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EDITORIAL

Yosef Gorny

The main article of *Kesher* 41 is "The Media's Influence on Public Attitudes in Criminal Trials: The Trial of Israeli Ex-President Moshe Katzav as Test Case", which summarizes the comprehensive study of Prof. Ze'ev Segal, Prof. Camil Fuchs, and Dr. Tiki Balas. This article arrived in our editorial room shortly before the untimely death of our dear friend and colleague Prof. Ze'ev Segal, who was a member of *Kesher's* Advisory Board and contributed us much of his insights, wisdom and academic works. We at *Kesher* have known Prof. Segal for decades and followed his long career as a staff member of many academic institutions and his activities in many other platforms. We mourn this terrible loss and offer our condolences to Prof. Segal's family- the entire Israeli society has lost a brilliant judicial commentator and teacher. The importance of this study goes beyond its defined topic: the public attitudes regarding the Katzav trial. It demonstrates the Israeli public's attitude to the verdict on the one hand, and the relevant public views related to this trial before the verdict on the other hand.

This comparison yielded a puzzling inconsistency: On the one hand, 77% of the study respondents, who were influenced by the media coverage of this trial, accepted the verdict and 73% opposed the supposition that this verdict has been influenced by opinions expressed in the media. On the other hand, however, the authors determined that "the study's results have demonstrated that the majority of respondents have formed their opinions about the issue

of Katzav's innocence or guilt due to the media coverage, which was similar to media reports of other such affairs in the past." The conclusion is that "the majority of Israelis do not believe that the media coverage of the Katzav affair was impartial or unbalanced". Regarding the shift in attitudes this study findings pointed that "only 20% (approximately) of respondents tend to change their opinions when the court renders its verdict if their previous opinions were opposite and prone to reject such a verdict. But "57% suppose they would not shift their previous opinion. About 25% have responded that they could not predict whether their opinion might change in such contexts."

These findings may refer to a general phenomenon, which is relevant beyond the issue of media coverage of criminal trials- the media influence on the public's opinions regarding other institutions of democratic governments in general, and particularly in Israel. The press of the pre independence Jewish 'Yishuv' era and throughout the first decades of Israeli independence was generally linked to various political parties. But in the course of history this link between the press and political institutions was severed on the most part if not completely. As a result, the media has secured its position as a 'fourth power of governance' besides the three traditional powers: the executive, legislative and judicial powers.

As such, the media does not tend to determine state policies, to legislate or pass judgment. It nevertheless tends to influence the public's attitudes towards the management,

Kesher, a scholarly journal devoted to the history of the press and media in the Jewish world and in Israel, is published twice yearly by the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Institute for the Study of Jewish Press and Communications at Tel Aviv University. *Kesher* seeks to publish original research articles and academic reviews on all subjects relating to the history, endeavors, and influence of Jewish media and media people, from a multidisciplinary perspective. All articles are peer reviewed blindly by experts, members of the Journal's Advisory Board and, if necessary, externally. Articles should be submitted in Word to presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il. A reply will be given within three months. Articles should not usually exceed 8,000 words. The bibliography and notes should appear at the end of the article. Citations should follow the conventions of your discipline.

The editorial board invites reviews of new books in the journal's areas of interest and proposes such reviews itself. *Kesher* also publishes a list of recently approved doctoral dissertations and master's theses along with abstracts of no more than 250 words in length (for master's theses) and 500 words in length (for doctoral dissertations).

actions and functions of various government institutions. This might be facilitated due to the relative independence of the media in comparison to the typical interdependence of the three branches of government. The press does not depend on elections like the legislature. It is not even apparently subordinated to the legislative power as the executive branch is. And finally the media's independence is even greater than the court system's independence, because representatives of the public and of other branches of government are involved

in the appointment of judges.

In the light of this status of the media as a true authority which tends to influence and supervise the actions of the three branches of government, one may ask whether the media's powerful criticism bolsters and/or undermines the democratic regime. It may be noteworthy to mention that the discussion of this abovementioned issue should be initiated by the media and primarily held within the media itself.

INSIDE *KESHER* 41

A PRESIDENT IN THE CROSSHAIRS

Gideon Kouts

This issue of *Keshet* opens with the full text of a study that some of its findings have been publicized by the Israeli press when the former president Katzav was convicted as a rapist, which examines the Katzav trial as a test case of the media's influence on public opinions regarding criminal trials. The authors of this article, Ze'ev Segal, Camil Fuchs and Tiki Balas concluded that the majority of Israelis have formed their relevant opinion before the court rendered its verdict due to the influence of the media coverage. The findings of a survey conducted after the verdict point that this verdict has convinced more people about that Katzav was guilty. But there is still no valid method to measure "judgment by media". Beyond the comparison to cases that could be regarded as similar (such as the Clinton-Lewinsky affair in the US), the additional issues addressed by this instructive study and their solutions demonstrate the crucial need for an ongoing historical examination of such fragile equations. For example, in case of controversial or prolonged murder trials, when the truth is eventually uncovered after years of litigation, there is a different- sometimes tragic rather than dramatic- meaning to positive or negative correlations between the typical opinions of the public, media and judiciary, and to the manner in which

such views change as time passes. Another interesting subject of investigation would be the change of attitudes of Israeli society to senior officials' misdeeds.

We were deeply shocked by the untimely death of our dear friend, Prof. Ze'ev Segal, after the court rendered its verdict and the conclusion of this study. Prof. Segal never left a work undone. Even if it will take time to get accustomed to this loss, we thought it would be right to dedicate a large section of the next issue to the relationship between Law and Media. We thought this would be the most appropriate tribute to commemorate the vast contribution at least in part of his various research fields.

A major section of this issue is also dedicated to the discussion of the growing power of the New Media and to the problematic aspects of their rapid growth within the historical media environment and its basic elements. Noam Lemelshtrich Latar and David Nordfors examine the relationship between artificial intelligence, digital identity and the freedom of the press. They propose, among other things, an ethical code which may serve as a means to control the usage of digital identities in the media, and stress the urgent need to address other issues, which are crucial for

the sake of democratic society. Dan Caspi uses his media development model to demonstrate the contribution of new online newspapers to ever growing hegemony of established and long-lasting Israeli media corporations. Azi Lev-On compares the agendas of various online newspapers using the concept of cooperative press. Motti Neiger and Narmina Abdulaev compare the publication processes in conventional book publishing houses and internet sites by evaluating the "Publishing Experience" in both spheres. Gideon Kouts formulates the unique historical, semantic and etymological characteristics of Zionist "Hasbara" within the realm of propaganda and its methods, and examines the adjustment of "Hasbara" to the terms and definitions in the research literature and to its first practical applications. This article discusses predominantly the career of Nahum Sokolow, a Zionist journalist and politician to whom the invention of "Hasbara" is attributed. It refers to a document authored by Sokolow in 1912, which can be viewed as the first strategic plan of Zionist "Hasbara". The Center-Periphery relationship in Israeli media was addressed by Arie Kizel and Mira Feuerstein who analyze news coverage in the Israeli local media in their article. As a sequel to our previous discussion of women's issues in the religious Israeli press, Rivka Neriya Ben Shahar reviews the evolution of the feminine image

in and its representation in the religious media since the establishment of the state of Israel. Haim Grossman presents another Israeli collection of unique visual communication items. This time- public figures effigies on candies...

The concluding section of this issue is dedicated to the press coverage of Jewish-Christian relationships between in the late nineteenth century and the turn of the twentieth century. Simon Mayers discusses the attitude of the British-Jewish press to the Roman Catholic Church and its policies. The Polish scholars Agnieszka Friedrich and Malgorzata Domagalska focused on the anti-Semitic aspects of Polish conservative and Catholic papers. The first article discusses the Polish press' attitude to the Dreyfus affair. The second covers the de-humanizing representation of the Jewish image in the anti-Semitic press of nineteenth century Poland- a phenomenon which was generally disregarded by most scholars of anti-Semitic discourse, who tend to focus on similar attitudes displayed between the first and the second world wars.

In this issue we also bid farewell to the late editor and journalism mentor Dov Yudkowsky, the Founding Father of the Israeli popular press. As always, the regular columns are included. We shall meet again in the summer issue.

Wishing you a pleasant and useful reading.

English Abstracts of Hebrew Articles

THE MEDIA'S INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN CRIMINAL TRIALS: THE TRIAL OF ISRAELI EX-PRESIDENT MOSHE KATZAV AS TEST CASE / Ze'ev Segal, Camil Fuchs, Tiki Balas

The lawsuit brought against the ex-President Moshe Katsav contains several critical characteristics relevant to the study of the media influence on the formation of public opinion when public figures stand trial in criminal cases. The rape and sexual harassment charges, the multiple victims as well as the office held by the defendant, triggered enormous media coverage in which impartial information was situated alongside inflammatory items aimed to influence the public opinion and possibly also the judicial process.

In this paper, we aimed to assess the public opinion in the guilt-innocence question several months before the court rendered their verdict. We also assessed the extent to which those who expressed their opinions are likely to change their mind if the court decision will differ from theirs.

The empirical study included three telephone and internet surveys with a total sample size of 1800 respondents. The results were analyzed in the context of known theories and findings related to the effect of court decisions on public opinion. The results were compared to the studies performed in the United States when criminal charges were brought against Bill Clinton and O.J. Simpson. The research includes a comparative study of the respondents' opinions on characteristics of the media coverage in Katsav's case against the background of the media coverage in general. The research also addressed two important issues associated

with the inter-relationship between the legal process and the media coverage: sub judice and abuse of process. The issues are addressed both in the context of Katsav's case as well as in other cases of renowned criminal cases in recent years in Israel.

Among those who expressed an opinion regarding the innocence-guilt questions, 75% think that Katsav should be found guilty of rape and 80% think that he should be found guilty of sexual harassment. In accordance to the structural response hypothesis, we found that on the average, different sub-populations exposed to the same media form different opinions. Thus, among the persons who defined themselves as religious, only 53% think that he should be found guilty of rape versus 80% among those who defined themselves as laics or traditional. A substantial proportion of the sample (33% in the rape and 21% in the sexual harassment questions) defers judgment and expressed no opinion. Only 19% of the respondents think that they are likely to change their minds if the verdict contradicts their prior opinions. 57% think that the court decision will not affect their opinion and 24% responded that they don't know. The comparison with results from other studies and additional findings give credence to the contention that it is premature and unjustified to assert that our results bear evidence to erosion in level of confidence in the Israeli judicial system.

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE, DIGITAL IDENTITIES AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS / Noam Lemelshtrich Latar and David Nordfors

The Interaction between journalism, the Internet and social communities is familiar and is intensely discussed in a manner that may improve our understanding of the ways in which journalism can raise our collective intelligence. In this article we shall discuss how artificial intelligence (AI) would

contribute to this picture and thus influence the future of journalism. We shall describe various 'Digital Identities' and their future interaction with journalism, summarize state-of-the-art AI methods that might be used to establish the 'DNA' of journalistic content and explain how matching such contents

with certain digital identities may enable behavioral targeting for consumer engagement. We review the driving forces such procedures may introduce to journalism and demonstrate this concept thru an actual example of such a journalistic behavioral-targeting engine. In addition, we shall highlight several concerns regarding the complexity of digital identity

use in comparison with current journalistic principles, stress the need for new ethical principles and suggest examples of such principles. We also issue a call for stakeholders to jointly explore the potential effects of AI algorithms on the field of journalism and on its roles in a democratic society, and suggest several questions that may be explored in the future.

A REVISED LOOK AT ONLINE JOURNALISM IN ISRAEL: ENTRENCHING THE OLD HEGEMONY / Dan Caspi

The institutionalization of the online press raises questions regarding the future of the printed press. The flourishing online press in Israel and its implications for Israeli society are assessed according to a four-stage Media Development model (penetration, institutionalization, self-defense and adaptation). During the first decade of the current millennium, the online press became entrenched, shifting from the penetration stage to the institutionalization stage. Since then, the printed press has been showing signs of adaptation to the new online press.

Three key characteristics are identified in assessing transition from one stage to the next: Financial consolidation of the online press, the "renaissance" of the printed press and assimilation of new technology. At the focus of this study, we propose a sevenfold classification of online information sites,

namely online editions of printed newspapers, independent online newspapers accompanying printed ones, printed editions of online papers, independent online papers alone, general-purpose portals, private entrepreneurs' sites and alternative information sites.

The review corroborates the observation that in contrast to early, optimistic expectations that the online press would expand and intensify the media entrepreneurs' share of the market, it appears that during the institutionalization stage, the hegemony of old, existing power centers is re-enabled. If entrenchment of the media conglomerates' hegemony on the Internet indeed intensifies, expectations that the Internet will turn into a kind of global village square, a new *agora*, may well appear premature or exaggerated.

IS ONLINE PRESS DIVERSE? A COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF THE AGENDAS OF ISRAELI ONLINE NEWSPAPERS / Azi Lev-On

This study compares the agendas of collaborative and mainstream media outlets in the Israeli Internet. During the 47 days which elapsed before and after the general elections of February 2009 the headlines of two key mainstream news sites (*Ynet*, *NRG*) and one leading collaborative news site (*Scoop*) were collected; in *Scoop*, both editor's choices and surfers' choices were collected. As the general elections campaigns were under way, the military operation *Cast Lead*

took place on the southern part of Israel. But in spite of these two national events, in roughly 50% of the days, the top stories voted by *Scoop* surfers were different than the stories that topped the mainstream news portals. Moreover, in 89% of the days sampled, *Scoop* editors' choices were different from *Scoop* users' choices. The article concludes with a discussion of the changes that are generated in the media's agenda due to public involvement.

THE PUBLISHING EXPERIENCE: EXAMINING BOOKS AND INTERNET LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS PUBLISHING PROCESSES FROM THE WRITERS POINT OF VIEW / Motti Neiger and Narmina Abdulaev

This article develops and probes the concept of “**the publishing experience**”, which composes the interactions, occurrences, decisions and reactions that creative writers encounter during the process of communicating literary works to a wider public. This subject is especially interesting in an era when the cultural practice of writing literature without publishing it (“writing for the drawer”) is disappearing and is replaced by publishing on various internet arenas.

Applying “uses and gratification” theory alongside critical perspective on the publishing industry, this analysis follows three types of writers: those who published a (traditional) book, those who publish on the internet (literary forums), and those who made use of both platforms; All writers were examined during the three phases of publication: prior to the publication (writing and choosing the platform), during

this process (posting or working with editors and publishing houses) and after the publication (reactions and reception).

The findings, which were based on interviews with the different types of writers, show resemblance between the uses and the gratification of writers who used both platforms: the main objectives of such writers are to gain public recognition, to receive feedback and to experience internal change and personal development while acquiring new friends and colleagues. Nevertheless, although the gratification of those who publish on the internet is more immediate (due to the characteristics of the medium), it is clear that there is a significant difference in prestige between the platforms (writers on the internet wish to publish on print but not the other way around), that may reflect distinct experiences.

“THE SOKOLOV REPORT” – THE FIRST CAMPAIGN STRATEGY PAPER OF THE ZIONIST HASBARA: DISCUSSION OF THE SIGNIFICATION OF THE NOTION OF HASBARA AND ITS USES / Gideon Kouts

The notion of Hasbara is a basic concept in the History of the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel. Often used and misused in the framework of Zionist internal and external propaganda and Israeli Public Diplomacy it was then and still is supposed to be a “Jewish, Zionist and Israeli” application of those general terms. The meaning and importance of information and propaganda work for Zionism and Israel is well known. Theodore Herzl gave it a significant priority in his political and diplomatic activities and the Zionist elite was often recruited from Media people ranks. “The information the World had about us was always twisted and falsified”, said Herzl in his inaugural speech at The First Zionist Congress, giving an outline to the “explanation” genre. However, the first “professional” in the field, the one who gave birth to the formal theory and practice of Hasbara was Nahum Sokolow, a notorious Hebrew and Jewish journalist,

writer, editor and later Zionist activist (WZO President from 1931 to 1935). Through Sokolow’s own writings and those of his contemporaries, Zionists writers and leaders, this article tries to explain the origins and reasons of Sokolow’s role and skill in the Hasbara theory, as well as in its effective practice. In its first part, the article introduces the first formal “Campaign strategy plan” written by Sokolow in 1912 to promote the Zionist Hasbara among “British Christians” and its signification for today’s Israel’s claim of “trying to explain to the world why it is so wrong about us”.

The second part brings an account of the discussion of the notions of “explanation” and “clarification” in the American historical and sociological research of the first half of the 20th century. The third one deals with the uses of this notion and its applications by the official Zionist institutions, mainly in Palestine under the British mandate.

IN THE SHADOW OF THE CENTER: LOCAL MEDIA AND NEWS COVERAGE IN THE PERIPHERY / Arie Kizel and Mira Feuerstein

This article presents a study of local media and news coverage in Israel's geographical periphery (the north and south of Israel) based on quantitative and qualitative analysis of local newspapers articles and on the news stories broadcast on local radio and television programs.

The study also includes interviews with officials from the local media organizations in the periphery and examines the hierarchy of issues that shape the news agenda in the periphery within the national context.

The coverage of news and current affairs by local media in

the north and south of Israel may be characterized as "in the shadow of the center."

On the one hand, the media in the periphery considers itself a distinctly local voice because of the focus and prominence that it grants to local news stories. On the other hand, the local media does not offer an alternative to the national media agenda. The local agenda, as shaped by the media in the periphery, is similar to the national media's agenda. Many articles published in local media in fact relate to the agenda of the national press.

IMAGES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF ULTRA ORTHODOX (HAREDI) WOMEN IN THE HAREDI WOMEN'S PRESS SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL / Rivka Neriya-Ben Shahar

How is the feminine image reflected in the Israeli Haredi press? Are women present in private and/or public space, and how does the press react to such presence? To answer these questions, this study analyzes a vast corpus of texts cited from periodicals intended for Haredi women published between 1955 and 2008, using *qualitative content analysis*- a method that analyzes communication content, which reflects or creates social realities expressed in mass media messages (Gerbner, 1972; Gerbner and Gross, 1976; Heck, 1981).

Two motifs were evident throughout this study: (1) women belong in private space; (2) attitudes towards women's presence in the public space tend to replicate the dominant

ideology of Haredi society that mandates different agendas for men and women (Tuchman, Daniels and Benet, 1978; Ferguson, 1983). The Haredi women's press thus reinforces the existing social order (Gitlin, 1978, 1979; Gransci, 1992), and underscores the conception that differentiates between public-political and private-family space (Herzog, 1994, 2000; Gitlin, 1998; Cohen-Avigdor, 2000).

Paradoxically, the Haredi press demonstrates a certain pluralism of content (Caspí and Limor, 1994) by publishing numerous periodicals appealing to women. Yet the items therein attempt to replicate the place of women in the private sector and restore their traditional roles.

GIVE THEM CANDY: PUBLIC FIGURES ON CONFECTIONARY ITEMS AND CANDY WRAPPERS AND THEIR ROLE IN ISRAELI CHILDREN'S CULTURE / Haim Grossman

This article deals with the usage of public figures' effigies in the design of commercial products and confectionary items during the British Mandate and following the establishment of the state of Israel. We shall examine the relationships between

institutional and private manufacturers and young consumers, and between marketing campaigns of confectionary products and educational aspirations in the past and present times.

Minting coins and bank notes decorated with the effigies

of leaders and exemplary figures has been customary since ancient times. But since the late nineteenth century the confectionary industry has followed suit and produced coin like candy decorated with the images of famous figures, which was sold to children around the world. This tradition and marketing tool was also imported to and adopted in Israel. Portraits and effigies began to appear on bonus cards, collector items and albums distributed by the tobacco industry. The will to sell coupled with an aspiration to educate the young generation have led to the production of a great variety of items, including sweets, which were packaged in wrappers that featured public figures. This educational endeavor, which showcased the images of acclaimed Jewish figures and presented facts which were seen as important, was relevant in the era of fledgling Hebrew patriotism.

But this trend has become less prominent in the 1970's

due to the rise of mass media, TV, and later, computers- a faster, more frantic world. Consequently, rather innocent collector's items decorated with the portraits of acclaimed figures became outdated and unfashionable. National pride in Israel has also declined, and manufacturers are not as keen to educate their consumers. The new trend has led to the development of a new profit focused market that introduced TV, film and sport stars as presenters or role models. Even the contemporary campaigns of confectionary manufacturers that minted 'chocolate coins' featuring the effigies of Israeli leaders, have been apparently motivated by the controversial press reportage regarding the appearance of such public figures on candy. It seems today that Israeli children tend to prefer another type of heroes, even if they love their sweets- as long as you give them candy.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE JEWISH PRESS IN ENGLAND (1890-1925) / Simon Mayers

Anglo-Jewish reactions to late 19th and early 20th century Catholic discourses about Jews have received little attention. This article partially fills this gap through an examination of Anglo-Jewish newspapers from 1890 to 1925, a timeframe which includes the Dreyfus Affair, the Hilsner blood libel, the Balfour Declaration and the ratification of the British Mandate. Three different newspaper editorships have been examined, the *Jewish Chronicle* edited by Asher Myers, the *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jewish World* under the control of Leopold Greenberg, and the *Jewish Guardian* as the paper of the League of British Jews.

It is this article's contention that a more aggressive reaction to Catholic hostility is notable in the *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jewish World* when they were controlled by Leopold Greenberg, a political Zionist, than the *Jewish Chronicle* under Asher Myers or the *Jewish Guardian* edited by Laurie Magnus, a staunch anti-Zionist.

Under the predominantly anti-Zionist editorship of Myers, the *Jewish Chronicle* was concerned about maintaining the image of English Jews as loyal well assimilated Englishmen who do not rock the boat. The paper tended to discourage

collective Jewish engagement with antisemitism. It often advised Jews to lay low and avoid confrontation, to leave protests to gentiles, and it sometimes blamed Jews for being the cause of anti-Jewish hostility. It did report major incidents of Catholic hostility such as occurred during the Dreyfus Affair but often with some reluctance. It often attributed them to the intrigues of Jesuits rather than Catholics as a whole. Perhaps in order to maintain an amicable relationship with English Catholics the paper tended to over interpret the support of English Catholic newspapers during these agitations.

From December 1906 onwards the paper became much more confrontational. The new editor, Leopold Greenberg, was neither worried about rocking the boat nor motivated by a desire to shape Jews into an Anglican mould. He introduced a much more confrontational approach towards Catholic hostility than the previous management of the paper. Occasionally, when it seemed that the Vatican's opposition to Zionism might be overcome, the paper could soften its reporting. However, the paper's aggression towards the Catholic Church turned acerbic after the failed attempts to ratify an acceptable British Mandate. Greenberg considered

the terms of the Mandate a betrayal by the British Government and blamed the Vatican for creating much of the existing anti-Zionist hostility.

The *Jewish Guardian* conversely did not share Leopold Greenberg's anxieties about Catholic anti-Zionism, and was possibly even receptive to it. It blamed what it labelled 'extreme Zionism' for creating much of the existing anti-Jewish hostility. However, it could not entirely ignore

the antisemitic caricatures that were woven into Catholic criticisms of Zionism. Furthermore, the *Jewish Guardian* was rattled by English Catholic writers who argued that Jews could not be Englishmen. However, whereas Greenberg relished the opportunity to retaliate on his own, the *Jewish Guardian* preferred to avoid a specifically Jewish response and to focus its coverage on Christians who defended Jews.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR AND WARSAW'S *ROLA*, 1894-1906 / Agnieszka Friedrich

The article deals with the Dreyfus affair in Polish Anti-Semitic journal *Rola*. *Rola* reported the affair extensively, openly confirmed the hypothetic guilt of Alfred Dreyfus and interpreted 'the affair' as a justifiable response of anti-Semitism to the growing Jewish power in the West. Following the verdict sentencing Dreyfus to deportation *Rola* wrote that 'this hideous criminal' was convicted despite the powerful efforts of his Jewish family. The indication of the supposedly obvious connection between Jewish identity and social privilege was designed to provoke distaste for the unjustifiably high position of assimilated Jews in European societies. *Rola* discredited Dreyfus as a Jew who was devoid of honor, and who would rather think about his escape after the punishment. In the end of 1897 the French public was informed that Dreyfus was not the culprit, but Major Esterhazy, who was the most likely author of the notorious

"bordereau," upon which basis Dreyfus was sentenced. As a result, the affair underwent a rapid turn, and the columns of *Rola* were filled with texts on this topic. *Rola* editor Jan Jeleński has expressed his conviction that despite the millions of Franks which were available to the Jewish syndicate, the Jews would not succeed. In fact, he saw the whole matter as an indication of the success of anti-Semitism. The appeal proceedings in 1899 were received with hostility by *Rola*. When the affair fully concluded in 1906, Jeleński did not respond and his publication touched on the acquittal of Dreyfus only once, deeming him a traitor. Jeleński and his colleagues were always convinced of the Dreyfus's guilt. They consequently undertook attempts at generalizing the example and using it as a proof of the unchangeable otherness and enmity of Jews in European societies.

THE LINGUISTIC IMAGE OF THE JEW IN THE POLISH ANTI-SEMITIC AND CONSERVATIVE PRESS AT THE TURN OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY / Malgorzata Domagalska

When we read anti-Semitic press published before the Second World War in Poland, we are usually shocked from the language used to describe the Jews. But when we look at the anti-Semitic and conservative press at the turn of 19th and 20th century it appears that spreading anti-Semitic propaganda had been already in common use. When the first anti-Semitic

weekly *Rola* appeared in Warsaw in 1883, conservative weeklies' *Wiek* or *Niwa* journalists used the same kind of metaphors as were typically used in the nationalistic press before the WWII. The Jews were compared to plagues or repulsive creatures such as lice, vipers, spiders or harmful plants ≈ weeds. In the powerfully delineated division of

society into „one's own” and „alien,” military rhetoric was also employed as well as the dichotomy of dirt and purity. The first quality was attributed to Jews, the second to Poles. Thus the appearance of such rhetoric in the 1930s was nothing new. The anti-Semitic press of the 19th century shaped the ideological image of the Jew by creating an „imaginarium” of hatred. It consistently built a phantasm that was imposed

on the readers in order to convince them in its truth. However, the Polish press of the second half of 19th century prepared the ground for later indifference and passivity, and did not tend to promote aggression, which may relate to the fate of Jews incarcerated in ghettos and eventually sent to death during the Second World War.

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