

Preface

By midway through 2016, the year was shaping up to be a rough one. Terrorist attacks had occurred nearly daily worldwide, with significant loss of life in Zliten, Libya; Baghdad, Sharaban, Muqdadiya, Hillah, Iskandariya, Al Samawah, and Balad in Iraq; Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso; Dalori, Dikwa, and Alau Village in Nigeria; Baidoa in Somalia; Ankara and Istanbul; Beni in the Democratic Republic of Congo; Mukalla and Aden in Yemen; Darak, Cameroon; Dhaka, Bangladesh; Brussels; Lahore; Kabul; Nice; and Orlando before summer would end. In June, the Brexit vote, the UK referendum to leave the European Union, passed, with anger about immigration—mostly from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa—ranking as the main reason those who voted Leave did so (Skinner 2016). Continued war in Syria and political turmoil in nearby nations has caused continued suffering for refugees whose presence is cited by nationalist groups as evidence that Europe, Australia, and the U.S. are facing ‘cultural genocide’ (Hill 2016; “Violence Breaks Out” 2016; Younes 2016). In the U.S., protests continued in cities such as Charleston, South Carolina, where unarmed black men have been killed by police, even as new black activists and allies have taken up the charge to fight police brutality (Marusak, Portillo, Price, and Bell 2016). In North Dakota, indigenous people have gathered in the largest meeting of Native American people in modern history in an effort to halt the erection of an oil pipeline dangerously close to native lands and waters (Perlata 2016). The year ended with the ugliest presidential race in living memory, in which Donald Trump’s campaign and supporters invoked multiple forms of bigotry, including anti-immigrant xenophobia (Ye Hee Lee 2015) and anti-Muslim (Johnson 2016), anti-Semitic (Flores 2016), and misogynistic sentiments (Nguyen 2016). During the race, his supporters drew upon his rhetoric to justify attacks on American mosques and to call for voter intimidation (Parker, Corasaniti, and Berenstein 2016), and the days immediately after his election saw a spike in hate crimes reported to the Southern Poverty Law Center (2016). At the same time as the neo-Nazi National Policy Institute (Lombroso and Appelbaum 2016) and the KKK (Kaleem 2016) celebrated his victory, he moved to bring into the White House Stephen Bannon, whose Breitbart News is widely read by people warning of #whitegenocide (Kirkpatrick 2016).

Each of these cases is a fight, in some way, about heritage. Terrorism, like other forms of violence, threatens both material and immaterial culture, including some of the most brilliant and important contributions to art and religion that humans have made as well as natural wonders and environments. UNESCO Director-General Irina Bokova (2016) mourns the destroyed “invaluable legacy of humanity’s common heritage” currently

under attack in the Middle East, where heritage sites are destroyed and their artifacts sold to finance terrorism (1). Terrorist attacks on people, too, are concerted efforts to target human diversity, especially minority religions and ethnicities. Writes Bokova:

The destruction of culture has become an instrument of terror, in a global strategy to undermine societies, propagate intolerance and erase memories. This cultural cleansing is a war crime that is now used as a tactic of war, to tear humanity from the history it shares. (2)

The goal of such violence isn't merely to take land or control a territory but to eradicate people and their heritages.

Terrorism and war are not the only threats to heritage, of course. Our natural and built environments, whether we inhabit them as colonizers or water protectors, and how we speak about, create, and care (or don't) for them reflect our heritage and reveals our hopes for our legacies. Environmental degradation and the excesses of capitalism, both consequences of our political choices, threaten heritage even as, at the same time, those threats may invigorate activism around the question of heritage, as is happening now at Standing Rock, North Dakota. Threatening appeals to an imagined past free from diversity or a time when only dominant heritage mattered, including the call to "Make America Great Again," lead to increases in hate crimes (Stone 2016; Foran 2016), but they also force us to grapple with why so many cling to that past, opening opportunities for constructive anger, empathy, and, eventually, personal transformation and social change. Threats to heritage expose our assumptions about whose history matters and how, how heritage is made and unmade, how it is often rooted in or floats atop injustice, and what is worth celebrating, ignoring, erasing, or revising. Broken open, conversations about heritage can turn into honest contestations of heritage, with dissonant voices struggling to define a culture's values.

This issue of the *Journal of Hate Studies* honors those battles, which, at their best, push us to do the work of heritage better.

We begin with an essay by historian Christopher M. Strain, "What to Do When Your Heritage is Hateful." Strain takes seriously the claim by Confederate flag supporters that displays of the flag are about "heritage not hate" but asks what responsibility such supporters have to "understand what their choice of symbols means to others besides themselves" and what the consequences for that eventual understanding might be.

Deborah Cunningham Breede, Christine S. Davis, and Jan Warren Findlaw work together in "Absence, Revision, and the Other: Rhetorics of South Carolina Antebellum Tourism Sites." The three scholars take us on a

summer vacation to some of South Carolina's most interesting tourist sites, each implicated in American slavery and each telling the story of that slavery differently. Their work, recorded in conversations shared in their article, helps us see how heritage professionals such as museum curators, docents, and plantation tour guides answer the question of "what to do" with hateful heritage differently.

Njabulo Chipangura answers the question from the perspective of a heritage professional. The curator of archeology at the Mutare Museum in Zimbabwe, Chipangura makes decisions each day about how hateful heritage is archived, ignored, or destroyed. He details the battles that the former British colony has faced in developing a national heritage archive that serves the diverse desires of those in the independent state in "The Love and Hate Relationship of Colonial Heritage: Exploring Changes of the Heritage Archive in Zimbabwe." The issue, Chipangura notes, isn't just about maintaining, decommissioning, or destroying memorials, statues, or museums but about the ways that heritage is used in continuing contestations about national identity and memory; battles about material culture are one manifestation of those tensions.

In "Curating Hatred: The Joe McWilliam's Controversy at the Ulster Museum," Tom Maguire focuses our attention on a specific piece of material culture that took on significance in fights about representation within heritage spaces: Irish artist Joe McWilliams' painting *Christian Flautists Outside St. Patricks*, a painting that depicts parading loyalists garbed in KKK robes outside a Catholic church, referencing the 2012 arrest of members of a marching band for playing a racist song outside a Catholic church while on parade. When the piece was displayed in the Ulster Museum shortly after McWilliams' death, the museum was faced with criticism that it was promoting the demonization of loyalists. Maguire details the controversy and uses it as a case study in how museums can serve and challenge their communities.

Kevin McCarthy's work also begins with conflict in Ireland, examining briefly how Catholic and Protestant entities invoke Palestine and Israel in their own fights, including incorporating Nazi and Israeli flags into their public displays. McCarthy inadvertently stepped into a storm by engaging a letter writer in the *Belfast Telegraph* regarding the location of Auschwitz, the Nazi concentration camp. McCarthy's argument—that the Nazis had selected occupied Poland for the site of the camp because of the anti-Semitism there—provoked the ire of some in the international Polish community. McCarthy describes what happened next in "Discussing Auschwitz, Scholarly Integrity, and Governmental Revisionism: A Case Study in Academic Intimidation."

Sally Stokes takes us on an academic hunt for the author of a Recon-

struction era racist text in “Elements of Bile: Placing Daniel Ottolengui (1836-1918) in the Heritage of Hate.” Her study centers on the work of Daniel Ottolengui, a Jewish man whose life straddled both North and South before and after the Civil War, and whose output may help us understand some of the hatreds—both anti-black and anti-Semitic—that were in circulation at the time.

Brett A. Barnett examines how those same prejudices are treated online today by members of the League of the South, a neo-Confederate group. In “The League of the South’s Internet Rhetoric: Pro-Confederate Community Building Online,” he examines the online postings of the group in the days immediately after the June 2015 shooting of nine black worshippers in a Charleston, South Carolina church by a white supremacist. Barnett examines how calls to remove the Confederate flag, a symbol idealized by the shooter and others in white supremacist movements, from the South Carolina statehouse and other government spaces inspired violent rhetoric in neo-Confederate online spaces, where efforts are made to reach readers who may be sympathetic to the flag or to romantic visions of the South and invite them into the neo-Confederate movement.

The issue concludes with book reviews by outstanding readers whose time and insight JHS appreciates. We are fortunate to share with you Stephen Sheehi’s insights into Christopher Bail’s *Terrified: How Anti-Muslim Fringe Organizations Became Mainstream* (Princeton 2016), Sondra Perl’s review of Dan McMillan’s *How Could this Happen? Explaining the Holocaust* (Basic Books 2014), Matthew W. Hughey and Bianco Gonzalez-Sobrino’s comments on *Beyond Hate: White Power and Popular Culture* by C. Richard King and David J. Leonard (Ashgate 2014), Monique Laney’s review of *The Nazis Next Door: How America Became a Safe Haven for Hitler’s Men* by Eric Lichtblau (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt 2014), Lisa King’s thoughts on Alex Alvarez’s *Native America and the Question of Genocide* (Rowman & Littlefield 2014), and Doretha K. Williams’ critique of *A Forgotten Sisterhood: Pioneering Black Women Educators and Activists in the Jim Crow South* by Audrey Thomas McCluskey (Rowman & Littlefield 2014). Together, they remind us of the excellent work being done in hate studies and the importance of continued interdisciplinary scholarship in the field.

“The intrinsic dissonance of heritage, accentuated by its expanding meanings and uses and by the fundamentally more complex constructions of identity in the modern world,” write Brian Graham, Gregory John Ashworth, and John E. Tunbridge (2004), “is the primary cause of its contestation” (34). This issue of JHS presents just a few cases of how and why heritage is contested and what the consequences of that contestation are. On behalf of those who have worked to bring you this journal, including Insti-

tute of Hate Studies director Kristine Hoover, graduate student assistant Casey Adams and undergraduate student administrative assistant Maggie Douglas, I hope it inspires further conversations, undertaken with intellectual generosity and graciousness, that will push scholarship to better understand these dynamics.

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