained untouched by the successive waves of pogroms of 1881–1884, 1903–1906, and the First World War.

375 Jan Ludwik Popławski was incredulous about reports of the riots, but he regarded them as a justified reaction to the “Jewish exploitation.” See J. L. Popławski (1898), “Z całej Polski,” *Przegląd Wszepolski*, No. 4, p. 197. It was a step toward the praise of violence. Later, after the pogrom in Chisinau (1903), Dmowski warned Poles against imitating the acts of anti-Jewish violence, as he suspected the Russians of inciting turmoil among Poles. See Ignotus (R. Dmowski; 1903), “Listy warszawskie,” *Przegląd Wszepolski*, No. 9, pp. 460–461.

376 See Introduction in L. B. Miliakowa (2007).

Chapter 7. Antisemitism in Independent Poland

7.1. Ideology of Antisemitism in the Interwar Period

The borders of the Second Polish Republic included Poland and part of contemporary Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. A third of the population of the reborn Poland consisted of nationalities and ethnic groups other than Poles. Apart from the Communists, no other political group took the Lithuanians', the Ukrainians', or the Belarussians' drive toward independence seriously, nor were these forces ready to accept ideas of territorial or cultural autonomy of those groups. Minority policies of the interwar period were incoherent and inconsistent, and had more of the instigating than consolidating character, regardless of which political parties were the leading forces of the government.³⁷⁷ The National Democracy, in their drive toward the concept of a nationalist state, required an unquestioned submission of non-Poles. Additionally, they demanded privileges for Poles and called for discriminating limitations for the representatives of other nationalities. Slavic minorities were to be assimilated while Jews – isolated and “ousted” from economic life.³⁷⁸ This was a continuation of programs announced earlier, and the political ideas of Antisemitism repeated those developed in 1891–1912. As one of the National Democrat activists, J. Zdanowski, bluntly remarked, “we had but one program: strip them and make them leave the country.”³⁷⁹

The core of the Antisemitic ideology did not change much over the course of time. On the other hand, the intensity of the propaganda increased, and the language forms, rhetoric figures, and influence techniques rather reminded those invented by the Antisemitic weekly *Rola* than the early *Głos* and *Przegląd Wszepolski* magazines. Frequent elements included derisions, insults, while dispute disappeared in favor of personal attacks with names, sometimes also in the plural, associating these names with the whole Jewish population. A new development was the implementation of Yiddish parodies in order to debase Jews and their

377 See J. Chlebowczyk (1988), *Między dyktatem, realiami a prawem do samostanowienia*, Warszawa; A. Friszke (1989), *O kształt niepodległej*, Warszawa; A. Chojnowski (1979), *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921–1939*, Wrocław; A. Garlicki (1979), *U źródeł obozu belwederskiego*, Warszawa.

378 See A. Friszke (1981), “Naród, państwo, system władzy w myśli politycznej Związku Ludowo-Narodowego w latach 1919–1926,” *Przegląd Historyczny*, Issue 1; G. Radomski (2000); M. Sobczak (1998); J. Tomaszewski (1995), “Prawa obywatelskie Żydów w Polsce (1918–1939),” *Studia z dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, Warszawa, Vol. 1.

379 The manuscript of *Dziennik* (Diary) of J. Zdanowski (5 Jul. 1925). Qtd. after M. Sobczak (1998), p. 225.

culture. In *Mysł Narodowa* (The National Thought), a National Democrat weekly published in Warsaw in 1921–1939 and targeting the intelligentsia as their audience, one could find headlines such as “Leosz Blum der Kommende Mann Mędrców Syjonu w Paryżu w oświetleniu A. Nussbauma” (Leon Blum as the Commander of the wise men of Zion in Paris, 1924, Vol. 32, p. 10). Journalists stylized the names of political enemies to resemble Jewish ones; for instance, “Chodźkohn” or “Chodźkoch” instead of Chodźko (1924, Vol. 34, p. 15), as well as the names of the criticized institutions, where “judendentura” stood for “intendentura” (commissariat; 1924, Vol. 48, p. 11). One easily finds similar wordplays in Antisemitic magazines published in the interwar period. Their original source were burlesques staged in café theatres of the late nineteenth century and Jewish cabaret jokes from the 1920s.

National Democrat press did not directly praise the pogroms of 1918–1920, but their justification of the actions included acceptance of violence, e.g., when General Antoni Listowski, responsible for the shooting of Jews in Pińsk, was defended. Another example is a claim that the initiators of the Lviv pogrom were Jews themselves, aiming at setting foreign governments against Poland. Father Kazimierz Lutosławski persuaded in 1922 that:

Pogrom, a massacre of Jews (not mentioning moral brutality) is a political mistake and nonsense; a pogrom is not an act of Poles' victory over Jewry, but rather a victim of the Jewry, to be used as efficient means to buy them general relief from the whole world.³⁸⁰

It was common to employ wording and abuse that were designed to humiliate or ridicule the victims, which meant dread and severity of the description of human suffering were neutralized. When describing the world's reactions to the description of pogroms, Władysław Rabski wrote about “dreadful Prussian-Jewish comedy of insincerity, which was sacrilegiously dubbed *Ecce Homo*.”³⁸¹

Social engineering capacity of Antisemitic propaganda persistently repeated old arguments and coined slogans or notion blends, like “anonymous power” which stood for a worldwide Jewish conspiracy. This one was used by Jeske-Choiński for the first time but was popularized in the 1920s by Adolf Nowaczyński.³⁸² The question of what kind of community Jews in general, and Polish Jews in particular, were discussed among National Democracy's ideologists influenced the forming of this notion, as well as the absorption of the conspiracy theory. In the late

380 Ks. K. Lutosławski (1922), “Ostatnia walka o niepodległość,” *Mysł Narodowa*, No. 4, pp. 3–4.

381 W. Rabski (1925), *Walka z polipem. Wybór felietonów* (1918–1924), Warszawa. Qtd. after G. Radomski (2000), p. 57.

382 A. Nowaczyński (1921), *Mocarstwo anonimowe*, Warszawa. For a discussion of Nowaczyński's journalism see: M. Domagalska (2004), *Antysemityzm dla inteligencji?*, Warszawa.

nineteenth-century Antisemitic publications, one could find terms such as “tribal-national separateness” (Popławski), and “the Jewish tribe,” “crippled nation,” or “inter-nation” (Dmowski), but these were mainly reduced to religious bonds of Judaism worshippers. Journalists could not make up their minds as to whether the shaping of national identity among Jews was a positive or a negative phenomenon. *Głos* and afterward *Przegląd Wszechpolski* declared their sympathy toward Zionism, which one can read with a touch of hypocrisy, but this still did not hold them from aggressive criticism of the movement.³⁸³ The ambivalence was characteristic for nationalist circles also after the First World War, although they largely accepted Jews as a nation; however, they did not consider them a nation equal to Poles or any other Europeans. Naturally, Jews had the right to exist as a nation, but not in Poland. Unlike other nations, Jews could not assimilate, even if they wanted to. As one of National Democracy’s ideologists, Roman Rybarski, put it:

Jews are different from other nations in their ease of external assimilation, in accepting the traits of the environment they live in more easily ... however, Jewish assimilation differs from other assimilations in that a Jew who becomes a Pole, a Frenchman, or an Englishman does not cease to be a Jew. ... a Former Semite who considers themselves a Pole is rarely an Antisemite-Antisemite.³⁸⁴

This last sentence contains Rybarski’s sole condition for the National Democrats to (still) accept the “Semites.”

According to the German Antisemitic historiosophy, as well as Jeske-Choiński who echoed these beliefs, beginnings of the Jewish nation were to be found in ancient times, according to National Democrat ideologists. These theories did not, however, address historical changes. Zygmunt Wasilewski argued that Jews, shaped by their nomadic life in the Old Testament period, were not able to form bonds with the land, and therefore lost touch with nature and are not able to experience high spiritual states, which in turn results in them looking for gains at the expense of other nations. They seemed to be lacking the creative “element,” the skills of idealizing and intuition, the gift of love for beauty, compassion, altruism, gratitude. Wasilewski denied the creators of the Decalogue, the Bible, and the cabalistic mysticism any ethics or the skills required for contemplation. He also refused them the potential for the most heroic sacrifice, i.e., giving up their individualism and establishing a nation, so he concluded their bond of “sect solidarity” was of exclusively negative character. At the same time, he accused Jews of “collectivism” and left-wing “class traits.”³⁸⁵ Antisemites abused the Biblical term “chosen people”

383 On of the first analyses of Zionism by a nationalist democrat was the article by J. L. Popławski (1902), “Pochodzenie i istota syonizmu,” *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, No. 8, p. 252–257. More about ND and the idea of the nation, see A. Walicki (2002), “Naród i terytorium,” *Dziś*, No. 7, p. 31.

384 R. Rybarski (1926), *Naród, jednostka i klasa*, Warszawa-Kraków-Lublin-Łódź-Poznań-Wilno-Zakopane, p. 223.

385 Z. Wasilewski (1921), *O życiu i katastrofach cywilizacji narodowej*, Warszawa.

and omitting its religious connotations allowed to assign it to a stereotypical “character” of contemporary Jews, which was a mixture of exclusively negative features, chosen almost at random from the pool of Antisemitic arguments, and “actions” against Christians, especially Polish ones. As a consequence, the names of “tribe,” “crippled nation,” “inter-nation,” and “chosen nation” became synonymous with “anonymous empire” and “worldwide conspiracy.” They served to justify the postulated exclusion of Jews from the national and citizen community, not to address the issue of what type of community Jews actually were.

Of similar use were those portmanteau terms that described Polish attitude toward Jews. “Poland as a paradise for Jews” (*paradisus Iudaeroum*) which could be found in old Polish literature, or defining the status of Jews as “guests” were replaced with “Judeopolonia” as early as the late nineteenth century. “Guests” became “vagabonds,” “internal enemies,” “traitors,” and after First World War “international Jewry” and “anonymous empire.” All these terms justified the refusal to accept Jews as Poles, as well as postulates of limiting equal rights between the two nations. Their use brought specific associations, thanks to which the postulates lost their true nature, becoming “self-defense” or even “real equality,” while the constitution-established state of the law was perceived as “privileged” toward the minority. The motive of a “worldwide Jewish conspiracy,” increasingly present in Antisemitic journalism following the October Revolution, and increasingly popular in mid-1920, came from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and earlier conspiracy works. It was useful both for the ideology and political goals, serving to justify unhumanitarian legal postulates on the one hand, and fighting the political opponents on the other. Joachim Bartoszewicz, in his *Podręczny słownik polityczny* (Pocket Political Dictionary, 1925) described Jews as a “worldwide insurance and exploitation company” whose goal was to “destroy non-Jewish states and nations, mainly Christian, in order to establish their supremacy,” by e.g., “hurling all-human slogans of freedom, equality, and fraternity at the world.”³⁸⁶ This odd and illogical definition includes both a conspiracy and the drive at sickening the audience with the common slogan of the French Revolution, liberalism, and left-wing ideology.

Accusing Jews of initiating radical social reactions dates back to the beginnings of Antisemitic ideology (father Barruel) and was intensively exploited by Russian anti-Jewish press after the 1881 assassination attempt on the Nicolas II of Russia. After the First World War, the dictionary of Antisemites was enriched with a blend “Judeo-Communism.” Coined in Poland as “żydokomuna,” the blend is difficult to translate into other languages and is often quoted in its original form. It became especially useful in the political battle against left-wing parties. During the 1905 strikes, National Democrats suggested that socialism is “foreign” to Poles, but at the same time, rather coyly, they accused the Bund party of influencing Polish Socialist Party policies, which they considered harmful. After the October Revolution, they were eager to accuse Jews of aligning themselves with the Bolsheviks,

386 G. Radomski, 2000, p. 17

thus justifying some of the pogroms Polish Army carried out in 1918–1919. In the Polish-Soviet war of 1920, they were increasingly eager to synonymize a Jew with a Bolshevik, resulting in the emergence of the blend “Judeo-Communism,” a specific term used in parallel to the older “Judeo-Masonry.” Catholic journalism, both West-European and Polish (the latter as late as the end of the nineteenth century) were equally eager to accuse Jews of spreading of iconoclastic novelties such as liberalism, free-thinking, and “loosening of morality.” It was not, then, the participation of Jews in the politics of the Soviet governments or the Communist movement that resulted in the emergence of the blend, but rather the readiness to assign Jews revolutionary traits deeply rooted in Antisemitic worldview. On the other hand, Communists were assigned some properties from the catalog of traits of an Antisemitic stereotype of a Jew. In this case, also, the reality was bent to align it with the ideology, reflecting the true nature of things to a limited degree at best. Arguments in favor of the “Jewishness” of Communism were provided by a number of duty names, such as Marx and Trotsky – especially the latter was almost a symbol for the Antisemites. Sometimes, Jewish ancestry was attributed to Soviet politicians who were not actually Jews. High positions attained by politicians of Jewish ancestry in England or France did not cause Antisemites to speak of “Jewish states,” although such politicians were attacked or ridiculed. “Judeo-Communism” was not, however, exclusive to Soviet Russia, but was also a pejorative insult used to combat Polish left wing. Thus, their postulates were intertwined into a conspiracy theory which replaced substantive discussion and facilitated anti-left-wing propaganda. It was characterized with a high dose of cynicism where, e.g., internal party regulations suggested that anti-Jewish agitation activity is intensified before each May 1, by distributing slogans binding Jews and Communism, such as “Communism is bread and work for Jews.”³⁸⁷

The conspiracy narration included discoveries of “secret bonds” between events scattered over long stretches of time and far in space, which was to prove the influence of Jews, such as the correlation between weakening of cities in the old Poland and the situation Poland was facing in the 1920s, between the eighteenth-century “Judeo-Masonry” and the Bolshevik revolution, etc. Jews were to blame for the Reformation, partitions of Poland, alleged assassination of Mickiewicz, and the introduction of paper money in order to make Christians dependent on Jews.³⁸⁸ Jewish shops were supposed to be financed from “secret sources.”³⁸⁹ An analogous and quite common measure was to construe a portrayal of Jews as a “consistent variety of abomination,” as Dariusz Stoła put it in referencing the propaganda of

387 BPAN Kraków, rkps 7820, “Hasła przeciwko 1 Majowi;” qtd. after B. Halczak (2000), p. 64, footnote 85.

388 E.g., Viator (1929), *Mistyka demokratyczna*, “Myśl Narodowa” No. 18; S. Pieńkowski (1930), *Puszcza ludzka*, “Myśl Narodowa” No. 31; Idem (1932), *Is fecit*, “Szczerbiec” No. 22.

389 B. Halczak (2000), p. 65, footnote 95.

March 1968.³⁹⁰ This took the form of linking mutually exclusive claims, such as a capitalist Jew who at the same time was a revolutionist, an atheist and an old-fashioned orthodox, a cosmopolitan and a Jewish nationalist, conspiring together with the Germans, the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Lithuanians, and the Americans, even if some of those countries were in conflict with one another at any given time. The task of those internally conflicting views was to fuel emotions, increase a feeling of disgust and rejection, and as a result – to weaken critical thinking and the ability to assess the reality in an objective manner. Thanks to such illogical statements, almost each political, social, or economic problem could be brought down to one, quite false, vision of a “Jewish conspiracy,” a solid point in the National Democrat ideology – almost all other matters, from the definition of a nation, through the state system, never constituted a coherent program and rather differentiated the individual activists than brought them together. Most of them saw the order of the world as a result of intrigues and backstage actions of governments, as well as those of personified nations. It is little wonder then that they found politics of intrigues appealing. In his memoir, Jan Zamorski wrote:

Wilson and Lloyd George are Jewish mannequins ... It is for Jews that the war was waged. Jews dictate the conditions of peace.... We have no other choice now but to follow in their footsteps ... Let's poison and rot other organisms with deception, meanness, trickery, and solidarity.³⁹¹

In effect, National Democrat politicians were adept in applying social engineering, while at the same time they were not that quick to grasp actual social and economic problems, and in consequence were not capable of developing ways of solving or alleviating current worries. Pragmatism in their political activity was of limited nature, although when in positions of power, they needed to exhibit some flexibility.

It bears stressing that the vision of the Jews' influence on the course of the world's affairs was drastically far from reality. Following the partial success of Zionists and American Jewish Committee lobbyists at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, Jewish minority, due to their social, cultural, and consequently political heterogeneity was not able to exert influence adequate to their numbers – not even in Poland, let alone “in the wide world.” It may seem surprising that conspiracy, itself stemming from literary fantasy, was able to influence the politics of far right to such a degree in a number of European states. Reasons are to be found in functionality and social carrying capacity. Conspiracy theories seemed true because they brought positive effects, from the viewpoint of the chauvinists. They formed a basis for activity – therefore the emergence of insistence to form international “defensive”

390 D. Stola (2000), *Kampania antysyjonistyczna w Polsce 1967–1968*, Warszawa, pp. 152–153.

391 Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkps 9075/III, Vol. 7, Book 24, p. 51. Note from 15 IX 1918. Qtd. after M. Sobczak (1998), p. 27.

Antisemitic forces. New supporters joined eagerly, willing to spend their frustration. They integrated party sympathizers, forced obedience by instilling the feeling of danger and exposing the vision of a “traitor.” Countryside poor or working class were easy to persuade that in the face of “Jewish danger” their group interests, such as the agrarian reforms, needed to be put aside and instead they needed to remain in alliance with the class of owners or the abstract “Nation.” In the name of this abstraction, it was possible to attack and fight groups expressing other views, even when they were members of the same nation. Under the pretense of a “great” change at the expense of Jews, National Democracy propagated inaction and stagnation, in all the aspects: economic, where the concepts were especially dangerous,³⁹² social, and customary and cultural. Nationalists imagined program social solidarity as a uniform and unanimous gathering, disciplined as an army should be, always ready to fight the indicated internal enemy. It was most important to mobilize social activity in order to subordinate it to leaders. Antisemites were not, however, completely adept at controlling mass emotions, so they were not capable of controlling demons of their own device.

One of the few interwar attempts at creating a new Antisemitic vision were the deliberations of Feliks Koneczny (1862–1949), a philosopher of history, regarding civilization clashes. The concept was all but original and contains, e.g., quotes from the earlier works by father Stanisław Trzeciak, borrowings from *völkisch* movement and German ariosophy, and in his later works – traces of Alfred Rosenberg’s *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, together with distant musings of deeply-processed Polish Messianism, not to mention conspiracy theories that served as the binding element for the borrowings. His deliberations on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were especially characteristic. First, he denied that a council of such “elders” actually took place, then he attributed the authorship of the Protocols, following Trzeciak, to a Hebrew writer Asher Zvi Hirsch Ginsberg, also known as Ahad Ha’am, just to conclude “It is yet another thing to consider that maybe the contents truly reflect the thought of the elders of Israel.” (F. Koneczny, 1974, *Jewish Civilization*, London, p. 203). The author claimed no racist associations, but at the same time perceived civilizations ahistorically, as fixed and unalterable cultural-religious constructs, conditioning the ethics and conduct of citizens regardless of their will. He discarded social Darwinism but proposed instead that there are mutual incongruity and conflict between Byzantine, Latin, Jewish, and Turanian civilizations. “Moral progress” was considered the consequence of the victory of the “Latin civilization,” highly valued and synonymous with Catholicism, in the

392 Stanisław Grabski was well-aware of the ideological origins of economic Antisemitism. He admitted that there was so much to do in the matter of industrialization of Poland that there was enough place for both Polish and Jewish entrepreneurs – but he deemed “the nationalization of the economy as necessary to the security of the country,” accusing the Jews of disloyalty. S. Grabski (1923), *Z codziennych walk i rozważań*, Poznań, p. 80.

clash with the other civilizations. Poland's mission in this religious and cultural battle was special for the good of Europe. In order to achieve it, Polishness ought to be purified of all influences apart from the Latin, and Poles ought to throw away the narrowly perceived national egoism in favor of specific "universalism," aimed against Jews around the world. In turn, Jews were accused of inert and persistent combatting of Christians "all around the globe," derived from the spirit of their culture, and the drive to establish Judeo-Polonia. The combatting was there since the beginnings of time, independent of awareness or will, and therefore determined by instincts which are a biological factor. All the generations, since ancient history toward contemporary times, as well as all the factions, from Orthodox to left-wing atheists, were engaged in these activities that have been kept secret even from themselves and that have seemingly resulted from civilizational differences – ones that were not able to be reconciled or synthesized. Latin civilization was considered ethical, while Jewish replaced ethics with the letter of the law since ethics was distorted by Talmud and Kabbalah. If they just obeyed the religious law, Jews could allegedly feel like respectable people, despite applying different norms to themselves and goys, spreading of pornography, "spoiling" trade by frequent exchange of goods and owners, supporting state secularism (thus supporting the elimination of ethics from public life), etc.

In fact, Koneczny tried to reconcile racist Antisemitism with religious one, replacing the terms of the "Arian race" and "Semitic race" with "Latin civilization," and "Jewish civilization" and his description of the individual civilizations was a mixture of general knowledge about non-Christian religions in an ahistoric presentation, common stereotypes, ignorance, and numerous substantial mistakes.³⁹³ The theory of history-long clash between civilizations absolved people from the need to confront the theory with reality, shifting the vision of conflict with Jews into the mythical realm, of almost cosmogenic nature, similarly to what the originators of ariosophy sketched.

7.2. Antisemitism in Politics

In the first Legislative Sejm Elections of January 26, 1919, the coalition of National Democrats with a number of smaller parties received more than 30 % votes, thus creating the largest political group in the Sejm, which they called the Popular National Union (*Związek Ludowo-Narodowy*). Paradoxically, it was this movement that took on the role of the defenders of the minority tract against the attacks from both the right and the left. This did not equal National Democrats

393 The author claimed, for example, that the dominance of trade in the economic activity of Jews was initiated during the Babylonian captivity, while until the fall of the Roman Empire the Jewish diaspora was very diverse in social terms. He mistakenly distinguished four kinds of religions professed by contemporary Jews: Old Testament Paganism, Mosaism, Judaism, and Chasidism.

abandoning their political program, restrictive toward non-Polish nationality groups. Encouraged by student protests, PNU members discussed, e.g., quotas for national minority access to higher education, although the proponents of such limitations did not have the majority in the Sejm that would guarantee a successful vote. In the 1922 elections, the right-wing Christian Union of Natural Unity (Chrześcijański Związek Jedności Narodowej), including the members of National Democrat party, was represented by a lower number of members: 22 % in the Sejm and 26 % in the Senate. A relatively large success of the Bloc of National Minorities (Blok Mniejszości), who joined forces in the elections, provoked mass hysteria among the nationalist circles. They demanded that the results of the elections be checked by a special committee, as well as called for the dismissal of a number of voivodes. The consequence of the atmosphere of hatred – spawned by journalistic attacks, demonstrations, and rallies – were assaults on Jewish members of the parliament and, finally, the assassination of President Gabriel Narutowicz, elected in part by the votes of the minority. For a lot of purposes, the campaign of hatred was the re-enactment of social engineering ploys of the 1912 State Duma, but this time it went out of control, leading to the murder by a fanatic supporter of the National Democrats, in consequence harming the political image of its initiators.

PNU had an impact on the staffing of the majority of ministries, and National Democrats attained even wider possibilities of creating policies in 1923, when they established a coalition cabinet with Polish People's Party "Piast" (Polska Partia Ludowa "Piast") and the Polish Christian Labor Party (Chrześcijańsko-Narodowe Stronnictwo Pracy). For a short duration, the cabinet was in power, they attempted at creating the base for a national state. Despite the fact that the Minority Tract was in power, as well as the fact that the Constitution guaranteed equal rights, they drove toward revising the electoral system to disfavor minorities, proposing a system of "national cadasters," introducing restrictions including those for "disloyal elements,"³⁹⁴ or by manipulating the areas of electoral districts. The state was used to facilitate Poles winning in competitive situations by, e.g., privileging them in public auctions. Diplomacy was purged by withdrawing ambassadors of Jewish origin. *Numerus clausus* in higher education was attempted, and when the project stuck in the Sejm committees, Stanisław Głąbiński, the Minister of Education and Religion, empowered academic faculties to introduce percentage quotas at their own discretion. The government planned to introduce laws that would isolate Jewish citizens, such as limitations of access to public education or prohibition of Jews accepting Polish-sounding family names. They took part in discussions on licensing of ritual slaughter, which in turn would limit religious freedoms of Jews,

394 The provisions on combating "disloyal elements" toward the state were used against Communists, Ukrainian nationalists, and Jews, as they could be applied without breaking the Constitution or international obligations. For details of the draft amendments to the electoral law postulated by the ZLN PNU in 1922–26 see: G. Radomski (2000), pp. 36–38.

but also Muslims. Because the cabinet fell quickly, none of the projects survived the phase of Sejm debates. Paradoxically, this specific cabinet got to defend Jews banished from Bavaria. After a bloody repression of the Communist revolt, a group of right-wing politicians took the reign, including a Conservatist, Gustav van Kahr, who initiated the banishing of Jews inhabiting Bavaria to Poland in 1923. A total of around 1000 people were exiled, and with this decision, they also received warrants to hand over their ownership rights without compensation. Polish consul undertook energetic, although futile, efforts with the Weimar Republic government, while Polish authorities, as retorsions, exiled a group of Germans from Poland.³⁹⁵

As of then, the nationalist movement program may be considered chauvinistic and comparable with the European fascism, although it would be a mistake to say these were identical. National Democrats did not call for a one-party system, and their imperialist ambitions did not stretch beyond Ukraine and Belarus.³⁹⁶ Nonetheless, Dmowski exemplified law that would limit parliamentarianism, as announced by Mussolini's government. In contrast, Italian fascism, and afterward Portuguese and Spanish approaches, did not contain Antisemitic elements, which received harsh criticism from Dmowski. PNU placed the Jewish problem, and the minority problem in general, in the center of political attention, leading to inflammation of existing ethnic conflicts, especially with Ukrainian nationalists. Prime Minister caused major unease among the National Democrats, despite being supportive of the party until recently, when he undertook talks with a number of Zionist activists in 1925 and concluded the talks with the signing of a Polish-Jewish political agreement.³⁹⁷ Despite the agreement not having been put into life, and the main objective of the Prime Minister being to dissolve the unity of the minority bloc, its signing caused hysterics among the National Democrats.³⁹⁸ The propaganda troubles it caused were solved by arguments that it was the result of Jews "capitulating" and ceasing all "conspiracies," because they came to appreciate the strength of the state, and Jews were known to align with the strongest anyway. Seeing the advantages of diversifying the tactics across all the Jewish

395 J. Adelson (1990), "The expulsion of Jews with Polish Citizenship from Bavaria in 1923," *Polin* Vol. 5.

396 See J. W. Borejsza (1981), *Rzym a wspólnota faszystowska*, Warszawa; K. Kawalec (1989), *Narodowa Demokracja wobec faszyzmu 1922–1933*, Warszawa; M. Marszał (2001), *Włoski faszyzm i niemiecki narodowy socjalizm w poglądach ideologów narodowej demokracji 1926–39*, Wrocław.

397 J. Tomaszewski (1992), *Władysław Grabski wobec kwestii żydowskiej*, "BŻIH" No. 161; tenże (2000), *Polskie dokumenty o "ugodzie" polsko-żydowskiej w 1925 r.*, "BŻIH" No. 193.

398 Among those who protested were Dmowski and Głabiński, while the Supreme Council of the ZLN submitted a parliamentary interpellation and called for the establishment of a special committee assessing the government's activities. Dmowski said that the mistake was to reduce the "anti-Jewish instinct in Polish society." See G. Radomski (2000), p. 42.

groups, National Democrats did not, however, abandon the propaganda image of Jews as forming a solid unity.

Antisemitic agitation was a political weapon; one that was consciously used by the leaders of the political stage, adjusting its intensity, increasing propaganda campaign when the danger of losing influences was observed, or in response to left-wing offensives. It had an actual impact on social relations and maintaining of discriminatory practices against Jews. National journalism promoted actions of boycott, stigmatizing not only "Jewish" trade but also that of those who did business with Jews or sold them real estate. National Democrat members swore not to seek commercial contacts with Jews for any reason whatsoever. In everyday life, discrimination not sanctioned by law also took place, e.g., some clerical and government jobs were inaccessible to Jews, professional advancement was made difficult, bank loans were unavailable, national and communal monopoly employment was rejected, and access to academic positions at universities was limited. Language harassment, coded in culture, was still alive. In the former Russian partition, old and restrictive tsarist laws were still in power and were formally abandoned as late as 1931, although they were rarely in practical use.³⁹⁹ Successively, they came to be replaced with new, more democratic legal norms passed by the Polish Sejm.

Nationalists succeeded in local government elections, but Polish left-wing and Jewish parties also received meaningful support in terms of seats in local authorities and therefore were able to put their pre-election promises into practice. This was especially true of small provincial towns where Jewish citizens were either a majority or at least a meaningfully large group and usually voted for the orthodox Agudat Yisrael or central Zionists, but also of larger cities where assimilation supporters were especially active, sometimes in coalition with the orthodox circles and Zionist left-wingers or the Bund party. National Democrats failed spectacularly when the Polish Socialist Party won the 1919 Łódź elections, mostly due to Jewish votes. The 1927 local government elections also did not bring satisfactory results, since the count of National Democrat seats fell in Warsaw, and in Vilnius and Lublin the party suffered a total loss. Traditionally, the force retained their influence in Poznań and other cities of the former Prussian partition, where the Jewish populations were relatively small. In the 1935 elections, they succeeded in Lublin and Łódź; in the latter case the central government disbanded the City Council, and in the 1936 elections, the Polish Socialist Party succeeded in the area. The cooperation between the town councilors from Jewish and Polish parties was of much higher quality locally than in the Sejm. Naturally, disputes were abundant,

399 The interwar period noticed at least one case in which the court pronounced a verdict justified by the ban on converting from Christian to Judaism which was in force in the Russian partition. See: J. Tomaszewski (1993), *Spółeczność żydowska a Polacy w II Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. W. Wrzesiński, *Polska – Polacy – Mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław, p. 183.

but the need to solve down-to-earth problems definitely did facilitate cooperation, since even Antisemites need to abandon mythologized propaganda arguments in favor of pragmatism. Jewish councilors, on the other hand, were bound to act in favor of city-wide policies, sometimes agreeing to unequal distribution of granting, discriminating Jewish-populated districts. They also respected the common law, avoiding the most exposed seats in city authorities.⁴⁰⁰

National Democrat Antisemitism influenced mainly the large-city middle classes, but also the intelligentsia, especially their younger representatives. Students formed the avant-garde of the movement, and the radicalism of their theses – as well as forms of activity – compelled the older generation of activists to change their tactics and adopt a more aggressive rhetoric. For young nationals, Jews became the leading problem of the country, and their hatred of Semites was simply obsessive. They demanded that the national state rules be implemented, with *numerus clausus* at the universities, and legal limitations on Jews' professional activity. The All-Polish Youth (*Młodzież Wszechpolska*) organization, established in 1922, initiated demonstrations at a few universities in September, announcing a "war against Jews." This organization was most likely responsible for the bombings in Warsaw and Kraków in 1923, among others of the offices of an assimilation *Nowy Dziennik* (New Daily) newspaper, as well as of the street in front of the house of the Jagiellonian University's president, Władysław Natanson who declined a request to make a university hall available for Antisemitic rallies, as well as was against quotas. During the second assembly of the organization as well as a rally of academic youth in Lviv in 1923, a fight in favor of *numerus clausus* was declared, and an idea was put forward that even Christian worshippers of Jewish descent be completely excluded from ideological, mutual aid, educative, and sports organizations. Dmowski supported the ideas, and Stanisław Grabski, while commending the gathered on their patriotism, was reserved toward the radical demands. By the early 1930s, the nationals gained the advantage in the authority bodies of most of student mutual aid organizations.

After the May Coup of 1926, Roman Dmowski, while trying to reunite the nationalistic right-wing and standing up to Piłsudski's ruling party, established the National Party (*Stronnictwo Narodowe*, 1928). It was closer to fascism, critical of a liberal model of the state, but the founder did not abandon participating in parliamentary political games.⁴⁰¹ It also accentuated the bonds with Catholicism as the basis of state and national life more strongly than Democratic-National Party.⁴⁰² In 1930, the party's Central Board established a department for Catholic propaganda, including 19 priests. The party drove toward dominating Catholic organizations that the youths gathered around, such as sodalities of Our Lady or *Iuventus Christiana*,

400 In Cracow before the First World War Jews were not allowed to serve as City Majors, but they were often appointed as Majors' Deputies. See H. Kozińska-Witt (2015).

401 R. Dmowski (1988), *Polityka polska i odbudowanie państwa*, Warszawa, p. 189.

402 R. Dmowski (1927), *Kościół, naród i państwo*, Warszawa.

finally succeeding in the 1930s. Antisemitism was one of the core foundations of the party's program, ideology, and tactics. Removing the nationals from power and influence on law-making, paradoxically, freed their hands. They did not have to reckon with political realism, international commitments, limitations arising from the need to solve specific problems, or the pressures of the opposition or public opinion.⁴⁰³ They could play a game of politics by using propaganda, and while observing growing dissatisfaction with post-coup government, they promised to themselves that their influence is widened beyond the intelligentsia and large-city petit bourgeois, despite losing their influence among landowners. They met Piłsudski's call for "moral healing" with the motto of "organizing the nation," which was to be delivered by the Camp of Great Poland (*Obóz Wielkiej Polski*), established by the academic nationalist youth in late 1926 and counting 25 thousand members in 1930. It was of intra-partial character, stretching their influence over organizations like All-Polish Youth and Związek Młodych Narodowców (*Young National Association*) established in Poznań in 1930.

The program of the Camp, approved in 1932, demanded that Jews be deprived of political rights and be assigned the status of "subordinates." It accepted racist criteria, denying the same rights to Jewish descendants who changed their religion. Jews and Jewish descendants would not be able to vote, be candidates for the Parliament and local governments. They would also be denied posts of civil servants, university professors, teachers, notaries, and stock brokers. Other professions would have employment limits imposed, and Poles would have the primacy. Jews would be excluded from public universities as students, and could only practice professions among other Jews. They would be exempt from military service in exchange for a special tax. They would not be permitted to purchase land, assume Polish names, and intermarry, and their freedom of choosing places to live would be limited to specified lands and city districts. Ritual slaughter was to be completely forbidden, and authors and publishers would need to announce their Jewish ancestry next to their names.⁴⁰⁴ This was a law-making idea earlier than Hitler's laws passed in Nurnberg in 1935, although it was influenced by Nazi program, whose progress in Germany was under close scrutiny by the Antisemites.⁴⁰⁵ All-Polish Youth and the Camp of Great Poland established gangs that as of 1931 started yearly riots at universities. Demanding not only *numerus clausus*, but *numerus nullus*, not letting Jewish students into the buildings, beating them, breaking windows of these shops that belonged to Jews, organizing pickets

403 J. Rembéliński (1926), "O podstawę doboru," *Mysł Narodowa*, No. 29.

404 Oddział Akademicki OWP w Warszawie (1932), *Wytyczne w sprawach żydowskiej, mniejszości słowiańskich, niemieckiej, zasad polityki gospodarczej*, Warszawa.

405 The young nationalists personally contacted NSDAP activists. Jan Rembéliński visited Alfred Rosenberg in 1926 and Jerzy Drobnik met with Nazi dignitaries in 1933. They also commented on the publications of Nazi ideologists.

in front of them and organizing “non-Jewish days.”⁴⁰⁶ The authority’s delegating CGP in 1932–1933 limited student riots for two years to some extent. After disbanding the organization, most of the younger, more radical, activists joined the National Party and established an informal faction. They were conflicted with part of the older activists, blaming them for too much “leniency” and inconsistency in delivering the anti-Jewish program, as well as their fear of the “worldwide Jewish power” and feeling of inferiority toward Jews. The young faction enjoyed complete support from Dmowski.

The great economic crisis that made itself known in Poland as early as 1929 and reached its apogee in 1931–1933 had a definite impact on the worsening of national animosities as well as wider propaganda of Antisemitism among the petty and middle bourgeoisie, peasant and working-class, and right-wing oriented intelligentsia which included officers of the army and the police. The National Party seized the opportunity and came to even greater influence in the 1930 elections. The National Club became the second parliamentary force after the governing coalition. The claims toward Jews did not change, and the General Council of the National Party was convinced that in order to put these theories into life it would suffice to popularize Antisemitic slogans and mobilize the Polish part of the society. They did not plan to be influenced by the radical vision of the young part of the movement, nor give in to their brutality, but they also did nothing to condemn such practices. It may be said that they balanced between the youths’ extreme mode and their own, less chauvinistic, tradition; they published claims that the civil rights of Jews be removed and that Jews ought to be forced to leave the country, but on the other hand there were no specific legal instruments proposed, until March 1934 when a senator, Stefan Kozicki (1876–1958) put such a project forward. His speech, as well as the party assuming a more radical course, were signs of seeking some compromise with the “young” who were gradually taking over the steering wheel of the party. The National Party leaders were slow to react, but finally they distanced themselves from the action of Adam Doboszyński who imitated Mussolini by organizing a march toward Myślenice, where on the night of June 23, 1936, his squad attacked a police station and shops of local Jews, even attempting to put a synagogue on fire.⁴⁰⁷

The older party activists perceived the program of social and economic segregation as deliverable by separating the two nationalities through the formation of separate institutions like denotative schools, separate hospitals, professions being nationalized, etc. They claimed the mobilization of the society would make this possible. The “youths” on the other hand demanded legal limitations, and looked

406 M. Natkowska (1999), *Numerus clausus, getto lawkowe, numerus nullus, “paragraf aryjski,”* Warszawa.

407 See P. Tomasiak (1989), “Wyprawa myślenicka 23 czerwca 1936 roku,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, No. 3/4. After serving the sentence, Doboszyński became the Vice-President of the Supreme Court of the National Party.

at segregation as complete isolation of the Jews, ejecting them from all the spheres of life. At the same time, they rejected the idea of separate Jewish institutions. The goal of isolation was only to make Jews leave the country *en masse* by disabling their regular existence in Poland.

One of the means was a campaign of terror. In 1936, the National Party deemed inspiring anti-Jewish riots as an acceptable tool in fighting the Sanation, agreeing to violence. They also accepted racism, demanding that not only actual or formal Judaism worshippers be separated but also those who accepted Christianity or came from mixed families. They increasingly often announced that the "Aryan race" could be "contaminated" just by getting involved with Jews, not only "being influenced" or "giving in to persuasion." That is why they were so critical toward equal rights of all the citizens of the country, as included in the 1935 April Constitution, despite this document being less democratic than its predecessor.

Hitler's political victory of 1935 was enthusiastically accepted by the nationalists at first, despite the Antisemitic sentiments. As Ignacy Chrzanowski reported, upon receiving the news of Hitler's victory Dmowski "jumped with joy" not even trying to hide his "awe and jealousy toward Hitler's Germany in their war against Jews" and wanting to imitate "the integral revolution in Germany" on the Polish soil. Even if this anecdote is exaggerated, Dmowski's hopes that he associated with Nazism are evident in his analysis from the previous year:

If Hitler's new movement wanted to seriously organize the German nation and destroy the putrefying elements they would need to consider ruthless war with the Jews. ... A phenomenon would then arise that could be of highest relevance not only for Germans but in the history of the whole Europe.⁴⁰⁸

Dmowski was happy with Hitler's "national revolution" and that it would destroy "democratic states who together with a helping organization – masonry – made Jews' reign over nations easier, that it will open the possibility of Poland organizing their affairs in accordance with the needs and goals of the Polish nation"⁴⁰⁹ and forecast that "the twentieth century has become the era of closing down the Jewish chapter in the world's history."⁴¹⁰

The main forces of the camp were rather quick to withdraw from such an unequivocal support of Nazism, but their attitude toward the ideology remained ambivalent and almost until the outbreak of World War II the National Party did not fully appreciate the danger coming from Germany. They completely understood the Third Reich's attitude toward Jews. In 1934, Kozicki explained in the Senate:

408 R. Dmowski (1932), "Hitleryzm jako ruch narodowy," *Gazeta Warszawska*, No. 210.

409 R. Dmowski (1933), "Rewolucja narodowa," *Kurier Poznański*, No. 427.

410 R. Dmowski (1933), "Widoki syjonizmu," *Gazeta Warszawska*, No. 153.

Hitler is removing Jews from Germany neither of his own fantasy nor hatred. It is the necessity of the time, the necessity of Germany's national policy.⁴¹¹

National Party considered anti-Jewish repressions in Germany as a pattern Poland ought to follow and seconded the actions. They wrote with some sense of jealousy: "in a few tens of years there will be no trace of Jewish issues in Germany. How different is it here in Poland!"⁴¹² They speculated that matching their neighbors' steps in "solving the Jewish issue" will strengthen Poland to a degree where attacking it will no longer be profitable for the Germans. The only thing that worried them was the possibility of "flooding" of Poland by Jewish refugees from beyond the western border, and this was the reason they were so critical toward the *Kristallnacht*. On the other hand, they ridiculed the victims of repressions. In 1933, Jan Rembieniński wrote: "the suffering of Jews does not look all too respectable ... their tragic situation lacks majestic character," comparing the fate of German Jews to things a suitor must feel when caught red-handed in his mistress's bedchambers by her husband.⁴¹³ National Democrats tried to propagate their hostility toward Jews also among Slavic minorities, trying to neutralize their drive toward independence or the influence of the left-wing parties.⁴¹⁴ An unquestionable strengthening of anti-Jewish sentiments, especially among the Ukrainians, did not lead, as the National Party would wish, to bring them closer to Polish state and government. A good example is the 1936 vote of Ukrainian members of parliament in the Sejm against the law that would limit ritual slaughter. Some leaders of the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDA, *Ukraińskie Zjednoczenie Narodowo Demokratyczne*) actually called for closer Ukrainian-Jewish relations, as well as a joint fight against Polish nationalism.

Rapid introduction of legal discrimination of Jews in Germany was a magnetic perspective, making it evident that the fulfilment of an Antisemitic program was possible and what is more, met merely minor and inefficient countermeasures, both in the local society and from democratic countries. Even those parties that did not show much interest in the "Jewish issue" gave in to this allure, suddenly seeing it as a valid issue, and adopted ideas for solving it from the nationals. Antisemitism, although of varied intensity, was becoming the discourse of the whole right wing, and also to some extent of central and agrarian parties, excluding marginal neo-Conservatives and neo-Liberals on the one hand, and on the other – left-wing

411 Shorthand report from the sixty-third meeting of the Senate of the Republic of Poland, March 2, 1934, p. 20. Qtd. after B. Halczak (2000), p. 96, fn. 278.

412 "Odżydzanie Niemiec," *Mysł Narodowa*, 1936, No. 37.

413 J. Rembieniński (1933), "Niedostojne lamenty," *Mysł Narodowa*, No. 20.

414 It was only during the crisis when the slogans of economic struggle with Jews and the founding movement of cooperatives appeared in the Ukrainian villages to exclude Jewish mediation. It was a repetition of the action that began in the Kingdom in 1912. See Sh. Redlich (1998), "Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Inter-War Poland as Reflected in Some Ukrainian Publications," *Polin*, Vol. 11.

parties, where the most consistent voice came from the illegal Communist Party of Poland.⁴¹⁵ At the 1935 joint congress of the People's Party, thanks to a group of "Piaśt" activists, a program of an economic boycott of Jews as a "foreign nation" was adopted, although the members claimed no hatred toward Jews. Conservatives from Cracow, in their "Czas" (*Time*) daily, propagated a resembling form of Antisemitism, but they completely condemned racism and anti-Jewish violence. They supported quotas for Jews in the Sejm and local authorities, but they did not agree to Jews having their civil rights revoked. They postulated mass emigration of Jews supported by legal restrictions. Poznań conservatives were too hostile toward Germans to praise Nuremberg laws, but at the same time, anti-Jewish enough to indirectly support the said laws by praising actions of Romania that followed the same line of thought. All the Christian Democrats condemned, but at the same time justified, anti-Jewish actions in the Third Reich, and as of 1937, they were increasingly eager to support Hitler's goals, although not his methods. In the *Voice of the Nation* (*Głos Narodu*) one could increasingly often find ridiculing of victims and picturing of their suffering in an almost satirical form, which did not make the title much different from National Party press. As can be seen from this short overview, most right-wing and central parties that mattered took it for granted that Jews are harmful to Poland and accepted the idea of Jews leaving the country. At the same time, party-driven journalism was adapting anti-Jewish rhetoric.

After 1933, extreme nationalist organizations became significantly more numerous, and their roster included both organizations whose line of thought was close to the National Democrats, such as Young Nationalist Association (*Związek Młodych Narodowców*) which emerged from the Nationalist Party and those closer to monarchism, fascism or nazism. They were indeed of marginal importance, but they raced one another in loud anti-Jewish agitation, which resulted in competing programs becoming increasingly radical. In 1933–1939, a total of around 25 such radical chauvinistic parties and organizations existed, but rarely any had more than 100 members. Some directly followed Hitler's example, such as the National-Socialist Party (*Partia Narodowo-Socjalistyczna*), Nationalist-Socialist Labour Party (*Narodowo-Socjalistyczna Partia Pracy*) or the Union of Nationalist-Socialist Youth (*Związek Młodzieży Narodowo-Socjalistycznej*).⁴¹⁶ In April 1934, a number of young radicals broke ties with the Nationalist Party and established the Nationalist Radical Camp (*Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny*) with a purely totalitarian program, deriving from Italian fascism, Portuguese Salazarism, Spanish Falange and Nazism, and even Stalinism as a nationalist counterweight to "Trotsky's Communism."⁴¹⁷

415 The left-wing press relatively rarely touched on Jewish subjects and the number of statements condemning Antisemitism increased only in 1938–1939, when the immediate threat from Germany was evident. See A. Landau-Czajka (1998), *W jednym stali domu*, Warszawa, pp. 80–82.

416 All these parties and organizations were listed by A. Landau-Czajka (1989), "The Ubiquitous Enemy," *Polin* Vol. 4, pp. 170–173.

417 O. Szpakowski (1936), *Polska przeciw marksizmowi*, Warszawa, p. 10.

The Camp was led by, among others, former president of the All-Polish Youth, Jan Mosdorf (1904–1943), Wojciech Wasiutyński (1910–1994), Henryk Rossman, and Tadeusz Gluziński. In June, the organization was disbanded by the authorities, and the leaders imprisoned in the Bereza Kartuska prison for political prisoners. Despite this, the organization maintained their activity – openly, although illegally. Apart from donations from wealthy members and sympathizers, it was likely partly financed by the embassy of the then fascist Italy and German supporters of Hitler from Silesia and Łódź.⁴¹⁸ In the fall of 1934, after the leaders were released from the Bereza prison, the organization split. The Camp, now known as the ONR “ABC” from the title of a newspaper, was led by Henryk Rossman.⁴¹⁹ Bolesław Piasecki (1915–1979) established the National Radical Camp⁴²⁰ “Falanga.” Both Camps counted not more than 5 thousand members each, but the “Falanga” newspaper was circulated in 25 thousand copies in 1938.

Radical racist Antisemitism⁴²¹ with calls for violence was much stronger than the political and social agendas of the parties, and critics called such an approach “Judeocentrism.” National Democrat tradition gave the parties the ideas of statism, but they were anti-parliamentary, anti-capitalistic, and at the same time anti-left. They postulated a one-party system and nationalizing of the basic industry types, while craftsmanship and farming were to remain private. Postulates toward Jewish minorities included political and systemic solutions that were reminiscent of those adopted by the Camp of Great Poland in 1932.⁴²² Polish citizens were to be divided into three categories: “state-belonging non-citizens” (Jews and an unclear category of “Jewish lackeys”) “citizens,” including forcefully assimilated Slavic minorities, and “the nation’s political organization members,” ranking highest in the society – the members of the ruling mono-party. The last category’s members were supposed to be “hierarchically ranked.” Jewish “non-citizens” would be

418 Sz. Rudnicki (1985), pp. 282–283. See also J. Borejsza (1981); (2000), *Szkoły nienawiści*, Wrocław; A. Dudek, G. Pytel (1990), *Bolesław Piasecki*, Londyn, p. 112. The authors of this last work, apologetic to the leader of Falanga, questioned these assumptions, citing conversations with former members of the organization.

419 Its members were, among others, Jan Jodziewicz, Władysław Dowbor, Tadeusz Gluziński, Jan Korolec, Tadeusz Todtleben, Wojciech Zaleski, Aleksander Heinrich, and Jerzy Kurcusz.

420 Its members were, among others, Zygmunt Przetakiewicz, Onufry Kopczyński, Zygmunt Dziarmaga, Wojciech Kwasieberski, Witold Staniszkis, Włodzimierz Sznarbachowski, Olgierd Szpakowski, Wojciech Wasiutyński, Alfred Łaszowski, Marian and Adolf Reuttowie.

421 See issues of the *Falanga* magazine: “Co to jest rasa?,” 1937, No. 19; Wł. Zawadzki, “Nacjonalizm humanistyczny,” 1937, No. 21; A. Łaszowski, “Czy rasizm i antysemityzm to jedno; oraz: Antysemityzm to nie rasizm,” 1938, No. 32/33; 1939, No. 6.

422 B. Piasecki (1936), “Zasady programu narodowo-radykalnego,” *Przełom narodowy*, p. 25.

completely segregated, and their property expropriated and confiscated, without compensation.⁴²³ Marrying the “Aryans” would be completely forbidden. The press started publishing projects of ghettos or banishing of Jews. The *Falanga* magazine (1938, Issue 23) published an article under an expressive title *Ghetto musi być nędzne i tłoczne* (The ghetto must be poor and crowded). The National Radical camp remained ambivalent toward Zionism, which was also characteristic of the National Democrats. Tadeusz Sadowski (1936) wrote: “if the Jewish nation, in their drive toward rebirth, really wants to establish their own state, it will be our duty and of our interest to assist them.” (*Żydzi tylko w swoim państwie*, Jews only in their state, *Falanga* Issue 7), and yet another *Falanga* journalist added that “Zionism is one pleasing Jewish movement” (*Izrael*, *Kuźnica* 1938 Issue 11). Others, like K. Hałaburda (1938) could not withhold from expressing their satisfaction with news of settler failures in the Palestine (*Arabowie nie dajcie się*, Arabs, do not give up, *Falanga* Issue 28). In fact, the National Radical Camp agreed for the existence of Jews, but far away from Poland. They demanded compulsory emigration, although “deportation” or “banishment” would be a word closer to the truth, financed by the “world’s Jewry.”⁴²⁴ It was to be accelerated by a campaign of terror. As Mosdorf put it, Jews could be forced to emigrate “if remaining here will form a threat of physical annihilation. Naturally, we will do no such things as slaughter. But we may put into practice a rule that the wealthiest Jew is to be poorer than the poorest Pole.”⁴²⁵ Squads of both factions attacked Jewish male and female students, left-wing activists, performed bombings, and also assaulted each other. The National Combat Organization “Life and Death for the Nation” (Narodowa Organizacja Bojowa “Życie i Śmierć dla Narodu”) established by Zygmunt Przetakiewicz (1917–2005) and answering to Piasecki, apart from committing acts of violence on Jews, was tracing the steps of the members of their own organization.

Violence from radical factions of the nationalists was of varied forms. They primarily organized pickets in front of Jew-owned shops, not allowing customers to buy the goods, and sometimes terrorizing the clients. Such actions were a common weapon in the National Democrat arsenal and appeared as early as 1912. As of 1913, the “Rozwój” (Progress) Association organized such actions during the so-called “anti-Jewish weeks,” usually preceding Easter and Christmas. Unlike the actions from the early twentieth century, which resulted in civil protest and accusations of demoralizing the participating youth, in the 1930s the public kept their reservations rather silent, and the events were becoming “something normal.” They were not, however, very efficient because of the insufficient number of people that would man all the shops for the extended time. In the mid-1930s, the provincial national activists organized “marketplaces without Jews,” forcing the farmers not

423 J. Giertych (1938), *O wyjście z kryzysu*, Warszawa.

424 T. Wojnar (1937), “Etapy rozwiązania kwestii żydowskiej,” *Ruch Młodych*, No. 6/21, p. 33.

425 J. Mosdorf (1939), “Mesjanizm żydowski i emigracja,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 7.

to sell their produce to Jews, buying out all the produce themselves or keeping Jews away from the marketplaces by force. Violent fights were frequent, some of them resulting in pogroms, either spontaneous or instigated by the nationalists. These actions were rarely supported by the countryside clientele because “Christian” sellers used the opportunity to raise prices. A solution to these tactics were blockades, an idea of the initiators of the yearly university riots. They blocked the gates to the universities, denying their colleagues of Jewish looks entry. Assaulted by the police, they turned to occupying the dormitories. They also occupied tables in a number of Warsaw cafes that employed Jews, such as the Blikle café in Warsaw in 1936, which used the services of a music band with a few Jewish members. It was an almost daily practice of the squad members to assault passers-by, with cases of throwing acid or fetid liquids at them. In the first half of 1936, in Warsaw and Łódź there were a total of 236 such incidents and beatings, performed by trained “threes” or “fives” in Łódź, of young National Party sympathizers. The “pastimes” were quickly adopted by the populace of Warsaw, especially on the suburban trains. Yet another form of violence, handy in use due to it being hard to discover and not requiring strength or courage was vandalism, both spontaneous and activist-driven. Mostly, it took the form of breaking windows of Jewish shops, homes, and institutions. It was popular to such a degree that insurance companies were found to deny the insurance of shop windows. In the Białystok Voivodeship, police records contained around 1000 reports of broken windows on a quarterly basis. Hitler’s Germany was home to one “Kristallnacht,” but Poland, much earlier, saw a number of crystal “nights” and “days,” although with no consequences in forms of arrests and deportations to concentration camps that were sanctioned by German authority⁴²⁶ Fire-raising or profanation of synagogues and graveyards were less common.⁴²⁷ Vandalism was inherent to pogroms. National radicals measured the level of “ideology” of mass events by the quantity of goods and personal property that could be destroyed instead of robbed. The most radical actions, reserved for trained squads because of their level of complexity were bombings, first organized in 1923. In total, in 1935–1936 national radical members performed 50 such acts of terror, mainly in Warsaw and neighboring towns. Łódź, Vilnius, Grodno, and in Silesia. They were especially frequent in 1936.⁴²⁸

7.3. Wave of Collective Violence and Discrimination

The prolonged economic crisis, the ineffectiveness of the authorities in mitigating its effects, and the continuing, aggressive Antisemitic propaganda have

426 See R. Wapiński (2002), *Polska na styku narodów i kultur*, Gdańsk, p. 174; W. Hagen (1996), “Before the “Final Solution,” *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 68, no 2.

427 In May 1936, 5 graves of tzadiks were desecrated at the Jewish cemetery in Warsaw.

428 J. Żyndul (1994), pp. 37–43. See also Sz. Rudnicki (1985), pp. 290, 292, 303–304, 370–371.

resulted in a wave of collective violence. It is telling that the violence came to be when the first signs of recovery emerged. It was accompanied by a wave of strikes that peaked in 1936 when a total of about half a million workers and peasants were out on the streets. Pogroms were thus part of a landscape of almost universal social uproar, impossible for the government to control. Not counting the repeated riots organized by nationalist militias in most universities, almost immediately after Pilsudski's death on of May 12, 1935, there were about 100–150 anti-Jewish collective actions in Poland from May 1935 to September 1937. With some exceptions, they erupted from east to west in two waves, one in 1935–1936 and the other, weaker, in 1937. In some places, we can point to the inspirational role of nationalists in inciting the pogrom, especially in 1935–36.⁴²⁹ In Kalisz, Grodno, Łomża, and Wysokie Mazowiecki their inspiration was direct, as found in an investigation. Occasionally, the priests were those who incited violence, as in the town of Sokoly. In Silesia where the percentage of the Jewish population was only 1.7 %, but nationalist organizations were strong, the activity of Antisemites took the form of bombings. From March to July 1936, the press reported almost daily riots, assaults, bombings, and acts of vandalism. In total, about 2000 people were injured, and according to various estimates, 25 or 30 people died.⁴³⁰ After the pogroms in Brześć (13 May 1937) and Częstochowa (21 June 1937), the nationalist press began demanding the removal of Jews from cities of special military or religious significance.

Social rebellion dominated the 1930s violence. The widespread Antisemitic agitation was conducted not only by the nationalists but also by other right-wing parties and the Church and must have raised anti-Jewish hostility, but Antisemitic activists were only occasionally the initiators of pogroms. The allegation which was to excuse all the waves of violence since 1918 was the generalized “betrayal” of Jews perceived as an undifferentiated group: the support of Germans, Bolsheviks, Ukrainians, and hostility to the Polish nation, including “shooting at Polish soldiers” – the accusation used during the pogrom in Lviv in 1918 – or the murder of a Polish soldier as the accusation went in Mińsk Mazowiecki in 1936. This was, therefore, a loyalist argumentation that was not directed against the state or the order of the system, which likened it to pogroms in Russia in the nineteenth

429 J. Żyndul (1994). See also J. Żyndul (1991), “Zajścia antyżydowskie 1935–37,” *BŻIH*, No. 159.

430 J. Żyndul (1994), pp. 52–53; Tę ostatnią liczbę podaje J. Michlic-Coren (2000), “Anti-Jewish Violence in Poland, 1918–1939 and 1945–1947,” *Polin*, Vol. 13. See also J. Gapys, M. B. Markowski (1999), “Konflikty polsko-żydowskie w woj. kieleckim w l. 1935–36,” *BŻIH*, No. 192; J. Laskowska-Gielo (2000), “Pogrom w Mińsku Mazowieckim (czerwiec 1936),” *BŻIH*, No. 196; J. Tomaszewski (1964), “Dwa dokumenty o pogromie w Brześciu,” *BŻIH*, No. 49; J. Gapys, M. B. Markowski (1999), “Zajścia antyżydowskie w Odrzywole w 1935,” *Biuletyn Kwartalny Radomskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego*, Vol. 34, z. 1.

century. Although economic justifications like “exploitation,” “speculation,” “control” of trade and industry, and “push” for jobs became more important after the economic crisis, they usually appeared in the context of “patriotic” arguments like weakening the nation by “control” over economy and “social” arguments that presented the Jews as responsible for the poverty of Polish society. Blood libel that was present in the folk culture at that time does not explain the pogroms in 1935–1937.⁴³¹

The government repeatedly promised to fight the excesses, including the exposés of Prime Minister Marian Zyndram-Kościałowski in 1935 and Prime Minister Felicjan Sławoj-Składkowski in 1936. Efforts to control anti-Jewish collective violence were, however, temporary and ineffective. The government used preventive detentions at the Bereza Kartuska Concentration Camp for the nationalists charged with preparing pogroms and disbanded the local organizations responsible for the riots. Another action was the confiscation of the articles in the national press which explicitly called for violence; however, more often, the administration censored reports of riots in Jewish and leftist writings. The police generally responded to anti-Jewish actions by dispersing gatherings, arresting participants, inspirers of riots, and those who distributed anti-Jewish leaflets, painted slogans on the walls, knocked down windows, or sang Antisemitic songs in public. Another thing was the detection of perpetrators of these activities. Yet another problem was the obstruction of justice by the judiciary. The judges were usually very indulgent for the arrested Antisemites. They were usually punished for several days to a few months of detention, often suspended, even in proven cases of active participation in collective violence, although the penal code provided for prison sentences of up to five years. According to the estimates of Jolanta Żyndul (1994), in 1935–1937, about 500 people were convicted in forty trials for the involvement in or inspiration of collective violence against Jews. Żyndul gives an example of a trial after the events at the fair in Zagórow. Of the fifty-five accused nationalist SN activists, three heard the sentence of one year, ten of ten months, seventeen of eight months, eight of six months, and the rest were acquitted. The Court of Appeal reduced these fines and suspended some of them. Of the seventeen people accused of participating in the riots in Grodno (7–8 June 1935) – which cost the lives of two Jews and the health of eleven others – six were acquitted in a lawful verdict, four were suspended, and the rest went to prison for six to twelve months. In a separate trial, two Jews were accused of beating to death Władysław Kuszcz – whose funeral was used by the nationalists to unleash the riots in Grodno – the accused heard

431 Blood libel sparked the pogrom in Strzyżowo (21–24 April 191 and in Kolbuszowa, Ropczyca i Rzeszów (May 1919). See I. Lewin, N. M. Gelber (1990), pp. 151–153. In 1926, riots broke out in Golub, due to accusations of “ritual murder” on a four-year-old girl. See Z. Waszkiewicz (1995), “Gmina wyznaniowa żydowska w Golubiu w l. 1920–39,” ed. J. Szilling, *Gminy wyznaniowe żydowskie w województwie pomorskim w okresie międzywojennym*, Toruń, p. 128.

the verdict of twelve and two years of imprisonment. As a result of the pogroms in Przytyk near Radom, the members of the Jewish self-defense were sentenced, while the Poles arrested for beating to death Josek and Haya Minkowski and assaulting their children beaten were acquitted.⁴³² The verdict was widely echoed in the Polish press as well as abroad. It has become the symbol of the Polish judiciary's bias. As a rule, Jews received higher sentences than Christians, and in the latter case, the ideological reason was treated as a mitigating factor as opposed to the former. This was a blatant manifestation of legal discrimination, justified by the unfounded suspicion of disloyalty to the state. When the Court of Appeal decided on the life sentence for Jehudah Leyb Chaskielewicz for the murder of a lieutenant of the Seventh Regiment in Mińsk Mazowiecki (June 1936, 1), it motivated the decision with the false argument that the crime was committed "against the background of an attitude of absolute hostility to the Polish state, especially its army."⁴³³ In 1936 only, 1,500 members of ethnic minorities were prosecuted for the "defamation of the Polish nation," and the average sentence was one and a half years without a suspension.

After the death of Piłsudski, the group in power was in an uneasy situation with the growing popularity of the left-wing opposition, on the one hand, and attempts to unite the right on the other. In 1937, the Sanation government attempted to take over the influence of SN and ONR through political approximation. Jerzy Rutkowski and a group of activists from "Falanga," in agreement with Colonel Adam Koc, a politician of the ruling coalition, took over the leadership of the youth pro-government organization, the Union of Young Poland. This was to be the introduction to the legalization and implementation of the plan of assuming power through the infiltration of government organizations and political parties developed by Bolesław Piasecki. Perhaps there was another plan, to seize power by a coup. But this possibility might have equally been a provocation prepared by the Ministry of Interior to remove Piasecki and Koc from the ruling powers. In 1938, some of the "Falanga" activists left the organization, dissatisfied with the cooperation with the Sanation movement, Piasecki's aspirations, and the surveillance of the members of the organization by the people of Przetakiewicz. At that moment, Wasiutyński founded the magazine *Wielka Polska*, seeking to unite radical nationals under his leadership.

Meanwhile, the Sanation government accepted Antisemitism, confirmed that the Jewish population is the factor weakening the development of the Polish state, supported the slogan of economic struggle, and committed to resolving the Jewish question. Such turn became possible after the termination of the minority treaty at the League of Nations meeting on 13 September 1934 and the adoption

432 See A. Penkalla (1990), "The Przytyk Incidents of 9 March 1936 from Archival Documents," *Polin*, Vol. 5.

433 J. Żyndul (1994), p. 91. See also J. Laskowska-Gielo (2000).

of the new Constitution in 1935.⁴³⁴ The Polish government officially accepted the program of mass emigration as a way to get rid of the “Jewish problem.” The Sanation contacted the revisionists, a right-wing faction of Zionists, whose leader, Włodzimierz Żabotyński, agreed with this solution as long as the Jews were moved to Palestine.⁴³⁵ In view of the introduction of immigration restrictions in Palestine by the United Kingdom and the impediments to immigration in most Western countries and the USA, these plans were unrealistic. On the wave of buzzing slogans about the capture of overseas colonies for the “Great Poland,” the Sanation considered the idea of resettling Polish Jews to Madagascar.

The idea of the mass emigration of Jews was accepted by almost all Polish right-wing and center-right groups. Even in the PPS press, one could hear voices of support, though most left-wing activists and columnists remained critical and pointed to the unreality of such a plan⁴³⁶. Of course, the Jewish parties, including the Zionists, rejected it, rightly seeing it as an exile paired with restrictions and discrimination against both those who departed and those who remained in the country. Proponents of the project imagined its realization differently. The nationalists and the Christian Democrats demanded forced deportation and confiscation of property. They would preferably transport the robbed Jews outside of the border and leave them there on their own. The liberal faction of the Sanation, part of the conservatives, and the peasant movement projected a fully voluntary undertaking, discussing the best settlement sites, with the emigrants having the right to export their belongings or reap profits from their property left in the country. The exiles would also be supported by a Polish Consulate, like other Polish citizens living abroad. Others from the same groups were willing to agree to “assist” the departure with social and economic boycotts or legislative pressure. They put forward a proposal to designate annual amounts of emigration, primarily for young people of childbearing age – called “planned” emigration – for whom the trip would be coerced. Jews were forced to emigrate with legislative initiatives, such as the ban on ritual slaughter passed by the Sejm in 1938, but which clashed with the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion. The most egregious project was the removal of citizenship proposed by Franciszek Stoch from ONR, in December 1938, but it never got through the commission to be discussed in the parliament. After the Annexation of Austria, on the initiative of the director of the Consular Department of the Foreign Ministry, Wiktor Tomir Drymmer, close associate of the Foreign Minister, Józef Beck, Sejm decided to take away the citizenship of those

434 See W. Michowicz (1963), *Walka dyplomacji polskiej przeciwko Traktatowi Mniejszościowemu w Lidze Narodów w 1934 r.*, Łódź.

435 See L. Weinbaum (1993), *A Marriage of Convenience*, New York.

436 W przyjętym w 1937 r. programie PPS opowiedziała się za przyznaniem autonomii narodowo-kulturalnej niejszościom. Partia zaakceptowała zatem program, który forsowali syjoniści podczas rozmów pokojowych w 1918–1919 r., który głosił też Bund, a który PPS wówczas stanowczo odrzucała.

who stayed abroad for more than five years, which contributed to the expulsion of 17,000 Polish Jews from Germany by the Nazi regime (28–29 October 1938). About 6,000 of them, driven by guns to the Polish side, reached the border at the crossing point in Zbąszyń, where they were gathered in a camp in the barracks. The Polish authorities were not completely prepared for such a turn of events, so the exiles could count almost exclusively on the help of fellow believers. Western countries reacted not, only Britain agreed to accept a few hundred children. A group of Polish intellectuals, including a few who published in the Antisemitic *Prosto z Mostu*, organized a fundraiser to help the exiles.⁴³⁷ Some exiles left for Polish cities, some managed to obtain visas to foreign countries, but some had to live in the barracks until the outbreak of war in 1939.

Some of the activists of the OZN, in 1939, created various ideas of restrictions modeled on the Nürnberg Nazi laws. At the beginning of 1939, Drymmer intended to introduce legislation discriminatory to Jews, impose a special emigration tax on them and prepared a list of “non-Aryan” officials to release them. He dropped the plans only in the spring when the government realized the inevitability of the war with Germany. However, informal discriminatory and segregationist practices remained in local administration. In 1938, Gdynia authorities deported from the city dozens of Jewish families who had settled there without the permits required in the border area as if the Jews were a threat to the integrity of the country. The adoption of the anti-Jewish course incited rivalry between the national extremists and the Sanation, which resulted in the instrumentalization of the rule of law, bidding of propaganda aggression, and intensification of programmatic demands about the fate of the Jews. The atmosphere of the top-down acceptance of Antisemitism favored the spread of hostile attitude to Jews. Opportunism, one of the basic bindings of society, inclined toward anti-Jewish attitudes. It took great civil courage to contradict the situation.

The nationalists repeatedly called for a *numerus clausus* (1919, 1923) and *numerus nullus* (1931) at the universities, which their organizations supported with yearly riots. The assaults on the university gates and demonstrations of nationalist students intensified since 1935 and paralyzed the work of the institutions. The Faculty of Engineering and Mechanics of the Lviv Polytechnic tried to calm the situation by separating the attackers from their victims. To this end, separate the Jewish students received separate benches in lecture halls. The Lviv Polytechnic withdrew from this solution after two months, but two years later other colleges tried to bring order in a similar fashion. In January 1937, the Minister of Religious and Public Enlightenment twice opposed such moves but finally allowed the university authorities to take precautionary measures to prevent conflicts. On this basis, most universities introduced the so-called “bench ghetto.” Rectors of the Warsaw Polytechnic and University pledged to do so on October 6, 1937. In order to determine who should sit on the sites designated for Jews, there were placed

437 See J. Tomaszewski (1998), *Preludium zagłady*, Warszawa.

stamps with their names. These moves provoked part of the scientific community. Rector of the University of Lviv resigned. About a hundred intellectuals signed a protest letter. The Jewish students protesting against the “bench ghetto,” along with the few Polish students⁴³⁸, listened to the lectures standing. The authorities of the higher education institutions justified these restrictions by the need to restore peace, but the attacks not ceased but escalated because it was now easier to identify the victims. Nearly lawless militiamen use walking sticks with razor blades to even beat women. Nationalist youth tried to force the “bench ghetto” also in lower-level schools.⁴³⁹

Discrimination and violence led to a significant decline in the number of Jews studying at Polish higher education institutions. The policy of eliminating the Jews, supported by the Sanation government, was also carried out by excluding them from public institutions, professional corporations, cultural associations, clubs, etc. The April Constitution allowed such practices, but they did not obtain legislative sanction. They were used on their own by organizations subdued or infiltrated by the nationalists. Drawing on the anti-Jewish legislation of the Nazi Germany, in 1936–1938 they introduced the so-called “Aryan clause,” which required the expulsion of the Jews from work and end all cooperation with them. One of the first organizations to apply the clause was the Merchants Association, which effected in its division into two parts. In October 1937, the Union of Doctors of the Polish State (Związek Lekarzy Państwa Polskiego) integrated the clause and announced that there would be difficulties in accepting Jewish medical students. Some other professional organizations followed suit: engineers, accountants, lawyers, journalists, war veterans, student corporations, self-help organizations, and some sports clubs. Nationalist councilors of the municipality of Warsaw attempted to impose the Aryan clause in the city offices. Nationalist teachers unsuccessfully tried to exclude Jewish colleagues from the Polish Teachers’ Union (Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego). These actions ceased in the face of the direct threat of German aggression on Poland, but the Governmental Commission for Warsaw approved numerus nullus in the Association of Architects of the Republic of Poland (Stowarzyszenie Architektów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) under nationalist control.

7.4. Antisemitism in Culture

Antisemites generally criticized new trends in culture, customs, and even fashion, which likened them to the nineteenth-century and earlier conservatives. They differed by way of exaggeration, as the Antisemites perceived a threat to the whole

438 Lewicowi i liberalni studenci powołali w 1936 r. Komitet Obrony Honoru Akademika, by przeciwstawić się bojówkom nacjonalistów.

439 See Sz. Rudnicki (1985), M. Natkowska (1999), D. Mycielska (1985), “Postawy polityczne profesorów wyższych uczelni w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym,” ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX w.*, Warszawa, Vol. 4.

nation or “all human morality” in every little thing; with every social innovation, Antisemites invariably accused the Jews of a conscious pursuit of the destruction of society and the family; finally, Antisemites accused the Jews of overtaking culture either by means of jazz music or new poetry, even if the authors were “of Polish race.” The constant object of verbal attacks was especially the poet of Jewish origin, Julian Tuwim. The nationalists were particularly angered with his poems for children, one of which found a way into the elementary school handbook, so they accused him of “demoralizing” children. They had an equally unjustified opinion about Bruno Schulz: “The Jew Bruno Schulz is the lying author of “The Street of Crocodiles” who masks his shallow, refined, unhealthy, and specifically Jewish fantasy with deceitful style.”⁴⁴⁰

In 1929, the writer Karol Hubert Rostworowski (1877–1938) proclaimed the “healing of Polish literature” to be the obligation of critics to condemn every work in Polish by a Jewish writer, stigmatize the publishers who print such works and those who buy and read them. Since then, anti-Jewish speeches intensified, combined with attacks on the intelligentsia. Such tactics developed in his journalism especially the ONR. Nationalists harshly criticized works in humanistic sciences that did not reflect their perception of reality, and they suspected the authors of having been “poisoned with the spirit of Talmudism” or intentional “falsification of truth.” The nationalists demanded an absolute ban on employing Jewish scholars at the universities. *Gazeta Warszawska* published a list of names of writers and scholars who were to have Jewish origins or “serve” the Jews.⁴⁴¹ Zygmunt Wasilewski denied the Jews the right to play the national anthem, claiming that they profane the national ceremonies.⁴⁴² Similar motives were given by the founders of the Polish Christian Musicians’ Union (Związek Zawodowy Muzyków Chrześcijańskich RP; 1937), who argued that Catholicism in artistic activity makes them exclude not only Jews but also their works. The Antisemites not only demanded the removal of Jews from schools, universities, associations, trade unions, and the army but also from theaters, cinemas, radio, newspapers, and publishing houses. According to the Antisemites, Jews should be neither creators nor audiences. The Antisemites demanded “the isolation of the Jewish press and the books” and their withdrawal from libraries, probably referring to those published in the Polish language, because the Hebrew alphabet “separated” the Yiddish press and literature to their satisfaction.⁴⁴³ The municipalities, in which the nationalist

440 Teofil Giblewski (1937), “Skanalizować literaturę!,” *Ruch Kulturalny*, No. 1, p. 12. Obaj wymienieni poeci należą dziś do kanonu polskiej literatury XX w.

441 *Gazeta Warszawska*, 1933, No. 275, 282, 283, 317.

442 Z. Wasilewski (1934), “Żyd i szabla,” *Wielka Polska*, No. 33. “W ofensywie,” *Ruch Kulturalny*, 1937, No. 3, p. 51). Trzeciak (1938), *Pornografia narzędziem obcych agentur*, Warszawa; Idem, “Brawo! Brawo! Włoskie radio!,” *Mały Dziennik*, 1938, No. 265.

443 Bolesław Płachecki (1936), “Podstawy programu kulturalnego,” *Ruch Młodych*, No. 6, p. 20.

endeavors dominated, attempted to influence cultural life; for instance, in 1935, the authorities of Łódź withdrew subsidies for the Jewish theater. At the initiative of the ruling Camp of National Unity (OZN), overwhelmed with Antisemites after 1936, state film crews ceased cooperation with directors of Jewish origin and the employment of Jewish actors was reduced; a similar action was also conducted in the radio. The action hit Janusz Korczak, whose popular pedagogical talk was taken off the air in February 1936.⁴⁴⁴ Korczak was also forced to resign from taking care of one of the orphanages in which non-Jewish orphans lived.

The weekly *Prosto z mostu*, published since 1935 by Stanisław Piasecki and edited, among others, by Wojciech Wasiutyński, Jan Mosdorf, Jan Korolc, and Adam Doboszyński, had the ambition to become the cultural tribune grouping the writers with radically national views. Publishers have managed to attract some famous names, such as Adolf Nowaczyński and Karol Irzykowski as well as talented newcomers like Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński, Jerzy Waldorff, Jerzy Andrzejewski, and Jan Dobraczyński. Few cooperated with the weekly until the end. Andrzejewski and Irzykowski financially supported the Jewish exiles from Germany in 1938; they were not spared attacks in the weekly press.⁴⁴⁵ The Chief Editor believed in the coming of the “Catholic State of the Polish Nation.” It was to be different from other totalitarian regimes. Piasecki wrote:

The totalism of the German race and the Masonic totalism of the Great Democracies bring small nations the hegemony of fist and money. The totalism of the Catholic idea, represented by the future Poland, brings these nations freedom based on the community in relationship with God and awareness of God’s order on earth.⁴⁴⁶

This order was supposed to arise “for the love of God,” after the defeat of Satan and his temptations represented by Jews and Judaism. The authors of the magazine rejected racism but, at the same time, believed that baptism does not change nature or nationality and, therefore, they demanded the creation of a separate parish for Jewish converts.⁴⁴⁷ By seeking “Jewish blood” even among their own companions, they practically professed racist Antisemitism reconciled in a very twisted way with the principles of Catholicism. They reinterpreted the commandment of love for neighbor as, first, a duty to “parents, the family, the nation,” and only then to “all men,” which made the supposedly religious commandment of “love for the nation” justify the fight against the Jews as a Catholic duty of mercy.⁴⁴⁸ Such arguments

444 See M. Falkowska (1993), “Blaski i cienie współpracy Janusza Korczaka z Polskim Radiem,” *BŻIH*, No. 167/168.

445 S. Piasecki, “Tydzień Kulturalny. Demonstracyjne ofiary,” K. Zbyszewski, “Ryżową szczołką. Witajcie rodacy z Niemiec,” *Prosto z Mostu*, 1938, No. 53.

446 S. Piasecki (1939), “Trzy morza a nie jedno,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 17.

447 S. Piasecki (1936), “Czytając list pasterski,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 15–16; W Wasiutyński (1936) “Z duchem czasu: Idealizm dziejowy,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 1.

448 Cz. Polkowski (1936), “W odpowiedzi pani Kossak;” Z. Jakubiak (1936), “Nie ‘pomimo,’ ale właśnie – ‘dlatego,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 42, 44.

resembled the German speculations of Ariosophy more than Christian theology; for example, when the editors of *Prosto z mostu* declared battle “in the place where Christ and Antichrist have been struggling for centuries, the principle of creativity with the principle of destruction.”⁴⁴⁹ Right until the outbreak of war, the editors of *Prosto z mostu* considered the Nazis to be Poland’s allies, with only the Jews perverting the diplomatic relations between the two nations. Karol Zbyszewski sympathized with the Nazi Germany most, believed that the bench ghetto helps Poland “catch up with the Western culture,” and regretted that the Jews were “still allowed to ride a tram” and “do not have to wear a yellow patch.”⁴⁵⁰ He was pleased to see the Jewish inhabitants from Wiener Neustadt moved to the concentration camp: “In Poland, you have to wait for such a view maybe a century. It’s worth spending two hours here.”⁴⁵¹ In the face of the inevitability of armed conflict with Germany, in July 1939, Witold Nowosad set four goals for a victorious, he believed, war campaign: the destruction of German and Jewish power, communism, and world freemasonry.⁴⁵² Władysław Siła-Nowicki supported forced emigration, confiscation of property, and the application of numerus clausus not only to students but also in employment and the economy. Although Siła-Nowicki supported the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, he excluded any participation of the Polish capital in this venture.⁴⁵³

The ambitious plan of the nationalist *Prosto z mostu* group was the creation of a national and totalist style in literature and art that would be binding in the future regime. The writers have been given the responsible task of shaping the proper national consciousness: totalitarian and Antisemitic. They should forsake formal experiments in favor of the proper ideological content. According to Piasecki, the writer “is called to refresh party dogmas” and should, therefore, create in such way that the “idea” would be “closely linked to the layer of private experience that all its abstractness and universality will cease to scare us.” Alfred Łaszowski recommended linking the psychology of the literary character with the display of the “system of tribal dispositions” and “instinct binding him to the soil.”⁴⁵⁴ Łaszowski’s recommendations echo the program formulated in Germany

449 “Przegląd prasy: Wojna polsko-żydowska,” *Prosto z Mostu*, 1938, No. 9.

450 K. Zbyszewski (1937), “Przez ławki do Zachodu,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 42; Idem (1938), “Blok zdrowego sensu,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 39.

451 K. Zbyszewski (1938), “Motocyklem przez Alpy,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 33.

452 W. Nowosad (1939), “Śmierć na barłogu, czy Wielka Polska?,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 29.

453 W. Siła-Nowicki (1937), “Niech zrozumieją,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 38. W. Siła-Nowicki (1913–1994) adwokat, zasłużony jako obrońca dysydentów w latach 1976–1989, po obaleniu komunizmu aktywny politycznie w partii katolickiej, ujawnił swoje antysemityczne poglądy.

454 S. Piasecki (1938), “Sztuka jest wypowiedaniem siebie;” A. Łaszowski (1938), “Literatura tendencyjna,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 40, No. 8.

by the Völkisch movement.⁴⁵⁵ This vision of literature was difficult to achieve, so more often than praise, the editors of *Prosto z mostu* wrote a harsh critique of the “degenerated art;” a term straight from Nazi propaganda. Two articles were devoted to the condemnation of Marcel Proust’s prose (1939) by Dobraczyński and K. Zbyszewski. The former recommended “to say one Hail Mary” for the narrator’s problems, while the latter described the author as “An abominable Jew ... France is shaking, dripping with blood, and this sucker is completely engrossed in the romance of some bore Swann with some cocotte Odette.”

The Polish Pen Club and *Wiadomości Literackie* (liberal weekly, collaborating with Jewish journalists), were main targets of *Prosto z mostu*. The first ones were criticized:

Antisemitism is for them primarily a social nuisance.... History boils behind the windows, mass movements raise their heads, and they continue to claim that all this is a lack of education, rudeness, rumpus, and shame.⁴⁵⁶

With his talent for surprising associations and neologisms, Gałczyński called *Wiadomości literackie* “the pimps of poetry” who are suffering from an “incurable gonorrhea of metaphors” and accused them of “Talmudic, Kabbalistic worship of the word” and “scary Israelite abstraction.”⁴⁵⁷

Western European Antisemitism was heavily colored by misogyny while, in Poland, there were differences between the secular and clerical Antisemitism. The National Democrats did not contest the constitutional gender equality, supported the National Women’s Organization (NOK), and several female deputies worked in Sejm as members of the ZLN and later SN. Although the ONR was dominated by men and their program and journalism was manifested in the cult of masculinity, their patriarchalism did not go so far as to promote the limitation of the role of women like in the German slogan “Kinder, Küche, Kirche.” On the other hand, ONR did not propagate the ideal of athletic girls who guard their racial purity and are ready for any sacrifices for the leader which appeared in the Nazi propaganda films and school textbooks. The Polish and German Antisemitism similar identified the demonic, “sinful,” and possessive femininity with Jewishness. This relationship was particularly evident in the “spicy” jokes about the sexual life of Jews and, indirectly, in the accusations of promiscuity and propagation of pornography. There was a shared literary and film cliché which opposed “innocent” and defenseless woman with the “deceitful” Jew who seeks to take her virginity; such figure appeared in Dmowski’s novel *Dziedzictwo* (1931). The nationalist accused Jews of supporting the feminist movement, “forcing” women to take paid work, which was

455 On the influence of the German ideology of the Völkisch movement, see S. Potrzebowski (1982), *Zadruza, Eine völkische Bewegung in Polen*, Bonn.

456 A. Łaszowski (1937), “Jak to było w Pen-Clubie,” *Prosto z Mostu* No. 54.

457 K. I. Gałczyński (1936), “Do przyjaciół z „Prosto z Mostu,” *Prosto z Mostu* No. 2; See J. Walc (1987), “Być świnią w maju,” *Krytyka*, No. 26.

to hinder their care for the offspring and lead to a reduction in the number of children in the family. The consequence of these “insidious” actions was to be a lower demographic growth among Christians and the danger of the numerical superiority of the Jews. The scare of large Jewish fertility, which was to be their conscious tactic in pursuit of the Christian societies, belonged to the canon of Antisemitic arguments, present since the dawn of this ideology, regardless of the real size of the population of Jews. In some contradiction to these fears was the recommendation of purity and virginity. The editors of *Prosto z mostu* emphasized that it is precisely the Antisemites who should strictly observe the sixth commandment, because the abstinence of sex was to lead the state to power.⁴⁵⁸ These ideas supported the Church’s strict approach to the issues of sex, procreation, and gender roles. Priests referred suspiciously to physical education lessons for girls. The objections especially raised gymnastic outfits, in their eyes “unusual.” However, the clerical Antisemites, among them Fr. Trzeciak⁴⁵⁹ and Fr. Ignacy Charszewski, went much farther. The latter criticized the “Jewish-Masonic influence” of the Constitution for granting women the right to vote in a dissertation under the elusive title of *Jewish Danger in Women’s Danger* (Warsaw 1929). Charszewski stated that women are not capable of thinking independently and that is why men should rule. He surmised that women are trying to influence male rulers by using their “charms” and some – horror of horrors – wear short skirts and tight clothes. These women should sit at home and deal with the family, so it is regrettable that “Jewish capitalism” forces some of them to work, argued Charszewski. Feminism contradicts nature and the doctrine of original sin, he continued, for which God punished women, so demanding equal rights undermined the divine intent. Divorces and the postulate of birth control was another manifestation of the Jewish-Masonic plot aimed at destroying the family as the foundation of the Christian nation.

Several nationalists took up the subject of eugenics, proving that the “mixing of races” inevitably leads to degeneration and damage to the “plasma of heredity,” which threatens to develop from the Polish genus but with the physical and psychological characteristics of the “Jew.” However, the Polish nationalists criticized the Nazi postulates of sterilizing the “defective” people. In their understanding, “positive eugenics” consisted of actions that would increase the “Aryan” population’s natural growth and improve its “racial” components, but did not specify what they were supposed to do, usually only leading to a stop in the assimilation of Jews, their strict segregation, and forced emigration. The nationalists believed that such eugenics would lead to the “breeding of as many valuable individuals as possible” with psychological properties predestined for effective professional and economic rivalry with the Jews.⁴⁶⁰

458 W. Majdański (1939), “Kołkowi w płocie jest dobrze;” “Czystość, dziewictwo, potęga,” *Prosto z Mostu*, No. 23, 33.

459 St. Trzeciak (1932), *Talmud, bolszewizm i projekt prawa małżeńskiego*, Warszawa.

460 K. Stojanowski (1927), *Rasowe podstawy eugeniki*, Poznań; Idem (1934), *Rasizm przeciw Słowiańszczyźnie*, Poznań, p. 134. A. Wodziczko (1927), “Z zagadnień

7.5. Antisemitism in the Polish Catholic Church

Unlike the nineteenth-century clergy, who came from the wealthier strata and was loyal to the monarchy, the new generation of priests was more actively involved in the political life and influenced it greatly. With its politicization since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Church opened to the ideology of Antisemitism and even contributed to its spread in independent Poland, especially in the provinces. Antisemitism has become an integral part of the worldview of almost all the higher hierarchy, although the bishops did not fully agree with all the concepts of the nationalist parties. In Catholic circles, the “Masonic-Bolshevik-Jewish plot” was especially popular. The echoes of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* reverberate in the dramatic appeal of the Polish Episcopate to the bishops of the whole world, issued during the Polish-Bolshevik War of 1920. The hierarchs wrote:

Bolshevism embarks to conquer the world. The race that has driven it before has conquered the world with gold and banks, and today, driven by the eternal imperialist desire flowing in its veins, is already heading for the final conquest of the nations under the yoke of their rule.⁴⁶¹

All the lecturers of the First Conference in Jew Studies, organized at the end of 1921 by the Towarzystwo “Rozwój,” referred to the ideas included in *The Protocols*. Excluding publications in periodicals in whole or in excerpts, as well as countless journalistic references, nine book editions of *The Protocols* were published until 1939. The last two books before the outbreak of the war (1937 and 1938) precedes a commentary by the Catholic journalist Bolesław Rudzki. Rudzki refers to other works of “conspiracy” as proof of the authenticity of the pamphlet. Father Stanisław Trzeciak found in the words of the prophets in the Old Testament evidence of the truths presented in *The Protocols*. The conspiracy of the “wise men of Zion” was found in all social ills, revolutions, individualism, liberalism, and every manifestation of modernity.⁴⁶² Fr. Trzeciak lectured at the St. Petersburg Seminary (1907–1918), where he became acquainted with the work of Fr. Pranajtis, so Trzeciak’s articles reflected the accumulated conspiracy themes developed in Russia. One may find in it echoes of Fr. Lutostański, Brafman, and Pranajtis, who in turn copied from Rohling. It seems that the older generation of nationalists around Roman Dmowski had a greater distance to *The Protocols*, although they shared the

higieny rasy,” *Kurier Poznański*, No. 64; K. Hrabyc (1934), “Żydzi i Ukraińcy,” *Kurier Poznański*, No. 57; J. Śl. (1934), “Zagadnienie eugeniki,” *Akcja Narodowa*, No. 4. See M. Gawin (2003), *Rasa i nowoczesność*, Warszawa.

461 Letter dated 7 VII 1920. Quoted after M. Drozdowski et al. (1990), *Zwycięstwo 1920*, Paryż, p. 42.

462 St. Trzeciak (1934), *Mesjanizm a kwestia żydowska*, Warszawa; Idem (1936), *Program światowej polityki żydowskiej*, Warszawa; Idem (1939), *Talmud o gojach a kwestia żydowska*, Warszawa.

belief in the Jewish conspiracy. ONR activist Tadeusz Gluziński, in his book *The Twilight of Israel*, even considered it a fake.⁴⁶³

Numerous monasteries printed and distributed devotional literature directed to the uneducated, especially the Franciscans of Niepokalanów, the Kraków Jesuits, and the Michaelite Fathers in Miejsce Piastowe near Rzeszów. Some of these prints, sold at fairs and in church shops, depicted legends about the Christians “kidnapped” by Jews and murdered for ritual purposes. This accusation was not exploited very often, though enough to sustain its persistence in folk culture. The subjects of Judeophobia can also be found in the works of several priests with higher education, Fr. Stanisław Trzeciak and Fr. Józef Kruszyński (1877–1953), who was rector of the Catholic University of Lublin from 1925 to 1933.⁴⁶⁴ The compulsory religion classes gave the Church great influence on education. Although the attitudes of priests teaching in schools varied, they often promoted Judeophobia and Antisemitism, sometimes supporting the nationalist organizations in junior high schools. First and foremost, they propagated the concept of the Catholic Pole, which indispensably framed hostility toward the Jews. Sometimes, the government interfered in the teaching of religion, for example in 1934, when it banned the dissemination of *Catholic Guidebooks* in schools because of its inflammatory contents.

The modern approach to Judaism was much different from the medieval Judeophobia, which was characterized by an ambivalence toward the Jews. In the ancient times, Catholicism was carefully guarding the boundaries between religions, but it also promoted passive attitudes without creating visions of social change as did twentieth-century politicians. Premodern theologians saw the sources of evil in the “Jewish soul” in their rejection of the true Messiah, possibly in the Talmud, but not in the historical or biological conditions. The Polish Church, which at the end of the nineteenth century and even in the 1920s criticized the nationalism of the National Democrats, in the 1930s became more nationalist than Catholic (in the literal sense of the word *catholicus*). The accents shifted so that they changed the understanding of Catholic apologetics. It now focused on positive values and affirmative postulates to a small extent, and instead, to combat atheism, it displayed a hostile attitude toward modernity, new currents, and their symbolic hypostasis embodied by the Jew who, for the religious writers, almost replaced Satan. Religious nationalism and the “military” rhetoric were a new phenomenon in the Polish Church, only partially in line with the politics of the Vatican. Although the attitude of the Polish hierarchy remained consistent with

463 H. Rolicki (Tadeusz Gluziński; 1933), *Zmierzch Izraela*, Warszawa.

464 J. Kruszyński, “Żydzi i kwestja żydowska” (1920), Włocławek; “Dążenia żydów w dobie obecnej” (1921), Włocławek; “Żydzi a Polska” (1921), Poznań; “Rola światowa żydostwa” (1923), Włocławek; “Dlaczego występuję przeciwko żydom?” (1923), Kielce; “Antysemityzm, antyjudajizm, antygoizm” (1924), Włocławek; “Talmud, co zawiera i co naucza” (1925), Kielce.

the dominant line of condemnation of liberalism and leftist ideas, it was in conflict with the tendency to build a pan-European Catholic identity.⁴⁶⁵ The Catholic Press Agency in Poland was silent and the Catholic press has failed to address the strong words of Pope Pius XI (14 July 1938):

Christians may not participate in Antisemitism. We recognize that everyone has the right to self-defense, to take action against threats to own legitimate interests. But Antisemitism is unacceptable. Spiritually we are all Semites.⁴⁶⁶

The Polish Church tried to implement the main function of the preservation of tradition, but was, in a way, too active in this respect. Instead of cherishing it, the Polish Church set out on the battlefield, armed with totalitarian right-wing programs that competed with theology, because they absorbed esoteric themes, and the institution of the Church, as they usurped a religion-like role in the state. The Biblical roots of Christianity were little discussed in the popular Church teachings. This contributed to the durability of the plebeian version of Catholicism, in which it was easy to see patterns of pre-Christian religions. Believers were not aware of the similarities and common Judaic sources of their faith, so it was easier to present both religions as essentially antagonistic and confessing different Gods.

In June 1934, a delegation of the Union of Rabbis of the Polish Republic went to Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski. Concerned by the situation in Germany, the rise of Antisemitism in Poland, and the riots at the universities, the rabbis called for a pastoral letter. They stated with regret:

In Poland, a country with a majority of God-fearing Catholics, there is a part of society, especially among the youth, which calls itself national and Polish, but models itself on the example of German pagans and attacks defenseless passers-by with Semitic looks in the streets of Polish cities, beating, abusing, and wounding them without mercy.

Then the rabbis appealed to the Cardinal:

Dear Cardinal! Deeply convinced that no true Pole-Catholic can be completely morally corrupt, that these youths so infamously persecuting the Jews are only temporarily mesmerized and embellished by foreign slogans, but at the call of the Polish Catholic Episcopate to repent and return to the principles of religion, will cease to persecute the Jewish population which defames the good name of Poland – we implore you, Reverend Cardinal, in the name of the Clergy and the Jewish people of the Brightest Republic of Poland, to graciously issue a Pastoral Appeal to all the

465 “Christian nationalism” appeared as a separate term first in the article by Father Jan Rostworowski (1923), “Nacjonalizm, jego uprawnienia i etyczne granice,” *Przeglądu Powszechnego*, No. 157. See R. Modras (2004), chapter 5 and 13. See B. Grott (1984), p. 81.

466 Quoted after R. Modras (2004), p. 347. Also see P. Stachowiak (1999), *Korzenie “katolicyzmu endeckiego,”* Poznań, pp. 117–128

faithful of the Catholic Church in Poland, and then order will again be among us in this beloved country, upon whom the grace of God may flow. Amen.⁴⁶⁷

In the Cardinal's refusal, the Rabbis heard:

I think it is necessary to say that I strongly condemn all rapes and excesses, wherever they may come from, either from the Catholics or the Jews ... However, I use your visit to point your attention that I receive many complaints about provocations and offenses of religious feelings of the Christian population from the Jewish individuals.... I do not blame You with responsibility for the deeds of your followers, but I believe that the Jewish society, so unified and solid in defense of its interests, should guarantee the Christian people respect for faith and tradition.... Influence the Jews at home and abroad to give money to the Polish people, instead of financing the Communist agitation in Poland.⁴⁶⁸

The Rabbis also heard accusations of initiating "acts of godlessness," immorality, and pornography, by publishing such magazines as *The Free Thinker* and *Flash* (*Wolnomyśliciel, Błyski*); neither of these titles were published or intended specifically for Jews, both promoted atheism, but were not "immoral" or pornographic. The addressing these allegations to a group of orthodox Rabbis indicates that the Cardinal shared the Antisemitic vision of an all-encompassing "Jewish conspiracy," in which all Jews were to be involved regardless of their beliefs. The nationalist press praised the principled treatment of the delegation, and the Jewish press criticized the Rabbis for not having foreseen this humiliation. In September of that same year 1934, the Polish Episcopate issued a letter to the government suggesting the separation of Jewish children from Christian schools and a ban on teaching the latter by Jewish teachers.⁴⁶⁹ These suggestions indirectly supported the struggle of young nationalists for numerus nullus at higher education institutions.

At the height of the pogrom wave, in March 1936, Cardinal August Hlond (1881–1948) issued a Lent letter about Catholic moral principles. In the section devoted to the relations between the two religions, there are typically Antisemitic allegations:

The fact is that the Jews are fighting the Catholic Church, they are stuck in free-thinking, they are the avant-garde of godlessness, the Bolshevik movement, and the subversive action. The fact is that Jewish influence on morality is fatal and their publishing houses propagate pornography. It is true that the Jews commit fraud, usury, and trade in living goods. It is true that in schools, the influence of Jewish youth on Catholicism, in general, is religiously and ethically negative.

467 Quoted after M. Jagiełło (2001), Vol. 1, pp. 209–210.

468 *Odpowiedź J. E. Ks. kardynała Kakowskiego rabinom warszawskim w sprawie żydowskiej w Polsce*, Białystok 1934.

469 M. Sobczak (1998), p. 312. Also see R. Modras (2004), pp. 259–268.

But still, the Primate stated, “Let us be fair, not all Jews are like that.” Although he advocated social isolation and allowed economic struggle, Hlond condemned Nazi racism, violence, and hate speech:

I warn of the imported ethical disposition, which is fundamentally and absolutely anti-Jewish. It is incompatible with Catholic ethics. One may love your people more, but you must not hate anyone. Neither the Jews.... It is good to care for your own before others, to bypass Jewish shops ... but not to ruin the Jewish shops, to destroy the goods of the Jews, to knock the windows, to throw up the firecrackers into their homes. We seclude ourselves from the harmful influence of Jewry, and especially boycott the Jewish press and demoralizing publications, but Jews must not be attacked, beaten, hurt, or slandered.

The primate did not agree to exclude the neophytes, though his indication to the sincerity of their intentions testifies of a lack of missionary zeal:

In the Jews too, one must respect man and neighbor, even if one cannot respect the indescribable tragedy of this nation who was the guardian of the Messianic idea and whose child was the Savior. When the grace of God enlightens the Jew, and he sincerely goes to his and our Messiah, we welcome him joyfully in the Christian ranks.⁴⁷⁰

The Primate’s recommendations were in line with Fr. Morawski’s program of “asemitism” and not too distant from what Jelenski pronounced even in the slogan “do not beat Jews, but do not give in to them.” It was a form of Antisemitism from the beginning of the century, which rejected assimilation, but not converts, focused on economic slogans and social segregation, but not on expulsion or expropriation projects. The Primate’s recommendations were recalled a few years later, for example in the popular Jesuit magazine *Jesus of the Sacred Heart*, in which it was written:

The hatred of the Jews and the brutality toward them are certainly against Christ’s teaching. Even the Jew is a neighbor. So, do not hate him, do not hurt him.... We have the right to defend ourselves from them; indeed, we have the right to remove them. But in this self-defense, we have to keep Christian honesty.⁴⁷¹

Such was the official position of the Church in Poland. But the public and press statements of many priests, their political sympathies for radical nationalists, and some publishing initiatives of the Episcopate itself contradicted this position.

Before the outbreak of the war, the National Party was a powerful party of about 200,000 members. Its social base was a widely understood middle class,

470 The letter was printed in many Catholic journals, among other in: *Rycerz Niepokalanej*, 1936, No. 5; *Prąd*, 1936, No. 30, p. 164. Also see A. Hlond (1936), *Z prymasowej stolicy*, Poznań; J. Rostworowski (1936), “Sprawy Kościoła: nowe głosy w kwestii żydowskiej,” *Przegląd Powszechny*, No. 6.

471 “Z naszej korespondencji” (1939), *Posłaniec Serca Jezusowego*, No. 2.

mostly urban dwellers, but intelligence continued to play an important role. Its local activists were accused of inciting violence; both those from 1918–1919 and those arrested by the authorities in 1935–1937 stemmed mostly from the provincial intelligentsia. Also, the Worker's Union "Polish Work" gathered mostly intelligentsia, including teachers. ONR and other radical national organizations formed only among students, only Andrzej Świątlicki from "Falanga" managed to create a small group composed of Warsaw lumpenproletariat. When a pilgrimage to Częstochowa (24.05.1936) was organized under the auspices of the young nationalists, two-fifths of the total number of students in Poland, i.e., 20,000, they formed military-style columns and sung anti-Jewish songs. Their attitude to the Church, however, was somewhat instrumental, emphasizing the primacy of their own political program.⁴⁷² Jędrzej Giertych, having first assured the aim of creating a "Catholic system of government," stated:

We are not "clerical." We are bound by what the Church declares in an authoritative way, but the personal opinion of an individual priest or individual bishop does not bind us.... This does not mean that we can give up the independence of our nation's politics for the sake of Church politics.⁴⁷³

All the letters of the national camp in the 1930s did not exceed much more than 100,000 copies. They had, however, a partner in Antisemitic agitation in the form of Church publications, which interacted both with intelligence and less educated circles. Their scope was incomparably greater than all the other political publications taken together, such as the Jesuit publications of Kraków and the Poznań Saint Wojciech Press which totaled over 300,000 copies, and the Franciscan press from Niepokalanów near Warsaw was even higher and exceeded one million.

There were very few confessional periodicals which did not express Antisemitic content, such as the quarterly *Verbum* which did not deal with Jewish subjects at all, or *Kultura* which expressed them relatively rarely as it was prepared for the intelligentsia. Some members of the small Catholic Youth Academic Association "Revival" (created in 1919), in the 1930s pointed to a contradiction between the message of the Gospel and chauvinism and totalitarianism and called for a less mystified polemic with communist and leftist worldview. The Association itself did not reveal pro-Jewish sympathies, shared the dominant anti-Jewish attitude of the Church, and most of expressed common prejudices. In the program of "Revival" (1920) it was written:

By assuming the existence of true Poles of Jewish descent to be rare, the Semitic majority was considered to be utterly detrimental, hostile to Polish interests, and destructively influencing our national individuality. [We] consider any compromise

472 Sz. Rudnicki (1985), p. 307.

473 J. Giertych (1938), *O wyjście z kryzysu*, Warszawa, pp. 117–120. Quoted after B. Grott (1993).

between the spiritual structure formed by the Talmud and the individuality of the Aryan Christian to be impossible.⁴⁷⁴

Jerzy Turowicz, who in the future was to become one of the most persistent spokespersons for the Polish-Jewish dialogue, repeated stereotypical opinions about Judaism in 1932:

Religion, based on the dual morality of the Talmud, or rather its flexibility and ease of avoiding its commandments, did not give them true spiritual values whose influence could counteract the destructive development of materialistic attitudes.⁴⁷⁵

However, Turowicz condemned the anti-Jewish riots in universities. Stanisław Stomma, in turn, expressed the view that Jews always “held with Russia” both during the nineteenth-century partitions, during the war with the Bolsheviks in 1920, and in modern times, because they attracted “Russian nihilism;” Stefan Choiński wrote about the harmful and demoralizing influence of the “element Jewish” on Polish culture.⁴⁷⁶ Despite their own prejudices, the group argued with nationalist journalism and called for following the official position of the Church, condemning racism and violence.

Except for the above exceptions, the overwhelming majority of Catholic periodicals, whenever they spoke of the “Jewish question,” were more or less aggressive.⁴⁷⁷ And the Catholic press spoke about it often and very willingly; for example, till 1939, various issues of *The Catholic Review* (*Przegląd Katolicki*) voiced concerns about Jews, Judaism, and Antisemitism 133 times in total, devoting 266 columns to this theme. In the 1920s and early 1930s, the editors of this weekly seemed to observe the official line of the Church.⁴⁷⁸ Later, the paper gave more space to writers who refused to follow these principles. In 1934, Leon Radziejowski undertook polemics against racist antisemitism, criticizing Gobineau’s and Chamberlain’s theories, especially the thesis of Jesus’s “Aryan racial traits,” but presented his own understanding of Antisemitism. Its purpose should be the “liberation from the Jews” or “getting rid of them from Poland.”⁴⁷⁹ The editors have

474 “Kronika. Sprawozdanie z działalności Odrodzenia w semestrze zimowym 1919/20,” *Prąd*, 1920, No. 2, p. 79.

475 J. Turowicz (1932), “Przeprowadźmy rewizję,” *Vox Universitatis*, No. 6–7.

476 S. Stomma (1937), “Kwestia żydowska pod nowym kątem widzenia,” *Pax*, No. 8. S. Stomma showed me this article himself to criticize his views from that time. S. Choiński (1936), “Dziennikowi Narodowemu w krótkiej odpowiedzi,” *Dyszel w głowie*, No. 25.

477 See A. Landau-Czajka (1998); R. Modras (2004); D. Libionka (2002), “Obcy, wrodzy, niebezpieczni: Obraz Żydów i “kwestii żydowskiej” w prasie inteligencji katolickiej lat 1930-tych w Polsce,” *KHŻ*, No. 3 (2003); V. Pollmann (1997), “Kwestia żydowska w prasie katolickiej lat trzydziestych,” *BŻIH*, No. 182; M. Jagiełło (2001), Vol. 1.

478 F. Adamski (1994), “The Jewish Question in Polish Religious Periodicals in the Second Republic,” *Polin*, Vol. 8.

479 L. Radziejowski (1934), “Judaizm wobec chrześcijaństwa,” *Przegląd Katolicki*, No. 40.

repeatedly demanded that the authorities remove the “privilege” of Jews, that is, to remove their equal rights, promote their “displacement” from economic, social, and cultural life, and demand segregation at schools, work, and in daily life.⁴⁸⁰ Like the National Democrats, they accused the Sanation of “succumbing” to the Jews. The story of the “Judeo-Communism” was particularly exploited, appeared ten times and occupied a total of sixteen columns. Fr. Stanisław Trzeciak argued in the matter by quoting *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.⁴⁸¹ Conspiracy theories were constantly present in the writings, and one of the manifestations of Jewish “secret efforts” was to be Zionism.⁴⁸² This was perhaps the first case of such a clear combination of Antisemitism and anti-Zionism. There also appeared articles which praised Nazi policies, such as a review of the exhibition “Der ewige Jude,” organized in Munich in 1938.⁴⁸³ Other great Catholic periodicals with intellectual ambitions or addressed to clergy, such as *The Priestly Ateneum* also edited by Stefan Wyszyński, commented as well.

The Popular Review (Przegląd Powszechny), published by the Jesuits, long remained faithful to the “antisemitism” of Fr. Morawiecki, but in the mid-1930s, its journalism was already comparable to the aggressive National Democrats. The same monastery sponsored the popular *Sodalis Marianus*, which foregrounded anti-Jewish hostility almost obsessively, demanding the creation of ghettos. It seems that this idea, repeated in the programs of the most radical nationalists, has particularly appealed to Antisemites in cassocks because they could refer to medieval traditions. In any case, the slogan of ghetto creation or displacement from certain cities has appeared in the Catholic press more often than in the National Democrat’s press, though the former formulated fewer details of this plan and postulated that the ghetto was open. At times, Catholic writings implicitly advocated collective violence, usually justified it, and if they were to stigmatize it, it was less firm than the writings of conservatives or socialists; usually only on the grounds of the violence’s ineffectiveness or damage done to the moral condition of the Polish people – never because of the ills and injuries suffered by the Jews. It was not often possible to find a definite condemnation of Hitlerism in the Catholic periodicals, not only in the aspect of anti-Jewish policy. *The Catholic Guide (Przewodnik Katolicki)*, writing for the people, was enthusiastic about the burning of books in the Third Reich, calling it “a fresh, good wind coming through the German soil” and its initiators “our friends.”⁴⁸⁴

480 “Żydzi w Polsce” (1937), *Przegląd Katolicki*, No. 37.

481 St. Trzeciak (1936), “Rewolucja a Żydzi,” *Przegląd Katolicki*, No. 28.

482 “Szesnasty Światowy Kongres Sjonistów w Zurichu” (1930), *Przegląd Katolicki*, No. 29.

483 Ks. J. K. Jastrzębiec (1938), “Żyd wieczny tułacz,” *Przegląd Katolicki*, No. 10.

484 “O polskich żydziejach, o francuskich prosiętach i o pewnej złośliwej pannie” (1934); “Wuj z Baranowa” (1939), *Przewodnik Katolicki*, No. 21, No. 22.

The popular press such as *The Messenger of the Heart of Jesus* (Posłaniec Serca Jezusowego), *Queen of Apostles* (Królowa Apostołów), and *Calendar of the Apostolate of Prayer* (Kalendarz Apostolstwa Modlitwy), addressed to the people, spoke in a primitive, paternalistic, and propagandist language. There were no discussions, program suggestions, or polemics in their columns – there were specific indications of behavior and attitudes. Emphasis was placed on economic struggle, as it seemed that it would be an easy argument for readers:

Here are three ways to deal with the Jews. The first one – cope without them, do not buy from them. The second – create Christian stalls and shops and do all the shopping there. The third – do not bring your goods to the Jewish serviceman, but to the Polish broker.⁴⁸⁵

The popular Catholic press also recommended a cultural boycott, according to *The Catholic Guide*:

Finally, we know that the Jews have put their hairy paw on the entirety of the press, that they produce abominable “Polish” films, that they mumble through the Polish radio, that with printed word, pictures, newspapers, films, they poison the Polish souls, destroy families, deprave the youth, destroy all the sacred laws of the “goyim.” In the new year, let us sweep the Jewish rubbish out of the Polish house!⁴⁸⁶

These were the language and propaganda techniques developed by Jan Jeleński, especially in his brochures addressed to the rural reader. It must be stressed that, except for a few exceptions, these periodicals held the official line of the Church, and propagated Antisemitism in a cautious manner as if editors were afraid of the negative influence on the moral state of the uneducated “little sheep.” *The Messenger of the Heart of Jesus* even slightly disapproved of the destruction of the synagogues in Nazi Germany, although hardly condemn Nazi policy as such.⁴⁸⁷ This caution was different than the intelligentsia-oriented journalism. Perhaps, it was due to the awareness of lower popularity of Antisemitism in the poorer classes. Certainly, efforts were made to adapt propaganda motives of this ideology to the folk image of the Jew, preserving the archaic elements of Judeophobia. The priests were aware that the current political disputes were not understandable by uneducated peasants and probably they did not want to involve it in the village.

An example of a typical confessional writing for the people may be *The Knight of the Immaculate* (Rycerz Niepokalanej), published since 1922 by the Franciscans from Niepokalanów. At the end of the 1930s, the paper reached a record of 800,000 copies. The paper was the organ of Militia Immaculatae movement, founded in Rome in 1917 by the superior of the monastery, Maksymilian Maria

485 “Z naszej korespondencji. Jak z Żydami postępować – czy gwałtem?” (1939), *Posłaniec Serca Jezusowego*, No. 2. Qtd. after A. Landau-Czajka (1998).

486 S. Krokowski (1939), “Precz ze śmieciami w Nowym Roku,” *Przewodnik Katolicki*, No. 6.

487 “Z frontu religijnego” (1939), *Posłaniec Serca Jezusowego*, No. 1.

Kolbe (1894–1941). In Poland, this movement was the largest organization of lay Catholics, with 750,000 members. Father Kolbe was the chief editor and sometimes published in the magazine. The collaborating journalists tried to implement the official line of the Church and treated the Jewish issue in a relatively mild manner. They explained the message of the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* which emphasized that the pope was opposed to the oppression of any national group, criticized the derision of the Jewish religion, and even claimed that the Jew could have been saved if he faithfully fulfilled his religion's orders. Then God "will give him the act of perfect repentance which will allow even for baptism."⁴⁸⁸ The suggestion that good intention is enough for God's grace contradicted official theology, but it was in line with the folk belief that the Jews demand baptism on the deathbed.⁴⁸⁹ As in the traditional folk image, the Jewish religion was depreciated, but the religiousness of the Jews was admired. The tradition of Judeophobia has been found in some of the illustrations in the magazine, for example, in the presentation of the Crucifixion, there are figures of rejoicing Jews. Although the Jewish theme was less frequent and aggressive than the "serious" confessional periodicals, the editors of *The Knight of the Immaculate* also presented a dualistic vision of the world, identifying evil with the Jews, Freemasons, liberals, freethinkers, socialists, and communists. They demanded segregation and mass emigration of Jews. The conspiracy scenario was also present: "After all, it has been laid out in Moscow and Masonic lodges that ... a state with the Jewish rule."⁴⁹⁰

In the years 1934–1939, the same monastery published *The Small Daily* (Mały Dziennik) in a mass circulation, with 200,000 copies in 1935. The publishing initiative came from the episcopate, on behalf of which Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski passed this task to Maksymilian Maria Kolbe. Kolbe planned the newspaper's formula and shaped it even from Japan, as his correspondence shows. Father Marian Wójcik was appointed the chief editor, who sought the help of Jerzy Rutkowski and T. Lipkowski, both of whom were activists of ONR-Falanga. They assumed a tabloid technique to promote the pattern of Pole-Catholic, whose main determinant was hatred of the Jews. The assaults on the Jews were delivered in an extremely obsessive manner; the tone and language were adjusted for this purpose. The word "Jew" was usually marked with ridiculing or offensive epithets and opposed to the "Aryans." Also, terms referring to Judaism or Jewish culture were made up of negative associations. Very distinctive were the titles of articles, which were descriptive, rarely containing slogans and more often suggestions of

488 "Żydzi a encykliki społeczne Papieża" (1933); "Trudności religijne" (1934), *Rycerz Niepokalanej*, No. 4, 10. Quoted after A. Landau-Czajka (1998), p. 69.

489 A. Cała (1995), p. 92.

490 Nauczyciel (1938), "Tylko wierzący i walczący zasługują na miano ludzi," *Rycerz Niepokalanej*, No. 4, p. 105. Quoted after U. Caumanns, M. Niendorf (1998), "Święty Maksymilian Maria Kolbe a sprawy żydowskie na łamach prasy niepokalanowskiej 1918–1939," *BŻIH*, No. 188, pp. 20–33.

attitudes or actions, such as “Rappaport cannot be Rapacki! The masquerade of Jewish musicians must be forbidden;” or “The Trojan horse of Jewish progress is scurrying: The city defends against the Jewish flood” (1938, No. 205); or sterner “If we do not fight them, the Jews will suffocate us” (1938, No. 342). The titles also served rhetorical questions, such as: “Are the Łódź Jews an enemy or a friend of the Germans?” The language was strengthened by visual means. From time to time, the newspaper published photographs bearing a comment that left no doubt that the very presence of the Jews was an affront:

Our picture is not from Palestine but from the central park of Warsaw... Unfortunately, the inhabitants of Warsaw have become accustomed to this kind of familiar view, but what will the foreigner say when he accidentally finds himself in this primeval garden of the capital and sees a passer-by in a gaberdine?⁴⁹¹

The article entitled “Palestinian oasis near Warsaw. Jewish debaucher on the Falenica-Otwock connection” (1938, No. 239), whose author lamented the Jewish presence in the health resorts. The papers greeted news of the displacement of several Jewish families from Gdynia with enthusiasm.⁴⁹²

Jews were referred to as “foreign vagabonds,” unworthy of the rights enjoyed by Poles and even other minorities.⁴⁹³ The paper called for a boycott of small Jewish shopkeepers to ruin them. The papers called for the exclusion of Jews from social, political, and cultural life, the prohibition of using Polish names, and closing them in the ghettos.⁴⁹⁴ Bench ghettos at universities were praised, and it was recommended that they are put into schools.⁴⁹⁵ Judging by the lack of mentions about conversions, the paper rejected missionary activity among the Jews. The editors postulated their forced emigration but opposed Zionism and settlement in Palestine as a profanation of the holy places of Christianity.⁴⁹⁶ The editors preferred

491 “Chałaty w Saskim Ogrodzie” (1939), *Mały Dziennik* No. 210.

492 “Żydzi usuwani z Gdyni. Słuszne zarządzenie władz administracyjnych” (1938), *Mały Dziennik*, No. 254.

493 J. R. (1938), “Dobrze, że to ogłoszono,” *Mały Dziennik*, No. 193. See also St. Trzeciak (1938), “Dwudziestolecie Niepodległej Polski – a czwarty zaborca,” *Mały Dziennik* No. 113–114.

494 “Polacy wykazują za mało inicjatywy. A co robią w tym czasie żydzi?” (1938); M. (1939), “Rappaport nie może być Rapackim! Maskarada żydowskich muzyków musi być tępiona i zakazana,” *Mały Dziennik*, No. 183, 18.

495 “Na wyższych uczelniach będzie spokój, o ile zostaną usunięte przyczyny zająć” (1935); “Przyszłość narodu w rękach młodego pokolenia. O oddzielne ławki dla Żydów w gimnazjach i liceach” (1938); “Tydzień bez Żydów” na wyższych uczelniach początkiem walki o “numerus nullus.” Wykłady zawieszono na trzech uczelniach” (1938), *Mały Dziennik*, No. 5, 253, 335.

496 A. G., “Żydzi muszą emigrować;” Jan Żelewski, “Jak unarodowić życie w Polsce? Jedynie przymusowa emigracja żydów uwolni kraj nasz od czwartego zaborcy;” J. R., “Biała Księga,” *Mały Dziennik*, 1939, No. 24, 85–86, 145.

to settle Jews in the deserted areas of Africa. They presented an Antisemitic, racist stereotype, no different from the propaganda of the ONR press, completely unconcerned with the official position of the Church. The Jews were to be unscrupulous moneylenders, enemies of Poland, cowards, traitors, and informers, parasites flooding the country, and filth who avoids military duty. When the epidemic of typhoid fever broke out in 1939, the Jews were accused of being “breeders” of the disease.⁴⁹⁷ The Jews were accused of an alliance with Nazi Germany to the detriment of Poland.⁴⁹⁸ The crimes that they committed were regularly reported, always emphasizing the Jewish nationality of the perpetrators. The particular indignation caused the breaking of the restrictive law on the limitation of ritual slaughter.⁴⁹⁹ In the absence of reports of criminal conduct by Christians, this led the reader to believe that crime was particularly acute among the Judaists. For a full clarity a comment was added, which left no doubt, for example:

Theft and false testimony have become today the main tool of the three million mass of people raised not on the Christian principles of the Gospel but on the gloomy tales of the Talmud which allows to steal and lie when dealing with strangers.⁵⁰⁰

This image depicted with pure black colors complemented the plot with references to *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*.⁵⁰¹ There were many articles of Fr. Trzeciak, who did not hide his enthusiasm for Hitler and compared him to the saints:

[Hitler] has patterns among the great popes (who fought against the Jewish anger), he has patterns among the saints, he has a providential message to subdue Jewish anger and save humanity from Jewish-communism.⁵⁰²

Trzeciak accused the Jews of the inspiration of anti-Jewish collective appearances in order to create compassion in the Polish society and postulated the introduction of not only the ghettos but also the “yellow patches.”⁵⁰³ *The Small Daily* defended

497 “Żydzi przenoszą tyfus plamisty. Przesadne lamenty a rzeczywistość;” E. Wellis, “Dodatek lekarski. Tyfus plamisty;” “Żydzi rozsadnikami tyfusu. Zarządzenia ochronne w Bodzanowie i Płocku,” *Mały Dziennik*, 1939, No. 34, 37, 53.

498 J. M., “Hitler mimowolny sprzymierzeniec żydów;” “Czy żydzi łódzcy są wrogami, czy przyjaciółmi Niemców?;” J. R., “Pamiętajmy o jednym i drugim,” *Mały Dziennik*, 1939, No. 113, 144, 195–196.

499 “Rzeźnia w domu modlitwy. Jak pracują żydzi?” (1939), *Mały Dziennik*, No. 213.

500 J. B. (1935), “Czego żąda szary człowiek? Sprawiedliwości!,” *Mały Dziennik*, No. 2.

501 E.g., “Prawodawstwo w świetle nauki “Mędrców Syjonu” (1939), *Mały Dziennik*, No. 15–16.

502 S. Trzeciak (1939), “Wielki papież Benedykt XIV a kwestia żydowska w Polsce,” *Mały Dziennik*, No. 78–79.

503 S. Trzeciak (1937), “Potęga Polski bez Żydów. Nie gwałtem lecz odseparowaniem się wywalczy sobie Polak niezależny byt,” *Mały Dziennik*, No. 44.

Trzeciak from criticism, praised his work, and advertised his public speeches.⁵⁰⁴ The reaction to “crystal night” was an article entitled “The insane Jews were not satiated with the blood of an unimportant official” (1938, No. 346), which called the German diplomat Ernst von Rath, killed by a Jewish assassin, “a victim of Jewish dissatisfaction,” and prophetically added, “It is expected that Hitler will now apply to the Jews the so-called ‘final solution.’”

Cardinal Kakowski apparently praised this trend because, in the 224th edition in 1936, he was pleased to see the newspaper fulfilling its “glorious mission of defending and strengthening moral health.” Father Kolbe, although formally not a member of the editorial board, also supported the Antisemitic insights of both periodicals published in Niepokalanów, which he believed to complement each other.⁵⁰⁵ Although the monastery provided hospitality to the refugees during the first weeks of the war, also the Jews, but, according to one of the friars, Kolbe held Antisemitic sermons even in 1940.⁵⁰⁶

Hierarchs, seeking to consolidate Catholicism as a state religion, liked the slogan “Catholic state of the Polish nation,” which the ONR wielded. They have often referred to the medieval and later traditions of anti-Jewish ecclesiastical legislation, seeing it as a model for action to protect “racial purity” and confirmation of its legislative demands. In 1937 1925, Fathers Jerzy Pawski and M. Wisniewski released the weekly *Pro Christo* (1925–1939) published by the Congregation of Marian Fathers in Warszawa district of Bielany. The paper belonged to the most Antisemitic clerical writings and surpassed the old National Democratic press in aggressiveness. It was one of the few targeted to students, that is, the intelligentsia that used the threads of traditional Judeophobia, including blood libel⁵⁰⁷, still referring to the “deicide” and the “synagogue of Satan,” calling Rabbis “wizards.” The aim was to convert the Jews, pointing out:

1. All modern civilization is poisoned by the venom of materialism and unbelief, to which the Jews have greatly contributed, so we must, therefore, bring ourselves and the Jews out of this misery;
2. The Jews, as a deicidal nation, the greatest madness and crime in the world, were blinded and tainted even more than Christians and the heathen, and thus

504 B. Ochotnik (1936), “Żydzi nie mogą strawić odczytu ks. prał. Trzeciaka w Krakowie,” “Żydzi przeciw polskiemu kapłanowi. Atak prasy żydowskiej na ks. dra St. Trzeciaka” (1938); “Wskazówka redakcji: Poznasz żydów przez lekturę. Nowa książka ks. Trzeciaka” (1939); “Już jutro pierwszy odczyt księdza Trzeciaka” (1939), *Mały Dziennik*, No. 276, 195–196, 26, 36–37.

505 M. M. Kolbe (1936), “Nasz ideał,” *Rycerz Niepokalanej*, No. 8.

506 U. Caumanns, M. Niendorf, 1998, p. 33.

507 W. Zajęty (1927), “Mord rytualny u Żydów,” No. 3; ks. J. Kruszyński (1934), “Żydzi w Polsce przedrozbiorowej,” No. 2; ks. I. Charszewski (1935), “Krwawa legenda chrześcijańska czy krwawy zabobon żydowski?,” *Pro Christo* No. 1.

as breeders of evil are to be removed and strictly barred from coexistence with other nations;

3. Our goal is not to exterminate the Jews, but to convert them, which will be the final solution to the Jewish question.⁵⁰⁸

In the implementation of this last point, the newspaper was not very consistent, since it attacked the converters and questioned the sincerity of their intentions. The tone of the paper set Fr. M. Wiśniewski, who was implacable in matters of morality, and the hatred of the Jews was his obsession. Although there were present voices opposing National Democratic nationalism in the 1920s, a decade later mostly ONR activists wrote in the paper. Marian Reutt, Wojciech Kwasięborski, Włodzimierz Sznarbachowski, who explicitly proclaimed racism, admired Nazism, and in a veiled but rather readable manner applauded anti-Jewish violence. Fr. Wiśniewski condemned Hitler's anti-Christian moves but, at the same time, justified his policy toward the Jews. He called the Jews "aggressors," "bandits," who one must "even kill" in self-defense. Discussing *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Wiśniewski demanded the Jews to deal with the "secret conspiracy" themselves: "You must make a public court and kill the Satanists. Hang them on dry branches!" Using a puny deduction method, he concluded: "If you do not do this, it will be an indisputable proof that you are the same: either madmen or criminals." Another author added: "The struggle and pursuit of one's legitimate rights contradict neither Christianity nor the love of one's neighbor, so the Aryans who are defending themselves against the Jews should be at peace."⁵⁰⁹

The editors went on to say that "buying from a Jew" is a sin. Publishers in the magazine liked the idea of creating ghettos, in which they used to refer to the past. Stefan Kaczorowski argued:

The Catholic Church, the supreme test of justice and morals, tolerated the separation of the Jews in a ghetto and did not condemn the very principle of separating them from the Christian community.⁵¹⁰

Pro Christo was unique in its reference to Judeophobia, most of the Antisemitic Catholicism of 1935–1939 rather seldom referred to this tradition. The theme of blood libel sometimes appeared in devotional prints, but in the church press, especially directed to a more educated reader, very rarely, and more often in the form of associations that change the superstition into an epithet, the purpose of which is to induce the emotional reaction of rejection and hatred. The purpose of the Jews was not so much "ritual slaughter but the slaughter of the Polish people," while

508 M. Wiśniewski (1933), "Pro Christo. Rozwiązanie sprawy żydowskiej w świetle rozumu i wiary," *Pro Christo* No. 9.

509 M. Wiśniewski (1933), "Sumienia zbudźmy! Głos Kapłana Katolickiego do Żydów;" *Pro Christo*, No. 9; J. Dobrowolski (1934), "Znów szantaż," *Pro Christo*, No. 11.

510 S. Kaczorowski (1933), "Zagadnienie żydowskie," *Pro Christo*, No. 6.

in Soviet Russia they were to perform “some sort of ritual murders,” wrote *The Catholic Review*.⁵¹¹ As Fr. Edward Kosibowicz summarized:

Ritual murders and the stealing of host are not their weapons, but spiritual murders and the stealing of the greatest holiness of the soul. This is the atavism of revenge, the anarchy of the spirit that tells them to dethrone Catholic ideals in every society.⁵¹²

Rarely, verbal associations referring to Satan appeared, for example, a suggestion that Jews have “hairy paws.” In the Church periodicals reigned the vision of the conspiracy. Judaism was to be a “stream of specific Asian spirit, internationally organized,” a “system of condemnation, vindictiveness, without a shadow of Christian forgiveness and love.”⁵¹³ Bolesław Rudzki, probably under the influence of the book by Osman Bey, located the center of this conspiracy in Kraków, where: “the headquarters of the secret Jewish authorities are located today.... From Cracow ... come orders to unknown heads of the Jewish government around the whole world, which all the Jews follow.”⁵¹⁴

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion were so popular in these Church periodicals that one could get the impression that this pamphlet was read by priests more readily than the Gospel. Not to mention the Old Testament, which was described by Jan Dobraczyński as “the most Antisemitic book.”⁵¹⁵ Jan Zamorski even called it a “monument of mental health from the times of cavemen,” which is “full of fraud, adultery, and slaughter of all living things, not only humans but also domestic animals,” and added:

The Catholic Church explains these horrors symbolically and allegorically. And only as allegories can these things be understood without scandal. But the Jews understand these books literally and enjoy the slaughter, the scams, the adulteries.⁵¹⁶

Nationalists commented on the principles of Catholicism, its ethics and theology, and some priests published in the National Democratic press, giving an “imprimatur” to anti-Jewish hostility and even those statements that, as quoted above, contradicted the Catholic interpretation of religion, which derived from secular Antisemitism critical of the Bible. In turn, confessional periodicals were filled with

511 “Życie pod psem” (1936), *Przegląd Katolicki*, No. 12, pp. 202–203; Cki. (1937), “Judaizm a Sowiety, *Przegląd Katolicki*, No. 41, p. 680. Quoted after D. Libionka (2002).

512 E. Kosibowicz (1934), “Rzut oka na dzieje kwestii żydowskiej,” *Przegląd Powszechny*, Vol. 201, pp. 154–155. Qtd. after M. Jagiełło (2001), p. 191.

513 Józef Kajot (1933), “Dwie rasy,” *Nurty*, No. 4, p. 2. Quoted after D. Libionka (2002).

514 B. Rudzki (1936), “Polska duchowym ośrodkiem żydostwa,” *Tęcza*, No. 5, p. 18–20. Quoted after D. Libionka (2002).

515 J. Dobraczyński (1936), “Od Jahwy do Mesjasza,” *Kultura*, No. 12. Quoted after D. Libionka (2002).

516 J. Zamorski (1924), “O fizjognomię narodową,” *Mysł Narodowa*, No. 48.

arguments drawn from the propaganda of “enduring the trade,” “corrupting the Polish soul,” “spreading the demoralization of the Poles,” etc. Only on occasion appeared religious accusations for “rejecting the truth.” The conviction that discrimination and legal disability were the divine punishment that fell on those guilty of the Crucifixion – which in the nineteenth century served to justify opposition against Jewish emancipation – in the interwar period appeared indirectly through recognizing all the historical disasters which had been attributed to Judaism as a curse. But it no longer served to undermine emancipation, but to justify the lack of empathy for the victims of violence. The eschatological hopes of converting Jews lost their importance. They were replaced with suspicion of neophytes, undermining the sincerity of the intentions of possible catechumens, and the refusal of their acceptance. The bishops recommended a long period of catechesis and far-reaching caution. Contrary to the Primate’s guidance, the bishops were not ready to welcome new followers “joyfully in the Christian ranks.” Ks. P. Kuczka stated in *Kultura*:

If an individual voluntarily changes his nationality, he either commits a betrayal of his people or pretends to lie. The Jew, therefore, accepts baptism and commits himself as a Pole, committing either one or the other vice.⁵¹⁷

Fr Witold Gronkowski, in such a respectable organ as the *Priestly Ateneum*, went so far as to undermine the spiritual meaning of the sacrament of baptism, proving that the baptized Jews did not cease to be members of the Jewish people and the Jewish race because not religious but patriotic feelings count here and the attitude to the state and the sacrament “is not capable of transforming the blood, the color of the skin, the racial qualities of that individual who accepts it.” Another writer of this magazine proposed the creation of a separate church organization for the baptized Jews, the “Syrian-Chaldean” rite, with the Aramaic as the liturgical language.⁵¹⁸

Contrary to the position of the Holy See, which rejected racism and in 1938 strengthened its opposition to Nazi Antisemitism, racist terminology was widely and explicitly used in Polish Catholic journalism. The “Aryan race” was opposed to the “depraved Semitic race.” The name “Jews” was increasingly replaced by the word “semites” (not capitalized). It is not uncommon to find the influence of Nazi propaganda. In 1934, the author under a telling pseudonym “Swastika” wrote in *Pro Christo*: “In Poland, the Aryan native may be the one who can prove that at least five generations of his people were not Jewish,” and the editor-in-chief added: “We will fight you racially, but not because you are of Semitic race, but

517 Ks. P. Kuczka (1936), “Wolno bronić się przeciw napastnikowi,” *Kultura*, No. 32.

518 Ks. W. Gronkowski (1939), “Chrzest Żydów w świetle nauki Kościoła,” *Ateneum Kapłańskie*, Vol. 43, No. 5, pp. 452–453; ks. S. Solarz (1935), “Krok naprzód do rozwiązania kwestii żydowskiej,” *Ateneum Kapłańskie*, Vol. 36, pp. 79–86. Quoted after D. Libionka (2002).

because you degenerate the race that infects our body"⁵¹⁹ In 1939, Fr. Franciszek Błotnicki commanded:

Between the Aryans and the Jews there is a spiritual (moral and mental) divide and even a physical one.... There is something physical, which makes us reject the Jews, like the white man from the Negro, who are different not only by the color of the skin but also the odor.⁵²⁰

Similarly, a writer Zofia Kossak (1889–1968) argued three years earlier, although she criticized the ONR claims against the interpretation of Antisemitism as an order of faith:

They are so terribly alien, strange, and dumb because they are different breeds. They irritate us and blur all their qualities. Eastern anger, quarrel, specific kind of mind, eye frame, ear shape, eyelids, lip line, everything.

However, Kossak stated that:

The Jew is above all a man redeemed by the Most Holy Blood of Christ. He is my neighbor. He is not a Christian. My duty is to restore him to the true faith. As soon as this happens, I must not have any bias toward him; he becomes my brother.

So, the fight against the Jews should take place despite, not because of religion. Kossak sought justification above all in economic competition:

The Jews are an important and terrible danger to us, growing with each passing day. They were like a mistletoe swarming a tree. Polish youth entering in life finds no good path in life. Wherever they look, the place has already been taken by the more clever, busy, ruthless Jew.⁵²¹

The racial image of the Jewish association with the disease, diagnosed as a one-sided transmission of "evil" from the "semites" to the Christians – never the other way around. None of the Catholic commentators considered the possibility of the beneficial influence of the followers of Christ on the "Jewish character." Quite popular were "medical" metaphors about the "pollution of our blood," "air poisoning," "epidemic," and "Jewish disease" were compared to germs or parasites: insects, rats, weeds, or molds; "prophylactic measures" were proposed, such as "eradication." In polemics, there were such statements as the editor of *Kultura*:

519 Swastyka (1934), "Zagadnienie rasy, jego uprawnienia etyczne i granice," ks. M. Wiśniewski (1934), "Na miłość boską nie zwlekajcie," *Pro Christo*, No. 8, No. 4. Cyt. za: A. Landau-Czajka (1998), pp. 43–44.

520 Ks. Franciszek Błotnicki (1939), "Sprawa żydowska w Polsce," *Gazeta Kościelna*, No. 37, p. 580–582. Quoted after, D. Libionka (2002).

521 Z Kossak (1936), "Nie istnieją sytuacje bez wyjścia," *Kultura*, No. 26, p. 1.

The Jews are parasites. In fact, our emotional attitude toward them is very similar to the attitude that we have when dealing with fleas and bedbugs. Kill and destroy. I care for the parasite only because it bothers me.⁵²²

Entomological metaphors concealed the approval of violence, such as in the statement: “the view of Nalewki makes one begin a fight.” It is difficult to resist the impression that in such a feverish journalism there was a dream of physically abolishing the entire population of Judaism. More similar calls were made in the confessional press than in the national because the former one was less supervised by censorship.

The Church had an impact on the adoption of Antisemitic solutions by programs of almost every right- and centre-wing party. The Church also had a great deal of shared moral responsibility for the wave of anti-Jewish violence, often using verbal aggression and hatred. In favorable circumstances (economic crisis) and with the active help of national activists (and sometimes priests), hatred and aggression turned against the Jews, escaping the control of both political instigators, the state, and those who were to guard morality. In this context, the Primate’s pastoral letter about Catholic morals was more concerned with the loss of influence on the faithful than with the fate of the victims. The positive evaluations of Nazi policy and legislation in Nuremberg, and the postulate of similar “reforms” in Poland, show that the boundary between clerical and radical racist Antisemitism disappeared.

In 1935, Fr. Trzeciak took part in a conference organized in Erfurt by the Nazi journal and organization *Welt Dienst*. This may have led to his removal by the ecclesiastical authorities from teaching in the Seminary, but did not prevent the prelature. Employed in the same year by the Sejm to be an expert on Judaism, he contributed to the statutory limitation of ritual slaughter in 1936. Fr. Trzeciak was the initiator of the campaign which was supposed to lead to a total ban. He used his priestly authority to prove the compatibility of this solution with the constitutional protection of religious freedom. During a lecture at the Hygienic Society (21.04.1935), Fr. Trzeciak firmly argued that the ritual slaughter of animals was not a requirement of the Mosaic Law – as if he had never had the Bible in his hands. His public activities sometimes resulted in violence. This was the reason of the letter from 10.04.1937, addressed to the Commander of the local police in Bydgoszcz:

With regard to the readings of Father Trzeciak, planned for today and tomorrow, we have the honor to present the following: The Board of the Kehillah remembers the tragic anti-Jewish events triggered by these lectures in various cities, so, out of caution, turns to the Commander with a request to graciously call for police reinforcements, especially in neighborhoods inhabited by the Jewish population. To

522 E. Januszkiewicz (1936), “Wstęp do części dalszych,” *Kultura*, No. 19, p. 8. Quoted after D. Libionka (2002).

justify our concern for safety, we recall a significant detail from the Łódź trial, where the murderer of the Jew declares that the act was done under the influence and after reading Father Trzeciak.⁵²³

Antisemitism in Poland during the interwar period was strongly associated with Catholic clericalism. The only ideological proposition that has ceased from clericalism was the “Zadruga” movement, created in 1935 by Jan Stachniuk (1905–1963). The press scolded it without precision as neo-paganism, but it was not so much a suggestion of a new religion or a reference to pre-Christian beliefs as a secularist trend of totalitarian chauvinism, referring to the German tradition of pre-Nazi esoteric and völkisch ideas. The small community centered around a journal of the same name (published in 1937–1939) came from the circles of former *Obóz Wielkiej Polski*.⁵²⁴ They separated themselves from the “Ludendorf paganism,” but defined the nation in the manner of the German völkisch movement, emphasizing its “biological and geographic” conditions and the resulting psychic and “subconscious” qualities that formed the race. Crossing with other races was considered harmful because it was to tear or to distort these natural conditions. Consequently, they proclaimed racist Antisemitism explicitly and unapologetically. They were convinced that “Negrosemitic,” “nomadic,” “non-living,” and “parasitic” blood mixed with the “better,” “creative,” “farming breed” had to have detrimental effects on the latter. They claimed that such an intersection was only in the old gentry and modern intelligentsia, but the peasants remained “racially pure.”⁵²⁵ They accused Christianity of being “a product of the Jewish mind,” which contributed to the corruption of the “upper” class, for the Catholic Church rejected non-Catholic Poles, while at the same time tolerating the Jewish neophytes.⁵²⁶ In line with these convictions, they demanded the exclusion of Adam Mickiewicz from the canon of Polish literature, rhetorically asking, “What kind of ideals could sing Adam Myckiewicz, a Polish-Jewish hybrid?”⁵²⁷

They sought a “Jewish conspiracy” even in the conversion of Saint Paul – he was to convert in order to rule over the “Arians” – by which included threads of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in their interpretations of the Gospel.⁵²⁸ They

523 *AŻIH*, Gmina Żydowska w Bydgoszczy, sygn. 104, Vol. 21, p. 429A.

524 See B. Grott, J. M. Majchrowski (1981), “Publicystyka “Zadrugi” jako jeden z przejawów krytyki kultury katolickiej w Polsce,” *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Studia Religioznawcze*, Book 6.

525 J. Stachniuk (1933), *Kolektywizm a naród*, Poznań; S. Delebis (1939), “Problem mniejszości narodowych w Polsce,” *Zadruga* No. 3.

526 Polanin (1938), “Bez złudzeń,” Z. Banasiak (1939), “O wolę wielkości,” J. G. (1939), “Masowa produkcja neofitów,” L. Ziemiński (1939), “Źródła impasu sprawy żydowskiej,” *Zadruga*, No. 8, 9, 1, 2.

527 M. Nowica (1939), “O przełom w literaturze,” *Zadruga*, No. 1; Gniewomir (1938), “Mesjonista Adam Mickiewicz,” *Zadruga*, No. 4–5.

528 Bogusław Łużyca (1938), “Akcja dziejowa “narodu wybranego,” *Zadruga*, No. 11/12.

believed that, by separating themselves from the whole Jewish-Christian tradition, and also from the Jews and Polish elites that came from the “degenerated” nobility, one would build a “new society, born of the biological descent of our race.”⁵²⁹ They denied Christian ethics, the evangelical message of love and mercy calling “passive sentimentality” or “lyricism of digestion.” They criticized personalism, calling it “vegetarian individualism” and equating the Catholic “spiritualism” with Freemasons and the left. Discussing the Dmowski’s *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka*, they accused the author of backwardness and departure from the original principles of nationalism in favor of the “sacristry.” They praised the freethinking Antisemitism of Niemojewski. They called their competitor Antisemitic activists “blinded by the Jews.” Although they favored fascism and criticized Nazism, their efforts did not go so far as to create a clear political program but rather ended with the formulation of their own “history,” which was a mythology of the Polish nation-race, a bit different from that of the nationalists, although equally doctrinaire.

7.6. Summary

In a country where every third citizen was not an ethnic Pole, anti-minority politics was extremely harmful. It tangled the country into many unnecessary conflicts. The delimitation of the borders by means of military operations caused that the resurgent Poland was in constant conflict with all its neighbors. Attempts to assimilate the Ukrainian minority were not only ineffective, but also caused rage and radicalization of Ukrainian nationalist groups, and, on top of that, pushed them to seek an alliance with Germany. The simplistic manner of perceiving the Jews and putting the “Jewish question” at the center of interest has de facto created an ethnic conflict. A conflict that would have otherwise never existed and that was completely unnecessary. Jews were the only minority whose nationalism did not jeopardize the integrity of the state. The Jews were the only minority that was subject to mass acculturation by universal schooling and, if allowed to do so, probably would have assimilated it to civic awareness, if not nationality. The minority, whose contribution to culture, scientific, and economic life was not only great, but very beneficial to Poland, and if it enabled to use its momentum for social advancement, it would have been even greater. Instead of becoming an argument for independent and strong Poland, multiethnicity has become a problem, especially at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, but also during the interwar period. Poland lost its sympathy among the Western countries, which accumulated in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially in the Anglo-Saxon countries. This had long-term consequences.

Nationalism served the economy badly, especially in a country that was so devastated by war. It made it difficult to get out of the economic backwardness, because by blocking one group, the road was blocked for others and, as a result,

529 Stach z Warty (S. Szukalski; 1938), “Sławizm, Sjonizm i nasze żydziejce,” *Zadruga*, No. 4.

social mobility of a huge mass of citizens ceased. The vision of the Polish economy as a field of struggle for a few antagonistic ethnic groups was completely false because, after all, entrepreneurs of the non-Polish nationality worked within this economy, worked in the Polish environment, and worked for it. They paid taxes and supported the state treasury. The idea that the struggle of Poles with Jews could solve economic problems was absurd. The abolition of "Jewish" trade would cause a significant contraction of internal markets, leading to a permanent economic crisis. Similarly, the economic discrimination of Slavic minorities in the Kresy region (the Eastern Frontier) closed the possibility of social advancement and consequently inhibited the assimilation process and contributed to preserving the economic backwardness of these areas.

The concept of "bulwark" defending Europe against the "Bolshevik storm" was not a real argument, but a myth cultivated by native nationalist megalomaniacs. The conviction about the dichotomy of the political scene with the "Polish" right, on the one hand, and "not Polish enough" left as if in an alliance with the Jews, occluded genuine problems of the country, prevented any substantive discussion, and hindered problem-solving. The most ludicrous was the statement of the Supreme Court that the main impediment to the consolidation of the nation was the "Jewish plague" in the country, delivered in June 1939, when the Nazi threat was obvious and the outbreak of war predictable. Radical right-wing youths used patriotic demonstrations to instigate anti-Jewish riots even in the last months of the Second Republic. The so-called "consolidation" was nothing more than a plan to subordinate Poles to one party in an authoritarian or totalitarian state, and the Jews were only pawns in this game of power. Seemingly the most realistic program of cultural autonomy, which was nothing more than the demand for the right to develop minority culture in full (that is to say, effective equality) was "unbelievable" for the majority of the groups; with the exception of the PPS, which, however, considered it quite late. So obvious today, the postulate was only accepted by the *émigré* government in 1943, when it was too late, as the Polish Jews ceased to exist as a nation. Such practices as the "bench ghetto" or "Aryan paragraph" caused the break of professional ties and social isolation of Jewish intelligentsia. Although the state did not remove the citizenship of the Jews, the Sejm debate on this subject and the consent to the discrimination symbolically excluded them from the Polish community, which had grave consequences at the time of the Holocaust. Both the nationalists and the Sanation rejected the idea that Jews could be admitted the "honor" to defend the country, even though they were the most threatened by Nazism. This way of thinking also prevailed during the occupation, so they were reluctant to join the Home Army, and the few who succeeded usually hid their origin. One must emphasize the shocking fact that Poland in the interwar period became the center of anti-Jewish collective violence, and the intensity of Antisemitic agitation was comparable to that in Nazi Germany.⁵³⁰ While no

530 Cf. W. W. Hagen (1996), p. 374.

pogroms or agitations were sanctioned by the state, the reaction of government representatives was ambivalent and insufficient – not to mention the leniency of the courts. The justification of the violence against the Jews by the National Democrats and the Catholic Church has lowered ethical standards, which fostered indifference during the occupation, making any aid to the Jews even harder, more dangerous, and in the opinion of many – even morally ambiguous. Only such background could support the flourishing of the phenomenon of denuntiation of hiding Jews or and assassinations of the Jews who sought help.

From today's perspective, it is clear that the chauvinistic thinking and the concepts of nationalists were incorrect and harmful to Poland. It should be remembered, however, that during the interwar period, the observation of other European states encouraged such thinking and the realization of the "law of historical development." The doctrine of most of the richest countries was imperialism and colonialism, justified by racism. There were few examples that would provide positive and painless solutions to multi-ethnic problems. In the political culture of this period, not only the right-wing or nationalist ideas, there clearly emerged the idea of the primacy of the collective interest over the individual and the cult of the state. Nearly all of Poland's neighbors have shifted toward anti-democratic governments which have become more or less authoritarian, or – as in the Third Reich and the Soviet Union – totalitarian. Antisemitism was an increasingly attractive ideology in many countries. Reactions to the persecution of Jews were insufficient. In this situation, the Catholic Church – as well as the Lutheran and Orthodox – churches succumbed to the overwhelming atmosphere, which was supported by the tradition of Judeophobia and the fear of secularization. Even if there were opposing ideas, liberalism and democratic socialism, or the more open model of Catholicism that was born in France, they were still too weak to counter these tendencies effectively. They were unable to prevent the madness that conquered Europe and led to the bloodiest war in the twentieth century.

Chapter 8. The Aftermath of Nazism: Antisemitic Ideology in Postwar Poland

8.1. Antisemitism During the Holocaust

Until recently in Polish historiography, there dominated the attitude to discuss the consequences of the Second World War and occupation of Poland in separation from the tendencies in Polish politics and society of the interwar period. This is particularly striking in the works on the Holocaust, which lack in-depth analysis of Poles' attitudes toward the Jews. Without such analysis, we cannot understand many events and, from time to time, the public opinion shockingly discovers the proverbial skeleton in the closet, as happened after the dissemination of the Jedwabne pogrom.⁵³¹ There were many pro-Nazi sympathizers in Poland in the 1930s that we could absolve with the words "they did not know what they were doing," but it is difficult to apply this to the initiators of pogroms or terrorist attacks. One of the marginal fascist groups, the Radical Healing Movement, wrote: "We will not beat or maltreat by the Jews because it will not lead to anything. We do not hate the Jews because one may only hate the equal or stronger. We abhor the Jews as we abhor rats and vermin."⁵³²

The author of these words dismisses violence, but the deep contempt he expresses is similar to that found in the Nazi ideology. Such emotionless attitude led the Nazis to invent gas chambers where they murdered people in an industrial way, separated from the blood and horror of death. Were Polish Antisemites capable of similar crimes? We know that some instigated, organized, and participated in anti-Jewish rallies. The incitement of hate speech – also in Catholic publications – fostered a psychological readiness for radical action, pushing to violence even those disinterested in politics. However, the Antisemites received no help or impunity from the Polish state – despite the leniency of the courts – nor obedience in society because the opposing forces were strong. On the other hand, at the end of the Second Republic, everyday discrimination against the Jewish population intensified which translated into the rise of violence. In the mass emigration plans hid a threat of state coercion. However, these plans were completely unrealistic.

531 J. T. Gross (2001), *Neighbors. The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne*, Princeton; A. Bikont (2004), *My z Jedwabnego*, Warszawa; Idem, (2001), "Mieli wódkę, broń i nienawiść," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 16–17 VI 2001; also see J. Michlic (2004), "Rozliczenie z "ciemną stroną:" polska debata o zbrodni w Jedwabnem," ed. K. Jasiewicz, *Świat nie pożegnany*, Warszawa-Londyn.

532 "Czym jest faszyzm" (1934), *Front Polski Zbudzonej*, No. 12. Qtd. after A. Landau-Czajka (1998), p. 178.

In addition to the state assistance, Polish Jew-eaters lacked the modern technical means that had enabled the Germans to carry out the Holocaust. Antisemitic aggression, however, has accustomed the thought that violence against the Jews is not “immoral” or “sinful” but “normal.” Xenophobic nationalism also produced hostility and distrust that tore the Polish society from the inside, which let the Russian and German invaders use ethnic animosity for their own purposes.

Contrary to many papers which discuss the specifics and evolution of Nazi Antisemitism in Germany, so far there has been no research on the possible evolution of Antisemitism in the Polish society of the Second World War.⁵³³ The Poles entered the war with strong Church Antisemitism, a powerful nationalist right that influenced at least 200,000 people, and other right and centrist parties who accepted Antisemitism to some degree. The problem of Antisemitism’s influence on the attitudes of various factions of the Polish society and actions of the civil and armed underground state still awaits its comprehensive study, although recently appear works on various pathological phenomena like *shmaltsovniki*, informers, and other collaborators, but also on positive actions of helping the Jews.⁵³⁴ These themes are far from exhausted, and there is also a lack of analysis of the relationship between these behaviors and the influence of Antisemitism in its pre-war form or in the form of Nazi agitation. After 1989, publications appeared that aimed at cleaning the memory of the radical right, including the National Armed Forces. Typically, they were of merely factual and documentary value, but they tend to be biased, especially in discussing the relationship between these formations and the Holocaust. Due to the subject of this book, we focus on the negative and ambivalent attitudes of Poles during the occupation, their relationship with the mood of the late 1930s, the changes influenced by the occupiers, and the occupation’s impact on the history of Polish-Jewish relations in postwar Poland.

Many historians proudly emphasize the lack of institutional collaboration between Poles and the Nazi occupiers. It was, above all, the result of the Nazi

533 E.g., G. L. Mosse (1972); P. Pulzer (1988), *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria*, Cambridge, Mass.; S. Friedländer (1997), *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, Vol. 1–2, New York. K. Holz (2001), *Nationaler Antisemitismus*; G. E. Schafft (2006), (2004), *From Racism to Genocide*, Washigton.

534 E. Ringelblum (1992), *Polish-Jewish Relations Turing the Second World War*, Evanston, Ill.; Idem (1958), *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*, New York; T. Prekerowa (1982), *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945*, Warszawa; P. Szapiro (1992), *Wojna żydowsko-niemiecka*, Londyn; W. W. Hagen (1996); T. Szarota (2000), *U progu zagłady*, Warszawa; K. Dunin-Wąsowicz (1996), *Spółczeństwo polskie wobec martyrologii i walki Żydów w latach II wojny światowej*, Warszawa; B. Engelking-Boni (2004), *Szanowny panie gistapo*, Warszawa; J. Grabowski (2004), *Ja tego Żyda znam*, Warszawa; Ed. A. Żbikowski (2006), *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką*, Warszawa; A. Żbikowski (2006), *U genezy Jedwabnego*, Warszawa.

ideology. The Germans considered the Poles to be “subhumans” and planned no form of political cooperation as was the case in other subordinate Western countries. This does not mean that the Germans did not show interest in influencing Polish political life. Nazi agency operated in the ONR-Falangi ranks in the summer of 1939. It worked at least a year and a half under the leadership of Stanisław Kozłowski, aka Stanisław Brochwicz, who was an SS intelligence officer.⁵³⁵ A Falanga activist, Włodzimierz Sznarbachowski, collaborated with the National Radical Organization (NOR) founded by Andrzej Świetlicki and prof. Zygmunt Cybichowski⁵³⁶ with the consent of the occupying military German authorities. It is difficult to judge what they expected from this collaboration, but they undoubtedly cited ideological similarities, especially Antisemitism.⁵³⁷ Bolesław Piasecki probably backed this initiative, according to Jan Józef Lipski (1985). NOR was used to organize anti-Jewish riots in the occupied Warsaw, which began in the last days of 1939, but the greatest number of victims and material damage caused the pogrom during the Holy Week of 1940. The riots served the Nazis as a justification for the creation of the Warsaw ghetto, ostensibly for the purpose of “ensuring the safety” of the Jewish population. On March 29, 1940, the Germans ordered the Jewish community to build a wall around the Jewish quarter. Świetlicki was arrested, and soon afterward shot.

Czesław Madajczyk estimates that the share of the Polish resistance movement in the General Governorate amounted to 25 % of the inhabitants while the voluntary collaborators at a minimum of 5 %.⁵³⁸ Madajczyk does not consider the political choices of the German minority. It is not easy to introduce a typology of motivations for the collaborative attitudes. Collaborators primarily worked with the German Security Police (Sipo) or Gestapo. We should clearly condemn the people who did not identify with Nazism but, for various reasons, engaged in contacts or cooperation with the occupying forces, for example, by denunciations out of jealousy, will of profit, or revenge; but their number remains unknown. The Polish underground accused journalists who worked for the fifty titles published by the Nazis in the Polish language. Among the journalists, we find such Antisemitic activists as Jan Emil Skiwski; one may assume that they were motivated by political

535 J. J. Lipski (1985), *Antysemityzm ONR “Falangi,”* (Warszawa).

536 Z. Cybichowski (1879–1946), prawnik, profesor Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. W późnych latach 30. skompromitował się aferą łopówkarską. Znał osobiście Hansa Franka, co ułatwiło mu kontakty z władzami okupacyjnymi. Do NOR należał też jego syn Jerzy oraz: Wojciech Kwasieberski, Tadeusz Lipkowski i Ryszard Oracz. Z organizacją współpracował ksiądz St. Trzeciak.

537 See T. Szarota (2000), pp. 19–82. A. Świetlicki (1915–1940) od 1938 r. był przywódcą warszawskiej ONR-Falangi. W. Sznarbachowski (1913–2003) po aresztowaniu Świetlickiego przedostał się do Rzymu, gdzie działał na rzecz polskiego podziemia. Radykalnie zmienił poglądy, wstępując do PPS. Od 1952 r. pracował w rozgłośni polskiej Radia Wolna Europa.

538 See Cz. Madajczyk (1984), *Faszyzm i okupacje 1938–45*, Poznań, Vol. 2.

sympathies, not just opportunism. The underground also boycotted the actors and audiences of theaters and cinemas especially because the repertoire served as a means of German propaganda. The artistic director of a theater, the Antisemite Zygmunt Ipohorski-Lenkiewicz, was accused of collaboration with the Gestapo and killed in a 1944 underground operation. Today we would judge cases of Polish-German romances or prostitution less strongly as they were judged during the war unless they resulted in the infiltration of conspiracy or denunciations. An example of a symbiosis with the authorities of the General Government present institutional clerks or scholars employed in German institutions as documentalists or translators. In their case, the main motive was financial security, but it was with their hands that the Nazis implemented the new regime and legislation. Many officials were stigmatized by the public and punished by post-war courts for overzealousness in the conduction of those tasks. The collaboration of the German-formed Polish police, which employed 11,500 people, was much more developed. In addition to routine activities such as policing and fighting crime, the police was in charge of the Nazi legislation.⁵³⁹ To survive, many Poles were forced to adopt a legalistic attitude, trying to adapt as far as possible to the occupational reality and draconian regulations of the authorities, unless breaking them was necessary for their survival.

From the Jewish perspective, collaboration was in the activities that supported their demise. In the Warsaw Ghetto, there was a group of informants working with the Gestapo. Collaborators were members of the Jewish police who, during the liquidation, forced people to leave their homes and guarded them on their way to the meeting points before they were transported to the extermination camps. Members of the Judenrat were part of the German administration and had a very small degree of autonomy, although some had the illusion that a political game with the Nazis was possible in order to save at least a part of the Jewish community. The Jews in hiding were primarily endangered by the informers and all those who exploited the situation to get rob or kill them. A huge political and legal machine, also made up of Poles, carried out the abduction of Jewish property and introduced racist laws.⁵⁴⁰ Although many of the Polish policemen cooperated with the underground state, their role was mostly ominous to the Jews. Their duties included guarding the walls of the ghettos and capturing refugees for the Gestapo. The police commander in Warsaw demanded special attention in these actions from his subordinates. Some took bribes from smugglers or gangsters and blackmailed the hiding Jews. Their ability to freely move in the ghettos gave them the opportunity for extortion and robbery.

539 See A. Hempel (1990), "Pogrobowcy kłęski," Warszawa; K. Friedrich (XI 1998), "Problem polskiej kolaboracji podczas drugiej wojny światowej," *Res Publica Nowa*.
540 . M. Urynowicz (2006), "Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w Warszawie w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," Ed. A. Żbikowski, pp. 572–597.

The actions of blackmailers or corrupt policemen manifest the demoralization of the times but not necessarily the result of Antisemitic beliefs. The continuation of anti-Jewish attitudes can be seen first of all in the formations of the extreme right which, until 1944, did not subordinate to the underground state. ONR-Falanga formed the National Confederacy and its armed group, the Cadre Strike Corps incorporated in 1944 into Armia Krajowa. The ONR-ABC with a part of Stronnictwo Narodowe formed the National Armed Forces (NSZ). They had two equal goals: fight against the Nazis and the Soviets, but they perceived the latter to gather not only Russians but also all the Jews and the Polish Left. During the occupation, NSZ had few opportunities to fight the Soviet troops but, in spite of the German occupation, they carried out a civil war by fighting the leftist formations. NSZ was responsible for the killings of leftist and Jewish activists which is not denied even by their apologists.⁵⁴¹ Troops from the Świętokrzyskie NSZ Brigade had several contacts with the Gestapo which effected in denunciations of the hiding Jews and their Polish guardians. At the end of the war, in the face of the Soviet offensive, some of these troops withdrew to the Czech Republic.⁵⁴² The collaboration rozumiana także jako różne formy wspierania eksterminacji Żydów was certainly larger than the 5 % calculated by Madajczyk (1984). It facilitated the Germans breaking of the underground and intimidation of the Polish society.

The social inertia and support for extermination were conducive to the spread of Antisemitism. The nationalist conspiracy newspapers continued the pre-war accusations of Jews, such as economic exploitation or domination in trade, even when the Jews were dying of hunger in the ghettos, and their mass annihilation happened.⁵⁴³ The nationalist underground press sometimes expressed the expectation for the “Jewish issue” to be resolved by the hands of the occupiers and, although it may have been unaware of the Nazi plans to murder the entire Jewish population, it applauded the occupant’s legislation. Their programs were similar. After the extermination of the Warsaw ghetto, the newspaper of Stronnictwo Narodowe was stated with explicit satisfaction:

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- 541 M. J. Chodakiewicz (1994), *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne*, Warszawa, p. 227; L. Żebrowski (1994/96), *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne*, Warszawa, Vol. 1–3. Cf. J. Strojnowski (1987), “Polish-Jewish Relations during the Second World War,” *Polin*, Vol. 2, p. 355. I. Gutman (2000), “Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w świetle żydowskiej historiografii i literatury,” *BŻIH*, No. 193. See also D. Libionka (2006), “ZWZ-AK i Delegatura Rządu RP wobec eksterminacji Żydów polskich,” ed. A. Żbikowski, pp. 186–187, 497–498.
- 542 See Z. Siemaszko (1982), *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne*, London, pp. 95–98, 106–109, 159–162. The author documents contacts with the Germans and the fight against the leftist guerrilla group, while ignoring the problem of the NSZ Świętokrzyskie Brigade toward Jews.
- 543 J. Michlic (2006), pp. 159–173; A. Friszke (2000), “Publicystyka Polski podziemnej wobec Zagłady Żydów (1939–1944),” *BŻIH*, No. 196.

Today, despite a tiny tear in the eye over the burned ghettos, the programs of all Polish political fractions agree to eliminate the Jewish influence. We achieved victory.⁵⁴⁴

Another journal wrote as if in a polemic to the previous one:

There arises a popular and false view in the Jewish question: that the Germans have solved it for us. This is a dangerous thing to do because it is tolerant of our passivity. The Germans did what we would never do because our thousand-year-old Christian culture would not allow us. But now, looking at the ruins of the ghetto with melancholy, we may neglect to do what we have to do irrevocably and without compromise. It is only the deprivation of Jewish material foundations and political influences that the immortal Jewish issue in Poland will finally find a positive solution. The compulsory emigration of the survivors will only fulfill this just policy toward the anti-state but "civic" Jewish minority.⁵⁴⁵

Several months earlier, another nationalist paper warned:

Most of the living body of the Jewish people has been destroyed, but the rest has not changed in our relationship. Still, they prefer the Russian and German Communist to the Pole and wait for the return to the old influences in our economic life, establish contacts with the national minorities, stand on the Bolshevik side in Russia; in a word, they do everything to weaken us and prevent the creation of Great Poland. Let us remember that a few hundred thousand Jews would be enough (and so many survive in Poland and abroad), if they were able to take back our economic life and penetrate the centers of political and cultural life, to further affect the fate of Poland than had done the million Jews that lived here before the occupation. There are all indications that the masked Jews in the country, or Jewish exiles abroad, are preparing an offensive over the influence in Poland, only with different tactics.⁵⁴⁶

It should be emphasized that all the groups condemned the Nazi policy of extermination of Jews. Nevertheless, the **nationalist** underground press sometimes repeated the opinions of the pre-war Antisemitic propaganda. In the journal *Nurt*, expressing opinions of the pre-war Sanation government, one could read the description of the ghetto with very stereotyped statements:

The ghetto is cluttered in certain neighborhoods, almost comically animated by the smugglers, which in the middle held the almost immortal and inexhaustible genius of trade and speculation that dictates the prices to the currency and commodities of Warsaw.⁵⁴⁷

544 *Młoda Polska*, No. 18 (32), 13 X 1943. Quoted after P. Szapiro (1992).

545 *Walka*, No. 28, 28 VII 1943; Reprinted in *Wielka Polska*, No. 30, 7 VIII 1943. Quoted after P. Szapiro (1992).

546 *Kierownik*, No. 30, 16 V 1943. Quoted after P. Szapiro (1992).

547 *Nurt*, No. 1, marzec-kwiecień 1943; quoted after P. Szapiro (1992). See D. Libionka (2006), p. 25.

It was not the Jews who dictated the prices but, of course, the situation in the ghetto impacted Warsaw's economic life: food was expensive while cheaper became the clothes taken from the dead. In the conspiratorial organ of the Democratic Party and the Home Army, the ghetto extermination was called "Jewish contradanza," while defining the remnants with the word "cadre" of the "World Jewry," an idea from a conspiracy theory. The paper described remnants with condemnation and opposed to those who perished: "There are those who have exhausted their financial resources and slyness. The poor have gone extinct as well as the wealthy who lost their innate commercial genius and stubbornness."⁵⁴⁸

Most of all, the entire underground press, even on the Left, duplicated the unjustified opinion about the passivity of the Jews to the actions of the Nazis. This belief spread because of the lack of knowledge about what was happening in the ghettos, where it was impossible to create guerrillas, while civil resistance focused on social assistance and the organization of information circuits. The Polish side also knew little about human behavior in the face of continual hunger, epidemics, terror, and the immediate threat to life. The allegation of passivity expressed the lack of empathy which was conducive to passive attitudes toward extermination and was a convenient excuse.

One of the arguments of the Right was the rumor about "the Jews welcoming the Soviets with flowers" after their invasion of Poland in 1939 and "the Jews" mass collaboration with the Soviets." These accusations appeared sporadically in 1939 but became widespread after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in 1941. Of course, there happened co-operation of both Jews and Poles with the Soviet administration, but scholars have only recently examined its scope, national composition, and forms of collaboration.⁵⁴⁹ The extent of collaboration was not at all proportional to the size of the Western Communist Party of Belarus, the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, or the Communist Party of Poland (in 1938 dissolved by Stalin). The fate of different nationalities was different due to the policy of the new regime. Many Poles and Jewish refugees were arrested by the NKVD. The political elite of all nationalities met a similar fate. In 1940–1941, the Jews were taken away more often than the rest of the population.⁵⁵⁰ Despite formal equality, the promotion of the Jewish position concerned individuals and not groups, which

548 *Nowy Dzień*, No. 623, 26 VII 1943. Quoted after P. Szapiro (1992).

549 J. T. Gross (1993), "The Jewish Community in the Soviet-Annexed Territories on the Eve of the Holocaust," eds. L. Dobroszycki, J. Gurock, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union*, Armonk, NY. See A. Żbikowski (2006), pp. 83–127, 105–107, 129–166. Cf. M. Wierzbicki, T. Strzembosz, K. Jasiewicz (1996), *Okupacja sowiecka (1939–41) w świetle tajnych dokumentów*, Warszawa; K. Jasiewicz (2001), *Pierwsi po diable*, Warszawa.

550 D. Boćkowski (2004), "Losy żydowskich uchodźców z centralnej i zachodniej Polski przebywających na Kresach Północno-Wschodnich w 1939;" A. Gurjanow (2004), "Żydzi jako specpriesielency-bieżeńcy w obwodzie archangielskim (1940–41)," ed. K. Jasiewicz (2004), pp. 91–108, 109–121.

was relative compared to the pre-war period. The change in the status of the Polish population – from privileges in prewar Poland to repressions under the Soviet rule – came with a shock. In this situation, any case of employing a Jew in the position formerly reserved for Poles was seen as excessive “privilege” of the whole minority. This influenced the formation of a stereotype about Jewish collaboration. It would have not spread so widely if the story of the enthusiasm of the Jews for all enemies had not been earlier encoded in the Antisemitic ideology in the nationalist notion of the Jews as the “internal enemy,” the accusations of favoring the “stronger” invaders, the groundless allegations of shooting at the Polish army in 1918–1919, and the accusation of greeting the Bolsheviks with flowers during the war of 1920. One should not ignore the impact of Nazi propaganda which identified communists with the Jews. There was, therefore, a cultural preparation to create generalizations on the basis of the activities of individuals, such as cooperation with the NKVD, denunciations, the typing of persons for arrest. Scholars also underline that this popular stereotype almost completely ignores the collaboration of the Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and Belarussians; because the absence of Poles in the Polish stories of collaboration is understandable, even if completely untrue.⁵⁵¹

The Nazis used local Antisemites and social scum to spread terror. This happened at the beginning of the occupation in Warsaw and at least ten other places. With the German permission, a group of Polish teenagers robbed and beat the Jews, and destroyed their stores. During the Żółkiewka pogrom on 7-8 October 1939, twenty-two people were killed.⁵⁵² The occupants’ propaganda used these riots as evidence of Polish Antisemitism, the justification for the creation of the ghetto, and the introduction of racist legislation. A similar scenario was implemented in areas occupied by the Nazis in 1941. In the Baltic republics and Ukraine, nationalist and volunteer formations made many extremely bloody and cruel pogroms, which has only recently been studied by historians. In the east of Poland, previously occupied by the USSR, up to sixty-seven bloody pogroms involving local people and organized by the occupiers happened in June and July 1941; or, as in Jedwabne and surrounding towns, the pogroms happened with the consent of the occupiers. According to the Grot-Rowecki Report, a group of Poles committed similar crimes in Brest, when freed from the Soviet prison by the Germans⁵⁵³. Mass murders occurred in areas where such events occurred earlier, but these were characterized by even greater degeneration and cruelty. These pogroms were accompanied by humiliating ceremonies, rape, and deliberate torture. As suggested by Jan Tomasz Gross (1998), the wave of violence of 1941 had the greatest impact on the spread of

551 Cf. K. Jasiewicz (2001), pp. 63–121; Eds. N. Davies, A. Polonsky (1991), *Jews in Eastern Poland and the USSR, 1939–46*, London; P. Korzec, J. Ch. Szurek (1989), “Jews and Poles under Soviet Occupation 1939–41,” *Polin*, Vol. 4.

552 P. Reszka (10 VII 2004), “Miejsce zbrodni Żółkiewka,” *Gazeta Wyborcza*.

553 A. Żbikowski (2006) s. 213–220; Idem (1992), “Lokalne pogromy Żydów w czerwcu i lipcu 1941 r. na wschodnich rubieżach Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej,” *BŻIH* No. 162/163.

accusations of collaborating with the Soviet occupiers, which served as an excuse for the pogroms. Apart from robbery, one finds among the true motives a traumatic projection of own sense of helplessness and the inability to counter Soviet repression. We must remember that the inhabitants of Eastern Poland were cut off from information about the terror of the General Governorate, and initially many welcomed the Germans with relief or even enthusiastically (just as they accused the Jews did toward the Soviets), what they soon came to regret. The directing of aggression against Judaism has contributed to the rapid pacification of the Nazi territories and obedience to the occupiers' administration. This ensured relative calm in the back of the front and greatly facilitated the mass extermination of the Jews.

The German occupying forces shaped the social attitudes toward the Jews with draconian laws. On the one hand, they threatened death for the smallest aid given to the persecuted and, on the other, offered economic benefits from denunciations of Jews, their imprisonment, and resettlement to the ghettos.⁵⁵⁴ Sometimes the prize was sugar, vodka, or permission to take the victims' clothes. The Nazis wanted to ensure that the local activities did not slip out of control. They did count on the potential of Antisemitism for the success of the genocide plans but, for the time being, they wanted obedience to the racist legislation and passivity, which is why they punished *shmaltsowniki*. In order to achieve their goals, the Germans widely propagated racist Antisemitism with all possible means of propaganda: posters, announcements, films, radio, brochures, press, exhibitions, etc. The Nazis founded their own publishing companies like Polish Publishing House or Glob which mass-produced Antisemitic prints, reprinted translations of German propaganda, or employed Polish authors like Z. Kowalewsky, the author of *Żydzi przedstawiają się nam* (The Jews Present Themselves; Warszawa: Glob, 1944) or Olgierd Dębiński (pseudonym), the author of the novel *Burza nad lasem* (The Storm Over the Forest). The latter describes the "liberation" of the region by the Germans and the "righteous anger" of the people who deal with "treacherous Jews," which is probably the first description of the pogrom wave in 1941, even if fictional.⁵⁵⁵ The Nazis also used pre-war Antisemitic prints. A Cracow press reprinted *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, with the preface of B. Rudzki, the pamphlets of Fr. Trzeciak, and several other anti-Jewish publicists.

Theoretically, one can assume that such a massive propaganda attack had to affect society, however, very little is known about its mechanisms and the extent and range of its impact on social attitudes. There was a number of motifs that the

554 Cf. W. Borodziej (1985), *Terror i polityka*, Warszawa; S. Piątkowski (2005), "O niektórych ekonomicznych aspektach postaw Polaków wobec zagłady Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim (1939–44)," Eds. J. Wijaczka, G. Miernik.

555 Cf. W. Wójcik (1988), *Prasa gazinowa Generalnego Gubernatorstwa 1939–45*, Kraków. See also L. Dobroszycki (1994), *Journalism*, New Haven–London; T. Głowiński (2000), *O nowy porządek europejski*, Wrocław.

German propaganda particularly explored, although not all of them were equally influential. The association of Jews with lice and infectious diseases did not strongly influence the imagination of Poles. It also seems that the Nazis rarely utilized traditional Christian superstitions. Admittedly, Himmler, in a letter to the Reich Main Security Office (19 May 1943), demanded an implementation of the investigations into ritual murders in places where the Jews “have not yet been evacuated” and argued: “It seems that we could greatly stimulate global Antisemitism with the help of Antisemitic propaganda in the English language, and perhaps even Russian, based on very strong propaganda of the ritual murders,” however, the order to stage court trials has not been implemented in any of the areas under Reich’s control.⁵⁵⁶ Just a single day prior to Himmler’s letter, an article published by the underground magazine *Nowy Dzień* (New Day), warned about a Polish language publication that propagated the superstition of desecrating the sacramental bread. The identification of Jews with Bolshevism, the implied responsibility for massacres and executions carried out in the territories occupied by the USSR and the accusation of carrying out the crime in Katyń proved more effective. It seems certain that, as a result of massive agitation, a conviction took hold in some social circles that the Jews are outlawed, that universal moral standards do not apply to them, and that their “persecution” by Germans is beneficial to the Poles. It must be noted that such beliefs developed in the context of the pre-war Antisemitism of Poland, with its acceptance of the exclusion of Jews from the community. Nazi propaganda strengthened such attitudes in an almost imperceptible way. The underground paid little attention to the spread of these attitudes facilitated by German propaganda, despite the fact that it reduced the morale of the population and therefore constituted a threat to the resistance.⁵⁵⁷

The political authorities of the underground state were a broad coalition where the right-wing and center directions constituted its core, while the socialist left was merely a margin, and the National Party was one of the strongest parties. Most of the groups within the coalition were still in favor of the project of mass Jewish emigration, which, in fact, meant removing them from the country. The Labor Party (*Stronnictwo Pracy*), a Christian Democratic faction, founded, among others, by Władysław Sikorski, proposed the expulsion of all young Jews who survived the Holocaust claiming that their religion “instills evil in them” and encourages “parasitism on the body of foreign nations.” The elderly were to remain, but deprived of citizenship, removed from offices, service in the army and the possibility of producing material and cultural goods outside their own environment. This was, therefore, a variant of the totalitarian right program championed under the banner of ONR.⁵⁵⁸ The mindset from the pre-war period prevailed in the underground elites, despite the

556 Qtd. after T. Berenstein, A. Eisenbach, A. Rutkowski (1957), *Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej*, Warszawa, pp. 329–330.

557 *Nowy Dzień*, No. 567, 18 V 1943. D. Libionka (2006), pp. 42–43.

558 J. Majchrowski (1984), *Geneza politycznych ugrupowań katolickich*, Paryż. Cf. A. Friszke (2000), p. 502. D. Libionka (2006), pp. 34–45.

fact that the émigré government-in-exile significantly modified its policy, allowing representatives of Jewish parties within their ranks and declaring full emancipation in the future. For a long time, however, it deferred the appeal for the Poles to aid Jews.⁵⁵⁹ This was largely due to the gist of the received reports, which contained generalizations unfavorable to the Jews (e.g., accusing them of treason, hostility toward Poles and pro-German sympathies, favoring communism, passivity, lack of fighting spirit, etc.) and opinions of the general dislike of the rest of Polish population toward them. In particular, a number of such reports from various parts of the country arrived at the Government Delegation for Poland between 1941 and 1943, that is to say, during a massive campaign to deport ghetto inhabitants to the death camps. Reports of the kind raised fear of losing authority in the Polish society, even though they were more a reflection of right-wing views than a reliable description of reality, as evidenced by completely different judgments of attitudes toward Jews in the leftist press, e.g., in the periodical *Wolność-Równość-Niepodległość* (Freedom-Equality-Independence) published by PPS. In September 1941, General Grot-Rowecki warned against the ill impression in the country that the pro-Jewish moves of the émigré government left, and somewhat over-emphasized the fact that the overwhelming majority of the country, including the socialists, was “Antisemitic.”⁵⁶⁰

The underground state considered itself as a representative of Poles exclusively, as evidenced by the lack of representation of minorities in the underground structure of power. In part, it was a continuation of the pre-war policy, fragmented into separate and conflicted national segments, and partly the effect of the occupation reality – the conspiracy was formed at the time when the Poles in the General Governorship were separated from other nationalities. The Jewish resistance movement was formed in the ghettos on the foundation of pre-war political parties. Social and professional ties between Polish and Jewish intelligentsia shrank due to the employment of such measures as the “Ghetto benches” or the “Aryan paragraph.” The task of rebuilding these relations proved difficult in the conditions of displacement and segregation in occupied Poland. In Warsaw, the Bund managed to maintain limited contacts with the PPS, and it was the activists of this party that paved the way for the Government Delegation. After establishing contacts with the Jewish Combat Organization (ŻOB) in the autumn of 1942, the leaders of the Polish underground did not recognize it as a partner in the fight, but merely as a “paramilitary organization,” which influenced the decisions on forms of cooperation.⁵⁶¹ Jews were not taken into account during the recruitment to secret armed groups.⁵⁶² The few who found themselves in them usually chose to

559 See also D. Stola (1995), pp. 198–207; Cf. D. Engel (1993), *Facing a Holocaust*, London.

560 J. Brzeski, A. Roliński (2001), *Archiwum Adama Bienia*, Kraków; D. Libionka (2006), p. 26, 33, 67–78

561 P. Matusak (1996), “Związek Walki Zbrojnej i Armia Krajowa w akcji pomocy Żydom,” Ed. K. Dunin-Wąsowicz.

562 D. Libionka (2006), pp. 107–113.

hide their identity. This was the case both in the structures of the Home Army (according to estimates, there were only about 1000 people of Jewish origin), as well as the Peasant Battalions, not to mention the more right-wing oriented formations. The denial was usually justified by the fear of communist infiltration, the assumed Jewish “passivity” and “lack of honor,” as well as by attributing cowardice to them according to the popular stereotype.⁵⁶³ At the brink of the Ghetto Uprising, Henryk Wolinski, the head of the Jewish Affairs Department at the Information and Propaganda Department of the Home Army Headquarters, when consulting with the commanders of the Warsaw Home Army districts, stated that he considered the recruitment of Jews to military units in the Warsaw area as “impossible.” One of the commanders agreed to incorporate them into “passive insurgent units,” used for auxiliary activities not related to combat.⁵⁶⁴ The telegram sent by Grot-Rowecki to London (December 1942) seems characteristic to the views held by the Home Army command regarding the rearmament of the Jewish Combat Organization:

Belatedly, Jews from various groups, including the Communists, come to us for weapons, as if we had full warehouses. As a test, I gave them a few pistols, but have no certainty if they will use them at all.

The opinion of the police counterintelligence representative in Warsaw, Lieutenant Bolesław Nanowski “Zadora” (11 February 1943) was even more heartless:

You cannot count on effective Jewish resistance, so it is useless to give them weapons. German losses will not compensate for the value of weapons, and the resistance of Polish Jews will not even deserve an honorable mention.⁵⁶⁵

The uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto was the first armed attack of an urban guerilla in occupied Europe and as such, contributed to overcoming the stereotype of the “cowardly” or “passive” Jew, though it did not change attitudes permanently. For a brief moment, Antisemitic clichés disappeared from the underground press, and the insurgents have finally been given the right to “honor.” The “Information Bulletin” (BiP, No. 17 of February 29, 1943), an opinion-forming body edited by the liberal milieu, empathetic toward Jews, has written: “Fighting citizens of the Polish State from behind the ghetto walls became closer, more understandable to the society of the capital than passive victims who without any resistance could be dragged to the slaughter.” It was a rare case when the Jews were called fellow citizens, although in the same sentence appeared a metaphor that referred to the slaughter of cattle.⁵⁶⁶ However, the moving appeal of

563 See A. Żbikowski (2006, red.), p. 464, ft. 111; A. Puławski (2003), *Postrzeganie żydowskich oddziałów partyzanckich przez Armię Krajową i Delegaturę Rządu na Kraj*, “Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość” No. 2 (4), p. 295.

564 P. Matusak (1996), p. 123. D. Libionka (2006), p. 74.

565 Quoted after D. Libionka (2006), p. 69.

566 D. Libionka (2006), p. 83.

the Jewish Combat Organization from April 23, 1943, published in three leftist journals distributed in a limited circle of readers, was not printed.⁵⁶⁷ The appeals of Jewish intellectuals, who, already in 1941, demanded the recognition of Jews as equal citizens, protection of the underground state and the punishment of collaborators, also fell on deaf ears.⁵⁶⁸ The National Security Corps considered the situation in the ghetto exclusively from the point of view of infiltrating the communists and reported some rather extravagant rumors. Unable to free itself from the myth of “Judeo-Communism,” it reported that with the liquidation of the ghetto, the “hotbed and the foundation of the revolutionary movement” is effectively removed from the city.⁵⁶⁹ After the fall of the uprising, there were cases of the Home Army fighting spontaneous Jewish partisan units, as part of the struggle for provisions or because they were identified with communism.⁵⁷⁰ Numerous field reports contained accusations of “banditry,” which Jewish troops were supposed to commit when scavenging for supplies. Before the Warsaw Uprising, in the spring of 1944, NSZ’s intelligence agency collaborating with the Government Delegation, published a list of alleged “communists, Jews and Masons” meant for “liquidation.” The list contained members of BiP and activists of “Żegota.”⁵⁷¹ During the Warsaw Uprising, some commanders dismissed Jewish volunteers (this happened to a group of ŻOB members), interned them, and there were also cases of death sentences on suspicion of espionage. The Jews freed from the prison at Gęsia Street were not allowed to fight, however, they did form a trench-digging brigade, just as the Home Army has postulated earlier. In the first days of the uprising, the Home Army shot Jerzy Grasberg, who was a link between the ghetto and the Polish underground, and a pupil of Aleksander Kamiński. The insurgents from the Home Army’s “General Sowiński” battalion, on September 11, 1944, murdered multiple Jews in hiding, including children and women (who had been raped before death).⁵⁷² Icchak Cukierman summarized bitterly:

567 D. Libionka (2006), p. 84.

568 Biuro Delegatury, Wydz. Spraw Wewnętrznych, raporty z terenu, 1940–42, Yad Vashem Arch., 02-25/202/II-II; Quoted after J. Michlic (2006), p. 156.

569 D. Libionka (2006), p. 86.

570 See D. Libionka, 2006, pp. 102–121, 460–461, 464–465, footnote 116. Idem (2004), “Polska ludność chrześcijańska wobec eksterminacji Żydów – dystrykt lubelski,” ed. D. Libionka, *Akcja Reinhardt*, Warszawa, pp. 306–333; A. Puławski (2003), *AŻIH*, Kolekcja B. Marka, S/333, 317. Also see M. Grynberg, M. Kotowska (2003), *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–45*.

571 D. Libionka (2006), pp. 136–137. Also see E. Janicka (2006), *Sztuka czy naród?*, Kraków.

572 M. Cichy, “Polacy-Żydzi. Czarne karty Powstania,” *Gazeta Wyborcza*, No. 24, 29–30 I 1994.

AK was not an aid organization; it was a military organization. And, as such, it did not need us either in the fighting ghetto or in the Aryan part of Warsaw. We were also unnecessary in guerrilla operations; as Jews, we were unnecessary everywhere.⁵⁷³

The commander of Home Army's Białystok District Colonel Władysław Liniarski, in a report sent to the government-in-exile in December 1943, wrote, almost enthusiastically, about the annihilation of Jews:

Today, the population ponders the development of craftsmanship with joy, especially the possibility of placing their children in craftsmanship in the future reborn Poland and compares the state of slavery to the Jews in this respect as a nightmare gone forever. The lack of Jews in the craft ... is a real boon and Divine Grace for the Polish population, and is loudly expressed as such. The same hopes are placed on the people in trade already dominated by Poles today.

Earlier, in July 1943, he issued an order to subordinate units "to liquidate" Jews hiding in the forests, which he described as "communist-Jewish gangs."⁵⁷⁴ From the Polish-Czech borderline, an anonymous informant reported and warned:

The very fact of ... removing the Jewish element from the area has been positively received by the Polish population. Poles are aware that under the influence of general moods in the Anglo-Saxon world, the Polish government will make certain concessions to the Jews. In particular, the population is afraid of immigration of Jews to Poland and the restoration of their lost social, political and, economic position.⁵⁷⁵

Activist of the People's Party, Zygmunt Załęski, in the underground publication *Nowy wspólny dom*, published in 1944 by the Department of Agriculture of the Government Delegacy, considered the "disappearance" of Jews as a positive fact, specifying:

[The Jews] in our land, grew up among us, yet they were strangers. They owned a large share of the national estate, took a lot of prominent places in our economic life, but they were not part of Poland, which draws its strength and the ability to revive from the love and sacrifice of its sons. For they were not capable, apart from a few exceptions, neither of love nor sacrifice. The historical fate brought them to an end, and the vast majority perished. The enormous number of Jews in Poland left only vacant places in life to be occupied by others, and so, these places will have to be taken.⁵⁷⁶

573 I. Cukierman (i 1993), *A Surplus of Memory. Chronicle of the Ghetto Uprising*, Berkeley, p. 261. Cf. Z. Gluza (2004), "Zapaść dwojga narodów," ed. K. Jasiewicz, p. 858.

574 Quoted after D. Libionka (2006), pp. 116, 131–132.

575 *AŻIH*, Kolekcja Bernarda Marka, S/333, 54; Also see D. Libionka, (2006), p. 131–132.

576 *AŻIH*, varia okupacyjne, 230/150, 55–56; Also see D. Libionka (2006), p. 133. Cf. S. Piątkowski (2005).

Apart from the last sentence, this whole statement was almost a literal repetition of Antisemitic stereotypes, reproduced before the war in the national and clerical press. Let us note the euphemisms used by the authors quoted: Jews were “removed,” and the Nazis became not the perpetrators, but rather a vehicle of “historic destiny.” The murdered were denied their right to sacrifice, yet they were the ones who ultimately suffered the greatest sacrifice of all. Stripped of the privilege to fight the common fight against the occupant, the Jews were accused of lack of “love” for their homeland. Their strangeness was emphasized, excluding them from society. Even *viler* seems to be the pointing out of the benefits one could achieve from the Holocaust. In such a way wrote activists who occupied important positions in the underground state. They were rightly criticized by an anonymous author of BiP origin, who albeit was not entirely free from Antisemitic clichés himself:

The opinion management usually did not stand up to the task at this point. After all, it was clear that having an Anglo-Saxon society as an ally cannot be compromised by the manifestation of Antisemitism and lack of culture.... [Instead of] manifesting compassion for the exterminated Jews, we would advertise all our help ... to the whole world under the pressure of a smug-hooligans mindless opinion. We were reluctant of every word of compassion for the Jews ... we concealed the acts of help and limited them shamefully.⁵⁷⁷

Thanks to the latest studies by the above-mentioned historians, we already know a lot about the ambivalent attitudes of a large part of the elite of the underground state toward Jews and the problems associated with saving them from extermination. Certainly, they can be accused of the “sin of omission.” Whether they can also be accused of a lack of good will (and the extent of it) that stemmed from the continuation of pre-war Antisemitic convictions, as exemplified in many field reports and written orders, remains debatable. It is hardly a coincidence that the most evidence of empathy and genuine aid was provided (in proportion to their size) by left-wing groups who stood against Antisemitism before the war.

Much less is known about the attitudes of the various elements of Polish society. Conspiratorial reports are in this respect arbitrary and not always reliable. During the Nazi occupation, the attitude toward the Jews was subject to characteristic fluctuations: from the “fraternisation” in the face of Germany’s attack on Poland in 1939 (Ringelblum, 1958), through the mostly passive (compassionate or not) observation of the Holocaust, to the rise of Antisemitic moods at the end of the war. In regard to the more educated layer of society, the shifts in tone and attitude can be traced by studying extracts from the underground press in the work of Paweł Szapiro (1992), although it concerns a relatively short period: from the outbreak of

577 Delegatura Rządu (wiosna 1944), “Anonimowe opracowanie kwestii żydowskiej, przekazane do archiwum Rady Narodowościowej „Zgody,” J. Brzeski, A. Roliński (2001), pp. 518–523.

the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising up to autumn 1944. Zofia Kossak-Szczucka in the brochure *Dzisiejsze oblicze wsi* (The Image of the Countryside Today; 1942) provided similar observations in reference to the rural environment. These shifts in attitude most likely reflected the influence of Antisemitic propaganda of the Nazis, though other factors, of economic (the benefits of the appropriation of Jewish wealth) or psychological (traumatic) nature, cannot be overlooked. The latter stemmed from the trivialization of observed atrocities and constant fear for their and their loved ones' lives. The Germans created a system of segregation and later, mass murder, which the Poles could not remedy. After the deportations to the death camps and the liquidation of ghettos, around 200,000 Jews went into hiding in the General Government. Their survival would not be possible without the help of the Poles, who were drawn into a perfidious mechanism engineered by the Germans, which obliged the villagers to seize the Jews in hiding. In the macabre and twisted occupational reality the mundane, decent behaviors were punished, while cruelty was rewarded. Already in the past, however, since the birth of Antisemitic agitation, one can observe the beginnings of a re-evaluation of the moral system, for example with the justification of violence or the mocking of its victims. The peasants – who brought empty wagons to loot the property remaining after the deportees – acted out of greed triggered by the Nazis, but at the same time repeated the pattern of behavior that appeared during some of the pogroms of 1935–1937. Were it not for these excesses, feeding on the misfortune of others might have been considered more shameful. Those who caught the Jews hiding in the woods, escapees from the death camp transports, or those who murdered the escaped prisoners of Sobibór acted in accordance with the Nazi law that they had to assimilate and accept.⁵⁷⁸ This internalization process would probably have unfolded slower if they had not been bombarded with Antisemitism by the nationalists and the Church before the war. Moreover, the intrusive Nazi agitation was not effectively combated but only further strengthened by hate speech, which has not completely disappeared from church sermons or the columns of some underground newspapers.

At the end of 1942, relatively later, the underground state joined the initiative of an organized effort to save Jews, taking “Żegota” under its patronage. The cooperation did not go smoothly. The Delegation, afraid of the leftist influence, skimmed on funds and was more interested in political supervision than efficient aid organization. Both before and after, the Jews tried to save themselves, which proved difficult without the aid of the Poles.⁵⁷⁹ Relatively few have mustered such

578 A. Żbikowski (2006), ed. A. Żbikowski, pp. 473–478; Cf. A. Żbikowski (2004), “Krótka historia stosunków polsko-żydowskich we wsi Grądy Woniecko w r. 1942,” ed. K. Jasiewicz, pp. 744–757. Also see J. Grabowski (2011), *Żudenjagd. Polowanie na Żydów 1942–45*, Warszawa; B. Engelking (2011), *Jest taki piękny, słoneczny dzień*, Warszawa.

579 See T. Prekerowa (1979), “Komórki ‘Felicji,’” *Rocznik Warszawski*, Vol. XX. Cf. G. S. Paulsson (1998), *Hiding in Warszawa*, Oxford.

heroism.⁵⁸⁰ Because of the intensity of anti-Jewish agitation in the pre-war Church, some may have had dilemmas about whether such actions are morally correct.⁵⁸¹ To carry out such a feat did not always come down to attitudes or moral stance. Many were simply afraid; others had few means to act. At the beginning of the occupation, it was easier to get support, not only for Jews but also for conspirators and other endangered people in hiding. When the war was prolonged, and there was less and less hope – it was harder to receive decisive help. It was always easier to take action that did not entail full responsibility for the fate of the persecuted, so more often, for example, food was shared with those who were hiding, or those who had escaped ghettos in order to gain access to it rather than being sheltered for the night or accommodated for a longer time. It was even more precarious because the latter brought danger to the whole family or even the entire village. The danger was usually brought on by prying neighbors – indiscreet or eager to denounce. Germans could not distinguish Jews as the locals did: via subtle differences in appearance, expression of the eyes, gestures, and forms of articulation even of those who spoke fluent Polish.⁵⁸²

The decision to provide help to the Jews often was due to the lack of Antisemitic prejudices. This dependence, however, was not inherent, just as there is no evidence of a direct correlation between Antisemitic views and pathological behaviors, such as denunciations, blackmail, assassinations or other forms of facilitating the Holocaust. The perfidy of the situation lay in the fact that Antisemites who dreamed of the “disappearance of the Semites” did not have to take any direct action, but only demonstrate opportunism, at the same time maintaining a clear conscience. Fortunately, there were also those whose actions contradicted their views. A Catholic writer Jan Dobraczyński got involved in the aid campaign, organized since 1940 by Irena Sendler, Izabela Kuczkowska, Wanda Drozdowska and Jadwiga Piotrowska. The fact that he actively took part in the Antisemitic campaign of 1968 could be interpreted as cohesiveness of worldview, however, in his memoirs, he clearly cut off from pre-war Antisemitism.⁵⁸³ The ONR-Falanga activist Witold Rościszewski, or Fr. Marcei Godlewski, a sympathizer of National Democracy, did not leave such testimonies, so it is difficult to ascertain their motives to aid the Jews. The examples cited here cannot obscure the fact that persecuted people could more often count on the help of leftist circles.⁵⁸⁴ However, it was not Irena Sendler

580 W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna, eds. (1969), *Righteous among the Nation. How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945*, London.

581 See J. Leociak (2007), “Wizerunek Polaków w zapiskach Żydów z dystryktu warszawskiego,” eds. B. Engelking, J. Leociak, D. Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, Warszawa.

582 See M. Urynowicz (2006), “Zorganizowana i indywidualna pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej eksterminowanej przez okupanta niemieckiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej,” ed. A. Żbikowski.

583 J. Dobraczyński (1970), *Tylko w jednym życiu*, Warszawa, p. 213.

584 See P. Matusak (1996); I. Gutman (1993), *Żydzi Warszawscy 1939–45*, Warszawa; D. Libionka (2006), pp. 80–82.

(a sympathizer of the left) who became the icon of “Righteous Among the Nations,” but Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, founder of the Żegota and the author of the appeal calling for rescuing those sentenced to extermination. The contents of the appeal proved to be very distinctive, written by Kossak-Szczucka on behalf of the Catholic group Front Odrodzenia Polski (Front for the Rebirth of Poland). Admittedly, her plea was quickly recognized, both in the country and in London, as the official document of the whole underground, but the version published by the government-in-exile was deprived of the most drastic fragments of Antisemitic rhetoric put there by the author. This contradiction between hateful opinions and righteous deeds also characterized Kossak-Szczucka before the war, when she protested against the “Aryan paragraphs.”

In her works written during the occupation, Kossak-Szczucka very strongly condemned manifestations of collaboration and demoralization, pointing out some of her compatriots as servile toward the occupiers, taking advantage of, or directly supporting, the Holocaust. She protested against the anti-Jewish riots in Warsaw in 1940 and was the only one to describe the wave of bloody pogroms in the areas conquered by the Nazis in 1941. Her concerns were of a “Polonocentric” nature, as the author drew attention to the moral condition of her own nation, and thus could reconcile her criticism with Antisemitic prejudices. In the Catholic magazine *Prawda Młodych* (*The Youth’s Truth*), an organ of the Front for the Rebirth of Poland, Zofia Kossak wrote in a reaction to the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto:

Jews have been parasites on the body of European nations, commonly hated and despised. They fought against everyone, but only with deception, never openly, never with arms in their hands. They were the driving force behind three-quarters of the wars waged in Europe by individual nations, but they were diligent to blur the traces of their influence. Ostensibly, they did not take part in anything. The Jewish cowardice became proverbial. They have lost human dignity.⁵⁸⁵

And further:

It is our duty to help the persecuted Jews without caring for how they would repay us ... At the same time, we need to provide them with spiritual help. Prayers for the dying, making them aware that the present suffering can become a great sacrificial pile, accelerating their rebirth and removing the curse from the people who were once the chosen nation. It is important to teach Jews that they can be saved in the face of death by craving for baptism and true faith.

585 *Prawda Młodych*, April-May 1943. The journal’s editors were Władysław Bartoszewskiego and Zofia Kossak-Szczucką. Qtd. after P. Szapiro (1992), pp. 218–219. Cf. similar statements in other FOP papers, quoted by P. Szapiro on pp. 270 (doc. 290), 272 (doc. 292), 379 (doc. 415); See also C. Tonini (b.d.w.), *Czas nienawiści i czas troski*, Warszawa.

Behind the call to prayer and the admonishing of the murdered (which may be shocking for today's reader) that "they can be saved ... if they desire baptism," there was also a sense of helplessness and pity. It seems, however, that the author was unable to feel genuine empathy with the victims. Perhaps similar, contradictory feelings were hidden behind the cruel jokes made during the time when the Warsaw ghetto was burning (e.g., some used to say that "they are frying steaks from the Jews").⁵⁸⁶ These jokes were probably the expression of a defensive reaction, but they certainly fostered passive or approving attitudes toward the extermination.

Among the themes which still await a comprehensive study is the history of the Catholic Church in Poland during the occupation. Most of the hitherto works have focused on the heroic attitudes of the clergy. However, it is well-known, even from the survivors' accounts, that clerical circles in Poland were not entirely free from instances of shameful behavior (as an example, one may point to the conduct of the Jedwabne priest, Józef Kęblirski). A few other examples can be found in the Catholic journal *Prawda* (Truth). In 1942, Kossak-Szczucka condemned a priest who gave out a Jewess into the hands of Germans.⁵⁸⁷

It is necessary to emphasize the difficulties in which the Church institution found itself. Primate August Hlond (1881–1948) left the country in September 1939 and spent the war years in exile. The German and Soviet occupiers cut off all contacts between the Polish hierarchs and the Vatican. They also hindered or precluded cooperation between dioceses and liquidated numerous orders and convents. A vast number of Polish priests and monks from the territories incorporated into the Reich suffered expulsion. Many clergymen were arrested, sent to concentration or labor camps, or murdered. To be sure, in the General Government the structure of Church institutions was not destroyed (parishes and dioceses still existed and, despite the repressions, there were also numerous monasteries). Nonetheless, Catholicism found itself in a situation which made it very difficult for its hierarchs to arrive at a unanimous position. As the Polish Church Report to the London government for June and the half of July 1941 reads, the Episcopate rejected the German proposal to hold "regency not only in the realm of spirit but also in the civic-public sphere."⁵⁸⁸

586 Such ruthless jokes, not necessarily about the Jews, also circulated among prisoners in concentration camps. It is doubtless that they served a defensive function. After the war, they were called "laughing at one's own corps." Józef M. Borwicz and N. Blumental, among others, wrote about the sense of humor among Jewish prisoners of labor camps; See J. M. Borwicz (1946), *Uniwersytet zbirów*, Kraków, and N. Blumental (1947), *Niewinne słowa*, Warszawa–Łódź–Kraków, Vols. 1–2.

587 A. Żbikowski (2006, red.), s. 497; E. Ringelblum (1992); R. Hilberg, S. Traron, J. Kermisz (1999), *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*, Washington.

588 T. Szarota (2004), "Sprawozdanie kościelne z Polski za czerwiec i połowę lipca 1941 roku," ed. J. Warzecha, *Słowo pojednania*, Warszawa. See also D. Libionka (2000), "Kościół w Polsce wobec Zagłady w świetle polskiej publicystyki i historiografii," *BŻIH*, No. 195; D. Libionka (2002), "Duchowieństwo diecezji łomżyńskiej wobec

The Archbishop of Cracow, Adam Stefan Sapieha, along with the President of the Central Welfare Council, Adam Ronikier, sought unsuccessfully to influence several representatives of the Nazi administration to alleviate the repressions against Polish citizens (including baptized Jews). It was presumably due to the pressure exerted by Germany that in 1941 the bishops of Sandomierz, Kielce, and Częstochowa called the faithful to obey the orders of the occupying authorities. The Bishop of Kielce, Czesław Kaczmarek, even went on to recommend all Catholics to avoid conspiracy, while the Bishop of Siedlce, Czesław Sokółowski, asked his priests to inform him of any instances of resistance. He displayed such a degree of opportunism that the underground state authorities emphatically condemned his actions. During the Holocaust, the Polish Church was forced to remain silent, but a significant number of priests performed hasty baptisms or issued false certificates of receiving this sacrament. This was a clear change compared to the pre-war times, when the clergy displayed a very suspicious attitude toward candidates for converts, imposing on them the requirement of a thorough catechization and numerous other restrictions. However, there were hierarchs who disagreed with such developments: for example, in his letter to the clergy from July 23, 1940, the Archbishop of Warsaw, Stanisław Gall (1865–1942), demanded a six months term of catechization prior to receiving baptism.⁵⁸⁹ This position met with the opposition of the Bishop of Łódź, Kazimierz Tomczak (1883–1967), who in September 1939 recommended simplifying the procedure. In practice, everything depended on the decision of parish priests, especially after the autumn of 1942 when the Nazis prohibited the baptizing of Jews.

Priests from the All Saints' Church located in the Warsaw Ghetto took care of the converts, conducted charitable activities, donated food and clothes, provided false baptism certificates, organized their escapes and facilitated their contacts with the Polish resistance movement. It is especially worth to mention the commitment of priest Waclaw Szelenbaum (born 1907), who was executed by a Nazi firing squad in August 1944, at the beginning of the Warsaw Uprising. Many monastery orphanages hid Jewish children. The sisters of the Family of Mary saved 500 children and 250 adults. In turn, the sisters from the Benedictine order in the Vilnius Colony not only hid Jews but also helped smuggling weapons to the Vilnius Ghetto. According to present estimations, nearly 800 clerics were involved in helping Jews in around 400 localities. Even the Marian Fathers of Warsaw, who before the war supported an extremely aggressive Antisemitic paper *Pro Christo*, helped hiding

antysemityzmu i zagłady Żydów,” eds. P. Machcewicz, K. Persak, *Wokół Jedwabnego*, Warszawa, Vol. 1.

589 After the visit of a Jewish delegation, Bp. Stanisław Gall called his priests to condemn the anti-Jewish riots which broke out during the Easter weekend of 1940 in Warsaw. See M. Urynowicz (2006), ed. A. Żbikowski, pp. 554, 641–642.

several Jewish boys in their facilities in Bielany.⁵⁹⁰ In these circumstances, when such help was punished with death, their deeds exhibited striking marks of heroism. Perhaps, they thereby pursued missionary goals, hoping to educate the children in the Catholic faith. Otherwise, it would be hard to explain the sharp contradiction between these actions, which often involved risking one's life, and the common practice of preaching Antisemitic sermons to the hidden Jewish children.

8.2. The Aftermath of Nazism: Antisemitism in the Post-War Years

Hitlerism had discredited Antisemitism, at least in its overt version, to the point that politicians could hardly profit by it. Yet this does not mean that the phenomenon of Antisemitism has utterly disappeared after the Second World War. It manifested itself through social attitudes, religiosity, ideologies, and as a tool of socio-techniques applied in politics, especially in socialist countries. Usually, however, those who invoked it rejected the label "Antisemite," which was used with pride before the war. They also denied the existence of this phenomenon in the past. For the first time, this line of argument was applied in the last months of occupation in an underground newspaper of the National Party:

There was a Jewish question in Poland, but there was no Antisemitism in this form that everyone keeps talking about. The Jewish question in Poland was a matter of numbers, not a matter of hatred.⁵⁹¹

As Stanisław Grabski emphasized in 1946, downplaying the problem and bending facts his theories:

The stream of Polish Antisemitism was narrow and manifested itself in words rather than deeds. ... In the last few years before the war, apart from a few really tragic events, the worst Antisemitic incidents were boycotts of Jewish shops and bench ghettos in the universities.⁵⁹²

Such an idealized picture has been reproduced until recent times, also in school textbooks and political propaganda. Anti-Jewish ideologues have sought to perpetuate this picture by defining Antisemitism as limited to physical violence, or at most, incitement to it. At the same time, they considered verbal aggression, slanders, generalizations, and prejudices as an innocent expression of "justified criticism."

590 Ks. F. Stopniak (1996), "Katolickie duchowieństwo w Polsce i Żydzi w okresie niemieckiej okupacji," ed. K. Dunin-Wąsowicz. See also E. Kurek-Lesik (1992), *Gdy klasztor znaczył życie*, Kraków.

591 A conspiracy organ of the National Party, *Sprawy Narodu*, Feb./May 1944, No. 8–9. Qtd. after P. Szapiro (1992), p. 400.

592 St. Grabski (1946), "Groźna przestroga," *Tygodnik Warszawski*, No. 33.

The wave of anti-Jewish hostilities which broke out immediately after the war still remains a mysterious and little-studied phenomenon. It is impossible to explain these events by referring merely to wartime demoralization or the influence of Hitler's propaganda. In the mid-1940s, different Western European countries and the United States saw a significant increase in Antisemitic attitudes. In 1947, 70 % of the Western Germany occupation zone population declared aversion toward Jews, probably more than at the time of the Third Reich.⁵⁹³ The mistreatment of Jewish refugees in the DP camps by General Patton's army was so fierce that it required the President of the United States to intervene on behalf of Jewish organizations.⁵⁹⁴

To be sure, Poland was not the only country to witness an outbreak of pogroms after the Second World War. Similar incidents took place in Hungary, Ukraine, Slovakia, and Romania.⁵⁹⁵ In Poland, however, the intensity of violence was incomparably higher than elsewhere – in the summer months of 1945, Jewish organizations recorded 100 incidents in the eastern and central parts of the country; throughout the year, 353 Jews were killed, with the highest number of victims in Kielce, Białystok, and Rzeszów voivodships.⁵⁹⁶ A report of the Ministry of Public Security lists 108 killed and nine wounded victims between March and August of 1945, and around 300 before April 1946.⁵⁹⁷ According to different estimates, until 1947, more than 600, around 1,000, or 3,000 people of Jewish origins lost their lives.

593 It was only the shock after the Holocaust that motivated scholars to conduct both theoretical considerations and quantitative research of attitudes toward Jews. An early exception was the survey by Michael Müller-Claudius, a Berlin-based South American diplomat of German origins. Müller-Claudius showed that in November 1938, after the "crystal night," 63 % of NSDAP members condemned anti-Jewish violence, while only 5 % approved of such methods; and 32 % abstained from expressing their opinion. In 1942, the approval rate was the same and 21 % were against, but as many as 74 % were afraid to reveal their opinion. It is difficult, however, to draw any conclusions from it, since the survey embraced (respectively) 41 and 65 high-rank members of the party. See. V. Morais (1976), p. 210; see Istvan Deak 2001), *Essays on Hitler's Europe*, London, p. 11.

594 The diary of General George Patton (1885–1945) contains a critical remark on this White House intervention, with the phrase "they're like animals" which the author used in reference to Jews. A copy of the diary manuscript can be found in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.

595 In 1945–1946, two pogroms broke out in Slovakia and Hungary. Devastation of synagogues took place in Romania and England. See N. Aleksiuń-Mądrzak (1997), "Sytuacja Żydów w Europie Wschodniej w latach 1945–47 w świetle raportów przedstawicieli dyplomatycznych Wielkiej Brytanii," *BŻIH*, No. 181.

596 A. Grabski (2002), *Żydowski ruch kombatancki w Polsce 1944–49*, Warszawa. See also A. Cichopek (2000), *Pogrom Żydów w Krakowie 11 sierpnia 1945 r.*, Warszawa, pp. 34–52.

597 AAN, MAP, 786, Qtd. after A. Cichopek (2000), pp. 37–38.

The first figure – which appears in David Engel’s estimate⁵⁹⁸ based on the documentation of the Central Committee of Polish Jews and the testimonies collected in the Yad Vashem Archive – is underestimated. In turn, the last figure – given by Israel Gutman⁵⁹⁹ – is overestimated. The middle figure – over 900 murders in 1944–1946 – is my own estimate based on a query in AŻIH, AAN, BŻAP, information obtained during field research, and studies of the sources collected in the archives of Cracow, Radom, and Kielce voivodships and several regional branches of the Institute of National Remembrance.

A large number of murders was perpetrated by the armed anti-Communist underground. In 1945–1946, Józef Kuraś’s (alias “Fire”) units carried out killings of Jews in Podhale (eight victims in Czorsztyn, five in Nowy Sącz, and twelve in Krościenko).⁶⁰⁰ The same troops were responsible for the three armed attacks between August 12 and 28, 1945 on a Rabka convalescent home which provided treatment for Jewish orphans suffering from tuberculosis. The National Armed Forces (NSZ) guerrilla in Eastern Poland committed several acts of anti-Jewish violence, including assaults on trains with repatriates from Russia (1945–1946), ruthless tortures, and shootings. Over 200 people died in these raids⁶⁰¹. On February 5th, 1946, the Freedom and Independence (WiN) troops of the Włodawa District perpetrated a pogrom in Parczew, murdering three people. On February 10 (or 17), 1945, the Huzar’s group and the National Armed Forces unit “Zemsta” (“Revenge”) slaughtered twelve Jews and four Poles. Finally, on March 24, 1945, “Zemsta,” along with Żbik’s group, killed ten Jews in Czyżew. *Register of Executions in the District 5 of the Home Army* contains the following cold descriptions:

17 Feb. 1945: Five Jewish men and two Jewish women were liquidated in Sokolów. The commander of the patrol was ordered to liquidate four Jews who were NKVD spies. When the patrol entered, they tried to defend themselves with axes, so all Jews who did not manage to escape were killed. There were around twenty Jews. A meeting was held there.... / 24 Nov. 1945: the following spies were liquidated in Czyżew: one Jewish

598 “Patterns of Anti-Jewish Violence in Poland 1944–46,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, 1998, Vol. 26.

599 *Ha-jehudim be-Polin acharej milchamat ha-olam ha-sznija*, Jerushalaim 1985.

600 AŻIH, CKŻP, the Special Commission, 303/XVIII, 122. See A. Cała, H. Datner-Śpiewak (1997), Warszawa pp. 44–45 J. Boyarin, J. Kugelmass (1983), *From a Ruined Garden*, pp. 218–220.

601 J. Adelson (1993), “W Polsce zwanej Ludową,” J. Tomaszewski, *Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce*, Warszawa, p. 393; I. Irwin-Zarecka (1988), *Neutralizing Memory*, New Brunswick; A. Grabski (2000), “Sytuacja Żydów w Polsce w latach 1950–1957,” *BŻIH* No. 196; A. Cała (1998), “Mniejszość żydowska,” *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce*, ed. P. Madajczyk, Warszawa; F. Tych (1999), *Długi cień zagłady*, Warszawa; J. T. Gross (2006), *Fear. Antisemitism in Poland sfter Auschwitz*, Princeton.

men, eight Jewish women, and a Soviet lieutenant, who tried to defend them. The Bolshevik fired several shots to alert the Jews, and some of them escaped.⁶⁰²

The Situational Report of the Home Army's Białystok District Command contained a similar generalization based on the Antisemitic stereotype of the "Judeo-Commune":

Report of the Commander of the Wysokie Mazowieckie region: Jews allegedly keep away from everything, but they actually are NKVD informers. They denounce everyone who has any goods previously owned by Jews.⁶⁰³

The last sentence accidentally uncovers the truth behind the killings which often had purely criminal motives based on the traditional association of Jews with wealth present in the folk culture. The Jews returning from camps or hideouts hardly "owned" anything apart from their own clothes, so the fact that they were so easily selected as victims of the assaults reveals a close link between robbery and Antisemitic motives, which in fact was a continuation of the Nazi status quo, according to which the Jews were not "killed" but "liquidated."

Apart from the assassinations, post-war Poland was troubled by spontaneous anti-Jewish riots. The first such incident broke out in Rzeszów on June 14 and 15, 1945. It was only due to the swift reaction of the authorities, which evacuated all Jews from the town, that bloodshed was prevented. As a result of the riots, two people lost their lives in Cracow on August 11.⁶⁰⁴ A few days later, on August 14, an angry crowd in Chełm was robbing and beating Jews for more than six hours. The violence culminated in the murderous riots in Kielce on July 4, 1946, with over forty-two dead and forty severely beaten victims (including two pregnant women, a nurse who tried to help the victims, three young people aged fourteen to seventeen, two small children, and an infant).⁶⁰⁵ Nine people were shot, and two died of bayonet wounds – others were beaten to death with crowbars, stones, and sticks. The extreme violence quickly spread to the surrounding towns, where people with

602 *Register of Executions in the District 5 of the Home Army* (record 101, 111), Arch. IPN, MBP, AK, 574, Białystok, book 16, 34. Qtd. after A. Żbikowski (2006), p. 254.

603 Situation Report No. 11 KO, AK, Białystok, 5 Jan. 1945. Qtd. after A. Żbikowski (2006), p. 365. Also see R. Wnuk (2001), *Problem bandytyzmu wśród żołnierzy antykomunistycznego podziemia w Polsce, 1945–47*, in: T. Szarota (red.), *Komunizm*, Warszawa, s. 76–77.

604 J. Kwiek (2000), "Wydarzenia antyżydowskie 11 VIII 1945 r. w Krakowie," *BŻIH*, No. 193; A. Cichopek (2000).

605 B. Szaynok (1992), *Pogrom Żydów w Kielcach 4 VII 1946*, Warszawa. See also S. Meducki, Z. Wrona (1992), *Antyżydowskie wydarzenia kieleckie 4 lipca 1946 r.*, Kielce. The number of victims who died later as a result of wounds was unknown (the wounded victims were taken to hospitals in other towns and cities). See: J. Tokarska-Bakir (2018), *Pod kłatwą. Społeczny portret pogromu kieleckiego*, Warszawa, vol. 1-2.

a “Jewish appearance” were pulled out from trains. One of the witnesses described a horrific scene of killing a man at a railway station in Kielce:

A Jew looking for rescue was bleeding heavily from his head and suddenly collapsed... The bandits dragged him a few steps away and [at] that moment a third person approached, took a heavy brake shoe, kneeled down, and started to methodically crush the victim’s head. Apparently, he felt something wet on his face, as he mechanically wiped his face, licking his lips at the same time. It was a hideous sight which I will never forget.⁶⁰⁶

The hostile atmosphere surrounding the Holocaust survivors was also related to the letter and telephone threats received by employees of local departments of the Central Committee of Polish Jews. In May 1945, the Municipal Jewish Committee in Warsaw obtained an anonymous letter signed by the National Armed Forces, which called for the “liquidation of the Jewish-Bolshevik committee.”⁶⁰⁷ In March 1946, the Lublin Committee reported:

Every now and then some unknown individuals call us and demand closing the Committee so that all Jews will leave Lublin within a week; otherwise we will have trouble.⁶⁰⁸

Leaflets threatening with death “unless you leave our land” appeared in many places where Jews tried to settle. For this reason, in April 1945, all Rejowiec citizens who survived Holocaust decided to leave the town, fearing for their lives. The same happened in Jodłowa (Dębica powiat) on August 3, 1945 when participants of a People’s Party rally demanded to banish all twenty-two Jewish inhabitants of the village. Another leaflet warned:

We found that the Jews massively work in intelligence for the current government which has been brutally imposed on us. Thus, they act to the detriment of the Polish Society. Expressing the voice of the Polish Society, I recommend all jews to leave the Radom powiat and the town of Radom by August 15, 1945. I warn you that exceeding the deadline or asking the government for help will be ruthlessly punished.⁶⁰⁹

606 AŻIH, 33/19, Pogrom. A testimony recorded on 16 March 1984. Cf. I. Gerstman (1996), *Zajścia w Kielcach*, BŻIH, No. 180.

607 W. N. Żelazo, Baym anhojb fun yidisher gezeshaflehn lebn. Der ershter varshaver yidisher komitet (undated manuscript.), AŻIH, CKŻP, 303/II.

608 Memorandum Regarding the Safety of Life and Wealth of the Lublin Jewry (from the Committee of Polish Jews in Lublin to the Lublin Voivode and the Lublin Diocese), AŻIH, CKŻP, 303/I, 140.

609 State Archive in Radom, Okręgowy Komitet Żydowski, Vol. 5, p. 11. Qtd. after A. Penkalla (1996), “Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w Radomiu,” *BŻIH*, No. 175/178, p. 63.

In Przemyśl, threats were sent by mail:

We warn you that you belong to the group which we liquidate. If you do not want to share the fate of other Jews of the city, we suggest that you pay as a ransom for your peace and security a sum of PLN 5,000. This amount is a trifle for you; you can get it without effort and thereby save your life. And we would spare ourselves unnecessary work.⁶¹⁰

In Kraśnik, at the turn of 1945 and 1946, a handwritten leaflet was posted in a public location. The author was probably a proponent of the nationalist camp:

Polish nation! Here is a monster in the form of Jewry, a monster which leads an insidious fight against Poland. They first attacked our intelligentsia in order to destroy the rest of the nation. By destroying the enlightened people, the Jews deprive the nation of its most vital forces which are necessary to rebuild our destroyed country. They want to capture the blind Polish masses in the bonds of slavery, force them with a whip to work, and send them to penal camps. The first victim of Jewry was the mayor ... who just wanted the welfare of the citizens of Kraśnik and therefore did not let any Jews into the town. However, these cruel people made sure that the good citizen is now rotting in the mines of Siberia. And you will all perish alike if you will not strike a counterblow. Death to the assassins of the clergy, peasants, merchants, and other good sons of the Motherland!!! Attack them with grenades!!! Death to the poodles, warts, and scoundrels!⁶¹¹

The disturbed sense of security resulted in a tendency among Jews to concentrate in larger cities and the western lands of Poland (which belonged to Germany before the war). In 1945, the number of towns and villages inhabited by Jews decreased by half, and the major centers of Jewish population became Łódź and Wrocław, as well as other cities of Lower Silesia, although the local authorities did not favor the mass settlement of Jews in these areas.⁶¹² The state and administration officials often mistreated Jewish applicants. As representatives of the Jewish Committee in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski complained, “until recently, the officials have insisted that

610 A leaflet signed: “Undergr. Organization.” Similar letters with a demand for ransom or departure from Przemyśl were received by other Jewish residents, which caused their panic and forced them to change their place of residence (AŻIH, CKŻP, Wyzd. Org., 303/II, 98). See also BŻAP, No. 60/70, 13 Aug. 1945.

611 State Archive in Lublin, leaflets issued after the liberation, 122, book 8 (in this briefcase – a comprehensive collection of other anti-Jewish leaflets from 1945–1946). The mentioned mayor (whose name was omitted in the quotation) was indeed arrested for banning the survivors to settle in Kraśnik. Contrary to what the text suggests, however, he was never deported to Siberia. The epithets “poodles” and “warts” come from Stefan Wiechecki’s (“Wiech”) pre-war columns. The author used these terms to designate Jews in his own “Warsaw dialect.”

612 The information about the voivodes’ position – AŻIH, CKŻP, Protocols of the Presidium (303/I), as well as single documents, e.g., e.g., CKŻP, 303/II, 78. See also: B. Szaynok (2000), *Ludność żydowska na Dolnym Śląsku 1945–50*, Wrocław.

it is German laws that apply to Jews.” Members of Jewish organizations operating in other towns of the Świętokrzyskie province also made numerous complaints. In Chrzanów, for example, the Municipal Office demanded the Jewish Committee to provide “twelve females to employ them to wash soldiers” underwear,” as if it continued the practices of forced labor known from Nazi Germany. Sometimes local authorities in different regions devastated some of the few sacred objects of Judaism that survived the war. This happened, for example, in Radom, where the City Council immediately after the liberation ordered destroying the historic synagogue built in 1844.⁶¹³ The management in some workplaces was reluctant to employ Jews, while in Częstochowa they were denied membership in trade unions.

The large degree of anti-Jewish hostility is evidenced by the wide support for the inspirers and participants of the bloody Kielce pogrom. It was in their defense that the first strikes broke out in post-war Poland. Textile factories in Łódź ceased working and railroaders in Radom embarked on a strike. An anonymous priest sent a letter to Prime Minister Edward Osóbka-Morawski, protesting against death sentences imposed on several pogrom participants. He also added:

You have a great opportunity to get rid of the Jewry from Poland, and you murder your own brothers instead. In any case, save this eight-year-old hero of Kielce, because the Jews, wanting to get rid of an inconvenient witness, will try to poison him.⁶¹⁴

The Freedom and Independence association’s underground newspaper, *Honor i Ojczyzna* (Honor and Fatherland), accused NKGB and UB of initiating the pogrom. At the same time, the author claimed – which stood in sharp contradiction with the previous statement – that the pogrom was triggered by the actions of the government which appointed Jews “to all major offices of the security apparatus,” thereby provoking an outbreak of Antisemitism and racism among “the less oriented and politically conscious milieu.” The article ended with an admonition, addressed to Jewish “leaders and organizations,” that they failed to show due gratitude for being saved “from the persecution of the Gestapo,” and an ominous invocation: “But they should know: when you bring the thunder, you get lost in the storm. When you build upon hatred, what you get is Kielce.”⁶¹⁵

Many anti-Jewish texts issued in the years 1944–1947 can be ascribed to the anti-Communist formations. Judging from the leaflets preserved in archival collections, chronicles of armed units, and statements published in conspiratorial papers, the

613 A. Penkalla (1995), “Sytuacja ludności żydowskiej na terenie województwa kieleckiego w maju 1945 roku,” *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne* No. 13.

614 Qtd. after K. Kersten (1992), *Polacy, Żydzi, komunizm*, Warszawa, p. 133. The “hero of Kielce” was Henryk Błaszczuk, a nine-year-old boy whose false testimony about being kidnapped and held by Jews was the direct trigger of the riots.

615 *Honor i Ojczyzna*, August 1946. Qtd. after: K. Kersten (1992), pp. 91–93. Cf. K. Kersten (1992), “Pogrom kielecki: znaki zapytania,” W. Wrzesiński (ed.), *Polska – Polacy – Mniejszości narodowe*, Wrocław.

language of hatred gained sharpness under the influence of Hitler's agitation (e.g., repeated death threats), but the arguments employed displayed a high degree of continuity with the Antisemitic propaganda of the late 1930s. For example, the accusation of "domination in trade" was often put forth, as if nothing changed after the war. The pre-war understanding of economic problems, typical of right-wing politicians, was echoed by the statement of a PSL activist who, outlining the program of his party, defined three major tasks for liberated Poland: "agricultural reform, Polonization of our cities, and industrialization of our country. The agrarian reform and Polonization of cities is already under way."⁶¹⁶ One of the initiators of the pogrom in Parczew justified his decision with the following words:

We proposed "Orlis" to attack the town of Parczew with us in order to annihilate the Jews who lived there ..., who controlled the entire trade in the town without letting other small merchants and Polish traders live ... At the same time, it was possible to fix one's conditions with the assortment of Jewish stores, especially footwear that we needed very much.⁶¹⁷

In this case, an evident robbery motive is disguised by the author's Antisemitic argumentation.

The stereotype of "Judeo-Commune" played a very important role in the post-war anti-Communist propaganda and hate speech. The authors of a leaflet signed by Freedom and Independence, distributed in the province Lublin before the June referendum, posed the rhetorical question:

Fellow Polish people!!! Do you want Poland to be still occupied? Do you want to see the Soviet army within the borders of our country? Do you want Soviet Russia to take our food and our wealth, to make us hungry and poor? Do you want the Jews to replace the Polish intelligentsia? And do you want the Polish worker to become a slave to the Soviet-Communist-Jewish authorities?⁶¹⁸

In turn, a leaflet signed by "Ogień" contained the following statements:

The Jewry which aims to exterminate the true Polish element is not right. ... Based on intelligence information ... it was stated that UBP is composed of SS men, Volksdeutsches, criminals, bandits, and thieves led by Jews and Bolsheviks.⁶¹⁹

616 *Piast*, 1946, No. 25.

617 "Żelazny," *Kronika oddziału "Wolność i Niezawisłość" obwodu włodawskiego* (1948, manuscript), State Archive in Lublin, AK-WiN, Lublin District, Chełm Inspectorate, Włodawa Division, 101, Vol. 2, pp. 19–23. "Żelazny" was a pseudonym of Edward Taraszkiewicz, who died in an ambush in 1951. "Orlis" was Klemens Panasiuk, a commander of the Włodawa District of Freedom and Independence, who disclosed himself in 1947. See also: A. Cała, H. Datner-Śpiewak (1997), pp. 37–39.

618 State Archive in Lublin, leaflets issued after the liberation, 122, book 26.

619 AAN, Ministry of Information and Propaganda, 823. Qtd. after: A. Cichopek (2000), p. 32.

Very rarely, these pseudo-political justifications of violence and assassinations were something more than secondary rationalizations or excuses. After all, the overwhelming majority of victims had nothing to do with the structures of the emerging state. In 1944 and 1945, most of the victims were exhausted people returning from the camps, hidings or repatriates from Russia. They did not even have time to think about their future. Moreover, various reports of Jewish organizations usually mentioned the profession of the murdered – and if someone served an important function, it was proudly emphasized. Thus, it is possible to establish that only a few homicides were rightly described as attacks on force structures agents or people holding important state offices, in public administration or the Polish Workers' Party (PPR). These included, for example, the murder of security functionaries, Shepsel Alpern and Jakov Kaplanowski (December 3, 1945), and two Białystok militiamen, Stejman and Wolzon. Contrary to appearances, though, there was no political motive in the attack on Chaim Hirszman⁶²⁰ (March 19, 1946), a refugee from the Bełżec camp, who became a UBP agent in 1945 and was responsible for investigating the guerilla activity of former Home Army's soldiers in Lublin's surrounding forests. It is also difficult to classify as political the shooting of a young Bund activist in Łódź on June 24, 1946. He must have attracted attention by carrying the party's banner during a May Day parade, and the assassin (or assassins) probably identified the Bund with communism. However, even if this identification was right, they could hardly suspect the young boy of any actions harmful to the opposition or the underground. D. Engel compared the murders of Jews with the murders of Poles in the post-war period, pointing to a disproportionately large number of victims among Jewish children, young people, and women.⁶²¹ This may serve as a proof that these crimes had ethnic, not political motives.

After the Second World War, the argument of "Judeo-Commune" was no longer an abstraction. First of all, this mysterious system, which the right wing and the Church often identified with Satan, became a social reality and proved appealing

620 Ch. Hirszman was one of the few escapees from Bełżec death camp who managed to survive. He fought in the partisan force of People's Army. He was killed by two young boys, who were later captured and convicted. They claimed their motive was to get a weapon. During their rehabilitation trial in 1956, they referred to their connections with the Home Army's underground, but the court was not able to establish any such connections. According to the recorded testimony of Ch. Hirszman's cousin (a USA resident), after escaping from Bełżec, Hirszman joined the Home Army. Alerted by the commander about the planned assassination, he left and founded a Jewish guerilla. Shortly after the liberation, he joined the security forces. In less than a year, he left the UB, and he persuaded his cousin to leave Poland quickly. To his misfortune, he Hirszman delayed the trip because of his wife, who was in an advanced state of pregnancy (recorded on 5 June 1997 in Warszawa, A. Cała's archive).

621 D. Engel, 1998, pp. 69–70.

to a large part of Polish society.⁶²² Secondly, the sense of insecurity pushed the politically active Jewish elites toward the left wing, which seemed to be the only possible choice if they wished to normalize their situation and life conditions. Only PPR and PPS declared willingness to cooperate with Jewish groupings, albeit only leftist ones. The Jewish population, however, did not unanimously support Communism, as evidenced by the relatively low support for the Jewish PPR Faction of the Central Committee of Polish Jews (CKŻP) compared to the ratings of the centrist, liberal, and Zionist party Ichud, which boasted the largest number of members. It is also important to note that many young men joined the army, which became a substitute for their lost families and social positions. Some of them volunteered or were assigned to the security services, and one of their tasks was to investigate the Polish underground. However, according to Bierut's note, in 1945 only 438 Jews worked in the Security Office, which at that time employed 26,000 people. Among 500 people who occupied commanding positions, sixty-seven were of Jewish origins.⁶²³ Additionally, the number of Jews belonging to PPR and holding government or administration offices was very small. However, their "visibility" was not determined by the number, but by the radical change of position – they were no longer discriminated against (as it was before the war) or officially persecuted (as it was during the occupation) because now they enjoyed full civic equality.

Anti-Jewish hostilities in Poland were wider in scope than the political influence of the opposition to the newly created state. In spite of the propaganda thesis, throwing the whole responsibility on "London and the reaction," PPR activists were aware of the extent of the problem in their own ranks. In this case, Antisemitism was especially dangerous when it manifested itself through lawless actions of the state apparatus or insubordination of the security forces (in Rzeszów, Cracow, and Kielce, a group of soldiers and militiamen took an active part in the riots). It is important to remember that at this time, no efficient communication channels were available, the administration did not function properly, officials often abused their power, and the authorities lacked strong legitimacy among citizens. In this context, rumors and gossip were very important means of passing information and shaping people's views. A word was going from mouth to mouth that the Soviet Union sent "millions of Jewish communists" to occupy important state positions, setting all "indigenous Poles" aside (they were to be displaced, while their apartments were to be taken over by the Jews). Moreover, the Jewish population in general was suspected of receiving special material help

622 In 1945, PPR had over 200,000 members and the number grew geometrically in the next years. See A. Paczkowski (1993), *Zdobycie władzy 1945–47*, Warszawa, pp. 34, 74.

623 K. Kersten (1992), p. 38. Cf. A. Paczkowski (2001), *Żydzi w UB*, ed. T. Szarota, pp. 196–197.

from abroad, which produced a great deal of envy. There were also stories about packages filled with American dollars, which Jews were allegedly receiving, or about their large salaries and government subsidies. All these rumors helped perpetuate the conviction that the Jewish minority has a better position than the rest of the population.

Yet the most puzzling phenomenon, and an important aspect of the anti-Jewish hostilities in 1945–1946, was the obsession of “ritual murders,” which became the main trigger of nearly all collective acts of violence against Jews in that period. To be sure, the belief in this superstition had firm roots in the pre-war folk culture, but it was hardly invoked during the pogroms of 1918–1920 and 1935–1937. After the war, it re-emerged as a new phenomenon, presumably reinforced by the earlier Nazi propaganda. At the turn of March and April 1945, the police detained several Jews in Chełm because of the rumors that they murdered a Christian boy, drained his blood, and used the blood to make matzah.⁶²⁴ In Rzeszów, an unexplained murder of a girl was the direct cause of the riots which broke out on June 14–15, 1945. There were also rumors about the arrest of “a rabbi in a blood-stained apron,” who was allegedly caught next to a “hanging dead girl.” In Kraków (on August 11, 1945), the angry crowd attacked a group of Jews, when a frightened boy ran out of the Tempel Synagogue, screaming that he saw there a number of murdered “Christian children.”⁶²⁵ Similar accusations appeared in June 1945 in Przemyśl,⁶²⁶ and in August in several other cities, including Chełm, where they triggered the riots of August 14, 1945. A year later, the superstition of “ritual murders” became the cause of the bloodiest Kielce pogrom in the post-war history of Poland. It is symptomatic, though, that after the Kielce pogrom the obsession did not fade; on the contrary, it increased and spread to many other cities. For example, some citizens of Kalisz developed an extensive and changed plot of the “ritual murder”: Jews were said to have kidnapped twenty-four boys, drained their blood, and sold their bodies to some Ukrainians (or, in another version, “Soviets”), who made them into sausages.⁶²⁷ The last records of social unrest related to the

624 S. Herszenhorn, IX Report of the Department for the Jewish Community, March 1945, 4.04.1945, AAN, MIP, 753, book 5.

625 J. Kwiek (2000), A. Cichopek (2000). See also the account of Hanna Zajdman who was the pogrom’s victim (AŻIH, Accounts, 301/1582). Cf. S. Kriwienko (1995), *Raporty z Polski*, Karta, No. 15, pp. 30–32.

626 Under the influence of the superstition, 4 men attacked a Jewish family living in Przemyśl, killing a man and his son-in-law and injuring his daughter (21 June 1945) – AŻIH, CKŻP, Presidium, 303/I, 24.

627 A. Paczkowski (1991), *Raporty o pogromie*, Puls, No. 50, pp. 107–120. The incidents in Kraków and Tarnów are described in AŻIH, Special Commission, 303/XVIII, 114 (Report of the CKŻP Special Commission for the Ministry of Public Safety, 6 Nov. 1946).

superstition were from in 1947 and 1949,⁶²⁸ but the rumors no longer caused any serious riots.

In the face of unavailability of efficient channels of communication, the church pulpit served as another an important medium of information. Unfortunately, it also helped to spread the “ritual murder” obsession and fuel xenophobic attitudes. Before the pogrom, priest Roman Zelek, a canon from Kielce, contributed to the paranoia, asking the mothers of missing children to contact him. In a report for the Diocesan Curia, issued after the pogrom, he demanded to punish the guilty “regardless of race and confession,” suggesting that judicial investigations “will try to whitewash the Jews.” This means that Zelek believed Henio Błaszczyk’s testimony about being kidnapped and detained by Jews in a cellar. After all, he included a summary of this testimony in his report, adding a remark about “quite frequent cases of missing children” and giving several examples – which, in reality, were merely a rumor circulating in the city. The report also contained an untrue version of events, according to which the pogrom broke out after a group of armed Jews allegedly murdered a lieutenant and wounded a soldier.⁶²⁹ This motif recurred as a rationalization of several pogroms in the years 1918–1920, which only proves that the perpetrators have always sought well-known and established justifications. The Bishop’s Curia of the Kielce Diocese sent a pastoral letter which invoked the command to love one’s neighbor, condemned the killings, and appealed to the Catholic community to “preserve peace and self-control, and to understand the seriousness of the moment for the sake of their own, and the Nation’s, well-being.” However, the letter made no reference to the superstition, which was the source of violence.⁶³⁰ After the Kielce pogrom, only the Bishop of Częstochowa, Teodor Kubina (1880–1951) sent a dramatic appeal, in which he opposed the belief in “ritual murder.”

The psychosis of “ritual murders” might have also been a way of dealing with the war trauma. At the first stage of recovering from the occupation’s atrocities, there was a strong need to compensate the harms suffered during the war and restore a sense of justice. This need favored the social endorsement of the trials against the collaborators and “Volksdeutsches.” It also contributed to the condemnation of some of Poles’ wartime attitudes in literary and journalistic texts of that period.⁶³¹ The less educated social milieus sought to satisfy the same

628 B. Gronek, I. Marczak (1993), *Biuletyny Informacyjne Ministerstwa Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego 1947*, Warszawa, No. 30, 135, 183; AAN, PZPR, Secretariat, 295/VII–149, p. 37.

629 A. Cała, H. Datner-Śpiewak (1997), pp. 53–57 (Report for the Diocesan Curia by priest canon Roman Zelek, the provost of the cathedral parish, about the incidents in Kielce on 4 Jul. 1946). See also B. Szaynok (1992).

630 *Kielecki Przegląd Diecezjalny*, No. 3 (Appeal of the Bishop’s Curia of the Kielce Diocese, 7 Jul. 1946).

631 Including Zofia Nałkowska’s *Medaliony* (Medallions), Tadeusz Breza’s *Mury Jerycha* (Jericho’s Walls) and Jerzy Andrzejewski’s *Wielki Tydzień* (Holy Week) – all

need by looking for scapegoats among “surrogate enemies.” This brought compensation, especially to the people left with uneasy consciences or the complex of guilt after the war. The lack of education,⁶³² uncertainty, and frustrations was the driving force of the quest for the “guilty” in the world of irrational phantasms and common stereotypes. However, this does not mean that the practice was typical of the undereducated lower classes exclusively. The six years of witnessing and suffering the unimaginable atrocities made the myth of “ritual murders” somewhat more plausible. Since a group of people could dedicate all their intellectual and organizational efforts to devising new ways of depriving others of their dignity, torturing, tormenting, and finally killing them in an industrial manner, it was not hard to imagine that another group murdered children for ritual purposes, or abducted Christians in order to make sausages of their bodies. Of course, this was not a sane way of dealing with trauma. The generation which grew up during the war and in the violent period of 1945–1947 has been permanently poisoned with anti-Jewish resentments. Until today, the members of this generation display a greater degree of Antisemitic attitudes (including the belief in “ritual murders”) than both the older and younger generations.⁶³³

8.3. The Absorption of Antisemitism by the Ruling Camp

Starting from 1947, manifestations of anti-Jewish attitudes have become more difficult to notice. The Stalinist model of communism precluded the possibility of organizing demonstrations or inciting riots. Although several Antisemitic incidents occurred in April 1949 in Częstochowa and Włocławek and on September 8, 1949, in Cracow, their participants were not numerous, and the militia had no trouble with dispersing them. The almost complete breakup of the anti-Communist guerrilla and new restrictions imposed on bandit activities brought a solution to the problem of assassinations. Under the strengthened censorship, printed Antisemitic propaganda virtually disappeared, even though it was impossible to disrupt its oral transmission. The closure of the first stage of recovering from the war trauma fostered social peace. Instead of settling

published in 1946. See A. Cała (2000), *Kształtowanie się polskiej i żydowskiej wizji martyrologicznej po II wojnie światowej*, *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, Vol. XLX/2; Cf. M. Steinlauf (2001), *Pamięć nieprzyswojona*, Warszawa 1997, Bondage tk the Death. Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust, Syracuse.

632 The Nazis gradually liquidated Polish educational institutions. Although the so-called “secret” or “underground education” was a form of civil resistance, it was not popular among the lower classes. As a result, within the six years of occupation a whole illiterate generation grew up.

633 I. Krzemiński (1996, ed.), *Czy Polacy są antysemitami*, p. 14.

accounts with real or imaginary enemies, people felt necessary to focus on cultivating the martyrological myth of the war heroes and victims, the underground state, and widespread civil resistance.⁶³⁴ There was no room for analyzing the pathological wartime and post-war conduct in Polish society, and many tended to underrate the tragic fate of Jews as a collateral effect of the Polish suffering. In fact, however, we do not know much about Polish attitudes toward the Jews in this period. No social studies were conducted then (sociology was considered unnecessary in a “classless society”), which is why we are left only with partial evidence, such as reports of the Ministry of Public Security and security agents, letters to the press or radio, inscriptions on walls or denunciations.⁶³⁵ The agents reported some anti-Jewish statements (for example, a contestation of the principle of civic equality enshrined in the constitution of 1952). During the Moscow trials of Jewish physicians (1953), some radio stations received letters which expressed a fear that “the Jews will murder the Polish nation, Jewish physicians will poison us to gain power over the world.”⁶³⁶ Sometimes, the press received anonymous letters which could be considered as “manifestos of Antisemitism.” Nonetheless, the censorship and police apparatus did not focus on revealing xenophobic attitudes and sometimes even blocked the sparse attempts to counteract them. Despite the absence of an organized Antisemitic movement, Antisemitism as an ideology and a set of social attitudes was not so much reduced as temporarily immobilized. In fact, the pervasive influence and widespread acceptance of the idea of ethnically homogenous Poland fueled the consolidation of xenophobic attitudes, and many tended to see cultural diversity as a significant threat.

Getting such signals from the public, the state authorities were afraid that promoting Jews to high-rank positions might seriously decrease support for the regime. In 1946, a government commissioner for productivization informed an activist of local Jewish Committee from Lower Silesia:

While I do not obstruct the employment of citizens of Jewish nationality in office or assistant positions, I cannot agree to take the path of least resistance and, instead of searching for suitable employees in powiats, hire people of Jewish nationality, even the best ones, for administrative positions.⁶³⁷

634 See A. Cała (2000), pp. 167–180.

635 Ł. Kamiński (2000), *Polacy wobec nowej rzeczywistości 1944–48*, Toruń. The author estimated that 2.36 % of the inscriptions on the walls contained anti-Jewish slogans and 2.8 % of circulating rumors reflected the fears linked with Jews. Cf D. Jarosz, M. Pasztor (1995), *W krzywym zwierciadle*, Warszawa.

636 D. Jarosz (1997), *Problem antysemityzmu w Polsce w latach 1949–56 w świetle akt niektórych centralnych instytucji państwowych*, BŻIH, No. 182.

637 Qtd. after B. Szaynok (2000), pp. 183–184. Władysław Gomułka and Ignacy Loga-Sowiński made similar statements during the plenary session of Central Committee of the Polish Workers’ Party on May 21, 1945. See J. Michlic (2006), pp. 211–214.

Feliks Mantel, a PPS activist, recalled:

Prime Minister [Osóbka Morawski] offered me the position of a minister. I refused immediately, revealing my motives in a clear and honest way: there is no room for two Jews in the government.... They already keep saying that Poland is ruled by Jews.⁶³⁸

Similar was Mantel's justification of his refusal to deliver a speech at the party's plenary session in 1946: "precisely because this Act constitutes a fundamental and necessary reform, I did not want to turn it into a pretext for making Antisemitic and malicious comments." During his whole diplomatic career, Mantel applied what he called a "numerus clausus" principle, trying to avoid employing people of Jewish descent. It was precisely because of such an overcautious attitude that Mantel and many other leftist politicians paved the way for an increase of Antisemitism. After all, this was not an effective strategy. For the fewer Jews worked as clerks and the more they tried to hide their origins, the more visible they became. However, the proponents of the idea of "Judeo-Commune" did not bother with getting their numbers right. A few names were enough.

As a result of this political fear, Jews employed in the administration were required to Polonize their names. People with an "Aryan appearance" were highly valued – as Mantel also observed – but even in such cases genealogies were carefully examined. Jewish employees were often fired during purges in the party apparatus and the army (1951–1952, 1954–1955). More than a dozen veterans of the civil war in Spain, including many Jews, were arrested on suspicion of espionage (1950). The ruling camp was gradually absorbing Antisemitism. The fluctuation of the USSR's foreign policy – including the change of its earlier favorable position toward the Jewish state in Palestine – certainly influenced this process. Soviet Jews were accused of "disloyalty," showing pro-Israeli sympathies, and "nationalism." The authorities dissolved the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, closed down the only publishing house, newspaper, and theater which cultivated the Yiddish language, and arrested many artists. They also carried out a "national cadre regulation," which, in practice, meant dismissing Jews from all high-ranked positions. In 1949, all Jewish institutions in Hungary underwent nationalization. The governments of Bulgaria and Romania also carried out large-scale anti-Jewish purges. In 1952, Rudolf Slánský and a whole group of party Jewish activists received death sentences in Czechoslovakia. Paul Merker – a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Eastern Germany charged of being a "Zionist agent" – also shared their fate. In 1953, the top Jewish physicians in Kremlin, whom Stalin accused of the so-called "Doctor's Plot" against the life of several members of the highest USSR authorities, were imprisoned. In Poland in 1949–1950, the Communist government dissolved all Jewish political parties and nationalized all minority institutions.

638 F. Mantel (1980), *Wachlarz wspomnień*, Paryż, pp. 217–220. See also M. Borwicz (1987), "Polish-Jewish Relations 1944–1947," Ch. Abramsky, M. Jachimczyk, A. Polonsky (eds.), *The Jews in Poland*, Oxford.

Both during the trial of Slánsky and a year later during the Moscow trial of Jewish physicians, the same articles were reprinted in the press of the whole Soviet Bloc. Their authors used a specific style, along with phrases, which were later repeated in the press of all fraternal parties. *Trybuna Ludu*, a newspaper of Polish communists quoted passages from Czech's *Rudé právo* (the Red justice):

Who are the Zionists, what is their face, ultimately exposed during the [Slánsky] trial? The Zionists are representatives of the reactionary-bourgeois-nationalist Jewish movement, which from its inception has been a fierce *enemy of humanity* and progress. Under the guise of national Jewish interests, they pursue their capitalist class interests, the *fraudulent, mercantile interests of the policy of exploiters*, the policy hostile to the whole international working class. In the interests of this class, selfish, and fraudulent policy, they unite in international Zionist organizations in which they play the role of the most faithful minions of American imperialism.

There are references to the economic and conspiracy themes (highlighted in the text), along with the conjuring words such as “American imperialism,” which appeared more than four times in combination with words like “minions,” “agents,” “shackles,” sometimes shaping tautological arguments, for instance,

The Zionist diplomats of the bourgeois state of Israel ... have become spies in the service of American imperialists, who used them to organize a series of subversive actions to the detriment of our republic. Through the Zionists, a group of conspirators in our country maintained contacts with American imperialists who, with their help, carried out criminal, insidious, anti-state, and spy activities.⁶³⁹

Repetitions in this statement were served to create a conceptual cliché. The Zionists, the imperialists, and sometimes the Trotskyists replaced the traditional “Jew-Masonry.” A paper of the Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR) reprinted an article about the “Doctor’s Plot” from the Moscow *Prawda*, supplementing it with a symptomatic title: *Dark-haired Spies and Murderers in the Guise of Medical Professionals* (*Trybuna Ludu*, No. 14). It presented the group of physicians as belonging to a branch of “American intelligence – an international Jewish bourgeois-nationalist organization “Joint.” These considerations were summarized with a punchline bursting with satisfaction and glee:

The exposure of the gang of doctors-polluters has been a blow against the international Jewish Zionist organization.

Although the style of the Soviet propaganda was present in numerous Polish press campaigns of the Stalinist period, it was alien to the traditional Antisemitic narrative. The accumulation of abstract notions, tongue-twisters, stylistic errors, unnecessary repetitions and epithets must have caused the reader to feel a sense of conventionality and mechanical participation in some kind of propaganda ritual.

⁶³⁹ *Trybuna Ludu*, 1952, No. 330.

The text was simply difficult to understand, and its argumentation was not rooted in the Polish reality. Soon, however, its followers emerged who practiced a new variation of hate speech, accustoming readers to “newspeak.”

In 1956, when social rebellions broke out, the authorities carried out further purges, disguising anti-Jewish resentments by pointing to the need to reduce the bureaucratic apparatus. The Thaw period witnessed a re-emergence of Antisemitism, which proved very hard to control. There were cases of verbal and physical aggression, especially toward Jewish children.⁶⁴⁰ Several representatives of the intelligentsia condemned it in the press, trying to analyze the causes of the hostilities. On June 8, 1956, the Polish Writers' Union issued a resolution which criticized the party's opportunism in combating pathologies “in such a way as to not irritate Antisemites.” There were also protests of some Jewish milieus. At the meetings of local branches of the Jewish Social and Cultural Association in Poland (TSKŻ), some members claimed that the party did not oppose Antisemitism because it was “afraid of losing its popularity.”⁶⁴¹ From April and May 1956, security agents observed an increase of statements with anti-Jewish overtones. Newspapers and radio stations received more Antisemitic letters than ever before.⁶⁴² The number of acts of vandalism at Jewish cemeteries also increased and, in some cases, local authorities were responsible. Not all of these actions were directly linked to Antisemitism, but they surely produced a tensed atmosphere around the Jewish community, often pushing Jews to emigrate.

The practices of suppressing the problem of Antisemitism created the temptation to use it in political games. It is possible to trace how Polish politicians gradually “learned” to employ this kind of social engineering and manipulation. In the 1940s, some leftist activists adopted the Antisemitic argumentation, giving in to the atmosphere of hostility. In the years 1949–1950, the highest authorities of the Polish United Workers' Party tried to counteract the anti-Jewish incidents through makeshift interventions and ideological trainings. Similar measures were undertaken in 1956, when it turned out that Antisemitism was not only a problem of low-rank party functionaries but also its elite.⁶⁴³ In July 1956, Zenon Nowak (1905–1970), a member of the party's Central Committee, drew attention to an allegedly high number of Jews employed in high-rank positions in the army,

640 AŻIH, TSKŻ, Wydz. Org., 325, 21–22. In 1956, four such cases were documented, but the number increased to twelve in 1957. However, these figures do not reflect the real number of such offences and crimes, as many of them were not reported. See also E. U. Grözinger's memories in BŻIH (1998), No. 185/186.

641 A. Cała, H. Datner-Śpiewak (1997), pp. 75–65.

642 P. Machcewicz (1993), *Polski rok 1956*, Warszawa, pp. 218–231. Cf. P. Machcewicz (1996), “Antisemitism in Poland in 1956,” *Polin* Vol. 9.

643 See, for instance, the Memorandum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party for the local party structures about the sources and prevention of Antisemitism (AAN, PZPR, Sekretariat, 295/VII–149, p. 265).

Prosecutor's Office, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Economic Planning Commission. He rhetorically asked, "Is this normal that the party leadership is represented in the army by the Jewish comrades exclusively?"

Similar allegations appeared in the statements of few other speakers, who often combined them with an attack against the intelligentsia. The association of the Jew with the intellectual was a new theme, which was fully developed and spread during the Antisemitic campaign of 1968. Other discussants explored the stereotype of "Judeo-Commune" to redirect the emotions generated by the need of settling accounts with "errors and distortions" of the past period into Antisemitic sentiments. In that way, the party functionaries already discredited as Stalinists, could – once again – cast the whole blame on Jews. This inspired Witold Jedlicki, the first chronicler of the Polish October, to raise suspicions that there was an Antisemitic faction within the party.⁶⁴⁴ In light of the documentation available today, we may easily assume that he was mistaken. Although various coterie formed during this hot period, none of them identified with Antisemitism, which was rather a feature of individual activists. The situation changed in 1962–1968 when anti-Jewish attitudes gave rise to the formation of Mieczysław Moczar's (1913–1986) group called "the partisans." But even in this case, it is hard to speak about a faction with a unified program or political vision. It was rather a group of people of similar mindset and life experience.

While in 1956, attempts to gain a significant position in the party by using anti-Jewish rhetoric did not bring the intended effect, in 1968 a large part of the leadership felt so threatened that it decided to embrace Antisemitism. Those members of the party elites who did not want to participate in this game, such as Edward Ochab (1906–1989), were quickly dismissed. The competition between the party's dignitaries unleashed a propaganda barrage on an unprecedented scale. The policy of the USSR toward Israel was definitely hostile at that time, but the attacks against the state's citizens of Jewish origins occurred only in the autumn of 1969. Poland, in turn, was the only country in the Soviet bloc with overzealous officials, who launched the campaign earlier, and on a much larger scale, than in other countries. After the student demonstrations in March 1968, Antisemitic views were loudly voiced by party members at various levels, but it was an expression of opportunism and cynicism, rather than genuine internal convictions. As soon as the party changed its policy, they had no problem with simply renouncing these views. However, some members of Moczar's group, especially those associated with the Security Service, maintained their Antisemitic positions in order to manifest them once again in 1980–1981 and after 1989. Let us take a closer look at the development of this campaign and the propaganda themes it employed.⁶⁴⁵

644 W. Jedlicki (1989), *Klub Krzywego Koła*, Warszawa (Chapter *Żydy i Chamy*).

645 J. Eisler (1991), *Marzec 1968*, Warszawa G. Sołtysiak, J. Stepiń (1998), *Marzec '68*, Warszawa; M. Kula, P. Oseka, M. Zaremba (1998, ed.), *Marzec 1968*, Warszawa, Vols. 1–2; P. Oseka (1999), *Syjonisci, inspiratorzy, wicherzyciele*, Warszawa; D. Stola (2000).

In the early 1950s, after the demonstration trials against Jewish citizens in several countries of the Soviet Bloc, the Security Service became more suspicious about Jews. It was fairly easy to conduct surveillance over this minority because Holocaust survivors required special care from the state. Searching for their relatives, retrieving their identity documents, filing applications to regain their property or receive social assistance, Jews left many traces in the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. The Security Office could trace their actions, contacts, and family connections even after they changed their names, trying to blend in and hide their origins. Already in September 1949, the Security Service received a secret instruction to investigate the Zionist circles.⁶⁴⁶ During the Six-Day War (June 5–10, 1967), Brezhnev called a council of the leaders of the Soviet bloc countries in order to present the official interpretation of the events in the Middle East. He also ordered the participants to break all diplomatic relations with the state of Israel. This gave a signal to launch an anti-Israeli (not yet “anti-Zionist”) campaign both in the press and by the party’s organizations. Although the ensuing attacks on the Israeli government were quite severe (some even compared the state’s actions to Nazi crimes), they were not targeted against the Jewish community as such. However, Gomułka’s speech at the Sixth Congress of Trade Unions (June 19, 1967), which accused Polish Jewish citizens of being too enthusiastic about Israel’s victory in the war, anticipated taking a stricter course against Jews in Poland. In fact, his statements should be considered as the beginning of a new campaign based on anti-Zionist Antisemitism. In the subsequent months, the Ministry of Internal Affairs provided Gomułka with reports which contained inaccurate, exaggerated or completely untrue information – for example, that members of the Jewish Youth Club “Babel” in Warsaw expressed collective support for Israel or that the editorial staff of a women’s magazine *Przyjaciółka* threw a party to honor the victory in the Six-Day War. The reports contained numerous generalizations and oversimplifications, such as:

We have noted statements in support of Israel, especially among people of Jewish origins. In the circles of the Jewish minority in Poland, and particularly among Jewish youth, there is a declared readiness to go to Israel to participate directly in the battle against the Arabs.⁶⁴⁷

On June 28, 1967, in the Ministry of the Interior called the council of operational affairs. At that council, a narrow group of secret service commanders adopted guidelines for counteracting “Zionism” in Poland. The document influenced the state policy toward Jews at least until March 1968, when other factors came into play (e.g., internal party conflicts and the struggle for state power). The security officers also adopted another, very symptomatic confidential document titled

646 B. Szaynok (2001), “Walka z syjonizmem w Polsce, 1948–53,” ed. T. Szarota, p. 261. See also B. Szaynok (2007), *Z historią i Moskwą w tle*, Warszawa.

647 Qtd. after D. Stola (2000), p. 34.

Assessment of the Situation in Poland in Connection with the Conflict in the Middle East. This is how the document described the situation in the Jewish community, repeating the well-known charge of an international conspiracy of Jews:

Pro-Israel attitudes among Polish Jews regarding the conflict in the Middle East undoubtedly have their origins in the resolutions of the World Jewish Congress in Brussels and the World Zionist Organization in Jerusalem ... In recent years the Jewish minority was actively penetrated by representatives of the international Zionist organizations and the Israeli embassy. Jewish centers in Poland maintained direct contact with deputies of the United Jewish Appeal – an organization which sponsors Joint and has many influential members among bankers, industrialists, representatives of World Jewish Congress and other international Zionist organizations.

The language of these passages clearly referred to the patterns of Soviet Stalinist propaganda, which I have discussed above. Apparently, however, this source was insufficient for the authors, so they reached for two very old Antisemitic figures of Baron Rothschild and the Jew-Mason:

In September 1965, a group of twelve Jewish representatives from France visited Poland. The group included, among others, James Rothschild (banker) and Gaston Kahn (chairman of the B'nai Brith masonic lodge).

The document was very specific about a necessity of conducting a purge, already selecting the victims:

The information ... indicates that the pro-Israeli and anti-Polish attitude has been displayed by many Polish citizens of Jewish descent holding responsible positions in the press, radio, television as well as state and economic institutions. Among 382 people recognized as demonstrating the pro-Israeli and anti-Polish attitude, the largest group are: journalists and writers – 76; employees of the state administration – 57; individuals occupying managerial positions in administrative and economic institutions – 51; science and education employees – 46; attorneys – 36.... [It would be necessary] to analyze the possessed materials regarding people holding responsible positions in ministries, institutions, foreign cooperation offices, press, radio, television, scientific and cultural institutions in order to remove them from the departments and functions related to national defense or having an ideological impact on society.

Subsequently, the council's participants listed thirteen names of the alleged "Zionists" and people described as "well-known philosemites belonging to artistic circles." The officers, probably in order to influence Gomułka, accused Jews – in particular, the Jewish Historical Institute – of "attacking" his speech at the Congress of Trade Unions with "vulgar expressions." There was also a passage about Jewish attempts to persuade Poles to propagate the view of Jews as a "persecuted nation."⁶⁴⁸

648 *Ocena sytuacji w Polsce w związku z konfliktem na Bliskim Wschodzie. Materiał na Kolegium do spraw Operacyjnych Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych. Tajne*

This document triggered a series of purges both in the army and the press. In 1967, all officers of Jewish origins who still served in the Polish People's Army or counterintelligence were dismissed or forced to retire⁶⁴⁹. The purge was carried out quietly, without any propaganda attacks against the removed officers. It was not so much about gaining external support but about internal power struggles.

The first press reactions to the student rally, which took place on March 8, 1968 in the courtyard of the University of Warsaw, were aggressive, but they did not put forward any explicit charges against Jews. The suggestion that a group of Jewish students inspired the protest appeared only in a secret document titled "Internal Bulletin," which the Ministry of the Interior presented to the authorities of the party on March 10. The next day, the party's newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* and *Słowo Powszechne* (a journal of the Association of Lay Catholics PAX, founded after the war by Bolesław Piasecki, the leader of ONR-Falanga) had published articles emphasizing the Jewish origins of the "troublemakers" and "instigators" of the protest.⁶⁵⁰ As distinct from the article in *Słowo Powszechne*, the one in *Trybuna Ludu* was not openly Antisemitic. However, both articles employed the same line of reasoning, dismissing the problem of the student protesting against the censorship as a mere provocation of the "instigators," who were listed by names (with an emphasis on their fathers' important positions in the state apparatus). *Słowo Powszechne* associated these students with the Jewish Youth Club "Babel" and Stalinist "political bankrupts" responsible for the period of "errors and distortions." Moreover, they were accused of supporting Israel's conspiracy, "derailing" the "patriotic-socialist dynamics" of Polish society, and, above all, corrupting fellow students, whom they have drawn into this plot.

Władysław Gomułka condemned the initiators of the protest and accused them of supporting revisionist and reactionary tendencies (but not Zionism). He repeated most of the students' names, which appeared in the press, adding the names of several intellectuals, who were not Jewish. In this case, Gomułka's purpose was to alleviate the Antisemitic character of the campaign and shift attention to the intelligentsia. That was why he referred to revisionism and mentioned people of non-Jewish origins. But it did not bring desirable effects. The public's reactions to the speech revealed an increase of Antisemitic emotions. The Ministry's "Internal Bulletin" even indirectly criticized Gomułka's lack of decisive condemnation of "Zionists," pointing to the unmet expectations of "wide party masses."

specjalnego znaczenia, signed by Director of Department 3, płk H. Piątek, Centralne Arch. MSW, MSW II.101. Qtd. after D. Stola (2000), pp. 280–291.

649 T. Pióro (1997), "Czystki w Wojsku Polskim 1967–1968," *BŻIH* No. 182.

650 "Wokół zajść na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim, *Trybuna Ludu* (the author of this article was Artur Starewicz, who later became a victim of the March campaign); "Do studentów Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego," *Słowo Powszechne* (the author of this article was probably Ryszard Frelek, a secretary of Zenon Kliszka, who belonged to the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party).

From March 12, the party started to organize mass propaganda rallies in workplaces across the country. It is estimated that more than 100,000 rallies and meetings were held within three months. Numerous resolutions were passed, condemning the “banana youth,” “troublemakers,” and “Zionists.” Even though these documents rarely expressed people’s real attitudes, they contributed to raising a sense of fear. Their purpose, partly achieved, was to intimidate the striking students and show that their actions had no social support. But the resolutions also played an important role in spreading and reinforcing the Antisemitic message. As one of them – adopted on April 2–6 by the active body of LOT Polish Airlines – stated: “We demand a strict cleansing of the party and state apparatus from open and hidden Zionists and their Jewish and non-Jewish proponents and supporters.”⁶⁵¹

Some participants of these meetings voiced Antisemitic opinions, usually referring to the stereotype of “Judeo-Commune.” The use of Antisemitism turned out to be a partially effective tactics, as it caused disorientation among the students and weakened the message of their protest. The resolution adopted by students of occupying the Warsaw University of Technology on March 12, 1968, affirmed: “We definitely dissociate ourselves from Antisemitism and Zionism.”⁶⁵² Daily reports of secret services noted an increase of skepticism among the strikers. For example, during a night debate held in a dorm at Anielewicz Street in Warsaw, several law students allegedly argued that “they [the Jews] will go abroad, while we will be expelled from the university.” Other students’ declarations and resolutions condemned the “troublemaking and rowdy elements” and “anti-national activities,” which means that, at least to some extent, they must have believed in the propaganda version of the events.⁶⁵³

The anti-intelligentsia and anti-Jewish campaign in the press, television, radio, and party publications was supervised by the head of the Press Office the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party, Stefan Olszowski. Between March 19 and 21, the office prepared a set of 18 topics recommended for the media, including: “Zionism and economic policy issues,” “What dictated personnel changes in the army after the Israeli aggression,” “In which areas national affirmation is necessary,” etc. During the next ten days, 250 texts appeared, which zealously followed these guidelines.⁶⁵⁴ Newspapers’ editors were often forced to publish Antisemitic attacks. Only a few weeklies, *Polityka*, *Przekrój*, and *Świat*, managed to resist these pressures.⁶⁵⁵ In the process, a group of journalists specialized in splashing such violent enunciations emerged: Ryszard Gontarz, Tadeusz Kur (Witold Jerzmanowski), Ignacy Krasicki, Kazimierz Kąkol, Wiesław Mysłək,

651 Qtd. after D. Stola (2000), p. 328.

652 J. Eisler (1992), p. 254

653 G. Sołtysiak, J. Stepień (1998), pp. 201–205.

654 See D. Stola (2000), p. 171.

655 *Świat* was suspended and later liquidated for this reason.

Alina Reutt, Tadeusz Walichnowski, Janusz Wilhelmi, Bożena Krzywobłocka and others, accompanied by some publicists of *Słowo Powszechne*, among them a group of former ONR-Falanga activists, such as Bolesław Piasecki, Zygmunt Przetakiewicz, or the writer Jan Dobraczyński, who maintained close contacts with the nationalist milieu.

From March to September 1968, nearly 900 people, whom the party regarded as undesirable or suspected of having Jewish roots, lost their jobs. Many scholars writing about March events point out that it was a carefully designed campaign, which took place according to a pre-prepared “ceremonial.” People of Jewish descent were publicly stigmatized at workplace meetings of so-called “Basic Party Organizations.” After facing the most bizarre accusations, they were expelled from the party and dismissed from work. Moreover, they were blacklisted, which meant that no state institution could employ them. During the meetings, no one felt hampered in throwing Antisemitic arguments. As distinct from the previous year’s purges, which were part of an internal power struggle, the campaign following the 1968 students’ strikes aimed to manipulate social attitudes, which is why it was loudly publicized in the media. The campaign took a particularly drastic course in Łódź, where numerous physicians were dismissed from jobs, the filmmakers’ milieu was decimated, and employees were removed from textile factories. In several cases, hospitals refused to treat Jewish patients. All newspapers and journals available in Łódź were involved in the campaign.

The intrigues of the Ministry of Interior were contained only after the purges which reached this institution at the end of the year. However, this did not mean the end of the repressions against the participants and supporters of the student protests, especially the intelligentsia and people of Jewish origins.⁶⁵⁶ Those who avoided arrest or served prison sentences were put under strict surveillance. Using a repertoire of chicanes, intimidation techniques, and threats, security officers forced them to emigrate from the country, without the right to return or on humiliating conditions.⁶⁵⁷ According to the documentation maintained by the Ministry of the Interior, between 1968 and 1971 almost 13,000 people left Poland.⁶⁵⁸ They

656 By March 27, 1968, 2591 people were arrested, including 597 students, 374 high school students, and 914 workers. By the end of the year, there were 749 trials, many students were relegated from schools, and many of them were recruited into the army. Student leaders and students of Jewish descent usually received higher sentences (from 1.5 to 3 years in prison).

657 The travel costs, as well as the costs of stay in the transit camp in Vienna, were covered by Israel, American Jewish organizations, and several Western states. The Polish authorities forced emigrants to renounce their citizenship and abandon their apartments. There were also restrictions imposed on the transportation of chattel and foreign currency (A. Cala, H. Datner, 1997, pp. 92–95, 155–163).

658 D. Stola (2000, pp. 213–216) gives the number of 12,927 emigrants and a further number of 853 by 1975, referring to the reports of the Passport Department for the Central Committee of Polish United Workers’ Party. The majority of emigres

settled in different Western European countries (mostly in Sweden and Denmark) or in the USA. Only 28 % of them moved to Israel. In this wave of emigration, the number of people with higher education was eight times higher than the Polish average, which gives an idea of the loss suffered by the intelligentsia.

The propaganda campaign of 1968 was dominated by three themes: anti-Zionism, the traditional motif of Antisemitic “Jewish conspiracy,” and an egalitarian attack on intelligence and selected party activists accused of “revisionism” and “living in luxury.” “Zionists” became the quintessence of evil, designating Jews in general, while “revisionists” were an equivalent of the “Jewish minions” known from the National Democracy’s rhetoric, even though in propaganda statements the meanings of these terms often overlapped. Ryszard Gontarz almost repeated the speech of Zenon Nowak at the VII Plenary Session of the Party in 1956, when he wrote:

All decision-making centers, the main instruments of the authorities, were totally controlled by people of Jewish descent. Such was the situation in the leadership of the party, in the security apparatus, diplomacy, foreign trade, mass media, culture, army and military information services.⁶⁵⁹

Many proponents of the regime repeated the well-known accusations against “Zionists,” pointing out their alleged ties to CIA, German or Israeli intelligence, and Radio Free Europe. Bożena Krzywobłocka quoted her Stalinist predecessors, writing that “Zionism is an arm of American imperialism.”⁶⁶⁰ However, it soon turned out that this kind of rhetoric was no longer appealing for Polish citizens, who already shared pro-Western sympathies and favorable opinions about the victory of Israel (for instance, there were political jokes about “our Jews beating the Russian Arabs”). Therefore, the language borrowed from the Stalinist propaganda had to be adjusted to the content taken from National Democracy’s propaganda. In effect, “Zionists” were described as insidious traitors and cowards, whose homeland was not Poland, but rather “the American dollar.”⁶⁶¹ The accusations also concerned having family and friends in the West, maintaining contacts with them, and receiving packages or money from abroad (including the infamous donations from the Joint). As *Walka Młodych* informed,

This particular group of people, guided by metrical reasons and blood ties which the average person will never comprehend, have searched for a common banner ... which would alienate this group of youth from Polish society. It is indeed hard to shake

came from Warsaw (36 %) and Łódź (10 %), slightly less from the Lower and Upper Silesia, Kraków, and Szczecin voivodships (including almost all Jewish inhabitants of Szczecin), with only 724 people from all other regions.

659 R. Gontarz (III 1981), *Zza kulis historii Polski Ludowej*, Warszawa, p. 12.

660 B. Krzywobłocka (1968), *Kult św. Stanisława w Polsce, czyli polityczne funkcjonowanie legendy*, Kraków, p. 30.

661 J. Barański (4 Apr. 1968), “Galeria zdrajców,” *Żołnierz Wolności*.

the suspicion that this was a consistent, well-thought-out fulfillment of a command which had nothing in common with the Polish national interest.⁶⁶²

Here we see the motif of the “internal enemy,” derived from Dmowski’s early journalism and referring to the myth of “Jewish conspiracy.” In this case, Polish and Israeli “Zionists” were accused of supporting Western Germany and German revanchists. This version of the myth was “invented” by the Soviet propaganda. In *Sztandar Młodych* on April 1, 1968, Tadeusz Walichnowski, the author of a dissertation and several press articles on this subject, listed the following arguments in its support:

In exchange for compensation in the amount of more than 3 billion Deutsche Marks, Israel and world Zionism have started to rehabilitate Nazi crimes. This was how the victims entered into an alliance with the perpetrators. Wishing to absolve the Germans for the crimes against Jews, Zionists have sought to convince both the Jews themselves and the whole world that it is Poles who should be blamed for these crimes.

There was a widespread charge that Zionist incited the West to make groundless accusations of Antisemitism against Poles. Zionist were also condemned for allegedly promoting “anti-Polonism” among Americans – an accusation which appeared at the threshold of Polish independence and returned in 1968. These arguments were particularly perfidious, but they appealed to the Polish imagination (as was evidenced by, for example, the Episcopate’s enunciations). The charge of “anti-Polonism” has become a very strong element of modern Antisemitism.

Andrzej Romanowski associated the “secret” actions of the “troublemakers” with a “revisionist and Zionist alliance,” whose aim was “the internal weakening of Poland as a nexus in the world socialist system” and disrupting “the cohesion of the socialist community in Europe” (the conspiracy theme). He accused a group of protesting students of attempting to “reconfigure forces in the leadership of the Polish United Workers’ Party in order strengthen the position of the former Stalinists.” All the March propagandists, like Gomułka, combined anti-Zionism with an attack against the intelligentsia. As Romanowski argued,

The area of activity of both these groups [revisionists and Zionists] was primarily the intelligentsia and artistic circles, especially writers and academic milieus. The latter furnished great opportunities for influencing young people, which is why they paid a great deal of attention to it.⁶⁶³

The category of “revisionists” made it possible to attack all “inconvenient persons.” The target were mainly defiant intellectuals or émigré activists. Propaganda journalists used a variety of twisted arguments to explain the university strikes. As Kazimierz Kąkol explained:

662 A. Reutt, Z. Andruszkiewicz (31 March 1968), “Bananowe jabłka,” *Walka Młodych*.

663 A. Romanowski (1981), *Marzec 1968 r.*, Warszawa, p. 8.

We were faced with an attempted strike against the leadership ... with a coup attempt.... A secretive group, connected with Zionist centers, tried in an organized way, under the aegis of patriotism and democracy, to escalate the protests and street fights to make them a problem to maintain the continuity (at least personal) of the government.⁶⁶⁴

Kąkol's emphasis on the high social status of the attacked group could be easily associated with the figure of the Jewish capitalist, while the accusation of Stalinist aspirations was related to a corresponding figure of the Jewish rebellion.

Another traditional theme was the storyline developed on the model of the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. It manifested itself in two brochures by Władysław Kmiotkiewicz, *Polityka partii i rządu i jej przeciwnicy* (Party and Government Policy and its Opponents) and *Syjonizm, jego geneza, charakter polityczny i antypolskie oblicze* (Zionism, its Genesis, Political Character and Anti-Polish Face), issued by the propaganda department of the Municipal Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party in Łódź. Toward the end of her essay, Ida Martowa (pseudonym) quotes a document ascribed to the Fourth International, which describes the Trotskyists' "plot" aimed at dominating Poland. She supplements the image of protesting students' leaders with that of "Judeo-Commune:"

When thousands of the best sons of Poland were dying in the Security Service's casemates, when the kangaroo courts were sentencing to death the heroes of Monte Cassino and Narvik, of the battles for England and the siege of Tobruk, as well as soldiers of Home Army and People's Army – the future commandos crawled in diapers through their luxuriously furnished flats and explored the world around them through the windows of sophisticated limousines. Their dads ruled Poland ... [and when they grew up] they had no clue about the history of the nation they were about to lead. The concepts of nation, homeland, patriotism were not so much alien as dangerous to them. For they associated these concepts with a right-wing nationalist deviation.... They were the reddest of the reds.⁶⁶⁵

The alliance of hard-headed communists with post-ND nationalists was, in fact, a proposition to move away from the leftist model of patriotism that is open to diversity toward exclusive, closed nationalism, informed with a profound desire to regain autocracy which manifested itself in the twilight of the Soviet Union. It became an apparent solution of ideological dilemmas which have been at work since the pre-war times: the clash of the leftist vision of social justice with the vision of a disciplined society pursued by the National Democracy. That is why the campaign was applauded by so many old communist activists, including Gomułka himself, even though their ideals were distant from the National Democracy's

664 K. Kąkol (24 III 1968), "Sprawy i ludzie," *Prawo i Życie*.

665 Ida Martowa (pseudonim, 1981), *Marzec 1968 – nieudana próba zamachu stanu*, Warszawa, p. 5.

Antisemitism. Moreover, they could therefore achieve their political goals. They managed to eliminate the residues of democracy secured after October 1956, to further reduce independent thought, and pacify social unrest by means of intimidation. Universities were filled with so-called “March docents” who took advantage of the purges and made quick academic careers at the expense of political submission. At the same time, however, this policy turned out to be a nail in the coffin of the Communist ideology in Poland. For it discouraged all left-wing supporters committed to the democratic worldview and opened a possibility of promotion to cynical careerists.

In his *Bondage to the Death*, Michael Steinlauf points out the dependence between the post-war waves of Antisemitism and transformations of Polish national identity, which, in turn, depended on the successive phases of dealing with the wartime trauma. Steinlauf believes that:

The last years of the 1960s May be viewed from several perspectives: as a struggle for Power within the Polish Communist Party climaxed by a Police provocation; as an attack on independent culture and thinking of the post-Stalinist era; as the final gasp of a hopelessly outmoded ideology; but also as an attempted exorcism of the worst demons of Polish national memory. This exorcism, a turning point both in the history on the “Jewish question” and the history of postwar Poland, initiated the process of bringing back into view, beneath the fading rhetoric of class struggle, a more fundamental dynamic of modern Polish history, and indeed, of modern history as a whole. This is the struggle between chauvinism and pluralism.⁶⁶⁶

The freedom brought by the first Solidarity included – as Steinlauf argued – “emancipation from bondage to the deceased.” It seems that this psycho-social aspect, which Steinlauf so keenly analyzed and which has rarely been considered by historians, is extremely important. Undoubtedly, it remains useful for understanding the political scene not only of the Polish People’s Republic but also of the Third Polish Republic.

Stola’s claim (2000, p. 149) that March 68 was rather a “recidivism of Stalinism” than a manifestation the “pre-war Antisemitism of the chauvinist right” seems questionable. The March propagandists were clearly not content with the model of the Soviet propaganda, which is why they drew from the tradition of the National Democracy. They were no longer interested in celebrating the party ritual; they wished to gain the support of wider social masses, including those who resisted the influence of the Communist ideology (this was the point of the “new legitimation of power”). Invoking egalitarianism, they tried to combat social elites, the intelligentsia, against which they mobilized the poor and undereducated majority.

The Stalinist attacks on the “spit-soiled dwarf of reaction” affected the part of the intelligentsia critical of philistinism which was mocked already before the war. The fight against “kulaks” mobilized part of the rural population, but its effectiveness

666 Michael Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Death*, 1997, p. 88.

was limited by the fear of kolkhozes and the indifference of a vast majority of the urban population which did not understand the reasons of this fight. The authorities' attacks against "American imperialism" were considered as an abstraction and provoked rather undesired reactions, becoming a subject of whispered political jokes which highlighted their grotesque features. It was not words but their consequences that aroused fear: show trials, arrests, death sentences. These, however, never assumed a mass character in Poland, which inclined many to believe that it is sufficient to "stay quiet" in order to secure one's position and escape the machine of repression. During the March press campaign, however, it was precisely words which aroused widespread horror. The victims of this campaign experienced a kind of *déjà vu* – the return of Hitler's propaganda and war trauma which they sought to leave behind. The intelligentsia was afraid of losing its social position and job opportunities, a large part of society, which was not resistant to the Antisemitic indoctrination, infused with the fear of "ubiquitous Jews" and wondering why "there were still so many of them." The terror was spread more through verbal aggression than physical violence, which is not to say, though, that the latter was never exercised (as evidenced by the brutal arrests of the protesting students, various acts of intimidation and harassment aimed at forcing the victims to emigrate, as well as beatings of defiant intellectuals by "unknown subjects").

It is possible to list various types of social attitudes toward the Antisemitic campaign and purges, but we do not know much about their range. The party's strategy was successful due to its massive propaganda actions, intimidation, brutal suppression of student strikes, and breaking down of the proto-dissident circles. The lack of wider social resistance against the party's activities had precisely the same reasons. It is symptomatic that those who supported the campaign signed the texts they were sending to the press with their own names, while all critical statements remained largely anonymous⁶⁶⁷. People's behaviors were often motivated by opportunism or the desire for a quick promotion. High rates of recruitment to the Communist Party at that time (with 3,600 new members from March to May 1968) may indicate that the mixture of nationalism and communism appealed to some groups. Although this massive expansion of the party's member base was not directly related to an increase of Antisemitism, one may assume that the hateful attitudes toward the Jewish community, which manifested themselves in the past, especially after the October 1956, but which never met any decisive resistance, had been aroused anew. Some themes of "anti-Zionist" propaganda – such as attacks against members of the establishment, the alleged "anti-Polonism" of the West and the phantasy of a Jewish alliance with German revanchists – proved to have a strong social impact and were still exploited after the fall of the communist regime.

667 D. Stola (2000), 358–361; D. Jarosz (2005), *Problematyka żydowska w listach do Polskiego Radia z 1968 r.*; Idem, *Spółeczeństwo Kielecczyzny wobec wypadków marcowych 1968 roku w świetle dokumentów Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych*, in: J. Wijaczka, G. Miernik (ed.), *Z przeszłości Żydów polskich*, Kraków.

Chapter 9. Antisemitic Ideology and Antisemitic Movement in Poland after 1989

9.1. Positioning Antisemitism on the Political Stage

Polish postwar history came full circle. In the 1940s, it was the anti-communist opposition that made use of Antisemitic rhetoric. Since the late 1960s until 1980s, it was the communist state that tried to turn Antisemitic sentiments against the anti-communist opposition. This was especially the case of Worker's Defense Committee (KOR).⁶⁶⁸ Antisemitic propaganda was distributed chiefly through the inner channels of communication of the Communist Party (brochures and bulletins dedicated to the communist political instructors and activists) and were not published or broadcasted in the nation-wide, mainstream media. These brochures and bulletins tried to depict the major activist of the illegal opposition as Jews or, at least, as Jewish sycophants. With the passing of time, the communist propaganda started to converge with the age-old Antisemitic stereotypes elaborated by the interwar Polish nationalist movement. It should be noted that, in the 1970s, the Ministry of Defense published some "anti-Zionist" texts, including translations of the Soviet anti-Zionist pamphlets.⁶⁶⁹ Yet, the stereotypes and schemata provided by the Soviet literature were rarely copied by the Polish propagandists. Accusations of being a "revisionist," or "a puppet of the American imperialism" or a CIA agent were becoming less popular. Still, some clichés exploited by the Antisemitic hate campaign in 1968, were in use. Firstly, this includes pseudo-egalitarian anti-intellectualism, blaming the leaders of KOR for Stalinism. Secondly, accusations of spreading "anti-polonism" in the USA and Germany by informing about Antisemitic propaganda of communists.

In fact, KOR – constituted of people with different backgrounds and political views – was trying to avoid one-sided ideological declarations. Nevertheless, shortly after KOR was established, a group of activists (Andrzej Czuma, Leszek Moczulski, Adam Wojciechowski, Kazimierz Janusz, Wojciech Ziemiński, and others) tried to create an outright anti-communist right-wing opposition. In 1977, they created the

668 KOR was a civil society organization founded in 1976 by a group of intellectuals as a response to repressions against the factory workers who went on strike in Radom and Ursus. KOR is perceived as a forerunner of the Solidarity movement.

669 An analysis of the "anti-Zionist" Soviet propaganda, and its reception in the communist Poland might be found in Dariusz Libionka (2001), "Brakujące ogniwo. Sowiecka literatura antysyjonistyczna w Polsce przed i po Marcu 1968," in *Komunizm. Ideologia, system, ludzie*, ed. Tomasz Szarota, Warszawa.

Civil and Human Rights Movement (ROPCiO).⁶⁷⁰ After several scissions, few other organizations were established like the Confederacy of the Polish Nation (KPN) that referred to the tradition of Józef Piłsudski and Sanation, while the Young Poland Movement (RMP) tried to revive the tradition of Roman Dmowski and the National Democracy, without, however, reviving its Antisemitism.⁶⁷¹ Yet, RMP's main ideologist Aleksander Hall, who tried to distance the new movement from the heritage of Antisemitism, was soon replaced by more radical activists, like Marek Jurek, whose attitude toward the National Democracy's Antisemitic traditions was ambiguous. Right-wing samizdats started to publish Roman Dmowski's writings as well as political journalism on actual matters, which was openly referring to the traditions of the interwar nationalist right. The controversial historiosophical visions of Feliks Koneczny were becoming once more *en vogue*. Kazimierz Janusz⁶⁷² imitated Koneczny in his book *Konfrontacje* (Confrontations), published in 1979 by an underground publishing house Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3 Maja, linked to ROPCIO and, later, to KPN. Janusz modified the typology of civilization provided by Koneczny, operating with a following list of civilizations: Brahmin, Chinese, Judaic, Arab, Byzantine-steppe (Soviet culture included), Byzantine-German and Western (including Polish culture). In his characteristic of Judaic civilization, Janusz used less aggressive argumentation than Koneczny, but included Antisemitic schemes which were hidden, maybe also for himself. According to Janusz, the Jews were to be characterized by a "separation of the intra-national morality" from extra-national morality. This apparently neutral sentence suggests that Jews are indeed following a double morality (an accusation with a long tradition of Judeophobia). Moreover, Janusz wrote on the Jewish "inclination toward collective forms of social relation," referring to the myth of "Judeo-Communism." Janusz also claimed that Jewish civilization is characterized by "a high evaluation of material values" (that is, Mammonism and crude materialism) and "a strong sense of internal egalitarianism and a strong faith in the coming of a Messianic age, understood as a time of triumph of the Judaic ideal" (which in fact means a Jewish international conspiracy aimed at world domination). Interestingly, it seems that Janusz was not fully aware of the xenophobic context of his own writing and believed that his

670 Cf. Grzegorz Waligóra (2006), *Ruch Obrony Praw Człowieka i Obywatela, 1977–81*, Warszawa; Andrzej Friszke (1994), *Opozycja polityczna w PRL 1945–1980*, Londyn.

671 Cf. Aleksander Hall (1989), "Roman Dmowski," *Przegląd Katolicki*, January 8.

672 Kazimierz Janusz (1925–2014) between 1945–1947 was a member of a leftist Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej "Wici" (Country Youth Alliance "Wici"). He studied at the Warsaw University of Technology. In 1950, he has been arrested and sentenced to 15 years of prison. He left the prison in 1956. Between 1972–74 Janusz worked at the Warszawa University of Technology, since 1982 he owned a horticulture farm. He was also an editor of the underground periodical of ROPCIO titled "Opinia" (Opinion). He was an internee during the martial law period (1981–1983).

own book might help to “reduce the tensions between civilizations,” leading to the elaboration of “a formula for world peace.”⁶⁷³

After the rise of Solidarity and even more so after 1981 a new wave of Antisemitic, state-sponsored leaflets and books appeared. In 1981, excerpts from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were published in *Fermenty* (Ferments), a periodical of the official, pro-government trade unions. Moreover, the Ministry of the Interior seems responsible for republishing *The Protocols...* in 1982, 1983, and 1984.⁶⁷⁴ References to *The Protocols...* may also be found in the *Biuletyn ZP Grunwald* published by Zjednoczenie Patriotyczne “Grunwald” (“Grunwald” Patriotic Union). “Grunwald” was created in 1980 by those members of the Polish Communist Party who sympathized with a more authoritarian model of governance. At the peak of its popularity, this state-funded organization had around 1200 members, including army and police officials linked to the “Moczar’s group,” like Tadeusz Walichnowski, Bohdan Poręba, Tadeusz Bednarczyk, and others. Some of the members of the “Grunwald” board members were also “secret collaborators” of the communist secret police, including Tadeusz Bednarczyk,⁶⁷⁵ Józef Kossecki, Napoleon Siemaszko, and Bohdan Rybicki. Some of them, like Napoleon Siemaszko and Władysław Wójcik, were active members of the nationalist movement in the interwar period. Before the war, Kazimierz Studentowicz was linked to the conservative intellectual periodical *Bunt Młodych* (Youth Rebellion) and, in 1945–46, was a member of the Christian democratic labor party Stronnictwo Pracy. In the case of the abovementioned, as in the case of general Stanisław Skalski, it was Antisemitism that made them cooperate with the authoritarian strains within the Communist Party. “Grunwald” was mainly busy with attacking Solidarity and propagating Antisemitism in its weekly *Rzeczywistość* (Reality; with propagandists such as Ignacy Krasicki, Ryszard Gontarz and Bożena Krzywobłocka active during the March 68 Antisemitic campaign as its contributors), periodical *Płomienie* (Flames), and *Żołnierz Wolności* (Soldier of Freedom). Interestingly, some of the state-supported Antisemitic materials tried to present itself as underground, as in the case of the book *Judeopolonia. Nieznane karty historii PRL (1944–1981)* (Judeo-Poland. Unknown Episodes in the History of the Polish People’s Republic) signed by XYZ (real name Zdzisław Ciesiołkiewicz). *Judeopolonia...* was a compilation of reprints of the interwar Antisemitic propaganda intermingled with original texts written by Ciesiołkiewicz. Another interesting “apocrypha” fabricated by the authors connected to “Grunwald” was a fake interview with one of the prominent figures of the democratic opposition, the historian Bronisław Gremek, supposedly

673 Kazimierz Janusz (1979), *Konfrontacje*, Wąsarska, pp. 32, 294.

674 Tazbir (1992), *Protokoły Mędrców Syjonu. Autentyk czy falsyfikat*, Warszawa, pp. 136–141.

675 For biographical notes on the members of Rady Naczelnej ZP Grunwald see Appendix. See also Sławomir Cenckiewicz (2007), “Endekoesbecja,” *Aparat Represji w Polsce Ludowej, 1944–89*, 5.

explaining to the writer Hanna Krall the Jews' diabolical plans for dominating Poles.⁶⁷⁶ After 1989, the members of "Grunwald" migrated to the right-wing, neo-National-Democratic parties.

An interesting fake material was *Doświadczenie bez Przyszłości?* (Experience Without Future?).⁶⁷⁷ It was signed by Jan Dobrogost Naszan (itself a ciphered allusion to Grunwald).⁶⁷⁸ A fragment of *The Protocols...* served as motto for this exceptional text. Jakub Berman, a Polish communist with Jewish background who was, together with Bolesław Beirut and Hilary Minc, one of the most prominent apparatchiks in the Stalinist Poland, was depicted as the chief villain in the narrative told in *Doświadczenie bez Przyszłości?* According to the materials fabricated by the authors of the brochure, Berman was supposed to state the following during the congress of the Central Committee of Polish Jews:⁶⁷⁹

Jews now stand before an unprecedented opportunity to take over the Polish state. Yet, if we really want to achieve this, we should refrain from occupying the most prominent and representative positions. Rather, we should operate from behind the scenes in order to sustain the belief that the ones who rule are genuine Poles, rather than the Jews.⁶⁸⁰

Later Berman was supposed to list the offices, ministries, and economic and propaganda institutions that should be overtaken by the Jews (the list given in the text is almost identical with the list published in a secret document "Ocena sytuacji w Polsce w związku z konfliktem na Bliskim Wschodzie," described in the previous chapter). At the end of his speech Berman was supposed to say:

Antisemitism should be considered identical with high treason. If any Pole was identified as an Antisemite, he should be incessantly liquidated, using secret police or

676 Fragments of the fake interview of H. Krall and B. Greek were published in *Żołnierz Wolności*, January 15, 1982.

677 The title was an allusion to a group of independent intellectuals "Doświadczenie i Przyszłość" (Experience and Future), working on the plans of economic and political reforms.

678 The name of Zjednoczenie Patriotyczne "Grunwald" recalled the XVth century battle of Grunwald between the Polish-Lithuanian coalition and the forces of the Teutonic Order. Jan Naszan and Dobrogost of Szamotuły were Polish knights fighting in the battle of Grunwald.

679 The text describes Centralny Komitet Żydów Polskich as a "Zionist" organization. In fact, CKŻP was a politically heterogeneous representation of the Jewish community in Poland, bringing together not only Zionists, but the representatives of all the legal Jewish political parties. The meeting of the CKŻP in Wałbrzych described in the material above never took place.

680 It was most probably Stanisław Ciesiołkiewicz who was the author of this text, since an identical fragment of Berman's speech was published in *Judeopolonia*, with a commentary "A man who have made this speech public was sentenced to death (the capital punishment later being changed for life imprisonment)."

the communist militias. He should also be condemned as a fascist, without, however, explaining what was the real reason of his execution.⁶⁸¹

Instead of criticizing “Free Masonry,” the document speaks of “the Mafia” controlled by Berman himself, simultaneously a Zionist, Beria’s personal friend, and a bourgeois. When the document moves toward an analysis of the period of Gierek’s rule, it states that the credits from the Western banks were actually taken from Rothschilds and Rockefellers. As a consequence, the economic policy of the Gierek administration appeared to be proof of Zionist infiltration of the Polish state: “Gierek’s administration received credits because it has committed that it shall tolerate the dissident activity of the Zionists and Trotskyists aiming at destabilizing Poland and accelerating the dissolution of the state.”⁶⁸²

The terms “dissidents” referred to the members of KOR, who, according to the author of the document were only “virtually” repressed; the author rhetorically asks, “What kind of repression is it if the repressed are allowed to defend their Master thesis (as in the case of Michnik⁶⁸³) or a Ph.D. (as in the case of Karol Fiszer-Modzelewski⁶⁸⁴)?”

The document provides us also with a fake biographical note on the prominent Solidarity activist, Jan Rulewski. The final parts of the text resonate with the tones of Gomułka’s speeches from 1968:

We can have no doubts that the Trotskyist (that is, Jewish chauvinist or Zionist) groups animating KOR are responsible for the postwar terror and for the events of 1956, 1968, and 1976. Do we have any reasons to assume that they have changed since then and have good intentions now? Do we have any reasons to assume that now they are thinking only on how to help Poles and Poland? No, they have not changed, and they have not resigned their hidden agenda. These anti-Polish groups should not be conflated with the 150,000 Polish Jews who identify themselves with the Polish national interest and remain loyal citizens of the Polish state. Nevertheless, we should not allow the people responsible for the deaths of thousands of true Poles, people responsible for the tears of the Polish mothers and daughters, to take over our country.

681 *Doświadczenie bez Przyszłości?*, pp. 43–44.

682 *Doświadczenie bez Przyszłości?*, p. 130

683 Adam Michnik (born 1946) a publicist, dissident and political prisoner. His relegation from the Warszawa University triggered the students protests of March 1968. He was a co-founder of KOR, an advisor of the Solidarity movement and an internee during the martial law period. In 1989, he established the newspaper “Gazeta Wyborcza” and was elected a MP. He has been aggressively attacked by the right, especially the right gravitating around the Kaczyński’s brothers.

684 Karol Modzelewski (born 1937) – a historian, political activist and prisoner. In 1980 Modzelewski was engaged in founding the Solidarity trade union, and is considered to be the inventor of the trade union’s name.

Thus, to the authors of the text, it appears that the activists of KOR, propagating a non-violence action, are in fact serial killers or, even more, are responsible for genocide.

In the turbulent times of the Solidarity, many other Antisemitic initiatives appeared. These initiatives, while coming from the circles linked to the Communist Party or the communist secret service were increasingly independent, resembling in this respect the radical right emerging on the margins of Solidarity. One of such initiatives was the publishing house Unia Nowoczesnego Humanizmu (Modern Humanism Union), founded by a lecturer of Szkoła Główna Planowania i Statystyki, Władysław Bruliński (1915–98). UNH was active in the period of 1981–1989 in Warsaw (although some publications signaled that the location of the publisher was Wrocław or Kraków). It has republished the writings of Dmowski, Koneczny, Ida Martowa, has twice published *Judeopolonia* along with treatises on Jewish conspiracy, spiritism, creationism, and Masonry, and the original works of its founder publishing under the nickname Władysław Znicz.⁶⁸⁵

Another independent initiative ideologically influenced by “Grunwald” and “the Moczarrians” was Polski Komitet Obrony Życia, Rodziny i Narodu (Polish Committee for the Defense of Life, Family, and the Nation). No reference to “pro-life” activities of the Committee was documented. Instead, what was documented were the Antisemitic leaflets. In one of such leaflets the Committee stated:

KOR tries to present itself to the Polish public opinion as an independent social organization fighting injustice and propaganda. In reality, it is part of a group that impacts the liberal-Jewish faction of the Communist Party, the progressivist faction of the Church, and is capable of mobilizing masses of activists and supporters. KOR's core constitute two groups: the ex-Stalinist activists responsible for the terror of 1945–1956 and their young pupils. The final aims of these two groups are identical and dictated by their ideology, Trotskyism and Zionism.

After 1983 (when the martial law was lifted), the Antisemitic propaganda was no longer strictly controlled by the state but, rather, was a symptom of a deepening scissions and frictions inside the party. The party liberals or reformers were progressively gaining power. Moreover, since the mid-1980s the Polish communist state sought normalization of political relations with the state of Israel, lifting some restrictions that formerly impeded the growth of Jewish life in Poland.⁶⁸⁶ In 1987, on the request of general Jaruzelski, the Ideological Unit and the Social and

685 Before the war Bruliński was a president of a student organization Bratniak. The fact of publishing Ciesiołkiewicz's books might be a signal of his links to “Grunwald” circles. His underground one-man publishing house worked undisturbed for almost a decade and published more than thirty books.

686 See Alina Cała (1998), p. 288–289; August Grabski, “Współczesne życie religijne Żydów w Polsce,” August Grabski, Maciej Pisarski, Albert Stankowski, eds. (1997), *Studia z dziejów i kultury Żydów w Polsce*, Warszawa, pp. 153–156.

Legal Unit of the Central Committee have prepared a document titled "Proposals About Public Discussion of the Events of March 1968." Some fragments of the document could be interpreted as an evidence of a deep reevaluation of the official party line concerning the interpretation of the causes of the student protests. For example, the authors state that: "Revisionism was, somehow mechanically, identified with Zionism. Moreover, ideological struggles with revisionism were treated as a pretext to discriminate many." The document indicates that "conservative circles within the party" are responsible for the abovementioned discriminatory practices and suggests that some form of reparation of and rehabilitation for the victims is necessary. Moreover, a postulate appeared for introducing dual citizenship and enabling the return emigrants who left in 1969.⁶⁸⁷ The postulates were discussed by the Central Committee. The result of the discussion was, however, ambiguous, as reveal the articles published in party newspapers *Trybuna Ludu* and *Nowe Drogi*. The articles repeated the phrase about "the discrimination of many people" and condemned Antisemitic excesses, however marginalized. Still, the engagement of the party activist into stifling student protests was evaluated as unambiguously positive, and Władysław Gomułka was given merit for "correcting the unjust and wrong decisions."⁶⁸⁸ We should link this discussion with the attempts of reestablishing official diplomatic contacts with Israel for the first time after 1967. Moreover, it could also be seen as a reaction to the progressively more open and straightforward presentation of the problem of the Polish-Jewish relations available in the press and literature (both official and underground).

In the short period of relatively unrestricted freedom (the so-called "festival of Solidarity" in 1980–1981) an outburst of independent initiatives, including independent publishing houses took place. The introduction of the martial law impeded the process of the independent press and literature development, but could not stop it completely. Yet, as it has been mentioned, the underground publishing houses and samizdats created the canals not only for distribution of anti-communist, but also Antisemitic content. *Głos* (Voice) Magazine gives an important example of this tendency. It was published since 1978 by a group of dissenters led by Antoni Macierewicz. At first, it seemed to share the ethos of KOR, yet during the 1980. it has evolved toward neo-nationalist right. "Głos" publishing house from Poznań had similar ideological profile. Other far-right publishing initiatives that should be named were Wydawnictwo Narodowe Chrobry (active in Warsaw between 1980 and 1981), Biblioteka "Szczerbca" (1986), and Wydawnictwo Narodowego Odrodzenia Polski (1988). Around 1985, the illegal Solidarity movements started to disintegrate. New political currents, factions and formations were emerging, giving birth to political parties. Many of them tried to recall the heritage of the

687 AAN, KC VII/88 qtd. after D. Stola (2000), pp. 262–266.

688 Janusz Janicki, Mieczysław Jaworski (1988), "Marzec 1968," *Trybuna Ludu*, March 2; Zenobiusz Kozik (1988), "O wydarzeniach marcowych 1968 r.," *Nowe Drogi*, No. 2. Qtd. after D. Stola (2000), pp. 266–267.

interwar Poland, referring explicitly to the political parties that had been active in this period. As for the parties of the interwar nationalist right, in the early 1990s, there was as many as six different political parties under the name of Stronnictwo Narodowe. Several of these organizations were formed by the former activists of “Grunwald” and the Moczarians⁶⁸⁹ who, deprived of the support of the Communist Party, tried to find their way to politics through different other parties (such as Partia X, Samoobrona, PSL, AWS). A considerable part of the former communist nationalist bound themselves to conservative currents of Catholicism (like Józef Kossecki, who after the year 2000 became a member of Akcja Katolicka).⁶⁹⁰ Several other ex-communists became ideologists of Radio Maria. While a turn from communism to Catholicism might seem surprising, the structure of their thinking, based on authoritarianism and conspiracy theory, did not undergo radical change.

In the early 1990s, the Polish political stage was very far from stability. New parties were emerging and disappearing. The parties that have made their way into parliament also suffered from factionalism, scissions, and disintegration. Dividing lines between ideologies were still blurry. There was also a notable shift of the political field: the post-communist parties of the nominal left were realizing a liberal agenda, the parties described as “conservative” were actually referring to some principles of Christian democracy, while the “center right” parties were analogous to the Western parties of the New Right resembling the German Volksunion, the Austrian Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, the French Front National or the Italian Fini’s neo-fascists. Many parties could be classified as “populist,” amalgamating elements of diverse political ideologies. In some of the major political parties (ZChN, KPN, PSL, AWS, Samoobrona, PC), there were groups and factions referring to Antisemitism or making use of ant-Semitic allusions.⁶⁹¹ For some parties, especially for the parties of the populist right, Antisemitism constituted the core their its political identity. In quantitative terms, the number of parties which programatically referred to Antisemitism was the following: 1992 – twenty-nine; 1995 – thirty-one; 1996 – twelve; 1998 – from nine to six, in 2001 (election year) – ten. These numbers should be compared to 360 legally registered parties. The main reason explaining the diminishing numbers of the openly and programatically Antisemitic parties lies in the reconfiguration of the political field, enhanced by

689 See Jarosław Tomaszewicz *Ugrupowania neoendeckie w III RP*, (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2003).

690 Kossecki lectured at the Catholic Action center in Radość, near Warszawa. See Kossecki’s biographical note co-edited by Kossecki himself on Wikipedia.

691 See interviews with the members of the parties represented in the parliament in Alina Cała, Dariusz Libionka, Stefan Zgliczyński (2002), “Monitoring Antisemitism in Poland, 1999–2001,” *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, No. 4, pp. 501–514; Alina Cała, Dariusz Libionka, Stefan Zgliczyński (2003), “Antysemityzm bez Żydów i bez antysemitytów,” *Nigdy Więcej*, 13. See also Alina Cała, “Contemporary Antisemitism in Poland,” *Polish Western Affairs*, Wrocław, 32, 2, 1991; Alina Cała (1993), “Antisemitism in Poland Today,” *Patterns of Prejudice*, 27, p. 1.

the changes of the legislators' framework, especially the changes of the electoral system, promoting major coalitions rather than small dispersed parties.⁶⁹²

The abovementioned statistics do not take into account local gangs of skinhead, neo-Nazi, and football hooligans making use of Antisemitic and racist imagery. These gangs or groups did not aim at registration and obtaining a legal status, but functioned as informal subcultures.⁶⁹³ Skinhead subculture was transmitted to Poland from Germany (which is evidenced, for instance, by the fact that the most popular visual identification used by the Polish skinheads was, at first, not the Celtic cross which was most popular among British and Scandinavian skinheads, but swastika). It was also the first subculture that was propagated through the Internet. As all the subcultural trends, it first became popular in the elite, big city high schools (especially in Warsaw, Gdańsk, Gdynia, Lublin, and Wrocław). In the early 1990s, it spread to big city public housing boroughs, among the students of vocational schools, and then among the small town and countryside youth. The German and Scandinavian influence led to the emergence of neopagan movements represented by "Niklot" and "Świaszczyca" associations, active mainly in the Western Pomerania, Warsaw, and Cracow.⁶⁹⁴ Skinheads were publishing their own zines called "skinzins." There were also music bands referring to Nazi ideology: Cyklon B from Wołomin, Auschwitz from Białystok or Orzeł Biały (White Eagle) from Bydgoszcz. In 2000–2002, there were at least eighteen bands which referred to racist imagery: *Deportacja 68*,⁶⁹⁵ *Olaf and Olaf*, *Batalion*, *Ekspansja*, *Honor*, *Kresowiec*, *Legion*, *NaRa*, *Odwet*, *Ofensywa*, *Salut*, *Sarmatia*, *Szczerbiec*, *Zadruga*, *Twierdza*, *Konkwista 88*, *Sztorm 88*, *Szwadron 97*.⁶⁹⁶ Polish

692 Between 1989–1997 for registering a party it was sufficient to provide the court with a status signed by fifteen supporters. After 1998 providing 1000 supporter signatures became necessary for party re-registration.

693 Some of these groups were using names of English and American bands or organizations like: White Power, White Legion, Aryan Front, Blood and Honor, or Combat 18. The last number derived from the initials of Adolf Hitler, since A and H are the first and eighth letters of the Latin alphabet. Paradoxically this type of ciphering is itself derived from the Jewish Kabbalah and goes back to the esoteric currents of Nazism, see Rafał Pankowski, *Rasizm a kultura popularna*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio, 2006); Pankowski, *Neofaszyzm w Europie Zachodniej: zarys ideologii* (Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 1998).

694 According to the neopagan activists, the word "Świaszczyca" is an original, old Slavic name for swastika. This genealogy was invented by the activist of the pre-war Polish far-right movement, Zadruga.

695 The name refers to expulsion of the Jews from Poland in 1968. One of the lyrics sang by the band was the following: "the Jewish syndicate rules the world/Children of Isreal run this world/ Why are they still alive?/ Why cannot I shoot them all down?" See Rafał Pankowski (2001), "Rytm antysemicki," *Midrasz*, 50.

696 Again 88 stands for HH meaning Heil Hitler, and 97 stands for Joseph Goebbels initials.

black-metal bands like Greveland and Antisemitex became popular among the Western neo-Nazis. In the 1980s, the skinhead community was infiltrated and manipulated by the communist secret police. Some of the members of the skinhead movement were also members of the pro-regime Klub Młodego PRONowca (Young PRON Club) and were mobilized to attack manifestations of Solidarity or Pomarańczowa Alternatywa.⁶⁹⁷ After the fall of communism, the skinhead movement became of interest to the far-right parties. During the Polish Right Congress, which took place on May 1, 1990, in the Warsaw Palace of Culture and Science, the skinheads militia played the role of official bodyguards.⁶⁹⁸ In 1995, the estimated membership in the skinhead movement amounted to 2000–6000.⁶⁹⁹ During the summer holiday of 1999, there were several summer camps organized, equipping skinheads with combat techniques. One of such camps was visited by a member of Sejm, Jan Łopuszański (that time representing ZChN, later representing LPR) and Adam Słomka (representing KPN-“Ojczyzna”). Stronnictwa Narodowe (National Party), Bolesław Tejkowski’s Polska Wspólnota Narodowa – Polskie Stronnictwo Narodowe (Polish National Community – Polish National Party), Janusz Bryczkowski’s Polski Front Narodowy (Polish National Front), and Unia Polityki Realnej (Real Politics Union) were competing among themselves, trying to subordinate the skinhead movement in order to use it for their own political aims. Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Poland Youth) came closest to this aim yet, when Liga Polskich Rodin distanced itself from Młodzież Wszechpolska in 2006, the skinhead movement was politically organized by Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Revival of Poland) and Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny (National Radical Camp). Still the numbers of the movement followers were declining.

In the early 1990s, president Wałęsa and the Kaczyński brothers launched a campaign against the liberal prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki (so-called “war at the top”), aiming at strengthening the right. As an effect, the Antisemitic discourse was progressively becoming acceptable, if not desirable, within the post-Solidarity

697 See “Byłem skinem, rozmowa z Ryszardem T., byłym działaczem Narodowego Odrodzenia Polski,” *Nigdy Więcej*, 12 (2000/2001): 23–24; See Robert Lipka (1992), “Skinheads,” Barbara Fatyga, Michał Szymańczak eds., *Raport o młodzieży*, Warszawa, p. 280. Pomarańczowa Alternatywa (Orange Alternative) was a group of anti-establishment performers and activists inspired by the situationist movement active in Wrocław.

698 The congress was planned as an annual event, enabling exchange of ideas and opinions and aimed at creating a common platform uniting the right. The aim was not realized. For more on the parties that took part in the congress see *Gorączka czasu przełomu: dokumenty ugrupowań radykalnych 1989–1990*, ed. Piotr Frączak, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Warszawa 1994.

699 Alina Cała (1995), “Poland,” *The Skinhead International: A Worldwide Survey of Neo-Nazi Skinheads*, New York: Anti-Defamation League, pp. 59–62. See also Robert Lipka, Rafał Pankowski (1992), *Gdzie kończy się patriotyzm: z dziejów polskich grup faszystujących 1922–1992*, Kalenezja, Bydgoszcz.

circles, including its main periodical *Tygodnik Solidarność*. Antisemitic slogans appeared during manifestations organized by the Solidarity trade union against president Wałęsa and, later, president Kwaśniewski (e.g., on March 12, 1993 in Warsaw). Some activists made use of the official trade union channels of communication in order to propagate Antisemitic content. Few parties that became a part of the right-wing coalition under the aegis of Solidarity trade union called Akcja Wyborcza "Solidarność" (AWS; Solidarity Electoral Action), referred to Antisemitism and chauvinism (Stronnictwo Narodowe and Prawica Narodowa). Few members of the latter party played a prominent role in Jerzy Buzek's government (1997–2001). Nevertheless, it should be noted that since AWS formed the governmental coalition, the members of the Antisemitic parties tried to avoid explicit and public references to Antisemitism. It was around that time when Antisemitic brochures and books disappeared from the offices of the Solidarity trade union. Despite that, it cannot be denied that the legendary social movement played its role in mainstreaming the Antisemitic discourse.

Another important institution that helped to mainstream the Antisemitic discourse in Poland after the fall of communism was doubtlessly the Radio Maryja Broadcast Station. It was founded in 1991 by father Tadeusz Rydzyk.⁷⁰⁰ In 1994 the radio concession for Radio Maryja has been issued for the national coverage of Poland's territory. Moreover, the radio owns broadcasting facilities on the territory of Russia. Institutionally, Radio Maryja is independent of the Polish Bishop Conference, being an initiative of the Redemptorists Order (father Rydzyk also being a member of this congregation). In 1999, 7,7 % (around 3 mln) of the Polish population listen to Radio "Maryja," while at the end of the numbers declined to 5,7 %, (more than 2 mln), reaching around 2,5 million in 2003, and between 1 million and 800,000 daily in 2004. Donations for the radio were transferred by almost 200,000 people.

Moreover, almost 50 % of the clergy listened to Radio "Maryja" that time and recommend it to their parishioners. The majority of the audience were women (70 %), small town or country dwellers, between 55 and 75 years old.⁷⁰¹ Within several

700 Radio Maryja referred to the tradition of "Radio Maria," a broadcast station from Balderschwang (South Germany), which has been closed down by the diocesan authorities as a response to the right-wing radicalism and xenophobia. The persona who helped equip father Rydzyk's radio station was Ivano Pietrobelli, an employee of the Italian consulate in Germany and a collaborator of the Italian Radio Maria.

701 Survey organized by SMG/KRC indicated a progressive decline in the numbers of listeners between 2006 and 2007. Yet, simultaneously, the survey pointed to the fact that the percentage of the receivers possessing academic degree was rising from 9 % to 16 % in 2006/07. In other words, while the total numbers of the listeners diminished, the radio managed to reach new better educated listeners. See Konrad Piskala, Tomasz Potkaj (2007), *W imię Ojca. Fenomen Tadeusz Rydzyka*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Axel Springer Polska. See also a report by Rafał Maszkowski on Radio Maryja's website.

years, father Rydzyk has built an empire, possessing land, buildings, and technical equipment. The sources of Radio Maryja wealth remain obscure due to the fact that the concordat between Poland and the Vatican precludes public administration from controlling the Church possession. People linked to Radio Maryja established the foundation *Nasza Przyszłość* (Our Future) with a publishing house that issues not only religious but also Antisemitic literature (Koneczny, among others). Another foundation connected to Radio Maryja, *Servire Veritati*, founded Instytut Edukacji Narodowej (Institute for National Education) and Instytut im. Ojca Maksymiliana Kolbe (Father Kolbe's Institute), organizing courses for journalists and teachers in several cities. Foundation *Lux Veritatis* is the formal owner of TV Trwam, a broadcast station linked to Radio Maryja, which has obtained a nationwide concession in 2003. Radio Maryja has also founded *Wyższa Szkoła Kultury Społecznej i Medialnej* in Toruń (Social and Media Culture College). In 1998, the daily newspaper *Nasz Dziennik* was created with circulation of around 100 000 copies.⁷⁰² The name of the newspaper refers to *Mały Dziennik*, an Antisemitic paper issued between 1934–1939 by the Franciscan Order in Niepokalanów. Apart from that, there is also the monthly *Rodzina Radia Maryja*. Important titles of Catholic press that publish Antisemitic content also include *Niedziela*, issued by the metropolitan curia in Częstochowa. Jerzy Robert Nowak, propagating Antisemitism in his feuilletons in Radio Maryja and *Niedziela*, was an associate editor of Radio Maryja. The ideological profile of Radio Maryja was shaped by members of several groups: the academics from Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin), including the former chancellor of the university, father Mieczysław Krąpiec, and Piotr Jaroszyński, the dean of the philosophy faculty; ZP “Grunwald” (Tadeusz Bednarczyk, Bohdan Poręba, Edward Prus, Andrzej Leszek Szcześniak); secessionists from Catholic organizations such as Polski Związek Katolicko-Społeczny (Polish Catholic Social Association; Ryszard Bender); PAX (Jan Engelgard, Stanisław Krajski, Edward Prus, Bogusław Jeznach); and Chrześcijańskie Stowarzyszenie Społeczne (Christian Social Association; Czesław Bartnik). Some of them also lectured at the College in Toruń. In 1997, thanks to political canvassing, almost eighteen members of the Sejm and Senat were elected thanks to the support of Radio Maryja. During the 2001 campaign, the support given by Radio Maryja to Liga Polskich Rodzin contributed to its electoral success. After the local and regional elections of 2002,⁷⁰³ father Rydzyk has given his full support to Antoni Macierewicz's Ruch Katolicko-Narodowy (National-Catholic

702 The editorial board declares circulation of 180 000 copies. Readership surveys indicated that there is between 30 000 and 60 000 regular readers. Moreover, two *Nasz Dziennik* bookshops were open in Kraków and Warszawa. See Piotr Głuchowski, Marcin Kowalski, “Zaślubiona ojcu Tadeuszowi,” *Gazeta Wyborcza*, October 14, 2008.

703 It should be noted that RM electoral committee from Poznań, made use of Adolf Hitler's portrait in their campaign, see Alina Cała, Dariusz Libionka, Stefan Zgliczyński “Antysemityzm bez Żydów...”

Movement). Other politicians of the right also fought for father Rydzyk's favor. In 2005 elections, Radio Maryja supported Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice), contributing to the victory of Lech Kaczyński in his presidential campaign. In return, PiS government provided Radio Maryja with additional privileges, helping it obtain EU funding. Governmental support for Radio Maryja was questioned by the new governmental coalition constituted by PSL and the liberal Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform) that won the elections in 2007.

As the surveys show, the Antisemitic propaganda reaches its climax in the election period.⁷⁰⁴ During the first presidential campaign, Antisemitic content was present in the speech given by the president of the trade union "Solidarność 1980," Marian Jurczyk (Kielce, January 17, 1990). In September and November 1990, similar slogans were being chanted during the rallies of Partia X, organized by "Grunwald" activists. It also incidentally appeared in speeches of PSL presidential candidate Roman Bartoszcze. In a leaflet signed by Katolicka Agencja Prasowa (Catholic Press Agency), we could have read: "Support only a genuine Pole, Roman Bartoszcze whose hands are clean and whose wife is Polish! Do not vote for criminals! By voting on Jews and Free Masons you are sentencing yourself, your family and your country to death!"⁷⁰⁵

On September 29, 1990, Lech Wałęsa called his rival Tadeusz Mazowiecki to publicly acknowledge his Jewish roots, even though he was perfectly aware that Mazowiecki does not have Jewish ancestors. In response, Mazowiecki's campaign team provided the public with a genealogy of their candidate giving witness that Mazowiecki is no Jew Antisemitic Antisemitic.⁷⁰⁶ In the same month, Antisemitic content was transmitted in the electoral TV advertisement of Stronnictwo Narodowe leader, Maciej Giertych broadcasted by the local TV station in Wrocław. In the next elections, he expressed his Antisemitic views in a TV programme on November 8, 1996. The day after, windows were broken in Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (Jewish Historical Institute). The same happened on November 16, 1996. The spokesmen of ZChN, Michał Kamiński, won much applause during the

704 Cf. Mirosław Kofta, Krzysztof Sędek (1992), "Struktura poznawcza stereotypu etnicznego," Zdzisław Chlewiński, Ida Kurcz eds., *Stereotypy i uprzedzenia*, Warszawa: Instytut Psychologii PAN, pp. 67–86.

705 A leaflet distributed in Warszawa, with a date 17 XI 1990 (available in AŻIH's archives). PSL that time constructed a coalition with several small nationalist parties. The text of the leaflet quoted above resonates with the old "Moczarian" propaganda starting that: "Mazowiecki-Balcerowicz's government is constituted of Jews (Trotskyists and ex-Stalinists)..." Moreover, the leaflet warned that Polish women will be forced to work as "domestic servants and prostitutes" and that governmentt is planning to deport Poles from Poland and bring millions of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union. The leaflet described Wałęsa as a Free Mason and "a Jewish sycophant."

706 *Tygodnik Ziemi Gnieźnieńskiej*, 684, April 10, 1992.

party convention in May 2000 after recalling the slogan “Poland for Poles!” and stating that the Podlasie voivodship should remain “a National-Catholic region.”⁷⁰⁷

Yet, the politicians quite quickly learned that public Antisemitic opinions can be harmful for their careers, and tried to follow the rules of political correctness once elected to parliament, even if they were still supporting the Antisemitic movements. During the 2007 parliamentary campaign, no Antisemitic incidents were noted.

Moreover, making Antisemitism the cornerstone of one’s political program did not bring massive popular support, as the examples of the activists of ZChN from Łódź shows. Making use of Antisemitic propaganda paved their way to the local government in 1992, yet they have lost the parliamentary elections the year after. These presidential candidates who, like Bogdan Pawłowski or general Tadeusz Wilecki, openly appealed to Antisemitic sentiments received little support. Other Antisemitic candidates, Bogusław Rybicki and Bolesław Tejkowski, could not even reach the support required for registering the electoral committee. Even Lech Wałęsa, who again imputed Jewish origins to his rival, Aleksander Kwaśniewski during an interview for the third programme of the Polish Radio, on the 7 of July, 2000, has lost the elections. Ruch Społeczny “Alternatywa” (“Alternative” Social Movement), which formed a coalition with NOP, received only 0.5 % of the votes in the parliamentary elections of 2001. During the European Parliament campaign of 2004, three electoral committees appealing to Antisemitism were registered, namely: LPR, Polska Partia Narodowa Leszka Bubla (Leszek Bubel’s Polish National Party), and Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski. Thanks to Radio Maryja’s support and a low turn-out (only 21 % of eligible voters actually took part in the elections), LPR became the second largest Polish party represented in the European Parliament, with 16 % of the national vote (969 000 voters supporting LPR). PPN and NOP received 0,04 % or 2500 votes.

Apart from minor exceptions (like Tejkowski’s PWN-PSN, the neo-pagans, and Leszek Bubel’s party) the Polish Antisemitic organizations appeal to Catholic Integralism. They also support “a strong state” (with an important role of the president). Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes often win respect of Antisemites; for instance, one of the speakers of Radio Maryja praised Adolf Hitler for “liquidating unemployment” and “an impressive pro-natalist policy” (on October 1, 2003).⁷⁰⁸ In a leaflet distributed in 1989, in Warsaw, the activists of SN “Szczербiec” declared:

The National Party proudly stands for the values of the Polish and European right ... represented by such heroes as general Franco, general Salazar, general Pinochet, Charles Maurras, and Le Pen’s Front National.

707 See more in Alina Cała, Dariusz Libionka, Stefan Zgliczyński, “Antysemityzm bez Żydów...”

708 See Maszkowski report on Radio Maryja’s website.

The journalist from Klub Zachowawczo-Monarchistyczny (Conservative-Monarchist Club), in his interview with Jacek Dębski from UPR, stated that “Unfortunately the specter of democracy is haunting Poland.”⁷⁰⁹ The editor of a conservative journal *Stańczyk*, Tomasz Gabiś warned that:

Democracy, the parliamentary regime, the state governed by political parties, all these should be treated as a calamity. The only answer lies in the authoritarian state.... An order based on hierarchy and authority, saturated with genuine freedom, can be constructed afresh only on the ruins of democracy.⁷¹⁰

Far-right organizations declared that the freedom for left-wing organizations to take part in political and economic life should be restricted. The proponents of such ideas believe themselves to defend such values as: Nation, Race, Authority, Law, Order, Fatherland, Discipline, Honor, Fidelity, Hierarchy, and Absolute Truth (often labelled the Natural Order). They also believed themselves to fight against “excessive” tolerance, equality (especially equality of men and women), open society, and postmodernism (identified with hedonism and multiculturalism).

Due to the weakness of the Polish left, the examples of left Antisemitism are less common. An example of such Antisemitism was provided by a polemic around the publications of the New Left periodicals such as *Lewą Nogą*, *Rewolucja*, and *Le Monde Diplomatique*. The authors publishing in these periodicals made use of Antisemitic clichés created by Arab (and Soviet) “anti-Zionist” discourse such as: “Israel’s racist and imperialist policies,” or “the American-Israeli lobby.” They have presented their judgements in an ahistorical manner, abstracting from the context of military aggression of the Arab states against Israel, and from the Palestinian terrorism. Moreover, they were also accusing all the Israeli governments and parties of “aggression against the Arab states” and of attempts to “annihilate the Palestinian nation.” They made use of the arguments which could be interpreted as examples of conspiracy theory, as in the fragment quoted below: “Israeli anti-Palestinian policy is a type of a local laboratory for the global neoconservative politics. The final aim of this strategy is a re-colonization of the world.”⁷¹¹

709 *Pro Fide, Rege et Lege*, 6, 1989.

710 Tomasz Gabiś (1994), “Prawica dla przyszłości,” *Stańczyk*, 20.

711 Michel Warszawski (2005), “Posłanie do moich towarzyszy z ruchów antywojennych,” *Lewą Nogą*, 17, p. 228. For a summary of the polemic see Piotr Kencziorek, August Grabski (2006), “Lewicowy antysemityzm – straszak czy rzeczywistość,” *Midrasz*, 111/112, pp. 62–65; Stefan Zgliczyński (2008), *Antysemityzm po polsku*, Warszawa: Książka i Prasa, pp. 120–135. For more on the Israeli anti-Zionist left and Michel Warszawski, see August Grabski (2006), “Matzpen and the state of Israel, 1962–1973,” *KHŻ*, 219; see also August Grabski (2008), *Lewica przeciwko Izraelowi. Zbiór studiów o żydowskim lewicowym antysyjonizmie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio.

Moreover the “anti-Zionists” on the left accused the “Israeli lobby” of making cynical use of the Holocaust to put pressure on the USA and the EU in order to achieve the political aims of the Israeli state. They neglected the threat of Antisemitism and undermine the rights of Jews to have their own state. Moreover, the terms coined by the extreme left were later used by the extreme right, as the example of the term “the Holocaust industry” introduced by Norman G. Finkelstein shows.⁷¹²

The Antisemitic ideology in the present-day Poland often goes together with a hostile attitude toward European Union. Antisemitic “Euro-scepticism” was particularly vivid before Poland’s accession to the EU. As Młodzież Wszechpolska declared:

For us, almost everything that is of any value, everything that is noble and praiseworthy is Polish. That is why we must find all these cosmopolitans and political and ideological perverts, all that moral scum and all the pan-European rabble – distasteful.⁷¹³

Narodowy Front Polski (National Front of Poland) stated:

In the face of a serious threat two attitudes are possible. ... The first attitude is represented by the leftists of different kinds The leading figures of the Left are of the Jewish origin and are not indeed a part of our nation. That is why they are so prone to sell our common wealth to their brothers and cousins from other countries... Possessing the monopoly in the government and parliament, they control the state, pushing the nation toward an abyss of destruction, yet the nation remains unaware of this. It remains unaware of the plot created by the Jews together with the German revisionists and Israeli Zionists. Do Polish people really want to be slaves in a “united Europe” controlled politically by the Germans and economically by the Jews?!⁷¹⁴

Father Rydzyk on his part declared with a good deal of irony in Radio Maryja:

We are the bad guys, they say. We would be the good guys, if I only say aloud: “Union! European Union! Proletarians of the world – unite!” If I would only declare that faith in the European Union is the cornerstone of our faith, I would be counted as the good guy.⁷¹⁵

Anti-European stance was expressed in terms of classical nationalism (idea of justified “national egotism” formulated by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalist ideologists Balicki and Dmowski). Thanks to Poland’s membership in

712 Norman G. Finkelstein (2005), *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Antisemitism and the Abuse of History*, Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press; Finkelstein (2003), *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*, London: Verso.

713 *Myśl Polska*, 19, March 2000

714 *Szaniec*, 2, 1990.

715 Audtion on February 19, 2003.

the EU, the possibility to introduce xenophobic legislation which would discriminate minorities was restrained, yet not blocked completely.⁷¹⁶ Still, it must be stated that all the governments after 1989 were ignoring the Antisemitic problem, and some of them were even financially supporting far-right press and periodicals. Under the rule of PiS, LPR, and Samoobrona coalition, Antisemitic publicists dominated the educational unit of Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National Remembrance).⁷¹⁷ On the other hand, the PiS government stuck to the rules of political correctness. When LPR became the member of the governmental coalition, its leader, Roman Giertych, publicly distanced himself from anti-Semitism (his speech given in Jedwabne being an important symbolical gesture confirming this). It is probably on Giertych request that the Antisemitic content was removed from the internet website of LPR and its youth organization. After a series of scandals with the members of Młodzież Wszechpolska who were reported to use Nazi emblems or Nazi salute, Giertych was forced to distance himself from his former youth organization as well.

A part of the Polish intelligentsia might consider Antisemitism an “unreasonable” political proposal which should be, however, tolerated in order not to violate the ideas of democratic pluralism and free speech. Thus, Antisemitism was not actually condemned, but rather its existence or importance was neglected or negated, as a marginal aberration, supposed not to pose any serious danger. Such belief is, however, far from truth since, after the elections of 2001, Antisemitism ceased to be represented solely on the margins of the political stage, and in 2005–2007 Antisemitic activists became members of the governmental coalition. After the elections of 2007 the most important party of the opposition, PiS, took on board several prominent Antisemitic activist including Marcin Libicki from Prawica Narodowa, Ryszard Bender, Antoni Macierewicz, Mariusz Kamiński, and Artur Górski from Klub Zachowawczo-Monarchistyczny.⁷¹⁸ Long after the fall of PiS-LPR-Samoobrona governmental coalition, the activists of LPR with a background in the skinhead movement occupied important public offices, including public television and radio broadcasters. Allusion to the stereotype of “Judeo-Commune” appeared in the spectacle *Golgota Wroclawska* screened by the First Program of the public television. A strange inversion between the roles of victim and persecutor

716 The bill of February 2005 regulating legal rights of the ethnic minorities (limiting the amount of local communities allowed to use official names in two languages solely to 8 municipalities) serves as a good example of such practices. Compare: Sejm RP, *Biuletyny, IV kadencja*, February 17, 2005. In 2016 the coalition led by the Law and Justice party has reduced public funding for ethnic minorities cultural activities.

717 IPN is a government-affiliated research institute founded in 1999, endowed with persecution powers.

718 Artur Górski (1970–2016) was for a short period of time the editor-in-chief of *Nasz Dziennik*. He was mainly known for his racist comment about Barack Obama expressed in his parliamentary speech.

was presented in a popular TV series *Czas honoru* (Days of Honor), in which Jews were depicted as shmaltsovniks blackmailing and denouncing a Catholic family hiding in the ghetto.

9.2. The Catholic Church and Antisemitism

The fall of the Third Reich brought about a breakthrough in Christian evaluation of Antisemitism. In October 1945, the Protestant churches, reacting to the moral shock of Holocaust, reevaluated their attitude toward Judaism; Lutherans expressed the need for repentance for their moral stance in the times of Nazism. The Catholic Church has never reevaluated its stance toward Judaism until 1965, when the Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions *Nostra aetate* was published, modifying the Church's attitude toward Judeophobic elements of the traditional Catholic doctrine. The document emphasized the continuity between Christianity and Judaism and the irrevocability of God's gifts given to the People of Israel:

The Church, therefore, cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in His inexpressible mercy concluded the Ancient Covenant. Nor can she forget that she draws sustenance from the root of that well-cultivated olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild shoots, the Gentiles.⁷¹⁹

In other words, Israel remains God's chosen people, even if the chosenness was expanded to Christians. Moreover, the accusation of Deicide (the killing of Jesus Christ) was somehow moderated:

True, the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ; still, what happened in His passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed by God, as if this followed from the Holy Scriptures.⁷²⁰

Commentaries on these documents indicated the religious importance of Judaism for Catholicism, presenting the Jews as witnesses of Revelation and stating that: "the Jews and Judaism should not occupy an occasional and marginal place in catechesis: their presence there is essential and should be organically integrated."⁷²¹

719 *Declaration of the Church to Non-Christian Religions proclaimed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on October 28, 1965.*

720 *Declaration of the Church...*

721 Pierre Duprey, Jorge Meija, Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, "Notes on the correct way to present the Jews and Judaism in preaching and catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church."

Furthermore, the establishment of the State of Israel and its theological interpretation played an important role in the reevaluation of Church relation to Jews and Judaism:

The existence of the State of Israel and its political options should be envisaged not in a perspective which is in itself religious, but in their reference to the common principles of international law. The permanence of Israel (while so many ancient peoples have disappeared without trace) is a historic fact and a sign to be interpreted within God's design. We must in any case rid ourselves of the traditional idea of a people *punished*, preserved as a *living argument* for Christian apologetic. It remains a chosen people.⁷²²

In other words, the emergence of the State of Israel in the Holy land became the sign of irreversibility of God's gifts and an argument against the idea of Israel as a nation under God's curse. What lacks in the post-Vatican II documents on the Jewish question is a reflection on the moral problems posed by Shoah; there are no references to Holocaust found even in the documents that directly address Antisemitism.⁷²³ It seems that Catholicism has neglected the interlink between a long proclaimed Catholic Judeophobia, Catholics' acceptance for Antisemitism in the interwar period, and Church's share in the overall moral responsibility for the Holocaust. In this respect, while we may find the Second Vatican Council revolutionary in the liturgical and institutional matters, it cannot be considered a sudden rupture with the past when it comes to the problem of Antisemitism. Rather, thanks to subtle semantic and doctrinal reconfigurations, the Catholic Church could change its attitude toward Judaism without a real confrontation with its Judeophobic past.⁷²⁴ Such reserve could be explained as motivated by the threat of a scission. Yet, even the lack of revolutionary rupture with the Antisemitic past, has not defend the Church against such a threat. Some Catholics organized in the Society of Saint Pius X rejected the ecclesial reforms of Vatican II. It was not the attitude toward Judaism that was

722 Duprey, Meija, Willebrands, "Notes on the correct way..."

723 As *Nostra aetate* states: "Furthermore, in her rejection of every persecution against any man, the Church, mindful of the patrimony she shares with the Jews and moved not by political reasons but by the Gospel's spiritual love, decries hatred, persecutions, displays of Antisemitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone."

724 An in-depth historical analysis of racism and Antisemitism can be found in the document of the papal commission "Iustitia et Pax" published on 3 of November 1988. Pope John Paul II has many times referred to Shoah, including his homilies during his visits in Jerusalem and Auschwitz death camp on 7 of June 1979, during the Angelus Adress on 10 of November 1982, during a general audience on 13 of April 1983, in his Eastern sermon in 1985, and during several pilgrims and meetings with the representatives of the Jewish community.

the main reason of the schism, yet the members of SSPX remained faithful to the traditions of Catholic Judeophobia. Moreover, the Vatican was also forced to come to terms with those integralists who, while formally remaining inside the post-Vatican II Catholic Church, rejected ecumenism and the Christian-Judaic dialogue. All this shows how deeply rooted within the Catholic Church are traditions of Judeophobia.

As for the Polish Catholic Church, it was deeply penetrated by the Antisemitic ideology in the interwar period, despite the fact that it has formally condemned racism and that the Church traditional hostility toward Jews differed from nationalist Antisemitism in some details. The Church must also be held responsible for transmitting the Antisemitic content to the political programs of the center-right parties and to the official policies of the state. II World War was not a breakthrough in this respect. The clergy, following the general public opinion, shared many Antisemitic beliefs. It cannot be denied, however, that obsessive Antisemitic motifs became less frequent in the religious literature and catechesis. The reason for this was partially state-censorship and partially the necessity to confront the real threat of official communist atheism. As such, communist atheism posed not only a political threat to Catholic institutions but also an ideological threat to Catholic spirituality. The struggle between the Church and the party had several stages. One of them should be linked to legalization of a secessionist, pro-communist Catholic organization PAX, created by Bolesław Piasecki and other important leaders of the prewar far-right movement ONR-Falanga. The second was the arresting of the primate cardinal Wyszyński in 1953. In 1956, a tactical alliance between the Church and the party took place, Wyszyński was realized from prison and religion classes were, for a short period of time, once again taught in the public schools. The next stage of Church-party relations should be linked to ideological competition between the communists and the Church around the celebration of the millennial anniversary of "the rise of the Polish state." Until then, the Church hierarchy tried to refrain from engaging directly into politics. The situation changed dramatically in 1965 when the letter of the Polish bishops to the German bishops was published, containing the famous phrase: "we forgive and we ask for forgiveness." From that moment, the political importance of the Catholic Church in Poland was only to grow. On the spiritual plane, the struggle between the Church and the party happened on two levels. Firstly, the Church sustained traditional, plebeian religiosity, focused on the cult of the Virgin Mary and spectacular rituals, such as the pilgrimage of the icon of Our Lady of Częstochowa; leading to the conflict with the leader of the Communist Party, Władysław Gomułka, and acts of "arresting" the icon. While this type of plebeian religiosity was particularly vivid in the province, it appealed not only to the people living in the countryside but also to the working class and part of city intelligentsia. Such a traditional mode of religiosity contained also some elements of traditional negative attitude toward Jews (including the accusation of deicide). It was transmitted chiefly through intergenerational transfer inside the families, rather than through official

sermons or catecheses.⁷²⁵ For sustaining these traditional Judeophobic elements, the non-intervention of the Church was sufficient. Moreover, a large part of the Church hierarchy, including primate Wyszyński, still thought in nationalist categories inherited from the National Democracy, identifying Catholicism with “Polishness” and supporting the official party line in the matters of minority rights in order to “defend Polishness,” especially in the Western regions gained by Poland after the Second World War.

Yet, there is a second, very different current within the Polish Catholicism emerging from the circles gathered around the prewar periodical *Odrodzenie* (Revival) that, after the Second World War, created the weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny*. This circle was also supported by the cardinal and archbishop of Cracow, the future pope, Karol Wojtyła. It fostered a more open-minded model of faith while supporting selected elements of traditional religiosity. It has quite energetically criticized Judeophobia and promoted ecumenism. Thanks to the influence of the so-called “open Church,” Kluby Inteligencji Katolickiej (Catholic Intelligentsia Clubs) organized in the late 1970s in Warsaw and Cracow “The Week of the Jewish Culture,” promoting Jewish cultural heritage and mobilizing the youth to take care of forgotten Jewish cemeteries. It was also an opportunity for the youth with Jewish background to articulate their identity publicly – for the first time after 1968. Moreover, these were the Catholic circles gathered around such periodicals as *Znak*, *Więź*, and *Tygodnik Powszechny* that initiated the public discussion on Shoah. The publication of Jan Błoński text “The Poor Poles Look at the Ghetto” is hailed to be a milestone in Polish-Jewish relations.⁷²⁶ It has also stirred a fierce polemic, including a huge amount of letters to the editor which were mostly Antisemitic.⁷²⁷ Other Catholic periodicals refrained from participating in the discussion. Generally, it can be said that the hierarchy of the Polish church reacted to post-Vatican II ecumenism with considerable delay.

Karol Wojtyła’s election to papacy in 1978 was both a breakthrough and challenge for the Polish Catholic Church. It was a song of victory over the communists

725 As the surveys organized in 1992 show only 10.8 % of respondents indicated religion classes and catechesis as the source of information on Jews., In contrast, 58.5 % of respondents indicated TV, films, and radio, 50 % recalled conversations with family members, 30 % conversations with friends, slightly less than 50 % indicated press and literature, and 14 % indicated school as the main source of information on Jews. Ed. Ireneusz Krzemiński (1996), *Czy Polacy są antysemitami? Wyniki badania sondażowego*, Wydawnictwo Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa.

726 See, Jan Błoński (1987), “The Poor Poles Look at the Ghetto,” *Tygodnik Powszechny*, No. 2.

727 Thanks to courtesy of *Tygodnik Powszechny*’s editor-in-chief, Jerzy Turowicz, I possess copies of the abovementioned letters to editor. See also Ewa Koźmińska-Frejłak (1992), *Polsko-żydowskie rozrachunki wojenne* (unpublished masters thesis); Koźmińska-Frejłak (2000), “Świadkowie zagłady – holokaust jako zbiorowe doświadczenie Polaków,” *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, Vol. 49 (2) XLIX.

and a confirmation of the political power of the Polish Church. This was evidenced by the fact that the communists appealed to the Church in 1980, asking the hierarchy to motivate the workers to cease the strike. The appeal was accepted by cardinal Wyszyński who tried (unsuccessfully) to moderate, if not neutralize, Solidarity's revolutionary zeal. The Church tactics changed after the introduction of the martial law in 1981. The Church started to support the resurgent nationalist right, treating dissidents gravitating around KOR with distrust (and thus mimicking the strategy of the authoritarian faction of the Communist Party). Thanks to the support provided by the clergy, the activists of "Grunwald" penetrated the neo-nationalist Catholic right. The new primate, Józef Glemp was even supporting (although not openly) some Antisemitic leaders.⁷²⁸ Maciej Giertych was simultaneously a member of PRON (National Renaissance Patriotic Movement) and the Primate's Council; between 1986 and 1989, Giertych was even vice-president of the Primate's Council. Since 1987, he also organized Antisemitic meetings in Warsaw churches (e.g., on Zagórna and Karolkowa streets and in the church on Grzybowski square). Giertych also gave speeches in churches in Poznań, attacking Solidarity and praising general Jaruzelski for introducing the martial law.

John Paul II's personal engagement fostered the progress of ecumenical dialog. In 1986, Komisja do Spraw Dialogu z Judaizmem (Commission for Dialogue with Judaism) was established along with Polska Rada Chrześcijan i Żydów (Polish Council of Christians and Jews). The organization was responsible for reforming catechesis and taking into consideration the achievements of inter-religious dialogue. A letter from the Polish Bishop Conference was read aloud in all the churches on the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Rostra aerate* declaration. Symptomatically, some priests found it hard to follow bishop's instructions and did not want to read the abovementioned letter to their parishioners. The Pope's direct intervention was necessary to solve the long-lasting conflict around the Carmelites monastery in Auschwitz and to end up the scandal provoked by Kazimierz Świtoń.

After 1989, the Polish Catholic Church, fully aware of its political influence, engaged in supporting Solidarity's electoral Civic Committees. In the first presidential campaign of 1990, some priests appealed not to vote for "Mazowiecki, the Jew." Before the 1992 parliamentary election, the Polish Bishop Conference declared its political neutrality, nevertheless many priests and several bishops publicly appealed to vote for ZChN as the only "genuinely Polish" party. Moreover, primate Glemp expressed warm feelings toward ZChN. The clergy also provided the buildings for the political meetings and negotiations organized by the parties of the right. In 1992, Antisemitic parties organized their first congress Antisemiticin the monastery of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit in Częstochowa. A year

728 Information on cardinal Glemp's attitude toward different factions of opposition are derived from my personal experience gained when I was working in 1981–1983 as a volunteer in the press unit of Prymasowski Komitet Pomocy Internowanyam (Primate's Committee of Support for Internees).

later, the national skinhead rally took place in the headquarters of Klub Inteligencji Katolickiej in Cracow. Some members of the hierarchy also treated the interpretation of the modern Polish history constructed by a German historian of Indian origin, Peter Raina, containing Antisemitic content, with considerable reverence.

Some internationally commented Antisemitic scandals were also provoked by the priests themselves. The most famous example is probably the case of the former chaplain of the Solidarity movement, Henryk Jankowski (1936–2010). Jankowski not only gave some Antisemitic speeches, but also arranged the traditional depictions of the tomb of Christ with some Antisemitic symbols.⁷²⁹ He was prohibited to speak publicly; the reason for this was not, however, Antisemitism but his attacks on politicians. Moreover, the archbishop forbade the distribution of Antisemitic brochures in the Church; therefore, the brochures were still distributed, albeit only in the parish house. Some priests also made use of Antisemitic allusions during their sermons (as it happened in the parish in Wołomin and Warsaw on Broniewski street in 1993).

The “open Church” current, was represented by such priests as Michał Czajkowski and jesuit Stanisław Musiał (1938–2004) who criticized the Church hierarchy for ignoring, tolerating, and supporting “the sin of Antisemitism.”⁷³⁰ Primate Glemp, while making use of some Antisemitic allusions in his public speeches,⁷³¹ changed his attitude after the turn of centuries. He openly criticized the politicization of Radio Maryja. He also supported the “rainbow tolerance” action, mobilizing the youth from Łódź to efface Antisemitic slogans from the walls. During his visit to Israel in March 2000, Glemp stated in his sermon in Saint

729 In 1995 Jankowski has juxtaposed the Nazi symbols with the symbols of the Polish Communist Party and the symbols of contemporary Polish parliamentary parties on Christ’s grave. During his sermon given on May 11, 1995, he added that the only reason why the Star of David was not among the symbols presented was because it is already inscribed into swastika, as well as into the sickle and hammer symbol. Few days later he accused Jews of “satanic greed” that has led to the rise of communism and the outbreak of the Second World War. These enunciations lead to an intervention of the US president Bill Clinton. In November 1998 Jankowski supported the “defenders of the Cross” in the Auschwitz death camp. He was also regularly interviewed by Radio Maryja. In Autumn 2004 the bishop of his dioceses tried to suspend him for “irregularities” concerning relations with altar boys. In 2008, Jankowski’s suspension has been lifted by the new bishop of Gdańsk, Sławoj Leszek Głódź.

730 On the role played by Musiał in the poetic leading to the effacing the frescoes depicting “the Jewish ritual murder” in the cathedral in Sandomierz, see Anna Landau-Cajka (2003), “The Last Controversy over Ritual Murder?” *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, Vol. 16.

731 See Glemp’s homily published in *Ead*, 37, 1989; see also Piotr Forecki (2008), *Spór o Jedwabne*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Instytutu Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, pp. 95–96.

Catrine Church in Bethlehem: "We have to do our best to make the Antisemitic slogans disappear from the walls of our cities, so we will not be accused of the lack of Christian love." In June 2000, he also apologized for these priests who have propagated Antisemitism. Archbishop Józef Michalik made several reservations commenting on Glemp's apology:

We should not impute Antisemitism to anyone. Such imputations produce nothing but division, distrust, and hatred. People are being threatened with the accusation of Antisemitism, and some important problems are being silenced. This might lead to unintended and highly dangerous consequences.⁷³²

In 2004, Michalik was elected the new president of the Polish Bishops Conference, a fact which might be interpreted as a sign of the growing power of the conservative faction. Another fact supporting this thesis was the suspension of Wojciech Lemański, a priest who organized annual penitential pilgrimages of his parishioners to Jedwabne.

John Paul II's support for the post-Vaticanum II reforms caused some intellectual ferment in the Polish church. The ferment led to the crystallization of two major intellectual academic groups. The first group tried to fight Antisemitism by exposing the common theological heritage of Judaism and Christianity. The second tried to reconfigure the new post-Vatican II Church's doctrine by condemning Judeophobia in such way as to make it possible to combine it with traditional Antisemitism. The second tendency was represented by the academics connected with Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, which in the early 1990s became an important center of right-wing nationalist Catholicism. In 1997, the Faculty of Theology of KUL published a book *A bliźniego swego... (And thy neighbor...)*.⁷³³ Kazimierz Malinowski stated in his text published in this volume: "Now we have to reject the theological interpretation of the Jewish threat based on the accusation of deicide and a supposed rejection of the Jewry by God."⁷³⁴ Nevertheless, he simultaneously declared that: "At the same time, the actual threat posed by the Jewish cultural, social, and economic influence was real in the analyzed period."⁷³⁵

In other words, the author, following the instruction of the Vatican, rejected the tradition of religiously motivated Judeophobia, yet accepted the Antisemitic clichés reproduced by the clerical propaganda of the interwar period. A different Antisemitic motif was affirmatively assumed by another author, Paulin Sotowski, who declared that: "The Jewish, Zionist activists that time [in the interwar period] tried to take over the control over the world (whether by means of purely

732 *Niedziela*, June 11, 2000.

733 *A bliźniego swego... Materiały z sympozjum "Św. Maksymilian Maria Kolbe, Żydzi, masoni,"* ed. Stanisław C. Napiórkowski (1997), Redakcja Wydawnictwa Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin.

734 K. Malinowski, p. 154.

735 K. Malinowski.

intellectual or real domination). And there were also masses of Jewry swarming in the isolated ghettos in the Polish towns and cities.⁷³⁶ The authors also referred to explicit racist categories stating that “Semite (including Jews) are members of a distinct anthropological group.”⁷³⁷ The aim of the volume contributors quoted above was to deal with the odium of Antisemitism formulated against the newly canonized father Maksymilian Kolbe. Yet, the way to deal with this was to... affirm Kolbe’s Antisemitic opinions by judging them as adequate description of the prewar reality. The authors treated the alliance between the Niepokalność Franciscans and the extreme political right represented by ONR and the National Democracy as an expression of “a patriotic concern for building Poland’s strength in confrontation with the threat posed by Nazi Germany.”⁷³⁸ The last statement is not only controversial but also counterfactual, since Kolbe’s *Mały Dziennik* did not perceive Nazi Germany as a threat and, what is more, it openly praised the Nazi anti-Jewish policies. S. C. Napiórkowski has also called the very term Antisemitism “ambiguous, blurry, bringing about rather misunderstanding than mutual understanding.” As such, he compared it to “another intentionally poorly-made term” that is “the separation of the church and state.”⁷³⁹ Such a comparison exposes implicit programmatic assumptions shared by the Polish clerical Antisemite right. Firstly, they believe that the word “Antisemitism” should be neutralized in order to freely propagate Antisemitic content, and secondly that the Catholic Church should shape the governmental legislation and have access to political power.

Such views were propagated not only by the media linked to father Rydzyk or by *Niedziela* but also by *Frona*, a quarterly founded in 1994 by lay Catholics, Rafał Smoczyński and Grzegorz Górny. It stands for Catholic Integralism, even though it targeted mainly intelligentsia. It also gave voice to publicists spreading Antisemitic opinions (like the above-mentioned Peter Raina or Michał Poradowski).⁷⁴⁰ *Frona* was also publishing texts glorifying Fascism, right-wing dictators, and contemporary far-right.⁷⁴¹ From time to time, it also published text on the Jewish subjects. It

736 P. Sotowski, p. 152.

737 Cieślak, p. 152

738 E. Banaś, p. 174.

739 S. C. Napiórkowski, p. 8.

740 Michał Poradowski (1913–2003), before the World War II was a member of a nationalist organization Obóz Wielkiej Polski (Camp of Great Poland). During the war he was a chaplain of nationalist military organizations: NOW and NSZ. Since 1946 he was an immigrant in France, Spain and Chile. He returned to Poland in 1993. Since 1950 he was lecturing at Chilean Catholic universities. He was also linked to circles close to general Pinochet and was himself a critic of liberation theology, Marxism and Vatican II reforms. His texts were published in Poland in the 1980. by the underground publishing houses.

741 See, for instance, “Odkłamać Chile – wyznania Pinocheta i jego generałów,” *Frona*, 4/5, 1995; “Legion Michała Archanioła, Żelazna Gwardia i Corneliu Codreanu,” *Frona*, 6, 1996; “Dusza Portugalii – dziedzictwo Salazara,” *Frona*, 13/14, 1998;

has also dedicated an entire issue to the Jewish problematic. The range of problems analyzed was wide; from theology to psychoanalysis. The majority of texts operated with Antisemitic schemes (even if in disguise). According to the authors of *Fronda*, the Jewish Messianism must have led to secular radicalism of Karl Marx; Sigmund Freud created psychoanalysis in order to achieve world domination;⁷⁴² the Old Testament concept of the chosen nation gave birth to racism; the famous Jewish philosopher representing so-called “philosophy of dialogue” was in fact a racist;⁷⁴³ and Kabbalah was supposed to lead to the rise of movements resembling German Nazism in the State of Israel. To validate these theses, *Fronda* published texts written by Jewish authors, such as Izrael Szahak or David Horowitz, a former New Left activist who interpreted Sabbataism and Frankism as one of the sources of Enlightenment secular radicalism. Rafał Smoczyński, in turn, took up the tradition of Judeophobia, criticizing ecumenism and asking rhetorically: “Is it not true that Talmud contains fragments insulting Christ, Virgin Mary, and Christians?”⁷⁴⁴ Igor Figa recalled “acts of violence” committed by Jews since seventh century BCE, legitimizing such claims with references to Jewish authors, and Robert Nogacki exposed Freud as trying to “construct an intellectual riddle that would make the whole world of culture – which Freud held responsible for the Jewish sufferings – collapse.”⁷⁴⁵

According to a philosopher and literary critic, Adam Lipszyc, who reviewed *Fronda*’s Jewish issue, “the collection of texts provided by *Fronda* is by no means a chaotically amalgamate but a coherent construction. And I must admit that I find the message constructed there quite horrifying.”⁷⁴⁶ Lipszyc states that the editors of *Fronda* try to legitimate Antisemitic beliefs by referring to the texts of the Jewish authors criticizing their own religious or national tradition.

This method was later applied by *Fronda*’s associate, Paweł Lisicki, when he became the editor-in-chief of one of the most important Polish mainstream newspapers *Rzeczpospolita*. To give but one example, a short note titled “*Zamykali dzieci na trzy dni w walizce i dźgali nożem*” (They Closed Children in a Suitcase for Three Days and Stabbed Them with a Knife) published on June 6, 2008, describes the case of an “orthodox Jewish sect” which was supposed to punish children in that way. Such note may be read as a sensational description of a marginal case taking place in Israel. Yet, the note was formulated in a manner that recalled the context of popular belief in bloodlibel.

As a consequence, the first comment during a discussion on the Internet concerning the article asked: “Perhaps the tales about ritual murders were true?”

M. Szczepanowski, J. Freilak, “Faszyści, naziści, samuraje – o estetycznych zaletach faszyzmu,” *Fronda* 17/18, 1999.

742 Robert Nogacki, “Zygmunt Freud: ja bezbożny Żyd.”

743 Paweł Lisicki, “O duchowym rasizmie w filozofii Franza Rosenzweiga.”

744 *Fronda* 19/20, 2000, “Ortodoksja kontra Syjon. Rozmowa z prof. Izraelem Szahakiem.”

745 Nogacki, “Zygmunt Freud...”

746 Adam Lipszyc (2000), “I narodowo, i dowcipnie,” *Midrasz*, 43, p. 44.

Several disputants replied affirmatively to the question and one of them (with a nickname “cadyk”) recalled Talmud which was supposed to “justify killing and torturing.” Another disputant stated that, “At the heart of every legend there is a grain of truth.”⁷⁴⁷

Again, the author of the abovementioned text published by *Rzeczpospolita* tried to legitimate himself by referring to a Jewish historian, Ariel Toaff. Moreover, the journalist manipulated the information by not mentioning that Toaff was widely criticized by other historians and that he later revoked his own theses.⁷⁴⁸ The two articles published by *Rzeczpospolita* were later reproduced in the blogosphere and in other media under the title “Rytualne mordy Żydów na chrześcijańskich dzieciach”⁷⁴⁹ (Jewish Ritual Murder of Christian Children). Another comment, which could be interpreted as precursory for the practice of “trolling” was given by an employee of IPN and the editor-in-chief of *Glaukopis* magazine, Wojciech Muszyński, who said “I do not know whether ritual murders were indeed committed. In any case, I consider Toaff’s book to be an interesting voice in an ongoing historical discussion on these matters.”⁷⁵⁰ In order to neutralize the scandal, and present itself as balanced and unbiased, special issues of *Rzeczpospolita* presenting the history of the Polish Jews in an objective and reliable manner were published.

9.3. Antisemitic Narrative and Propaganda Methods

After 1989, the number of Antisemitic texts, brochures, and books published by parties and professional publishing houses grew. Until 1995, at least four editions of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* appeared (including one published on the Internet). Some prewar (or even older) Antisemitic publications were re-published (e.g., the Antisemitic and nationalist texts of Przanajtis, Trzeciak, Kruszyński, Dmowski, Jędrzej Giertych, Koneczny, or even *Mein Kampf* and Nazi agitprop originally published in 1942.⁷⁵¹ Moreover, books of contemporary Antisemitic authors were published.⁷⁵² Between 1999 and 2001, at least twenty-four Antisemitic

747 Piotr Zychowicz (2008), “Zamykali dzieci na trzy dni w walizce i dźgali nożem,” *Rzeczpospolita*, June 6. See also a reaction of a reader published in *Forum Religia, Polityka, Gospodarka*, accessed December 7, 2017.

748 See Zychowicz (2007), “Antysemicki mit wraca,” Zychowicz, “Autor książki o mordach rytualnych broni swojej tezy,” *Rzeczpospolita*, February 9 and 13.

749 Huzarus (2007), “Rytualne mordy Żydów na chrześcijańskich dzieciach,” February, 13. See also *Wiara.pl*, February 10, 2007, “Antysemicki mit wraca,” *Polskiejutro.com*, August 2008.

750 Ewa K. Czaczkowska (2008), “Prymas bał się manipulacji,” *Rzeczpospolita*, January, 18.

751 Władysław Bocquet (2001), *Przez Morze Czerwone ku gettom w Europie*, Wrocław (5000 copies, a reprint of a Nazi brochure from 1942 r.). The publisher has been sentenced by the court for propagating Fascism and race hatred.

752 Cf. Jan Krajewski (1989), *Białe karty w sprawach polsko-żydowskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku do 1939*, Wydawnictwo Ojczyzna, Warszawa; Przemysław Dymski

books were published. There were thirteen periodicals dedicated to propagating Antisemitism and six other nation-wide periodicals publishing Antisemitic content regularly. Similar content was disseminated by low-cost zines published by the skinhead and hooligan communities. There were at least twenty-six websites propagating Antisemitism.⁷⁵³ In the early 1990s, the Antisemitic brochures were sold on street markets and later also in bookshop chains owned by right-wing foundations. Their circulation reached a hundred of thousands, showing that the demand for this kind of publication was high. In the late 1990s, such publications were available in almost every bookshop even in the smallest towns. Antisemitic press was also distributed by the state-owned press distribution company “Ruch” (a decision made by the activists of ZChN, occupying the managerial seats of “Ruch” thanks to the support of Buzek’s government). “Kolporter,” a private press distribution company, competing with “Ruch” also decided to distribute Antisemitic periodicals. Even private, commercial publishing houses dedicated to propagating ant-Semitism started to emerge, Leszek Bubel’s GoldPol being the most operative one. Between 1999 and 2001, it published at least thirteen books (more than 10,000 copies each) and was regularly publishing at least three periodicals. Later, Bubel established Wydawnictwo Narodowe (National Publishing House).⁷⁵⁴ Other similar publishing houses include Henryk Pająk’s Retro; Von Borowiecky; Bogusław Rybicki’s Ojczyzna; Norbert Tomczyk’s Nortom; Fulmen, linked to the nationalist right;⁷⁵⁵ Ostoja, linked to Radio Maryja and LPR; Antyk; ad astra; Rekonkwista. In

(1991), *Rak synagogi w Episkopacie polskim*, Wydawnictwo “Walka z okupacją żydowską,” Warszawa; E. W. Romanowski (1991), *Antysemityzm czy antypolonizm?*, Wydawnictwo Byli Żołnierze AK z obw. “Mewa-Kamień” okr. Warszawa Wschód, Warszawa 1991; XYZ (Z. Ciesiołkiewicz; 1991), *Judeopolonia*, Wydawnictwo “Katolicka Agencja Prasowa,” Warszawa; *16 postulatów pojednania polsko-żydowskiego. Postulaty opracowane przez Żyda światłego i rozumiejącego politykę o pseudonimie “Kargul,”* Wydawnictwo “Contra Germanom,” Warszawa 1992. The last brochure was reprinted several times under the title *List otwarty do red. nac. Gazety Wyborczej i Trybuny. Odpowiedź dla dr A. Catej oraz dla Dawida Warszawskiego*. It was also republished in the book by Henryk Pająk (1996), *Strach być Polakiem*, Wydawnictwo “Retro,” Lublin.

753 Cf. bibliography of the present work.

754 Wydawnictwo Narodowe between 1995 and 2004 published 31 brochures, e.g.: *Mity Holocaustu; Humor po żydowsku; Poznaj Żyda; Brafman’s Żydzi i kahały; Protokoły mędrców Syjonu*; Leszek Bubel’s, *Polsko-żydowska wojna o krzyże*; and Dariusz Ratajczak’s, *Tematy niebezpieczne*. Moreover, Wydawnictwo Narodowe was publishing such periodicals as *Kwartalnik Narodowy, Stowarzyszenie przeciw Antypolonizmowi; Tylko Polska, Miesięcznik Narodowy, Polonia – Pismo Patriotyczne*, and other.

755 Wydawnictwo Fulmen between 1990–1991 published, e.g., Hennecke Kardel, *Hitler założycielem Izraela?*; Michał Poradowski, *Talmud czy Biblia*; Henryk Czepułkowski, *Antykościół w natarciu!*; Krzysztof Kawęcki, Rafał Mossakowski eds., *Pod znakiem Nacjonalizmu*. It also translated and published Jean-Marie Le Pen’s books. The

the new millennium, new bookstores dedicated to propagating Antisemitic content appeared: Bastion, Księgarnia Patriotyczna Antyk, Nasza Witryna, Ojczyzna. Since 2006, the supply of Antisemitic literature started to diminish due to the fact that the paper press was being progressively replaced by the Internet.

Long after the war, the very word “Jew” was a taboo that could not be spoke aloud or was replaced by different euphemisms. Presently, the taboo is being broken and the semantic range of the word is being widened. Joanna Tokarska-Bakir indicates the following contexts of the usage of the word Jew/Jewish: atheist, avarice, unfair transactions, useless object, careless work, gas cap light, high waves, stepping stone, to sic a dog on a cat (cat being a “Jew”), the hangman game.⁷⁵⁶

The process of turning the semantic range of the word brought it close to being an invective. The overtones produced or the feelings brought about by the word “Jew” are, however, more grave and serious than in the case of the majority of invectives. The word “Jew” still resonates with a denunciation. One is called a “Jew” not to expose his actual or imaginary ethnic background, but rather to discredit and eliminate one from the public sphere, to sentence one for a kind of “civil death.” It echoes the horrors of the Nazi occupation, when publicly calling one a Jew was equal to sentencing one to death.

The actual Jewish minority in contemporary Poland is small, so only few Antisemites have ever met somebody considering oneself a Jew or of Jewish origin. Due to this fact the Antisemites operate with a very peculiar definition of “Jewishness.” As the publicist of *Ojczyzna* magazine stated, the term Jew signifies: “not only someone of the Jewish ethnical background but all those who serve Jewish national interests, even if they are not themselves ethnically Jewish.”⁷⁵⁷

Leszek Bubel declared the leaders of other competing Antisemitic parties – Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Ryszard Bender i Jerzy R. Nowak – to be themselves “Semites,” stating that Antoni Macierewicz’s real name is “Izaak Singer.”⁷⁵⁸ Thus, calling somebody a Jew is based on arbitrary decisions. Thus, Antisemites tend to count as Jews everybody starting from the members of parliament and the Conference of Bishops, through journalists, businessmen, communists, liberals, soccer players and fans, finishing with renegades and secessionists from their own organizations. While in the prewar political writings of proponents of the National Democracy Jews were the enemies, now all the enemies become Jews.

First of all, all the people of power appear to be Jewish. NOP calls the ruling class “kosher.”⁷⁵⁹ Stanisław Michalkiewicz, in his feuilletons published in the

books were distributed by mail-order bookstore NEPO, and bookstore Ojczyzna and Ziemowit Rozprowadzało swoje publikacje przez księgarnie wysyłkowe NEPO, “Ojczyzna” i Ziemowit (located in SN “Szczerbiec” headquarters).

756 Joanna Tokarska-Bakir (2008), *Legandy o krwi. Antropologia przesądu*, Warszawa, pp. 43–47.

757 *Ojczyzna*, 207, March 15, 2000.

758 *Tylko Polska*, 12, 2001.

759 *Łódzki Szaniec*, 5, 2000.

periodical *Najwyższy Czas!*, regularly called one of the ruling parties, Unia Wolności, “Sanhedrin.” One of the Radio Maryja listeners stated on air that: “As long as the majority of the supposedly Polish ministers will smell with onion and matzah, Poland will never become truly Polish.” Father Rydzyk thanked the listener. The leader of Solidarity trade union, who also was in the studio, reacted in similar manner, even though his party was part of the governmental coalition itself.⁷⁶⁰ Another listener in conversation with Marian Krzaklewski added that it is not by chance that a number of the ministers representing Unia Wolności in the governmental coalition with AWS is seven, which was supposed to be an allusion to the seven-branched menorah.⁷⁶¹ An Antisemite publicist and writer, Henryk Pająk, regularly calls the Polish parliament Kne-Sejm (alluding to the Israeli Knesset) and describes the Polish public Television as Tel-vision (alluding to Tel-Aviv). Similar slogans and wordplays were used during demonstrations and manifestation. In 1999, during a rally organized by a former Solidarity activist and right-wing politician, Zygmunt Wrzodak, in a tractor factory in Warsaw, used slogans like “AWS – żydowski pies” (AWS – a Jewish dog!) or “Unia Wolności – Mossad.” Also the Kaczyński brothers, after coming to power, were accused by the Antisemites of having a Jewish background.⁷⁶² We could say that the word “Jewish” in the Antisemite discourse is now an invective expressing lack of acceptance for the ruling elites.

What plays a major role in the Antisemite discourse is also the “us vs. them” dichotomy. While identifying “them” (the foreigners, the aliens, the Jews) seems quite easy, self-identification through an auto-stereotype seems harder. The auto-stereotype of “the Pole” remains ambiguous. In the Antisemitic discourse, the Poles are described as noble and upright, yet always a victim. Polish culture is described as great and valuable, yet always in danger. As father Rydzyk stated: “Our enemies are well aware of how beautiful and valuable Poland is. That is why they try to buy it, to foul using the media, buy it for a cheaper price, and destroy Poland using Poles themselves.”⁷⁶³ Still, a negative auto-stereotype expressing low self-esteem is often constructed. As one of the listeners of Radio Maryja complained: “We are weak, our intelligentsia is weak ... we do not know how to organize people who would be of value.... The model of a Pole in Germany is that of a pious yet not very clever hill-billy. And Jews? They are the people of the media, the people of business, the people of culture ... In such confrontation we have absolutely no chance.”⁷⁶⁴

As in the nineteenth century, Polish nationalism is based in inferiority rather than superiority complex. An interesting doubling takes place which this

760 Audition on the night of August 26/27, 1998.

761 Audition on the night of January 13/14, 2000.

762 Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński were described that way on polonica.net.

763 Audition on January 22, 2003.

764 Audition on May 1, 2002.

discourse: while the symbolic “Nation” is great, its actual members are weak, excluded, and victimized. The incoherence between these two poles of nationalistic imagery produces negative emotions that are turned against those Antisemites who achieved success. As it happened during the Antisemitic campaign of 1968, Polish Antisemitism is strongly anti-intellectual and anti-elitist. The identification of the elites with the Jewry encompasses also public intellectuals. Henryk Pająk postulated that the majority of the most popular newspapers and periodicals should be closed and their journalists deported to Israel.⁷⁶⁵

Leszek Bubel regularly lists “enemies of Poland and historical truth” and the list includes some most prominent representatives of the Polish science, art, and culture with a note stating: “do not buy, do not read, do not watch the works of the abovelisted authors. They are philo-Semites and Jews trying to contaminate the Polish spirit with the Jewish miasma.”⁷⁶⁶ Another example of anti-intellectualism characteristic of the Polish Antisemites are frequent attacks of the skinheads on students.

The majority of Antisemitic activists and publicists reject the name “Antisemite,” as Jankowski who stated: “I am not an Antisemite. I am only trying to stop the blackmail, since Poland – pillaged and destroyed by the Nazis and the communists – cannot afford to pay contributions to the Jews.”⁷⁶⁷

Piotr Wierzbicki, an ex-editor-in-chief of *Gazeta Polska* stated that his no Antisemite, since he admires Jewish writers like Leśmian, Schulz, and Tyrmand, or the Jewish pianist Rubinstein. He also asserted that he rejects the Antisemitic elements of Roman Dmowski’s heritage. Yet, he also stated that he rejects the way of speaking about Jews that is an expression of “complexes and fears.” He postulated that:

It would be good to help those Poles who identify themselves as Jews to create a non-secret lobby. This would make Polish-Jewish relations more civilized allowing the Jews to openly lobby for their specific interests, rather than to suppress the truth that is evident for everybody; that is, that in a conflict with the Polish interests they will always stand for the specific Jewish interests.⁷⁶⁸

765 Pająk, *Żydowskie obłężenie Oświęcimia*, (Lublin: Retro, 199), 221; Pająk, *Jedwabne geszefty*, Retro, Lublin 2001, p. 20. Writing this subchapter, I also made use of an unpublished text by Dariusz Libionki, *Główne tendencje we współczesnym dyskursie antysemitycznym w Polsce* (a research funded by the Research Support Scheme of the Open Society Foundation, 1999–2001), and a report on Antisemitic hate speech in Radio Maryja written by Rafał Maszkowski on request of Stowarzyszenia przeciwko Antysemityzmowi i Ksenofobii “Otwarta Rzeczypospolita” and publish on the Internet. See also Cała, Libionka, Zgliczyński, “Antysemityzm bez Żydów...”

766 *Tylko Polska*, 13, 2001.

767 *Nasz Dziennik*, July 16, 2001.

768 Qtd. after Artur Domosławski (1998), “Kręte drogi Piotra Wierzbickiego,” *Gazeta Wyborcza*, June 13–14.

A similar opinion was expressed in an article published in NOP periodical: "They try to present caring for one's own national interests and speaking the truth as intolerance. Anybody who will speak truth on the chauvinistic assumptions of Talmud will be declared to be an Antisemite."⁷⁶⁹

A prominent publicist Rafał A. Ziemkiewicz in his feuilleton titled "Kulturkampf?" states that: "if you will forget that you are an Antisemite, the Jews will surely remind you about that."⁷⁷⁰ Negating the very existence of Antisemitism is a common practice among Antisemites. If they were right, the anti-Jewish content propagated in Poland would be an example of not only Antisemitism without Jews but also of Antisemitism without Antisemites.

Only a minority of activists treats the term Antisemite positively and affirm such self-identification, like Edward Moskal, the president of Kongres Polonii Amerykańskiej (Polish American Congress), who declared: "If they call me an Antisemite I accept this label with pride."⁷⁷¹ Also the leader of NOP Adam Gmurczyk stated openly that:

Once Europe was Great, once Europe was Christian. And the reason for this was simple: once Europe was Antisemitic. Our Civilization was born out of a creative rebellion against the Jewry. The Christian fraternal love is an answer to Jewish resentment; European culture is a response to Jewish animality; the Christian fidelity to God and his commandments was an answer to the Jewish infidelity. A genuine European has to be a genuine Antisemite, otherwise he will betray his Humanity, his Fatherland, his Family, and his God. / He will become a pathetic animal. For all these reasons, in times of crisis, where all the Eternal Values seem to collapse, we must cultivate the virtue of Antisemitism.⁷⁷²

The term Antisemitism is usually juxtaposed by the Antisemites with anti-Polonism defined as follows: "Anti-Polonism refers to external and internal activity aiming at the destruction of the Polish state and nation, by means of manipulation and insinuations."⁷⁷³

In the public discourse, the term anti-Polonism refers almost exclusively to supposed "anti-Polish manipulations" of the American Jews (and the media apparently controlled by them). Leszek Babel labeled both CNN and NBC as "anti-Polonist" media. Dana Alvi, the president of the Polish American Public Relations Committee, stated:

769 Paweł Sojka (1999), "Tolerancja – Tak, pobłażliwość – Nie," *Nowe Pokolenie*, 1.

770 Rafał A. Ziemkiewicz (1995), *Zero zdziwień*, Nepo, Warszawa, pp. 82–84.

771 Qtd. after *Gazeta Wyborcza*, June 5.

772 *Szczerbiec*, 1–2, 1998. The fact that the author recalls Judeophobic clichés might be linked to the fact that he sympathises with SPPX integralists.

773 *Encyklopedia białych plam*, Radom 2000 – jest to wielotomowa publikacja przygotowana przez grupę działaczy prawniczych, w tym współpracujących z Radiem Maryja wykładowców Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.

Anti-Polonism in the USA is well-organized. The Jewish organizations provide the schools with well-prepared anti-Polonist materials ... they send specialists to indoctrinate children by learning them about the Holocaust. The history of the Second World War is reduced to description of overestimated Jewish sufferings. Poland and Poles – in contrast – are presented as backward drunkards and Antisemites who were actually worse than the Germans.⁷⁷⁴

The term “anti-Polonism” was widely accepted also by respectable public intellectuals and publicists. Each time a controversy concerning Polish Antisemitism bursts, the dichotomy “Antisemitism – anti-Polonism” is put to work. Marek Wierzbicki, criticized Jan Tomasz Gross’ book on Jedwabne by stating that the author gave credit to the testimonies of the Jewish survivors of pogrom, but not to the testimonies of the Polish witnesses speaking of “pro-Soviet, anti-Polish attitude of the Jews under the Soviet rule after 1939.”⁷⁷⁵ Thus, Płużanski does not take into account the lack of complementarity between a stereotypical generalization of the attitude of a whole community (Jews supporting Soviet occupation) and a description of a concrete case (Jews burnt in a barn in Jedwabne).

“Judeo-Communism” is another canard, traditionally used by Antisemites, and can be described as a classical and recurring Antisemitic motif. The oldest layer of this multidimensional stereotype can be derived from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Jews are thus accused of creating communism in order to take over the world. The main villains in this narrative are Karl Marx, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamieniev, and (less frequently) Rosa Luxemburg. The other layer of the story presents the Jews in Poland as Stalin’s acolytes. As such, the Jews are contrasted to Poles who are supposed to always heroically fight communism. The personages held responsible for imposing the communist system on Poles are: Jakub Berman, Józef Różański, Anatol Fejgin,⁷⁷⁶ and Hilary Minc. The last narrative layer was produced by the “Moczarian” propaganda. Their aim was to make the communist of the Jewish origin responsible for all the Stalinist crimes and inefficiencies of the communist economy.

The concepts of “anti-Polonism” and “Judeo-Communsim” could be seen as derivatives of conspiracy theories that are still popular. As such, they operate with a narrative matrix used in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* presenting Jews as a race possessing almost supernatural powers, subordinated to a single decision-making center, and aiming at creating Judeo-Poland on the ruins of the Polish state. In a vulgarized version of the narrative about universal history, Jews are responsible for: the decline of the Roman Empire, French Revolution, emergence

774 Dana Alvi, “Oddaliście Polskę Żydom,” *Nasza Polska*, 27, 1999.

775 Tadeusz M. Płużański, “Wybiórcze traktowanie źródeł. Rozmowa z M. Wierzbickim,” *Tygodnik Solidarność*, 9, 2001

776 Różański (Józef Goldberg; 1907–1981) and Fejgin (1909–2002) were officers of communist political responsible for torturing the prisoners. They lost their offices and were sentenced for fifteen years of prison in 1957.

of capitalism and socialism, October Revolution, Second World War (since Hitler is supposed to be a Jew himself), imposition of communism in Poland, and Poland's present situation. Moreover, the Polish Antisemitic propaganda tries to also make Jews responsible for the uprisings and rebellions organized in the national liberation movements in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. For example, the January Uprising of 1864–1865 was supposed to be instigated by Jews provoking the Tsarist regime to repress as many Polish patriots as possible (such thesis was formulated by a conservative ideologist Teodor Jeske-Choiński and supported by Jędrzej Giertych). Analogically, the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 was interpreted as follows:

The Warsaw Uprising was planned by two Jews: Rzepecki and Retinger. It was Retinger who commanded to start the Uprising. They hoped that the number of Poles killed in the Uprising will outnumber the Jews killed in the Ghetto Uprising of 1943.⁷⁷⁷

Other Antisemites claim that Jews murdered around two millions of Poles during the Second World War, accused Jews of killing the Polish officers in Katyń, and even of attempts to “deport forty million Poles”⁷⁷⁸ The far-right zine *Łódzki Szaniec* provides us with a concise summary of the whole Polish history: “For almost ten centuries, Poland was under constant barbarian attack of the Jewish hordes.”⁷⁷⁹

In the 1970s, the Polish Antisemites started to recall the historiosophical constructions of Feliks Koneczny. Especially the Giertych family played its role in bringing Koneczny back from oblivion. Jędrzej Giertych edited unpublished treatises written by Koneczny, such as *Cywilizacja bizantyńska* (The Byzantine Civilization; 1973), *Cywilizacja żydowska* (The Jewish Civilization; 1974), *Państwo w cywilizacji łacińskiej* (The State in the Latin Civilization; 1981), *Prawa dziejowe* (The Laws of History; 1982).

The first reeditions were published in Poland in the 1980s by groups connected with “Grunwald.” Unia Nowoczesnego Humanizmu also published Jędrzej Giertych's political texts.⁷⁸⁰ Józef Kossecki was fascinated by Koneczny's theory. He did not consider these theories to be true *per se*. Rather, he found the image of the eternal “clash of civilizations” a powerful image useful for manipulating popular sentiments. Between 1982–1986, Kossecki educated officers of the communist police and army by using Koneczny's theory treated by him as a weapon

777 *Falanga*, 2000, www.kki.net.pl. Jan Rzepecki was an officer of the Polish Army, who after the war created an anti-communist underground organization Wolność i Niezawisłość (Freedom and Sovereignty) and was imprisoned in 1945–1947 and 1949–1954. Józef Retinger was a publicist and a counsellor of the Polish government doing the World War II. None of them was Jewish and none of them was the commandos-in-chief of the Warszawa Uprising.

778 Henryk Pająk, *Mędrcy końca czasu*, (Lublin: Retro, 2000), p. 426.

779 *Łódzki Szaniec*, 5, 2000.

780 Cf. *Muzeum Wolnego Słowa* (online).

in an “informational war.”⁷⁸¹ Reedition of Koneczny’s writings received considerable interest. The website *Ojczyzna.pl* formed an electronic Library of Feliks Koneczny with a full bibliography of his books and articles.⁷⁸² Ostoja publishing house (linked to *Młódzież Wszepolska*) reedited all historiosophical treatises of Koneczny. Until 2004, more than seventy works by this author was published.⁷⁸³ Roman Giertych recommended Koneczny as a “must read” to his followers. Maciej Giertych admitted that encounter with Koneczny’s book on the Jewish civilization has deeply shaped his way of thinking about Jews.⁷⁸⁴ In *Słowo Narodowe*, Giertych declared: “Polish social life should be based on the fundament of tolerant, Catholic ethics, rooted in the Latin civilization.”⁷⁸⁵ The manifesto of *Polski Związek Akademicki* (Polish Academic Union) recalled “Christian and Latin rules regulating our social life.” Right-wing *Ruch Młodych “Siła”* (Youth Movement “Strength”) declared that it was created in order to “defend the rights of human being, family, nation, and the values of Christian Latin civilization.”⁷⁸⁶ *Ruch Narodowo-Liberalny* (National-Liberal Movement) declared what follows:

We are a national movement. This means that as a political party we feel responsible for the Polish national community and that we shall act in order to realize its interests practically. Such a category, foundational for political thought and activity, is an important element of the great heritage of Latin civilization.⁷⁸⁷

Jacek Dębski was worried because he prophesied that “When it comes to the matters of our political order, we stand at the threshold of a long period of decline of our civilization progressively deconstructed by democracy, legal positivism, and libertinism.”⁷⁸⁸

The idea of history as a clash of civilizations became a commonplace among the Polish right. Popularity of old-fashioned and somehow naive concepts of Koneczny

781 Cf. Jerzy Kossecki, *Problemy sterowania społecznego* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PZGraf, 1980); *Refleksje o reformie systemu sterowania społecznego w Polsce*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Rady Uczelnianej SZSP UW, 1984), *Tajniki sterowania ludźmi*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo KAW, 1984), *Podstawy nowoczesnej nauki porównawczej o cywilizacjach*, (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląsk, 2003).

782 Biblio.ojczyzna.pl.

783 After 1989 Koneczny’s works were published by the following publishing houses: Antyk from Kraków, Ad Astra, WAM (a jesuit publishing house), and *Servire Veritati* from Lublin.

784 Giertych stated that “Koneczny was right to say that it is easier to change one’s region or nationality than to change one’s civilization.”

785 *Słowo Narodowe*, 15–16, 1990.

786 Both declarations published in *Nowe Horyzonty*, 1990, p. 25, Qtd. after Frączak, *Gorączka czasu przełomu...*, p. 106.

787 *Gazeta Kongresu Prawicy Polskiej*, Warszawa, 1 May, 1990.

788 Jacek Dębski, *Pro Fide, Rege et Lege*, 6, 1989.

is an interesting fact. Perhaps their attractive power can be somehow explained by their esoteric overtones.

While the heritage of the prewar far-right (National Democracy, ONR, and clerical Antisemites) was openly recalled by the post-1989 right, it was altogether different when it came to the heritage of the communist Antisemitism. The fact that the Antisemitic discourse of the right reproduced the Antisemitic discourse of the Communist Party stand in stark contradiction with declarative anti-communism of the Polish far-right. Still, the anti-Jewish campaign of 1968 was openly praised or at least justified. Peter Raina, during a session organized by Klub “Myśli Polskiej” (Club of Polish Thought) and Stowarzyszenie Patriotyczne “Wola-Bemowo” (“Wola-Bemowo” Patriotic Society) shouted: “We need to repeat the campaign of March 1968! We need to repeat it! Not just once! Not twice! We need to repeat it ten times!”⁷⁸⁹

In one of his texts, Raina justified the Antisemitic purges in the party by explaining that the Jews were not loyal to Poland and were revealing confidential information to Israeli secret service. Thus, when Gomułka expelled the Jews, he was actually defending the Polish national interest. Raina also criticized Jews for “creating a propaganda suggesting that there was an atmosphere of anti-Jewish repressions in Poland that time.”⁷⁹⁰ Some propagandists (like Ryszard Gontarz, Kazimierz Kąkol, or Bogdan Poręba) who were active during the March 1968 campaign, have found their way to the political right. Ryszard Gontarz was active in Komitet Obrony Dobrego Imienia Miasta Jedwabnego (Jedwabne’s Anti-Defamation Committee) established by a member of parliament, Michał Kamiński. Bogdan Poręba became a publicist of *Myśl Polska* (Polish Thought). Antisemitic media made use of the communist fake news created in 1968 and 1981. Leszek Bubel’s paper *Tylko Polska* reprinted Ida Martowa’s pamphlet *Marzec 1968 r. Nieudana próba zamachu stanu* (March 1968. A Failed Coup). One of the favorite Antisemite fake texts is “Jakub Berman’s secret speech,” summarized at the begging of the present chapter, and the fake Hanna Krall’s interview with Bronisław Gremek.⁷⁹¹ Edward Moskal’s political views were shaped by Wojciech Wierzewski, who was the first secretary of the Communist Party at the faculty of literature of the University of Warsaw after March 1968, edited a bi-weekly *Zgoda* (Consent), and was the author of some of the public announcements of the president of the Polish American Congress.

The most consistent continuator of the Moczar’s Antisemitism was Andrzej Leszek Szcześniak. He started his career as a school textbook author in the People’s

789 *Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 10, 2000.

790 Cf. Peter Raina (1994), *Kościół-państwo w świetle akt wydziału do spraw wyznań 1967–1968*, Wydawnictwo Książka Polska, Warszawa, 266–268.

791 After 1989, the fake interview was reprinted by *Dziennik Poznański*, January 7, 1997. It was recalled in an audition broadcasted by Radio Maryja on August 24, 2002 and August 31, 2002. It was also read on air in the local Warszawa radio “Jutrzenka.” Both “Gremek’s interview” and “Berman’s speech” were also published on the Internet.

Republic of Poland and, after 1989, he published at least five, slightly different, versions of a lecture on Poland's nineteenth- and twentieth-century history. The educational purpose of his books was, in his own words, "to evaluate and assess the attitudes and activities of other people." He served this purpose with aggressive language that evoked negative feelings in students (e.g., "dirty business," "plots," etc.). Szcześniak based his writings on journalistic, not scientific sources; he drew from Antisemitic publications of priest Trzeciak, the communist press hunt of March 1968, or publications like "Fight against the Jewish occupation." His textbooks comprise stereotypes, factual mistakes, and deliberate distortions. He presents his readers with an infantile and conspiratorial vision of Jewish history, writes about the "World Jewish Organization," and invents a whole litany of Antisemitic spells: the Jews "controlled trade," "practiced usury," "isolated" themselves from the Poles while "denationalizing" them at the same time, cunningly adopted the names of "famous and distinguished Poles," wore "absurd clothes," believed in "superstitions" but they also introduced atheism, strived to destroy Poland but also demanded Poland to be "from the sea to the sea," tried to create a "Judeo-Polonia" but set their homeland in Palestine, and secretly plotted against Poles "with the world's Zionist leadership." In his methodological guide, Szcześniak compared the Nazi concept of "the master race" with the Biblical idea of the chosen people. He recapitulated the Holocaust by stating that the Poles were "condemned" by the Nazis while the Jews were only "resettled." His explanation for introducing Stalinism in Poland after 1945 is very simple: it was done by Bierut, the man of "an unclear ethnic identity," and by the government consisting of "ten people of Jewish origin and one of Polish-Jewish origin." He divided the post-war opposition into "constructive neo-positivists" of the Catholic Church, the Committee for the Defense of Life, Family and Nation, and the "masons" – that is, all the rest. His textbooks were recommended by Radio Maryja and accepted by the Ministry of Education for almost a decade.

The arguments derived from Communist anti-Zionist propaganda collide today with those created in the 1970s by the anti-Jewish faction of the new West European left wing. Both versions of anti-Zionism arose almost simultaneously (and probably affected each other), but there were significant differences between them, primarily in the assessment of the Israeli political system. The communists saw Israel as a country hostile to workers and essentially bourgeois. The leftists, on the other hand, lived in the countries with unrestricted access to information and, thus, could not claim that Israel, then ruled by the left, is a country "hostile toward workers." They did not follow on conspiracy theories about "the fifth column" allegedly disintegrating socialist countries and they were not interested in the role of Jewish communists in creating Stalinism. Instead, they focused on the fate of the Palestinians, seeing Israeli actions toward them as an expression of neo-colonialism. They accused the Zionist ideology, both in its right- and left-wing factions, of imperialism and chauvinism, and at the same time they idealized the Arab side of the conflict and justified or even praised terrorism. The leftist propaganda also used stereotypes and far-reaching simplifications, it sometimes

even referred to conspiracy theories, overestimating the influence of the “Jewish lobby” on the foreign policy of the USA and Western countries, however it was more rational than its communist predecessor. It was not until the late 1990s that Polish Antisemites started using these arguments; they lacked, however, even the slightest rationality, as they mixed Moczar’s threads with those taken from the leftists and even added older ones, derived from the myth of “the elders of Zion.”

Antisemitic magazines seem to devote much more attention to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict than to any other war of this world. We read in *Nasza Polska* from April 24, 2001: “Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, a declared racist ... still reassures Israeli Jews that he will bring order to the region. His methods are a vivid reminder of the Nazi Ordnung.” Analogous associations of Israel with Nazism (initiated, as we remember, in 1967) appeared in *Najwyższy Czas!*: “Sharon’s attitude toward the Arabs indicates some similarities to this of Hitler toward the Jews.” On February 3, 2004, *Nasz Dziennik* published an article significantly entitled: “Ghetto i terroryzm made in Israel.” On November 22, 2002, the same newspaper quoted the Israeli Prime Minister’s statement with the following commentary:

Few are convinced by this cynical and hypocritical statement, as Sharon was visiting Israeli military units and encouraging soldiers to murder “terrorists”.... A strange panic arose among the Israeli soldiers who, according to Sharon, were given orders to “protect the civilians.” At the news of the possible arrival of an international commission, the soldiers got scared.

The epithets such as “cynical” and “hypocritical” operated with the model of the 1968 press hunt. The author also used an older stereotype of a Jew portrayed as a coward who attacks insidiously and unexpectedly. Collaborators of *Nasz Dziennik*, similarly to the Western leftists, are willing to absolve Arab dictators: “They say Hussain is irresponsible, but he does not shoot children while Israelis do. Nothing is as aggravating as bold hypocrisy.” They approved of Islamic fundamentalism uncritically and, when it is impossible to fully exculpate its followers, they pass the responsibility to the Jews. In an article entitled “Refleksja religijna na 11 września” (Religious reflection about 9/11), priest Czesław Bartnik repeated an Internet-based “Jewish inspiration” theory, explaining the attack on the World Trade Center towers, which insinuates that all Jewish employees were allegedly warned against the attack and did not come to work on that day (*Nasz Dziennik*, November 15, 2002). Equating the state of Israel or Zionism with Nazism, blaming only one side of the conflict and holding all the Jews responsible, including those from outside Israel – these are the distinguishing features of modern anti-Zionist Antisemitism.

Some threads in the Moczar’s propaganda contained seeds of Holocaust Denial: the Jews were accused of increasing the size of their sufferings either in order to diminish those of the Poles or in order to swindle compensation money out of the Germans. Tadeusz Bednarczyk claimed that the number of the European Jews murdered in the Holocaust should be reduced to four million: “Knowing how deceitful the Jewish character is, it is easy to figure out the goal behind that increased number of six million – more compassion and more money from West

Germany.” The author argued that the other two million were: “hidden by the Sanhedrin among the goys, so that they could acquire positions, gain influence and infiltrate governments in order to perform destructive tasks and to manipulate (the Poles and the others).” The symbolic gesture of turning victims into executioners is well-rooted in the Antisemitic propaganda. Antoni Macierewicz repeated after Józef Orlicki and Krzysztof Kąkolewski that the Kielce pogrom was “in fact, a crime committed on the Poles by the NKVD and by the Polish Security Service. An important, though still unexplained, role was also played by the Jewish communists” (Orlicki referred to them as “Zionists”). *Szczerbiec* wrote in 1996 that “it was rich Jews themselves who prepared the genocide mechanism for four million of their brothers.” Other ideas can be encountered: the Jews welcoming both the Soviet and the German army or the Jews being szmalcownik in the ghetto. Some of these come from Bednarczyk’s book, some echo the propaganda of March 1968.

The generation that acquired knowledge about the Nazi genocide solely at school grew up and paved the way for a group of historians who questioned the number of Holocaust victims and tried to minimize or even deny the guilt of the Nazis. It is not a coincidence that they first started acting in countries where the drama of the Holocaust did not take place, like England and the USA, and where debating this greatest crime of the twentieth century would not affect national identity, as was the case of Germany or Poland. They could gain popularity because it was easier for them to hide the ideological implications of the assessments they made. The greatest publicity was gained by David Irving, an English historian who began to undermine the very fact of the mass murder of Jews in extermination camps, arguing that the crematoria were in fact baths and the gas was only used to disinfect them. Such claims were picked up by Antisemitic columnists in the USA, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Historical revisionism became one of the most important components of the new wave of Antisemitism and neo-Nazism in Western Europe and the USA. The authors of revisionist books were subjected to several trials, found guilty of lying and committing factual mistakes, and ordered to pay large compensations, which consequently diminished the role of their theories in popular science. The Germans introduced the category of “Holocaust denial” (*Holocaustleugnung*) to the penal code. It would seem that in Poland – the country where the drama of the Holocaust took place, witnesses and victims are still alive, and the extermination camps are visited annually by numerous school tours – Holocaust denial cannot appear. And indeed, Polish Antisemites did not use this theme in their propaganda for quite a long time, even though the press extensively reported the scandals evoked by Irving and its followers. It did not surface even during an emotional and aggressive debate concerning the positioning of the Carmelite monastery within the limits of the Aushwitz-Birkenau camp, although diminishing the size of the Holocaust must have seemed a tempting argument to make.

The themes of Western European historical revisionism began to spread in Poland during the 1990s. This process can be followed in detail. In 1993, *Szczerbiec* published the first volume of its new series, *Mit Holokaustu* (The Myth of the

Holocaust), a translated selection of texts by western revisionist historians. It passed, however, unnoticed. Three years later, Tomasz Gabiś returned to this subject. In a two-part article entitled “Religia Holokaustu” (The Holocaust Religion, *Stańczyk* 2/1996 and 1/1997), he accused the West of succumbing to the “Holocaust myth” which, according to the author, is a ubiquitous, constantly updated and instrumentalized component of politics and ideology. Gabiś argued that the “Holocaust myth” assumes religious forms, that it has its templates (like United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC, Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, or Yad Vashem in Jerusalem) and “sacred books” (like Ann Frank’s diary). Christianity, he claimed, is not only dethroned but also indicted as responsible for the Holocaust. He argued that the “metaphysical guilt” of the crime committed on Polish land puts Poles in the state of “theologic humiliation” and serves to accuse the Polish nation of “deicide.” According to Gabiś, “merely” 300,000 people of Jewish origin were killed in the extermination camps and the Jews falsely increased the number of victims only to justify the rise of state of Israel and to gain a favorable position in the international arena. He used quotation marks every time he wrote the word “Holocaust.” Gabiś’s article resonated in some parts of right-wing circles, however a broader debate was yet to be triggered. Igor Figa, after discussing this article in detail (“O religii Holokaustu,” *Frona* 9–10/1997), concluded:

The Jews and the Germans themselves have already noticed what Gabiś is calling the “Holocaust religion,” they analyze this phenomenon closely and debate over it fiercely. Meanwhile, the discussion in Poland is yet to be initiated.... We cannot avoid issues of sensitive and controversial nature if we want the Polish-Jewish reconciliation to be a reality, not a fiction.

Gabiś gained some recognition for fighting the “Holocaust myth” among the editors of *Nasz Dziennik*. They believed (23 II 1998, “*Stańczyk* jako konserwatysta”) the author presented arguments of “very serious historians who negate the widely accepted stereotypes regarding the number of victims during World War II, internal policy of the Third Reich, extermination camps, etc.”

The circle of Radio Maryja was not the only one to pick up the arguments of Holocaust deniers. Grzegorz Górny repeated Gabiś’s theses in *Rzeczpospolita* (June, 18 2009), in an article entitled “Aushwitz zamiast Synaju” (Aushwitz Instead of Sinai). Earlier, in 1999, *Kwartalnik Narodowy* (The National Quarterly) published a translation of “Komór gazowych nie było” (There Were No Gas Chambers), a text by the French negationist, Robert Faurisson. One of the editors of the magazine *Nowe Pokolenie* (New Generation; 1/1999), the press organ of NOP, wrote:

I am not going to question the Holocaust; what I am going to do, however, is to argue that no Christian can afford to believe in the aggressively promoted Holocaust Religion, widely recognized by the media and the governments. As of today, the Holocaust has adopted all the attributes of a religion and, as such, it is slowly supplanting all other. It has no place for religious tolerance and any attempt at criticizing the Holocaust

Dogma is penalized with imprisonment.... It is yet another instrument used by “the chosen nation” to fight Christianity and Truth.

Gabiś’s article proved inspiring for Dariusz Ratajczak, a history teacher at the University of Opole and an active member of SN, whose book *Tematy niebezpieczne* (Dangerous Themes) provoked a countrywide debate which ended in court. In the chapter “Rewizjonizm holokaustu” (Revisionism of the Holocaust), Ratajczak supports Irving’s arguments. He describes the researchers studying the Nazi genocide against the Jews as “followers of the Holocaust religion and hence supporters of censorship, people who deceive public opinion with a propaganda image of the past.” He repeats the claims of the English historian: “To summarize this thread, within a margin of small error, we can state that cyclone B was used to disinfect, not to murder people.” The book was published in April 1999; by May, Ratajczak was suspended in his college duties and subjected to an investigation which led to a trial in November and, in December, to a sentence of acquittal motivated by “the low social noxiousness of the act” – judges reasoned that the book appeared in a limited edition of 300 copies. Meanwhile, it was printed again by Leszek Bubel’s publishing house and its fragments were already circulating online. Despite the acquittal in April 2000, the Senate of the University of Opole decided to remove Ratajczak from his post and imposed on him a three-year ban on teaching. However, the case was not closed. As a result of the appeal in November 2001, Ratajczak was found guilty of Holocaust denial and received a suspended sentence with a small fine. The contents of the book and the trials were widely discussed and reported in the press. It also triggered an intense discussion about the limits of free speech. Ratajczak was defended in Radio Maryja by Andrzej L. Szcześniak, Ryszard Bender, and Tomasz Wituch (professor at the History Department of the University of Warsaw). Bender said:

Aushwitz-Birkenau was not an extermination camp, it was a labor camp. The Jews, the Gypsies, and others were destroyed there with hard work. In fact, it was not always that hard and they were not always destroyed, for there are reports that meals in the camp were served three times a day and those who were sick would get a delicate soup, milk, and white bread. Also, the Jews were allowed important camp-jobs, like kapo.

The scandal caused by Ratajczak’s book contributed to the fact that, in 1999–2000, revisionism became one of the most frequent threads within the Antisemitic discourse, including the publications of Henryk Pająk. In 2000, the protest of Jewish organizations prevented the publishing of Irving’s book by Bellona. Since then, translations of all his works have been published solely by private publishing houses, while the author himself has visited Poland several times at the invitation of various Antisemitic organizations.

The threads of pre-war clerical Antisemitism are still vivid. It characterized all the followers of Judaism with “double morality” and located the source of evil in the Talmud. Ratajczak reminded that: “The organic reluctance of Jews toward the

non-Jewish world ... results primarily from the traditional laws of Judaism.” Piotr Jakucki, the chief editor of *Nasza Polska* (234/2000) claimed that “hatred toward Poland and Christianity has its foundation in the doctrine of Judaism,” while his editorial colleague clarified that this doctrine has nothing to do with religion, rather than being a successor of “anti-Christian and anti-Polish ideological line of Communism.” One of NOP online magazines (*Szczerbiec* 1993) stated:

Driven by the Talmud-fueled force, the Jews hate everything that lacks the Judaic element – they are not worthy of living on our planet, sprayed with the blood of innocent victims of their eternal plots.

This is how Dana Albi, a Polish immigrant publicist, answers the question about the sources of anti-Polonism:

There is a number of reasons, but the main one lies within the very nature of the Jews, which is the result of the Talmud teachings. The Talmud tells them to be chauvinistic, to hate people of other religions and, above all, to hate Christians. You can read about it in *Talmud Unmasked*, a book by father I. B. Pranajtis.

The Jewish God is sometimes contrasted with “the Christian God,” as if these two were different. The Jewish God is supposed to be “envious and vindictive.” It is a common mistake to say that, which results from poor knowledge of theological schooling. And yet, such a statement can be found, for example, in a history book for the fifth grade, even though its authors should not be judged as Antisemites. Despite the respect declared for John Paul II, his condemnation of Antisemitism as sin is completely ignored. The bookstores run by *Nasz Dziennik* present his encyclicals right next to books by Trzeciak, Koneczny and J. R. Nowak.

The Antisemitic press did not accuse the Jews of deicide until father Henryk Janowski caused a scandal by incrusting Jesus’s Grave with the following inscription: “the Jews who put Lord Jesus to death, and the prophets too, and persecuted us also. Luke the Evangelist” (nota bene, he quoted the source incorrectly, which is quite embarrassing for a priest). Stanisław Michalkiewicz, defending the priest, after the press protested against his action, with the use of subtle irony:

The grave came with an explanation that it was the Jews who killed Lord Jesus.... It is nothing new, we know it from the Gospel.... This whole reaction tells us that if we go too far down the road of political correctness, we may find ourselves radically revising the evangelical truths.

Szczerbiec (6/1993) demanded an apology from the Jews for killing Jesus Christ and, in addition to that, for “destroying the Roman civilization, the French revolution, communism, fascism, starting both World Wars, and subjecting Poland to Stalin.” The same demand was made by Pająk in “Strach być Kargulem” (It is Scary to be Kargul), a text reprinted in a number of magazines, among others in *Kwartalnik Narodowy* (2/1999). A law student wrote in Bubel’s magazine *Tylko Polska* that Jesus Christ was the first Antisemite for “with eyes of his powerful imagination

he foresaw the destroying, godless, and antihuman role of the Jews in the world's history" – which seems an odd opinion for a student of a Catholic college.

Although it is rare for Antisemitic journalism to openly criticize post-Vatican II Catholic teaching, the Christian-Jewish dialogue itself is often ridiculed. An author of a regular (published since 2006) short column in *Nasz Dziennik*, entitled "Aj Waj" in order to parody the Jewish expression of helplessness, stated ironically:

The Jews say we need to apologize for the harm done in the past and the Poles apologize – there is the whole dialogue.... The Jews are yet to reap benefit from this dialogue ... but it takes time to count the historical damages precisely, calculate proper interest, and convert all this harm into euros.

The clergymen who actually participate in this dialogue are often attacked and called "Jews" or "Jewish minions." On the other hand, priests known for their anti-Jewish activities are glorified – like father Josef Tiso who took the lead of the pro-Hitlerite government of Slovakia and who was responsible for deporting Slovak Jews to extermination camps.

Since the late 1990s, traditional superstitions appear more often. In 1997, a Rzeszów newspaper published the statement of a priest whose belief in the "ritual murder" was confirmed by a Palestinian during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land (S. Szczepański, "Jestem antysyjonistą," *Głos Rzeszowa*, March 1997; also available online at *Kurier Codzienny* from Chicago). A number of authors (Leszek Bubel in his *Meet the Jew* series, Maciej Giertych, A. Reyman, Dariusz Ratajczak) spread this superstition. It has its modern contaminations, like the connotation between Katyń and "the ritual murder of Jewish Bolshevism." As was proven by Joanna Tokarska-Bakir, the blood libel superstition remains a fairly popular belief and, given the online extracts, it is not just among low-educated people. An online portal prawy.pl, visited mainly by right-wing youth, posted the results of a survey conducted among 603 page visitors: 53 % declared they believe in blood libel, 37 % declared they do not, 10 % were not sure.

Antisemitic propaganda schemes have become a model for hate speech directed not only against Jews. The misogynist narration grows stronger in the circles of integral Catholics who promote an absolute ban on abortion, even at the cost of women's health or life. In some cases, it turned into a public battle. Pro-life supporters hailed the defenders of women's right to be "spokesmen for the civilization of death" and reduced the essence of Stalinist and Hitler's totalitarianisms to the alleged "order" of abortion – which, by the way, departs from the truth, as abortion was illegal during both Stalin's and Hitler's rule and it was not until the Thaw of 1956 that Poland legalized the procedure (with some limitations). Once the "defenders of life" incorporated Hitler's figure into their propaganda, "Holocaust denial" started echoing in word clusters (like "abortion is the Auschwitz of liberalism"), in comparisons to the mass murder of the Jews (like this title from *Frona* 32/2004: "Survivors from the Holocaust of the Unborn") and in iconography (Hitler's or extermination camp prisoners's photographs compiled with pictures of aborted fetus). Participants of a demonstration organized by Radio Maryja in

March 28, 2007, were shouting “abortion for the Jews,” which is a direct reference to Antisemitism. *Angora* magazine (6-7/2003) published a symptomatically titled article, “Telewizja Trwam odkryła: To Żydzi przysłali nam aborcyjny statek!” (TV Trwam Discovery: Jews Have Sent the Abortion Ship!):

On Saturday, June 28, 2003, Dr Czachorowski spoke on father’s Rydzyk TV Trwam. The scholar denounced the principals behind Dutch feminists from “Langenort.” It turns out that it was all caused by the nation that had chosen Russia for the place of the revolution many years ago.

New associations were introduced: between “abortion” and “cannibalism” (e.g., title: “Canibal’s Republic of China,” *Fronda* 31/2003) or between “abortion” and “ritual murders,” as in these words of a priest from Sandomierz (J. Tokarska-Bakir, 2008, pp. 413–414): “There were some suspicions that the Jews knew how to perform abortion... Maybe it was them or maybe it was somebody else who would only deliver the babies to them after the abortion.” Przemysław Dymski put it even more blatantly: “It was them, the Jewish lawyers and doctors, who developed the theory and practice of killing unborn babies in the light of law and who, thus, confirmed the most terrible legends of ritual murders.” After the year 2000, the homophobic narration grew stronger after incorporating the schemes of Antisemitic propaganda – it used motives concerning a threat to the Polish family and Polish nation, dissemination of AIDS, demoralization of the youth, equalizing “pederasty” with pedophilia (sometimes also with “ritual murders”), a conspiracy of “international lobby of deviants.” It is the Jews who are often accused of the deceitful promotion of “perversion.” During the Equality Parade, counter-demonstrators could have been heard shouting slogans like “put homosexuals into gas chambers” or “we are going to do with you the same thing Hitler did with the Jews.” Antisemitism has, therefore, become a model for all hate speech which aims at moral freedom and defends the patriarchal model of masculinity.

After the political change of 1989, historians began to revise earlier historiography. A number of these publications praised the pre-war national coalition and the extreme right during the Second World War; it is a common scheme to ignore these groups’ attitude toward the Jews and to emphasize their connections with Catholicism. Yet, some scholars adopt the nationalists’ perspective and justify or even approve of their anti-Jewish attitude. One of them is Dr Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, located in the USA. In his book *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne – “Ząb” przeciw dwu wrogom* (National Armed Forces – “Ząb” against two enemies, Warszawa, 1994) he relativized the Antisemitism of the ONR formations:

In order to make sure whether or not the killings of the Jews carried out by the NSZ members resulted from Antisemitism, it is important to carefully consider the circumstances of those deaths before considering motives of robbery, communist activity, or alleged or actual Nazi espionage.... Unfortunately, due to the ideology they followed, the officers of National Democracy might be suspected of murdering Jews on purely racial basis, even though they have not done such a horrible crime. Rather

than that, they were guilty of murders committed for other reasons, some of which are understandable in the circumstances of this horrible war.

In other words, Chodakiewicz did not deny the murders, but he justified the NSZ members by accusing the victims of robbery, communist activities, and finally – spying for the Nazis. He noted that espionage was “alleged,” however the partisans’ profound belief in acting in the name of truth exempts them from moral responsibility. In 2008, IPN published his book *Po zagładzie* (After the Extermination), in which Chodakiewicz carries out a sort of “bill of corpses,” judging that in 1944–1947 less Jews were killed by the Poles than the Poles by the “Jewish” UB. Other historian, Piotr Gontarczyk, in his book about the Przytyk pogrom (*Pogrom?*, Białą Podlaska-Pruszków, 2000), used the same scheme of blaming the victims, uncritically trusting judicial documents and right-wing press reports.

Whereas, in the 1990s, the Antisemitic discourse functioned on the periphery of historical research as a separate (and critically reviewed) phenomenon, in the twenty-first century, it began to penetrate the mainstream and is now sometimes treated as an independent scientific discourse, accepted in the name of pluralism of opinion. This is where postmodernism enters, understood, however, not as a tool to view history from different perspectives, but as a tool to legitimize its ideologized and falsified versions. Three collective works, including two published by the Institute of National Remembrance, can serve as an example: *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945* (Poles and Jews in 1939–1945, ed. A. Żbikowski, Warszawa 2006), *Z przeszłości Żydów polskich* (The Past of Polish Jews, red. J. Wijaczka, G. Miernik, Kraków 2005), and *Świat nie pożegnany* (A World Without Goodbye, ed. K. Jasiewicz, Warszawa 2004). All three are pioneer studies which discover previously unknown facts or present them in an innovative perspective. First of these, however, includes an article by Jan Żaryn (“Elity obozu narodowego wobec zagłady Żydów”), who falsely generalizes on the significant role of the NSZ in saving, with the help of other Poles, “up to two million” Jews – the author refers to the historian Tomasz Strzembosz, but it can be assumed that he repeated this number after Tadeusz Bednarczyk (Żaryn names his work as an objective source). Using the racial criterion, Żaryn calculates the number of ONR members who were “of Jewish origin.” He validates the conspiracy schemes taken from nationalist propaganda and justifies, for example, the Antisemitism “attributed” to the national camp with “the influence of American Jewry on America’s public opinion.”

The second collective work published by the Institute of National Remembrance includes an article by Ryszard Śmietanka-Kruszelnicki entitled “Podziemie antykomunistyczne wobec Żydów po 1945” (Anti-Communist Underground Approach to Jews After 1945). The murders of Jews committed by the anti-communist underground in the Kieleckie province are documented by the author reliably, but he justifies these crimes like Chodakiewicz whose work he quotes. The editors of the third book, *Świat nie pożegnany*, found room for Chodakiewicz’s methodological confessions and a text entitled “Tylko poważnie udokumentowana prawda i właściwa terminologia,” which authors, Waclaw Długoborski (curator for

Scientific Research of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum) and Ryszard Szawłowski (Polish University Abroad), accuse the Institute of National Remembrance leadership of “political correctness” which restricts access to truth – the truth that they saw in publications such as *Encyklopedia Białych Plam*. In the same volume, a professor of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, Wiesław J. Wysocki, shows considerable ignorance when stating that:

Until the outbreak of the Second World War, in no way did Poland restrict the rights of Jews; no legislative or administrative act of restrictive nature has been issued.... Despite such a favorable position, part of the Jewish community raised various claims against the Polish state.

Wysocki argues that “personalities too eagerly seen as Antisemites” during the Holocaust became philosemites and together with over 100,000 other Poles (an undocumented number) rescued Jews at risk of their own lives (“Chrześcijanin w świecie Shoah,” Christians in the World of Shoah). Not only did the authors I criticized above comment on historical facts using xenophobic schemes, but they also violate factual and methodological correctness. Their statements mix with objective and balanced studies of other historians. This peculiar scientific “post-modernism” gained institutional foundations. First Antisemitic universities were founded: the first one, close to the circle of Radio Maryja, was the College of Social and Media Culture in Toruń; the second, close to the party Samoobrona RP, was the European Academy of Integrative Psychology in Łódź. The latter was cooperating with Antisemitism the Interregional Academy of Personal Management in Kiev which also promoted Antisemitism (the leader of Samoobrona RP, Andrzej Lepper, received an honorary degree from this Ukrainian university).

The debate over Jan Tomasz Gross’s *Sąsiedzi* (Neighbors, 2000), in which the author documents the mass murder of Jews committed by the residents of Jedwabne in 1941, had essential influence on the phenomenon of penetrating the scientific field of history with Antisemitism. The publication of Gross’s book caused even stronger controversy than the article of Jan Błoński (1987) or Bożena Szaynok’s work on the Kielce pogrom (1992). According to the Center for Public Opinion Research, only 17 % of Poles have not heard of the matter described by Gross, which was then discussed by almost all Polish media during the few months of 2001. Of the 83 % who heard about it, 11 % thought that Gross’s publication was a provocation aimed at slandering Poland abroad, 41 % believed that it was the Germans who murdered the Jews, and only 6 % were able to accept the cruel truth. Repeating the same survey a year later showed the consolidation of these tendencies, however considerably less respondents were aware of the Jedwabne murders. Journalists and historians, who took part in the debate, divided into three camps. The first expressed regret and compassion for the victims and postulated a revision of the martyrological vision of their own history and the need to discuss the moral condition of the Poles. The second relativized the guilt of the Polish residents of Jedwabne, sought “extenuating circumstances” and pointed to the difficult character of Polish-Jewish relations under the Soviet occupation. The leading

representative of this camp was professor Tomasz Strzembosz who contributed to the press debate on several occasions. In his work (*Jedwabne 1941*, Warszawa 2004), he interpreted the crime as revenge for their service in the NKVD and denunciatory activities during the Soviet occupation, yet Strzembosz was unable to provide convincing evidence to support these statements. Similar claims were made by Gontarczyk and Chodakiewicz. In the course of this debate they became the representatives of the right-wing historiographic vision, which gained them popularity and paved way to further career. The third camp may be characterized as blaming the Germans with all the responsibility, blaming the victims, or even denying the very fact of the crime. Publicists who shared this opinion, like J. R. Nowak, R. Bender, and L. Bubel, sharpened the arguments of Strzembosz, Gontarczyk, and Chodakiewicz and used the media turmoil as an opportunity to arouse anti-Jewish emotions. The next book by Gross, *Strach* (Fear, 2008) did not strike similar controversies. Interestingly enough, there was no moral reflection expressed previously by the first camp. This time, the polemist were divided: on the one hand, there were historians who assessed the book critically, yet not without good will and, on the other, there were Antisemites who accused Gross of intentional defamation of Poland and Poles.

The ideology of Antisemitism is a closed construct, more inclined to borrow from itself than to react to changing reality. For this reason, not only does it continue to use clichés from the pre-war and Moczer's journalism, but it was also faster to absorb Western European threads of left-wing anti-Zionism and historical revisionism, than to recognize, for example, the activity of the Nissenbaum Family Foundation (though it was almost impossible not to formulate allegations of "insidious inducing the Poles to drink" once the Nisskosher vodka appeared on the Polish market). The only new and "native" contribution is the controversy over the legal regulations of post-Jewish property in Poland. Rumors about law-required returns of the real estates taken over during the Holocaust swept through our country immediately after the political change of 1989. They represented fears which started to surface from the suppressed trauma of the occupation, from the subconscious uncertainty whether or not settling in the houses left by those who were sent to the ghettos or deported to the extermination camps was ethical. Undoubtedly, these rumors fueled Antisemitic attitudes, so it is amazing how little use did Antisemitic propagandists make of this fear. As far as I know, it was not until 2005 that Radio Maryja discussed this topic. Before that, *Nasz Dziennik* referred to it only once, when the newspaper editors protested against the efforts of the Jewish Community in Bielsko-Biała to regain the area where a synagogue stood before the war ("Nieuzasadnione roszczenia," 5 II 2004). The editors of *Głos* referred to this issue twice while debating the reprivatisation law in 2001. Since 2006, however, this topic has been discussed more often, even though fears of the province residents ("the Jews will come and throw us out") have already considerably lessened. Publicists began to portray Jews as a community that is constantly demanding compensation or returns of real estates only when they adopted the arguments of historical revisionists. The accusation of "extorting reparation

money” from Germany or Poland for “exaggerated” war suffering has been made on numerous occasions by Radio Maryja, it was also mentioned by father Tadeusz Rydzyk in his speech to the students of the College of Social and Media Culture in Toruń (2007). The latter caused a big scandal because of insulting words directed against the First Lady, Maria Kaczyńska.

A good example of how the Antisemitic propaganda feeds on itself is the peculiar turnaround, which changed a rumor into irrefutable truth, even though it was initially cited as an unverified information by the very same medium. Father Rydzyk quoted Jan Kobylański, a Polonia activist in Uruguay, who claimed that several thousand Argentinian Jews applied to the Polish embassy for “passports” (it is more probable that the applications were for restoring Polish citizenship). The founder of Radio Maryja began to picture a horrifying “invasion” of the Jews, and some listeners followed. It led to a specific chain reaction: one listener shared a number of 100,000 Jews allegedly returning from Argentina, father Rydzyk soon inflated it to 200,000 – and gradually it grew to half a million. He thundered on February 19, 2003: “I know for sure that half a million Jews are about to come to Poland. They are giving them passports, they are giving them everything!” During a heated discussion about Jedwabne, *Nasz Dziennik* (March 2, 2001) accused Szmul Wassersztajn, one of the witnesses, of collaborating with the communist Security Department. Two days later, the same newspaper used this article as a proof: “It has been known for a few days now that Szmul Wassersztajn was a collaborator of the Security Department in Łomża. It sheds new light on his testimony.” This “fact” was then picked by *Nasza Polska* (March 13, 2001) and soon *Tygodnik Solidarność* published a letter addressed to the President of the Institute of National Remembrance, signed by several dozen readers: “You believed in the slanders made up by the former Security Department official Szmul Wassersztajn.”

It is worth analyzing how the right-wing media operate. Teresa Bogucka described the similarity of Antisemitic propaganda campaigns to the “anger of the people” organized artificially by the communists. In the Stalinist era, the authors of letters sent to the press presented themselves as a “simple man,” now they present themselves as an “ordinary Pole” or “a real Pole.” The language of Antisemitic battles also resembles the communist newspeak – it abuses terms such as “known forces,” “specific circles,” “anti-Polish interests,” and even the use of “so-called” in the meaning of “alleged” is taken from the communist propaganda⁷⁹². However, this is not a language invented by the communists. It was first used in Poland by the Antisemitic press, for instance, by the *Rola* weekly. Therefore, its origins should be placed at least in the 1880s.

Suggesting a threat was – and still is – a common method of manipulating the recipients’ emotions. On November 23, 2002, the host of Radio Maryja spoke about “cameras the size of buttons” and “intruders dressed up as priests” who allegedly try to force their way into the headquarters of the radio. He compared them to

792 After T. Bogucka (1998), “W pralękach pogrzebani,” *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 23 May.

terrorists who “sow death.” Emotions generated by such suggestions can be seen during the meetings of Radio Maryja supporters – they assume forms of verbal and physical aggression against journalists. Another commonly used technique, described by propaganda theorists as “brainwashing,” is to raise the level of frustration in the propaganda receiver and then present him with a solution adequate to the given political agenda. Such a procedure results in a non-reflective acceptance of the offered content and, at the same time, invokes a determination that mobilizes the supporters by arousing aggression.

Antisemitic media try to encourage its recipients to act collectively. During the conflict over the monastery in Auschwitz, the slogan “cross endangered by the Jews” triggered a wave of resolutions from various spontaneously established committees. The circle of Radio Maryja proved most efficient. Its supporters were ready to participate in aggressive demonstrations every time their radio summoned them. This was the case when – after threats of shaving heads “like those of the prostitutes who dealt with the Germans” were addressed on air at female deputies who voted for the liberalization of the anti-abortion law (1997) – an inquiry against father Rydzyk was opened. Participants of the demonstration called by the priest demanded a “gibbet” for the prosecutor who was leading the case. Her name and address were announced publically and one of the listeners sent a series of letters to her, threatening to burn the flat. The prosecutor’s office was flooded with over 100,000 protest letters; the case was withdrawn from court after that.

Another example of such mobilizations is the reaction to anti-Israeli publications posted in short intervals by *Nasz Dziennik* (2002). Within a month, the embassy of Israel received sixteen hostile letters (some were anonymous, some were signed individually, some were group letters), which clearly reflected the newspaper’s publications. The authors referred to the articles or even enclosed press clippings. This is a fragment of one these letters: “You Jewish cattle! It is a pity that Hitler did not murder all Jews. I hope that in the end you will die from Arabic hands, or maybe Polish, if in your felonious minds you were to have these thoughts of creating Judeo-Polonia again. I pray for every Palestinian who kills Jews” (the letter was fully signed, author’s address was disclosed along an article from *Nasz Dziennik*). Here is another one: “We send you an article from *Nasz Dziennik* because maybe *Nasz Dziennik* is not interesting for you. We have read a lot of articles like this one and know what you are doing. As we see it, either you will believe in Jesus Christ or until the last days of this world You and Your next generations will get your hands dirty in actions similar to those described in the article” (two signatures and a copy of the article from *Nasz Dziennik* enclosed). And another: “Szewach, if you come to Gdańsk again, I will not be responsible for what me and my friends will do. You apply Nazi methods to Palestinians who are your Semitic brothers.” And another: “You attacked an innocent Nation and you will pay for it a hundred times. Our slogan around the world is now: KILL THE JEW” (both letters signed with full names, addresses disclosed, with references to an article from *Nasz Dziennik*).

Antisemitic media strive to monopolize their recipients. So far, Radio Maryja proved most effective and it tries to isolate their listeners from more objective sources of information by accusing everybody else of lying. Censorship was imposed deliberately, because, as Father Rydzyk admitted:

In our radio, we do not really have this rule of some pluralism, this rule that everybody should sit behind the microphone. It would be a sort of commercial mish-mash, prepared by putting everything inside, rotten or not rotten.

This way, the radio meets the expectations of recipients who are lost in the world of information overload and who need a “guide” or a respected authority, as they themselves do not feel confident enough to make an independent choice. One of the listeners confessed (30 VI 2002):

I am the lucky girl who has never bought *Gazeta Wyborcza*. I know what should not be there, because all you need to do is read the media review in *Nasz Dziennik* and you know what should not be there. Besides, professor Nowak will also explain what was there and what should not have been.

During live programs, every attempt at disagreement is eliminated in a simple way: connection is interrupted or silenced, sometimes the meaning of a listener’s opinion is counterbalanced with a host’s retort. One listener, for example, was interrupted as soon as he managed to say: “What I do not like about Radio Maryja is that such a policy runs...,” to which the host reacted by saying: “So maybe you should turn off the radio, we will not discuss it. If you don’t like something, turn it off and everything will be fine.” A similar retort prevented the continuation of a dialogue between the listener and the radio guest: “[Listener] The real devil for Poland, new and old, was KOR, KOR had incredible opportunities to win... [Prof. Ryszard Bender:] With all those masons inside! [Listener:] Not only! The co-founder of KOR was Macierewicz... [host father Cydzik interrupts:] Well, you see now, you were speaking so nicely, but then in the end... You do not seem like a listener of Radio Maryja and like a believing Christian who stands with an open visor” (December 13, 2002). Guests invited to the studio are also carefully selected. They must share the views of the hosts, there is no room for disagreement and it is forbidden to surprise the listeners; rules of logic or sense, on the other hand, are not necessarily followed.

The Antisemitic discourse may serve as a technique of political manipulation. Admittedly, voters rejected politicians whose programs were limited to anti-Jewish hate speech, but were not immune to Antisemitic allusions. Their socio-technical appeal has become a big temptation for some politicians. Lech Wałęsa pointed out in discussion with Tadeusz Mazowiecki (September 29, 1990):

Jewish people should not hide their origins... Jews were also patriots, they greatly contributed to Polish culture, but when they hide their origins, they provoke Antisemitic attitudes. Why are not Jews proud of being Jews?

Jarosław Kaczyński made the following statement during the Sejm debate on the Institute of National Remembrance (February, 27–28, 2002):

My advice is to take a closer look at Israeli politics, Jewish politics, international Jewish organizations politics and, on the other hand, at German politics. Jews, of course, have the right to do it, we fully support it.

Both of these statements are examples of political manipulation. Their authors do not necessarily express their personal beliefs, rather than that they turn to their voters, trying to win their favors. They seem to distance themselves from Antisemitism, they even declare their sympathy for the Jews, but xenophobic listeners will understand their words as references to Antisemitic concepts: “crypto-Jews,” “Jews as enemies of the Catholic religion,” “international Jewry.” Kaczyński’s juxtaposition of “Jewish politics” with the “German politics” refers to one of the most intrusive motifs of Moczar’s Antisemitic campaign.

The language used by Radio Maryja or politicians does not serve to exchange information, it serves to constantly renew the ritual of belonging to a group; and it is achieved by formatting the content with the same patterns, repeated to the satisfaction of listeners and readers who do not like surprises. The conspiracy vision of reality imposes a certain type of communication: it is not so much about informing, rather than “disclosing” indisputable truths, usually presented as “revelations,” although they are well known to everyone for a long time. The communication game between senders and recipients consists in disguising and discovering associations with the use of an allusive, easily interpretable code which confirms the belief of both sides that they belong to “the initiated few.” The editors of *Nasza Polska* (22 V 2001) repeated after Russian media a joke that alludes to the nationality of Żyrinowski: “mother Russian, father lawyer,” and editors of *Głos* (20 X 2001), after calling Unia Wolności a “falling star,” asked rhetorically: “here is a riddle: what kind of a star?” Using Antisemitic schemes allows to suspend one’s values which reminds of the old carnival activities. In this “reversed world,” one is allowed to write ironically about the Holocaust and about the most horrific crimes, to reject the taboo of the seriousness of death or the moral obligation to empathize with those who suffer. A frivolous tone of the article from *Najwyższy Czas!* may serve as an example (July 21–28, 2001) its author writes that residents of Jedwabne, after having apologized to the Jews, were granted a sewage system, which leads him to the following inquiry: “In many small cities people must now wonder: maybe there is a chance somebody killed a Jew in our area, too?” In this and in many similar statements, the “Jew” becomes an abstract avatar, which can be emotionlessly killed and after a while revived. The Antisemitic image of Jews is neither realistic nor based on observations; it is taken from journalism. It has arbitrarily assigned features, strivings and actions, claims and demands that reflect nothing but fears and phobias of its creators and recipients. This invented “Jew” is always at hand, ready to dismantle these fears, but also to maintain them.

9.4. Law Enforcement Reactions to Antisemitism and Xenophobia

Article 13 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland prohibits the existence of political parties and other organizations which refer in their programs either to totalitarian methods and actions – Nazism, fascism, and communism – or to racial and national hatred. Article 256 of the Penal Code reads:

Whoever publicly ... incites hatred based on national, ethnic, race, or religious differences ... shall be subject to a fine, the penalty of restriction of liberty, or the penalty of deprivation of liberty for up to two years.

Article 257 reads:

Whoever publicly insults a group within the population or a particular person because of his national, ethnic, race, or religious affiliation or because of his lack of any religious denomination or for these reasons breaches the personal inviolability of another individual shall be subject to the penalty of deprivation of liberty for up to three years.

Article 212 of chapter 27, concerning slander, in particular committed through the mass media (paragraph 2), may also be applied to cases of Antisemitism. Article 49 from the act of the Institute of National Remembrance is about punishing those who question Nazi and Communist crimes committed on Polish citizens. These regulations are still unused. No political party has been banned. Until 2006, most investigations concerning Antisemitism ended either with discontinuation or with acquittal, usually justified with “low social noxiousness of the act.” Cases regarding acts of vandalism (desecration of cemeteries, inscriptions on walls) are very often discontinued due to difficulties with detecting the perpetrators. Prosecutors are unwilling to open investigations, complaints are often dismissed. Moreover, the abovementioned paragraphs of the Penal Code were applied in trials concerning “insulting religious feelings” of Catholics, but they were interpreted as if these were cases of blasphemy, which is not classified by Polish legislation as a crime. And thus, the legal rules intended to protect minorities and minor religions were used to strengthen the dominant position of the Catholic Church.

The police must have observed the skinhead movement closely as, after the murder of a German driver in 1991 in Kraków, they quickly detected the perpetrators. However, the police were surprised not only by the activity of Polish neo-Nazi groups but also by activities of similar organizations from abroad, such as *Nazionale Offensive*, which moved its headquarters to Opole after being banned in Germany, or *Swedish Vit Ariskt Motstånd*, which operated in the 1990s in Szczecin. In both cases, it was not until the press reports appeared that law enforcement started to act. Sometimes the police were informed by the law enforcement from abroad, as was the case with a young neo-fascist from Olsztyn who was trying to buy explosives in Germany in order to “blow up Jewish apartments.” In 1996, UOP shut down illegal skinhead music record company in Olsztyn, they also arrested two *Blood and Honor* activists in Toruń and an organizer of a concert to

honor Hitler's birthday (Summer 2000). In 2000, the police began to monitor some websites created by right-wing extremists. These measures, however, are not effective; as is the case for Antisemites operating freely through other media (press, publishing houses, radio). Admittedly, the Internet magazine *Łódzki Szaniec* was closed down at the demand of the prosecutor's office, but it reappeared almost immediately on American servers. Same thing happened with the "list of enemies," published on the site called Redwatch.

On April 7, 2000, the Association Against Antisemitism and Xenophobia "Otwarta Rzeczpospolita" approached Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek with a request to ban the NOP and to apply the legal rules to cases of inciting hatred based on national and religious differences. The Association protested against the distribution of Antisemitic magazines by the state-owned press company "Ruch," indicating among others titles like *Nasza Polska* and *Myśl Polską*. The initiative was supported by *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, *Wprost* and *Polityka*. Right-wing press and activists reacted differently; an open letter defending both magazines was signed by twenty-three deputies from AWS, ROP, PSL, KPN-OP, and Porozumienie Polskie. Among the others, the letters were signed by A. Biela, J. Frączek, A. Glapiński, Michał Kamiński (all from AWS), J. Dobrosz, L. Podkański, B. Pęk, Z. Podkański (PSL), A. Słomka (KPN-OP), and Jan Łopuszański.

Some journalists from *Gazeta Wyborcza* also disapproved of the "Otwarta Rzeczpospolita" initiative stating that it is better to ignore Antisemitic publications than to advertise them like this. However, the European Parliament elections of 2004, with LPR receiving 16 % of the votes, and the subsequent success of this party in Sejm elections in 2005, showed that such treatment is ineffective. Lack of proper reaction from the law enforcements could have given the impression that the state of Poland did not condemn Antisemitism and recognized it as one of many ideologies within political pluralism; contrary to the liabilities it assumed in international agreements, the constitution, and the penal code. The ineffectiveness of law enforcement resulted in growing social apathy; the number of civil complaints about Antisemitic incidents decreased. It was not until the end of the 2000s that the situation started to change. Politicians adopted standards of political correctness, some of them distanced themselves from Antisemitic statements they made in the past. More public initiatives appeared such as the "colorful tolerance" in Łódź: their members removed Antisemitic inscriptions from the city walls.

Weak reaction of the law enforcement agencies promoted violence; but due to the small number of Jews in our country, it affects Roma communities and Poles who, for any number of reasons, trigger the aggression of the hate groups: representatives of hostile youth subcultures, followers of Buddhism, drunk people, the homeless, the disabled, students, people who are "similar to Jews," homosexuals, and also young women because modern xenophobia is usually connected with aggressive misogyny. It does not mean, however, that there were no physical attacks on Jews. Since the end of the 1990s, due to the increasing number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, attacks on foreigners, especially those with a different skin tone, are becoming more frequent. The cases

of discriminating Polish national minorities, such as Ukrainians, Belarussians, Lithuanians, and followers of non-Catholic Christian factions are noted. Acts of verbal or physical aggression are mainly committed by the skinheads, neo-Nazis, hooligans, *Młodzież Wszechpolska*, and members of other extreme youth organizations fighting squads, such as the NOP or the reconstructed ONR, which both infiltrated the abovementioned subcultures of violence and tried to subordinate them. A number of xenophobic incidents has increased terribly also in other European countries. In 1999, the French police noted nine different acts of violence against the Jewish minority, a year later – as many as 199, and by 2002 there were a total of 404. Many of these acts were committed by the members of extreme Islamic organizations and the state was unable to deal with them. The largest wave of violence, mainly against refugees and immigrants, swept through Germany in 1993–97. Responsible for these attacks were groups of skinheads and neo-Nazis, the police did not intervene and in some cases even favored the attackers. This pathology was later limited with firm actions of the state, a ban on neo-Nazi organizations, and sentences for the initiators of incidents.

In Poland, the most popular expression of anti-Jewish passions are slogans on walls, such as “Jews to gas chambers,” “*Juden raus*,” or drawings of the star of David on a gibbet, a swastika sign, or a combination of the two. They began to appear on the walls in 1989, first in large cities, then they reached smaller towns and villages. This “activity” had peaked in the 1990s, especially during election campaigns. The spreading pattern of these Antisemitic acts coincided with the growing popularity of skinhead and hooligan subcultures, who would use “Jews” as an insult against an enemy football club and, during a game, would often raise their hands in Nazi salute and shout anti-Jewish and racist slogans.

I will name just a few, particularly shocking examples. Slogans such as “we will slaughter you” or “we will burn you” appeared several times on the walls of the Jewish Theatre in Warsaw and a nearby synagogue between July 1989 and October 1990; it is fair to assume it was not without connection to the meetings organized by Maciej Giertych in a nearby church at Grzybowski Square (the very same church, in which an Antisemitic bookstore “Antyk” was later established). In March 2000, unknown perpetrators painted a swastika, a Celtic cross, the slogan “*Jude Raus*,” and the NOP signature next to the doors of Marek Edelman’s apartment. Edelman was one of the leaders of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. At the same time, inscriptions “Jude,” “Gypsies to gas chambers,” and “Poland for Poles” appeared on the fence of the Jewish cemetery in Auschwitz; they were later removed by journalists from the local press. The number of Antisemitic slogans painted on walls increased until 2002, then it decreased slightly, although not all of the older inscriptions were removed. In exceptional cases, their authors were hunted by law enforcement.

Acts of anti-Jewish vandalism still happen very often. Between 1991–2004, most, if not all, existing monuments and sacred objects of Judaism were repeatedly damaged or desecrated. This plague affected particularly the Jewish cemeteries. Lublin cemetery, one of the oldest in our country, was devastated three

times: seven tombstones were destroyed in September 1989, fourteen in October, and eleven in April 1990. At the same time, unknown perpetrators broke the windows of the Lublin synagogue. The police acted only after the press publicized it, the investigation was opened too late and was conducted poorly (local Antisemitic activists were never questioned, even though they were primary suspects in this case), perpetrators were never identified. Ten tombstones were destroyed at the cemetery in Warsaw in the spring of 1990, the cemetery in Katowice was devastated in July, and the cemetery in Zabrze in November. In 1999, the cemetery in Cracow was desecrated four times, in Tarnów three times. In 2001, another Jewish cemeteries were profaned, the Monument to the Victims of German Fascism in the former extermination camp in Chełmno was damaged and the prison barrack at Majdanek was set on fire. Since 1990, more than a dozen incidents of vandalism have been reported each year: in 1999 there were at least twenty-eight of them, and in 2000 forty-five such crimes have been documented. Antisemites tried to set fire under active Jewish temples and institutions: in January 1990, a holiday camp of the Warsaw Jewish Community in Śródborów almost burned down, in July the same thing happened in the headquarters of the TSKŻ club in Wałbrzych. In 1997, both the Nożyk synagogue in Warsaw and the historic Bocian synagogue in Wrocław were set on fire. Jewish organizations were targets of numerous acts of vandalism: breaking windows, tearing of information boards, tossing excrements, painting insulting inscriptions, telephone and written threats. A perpetrator was arrested only in one case. Jewish communities and local TSKŻs were forced to hire security guards because the state was unable to protect them.

Assaults on the president of the Socialist Youth Club in Krakow by a group of skinheads and the beating of the Warsaw rabbi Pinkas Menachem Joskowicz by a group of teenagers were particularly drastic cases of acts of anti-Jewish hostility, recorded in 1990. A year later (13 IX 1991), six students of vocational school in Wolomin severely beat and insulted the president of the Jewish Community in Warsaw. They were playing truant, they came to the synagogue, sang neo-Nazi songs, shouted "Sieg heil," then tried to break the windows, and beat the president who stopped them. Three of the attackers were stopped by the employees of the Community but the police set them free. The vocational school did not act upon the actions of the students either. At the time, a priest in one of the Warsaw churches was preaching Antisemitic sermons. In October 30, 1991, in Pruszków, a group of hooligans shouted "Sieg heil" during a football game between Polish and Israeli players. After the game, Israeli players were attacked in their bus: all the windows were broken and a few players were hurt ("Gazeta Wyborcza," 2/3 XI 1991). Police was unable to identify the perpetrators. A group of Nazi-skinheads beat a student from Kazakhstan and a student from Israel on university campus in Katowice (March 3, 2000). A twenty-nine-year-old resident of Ścinawa was tortured to death at the railway station in Rudna near Lublin. The murderers used the victim's blood to paint the star of David on the wall (April 15, 1999).

It is not only the Antisemitic media or certain politicians' public statements that intensify the atmosphere of hostility, it is also extreme right-wing organizations'

rallies. They can be intimidating, especially in smaller towns. *Brunatna Księga*, a report published by the “Nigdy Więcej” Association, documents twenty-two such rallies in 1999, nineteen in 2000, twenty-six in 2001, twelve in 2002 and twenty-eight in 2003. Although it is fair to assume the data is incomplete, it nevertheless shows the size of the phenomenon more or less accurately. For example, on March 7, 1999, in Sanok, members of Młodzież Wszechpolska gathered under the leadership of the local activist Seweryn Bosak shouting “Unia Wolności to Israel” and “Poland for Poles.” On May 3, 2000, a group of football hooligans and Nazi-skinheads gathered before the entrance to the Majdanek extermination camp and started shouting “Jude raus” and “We are white power” at the participants of the March of the Living. Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek expressed later his apologies for the behavior of these men. Nationalists organize demonstrations annually on the Independence Day. On the anniversary of the Adam Doboszyński raid at Myślenice, ONR organized a march through this city (9 VII 2005, 30 June 2008). Extreme far-right organizations members meet annually on the Mount of St. Anne. The monument of Roman Dmowski in Warsaw, funded at the initiative of Warsaw Mayor Lech Kaczyński, became a permanent place for Antisemitic demonstrations.

Nazi-skinheads, hooligans and extreme right-wing fighting squads model their actions upon German neo-Nazis. Members of these violent subcultures often use tools like baseball bats, chains, bricks and stones, knives and steel-toed shoes which can be used to strike a deadly blow. They occasionally attempted collecting firearms and explosive devices but are yet to use them in their activities. The examples I quote below after the *Brunatna Księga* report allow to picture most common forms of aggression. Intimidation remains one of the basic tactics. For two weeks of April 1999, the city of Jasło was terrorized by groups of Nazi-skinheads who challenged themselves to “clean” the city of alternative youth. Similar actions were organized from time to time also in some other small towns and they were carried out by both local fighting squads and visitors coming for “guest performances.” Usually, the police were unprepared for these activities and unable to provide security. Fighting squad members attacked audiences at rock concerts, especially punk-rock concerts, but attacks happened also during metal and reggae parties (the latter considered by the attackers to be the “Negro” music which deserved to be condemned). Particularly vulnerable to aggression were young women: on April 6, 1999, four supporters of Stronnictwo Narodowe attacked and tortured with baseball bats a woman. In June 2000, a student of a Catholic high school in Sandomierz was beaten because of her dark skin complexion. On September 5, 1999, hooligans of Unia Leszno attacked a seventeen-year-old girl, threatened to rape her, torn her clothes, and harassed her, and then pushed her out of the moving train – it was the first documented case of such behavior, but throwing people out of a moving train became then an “entertainment” practiced more often by hooligan groups. In 2004, it resulted with the death of a young woman. Groups of skinheads or hooligans invaded university campuses. On February 29, 2004, an Arabic student was murdered in Katowice. Homeless men are also sometimes targeted as potential

victims: in 1995, youth fighting squads of the *Polski Front Narodowy* murdered two and beat another eighteen homeless people in the town of Anin.

The authors of the *Brunatna Księga* report documented 241 incidents of violence perpetrated by fascist fighting squads in 1999, 203 in 2000, 277 in 2001, 64 in 2002 and 137 in 2003. They counted forty homicides in the years 1990–2007. According to my calculations, during these years, eleven people of Jewish origin were beaten, ninety-six cases of devastating Jewish monuments or institutions were documented, and about 100 demonstrations shouted Antisemitic slogans took place. Authors of the European Roma Rights Center report deliver following statistics on acts of violence against the Roma communities: thirty in 1997–1999, including three arsons. According to the *Brunatna Księga* report, from 1992 to November 2007, the Roma housing projects were raided thirty-three times, resulting in thirty-seven people being injured or beaten. In six cases property was destroyed (mainly devastation of houses or flats). The report documents only four publicized cases of discrimination. Given the fact that the Romani are usually denied employment (e.g., in gastronomic establishments, holiday camps, or entertainment spots), that last number certainly does not reflect the scale of the phenomenon. The report omits, for example, the problem of racial segregation in schools or the practice of sending Roma children to special education schools (the issue still existed in 2008, as evidenced by the Polish Ombudsman). It can be assumed that the rest of these statistics are understated as well, as the Roma do not trust the law enforcement and hence do not report on all incidents; they are usually convinced that the police will not react adequately and will not grant them security. On the other hand, the police tried to avoid reporting attacks on the Romani as xenophobic crimes.

It should be emphasized once again that the main victims of xenophobia in our country are Poles, especially young people. It is a kind of paradox; after all, chauvinists proclaim the slogan “Poland for Poles” and declare great love for their homeland. There are three explanations go this paradox. First of all, the ideology of extreme right-wing groups involves concepts of “unifying” and subordinating “the nation,” even at the cost of violence. Secondly, our country is almost mono-ethnic – members of national minorities and foreigners are a small percentage of our society and thus they are rarely seen. Thirdly, incidents of attacks on foreigners from Western Europe are publicized, subjected to thorough investigations and perpetrators usually get relatively high sentences, due to fear of possible reactions from the victims’ native countries or from the European Union. This rule does not apply to cases of assault on fellow countrymen. Law enforcement representatives tend to belittle physical aggression toward, for example, punks, anarchists, or people attacked on basis of their alternative appearance (as is usually the case). They see it either as “fights between youth subcultures” or as an “ordinary” hooliganism and tolerate it for unknown reasons. Perpetrators, if caught, usually get small, sometimes suspended, sentences – from a few months to two years – as if their ideological motives were extenuating circumstances. This happens also because the state authorities did not show much interest in the activities of chauvinists and violent subcultures, which were usually connected with promoting Antisemitism.

Young boys who killed two homeless men and beat another eighteen in the town of Anin received training in Antisemitic camps. Judging by the gruesome gesture of painting the star of David with the blood of the murdered Ścinawa resident, Antisemitism was the motive of this crime, too, even though the victim was not a Jew. Antisemitic hostility is often aimed at educated people, which results in assault on students or raids on university campuses. Several incidents ended with the deaths of the attacked – newspapers reported widely the murders of Tomek Jaworski in Warsaw in May 1997, Michał Łyska in Kraków in the same year, and Piotr Woźniak in Władysławowo (August 2, 1998). Another young victim's only fault was the fact that the attackers perceived her to be a "looser." We should realize that the more Antisemitism, the higher the level of aggression in culture and the greater social acceptance for violence; consequently, the more meaningless murders because the followers of the Antisemitic ideology have to practice on someone.

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