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ANTISEMITISM

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Dedicated to the memory of

Richard Antoun

1932-2009

Anthropologist and professor of Middle East Studies, SUNY
Binghamton; stabbed to death by graduate student
Abdulsalam Al-Zahrani on December 4, 2009

Journal for the Study of Antisemitism (JSA)

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The Journal for the Study of Antisemitism (*JSA*) is the peer-reviewed work of a select group of independent scholars who examine antisemitism in traditional and emerging forms. This group is not affiliated with any institution or financially dependent on a single source of funding. We have in common an understanding of antisemitism as a social pathology that must be eradicated. We are an educationally based concern.

E-mail submissions should be original, either on hard copy or an electronic copy in MS Word format. Citations should be in *Chicago Manual of Style* format. Send submissions and questions to the editors of *JSA* via mail, telephone, or e-mail.

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In Case You Were Wondering: A Note from the Editors

In case you were wondering how bad it is out there, let me save you the time . . . it is as bad as you thought. I and my co-editor are middle-aged white Americans, and I don't recall a period of time where the anti-Israeli and antisemitic rhetoric was so intense and unremitting.

Not here in the United States, where for whatever reasons the number of annual antisemitic attacks has remained relatively the same for the past decade. But everywhere else in the world, the antisemitic incidents are out of control (see Table 1.1 on the following page). Germany has the dubious distinction of having the most antisemitic attacks, but Canada, where I grew up, has a population one third of Germany and one tenth of the United States and is inching toward the same number. There were 1,264 mostly Muslim-led antisemitic attacks in Canada last year—in contrast, there were 46 anti-Muslim attacks not led by Jews. The number of annual anti-Muslim attacks is quite low—the UK recorded 106 and the United States recorded 156 anti-Muslim incidents.

The antisemitic attacks are increasing in violence. Last December, a Jewish anthropologist at SUNY Binghamton was stabbed to death by his Saudi graduate student for disagreeing with him. In February, two student demonstrators in Ottawa were attacked with a machete by Arabic students for attending a pro-Israeli rally. They were luckier than Sofia's Rabbi Yossi Solomon, who was attacked by a gang of skinheads while returning home from the Central Synagogue.

One of the purposes of the *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism (JSA)* is to investigate and propose actions to mitigate and diminish antisemitism. Consistent with that goal, JSA and other organizations combating antisemitism must exhibit ethical and just behavior. This agenda must be carried out in conjunction with moral behavior by Israel, the Jewish people, and Jewish organizations.

All of us involved in the fight against antisemitism must embody universally accepted values and beliefs. The *JSA*, if necessary, will criticize unworthy actions of Jews and the State of Israel. But in expressing that, there also must not be a double standard judging the Jews and Israel on an ethical plane that is not applied to other peoples and nations of the world.

For example, the *JSA* stands for the proposition that the Arabs in Israel and the West Bank must be treated in an equitable and just manner. But the *JSA* will protest criticism of Israel and of the Jewish people, expressed daily in the world media, that is completely out of proportion to the alleged wrongs done by Israel. That criticism is a subterfuge for antisemitism and at

TABLE 1.1—NATION, JEWISH POPULATION, % WHO DISLIKE JEWS, NUMBER OF ANTISEMITIC INCIDENTS

Nation	Jewish Population	%	Incidents
Argentina	280,000	32	348
Australia	103,000	11	765*
Canada	393,000	20	1,264
France	600,000	20-33	832
Germany	118,000	25-36	1,636
Holland	40,000	15	108*
Italy	30,213	44	69*
Jordan	0	96-100	NR
Poland	5-10,000	36	196*
Russia	450,000	NR	293*
South Africa	70,000	—	100**
Sweden	18-20,000	NR	250**
UK	350,000	9-24	924**
USA	5,569,200	10-15	1,519

*Major Violent Incidents in 2006, Breakdown by Continent in Antisemitism Worldwide 2006, The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, Tel Aviv University, 2007.

**Major Violent Incidents in 2008, Breakdown by Continent in Antisemitism Worldwide 2009, The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, Tel Aviv University. NR—Jewish populations of less than 10,000.

<http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=206>; <http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/262.pdf>

<http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=206>.

<http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/262.pdf>.

U.S. statistics from 2008: fbi.org. Canada B’Nai Brith 2009, France CRIF 2009.

Anti-Muslim Incidents 2008: Austria 371; Canada 46; Sweden 206; UK 106; US 156; see HumanRightsFirst.org.

times unjustly attacks the legitimacy of the State of Israel and the Jewish people.

Unfortunately, the need for the *JSA* has not abated during our first year of existence. Jews and Israel continue to be on trial. The articles and essays of the three issues of the *JSA* address various concerns regarding the rise in antisemitism and anti-Israeli sentiment; a special issue co-edited by Richard Rubenstein and Andrew Bostom specifically addressed Islamic antisemitism.

Along these lines, the *JSA* is proud to announce its first conference. The topic “Islam and Antisemitism” is ripe for discussion, and directly affects many of the most intransigent political controversies in the contemporary world. The conference date is October 2-3, 2010, at the Metropolitan Doubletree Hotel in New York. The conference’s program, panelists, and registration are listed on our Web site at www.jsantisemitism.org. The conference is to be the first of many forums addressing issues of antisemitism.

In the future, the *JSA* hopes to organize several conferences a year at sites throughout the world. The *JSA* is also in the initial stages of creating a permanent foundation and think tank of scholars to consider solutions to antisemitism. Every day an intellectual battle grabbing the hearts and minds of the general public on antisemitism rages on the Internet and in the news media. The hope of the *JSA* is that the proposed foundation and think tank will defeat the antisemites in that intellectual battle.

We are proud to have a host of solid articles addressing multiple issues in antisemitism. Kenneth L. Marcus's lead piece investigates the investigators as the wave of antisemitic events unfolded at the University of California-Irvine. Steven L. Jacobs reminds us of America's history of whitewashing antisemitism with a look into the politics of Breckinridge Long, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's assistant secretary of state, where he was responsible for setting immigration policy. Politics is often the culprit, and Germany's Samuel Salzborn explains exactly why it never takes a holiday when it comes to antisemitism. Along those lines, British sociologist Philip Spencer illuminates the political Left's recent love affair with Islam, with disdain for Israel and invariably an exhibit of antisemitism. To remind us just how pathetic politics is at times, political scientist Clemens Heni explains how antisemitic legends continue to infect German politics.

In the essays, Heni continues his work in a powerful piece of investigative journalism reporting on recent outbursts of antisemitism in Latvia. Andrew Bostom tells Canadian Jews what is in store for them now that Islamic politics has arrived on its shores. In similar ways, David Harris's "Open Letter to European Officials" informs Europe what to anticipate as well. I contribute a discussion on the rare but disturbing phenomena of Jewish antisemitism.

The photo essay is on the 2009 Frankfurt Book Fair, which Shimon Samuels attended. It is the world's largest book fair, displaying antisemitic and anti-Israeli books by Islamic publishers. Every year, Samuels asks that such books be removed from display and within days they are replaced by more anti-Israeli antisemitic tomes. Samuels requests again and they are removed. It is a game both sides have learned to play.

After a lethargic few years, this year there is a flurry of new books on antisemitism, and they are all good. Frederick Schweitzer masterfully analyzes Robert Wistrich's *A Lethal Obsession*. Lesley Klaff reviews Britain's understated antisemitism history in Anthony Julius's *Trials in the Diaspora*. Roland Imhoff finds Samuel Salzborn's *Antisemitism as a Negative Guiding Principle of Modernity* to be equally praiseworthy, and Florette Cohen takes on the German film *Mein Führer*. Journalist Alyssa Lappen finds value in Richard L. Rubenstein's *Jihad and Genocide* and Daniel Pipes explores why Efraim Karsh's *Palestine Betrayed* is noteworthy.

There is much here to be appreciated. There is much work to be done.
Let's get on with it.

Steven K. Baum and Neal E. Rosenberg
Editors, *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism*

Antisemitic Incidents from Around the World— A Partial List January–June 2010

JANUARY

January 2—Russia

The company EZ Protocols recently announced a startup of a vodka brand called “Kabbalah vodka—with Christian infants”—the newest quality benchmark in the super-premium segment of the Russian market. What’s wrong with this vodka? 1. EZ Protocols is a reference to the *Protocols of Zion*. 2. The upside-down star is a satanic pentagram with a circle. 3. Says that Satanism and Kabbalah are the same thing. 4. Sacrificing newborns is a common theme in ritual abuse. 5. “With Christian infants” is a reference to St. Simon of Trent, a Christian boy allegedly ritually murdered by Jews.

January 5—India

The local Chabad House received a letter threatening another attack. The letter read, “Israel is dogs. We will strike again—Heil, Hitler,” and was accompanied by a photo of Hitler. The letter was received at the site of a terrorist attack more than a year ago that killed six Jews, including the rabbis who ran the center.

January 15—Belgium

A Molotov cocktail was thrown at the main door of the Bouwmeester synagogue in Antwerp. The wall beside the front door had been burned, and broken glass was also found on the ground.

January 17—Australia

The Australians for Palestine group has announced it will protest Israeli tennis star Shahar Peer’s participation in the Australian Open “when she plays.” The group’s Web site states the planned protests are “to remind people that normalizing relations with Israel while it perpetrates a barbaric ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians from their own homeland through violence and apartheid makes us complicit in its crimes.”

The site invites readers who “wish to help protest” to make contact. Peer experienced on-court protests in an Auckland tournament earlier this month, leading to the arrests of seven demonstrators. The group has already distributed leaflets and posters through Melbourne with the headline: “Shahar Peer serves the Israeli ‘Apartheid.’ ”

January 24—Norway

The University of Bergen, among Norway’s largest academic institutions,

intends to impose an official academic boycott against Israel over what the university claims is Israel's apartheid-like conduct.

FEBRUARY

February 4—Canada

Two Jewish students were attacked at York University in Toronto. Tyler Golden, who heads a publicity group at the university and who was a witness to the incident, told the Shalom Life Web site that the members of the Gilad Shalit activist group were sitting around a table with publicity material as part of their Free the Palestinians from the Hamas campaign, which had been authorized by the university. At approximately 4:00 p.m. a number of people known to be hostile to Israel arrived and began haranguing the Jewish students. The argument quickly escalated, and a group of 50 angry students began attacking the Jewish students while chanting anti-Israel and antisemitic slogans. Golden said that the Jewish students summoned the security staff and recorded the assailants on camera. In an attempt to prevent their being filmed, the assailants attacked two Jewish students. Complaints were submitted against the assailants and the university's security staff collected testimony.

February 20—Bulgaria

At the Chabad emissary in Sofia, Bulgaria, Rabbi Yossi Solomon was attacked on Friday night by a gang of skinhead youths while returning home from the synagogue in the center of the city; three of his children were with him. These skinheads approached the group and called out at them "Heil Hitler" and "Kill the Jews."

February 21—Mexico

Rabbi David Yosef, the son of Shas spiritual leader Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, was attacked by a group of antisemites in Mexico City. Rabbi David had come there to assist the local Jewish community in the aftermath of the death of Jewish billionaire Moshe Saba in a helicopter crash. He had left Sha'arei Shalom synagogue, making his way to the house where he was staying, when a group of thugs carrying eggs shoved him and shouted antisemitic epithets.

February 28—Spain

Israel lodged a formal complaint with Spain, charging certain individuals in Spanish schools of promoting antisemitic and anti-Israel ideas among young children. The letter comes after Israel's ambassador to Spain, Rafi Shotz, recently received dozens of antisemitic postcards from Spanish elementary school students. The postcards bore such statements as "Jews kill for money," "Leave the country to the Palestinians," and "Go somewhere where they will accept you." An official of the Israeli Foreign Ministry said

the handwriting appears typical of children six to nine years old. “Apparently there are antisemitic and anti-Israel individuals who get permission to operate within schools,” the official said. “Each time, the embassy has received several dozen postcards from a different school. And it seems as though whoever is doing this is moving from school to school.” The ministry considered summoning Spain’s ambassador to Israel, Alvaro Iranzo, to complain, but ultimately spoke to the envoy by telephone instead. Naor Gilon, the ministry’s deputy director for Europe, called Iranzo and said that “Israel is greatly distressed” by the postcards. The envoy insisted the letters are not part of any ministry program for Spanish education but the initiative of private citizens.

MARCH

March 1—The Netherlands

Amsterdam police sent some 700 fans of FC Utrecht back home by train before afternoon’s game against the Amsterdam club Ajax because of antisemitic chanting, the news agency ANP reported. Despite several warnings and the distribution of flyers ordering fans to behave, the chanting continued, leading police to order them home. In 2002, Amsterdam mayor Job Cohen also ordered Utrecht fans home after they refused to stop anti-Jewish chants. Ajax is popularly seen as having “Jewish roots,” although this is disputed by many. In the 1970s, supporters began highlighting this alleged or supposed Jewish identity and adopted Jewish symbols such as the Star of David.

March 2—Italy

Using black paint, vandals covered a set of “Stumbling Stones” that had been placed in front of the house of a Jewish family that had been deported to Auschwitz during the Holocaust. The Stumbling Stones—or *Stolpersteine*—was a memorial project begun in the 1990s by the German artist Gunter Demnig. Brass plates, like cobblestones, are placed in front of the houses of deportees.

March 10—Sweden

Recently, the hate crimes in Malmö and Skåne County have come under increased surveillance because the numbers have doubled since last year. According to the Swedish daily newspaper *Expressen*, “During the year of 2009, 270 hate crimes were reported in Skåne County and about 25 percent of these were aimed towards Jews.” One of those exposed to antisemitic hate crime is Rabbi Shneur Kesselman of the Malmö Jewish community. He states in an interview with *Expressen* on March 5 that “ever since I came here people have been shouting ‘Fucking Jew’ and ‘Heil Hitler’ at me.”

March 13—Poland

Plaszow, a former concentration camp, was defaced with antisemitic slogans. The vandalism was discovered on the 67th anniversary of the Nazi liquidation of the Krakow ghetto.

March 14—United Kingdom

Gareth Mead, 44, is in charge of social housing and homelessness in the London borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, one of Britain's most ethnically diverse communities, where his duties include helping decide who is eligible for a council house or emergency homeless shelter. But at night he poses in front of a swastika in full SS regalia and tells other lovers of the vile fetish: "Gas the Jews and Wogs." In a series of shocking photos published in the *Sunday Mirror*, the high-ranking council official shows off his array of fascist outfits. In one shot, Mead reclines on a sofa, wearing jackboots, leather trousers, a khaki shirt with a swastika armband, and a Nazi officers' hat.

March 16—Palestinian Territories

On Al-Aqsa TV, the Hamas deputy minister of religion, Abdallah Jarbu, calls for Jews to be annihilated, saying they are bacteria, not human beings. "[The Jews] suffer from a mental disorder," he says, "because they are thieves and aggressors. A thief or an aggressor who takes property or land develops a psychological disorder and pangs of conscience, because he took something that wasn't [his] . . ."

March 18—United States

During the visit of the Israeli Chief of Staff Gabi Ashkenazi to New York, an anti-Israel demonstration took place outside the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The demonstrators shouted antisemitic chants and curses.

March 22—Canada

Ahavat Yisroel Synagogue, Montreal, was desecrated. Coats, prayer shawls, and phylacteries were strewn all over the floor. Two large swastikas, traced with black marker, defaced the sides of the bima in the main sanctuary. Source: <http://www.vosizneias.com/>.

March 23—Bulgaria

Antisemitic graffiti was daubed on a Sunday on the walls of Dimcho Develjanov, the only Jewish school in Sofia. Vandals drew a comparison between the Star of David and the Nazi swastika, together with the words "Stop Occupation" in Bulgarian.

March 23—Germany

The town of Kassel this week banned the display of the Israeli flag at a political information booth set up by the Coalition against Antisemitism.

Members of the group told Israel National News that town officials insisted they be “considerate” of others and refrain from displaying the Israeli flag if they wanted permission to set up their booth. Pro-Israel activists have been attacked in Germany before, and the official response has typically been to demand they lower their profile, rather than to punish the assailants. It was noted that the town officials have allowed the display of the Iranian flag at recent similar political events, despite the fact that it may be viewed negatively by Israelis and Jews.

March 23—Russia

Antisemitic graffiti was sprayed in the underground passage to Leninski Prospect Street at the Moscovaskia subway station in St. Petersburg. The graffiti that was sprayed was a Magen David with a swastika inside and the words “Death to the Jews”; nobody is hurrying to erase the words. Graffiti of fascist character are updated at this site daily.

APRIL

April 1—Belgium

A visibly identifiable Jew was accosted as he approached his car, parked on a street near a mosque, and told “If we see you again, we’ll kill you.”

April 13—Italy

A retired Italian bishop has provoked fury by reportedly suggesting that Zionists are behind the current storm of accusations over clerical sex abuse shaking the Vatican and Catholic Church. Monsignor Giacomo Babini, the bishop emeritus of Grosseto, was quoted by the Italian Roman Catholic Web site Pontifex as saying he believed a “Zionist attack” was behind the criticism of the Pope, given that it was “powerful and refined” in nature.

April 21—Russia

“Death to the Jews” and “The Holocaust Continues” were painted on walls of a Kiev Jewish school.

April 30—Belgium

In Nimes, three men described as being of Arab descent assaulted an 80-year-old Jewish man with tear gas in front of the town synagogue and spray painted “Fuck the Jews” on the wall.

MAY

May 8—Poland

During a soccer match in Rzeszow, fans of a local team displayed a large banner showing a caricature of a hook-nosed stereotypical Jew with a blue-and-white yarmulke—the colors of the opposing team—and the phrase “Death to the Crooked Noses.”

May 13—Italy

In Rome, graffiti mocking Anne Frank and a swastika were spray-painted on a wall near an old fort where Nazis shot anti-fascists during World War II and that in 2009 was dedicated to victims of Nazism and fascism. The graffiti used a play on words in Italian to read, “Anne Frank didn’t get away with it.” Rome mayor Gianni Alemanno denounced the incident as “obscene and shameful.”

May 14—Bulgaria

In Sofia, a memorial to Soviet World War II soldiers was spray painted with Stars of David and the phrase “Occupiers from distant lands.”

May 16—Germany

In Worms, a synagogue was doused with flammable liquid and set on fire during the night, resulting in a blackened exterior but no major damage. Police found eight copies of a note that stated: “So long as you do not give the Palestinians peace we are not going to give you peace.”

May 17—Greece

The Holocaust monument on the island of Rhodes was vandalized. A heavy object was used to damage the granite facade in several places.

May 18—Greece

In Thessaloniki, gasoline-soaked rags were used to set fire to a tomb in the Jewish cemetery.

JUNE

June 2—Sweden

In Stockholm, a bomb threat was made by someone calling the Jewish community center and saying, “The Jewish center will blow up today.”

June 4—France

Five students ages 14-21 were subjected to antisemitic taunts and threats at a subway station in the Paris suburb of Brunoy. Two men reportedly insulted them, yelling “Death to you, Jews—we’ll kill you all—Fofana.” (Fofana was the leader of the Gang of Barbarians who tortured and murdered Ilan Halimi in 2006.) One of the men reportedly showed a knife and made a sign of throat cutting.

June 13—France

In Nice, a group of young men of North African descent threw rocks at a Chabad rabbi while shouting “Jew murderers.”

June 21—Russia

In Tver, a homemade bomb exploded outside a synagogue, causing property damage. Police officials have characterized the incident as “malicious

hooliganism,” and believe it was motivated by antisemitism. Terrorism experts from the Moscow office of the Federal Security Service have begun a criminal investigation.

June 23—Germany

The town of Kassel banned the display of the Israeli flag at a political information booth set up by the Coalition against Antisemitism. Members of the group told Israel National News that town officials insisted they be “considerate” of others and refrain from displaying the Israeli flag if they wanted permission to set up their booth. Pro-Israel activists have been attacked in Germany before, and the official response has typically been to demand they lower their profile, rather than punish the assailants. It was noted that the Kassel municipality has allowed the display of the Iranian flag at recent similar political events, despite the fact that it may be viewed negatively by Israelis and Jews.

June 24—Germany

Berlin Arab youths threw stones at a Jewish dance group during a street festival in Hannover, injuring one dancer and forcing the group to cancel its performance, German police and dance officials said. The teenagers also used a megaphone to shout antisemitic slurs during the attack, Hannover police spokesman Thorsten Schiewe said. “I don’t remember such a dramatic attack in Germany in recent times,” said Michael Fuerst, the head of the Jewish community of the state of Lower Saxony.

June 24—Germany

A Berlin police spokesman told the *Jerusalem Post* that two young Israelis were violently attacked in a Berlin disco because of their nationality. The spokesman said the attack prompted the police to issue a statement terming the attack as “antisemitic.” According to statements from two male Israelis, ages 18 and 22, a Palestinian man was responsible for the assault. The man had asked the 22-year-old Israeli about his nationality, who replied that he is a citizen of Israel.

June 25—Turkey

Police arrested a man on suspicion of planning to murder rabbis in Istanbul. According to media reports, the 20-year-old had sent an anonymous threat to a synagogue in Istanbul.

*Oh, the Protestants hate the Catholics
And the Catholics hate the Protestants
And the Hindus hate the Moslems
And everybody hates the Jews.*

—Lyrics from Tom Lehrer's "National Brotherhood Week"

ARTICLES

Whitewashing Antisemitism at the University of California-Irvine

Kenneth L. Marcus¹

Newly discovered information reveals that a hostile environment supporting antisemitism was established at the University of California-Irvine. In an investigation by the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education (November 2007), the report's conclusions on the presence of such an environment appear to be reversed by political appointees who were averse to pursuing antisemitism cases under any circumstances. The files presented here point to the emotional toll that campus antisemitism has taken on its victims and the serious questions remaining about the failure of university administration to exercise appropriate leadership.

Key Words: Antisemitism, University of California, Office for Civil Rights

Erwin Chemerinsky, the widely respected dean of the law school at the University of California-Irvine, has claimed that the November 2007 investigation of antisemitism by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Education at his institution “did a thorough investigation and then concluded that there was no basis for finding that there was a hostile or intimidating environment for Jewish students on campus. . . .”² Such characterizations are dubious, not only because the OCR has not yet reached all of the claims, or because those that it has dismissed are still under appeal before the Obama administration, but also because most claims were dismissed on technical grounds.³

1. Kenneth L. Marcus is the Lillie & Nathan Ackerman Chair in Equality & Justice in America, The City University of New York, Bernard M. Baruch College School of Public Affairs, and director, Initiative on Antisemitism & Anti-Israelism, Institute for Jewish & Community Research. Marcus was delegated the authority of assistant secretary of education for civil rights at the time that the *Irvine* case was opened. The information contained in this article, however, is based on research conducted subsequent to his departure from the U.S. Department of Education.

2. Erwin Chermersinsky, “The Reality of the University of California, Irvine,” *Jewish Journal*, February 19, 2010.

3. Charles R. Love, program manager, Office for Civil Rights, Region IX, U.S. Department of Education, correspondence to Susan Tuchman, Zionist Organization of America, November 30, 2007.

Soon-to-be-published research suggests additional reasons for suspicion: career officials who conducted the investigation actually concluded that a hostile environment had been established but were reversed by political appointees who were averse to pursuing antisemitism cases under any circumstances.⁴

Through the Freedom of Information Act, the Institute for Jewish and Community Research obtained redacted copies of the official files containing witness interviews by government attorneys. These files provide an extraordinary view of the widespread, serious, and credible claims brought against Irvine by the Zionist Organization of America; the emotional toll that campus antisemitism has taken on many of its victims; and the serious questions remaining about the failure of university administration to exercise appropriate leadership. The investigative files are published here for the first time.

SERIOUSNESS OF CLAIMS

The investigative records reveal the environment at Irvine for Jewish students during at least the early and middle years of this past decade. Under OCR guidance, a “hostile environment” consists of “physical, verbal, graphic, or written” conduct that is “sufficiently severe, pervasive or persistent so as to interfere with or limit the ability of an individual to participate in or benefit from the services, activities or privileges” that a university affords its students.⁵ Irvine’s administration has steadfastly denied that such conditions exist, insisting that “virtually every incident” alleged at Irvine “involved speech on campus” and that such expressions are protected under the First Amendment.⁶ OCR’s UC-Irvine files tell a very different story.

UC-Irvine’s Jewish students detailed incidents of rock-throwing, stalking, vandalism, and various forms of intimidation. One student, whom we will call Jacob,⁷ recalls that members of the Muslim Student Union (MSU) said that they would beat him up when he wore a shirt representing Israel’s national soccer team. A friend of his, who heard these students talk, alleged

4. These facts and others are revealed in Kenneth L. Marcus, *Jewish Identity and Civil Rights in America*, which Cambridge University Press will publish later this year.

5. OCR, Notice, *Racial Incidents and Harassment Against Students at Educational Institutions*, 59 Fed. Reg. March 10, 1994, <http://2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/race394.html>.

6. See, e.g., “Unpleasant Speech on Campus, Even Hate Speech, Is a First Amendment Issue,” *William and Mary Bill of Rights* 17, no. 2009-3 (March 2009):765, 767.

7. The names of Irvine students have been changed to protect their privacy.

that “all the MSU people wanted to kill Jacob.” Verbal abuse was common in both public and private discourse. Another student, whom we’ll call Barry, was called “you f—ing Jew” and told to go “back to Russia,” and “that he would burn in hell.”

Many students described anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli aspersions cast at public lectures. One student, named Marc, reported that a speaker referred to Jews and Zionists as a “cancer.” Another student, named Irving, reported that a separate speaker paralleled Zionism to a “disease,” and reasserted that the Jews “control the government.” Kevin described lectures regarding Jewish control, their compliance in 9/11, and their “chosen people-ness mixed with white supremacy.” One lecturer informed the audience, “If you have any questions about why we’re in Iraq, ask the Jews in the audience.” Kevin reported that, at times, school administrators were present and said nothing; in many cases the audience would cheer after the most offensive statements were made.

Students also described offensive antisemitic or anti-Israeli materials posted on campus while the posters of Jewish organizations were torn down. They report, for example, posters that had an image of the Star of David dripping with blood and alleging that Jews like to kill babies. Signs depicted Ariel Sharon as Hitler or as a monkey. One poster reportedly asked, “Why do Israelis love to kill innocent children?” Others equated the [S]tar of David with a swastika, Zionism with Nazism, and Sharon with Hitler. Such signs were often posted next to signs advertising the Shabbat dinner party at Hillel. Barry recalled that any sign posted by Jewish organizations, such as Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life or by Alpha Epsilon Pi (AEPi) would be torn down within a day. He recalls that one such sign said, “Chag Sameach” (“Happy Holidays” in Hebrew). Carl said that he would post the signs on a Monday afternoon and by Tuesday morning, they would be gone, replaced with MSU posters.

HARM TO STUDENTS

Under OCR policy, the “harassment need not result in tangible injury or detriment to the victims of the harassment.”⁸ In OCR’s investigative files, UC-Irvine’s Jewish students described in detail how they had been adversely affected, individually and collectively, by the campus climate and administrative non-action. The conduct alone should be legally sufficient to merit a hostile environment. However, the students describe a remarkable and disturbing toll taken on their emotional well-being, their education,

8. OCR, *Racial Incidents*, *supra* note 5.

their ability to use campus facilities, and in some cases their ability to endure continued studies at Irvine.

Debbie describes herself as “a pretty tough girl,” but complained that it was “emotionally distressing” to experience what she found at Irvine. Olga, who points out that she is not a campus activist, said that anti-Israel incidents affected all Jewish students even if a student did not take a political position on Israel. One girl was so upset after being stalked, allegedly, by MSU members that she stopped attending classes for weeks, causing her grades to plummet. Barry transferred out of Irvine because he felt he could not be fully Jewish while studying on this campus. When OCR asked him to elaborate on this feeling, he explained that he felt unwelcome and discriminated against. Jacob said that he felt that he had to leave the university because he did not feel safe. For Jacob, it was like “living in a Jewish ghetto—I could go only where Jews are.”

Irvine’s Jewish students also conspicuously suffered another distinct injury, which civil rights scholars (following Kenji Yoshino) and sociologists (following Irving Goffman) might describe as “coerced covering.”⁹ Covering is a form of assimilation, like conversion or passing; it differs from these forms, however, in that it consists of muting disowned characteristics with an out-group—like gay men who act straight or blacks who act white—rather than attempting to leave the group or pretend not to be a member. Although American law has not yet caught up with his analysis, Yoshino astutely describes this “coerced covering” as a “hidden assault on our civil rights.”

Examples of coerced covering appear throughout the Irvine files. Given the campus climate at Irvine, many students stopped identifying themselves as Jewish, i.e., wearing Jewish clothing, displaying Jewish symbols, attending Jewish events, or participating in Jewish organizations. For example, Alan said that he no longer tells people he is Jewish because of the stereotypes that were perpetuated at campus lectures, in posters, on signs, and elsewhere. Like some other Irvine students, he also stopped wearing anything that would identify him as Jewish. Debbie stopped wearing a shirt to school that would have identified her as Jewish; other students told her they would tuck Star of David necklaces under their shirts so that they would not be seen. Kevin’s fraternity brothers told him that they are uncomfortable with his wearing symbols of Israel. At least one student was afraid to let people to know of his association with Hillel. Eve tries to avoid all events about Israel because she finds them too upsetting. Even if the

9. See Kenji Yoshino, “Covering,” *Yale Law Journal* 111 (2002):769; and Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1963):102-104.

speaker is supportive of Israel, Eve would not attend because of the protesters. Some of these students also learned to avoid those parts of campus that the most offensive speakers frequent, but the central location of these speeches makes this difficult.

LEADERSHIP FAILURE

When a university has received notice that a hostile environment has arisen on its campus, it “has a legal duty to take reasonable steps to eliminate it.”¹⁰ Beyond this legal duty, it may also be obliged to heed the admonition of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that “university leadership should set a moral example by denouncing antisemitic and other hate speech, while safeguarding all rights protected under the First Amendment and under basic principles of academic freedom.”¹¹ Irvine maintains that its response to allegations of antisemitism has been sufficient and that additional actions requested by Jewish students and their advocates would have been unlawful. OCR’s investigative records, however, are replete with specific examples in which students asked administrators to take a stand against antisemitism and were allegedly rebuffed.

CAVEAT

Some words of caution are in order. First, these files contain only witness statements from the alleged victims; this is therefore their story. The administration and the alleged wrongdoers have their story to tell too, but they do not emerge clearly from those of the Irvine files that have been obtained thus far. For example, in fairness, Irvine administrators have taken several actions to address the situation, although the adequacy of those measures will long be debated. Other Jewish students also have had very different experiences at Irvine, and some (who may not have been interviewed by OCR) have spoken in defense of the administration.¹² Moreover, these witness accounts are not corroborated in all cases. Names have been changed or redacted to protect the identities of the persons involved, and OCR redacted a considerable amount of data pursuant to various claims of privilege. Finally, the incidents described in these files occurred between

10. OCR, *Racial Incidents*, note 5.

11. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Findings and Recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights Regarding Campus Antisemitism*, April 3, 2006.

12. This phenomenon is discussed in Kenneth L. Marcus, Introduction to Gary A. Tobin, Aryeh K. Weinberg, and Jenna Ferer, *The UnCivil University*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: The Institute for Jewish & Community Research, 2009): xxix-xxx.

the late nineties and the middle of the last decade. Although new incidents continue to occur each semester, they are not contained within these files. Some of the Irvine administrators described here may still remain, but others, including the chancellor, have been replaced. The incumbent chancellor may be controversial, but he was not at Irvine during the period when these events occurred.

THE OFFICIAL FILES

Alan

[redacted¹³]

Telephone Interview Notes

Witness: [redacted]

May 24, 2006

The witness [Alan]¹⁴ was interviewed by case attorney [redacted] and team leader [redacted]. OCR provided Alan with information on FOIA [Freedom of Information Act] and protection from retaliation.¹⁵ OCR explained that we had not revealed his identity to the University and that we would not do so without first obtaining his permission. Alan stated that he was familiar with the OCR complaint and was familiar with the allegations. OCR informed Alan that our investigation would focus on the University's response to complaints that Jewish students were being harassed on the basis of national origin. At Alan's request, the complainant [attorney Susan Tuchman, director of the Center for Law and Justice at the Zionist Organization of America] participated in the call.¹⁶

OCR notes that Alan was on a cell phone and was on campus outside of the library during the interview. Alan indicated that because of the location of the call, he sometimes was hesitant to talk with us.

Alan began attending the University in [redacted]. He currently is a University student [redacted]. Alan indicated that in the past he was active

13. The term "redacted" is used whenever OCR withholds information subject to a claim of privilege. In the FOIA materials, OCR provides specific codes to identify the claimed privilege. For example, for this redaction OCR's code is "(b)(6); (b)(7)." OCR's redaction codes are omitted throughout.

14. The investigative files identify all witnesses by the letter "W." To avoid confusion, I have provided names to identify each witness.

15. In other words, the witnesses were informed that their testimony would be publicly available under FOIA.

16. In the original documents, each set of interview notes begins with a paragraph substantially similar to this one.

in Hillel. . . . Alan stated that he was very active in his freshman year, but he became less so for personal reasons and for “environmental reasons.”

Alan explained that the environment was very different than what he experienced at high school in terms of the way people acted and the way the school acted. Alan stated that the way the University responded to issues made life harder. He stated that because the University allows speakers in the central part of campus, there is no way to avoid them. The speakers are often near where the U.S. and California flags are; the speakers are in the middle of where everyone walks. Alan indicated that even if you’re not interested, you hear everything that the speaker says because of the central location. Alan stated that though you might not hear every word, you catch bits and pieces of what is said and it has an impact on people.

Alan stated that this slowly impacted him. He came to feel that belonging to Hillel was not something beneficial to his college experience. He felt that he did not want people to know of his association with Hillel. Alan stated that he felt the speakers “brainwashed” people and gave them a negative image of who Alan is and this affected him in a negative way.

Alan stated that in high school, he was [redacted] Hillel-like organization. During Alan’s freshman year, he commuted to campus two days a week and during his sophomore year, this increased to three days a week. Alan stated that at first, he didn’t see or talk to people very much; he indicated that because he was not on campus full time, he did not experience the negative aspects himself, but saw that other Jewish students were affected.

Once Alan was spending more time on campus, he saw more of what the environment was like. Alan stated that he did not want people to know he was Jewish and that he did not feel right being on campus. Alan stated that when there were speakers on campus saying words that made people shiver and tremble, like “You’re bad; you’re crazy; you ruined everything.” Alan stated that his roommates [redacted] would tell him about the speakers. Alan stated that by his third year at the University, he did not tell anyone he was Jewish.

Alan reiterated that the speakers preach hate in a dominant place on campus, not in a room, but in the open. Alan stated that people are not given the option of not attending. Alan stated that the speakers made people feel wrong, like they should not be on campus. Alan stated that [redacted] comes to campus two to three times a year. Alan stated that the first time he listened to [redacted] speak was during the middle of his sophomore year [redacted]. Alan stated that [redacted] said things that made Alan feel, not ashamed, but very uncomfortable about being on campus. Alan stated that it was not one thing that was said or that happened, but everything together slowly made Alan feel less than who he is. Alan said that he no longer

wears anything that will identify himself as Jewish, and that he does not tell people he is Jewish because of the stereotypes.

Alan stated that for the most part, people do not know his religion. Alan stated that he is of Middle Eastern descent. Alan said that he came to know people in the Muslim groups and they learned that Alan was Jewish, but more people's immediate impression of Alan is that he is not Jewish. Alan stated that before, he never had a problem with letting people know he is Jewish. Alan stated that he is from Los Angeles and that it is very different there.

Alan recalled that in a Middle East class [redacted] during the second quarter of his third year, he was with a couple of friends and they overheard others talking among themselves, saying "He's Jewish," and that they pointed to Alan. Alan stated that that's all he heard of the conversation.

Alan stated that before he attended the University and during his first year at the University, he had no problem wearing a necklace or T-shirt (e.g., a Conference on Israel T-shirt or a Jewish student leadership retreat T-shirt) that identified himself as Jewish. But during Alan's second and third year, he stopped doing this; he could not recall anything specifically because he tried to "just let it go," Alan said [redacted].

The complainant [Tuchman] asked Alan about the apartheid wall. Alan said he saw it. It was a 20' wood construction with wire fence on top. Alan said they had the wall in the plaza and people had to walk around it or through it. Alan said that there was no choice but to walk through the wall. Alan said that they had two guys dressed up as IDF soldiers who pretended to beat an old woman on the ground. Alan clarified that this was a few years ago and was supposed to symbolize how the IDF beats Palestinians.

Alan said that three years ago, they wouldn't let people walk through the mock checkpoint. Alan said there was something similar this year. Alan said that this year's wall was the longest. Alan was shocked that it was on campus. Alan said it blocked the plaza path so that it forced people to see the wall. Alan said that the wall could not be ignored as it blocked more than half of Ring Road. It was set up where the flagpoles are. Alan said that they blocked Ring Road from 12 p.m. to 2 p.m. and that people would have to walk through the speakers or all the way around the plaza. Alan said that if someone was going about his normal daily business on campus, he would not be able to avoid the wall; he would have to see it.

Alan stated that he heard that the girl who was followed by the MSU stopped coming to school for a few weeks and that her grades were bad because of the incident. Alan said this was a few years ago. Alan does not know if this incident was reported to police or administrators; he thinks it

was, but is not sure. Alan said he also knows that [redacted]. Alan said this affected him along with everything else. Alan once again reiterated that it was not one thing, but everything taken together. Alan said that it all added up and slowly moved him away.

Barry

[redacted]

Telephone Interview Notes

Witness: [redacted]

(Tel) [redacted]

*May 22, 2006, 11:00 a.m. – 12:10 p.m.*¹⁷

The witness [Barry] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted], and team leader [redacted], who left at approximately 11:30 a.m. . . .

OCR notes that the witness was on a cell phone and the call was international. We had a poor connection throughout the entire interview.

Barry . . . was an active member of AEPi and Hillel. OCR asked Barry if he was ever singled out as an individual target of discrimination, harassment or intimidation on the basis of his national origin at the University. Barry stated that because some years have passed since he attended the University, he did not remember everything clearly and may be confused about some of the specifics. However, Barry stated that he recalls how the environment made him feel, because the environment is what caused him to leave the University. Barry stated that he recalled at one point while he was a University student someone looked directly at him and told him to go back to Russia and that he would burn in hell. Barry recalls that these incidents may have happened in or around the Student Center around Zionist Awareness Week. Barry also stated that at one time while he was walking around campus, someone came up to him and said, “you f—ing Jew.” Barry stated that he recalled that any sign that Hillel or AEPi put up would be torn down within a day. He recalls that one sign that was torn down said, “Chag Sameach” (“Happy Holidays” in Hebrew).

OCR asked Barry if he notified administrators or staff about these incidents. Barry replied that he and another student [redacted] went to speak with [redacted] and discussed not only what happened to Barry, but everything that was happening to Jewish students on campus. Barry could not recall whether other Jewish students also attended this meeting, but speculated there may have been one student, [redacted]. Barry could not recall which administrator was present although he believes it was

17. Although Barry’s interview was apparently conducted before Alan’s, it appears afterward in OCR’s production of the official case file.

[redacted]. Barry could not recall if other administrators were present at this meeting. Barry recalls that the University responded that it could not do anything unless Jewish students had been physically threatened and that the threat had to be specific to an individual. The administrator suggested that Jewish students try to work it out with Muslim students.

Barry stated that he only went to complain to the administration once because after being told at that meeting, which was two hours, that there was nothing the administration could do, Barry did not feel anything would change by meeting with the administration again.

OCR asked Barry if he or other Jewish students at the meeting informed the administrators what they wanted the University to do in response. Barry stated that he did not remember. He recalls just that the students made their complaints and that the University said it could only respond to physical threats. Barry stated he felt that the University's message to them was to not come back and complain about the types of things Jewish students had experienced. . . .

Barry said he decided to transfer out of the University because he felt he could not be Jewish on campus. When asked to elaborate on this feeling, Barry could not describe how he could not be Jewish, but stated that he felt unwelcome and discriminated against. He felt that based on the University's response to the Jewish students' complaints and that by not doing anything to stop events like Zionism Awareness Week, the University's position was that it did not want Barry there because he was Jewish. Barry said he initially thought about leaving during his first year and made the decision to leave by the end of his second year because nothing was done to improve the situation. Barry transferred to [redacted] and graduated from there. . . .

Carl

[redacted]

Telephone Interview Notes

Witness: [redacted]

(Tel) [redacted]

May 30, 2006, 4:30 p.m.

The witness [Carl] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted], and team leader, [redacted] . . .

Carl attended the University from [redacted]. He was active [redacted] in Hillel and AEPI.

OCR asked Carl if he believed that he was ever singled out as an individual target of discrimination, harassment or intimidation on the basis of his national origin while he was a student at the University. Carl stated

that this was done against Jews, but no one came up to Carl and yelled in his face. Carl stated that they were afraid of Carl because he looks like a [redacted]. Carl stated that he witnessed others being harassed on a number of occasions. OCR asked Carl to describe some of these incidents. Carl stated that he would try to remember. He stated that MSU or SAS members would hold banners and signs that contained hostile wording or post hostile signs in front of Hillel or AEPi booths and try to engage Jewish students in 1:1 conversations that would become screaming matches that got edgy. Carl said their goal seemed to be these 1:1 confrontations that put Jewish students' political and social beliefs into question. Usually they would identify Jewish students as Jews and point out why that was bad. They discussed why Jews were evil and would say that Jews did horrible acts against mankind. There would be a group event and then it would become more pronounced when members would get into these 1:1 conversations with Hillel or AEPi.

Carl stated that Jewish students were afraid that the shouting matches would turn physical, but that Jewish students never let them get to that level because the individuals involved would be expelled and there were police around. Carl stated that the other side also never let things get to that point for the same reasons. OCR asked how frequently this would occur. Carl replied that over the years it became progressively more frequent. For example, Carl recalls that in 1998-99, there was one anti-Jewish week. During his sophomore year, there were two such events. The following year, they were held twice a quarter—so there were six events during the school year. Carl said that the 1:1 incidents were tied to the week-long events. The 1:1 incidents tried to destroy the religious, cultural, and political heritage and beliefs of Jewish students all at once

Carl said that Hillel asked the University to send a letter to the campus community condemning the events, remove offensive posters and not allow the events to be held in University spaces. Carl said Hillel asked that they (the MSU/SAS) not be allowed to reserve spaces for their events. Carl said that the University would remove the offensive posters, but this would last only a week or so. Carl then said that actually, although Jewish students asked the University to remove offensive posters, the University never did. For example, the posters that had an image of the Star of David dripping with blood or said something like Jews like to kill babies were not removed. Carl then stated that the University never took down the offensive posters in response to Jewish student requests that it do so. Carl believes that if Jewish students removed the posters themselves, they would have gotten in trouble because doing so was against the campus policy.

Carl said that he would post events, for example a Shabbat dinner Friday night. He would hang up the signs on a Monday afternoon and by

Tuesday morning, they would be gone, replaced with MSU posters. Carl said that Hillel complained but nothing was done. The administration would always ask if Hillel had any witnesses. Since Hillel never had any witnesses, the University never did anything. . . .

OCR asked Carl about the Holocaust Memorial incident from [redacted]. Carl stated that [redacted] then. Hillel received University permission to have an exhibit behind the administration building. Carl said that Jewish students spent eight hours preparing the exhibit. Carl stated that the University agreed to post a guard because of past problems. Carl described the guard as [redacted]. Carl stated that the guard drove up around 8 p.m. and [redacted].

Carl stated that Monday morning it was discovered that the exhibit was knocked down. The whole thing was knocked down. It looked very deliberate. Carl first found out about this Monday morning, less than 12-15 hours after the exhibit had been set up. Carl said he filed a police report, contacted [redacted] and a University administrator. Carl said that the students spent 12-13 hours setting up the exhibit and that it lasted less time than it took to set it up.

The police said that they would do what they could. The University said it would issue a newsletter to the campus. Carl said that a week or two later there was a general email to the campus community, but it did not reference the incident. Carl recalls speaking to the police about the incident. Carl was very upset. It was 9-10 a.m. and the police arrived fairly quickly. Carl said that the display was not repaired right away. Carl said the campus newspaper took photographs of the damage before the display was re-erected. Carl doesn't recall if the police took any pictures. Carl said that there was an article in the school newspaper, but he doesn't know what happened to the photographs.

Carl informed OCR that he was not the person who discovered what had happened to the display. Carl does not recall who made the discovery. Carl said that he does not remember if he was the person who made any of the calls to the police or administrators. Carl said that he did not recall going to speak with any administrator 1:1. Carl said he only had a vague memory of this incident. He recalls that at least one administrator came to the site of the damage, but he doesn't recall who. Carl said that several other students made statements to the police, but he does not recall who.

Carl stated that he does not think he heard back anything from the police or administrators about this incident. Carl said it wasn't the first year that Jewish students had problems and at that point, Carl said he felt pretty jaded. Carl said he felt that all he got from the administration was a tuition bill.

OCR asked the student about the swastika. Carl said this happened at a Hillel event. He doesn't know when it happened, but he saw it. Carl said that the swastika was probably about 2' x 2'. It was put on one of the food court tables during a candle ceremony. It was discovered while they were cleaning after the event. Carl said he was one of the five people who discovered it or he was immediately informed about it. Carl thinks that [redacted] called the police about the incident. [redacted] was at a lot of events. Carl said he does not recall speaking to the police about this incident, but he recalls seeing a police officer there. According to Carl, there are only four police officers who were ever around, so it would be easy to narrow down which ones were at the event.

OCR asked Carl about the presence of MSU students in the Dean's office. Carl said that the way things were situated, if you had to go to the Dean's office, you had to go down the stairs from the student center. There was a large room where all clubs had their mail boxes. The MSU would meet there and spend time socializing and planning events there. There were sofas in the area and the MSU would gather there. Carl said that whenever a member of Hillel walked through, the atmosphere would be tense. MSU would cease conversation and watch the Hillel member like [redacted]. Carl said there were rumors that some comments would be made, but when he walked through there would be a hush through the crowd. Carl said that several Hillel members that knew MSU members would say hello. Carl said that to his knowledge, the MSU members would just stare in response. They tried to scare the Hillel members by the awkwardness and tension in the room. Carl said he only knew of AEPi and Hillel students and did not know if this happened to other students. Carl said that this was not a busy area. If a person did not have to go to the Dean's office, there would be no reason to be going through the area. Carl said that the actions that took place in this area would not easily witnessed.

Questions from complainant [Susan Tuchman]:

Tuchman confirmed that Carl saw signs that equated the [S]tar of David with a swastika, Zionism with Nazism, and Sharon with Hitler.

Tuchman asked Carl to explain what he meant when he was talking about the Holocaust memorial and said that it wasn't the first time there had been problems. Carl said that there have been problems every year. Carl said that the first incident probably occurred during the 1999-2000 school year. Carl said he did not recall the specifics.

Tuchman asked Carl if the administration spoke out after the Holocaust memorial was destroyed in 2003. Carl said that he did not recall, but that if the administration did anything, it was on a small level. Tuchman

asked Carl if the administration spoke out about the swastika. Carl said he did not recall the specifics. He recalled receiving an email that was general in nature and that did not discuss any particular incident.

Carl said that the one thing Jewish students asked for was for the University to condemn the events. Carl said that by not doing so, the University condoned the events and the things the MSU/SAS-sponsored speakers said, such as Jews control the world, government and media and other anti-Jewish statements and theories that were espoused by the speakers. Carl said that the speakers were well-spoken, but prejudiced, and that they spoke like they were inciting violence. . . .

Tuchman asked Carl if the speaker could be avoided. Carl said that a person would have to go out of his way to avoid the speaker and that if a person wanted to get lunch, it was nearly impossible to avoid the speaker because the person would have to go out of his way to avoid being in ear-shot. Just by walking from class to class, one would have to pass by the speaker.

Tuchman asked Carl about the mock checkpoint. Carl said that this happened once or twice while he was a student. Carl said that there was a big event in 2003. The complainant asked Carl if the checkpoint obstructed the walkway. Carl said that he had to walk through the event just to get to the other side. The MSU tried to engage as many people in the display as possible. Carl said there was a physical structure with mock guards who prevented people from passing through. Carl does not recall how much space was available to walk around the structure. Carl said it was near the ATMs on the main part of Ring Road known as Ring Mall, which is near the entrance to the book store and food courts. There are no classroom buildings near there; it is just the administrative and social part of campus. If a person was on the walkway coming from social sciences to the book store, he would have to walk through the area. According to Carl, Ring Mall is 15' wide and most of the walkway was covered by the physical structure.

Carl said they would scream at people to a point. Carl explained that the University has a large Asian American population and the Asian American students walking by were ignored. When a white student or Middle East student would pass by, the MSU would try to bring them in, especially those they recognized as Jewish, to try to elicit a response. Those who did not care went about their way. Carl said there were about 30 involved MSU members and about ten involved Jewish students and that these events affected "those of us who were involved."

Carl asked OCR what would happen if OCR found on behalf of the complainant organization. OCR explained that we could only discuss the type of remedy that we typically get when we find a hostile environment. We explained that remedies typically involve the development of policies and

procedures as well as training on identifying issues and responding to and investigating complaints.

Debbie

Telephone Interview Notes

[redacted] *Former University Student*

(Tel) [redacted]

May 18, 2006 3:00 – 4:20 p.m.

Docket Number 09-052013

The witness [Debbie] was interviewed by Team Leader [redacted] . . .

Debbie entered the University as a freshman in September 2000. She graduated in June 2004.

Debbie was [redacted] Anteaters for Israel (AFI).¹⁸ [redacted] Before [redacted] she was active at Hillel, where she coordinated various activities.

Debbie stated that she felt hostility directed at her and other Jewish students while she attended the University. Even while hostility was not directed at her personally, she still interpreted attacks on Jewish and Israeli students as attacks on her. Her reaction to this hostility was [redacted]. This decision on her part made her very visible. Other students knew who she was and what she represented.

Debbie recalls walking into the Dean of Students' Office during her years at the University, or walking through the free speech area on campus, and feeling "eyes on the back of her head." She heard people whisper when she went past. She recalls a feeling that hostility was being directed towards her because of who she was. She recalls situations that started out as attempts to discuss and debate that ended up with people yelling at her, and she recalls times when these incidents brought her close to tears. She recalls that during her time at the University, she felt lots of discomfort walking through the free speech area. Students would say things in Arabic as she passed and she could not understand what was being said, but she thinks they were epithets of some kind, or curse words. This definitely made her think carefully about where she walked. The students whom she observed saying these things were usually students affiliated with the MSU or SAS. When tensions in the Middle East rose to high levels, the tensions on campus rose in a similar way. Tensions also frequently were high in the spring of every year, when the Muslim students held their annual Zionism Awareness events. Jewish students would usually put on a couple of differ-

18. The anteater is the mascot of the University of California-Irvine. "Anteaters for Israel" is Irvine's Israel student group.

ent activities at the same time. For example, one side (Jewish students) might be putting on an event for Israeli Independence Day or Holocaust Remembrance Day at the same time that the other side (Arab/Muslim students) put on their Zionism Awareness event. The degree of tension “ebbed and flowed.” These events and confrontations that took place at them did not make Debbie feel personally singled out as a victim of harassment until she [redacted]. . . .

Debbie states that when she walked through the free speech area during her years at the University, she sometimes felt she was being followed. She made attempts to walk across campus with others, for this reason. She recalls some encounters between protesting Arab/Muslim and Jewish students when they were arguing and close to each other. She recalls some students trying to sit on each other. However, she never felt personally threatened by these events.

The really important thing she wants OCR to understand is how completely offended she felt, on her own campus. . . .

She stated that “no one likes to feel that they are being watched” and no one likes to feel like a “pariah” just because of what they believe in. Debbie stated she is “a pretty tough girl,” but that it was “emotionally distressing” to experience what she experienced at the University. She can usually transform such negative experiences into energy to get something constructive done, and this is what [redacted].

Debbie stated that she filed no complaints with the University about anything she personally experienced. She did once make a complaint about offensive posters. She had just returned from Israel and saw posters on a public walkway—one had the Israeli flag, filled with bullet holes and drops of blood, and said that the Israeli government was equal to a swastika. The posters also said Israelis like to kill Palestinians.

When she saw these, Debbie would go to [redacted] out into the courtyard, so [redacted] had to look at the posters, and Debbie would ask [redacted] “Do you allow this at the University?” [redacted] would reply by saying “I can see why it bothers you” and then making a comment to the effect “Keep your chin up.” [redacted] did not really respond to Debbie’s complaints. Debbie spoke mainly with [redacted] but sometimes spoke with other administrators. These other administrators sometimes attended MSU or SAS events if they felt a protest was likely to be provoked. . . .

. . . Debbie stated that the University took the position that free speech permitted students to say what they wanted on campus. The administration didn’t seem to care about the provocative tone of speech from MSU/SAS events. Debbie would like to have seen a letter from the administration to the entire University community, describing the “norms” of speech on cam-

pus. Were there any rules for what could and could not be said or published? She never saw evidence that the University attempted to provide such guidance.

OCR asked Debbie about whether she had seen posters saying that “Israelis love to kill innocent children.” Debbie recalls complaining about these posters to [redacted]. She was nearly in tears when she had this conversation with him. She was upset that the MSU/SAS were permitted to post statements that had no grounding in fact at all, and which misrepresented Middle Eastern politics. Comments of this nature have nothing to do with the political situation in the Middle East. A comment like this about Israelis killing innocent children is simply a “blatant, libelous smear” and to see this in a place of learning was very disturbing. At the very least the University could have made the effort to encourage groups on both sides of political issues to educate each other about their views, without taking “below the belt” shots at the other side.

In order to address these things that made her upset, Debbie [redacted] with [redacted]. The University’s response, as expressed to her by [redacted] and [redacted], seemed to be nothing more than “Oh, we’ll look into it, and make them take [the poster] down if they did that.” The poster might come down, but it would reappear again in a week. Debbie felt this response was inadequate. She would have expected that, in response to the student complaints, University administrators would at least have held a meeting for dialogue with the MSU/SAS students who had put up the posters, and asked them why they had done so. She expected the “adults to step in” and say that the posters were “inflammatory.” This sort of activity should not have been tolerated. University administrators should have intervened on behalf of Jewish students and done what was right whether the administrators agreed with the Jewish students on the substance of the issue or not. The University took no such steps.

OCR asked Debbie about her recollection of vandalism to the Holocaust memorial. Debbie recalled that a friend told her about the vandalism and she went to see it herself an hour or two later. She recalls going to see the vandalized memorial with [redacted], who was “completely in tears and ready to quit [redacted].” [redacted] had been [redacted] responsible for assembling the Holocaust memorial exhibit.

Debbie states that there was no University response to this incident. The running joke among students was that “The wind blew [the exhibit] over.” There was complete inaction on the part of the University—they did not even acknowledge that it MIGHT have been an act of vandalism.

Debbie states that Hillel would probably have brought a complaint about this incident. Debbie was not personally involved in any complaint on this issue. . . .

OCR asked Debbie about her recollection of students wearing green armbands on campus. Debbie did recall that students did this during the time she attended the University. To Debbie, the wearing of green armbands was a sign that the wearer was expressing support for Hamas, which in her eyes and in the view of the U.S. government is a terrorist organization. She saw green armbands being worn at almost all major events. Muslim students would dress up in more traditional styles—she would see Muslim men wearing tunics and sometimes they would wear green armbands. Sometimes they would wear green headbands.

AFI held a rally in spring 2003—the theme was “Stop hate speech on campus.” Muslim students decided to wear green armbands while protesting this event. Debbie [redacted] event, and she stated that while Jewish students simply stood silently, holding placards saying “Stop hate,” the Muslim students present at the event “just railed,” and the quieter the Jewish students were, the angrier the Muslim students became. No complaint was filed regarding the armband issue until the graduation ceremony, where sashes were worn. MSU and SAS members did not wear the green armbands every day—they mainly did so at big campus events.

Debbie recalls seeing the Zionist Awareness Week events that were staged during her years at the University. The first time she saw these events she was “enraged.” The second time she got a list of the events in advance and felt very dispirited because it represented a continuation of the same types of events she had seen previously. The University is supposed to be a neutral party. In her opinion, Zionism Awareness Week is an example of the University giving the MSU and SAS University endorsement and a speaking platform. The UC symbol was displayed on the podium where speakers invited by SAS and MSU were presenting. These groups were using University property to stage their events. To Debbie, this was not neutrality—it was a tacit endorsement of SAS/MSU-sponsored speech by the University. The fact that the University allowed these speakers to present on campus, knowing full well that their comments would be offensive to a group of people, seemed inappropriate to Debbie. It was more than offensive, it was “gut-wrenching.”

Debbie did bring a complaint to the University about Zionism Awareness Week. The University response was that it was not going to tell student groups what to do and not do. Debbie never asked that the University regulate MSU/SAS’s agenda. She just wanted “norms” for what kind of speech would be protected and what would not be, in the sense that one cannot “yell fire in a crowded theater.” Debbie brought these complaints to [redacted] and others. All of these complaints were met with no response. Some efforts were made by the University to get Muslim and Jewish students together to air concerns to each other, and Debbie is under the

impression that, while there may have been some meetings of the student groups facilitated by the University, nothing concrete came out of the meetings other than students “airing their complaints.” No one walked away from these meetings with a sense that an agreement had been reached. She felt bad for Jewish students who had been considering attending the University and who chose not to do so. She knows from Hillel that a number of Jewish students told Hillel they would not attend the University because of these problems.

OCR asked Debbie about the “mock checkpoint” that was constructed in 2004. Debbie stated that 2004 was not the first time this happened. She recalls that, previously, large trash bags stuffed to resemble “body bags” were used at MSU/SAS events to represent “Palestinians killed by Israelis.” The mock checkpoint was meant to simulate an Israeli checkpoint. There were arguments and confrontations among students who saw this checkpoint—Debbie recalls students swearing at each other. She cannot recall if campus security was present when the mock checkpoint was used, but she believes University administrators were present, because they were afraid there would be a fight. Debbie recalls seeing the display and that students were upset and shouting at each other about it. She got out of there quickly and did not return to see it again. By that point she was [redacted] and she did not have the same level of involvement in contesting these events that she had previously had.

When Debbie heard that the cardboard “security wall” had been destroyed, she was terrified that Jewish students would be blamed for the destruction. She was even afraid that one of her own group might in fact have been responsible for the destruction of the wall, because tensions on campus at that point were so high that it was not inconceivable that a Jewish student had been involved in destroying the wall. This turned out not to be the case, but she worried about it, because it would “give the other side the upper hand.”

Following the destruction of the wall, she remembers hearing “the loudest complaints she had ever heard” being brought to the University. There was a perception that Muslim students had been subjected to discrimination, and there was a “rapid and dramatic” University message, disseminated to the whole University, condemning the destruction of the wall. There was also a rally at which University administrators were invited to speak. A lot of press covered the event. The words “hate crime” were used by University personnel to describe the event although there was no evidence to support that conclusion.

Debbie recalls that Jewish students were not invited to the rally. Jewish students had asked the MSU to be invited, because they wanted to show solidarity with the proposition that there should not be destruction of some-

thing that represented a message of a student group. The same kind of situation (destruction of a message) had occurred when the Holocaust memorial was damaged. However, Debbie understands that Jewish student groups were told that they were not welcome at the rally. Debbie recalls that [redacted] received this message when they expressed interest in joining with the MSU to participate in the rally.

Debbie recalls that a complaint was brought to [redacted] regarding the Jewish students' being excluded from the rally. [redacted] just shrugged his shoulders. This was a "big slap in the face" for Jewish students. Debbie felt that AFI was under attack because it was likely that people thought a Jewish student had been responsible for destroying the cardboard wall. It was hard to have this [redacted].

OCR asked Debbie about the graduation ceremony in 2004 at which Muslim students wore sashes that Jewish students perceived to be offensive. Debbie stated that this event received a lot of press attention. She recalls a radio show that generated national attention. University graduates frequently wore sashes at graduation ceremonies, in order to show their affiliation with a fraternity, campus group, etc. She recalls that at this graduation, some Muslim students wore green sashes with the Shahada imprinted on them. To Debbie, this expressed these students' celebration of others' [terrorists']¹⁹ martyrdom. In Debbie's opinion, graduation is not something that should be politicized. The students who wore these sashes gave offense to many people, given the history of what the campus had experienced in the year leading up to the ceremony. For students to glorify acts of martyrdom seemed inappropriate.

Responses to questions from complainant [Susan Tuchman]:

. . . Debbie cannot recall specific things that he said in his speeches. Upon prompting from Tuchman, Debbie recalled that [one speaker] praised suicide bombing. He said that Jews controlled all of the media and the government. He made references to how Jewish people tried to get Al Gore elected president so that Joe Lieberman could ascend to the presidency. Debbie states that administrators were present at these speeches. Administrators never tried to interfere if the speaker asked students to segregate themselves by gender. These speeches were open, public events.

Was it clear to administrators that Jewish students were complaining about hostile environment on the basis of national origin? Debbie believes that it was clear, based on "the sheer number of complaints." Also, the University had to hire security all the time for all kinds of events, and campus police had to be put on alert for certain events. If a student "shows up

19. This bracketed term appears in the original.

at an administrator's door in tears and feels that his/her identity is on the chopping block," it seems reasonable to assume that the administrator would realize that this was a complaint about hostile environment. University administrators were patronizing to her—their attitude was to convey to her "Calm down, honey," rather than to take her concerns seriously, until there was pushing, shoving and physical confrontations. People who were not Jewish felt the same way as she did—the Campus Republicans took a similar view about speakers invited by the MSU—their reaction was also, "That's not fair—how can you say that?"

Did the environment affect what Debbie would wear on campus? Debbie has a T-shirt that says [redacted]. Others she knows have similar shirts. She would not wear that shirt to school because it would have identified her as Jewish. Other students told her they would tuck Star of David necklaces under their shirts so that they would not be seen. Some students wore Israeli army shirts—these shirts would have been taken to mean "f— you" by Muslim students. Debbie tried not to draw attention to herself on campus.

Did the events she experienced affect her behavior in any other way? She tried to avoid going into public areas, if she knew MSU students would be staring at her back. If she was walking at night, she would avoid the central campus area where the speakers' activities took place. Eventually she did not want to see the posters and speakers anymore; she became sick of them. It was not easy to stomach seeing these events.

Eve

Telephone Interview Notes
[redacted] University Student
(Tel) [redacted]
March 14, 2005 11:00 a.m.
Docket Number 09-05-2013

The witness [Eve] was interviewed by case attorney [redacted]. EOS²⁰ also participated in the interview. OCR provided Eve with information on FOIA and protection from retaliation. . . . OCR informed Eve that our investigation would focus on the University's response to complaints that Jewish students were being harassed on the basis of race or national origin. . . .

Eve has been attending the University since fall 1999. She is now a graduate student. She has been involved in Jewish student groups in the

20. "Equal Opportunity Specialist" (EOS) is the title used by most non-attorney OCR civil rights investigators.

past, but is not currently participating in them. She was active in Hillel during her 2nd and 3rd years at the University, starting in Fall 2000. She was also a participant in Anteaters for Israel (AFI) for a time, probably starting around 2002.

Eve stated that the first time she was aware of antisemitic hostilities on campus was in [redacted] at a demonstration or protest that became what Eve believes was a riot. She went up to one of the Moslem students at the demonstration—previously, this person had been a student in a course section where Eve was [redacted]. This student told Eve that the protest was supposed to be silent, yet protesters were behaving like they were crazy, and her former student could not get them to stop. They had signs saying “Zionists are racists,” “Sharon is a Nazi,” etc. [redacted] Some students knew Eve was Jewish—they screamed in her face. Some tried to hide from Eve. Eve approached the administrators who were present and asked, How could they allow this? They said something about free speech, but Eve told them she thought it was scary. . . .

Were there statements calling for violence against Jews on campus? Eve stated that there were screaming students at the protest, but she doesn't remember what they were screaming. It made her feel sick. She had been [redacted] for some of the students and they knew she was Jewish. Eve doesn't think they were screaming directly at her because she doesn't think the protesters knew she was Jewish. Eve does not know if they targeted other students directly. When Eve cut through the line to get to the Israeli speaker, the students screamed in her face. Eve is sure there were police there. Some Jewish students had hired security, but Eve did not pay attention to the police. There was just a big wall of people—they would not even let elderly people pass through. . . .

Eve felt there was no way she could argue with the protesters—there was no way to counter what they were doing. Nothing said in response to irrational people. Eve does not disagree with everything that they said; the problem was the way they said things. Eve does not feel it is safe for her to stand up and respond. At the time of this protest, Eve had not heard of AFI. She sent the e-mail of [redacted] to some other students as well, and [redacted] put her in touch with AFI. Previously Eve had done things with Hillel. Later, AFI held a couple of counter-demonstrations. Eve went to one of them. Then the MSU counter-protested that. One of the signs said that Israelis kill Palestinian babies. AFI did hold other events, but they were calm and peaceful—not inflammatory.

Did other students (Jewish) feel the same way about the protests? Eve does not know. She does know someone who transferred—[redacted]. Eve thinks the atmosphere on campus was a big part of the reason for his transfer. Lots of students said things to him in Arabic. He was of [redacted]

descent and could understand them. Eve would not have come to the University if she had known it would be like this. Eve had never seen an anti-Israeli protest in college. Eve does not remember which of her Jewish and non-Jewish friends she was referring to in her e-mail. . . .

Eve tries to avoid all events about Israel because it is too upsetting. Eve doesn't go to hear any more speakers. Even if the speaker is pro-Israel, Eve won't go, because she does not want to see the protesters. From Eve's understanding these events take place in front of the ATMs, so she tries to avoid that area at lunch time (11:30-2). She doesn't know what events are happening, since she avoids the area all the time if it is lunch time. . . .

Eve's responses to follow-up questions from complainant [Susan Tuchman]:

Eve tries to avoid events relating to Israel. She would attend such events, and would be more involved in Jewish organizations, if the environment were different. Different things affect the amount of time Eve spends on campus, but Eve does believe that if the environment were different she would come to campus more for Jewish events. The environment has also affected Eve's willingness to wear Jewish symbols—she sometimes will wear them but discreetly. . . .

Eve stated that she would not have come to the University to study if she had known that this environment would exist. Her undergraduate college [redacted] would never have allowed it. Administrators at that college did take action in cases where there was harassment of students. Eve does not recall exactly what they did. In Eve's [redacted] to the administration of the University (copy provided to OCR), she wrote that as a public university, the University had an obligation to protect her, but the University never addressed this. Eve supports free speech, but not hate speech, which contributes to a hostile environment. . . .

Eve stated that she never felt safe on campus, and she just avoided events, because administrators never promised the protection that Eve sought. Eve believes that students should not be allowed to say anything about students who are of a different national origin or religion. These speakers still come to campus. Eve has not witnessed more protests—but now the MSU brings in antisemitic speakers. There is no way Eve would go to anti-Zionist events. Eve would never be on the part of the campus where these events take place, which is by the administration building. Eve stated that she now goes off campus for lunch or to a place that's on campus that's closer to her building, rather than the student center, where events often occur. Eve stated that she used to go to the student center for lunch on a regular basis.

*Francine**Telephone Interview Notes*

[redacted] *Former University Student*

(Tel) [redacted] Cell: [redacted]

February 28, 2005 1:30 p.m.

Docket Number 09-05-2-13

The witness [Francine] was interviewed by case attorney [redacted]. EOS [redacted] also participated in the interview. . . . OCR informed Francine that our investigation would focus on the University's response to complaints that Jewish students were being harassed on the basis of race or national origin. . . .

Francine was a student at the University from 1998 to 2002. While at the University, she was active in Hillel, the Jewish Student Union. . . .

Francine recalled that in the spring of her freshman year, she was walking on Ring Road, coming from Chemistry class. She saw a sign with a Star of David, advertising Zionist Awareness Week. The sign frightened her because it said "Anti-Zionism Week." Francine knew what Zionism was and when she saw "anti-Zionism," she was not sure what to make of it. At that time she was not very involved in Jewish student group activities. . . .

During her sophomore year, there were more speakers, and at that point, Jewish students had become more active. A speaker came during the spring of 2000; he spoke in front of the ATMs, the most central location for speakers, and said Israel had no right to exist. He used a PA system rented from the University. . . .

. . . When someone said something negative against Israel, Francine believed that they were attacking Jews as a whole. The undertone of the speeches was the illegitimacy of Jews as a people and the illegitimacy of their existence. . . .

Francine did not fear for her physical safety at these events—at the time she thought it was just political discussion.

Francine, along with the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), asked the Moslem Student Union (MSU) to change the name of Anti-Zionist Week. . . . The Jewish students suggested other names. The MSU refused and kept the event as Anti-Zionist Week. They use it as an advertisement. . . . The name of the event was changed later to Zionism Awareness Week. . . .

. . . Francine went to the head of the Cross-Cultural Center. Francine was in tears and told her what was going on. The director there comforted her and told her to talk to another administrator. Later Francine found out that the Cross Cultural Center director had nominated the MSU as the University's "religious organization of the year." Francine was very troubled

that this was the same person she was supposed to go to as a resource. At that point, Francine gave up. . . .

One of the MSU signs said “Why do Israelis love to kill innocent children?” These words were written in red on fabric. The sign generated a lot of interest—a lot of people complained about this sign, not just Jewish students. University police asked the MSU to take down the sign. . . . The MSU refused to take the sign down. When they refused, the police did not do anything because the MSU had not broken a law. . . .

She also felt a little reluctant about wearing a Star of David. She wore it under her shirt because she was uncomfortable—she didn’t want MSU members to know who she was. MSU females wear a hijab and men wear a full beard—if she saw them, she would tuck the Star of David into her shirt. She felt comfortable in knowing the MSU could not identify her as Jewish.

Other students expressed fear about wearing a kephah. They just didn’t want to be associated with the conflict between the MSU and Jewish students.

Gail

Telephone Interview Notes

[redacted], University Student

(Tel) [redacted]

February 24, 2005 9:00 a.m.

Docket Number 09-05-2013

The witness [Gail] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted]. EOS [redacted] also participated in the interview. . . .

Gail was active in Hillel and also worked on the student newspaper.

Gail started at the University in the fall of 1999 and graduated in spring 2003. She recalls no hostility directed at Jewish students in 1999. Her first recollections of a hostile environment are from 2001. Gail recalls no harassment directed at her personally, but does recall harassment directed at Jewish students.

Gail recalls that, in the spring of 2001, there was a Zionist Awareness Week. . . .

Gail does not recall specific names of speakers, but remembers one person who was a frequent speaker at UCLA and UC San Diego. . . . A sign on the podium had the name of the speaker and the topic of his speech. Gail recalls signs that said “Zionism = Nazism,” or that had blood dripping from a Star of David, or that said, “Why do Israelis love to kill innocent children.” Signs displayed Israeli soldiers shooting at children, another sign displayed a soldier carrying a boy who had wet his pants. Signs also

depicted Ariel Sharon as Hitler or as a monkey. . . .The speakers made references to the Holocaust—Gail cannot remember which speaker said what—but speakers said that what Israelis are doing to Palestinians is like what happened to the Jews in the Holocaust. The speakers tried to equate those killed in the Holocaust with Palestinians killed by Israel. The speakers said that everything Israel did was racist and that Israel didn't deserve to exist. Over the years Gail was a student at the University, the majority of speakers had this message. Gail recalled that the audience in 2001 would chant and say "Allah Akhbar."

. . . In 2002, the Moslem students started putting up more posters around campus. They started using signs that said "Why do Israelis love to kill innocent children?" In the past, they just used signs at rallies. In 2002 postings occurred around campus, in places where students usually advertise events, not political messages. . . . They were often posted next to signs advertising the Shabbat dinner party at Hillel. Also, Gail found that lots of Jewish student organization signs had been torn down and replaced with MSU signs. Gail complained about this, but the administration said there was nothing they could do unless there was a witness. Space on the walls is limited and most students will pull down others' signs, especially if the sign is already starting to come down . . .

Gail noted that the MSU uses student fees to pay for its speakers—there are grants provided by the Associated Students Union and each student group can apply for money from these grants to pay for speakers. . . .

Hannah

Telephone Interview Notes

[redacted] Exchange Student

(Tel) [redacted]

February 22, 2005 9:15 – 10:45 a.m.

Docket Number 09-05-2013

The witness [Hannah] was interviewed by case attorney [redacted]. OCR provided Hannah with information on FOIA and protection from retaliation. . . .

Hannah spent her junior year, 2003-2004, at the University as an exchange student from [redacted]. She applied as an exchange student to the University of California and was placed at Irvine.

Hannah became active in Jewish student organizations as soon as she started attending the University. . . .

Hannah stated that Jewish students would not be able to do something like the mock checkpoint because all the "lefties" would not support them. Hannah stated that Jewish students did not want to do any of the same types

of actions that the Muslim students did anyhow. Hannah stated that Jewish students were limited because their political viewpoint—that Israel has a right to exist—was not well-accepted on campus. Hannah stated that she thinks it is the nature of the conflict. She stated that the Jewish students' position is under attack to . . . more than the Muslim students' position. Therefore, Jewish students are constrained because they are already “under fire” and under more scrutiny. . . .

Hannah stated that her reaction to the talks was that she felt scared and freaked out because she had never heard such hate before and she could not believe there was nothing the administration could do. Hannah does not recall asking the administration to do anything specifically. Hannah remembers at some point saying that the principles of community were violated by the speaker. The University would not even stand by that. The University just said that it wasn't hate speech even if it targeted Jews as a group if it didn't target any one specific individual student. . . .

Irving

Telephone Interview Notes

[redacted] *University Student*

(Tel) [redacted]

February 11, 2005 9:30 a.m. – 12:15 p.m.

Docket Number 09-05-2013

The witness [Irving] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted]. EOS [redacted] also participated in the interview. . . .

Irving stated that he is currently applying for admission to the University's graduate program, and he is therefore very concerned about his privacy as a witness in this interview. Irving has also spoken to a private attorney about this.

Irving is a baccalaureate student and will graduate in the spring of 2005. He expects to find out in a few months whether he has been admitted to graduate school. . . .

Regarding the environment on campus, Irving referred to the first section of the judicial code for this campus—section 102.11 (harassment of any person). The Moslem Student Union (MSU) has repeatedly invited a speaker [redacted] to speak in front of a University podium, sometimes inside, and sometimes outside. The first time Irving saw [redacted] was on February 26, 2004. . . . Irving attended half of the presentation. The speaker described Zionism as a “disease” and brought up “the old adage that Jews control the government.” Irving went to speak with Jewish groups about this, and they told him that the MSU likes to bring this speaker;

[Irving] stated that he heard that in the past, before [he] began attending the University, this speaker caused a riot. . . .

Irving recalls that there was a poem at the beginning of the event. Irving recalls that a Moslem student presented the poem—it may have referenced the Jews as having killed Christ. . . . The speaker said, “Don’t take me out of context; you need to understand that I’m talking about Zionists, the bad Jews—I’m not talking about good Jews.” He proceeded to deliver a vitriolic, hateful speech.

After the event Irving met with [redacted] and complained to him. [redacted] said the speech was protected as free speech. . . .

Irving recalls that in May of 2004 the MSU and Society for Arab Students (SAS) held the fourth annual Zionist Awareness week. This was yet another example of vitriol and hate. One of the speeches discussed the “apartheid wall,” but [Irving] did not go to this. [redacted] said that the speaker told the audience, “If you have any questions about why we’re in Iraq, ask the Jews in the audience.”. . .

. . . When [redacted] presented, there were posters next to him with quotes, to which he pointed. The quotes are set out below; words in bold were printed in red on the posters.

1. “Zionism is defined as a **political** movement with the aim of establishing a **Jewish state in Islamic Palestine by any means necessary.**”
2. “**One million Arabs** are not worth a **Jewish finger nail.**” Rabbi Ya’acov Perin, February 24, 1999.
3. “Why should Arabs make **peace**? If I was an Arab leader I would **never** make terms with Israel. That is natural: **We have taken their country.** . . . Why should they accept that?” David Ben Gurion, former “**Israeli**” **Prime Minister**, quoted in The Jewish Paradox.
4. “We must use **terror, assassination, intimidation, and confiscation** and the cutting of all social services to **rid the Galilee of Arab Population.**” David Ben Gurion, former “**Israeli**” **Prime Minister**, to his personal staff, May 1948.

With respect to quote number 1, Irving, who “freaked out” when he saw it, said “by any means necessary.” This is not the purpose of Zionism. Irving knows the intent of posting this was to make Zionism look bad and Judaism look bad. This was an attack on Judaism as a religion. Jews believe that when the Messiah comes, there will be peace on earth and the Jews will return to Israel. . . .

Irving stated that, whenever anyone speaks badly about Zionism, this is really coded speech for speaking badly about Jews and Judaism, which,

unlike other religions, is a set of ethics and laws. If the rules are followed, one does good for the world. To say that Zionism is a system to create a Jewish state is an assault on Judaism (Irving states that by saying the last sentence, he is paraphrasing Martin Luther King). Irving says that the Catholic Church takes the same position as Irving does, as did Harvard University President Larry Summers (when Harvard students were protesting in favor of divestment from Israel). Anti-Zionism is antisemitic in its intent. Irving referenced the Principles of Community, which states that persons on campus are supposed to show tolerance. Attacks on religion such as this quote about Zionism are uncalled for. . . .

At several of [redacted] events he said he was a full supporter of Hamas (he said this in February 2004). Hamas is a terrorist organization and according to Irving, article 7 of the Hamas covenant quotes from the Koran and says, "The day of judgment will not come until Moslems kill Jews." In other words, by speaking in favor of Hamas, [redacted] is saying that Irving is a target on campus. The MSU had an event commemorating the assassination of Sheik Akman Yassim, who was the spiritual leader of Hamas. . . .

Irving stated to OCR that he does not feel that he has been placed in physical danger on campus, but he looks over his shoulder all the time and tries to be careful about talking about things on campus. Irving has not been threatened by the MSU, but Irving intends to file a formal complaint with the Dean of Students and if other people become aware of this, Irving is worried that someone in the future may attack him because of what is in the complaint. . . .

Jacob

*Telephone Interview Notes
[redacted] University Student
(Tel) [redacted]
January 25, 2005 11:00 a.m.
Docket Number 09-05-2013*

The witness [Jacob] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted]. EOS [redacted] also participated in the interview. . .

Jacob is enrolled at the University for the spring quarter of 2005. He is now studying abroad in [redacted] taking [redacted] classes. He first enrolled at the University in the fall of 2002 and attended the University through the spring of 2004, including the time period when graduation occurred.

Jacob has attended Hillel events although he is not a member. He

belongs to Anteaters of Israel (AFI) and helped to set up things for this group although he did not attend all of their meetings.

Jacob recalls an incident that took place in February 2004; it was during Israel week, and AFI was tabling for Israel. He brought a box of items to the Dean of Students' office. A Moslem student group of about 8-11 people threatened Jacob. One student made most of the threats. At the time, Jacob did not know his name, but he now knows, through friends in the Moslem Student Union (MSU), that this person was named [redacted]. . . .

Jacob did file a report with the campus police later that day or the next. He also informed the [redacted], who directed him to a different office near the Social Science building. Jacob did file a written complaint. . . .

Jacob spoke to someone with a [redacted] name in the campus police office. The police said they would investigate and talk with people at the University. The police never got back to Jacob. Jacob just remembers filing the report. The University never responded to Jacob either, and never took any action. Jacob did not follow up with campus police. The University [redacted] told Jacob "We can't do anything if you don't know who they are." Jacob asked, why can the Moslem students meet in the area near the Dean's office if th[e]y harass Jews? . . .

There was another incident in which the same student—[redacted]—harassed Jacob. . . .

There was a speaker outside at a podium near the ATMs, who said that "Jews don't have real religion." . . .

[redacted] also called Jacob racist and a dirty Jew . . .

The complainant [Tuchman] asked Jacob whether he typically wore a kepah on his head. Jacob said occasionally he did and Moslems would stare when he wore it. During Passover, Jacob recalls that he was eating matzoh—Moslem students came over to him and said, "Ick, look what he's eating," then walked away. They thought it "had blood in it." Jacob felt uncomfortable when he was stared at, and felt uncomfortable when Arab students pointed him out for wearing a kepah.

Jacob stated that he went to an event regarding Malcolm X, sponsored by the MSU. Jacob wore a shirt representing the national soccer team of Israel. All of the persons at the event were Moslems, segregated by gender (about 300 people) and they were staring at Jacob, and he felt he needed to leave. [redacted], an AFI member, was present. . . . He told Jacob that some MSU members said they were going to beat Jacob up. He informed Jacob that all the MSU people wanted to kill Jacob.

Jacob in the beginning was trying to avoid trouble, but because the administration does not get involved in protecting Jewish students, Jacob is

going to do what he wants. He is just “pissed off” about the lack of response.

Was Jacob accused by Moslem students of destroying the “apartheid wall”? The MSU probably implicated Jacob, but the administration never interviewed Jacob about it. The MSU felt that all the Jewish students were responsible. Jacob is 100% sure that none of the Jewish students were involved in the burning of the wall.

Why did Jacob leave the University? He did not feel safe. One of his friends said that Jacob should carry pepper spray. Jacob felt like he was living in a Jewish ghetto—he could only go where Jews are. He decided to go to [redacted] and he is not sure if he is going to return to the University in the spring.

Kevin

Telephone Interview Notes

[redacted] *University Student*

(Tel) [redacted]

January 21, 2005 9:00 p.m.

Docket Number 09-05-2013

The witness [Kevin] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted]. [redacted] also participated in the interview. . . .

Kevin is a 4th-year student at the University. . . .

Kevin is involved in activities with Hillel . . . and Anteaters for Israel (AFI) [redacted]. He also has belonged to the Jewish fraternity since his freshman year.

Kevin stated that he has not experienced harassment and intimidation . . . directed towards him as an individual (e.g., Kevin stated he has not received harassing phone calls or email messages), but there have been incidents where, because Kevin is Jewish, he felt discriminated against. Kevin stated that harassment, intimidation and discrimination have been directed towards the organizations to which he belongs and towards Jews in general.

Kevin stated that although he has not been harassed in person, his name has been mentioned in the school newspaper in a negative way. Kevin explained that he had been interviewed by an outside newspaper and made certain comments. The school newspaper took what Kevin said out of context to say that Jews on campus are whiny and should stop complaining . . .

Kevin . . . stated that there have been different speakers on campus who say Zionists are bad and Jews control the world from the outside. Additionally, students on campus speaking on behalf of their organizations

say the same types of things. Kevin added that it is not just the speakers saying things that are not true or are negative about Jews, but audience members cheering and clapping when the speakers say these things. . . .

. . . Kevin stated that he attended more than one of [redacted] talks. . . . The speaker's whole idea is that Jews control the United States and are responsible for everything. The speaker said that good Jews support the Arab cause and bad Jews don't. The speaker said that Jews have "chosen people-ness mixed with white supremacy." The speaker said that Israelis are responsible for 9-11 and that Jews control who the president is. . . . Kevin stated that [redacted] is a very charismatic speaker even though what he is saying is completely absurd. Students cheer him on and say, "Allah Akbar" (God is great) after he says offensive things about Jews. Kevin stated that about two thirds of the audience cheered when antisemitic statements were made. Kevin stated that administrators were present and he believes that [redacted] attended. [redacted] told Kevin that the University could not speak out against the speaker. Kevin wants the administration to say something that says to the community that the University does not agree with what [redacted] says. The University has refused to do so, but has given no reason for its refusal. . . .

. . . People in his fraternity tell him that they are uncomfortable with him wearing symbols of Israel. Jewish students have expressed fear about being associated with Jewish student groups. . . .

Leila

*Telephone Interview Notes
[redacted] University Student
(Tel) [redacted]
January 19, 2005 4:00 p.m.
Docket Number 09-05-2013*

The witness [Leila] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted]. EOS [redacted] also participated in the] interview. . . .

Leila is a 3rd-year student at the University. She enrolled in the fall of 2002. . . .

Leila stated that she has experienced harassment and intimidation based on race/national origin. During her freshman year, she saw posters on campus equating the Star of David with a swastika. The Moslem Student Union (MSU) and the Society for Arab Students (SAS) also conducted a Zionist Awareness Week and brought in speakers who were anti-Israel. Leila also recalls that last spring (2004) there was a situation in which Arab/Moslem students wanted to attend graduation wearing a green sash with the words of the Shahada. This was scary to Leila because all year

long, speakers at Moslem/Arab events had expressed hate towards Israel. Leila also stated that she had felt intimidated/harassed by the mock checkpoint that was set up in spring 2004. . . .

Marc

*Telephone Interview Notes
[redacted] University Student
(Tel) [redacted]
January 7, 2005 9:30 a.m.
Docket Number 09-05-2013*

The witness [Marc] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted]. EOS [redacted] also participated in the interview. . . .

Marc is a 5th-year student at the University. He enrolled in 2000 as a graduate student.

He attends Hillel events and participates in other Jewish student events but is not a registered member of any student group.

Marc has not personally been subjected to discrimination nor has he personally witnessed discrimination, but others have shared their experiences with him.

He recalled seeing a “bad environment” beginning in 2002. He recalled that the main issue was the “Jenin problem.” Arab students were very emotionally charged about events there and wanted to do something about it. The Arab students acted aggressively against this operation and they did not know how to handle their response to it. They targeted Jewish students. In May 2002, one Jewish student [redacted] was threatened by an Arab student. . . .

The University administration held meetings with new student leaders in 2004. . . .

Examples that were raised with the administrators at this meeting included:

- A Jewish student said that a stone had been thrown at him.*
- A Jewish student was followed by Arab students.*
- A student complained that any time he walked by the Arab students’ table, they would say, “That’s a Jew!”*
- A student said that some Arab students, at cultural events, would say “Where are the Jews?” . . .*

Marc has attended . . . events, such as one in February 2004 where the speaker referred to Jews and Zionists as a “cancer.” . . .

*Nadav**Telephone Interview Notes*

[redacted] *University Student* [redacted]

December 16, 2004 11:00 a.m.

Docket Number 09-05-2013

The witness [Nadav] was interviewed by case attorney [redacted]. EOS [redacted] also participated in the interview. . . .

Nadav entered the University in September 2002. He is [redacted] of the Jewish fraternity Alpha Epsilon Pi, and is a member of two student groups: Anteaters for Israel and Hillel.

Nadav has complained to University administrators about the types of incidents that are the subject of this complaint. . . .

*Olga**Telephone Interview Notes*

[redacted] *Former University Student*

December 2, 2004 11:00 a.m.

Docket Number 09-05-2013

The witness [Olga] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted]. . . .

Olga began attending the University in the fall of 2000, graduated in March 2004 and shortly thereafter began graduate school. However, she lived in Irvine until May 2004. She was active in Hillel and [redacted] Epsilon Phi. . . .

OCR asked Olga whether, while she was a student at the University, she was subjected to discrimination, harassment or intimidation on the basis of her race or national origin. Olga stated that she feels as though Judaism put her into an uncomfortable situation with Muslim students. Olga stated that when there was an anti-Israel incident, it affected all Jewish students even if the students did not take a political position on Israel. Olga stated that she is not a Zionist activist. However, she felt that all Jews were being classified as Zionists. . . .

Every year in the spring, Jewish students organize a Holocaust Memorial Week. During Holocaust Memorial Week in the spring of 2003, Olga participated in a candlelight vigil on the Student Center terrace. After the event, Olga was cleaning up the area and found a swastika on one of the tables. . . .

Olga stated that when she started college, she was not politically involved. Over time, she felt that she was lumped into a category of being

Jewish and being Zionist or pro-Israel. Olga stated that she felt fear about what she could do religiously. . . .

Olga stated that the environment on campus was very hostile. Olga stated that she was glad that she was not around for graduation because she would not have wanted to see students walking by her with the shahada sashes. While she was a student, she eventually began to feel uncomfortable participating in events on campus. Olga stated that a large number of Jewish students including most of the members of the Hillel Board stopped wearing outward signs of being a Jew. They stopped wearing Stars of David. Hillel stopped having social events and just focused on having religious events. Jewish students were afraid to have widely advertised events. Jewish students altered the paths they took because they did not want to walk on the Ring Road while the sign was posted. . . .

. . . Olga stated that she never felt that she was in danger, but she felt intimidated. She stated that there was never a specific physical threat to her because the administration made clear that if there were a physical threat, that would cross the line and the administration would take action.

OCR asked Olga if she knew of any students who were physically threatened. Olga stated that she knew of one, but that she did not want to give OCR specific facts about the incident because she does not know exactly what happened. Olga stated that she also knows somebody who was followed to a meeting by a member of the MSU and was very upset by that incident. . . .

The witness reiterated that she would try to get hold of other students who would be willing to speak to OCR. . . . The complainant [Tuchman] stated that she believes Jewish student leaders who have links to the administration may feel uncomfortable speaking with OCR.

Paul

Telephone Interview Notes

[redacted] University Student

(Tel) [redacted]

November 29, 2004 10:30 a.m.

Docket Number 09-05-2013

The witness [Paul] was interviewed by case attorney, [redacted]. . . . Paul began attending the University in the fall of 2002. . . . Paul stated that no one event created the problem, but rather it was an atmosphere of non-action on the part of the University.

. . . The students asked the administrators to come out with a statement to the effect that while freedom of speech was welcome on the University campus, it came with responsibility. The University refused to grant their

request. OCR asked Paul if the students ever made their complaints in writing. Paul and other Jewish students sent e-mails to the administrators on this issue on a regular basis. . . .

Paul stated that the University's lack of response made it clear that the administration was not willing to support Jewish students. . . .

POSTSCRIPT

While many of these incidents are now several years old, the issue of antisemitism persists on the Irvine campus. In May 2010, as this article was being completed, a few dozen Irvine faculty members issued a public letter decrying this continuing problem:

We, faculty at the University of California-Irvine, are deeply disturbed about activities on campus that foment hatred against Jews and Israelis. The troubling events over the past few years include the painting of swastikas in university buildings, the Star of David depicted as akin to a swastika, a statement (by a speaker repeatedly invited by the Muslim Student Union) that the Zionist Jew is a party of satan, a statement by another MSU speaker that the Holocaust was God's will, the tearing down of posters placed by the student group Anteaters for Israel, and the hacking of their Web site. Some community members, students, and faculty indeed feel intimidated, and at times even unsafe.²¹

At the same time, over a dozen major Jewish organizations have recently joined together to urge the Obama administration to change its apparent current policy of non-enforcement in antisemitism cases.²² Unless the Obama administration returns the OCR to its prior policy of investigating campus antisemitism under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it is likely that claims like those made by Irvine's Jewish students will continue to be ignored by the federal government.²³

21. Marlon Boarnet, et al., Letter, "Some community members, students, and faculty indeed feel intimidated, and at times even unsafe," Orange County Independent Task Force on Antisemitism (blog), <http://octaskforce.wordpress.com/2010/05/10/some-community-members-students-and-faculty-indeed-feel-intimidated-and-at-times-even-unsafe/#more-2126>.

22. Josh Nathan-Kazis, Can the U.S. Government Officially Protect Jewish Students?, *Ha'aretz* (April 19, 2010), <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/news/can-the-u-s-government-officially-protect-jewish-students-1.284534>. Correspondence from these organizations to the U.S. Department of Education can be found at http://jewishresearch.org/Letter_Education.htm.

23. A full discussion of this issue is provided in Marcus, *supra*, *Jewish Identity and Civil Rights in America*, note 4.

German Ideology: Understanding Ahasver, Mammon, and Moloch

Clemens Heni*

In this paper, three influential antisemitic legends are analyzed: Ahasver, known as the eternal Jew, Moloch, the Jewish god who calls for non-Jewish children to be killed in order to make matzah, and Mammon, who ties Jews to capitalism.

Key Words: Antisemitism, Fantasy, Jews, Politics

PROLOGUE

As early as twenty years ago, Henryk M. Broder, one of the most prominent German journalists and authors, characterized the ways German society deals with antisemitism as follows:¹

There were and are three ways in which one may deal with the phenomenon of antisemitism in the Federal Republic: in a scientific way, in a historicizing way and in a defensive way. In the first case, one has to collect data, as if the issue at hand were drunk driving or working-class children at secondary schools. But one must make sure not to draw conclusions from the data. In the second case, it is recommended to select topics such as “Antisemitism in the late Tsarist period” or “Christians and Jews in the time of the first crusade,” which are surely important subjects, but whose greatest virtue is, of course, that everybody involved has been dead for a long time and one need not reckon with angry responses. Finally, in the third case, it is advisable to declare antisemitism a marginal phenomenon accompanying the otherwise fruitful German-Jewish symbiosis, to describe the Third Reich as a kind of natural catastrophe or accident, and to rehabilitate figures of contemporary history with a repu-

1. “Footnotes. Little has been written to date about the role of footnotes in science and the literature. It is certain, however, that they are a reserve in which subjectivity can run riot unpunished. [. . .] They are often a system of secret references and inform us in this way about preferences and dislikes which are allegedly irrelevant. Authors also reveal to us in their footnotes how their texts are supposed to relate to current events” (*Redaktion 17oC* [1996]: Fussnoten, in *17oC. Zeitschrift für den Rest*, Vol. 13 [November/December/January 1996/97]: 95).

In the following footnotes, where two dates are given, the date after the author gives the first publication date or the year a piece was written, while the second, after the publisher, gives the year I am quoting from.

tation of being antisemitic and to prove that they have been misunderstood. If indeed all three conditions are fulfilled, then the work will be considered high-level and will enjoy public funding.²

INTRODUCTION

I consider this paper as part of a theoretical approach to the study of antisemitism. It examines the anti-Jewish images of Ahasver, Mammon, and Moloch and contributes to research on antisemitism, or to criticism of antisemitism, a criticism involving both ideology and the level of political economy. This is in contrast to many a dictum of desiring specifically “not to point out literary antisemitism” when dealing with Ahasver.³ Analysis of antisemitism must include an examination of the society or context that made it possible to think up and write down precisely a legend about Jews. For this reason, this paper attempts to examine analogously three of the most important anti-Jewish images, which are intertwined with one another: Ahasver, Moloch, and Mammon. In doing so, it goes without saying that the historical point of departure for studying antisemitism is not to be regarded in isolation, but in its relationship to the contemporary manifestation of such images. In addition, it is imperative to inquire about specifically German patterns of this anti-Jewish triad.

PRELIMINARIES: THE GERMAN SPECIFICITY AND ANTISEMITISM

Before explaining in detail the three images of Ahasver, Mammon, and Moloch, I want to first focus briefly on some German specifics. Three U.S. scholars may help me in pointing this out. First, I focus on the historian, philosopher, poet, and Pulitzer Prize-winner Peter Viereck (1916-2006). In 1941 he finished his famous PhD dissertation at Harvard University, shortly

2. Henryk M. Broder, *Der Ewige Antisemit. Über Sinn und Funktion eines beständigen Gefühls* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1986): 209.

3. Mona Körte, *Die Uneinholbarkeit des Verfolgten. Der Ewige Jude in der literarischen Phantastik* (Frankfurt/Main/New York: Campus, 2000). Körte is affiliated with the Berlin Center for Research on Antisemitism. The section “Der Ewige Jude” seems similarly depoliticizing; see Stefan Rohrbacher and Michael Schmidt, *Judenbilder. Kulturgeschichte antijüdischer Mythen und antisemitischer Vorurteile, Reinbek bei Hamburg* (rororo, 1991): 246-252. Committed to immanence of the work, Hans Otto Horch plays down antisemitism, explicitly separating literary analysis from a political analysis critical of ideology; see Hans Otto Horch (1985), *Judenbilder in der realistischen Erzählliteratur. Jüdische Figuren bei Gustav Freytag, Fritz Reuter, Berthold Auerbach und Wilhelm Raabe*, in *Juden und Judentum in der Literatur*, ed. Herbert A. Strauss and Christhard Hoffmann, 1985 (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag): 171.

after the start of World War II; he later served as psychological advisor to the U.S. Army. Viereck's dissertation, entitled *Metapolitics: From Wagner and the German Romantics to Hitler*,⁴ attempted to define why Germany is a special case that has to be distinguished from other European and Western countries. Even though Viereck completed his work in 1941, before he knew about the Holocaust, his contribution is important in understanding German antisemitism. He distinguishes five developments ("revolts") that make Germany a specific case:

1. The "German" revolt against Rome and the "universal legalism of the Roman Empire and the universal absolutes of Christianity." Even though Viereck clearly has pride in Christianity, he nevertheless points to an important point: Germans, or Hermann the Cheruscan (Arminius), fought the Romans at the battle of Teutoburg Forest in AD 9. This is indeed an important event in German nationalism even in the contemporary context, and, even more significant, it was an important topic in the rise of National Socialism. A more detailed analysis could also look at Jewish roots of universal rights and law, going beyond Viereck's pro-Christian perspective. Paganism was an important element of the early anti-universalist and cultural-relativist German attempt to reject Roman universalism. On the other hand, Roman universalism is an important aspect of the American Revolution and constitution, e.g., the famous "Novus Ordo Saeclorum," to which I referred in my PhD dissertation in 2006.⁵ The anti-Roman German ideology can be seen in Heinrich von Kleist's drama *Hermanns-schlacht* (The Battle of Hermann) of 1808. Among other elements, the black flag of the Germans in that battle is important, as it indicates the "total will" to destroy, not just to defeat.⁶ The late 19th-century movement "Los von Rom" (away from Rome) around Austrian agitator Georg von Schönerer claimed: "Ohne Juda, ohne

4. Peter Viereck, *Metapolitics: From Wagner and the German Romantics to Hitler*. Expanded edition, with a new introduction by the author (New Brunswick/London: Transaction Publishers, 2004).

5. Clemens Heni, *Salonfähigkeit der Neuen Rechten. "Nationale Identität," Antisemitismus und Antiamerikanismus in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Henning Eichberg als Exempel* (Marburg: Tectum Verlag, 2007); PhD dissertation, University of Innsbruck, Department of Political Science, 2006. For "Novus Ordo Saeclorum" and its impact on the American Revolution and Constitution, see my arguments, which are based on Hannah Arendt's *On Revolution*, Heni 2007: 332-334.

6. This is the argument of political scientist Andreas Dörner; see Heni 2007: 325-327.

Rom bauen wir Germaniens Dom” (Without the Jews, without Rome, we build Germany’s cathedral).⁷

2. The second revolt Viereck assesses is the medieval Saxons, who reject Christianity. Instead, they fought “for their god Wotan against Charlemagne [. . .].”⁸
3. The third German revolt is related insofar as Luther and the Reformation in the 16th century rejected as well (Catholic) universalism and Rome in order to establish a “German” way of Protestant Christianity. Furthermore, we can see a specific German situation in terms of creating three different ways of anti-Jewish thinking. First is the Pagan Revolt against monotheism, which is an important aspect of right-wing extremism, especially the “New Right,” the topic of my PhD. The neo-pagan resentment against monotheism and the cultural relativist plea for “a god for every people” rejects Christianity; it is seen by pagan anti-monotheist ideology as another form of Judaism (on another level). Viereck was already pointing to these tendencies, even though he might have been too optimistic about Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular. The two other religious elements in Germany are of course Luther and Protestantism, and Catholicism. No other major European country has three big and influential religious elements of antisemitism. Italy, France, Spain, and Poland are all Catholic. Britain has a tradition of Protestant, but Germany has both. In addition, National Socialism was supportive of (neo)paganism. This complex religious situation in Germany since the 16th century must be taken seriously in its specifics.
4. The fourth German “revolt against the Roman Empire’s Western heritage” was directed against France. From the late 18th century until the late 19th century, from “Sturm und Drang” until the neo-romantics, a specific German way of denouncing Western values and principles developed.
5. Finally, as Viereck notes, “Nazism, the fifth revolt, the most radical break ever made with western civilization, would annihilate our liberties, our very bodies and our most basic ethics.”⁹ Viereck’s outlook of 1941, however, which held that “Germany’s

7. For some remarks and literature dealing with the topic of anti-Roman German thinking, including the Thomas Mann of the First World War, see Heni 2007: 328; see also Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985).

8. Viereck 2004: 12.

9. Viereck 2004: 14.

ceaseless cultural pendulum will swing back to its Western pole,” was not correct. Even in 1941, the Germans were killing the Jews in the Holocaust.

I turn now to my second reference, dealing with the German specific: This is Daniel Jonah Goldhagen’s *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*.¹⁰ Goldhagen argues that a specific type of German antisemitism evolved as the result of a unique political culture. Focusing on the antisemitic motivations of German perpetrators and killers during the Holocaust, he refers to the “Polizeibataillone” (police battalions), “Jewish” work in the concentration camp, and the “death marches.” Elsewhere I have written about the specific arguments of Goldhagen and the Goldhagen debate, and in relation to the attempt of philosophers Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno and their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* of 1947. This debate aimed at shedding some light on both bourgeois society in its unspecificity and on Germany and its specific development, first until 1933 and then until 1945.¹¹

One quote of Goldhagen’s work here is important for understanding. In it, he explains that the specific German understanding of “the Jew” is in its core different from other anti-Jewish constructs like that in France in the late 19th century (the Dreyfus affair), or in Russia at the 1880s, at the start of the pogroms: “The underlying German cultural model of ‘the Jew’ (*der Jude*) was composed of three notions: that the Jew was different from the German, that he was a binary opposite of the German, and that he was not just benignly different but malevolent and corrosive. Whether conceived of as religion, nation, political group, or race, the Jew was always a *Fremdkörper*, an alien body within Germany.”¹² The ensuing Goldhagen debate was a significant step forward in increasing the awareness of antisemitism as the core of National Socialism and the Shoah.

The third contribution I would like to refer to is that made by historian Paul Lawrence Rose. Rose wrote several books on German history, of

10. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996). In Germany, the title was translated incorrectly, saying “Hitler’s willige Vollstrecker”; “Vollstrecker” means executor, not executioner.

11. This is a chapter entitled “Wie deutsch ist abendländische Vergesellschaftung? Die Analyse der ‘ordinary Germans’ von Daniel J. Goldhagen und die ‘Elemente des Antisemitismus’ von Max Horkheimer und Theodor W. Adorno im Vergleich” in my new book, *Antisemitismus und Deutschland. Vorstudien zur Ideologiekritik einer innigen Beziehung* [Antisemitism and Germany. Preliminary Studies of a “heartfelt” relationship] (Morrisville, NC, Lulu Publishing, 2009): 47-105, available as hard copy and online at <http://www.lulu.com/content/paperback-book/antisemitismus-und-deutschland/6473190>.

12. Goldhagen 1996: 55.

which the most important for this paper is *German Question/Jewish Question: Revolutionary Antisemitism from Kant to Wagner*, first published in 1990.¹³ I shall focus on some of Rose's important questions, which help in the understanding of the phenomenon of German history and antisemitism. He shows that, especially from the 19th century until Hitler and National Socialism, a type of "revolutionary" antisemitism developed in Germany's political culture:

The historical problem, however, is why it was that German antisemitism, rather than that of any other society, produced the movement and the means for physically implementing the "destructionist" mentality. We cannot say just it was an accident that German and not, say, Polish or French antisemitism brought about the Holocaust and shrug off further discussion. For a fire to burn, there must be tinder and fuel. Only if an entire culture were permeated—not always malevolently—with antisemitic sensibility could it allow itself to initiate and participate in such a process as the Holocaust. I tried in this book to delineate a peculiarly German corruption of the whole spectrum of intellectual and political culture—even of "pro-Jewish" opinion—by a habit of thinking and feeling that was profoundly anti-Jewish. [. . .] To regard German antisemitism as just one of many antisemitisms and disconnect it in any substantial way from the explanation of the Holocaust is to fall into a most serious historical error."¹⁴

Rose highlights an often neglected point. I want to contribute with this paper, to some extent, to the discussion about the specific German version of modern antisemitism, without neglecting general and almost universal elements of antisemitism in the contemporary context.

Making a connection between the German case and other aspects of antisemitism, Viereck helps us understand what is taking place. In his new introduction to *Metapolitics* in 2003, more than 60 years after the first edition, he adds some paragraphs dealing with Muslim antisemitism. Viereck's perspective on current trends in new antisemitism is interesting. He clearly sees the danger of political Islam, even though he reduces the problem somehow as "just" an import from Germany. For example, he writes that "Sati al-Husri, father of pan-Arabism in the 1920s, was a devoted Fichte scholar. So was Sami al-Jundi, a founder of the Baath."¹⁵ Genocidal antisemitism cannot be appeased, and Viereck, like Goldhagen (whom he

13. Paul Lawrence Rose (1990), *German Question/Jewish Question: Revolutionary Antisemitism from Kant to Wagner* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

14. Rose 1992: 384-385.

15. Viereck 2004: xxiii.

obviously does not like¹⁶) decades later, was well aware of the specificity of German Jew-hatred, which went beyond all known boundaries in the history of racism and exploitation (like imperialism and colonialism). As Viereck explains:

After all, antisemitism was not profitable. This misses the point of Nazi Metapolitics: that it used up its transports for its death camps even when other use of transport would have been of greater economic and military use, just as working the persecuted minorities would have been more profitable than murdering them. [. . .] I wrote my book because I found most Americans blind to Hitlerism as a new religion, an evil Wagnerian dream. Not an economic utilitarianism that could be appeased, bought off.¹⁷

There is a need to try to understand that National Socialists and Germans killed the Jews because they wanted to kill the Jews. There was no other aim or purpose in the Holocaust.

Without comparing Nazi Germany completely with Islamism, we must focus on the special threat that derives from political Islam (and theological implications of Islam itself) and also relates to National Socialism and European antisemitism. This threat should and must also be the topic of further studies.¹⁸

Today there is a need to understand radical Muslim prayers, comments, and resolutions, as Dr. Mordechai Kedar explained at a public lecture at the Yale Institute Initiative for Interdisciplinary Studies in Antisemitism.¹⁹ From his assessment of the new antisemitism, Benny Morris believes that it is important to understand the specific threat deriving from political Islam, one that is contrary to typical political conflicts in Europe.²⁰ We have to learn to understand the language of (political) Islam, which differs harshly from Western civilization. If the West did learn some-

16. Cf. Viereck 2004: xxiv.

17. Viereck 2004: xxxiv.

18. "I argue that the bottom line for a pluri-cultural—not a multicultural—platform is the unequivocal and binding acceptance of the core European values of secular democracy, individual rights of men and women, secular tolerance and civil society. In my understanding this is the basis for Euro-Islam, and contrasting options of ghetto-Islam or fundamentalist Islam are anti-European" (Bassam Tibi, *Political Islam, World Politics and Europe: Democratic Peace and Euro-Islam versus Global Jihad* [London/New York: Routledge, 2008]: 215).

19. Lecture given by Dr. Mordechai Kedar at the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism (YIISA) on February 4, 2009.

20. Lecture and discussion with Prof. Benny Morris at YIISA's Second Annual William Prusoff Honorary Lecture, Yale University, February 3, 2009.

thing from the Holocaust, National Socialism, and its antisemitism, it will lead us to focus on this new, different, but also genocidal threat, aimed especially at Jews and the state of Israel.

I will now begin with Ahasver in analyzing the more general aspects of German history and of antisemitism in more detail.

AHASVER

In a Danzig chapbook of 1602, the Jew Ahasver was depicted as a Jerusalem shoemaker and the villain who, according to the Christian anti-Jewish idea, did not permit poor Jesus, carrying the cross on his back, to rest on his way to Golgotha. For this reason, the Jewish shoemaker was cursed and sent away to wander the world forever. Although this legend had existed since the 13th century,²¹ even if under another name, I would like to ask even at this point whether one can make out a German specificity in the appellation “*ewiger Jude*” (“eternal Jew”), which had soon become notorious. Adolf Leschnitzer notes that whereas in most European countries the legend of the wandering Jew—the Wandering Jew, *le juif errant*, *Juan Espera en Dios*, *Ebreo errante*—is traditional and well known, it was recoded early—in 1694—in German-speaking lands as the saga of the “eternal Jew.”²² The attribute “eternal” cries out for redemption: for Christianity, it embodies the refusal on the part of Jewish people to accept the coming of Jesus as the son of God. This type of “redemption” leads to the demise of Judaism. The word “eternal” carries the anti-Jewish accusation of “Jewish stubbornness,” which was handed down, particularly in German-speaking countries; in France, Spain, and England, it was “only” about the wandering Jew—in any case not about the “eternal” Jew. Since the late 19th century, however, blood and “race” have also been termed “eternal,” both of them key to volkish thinking and modern antisemitism. Even the chapbook of 1602, which created the legend of Ahasver, has its specifically German background, Leschnitzer notes in 1962, “given that just a short time before, the Jews’ ‘stubbornness’ had become apparent anew because of their refusal to join the Reformation and had stirred up Luther’s anger.”²³

In addition, concern with Jews can be interpreted as a concrete expres-

21. On the history of the Wandering Jew, see the standard work: George K. Anderson (1965), *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1970).

22. Adolf Leschnitzer, *Der Gestaltwandel Ahasvers*, in *In zwei Welten. Siegfried Moses zum Fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Tramer, 1962 (Tel Aviv: Bitáon): 473. “The term ‘ewige Jude’ appears for the first time in 1694 and is used more and more often in the following decades.”

23. *Ibid.*: 480.

sion of a literary projection of actual conditions in the Hamburg of those times, when many Portuguese were “exposed as or revealed themselves to be”²⁴ Jews. And it is specific to Germany that in the 16th century, the Reformation reactivated old Christian dreams especially in a German framework, as Adolf Leschnitzer analyzes—and not, or to a lesser extent, in the contexts of Calvinism or other Protestant streams, e.g., in Switzerland, Holland, or England²⁵: “The Jew Ahasverus embodied an age-old Christian dream that Protestant theology, above all Luther himself, had passionately conjured up and brought to life again: the image of the damned and rueful Jew, who had once sinned against the Redeemer and who now meekly confessed his guilt.”²⁶

These images have a significant impact over the centuries; indeed, we can recognize them as the *longue durée* of anti-Judaism developing toward antisemitism.²⁷ The following episode from the principality of Waldeck from the early 19th century, as related by Volker Berbüsse, vividly illustrates on another level a German specificity of a hallucination of the “wandering/eternal Jew,” to be examined in more detail in further studies:

Making the figure of Ahasver “real” in the economic realm went along with making “eternal” a category of time in the sense of the obviously continuing obligation to be mobile. In 1815, according to Berbüsse, the magistrate of the City of Korbach in Waldeck refused to grant the wealthy Jewish import-export trader Salomon Simon who lived there citizen’s rights, the reason being, among others, that he had been roaming

24. *Ibid.*: 481.

25. John Weiss (1996), *Der lange Weg zum Holocaust. Die Geschichte der Judenfeindschaft in Deutschland und Österreich* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1998): 46-52. Weiss published his book in the United States in 1996 with the very fitting and telling title *Ideology of Death: Why the Holocaust Happened in Germany*. The altered title of the German edition provides food for thought. Even though (or, tragically, because) Goldhagen’s study—Goldhagen 1996—had been published the same spring (in the United States; in Germany in August), Weiss’s study, which at its core supports Goldhagen, and rounds out his thesis with important fragments from ideology-criticism and the history of ideas, unfortunately hardly found an audience.

26. Leschnitzer 1962: 482.

27. On the continuity of antisemitism, see Leon Poliakov (1955), *Geschichte des Antisemitismus. 8 Bände* (Worms: Heintz Verlag, 1977-1988); and Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (London: Methuen, 1991). An interesting materialist criticism of the anti-Jewish images “from the medieval passion play to the National Socialist film” is provided by Gerhard Scheit, *Verborgener Staat, lebendiges Geld. Zur Dramaturgie des Antisemitismus* (Freiburg: ça ira, 1999).

the world for years. For example, he had recently been to Düsseldorf. That is why one could call him a “vagrant.”²⁸

Even though the “wandering Jew” is also called “the walking shoemaker” in Bavaria or “the running Jew” in Switzerland, Werner Zirus already emphasizes in 1930 that the “term ‘eternal Jew’ for the mysterious wayfarer” makes the “philosophical interpretation” more stimulating than “the more real names.”²⁹ Berbüsse speaks aptly of the linguistic connection “eternal Jew—real vagrant,” using the example of Waldeck.³⁰

With the image of the “eternal Jew,” the individual imputation of guilt that made the individual Jew into Judas Iscariot, the betrayer of Jesus, could be recoded to create collective guilt and collective punishment of all Jews. For instance, in the mid 19th century, Karl Gutzkow, still often considered a harmless liberal writer of the literary movement Young Germany (*Junges Deutschland*), said, “The Jews were not damned to wander the earth” because they had “committed a crime” against Christianity, but one “against humankind!”³¹

Rose summarizes these developments as follows: “A living, Wandering Jew was a far more pregnant emblem of enduring Jewish wickedness than a dead Judas Iscariot. [. . .] (In this book I translate *Ewiger Jude*, following English usage, as ‘Wandering Jew,’ but the German emphasis on his unredeemed eternity of life has always to be kept in mind).”³²

Between 1806 and 1808, Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano recorded old German songs, titling their collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (The Youth’s Magic Horn). Ahasver can be clearly recognized in all of the collection’s anti-Jewish diction.³³

In 1811, decades before Chamberlain’s antisemitic theories of race, von Arnim already formulated in his text “Versöhnung in der Sommerfrische” that the Jews were bound to their Jewish “nature” “like a snail to

28. Volker Berbüsse (1987), “Darum muss er ewig seinen Packen tragen.” Die waldeckische Version der Sage vom “ewigen Juden.” In *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (83): 227.

29. Werner Zirus (1930), *Ahasverus. Der Ewige Jude* (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter): 2.

30. Berbüsse 1987: 227.

31. Karl Gutzkow (1838): *Julius Mosens Ahasver und Noch einmal Ahasver*, quoted in Körte 2000: 42.

32. Rose 1992: 24f.

33. For example, the shoemaker is imagined not only as the enemy of Christ, but also as rich—Mammon meets Ahasver; see <http://www.musicanet.org/robokopp/Lieder/christdh.html> (accessed August 2, 2010).

the burden of its shell,” because: “He will always remain a Jew.”³⁴ Entirely consistent with this, Arnim and Brentano have Ahasver appear as the “eternal Jew” in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. And finally, it was von Arnim’s speech before the “Christlich-deutsche Tischgesellschaft” (Christian-German dining society) in the spring of 1811—“On the Features of Jewry”—that has been characterized as “the nastiest antisemitic text of German Romanticism,” as historian Susanna Mossmann records. A glance at this inflammatory work makes the German line of continuity to Julius Streicher’s tirades of hate clear.³⁵ In “Versöhnung in der Sommerfrische,” Arnim works through the old Christian commandment to baptize in an apparently typically German way: he has a mariner take in a shipwrecked Jew and baptize him, only to throw him back into the open sea, as German Studies scholar and publicist Gerhard Scheit reports: “This is obviously the quintessence of the salvation of Jewry, as Arnim understands it—it is balanced in the center between old and modern hatred of Jews and leaves hardly a doubt about the internal connection between the two.”³⁶

In baptizing, the Christian mariner has done his duty to liberate the world from un-Christened Jews so that his Lord may return. The fact that this Christian seafarer then committed murder is completely irrelevant, for, from his Christian perspective, “the Jew” counts only as a factor for his own redemption as a Christian; as a human being, a Jew has no rights. And the Jew did not become a different person by being baptized, either; that is the racist tone of this story. The “eternal Jew” must perish, according to the antisemitic ideology. The principality of Waldeck may serve as an example. An article devoted to the “eternal Jew” had been written there in 1787. It tells the historic story about Jesus’s cross and the shoemaker in a specifically Protestant version. More interesting, however, is the ways in which the material has been handed down from generation to generation; accord-

34. Achim von Arnim (1812), “Die Versöhnung in der Sommerfrische,” quoted in Susanna Mossmann (1994), *Das Fremde ausscheiden. Antisemitismus und Nationalbewusstsein bei Ludwig Achim von Arnim und in der “Christlich-deutschen Tischgesellschaft.”* In *Machtphantasie Deutschland. Nationalismus, Männlichkeit und Fremdenhass im Vaterlandsdiskurs deutscher Schriftsteller des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hans Peter Herrmann, Hans-Martin Blitz, and Susanna Mossmann (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch, 1994): 139.

35. It is precisely the “debonair and salacious tone of the speech with its references to Aristophanes and Eulenspiegel” (Mossmann 1994:152) that shows how aggressive Arnim’s thinking is. He ponders whether it might be worthwhile to pulverize Jews in order to ascertain how their bodies react; see Achim von Arnim (1811), *Über die Kennzeichen des Judentums*, in Achim von Arnim (1992): *Werke in sechs Bänden* (Frankfurt/Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, Vol. 6): 362-387.

36. Gerhard Scheit (1999), *Verborgener Staat, lebendiges Geld: Zur Dramaturgie des Antsemitismus* (Freiberg: ça ira): 259.

ing to Berbüsse. “The legend was not dismissed as a ‘fable,’ but reinterpreted in an economic context because of the experiences that the Christians of Waldeck had putatively had with ‘the Jews.’”³⁷ Thus, the two following versions of the antisemitic legend are typical: “The eternal Jew cheated once, therefore, he must carry his burden forever. He once rested in [the village of] Wrexen and was seen there.”

And: “The eternal Jew that you’ve all surely heard of, he passes through at night, wailing and wailing all the time. That is because,—he used to cheat a lot of poor people and broke the Sabbath, he couldn’t get enough. And now, he has to fly through the air eternally because of that, all night long.”

Berbüsse interprets these two texts as follows:

The first version was written down in 1860 by local Waldeck historian Ludwig Curtze, the second was recorded on tape in 1956 and published by Gustav Grüner. Both occurrences have something astounding in common: There is no recourse to the happenings around Jesus’s death on the cross, and the Jew of the Waldeck legend does not become an eternal Jew because of his transgressions, he is one even before doing evil.”³⁸

Rose, in turn, makes it clear that this transformation—Berbüsse speaks of reinterpretation—of the image of Ahasver was carried out as early as the 1830s. Accordingly, Ahasver’s refusal to grant Jesus a reprieve was transposed into a character trait of egoism: “The Jews had formerly resisted Christ; now they resisted love and humanity. But at the root of this formal shift was the anthropological fear of “the other” that refuses to be absorbed into the organic whole.”³⁹ In this explanation, Rose conceptualizes “the other” especially as the “specifically Jewish,” as his title shows: *German Question/Jewish Question*.

Composer Richard Wagner⁴⁰ revived Ahasver in *Jewishness in Music* (1850) in just as Christian-German a manner as did von Arnim—and, what is more, in redeeming humanity: “But, remember that there is only one real form of deliverance from the curse which besets you—that of Ahasverus—the ‘Untergang’!”⁴¹

37. Berbüsse 1987: 226.

38. Ibid.: 224f.

39. Rose 1990: 28.

40. Every year, without fail, the Bayreuth Festival has continued to be an event where the political and societal establishment gathers.

41. Richard Wagner (1850), *Judaism in Music [Das Judentum in der Musik]. Being The Original Essay together with the later Supplement*. Translated from the German and furnished with explanatory notes and introduction by Edwin Evans,

In his 1844 work *On the Jewish Question*,⁴² Karl Marx saw emancipation to true humanity appear in the demise of Judaism.⁴³ Marx criticized Bruno Bauer, who had written an anti-Jewish essay on the “Jewish Question” shortly before that. Marx wanted to plead for political rights for Jews, but this did not go without contradictions, as he saw (as did many radicals of his time) Jews as responsible for capitalism. He wrote:

Let us look at the actual, secular Jew of our time . . . the Jew of everyday life. What is the Jew’s foundation in our world? Material necessity, private advantage. What is the object of the Jew’s worship in this world? Usury/Huckstering. What is his worldly god? Money. Very well then; emancipation from usury/huckstering and money, that is, from practical, real Judaism, would constitute the emancipation of our time.⁴⁴

As did, for example, many socialists and Marxists thereafter, including during state socialism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War, Marx rejected the idea of accepting Jews as Jews: “The social emancipation of Jewry is the emancipation of society from Jewry/Judaism.”⁴⁵

Even though the anti-Jewish impact of this text has been well dis-

Senior, F.R.C.O. (London: William Reeves, 1950): 49-50; cf. als Scheit 1999: 26, and the 1869 edition, now under Wagner’s real name in Wagner 1950 and <http://mydocs.strands.de/MyDocs/05845/05845.pdf> (accessed August 2, 2010), after the first edition had been published under a pseudonym, and as an antisemitic test case, as Gerhard Scheit analyzes aptly in Scheit 1999: 273f. Constantin Frantz, too, stated in his work “Ahasverus oder die Judenfrage” in 1844 that “Jews always remain Jews” and “Jews have always been wandering,” for “They themselves are Ahasverus who is not granted peace, not even the peace of the grave, because they cannot die” (cf. Rose 1992: 38). Eugen Dühring used similar words in 1881: “The Jews remain collectively a single Wandering Jew” (quoted in Rose 1992: 39).

42. Karl Marx (1844), Zur Judenfrage, in *Marx-Engels-Werke (MEW)*, Vol. 1 (Berlin [East]: Dietz Verlag, 1956): 347-377.

43. See Julius Carlebach (1978), *Karl Marx and the Radical Critique of Judaism* (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul). This book is dedicated “To my parents Chief Rabbi Dr. Joseph Zvi Carlebach and Charlotte Carlebach, née Preuss. They lived as Jews . . . loved Judaism . . . and died because they were Jews . . . in a concentration camp outside Riga, 26 March 1942—8 Nissan 5702.”

44. Quoted by Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths: A Historical and Contemporary Anthology* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008): 79.

45. Perry and Schweitzer 2008: 82.

cussed at least since 1949,⁴⁶ some scholars still do not even mention that Marx wrote an antisemitic article.⁴⁷ Historian Robert Wistrich, however, pointed out the problematic aspect of Marx's essay:

Marx undermined his own defense of Jewish civil rights in bourgeois society. At the heart of the "Jewish question" Marx perceived the contradiction between political and human emancipation, between man's existence as abstract citizen and egoistic bourgeois in civil society, and his species-essence as a social being. The road to full emancipation must lead back to man himself, not as an isolated individual but as an integrated human being who has overcome the separations he experiences in everyday life. The solution to the "Jewish question," which presaged Marx's imminent transition to Marxism, demanded the resolution of the contradiction between civil society and the political State. Since Marx identified Judaism as the worldly religion of money-worship that underlay the atomism of society, it was evident that human emancipation was impossible until it had been concretely *aufgehoben*, i.e., abolished. Thus on the one hand Marx supported Jewish emancipation as a demand fully consistent with the principles of bourgeois society, while on the other hand calling for its liquidation in the name of a higher social order. This dialectical paradigm that he bequeathed to the socialist movement encouraged an ambivalent stance toward the Jewish question open to antisemitic interpretation."⁴⁸

French philosopher Robert Misrahi comes to the same conclusion. In the early 1970s, he wrote on Marx and the "Jewish question," including an analysis of Christian German philosophy and of French antisemites of that time, like anarchist Pierre Joseph Proudhon.⁴⁹

Marx retracted his equating of "Jewish principle" and "egoism," "hag-gling" and money⁵⁰ years later—among other places, in *Capital*, Volume 1 (1867)—in his epistemological retraction of such Jew-hating reification.

46. See Edmund Silberner, Was Marx an Anti-Semite?, *Historica Judaica* 11 (April 1949).

47. Most recently, David M. Seymour wrote on Marx and the "Jewish Question" without discussing the long and interesting debate about the antisemitism in Marx's own work at that time (1844); see David M. Seymour, *Law, Antisemitism and the Holocaust* (Abingdon: Routledge-Cavendish, 2007): 1-12. Seymour consequently and intentionally plays down the antisemitism in Marx's early work.

48. Robert Wistrich, *Socialism and the Jews: The Dilemmas of Assimilation in Germany and Austria-Hungary* (Rutherford/Madison/Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982): 25-26.

49. "Ainsi donc, nous avons pu établir que l'article de Marx sur La Question Juive est un texte antisémite [. . .]" (Robert Misrahi, *Marx et la question juive* [Paris: Gallimard, 1972: 241]).

50. Marx 1844.

After all, Marx recognized, in his analysis of the value form and the fetish character of commodities, that the tables were turned on their heads and started to dance, that man is no longer the subject of history, but rather commodities and value. In later years, Marx did not go along with a projection or reduction of this dance to a group of people or a particular sphere of the process, the process of circulation, although labor and production do not lose their dignity⁵¹; his analysis no longer permitted this, but it is where both the other distorted images from the anti-Jewish arsenal unleash their effects: Moloch and Mammon.

MOLOCH AND MAMMON

Moloch is considered to be the god of human sacrifice, Mammon the god of money. Both are connoted as Jewish and traditionally had strongly pejorative characters. Moloch served not only as a sign of Jewish human sacrifice, as in 1840 in the *Damascus Blood Libel* and in a European philosophy of those years, which inspired one to see “Judaism as Molochism.”⁵² Later it also served as an expression of modern life, in particular of urban life.⁵³ Machines, too, were often called “Moloch” in a derogatory way, Moloch was cast pejoratively as a symbol of an anonymous, devouring power.⁵⁴ Today there are Internet sites that agitate explicitly against the autobahn as a “Moloch,”⁵⁵ and publicists stir readers up against the “Moloch USA”⁵⁶ in their books.

Analytically speaking, the following idea is important: Christians project their own obsession with blood precisely onto the religion of the Jews (necessary as the basis out of which Christianity could develop), which had

51. Cf. Jürgen Langenbach, *Selbstzerstörung als Vollendung des bürgerlichen Subjekts. Zur Identität von abstrakter Arbeit (Technik) und Faschismus* (Munich: Raben Verlag, 1982). According to Langenbach, Marx actually does follow in the wake of the ontology of labor in all his writings. Langenbach, on the other hand, underestimates the ideological power of antisemitism, nonetheless (and implicitly?) examining a German specificity of the work mania (right up to the National Socialist state), which correlates analytically with a critique of the anti-Jewish image of Mammonism.

52. Rose 1990: 251-262.

53. Jürgen Reulecke and Clemens Zimmermann, eds., *Die Stadt als Moloch? Das Land als Kraftquell? Wahrnehmungen und Wirkungen der Grossstädte um 1900* (Basel/Boston: Birkhäuser, 1999).

54. Stuart Chase (o.J), *Moloch Maschine. Die Kultur—u. Wirtschaftskrise d. Welt* (Stuttgart: Dieck, ca. 1930).

55. <http://www.moloch-autobahn.de> (accessed December 15, 2008).

56. Karlheinz Deschner, *Der Moloch. Eine kritische Geschichte der USA*, 10th rev. ed. (Munich: Heyne, 2002).

itself evolved in opposition to the cult of blood. This instance of projection is a typical element of antisemitism. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno write in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment*:

The Jews as a whole are charged with practicing forbidden magic and bloody rituals. Disguised as an accusation, the subliminal craving of the indigenous population to revert to mimetic sacrificial practices is joyously readmitted to their consciousness. Once the horror of the primeval age, sent packing by civilization, has been rehabilitated as a rational interest through projection onto the Jews, there is no holding back. It can be acted out in reality, and the evil that is acted out surpasses even the evil content of the projection. The popular nationalist fantasies of Jewish crimes, of infanticide and sadistic excess, of racial poisoning and international conspiracy, precisely define the antisemitic dream, and fall short of its realization.⁵⁷

This subject theory of critical theory—which is constituted in an orthodox psychoanalytical manner following Sigmund Freud, and which I would like to test here regarding the image of Moloch—demonstrates how problematic every form of research on antisemitism is that believes it has to concern itself with Jews’ behavior. Grotesquely misunderstanding antisemitism as racism and playing it down, so to speak, as prejudices or stereotypes against any random “Other”⁵⁸ underestimates the psychodynamics of the antisemitic subject. Analyses that purport to draw conclusions from the interactive behavior between Jews and non-Jews are not only mistaken, but occasionally even champion antisemitic figures of thought themselves, for example sociologist Bernd Estel, of the University of Tübingen, Germany:

But also regarding the Jews who had resided locally for a long time and were usually well-integrated, even their more frequent supranational business ties and their internal social cohesion had to arouse the suspicion of the nationalists; and this suspicion was nourished additionally by the fact that the Jews belonged disproportionately to the “Golden Interna-

57. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno (1947), *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002): 153. See also the discussion related to the lecture of Brigitte Sion at YIISA on December 4, 2008, on “blood,” “Christian projection,” and Horkheimer/Adorno, online at <http://www.yale.edu/yiisa/Sionoutline12408.pdf> (accessed February 26, 2009).

58. It would be important and interesting for research to have a look on the concept of “the other” and the specific Jewish dimension in it in the philosophy of Emanuel Levinas or Michael Walzer, for example.

tional,” perceived as un-German, on the one hand, and the “Red International” on the other.⁵⁹

In spite of the insights of critical social science, this assumption, based on the correspondence theory of truth, suggests that a certain type of behavior or the mere existence of Jews could lead to antisemitism. The antisemite, however, does not need to experience Jews himself.⁶⁰ Estel’s article was published by the Berlin Center for Research on Antisemitism (ZfA) without comment from editors Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb.

My analysis of Moloch, as it occurs in Adorno/Horkheimer’s “elements of antisemitism,” attempts to shed light on the specificity of antisemitism as I do in my analysis of Ahasver and Mammon. Mammon resonated in Estel’s statement of Jews as adherents of the “Golden International.” The New Testament says: “Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.”⁶¹

An idea of Rose’s is of interest here. He speaks of a process of secularization of the blood libel beginning in the 19th century. The medieval blood libel accused Jews of requiring human blood to carry out their rituals. Socialist versions of this blood libel by Karl Marx and Moses Hess argued that the Jews had secularized the religious practice and were now serving the god of money—Mammon had replaced Moloch.⁶² A problematic point in Marx’s criticism of religion lies precisely in this idea that emancipation is possible only as a rejection of god and Mammon, who is merely a secularized form of Jewish power.

It is exactly here that the key to understanding the connection lies—between handed-down anti-Judaism and modern antisemitism. By no means does the latter feed only into the theories of race and their application, as researchers still frequently argue; it also sets the date of the onset of racial thinking much too late—usually only at the end of the 19th century. In this position, Jews are attacked from all sides: by the conservatives, by Christians who view the Jews as those who defiled Jesus’s blood or who bring sacrifices to Moloch, and at the same time by the radical avant-garde, which promised the liberation of humankind from Mammonism, the rule of

59. Bernd Estel, *Nationale Identität und Antisemitismus in Deutschland*, in *Antisemitismus in der politischen Kultur nach 1945*, ed. Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990): 66.

60. Horkheimer and Adorno 1947: 166 says: “It has been shown, in fact, that antisemitism’s prospects are no less good in ‘Jew-free’ areas than in Hollywood itself.”

61. Die Bibel (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft [Lutherbibel], 1975, Matthäus 6, 24).

62. Cf. the chapter “‘Against Humanity’: Moloch, Mammon, and the Secularization of the Blood Libel” in Rose 1990: 44-50.

money, in an anti-Christian, anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois way. Christianity offers the foil for this secularization of antisemitism in the image of Mammon. In this way, a German *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community) could be delineated—still without a unified state, which came into existence only in 1871—making it seem insignificant whether an antisemitic attack came from the right, the left, or the center. Later, according to Detlef Briesen, it was by no means only the volkish and the NSDAP of the Weimar Republic who opposed intellectuals, department stores, or urban life, but already the early antisemites around court chaplain Adolf Stoecker and his Christian-Social Party,⁶³ as well as broad streams of German society. This disapproval manifested itself in debates about a “department store tax” that came up again and again and, as early as the 1890s, in an ongoing “department store debate” that said far more about German sensitivities than about the everyday behavior of consumers who sometimes shopped there.⁶⁴ Above all, we must reflect upon the combination of Moloch, Mammon, and department store/warehouse, as several anti-Jewish threads of discourse (only a few of which were mentioned here) reinforced one another. Werner Sombart's antisemitic utterance about German “*Helden*” (heroes) and English “*Händler*” (traders) at the beginning of World War I in 1915 puts these feelings of resentment in a nutshell.⁶⁵ Sombart had determined in 1911 that traders were in principle “Jewish” when he equated “Jewish rationalism” with “capitalist spirit.”⁶⁶

In other words, the *longue durée* of antisemitism reveals itself as relating to the image of Mammon as well. As early as 1910, a series of stoneware jugs were produced in the Westerwald region that sent their German-volkish or German-national message unmistakably. Christel Köhle-Hezinger and Adelhart Zippelius described them:

At the top, the tree runs into a scroll: “Great happiness and joy at the news: Germany is rid of the Jews.” Beyond the border, the Jews hurry towards a Golden Calf surrounded by an aureola on a raised platform before a camp of tents in the background, the “dance around the Golden

63. Detlef Briesen, *Warenhaus, Massenkonsum und Sozialmoral. Zur Geschichte der Konsumkritik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main/New York: Campus, 2001): 157.

64. On the early rejection of the department store, cf. the chapter “Eine ‘hassenswerte Betriebsform’: Die Warenhausdebatte um die Jahrhundertwende” in Briesen 2001: 12-23.

65. Werner Sombart, *Händler und Helden. Patriotische Besinnungen* (Munich/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1915).

66. Werner Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1911): 242.

Calf” begins. It, too, was often quoted both orally and in writing by antisemitic agitators as the embodiment of “the Jewish spirit of Mammon.”⁶⁷

In the late 19th century, the popular German author Theodor Fontane had committed his antisemitism to paper in writing in his poem “Entschuldigung” that “der” (the) “Meyerheim”—in the semiotics of language and names, this unequivocally meant Jews—“were present . . . all over.” Fontane continues: “They dance and murder around the Golden Calf.” Norbert Mecklenburg, who wrests “Entschuldigung”⁶⁸ from oblivion, counters the hegemonial, defensive reception of Fontane: “The Golden Calf as god of the Jews was a central antisemitic ideologeme that could make traditional Christian anti-Judaism with its anti-Mammonist components interface seamlessly with modern anti-capitalist and racist antisemitism because of its biblical origins.”⁶⁹

Hermann Goedsche (better known as Sir John Retcliffe), whom Fontane not only knew well as a colleague in the editorial department of the *Kreuzzeitung* and whose works he received,⁷⁰ set a milestone for the “Antisemitic International” as early as 1868 in his novel *Biarritz*. In a decisive scene of this novel, which is set by the grave of a rabbi in the Prague cemetery, Jews from all twelve tribes gather every hundred years to consult on their power and domination over the world: “After each participant has spoken, everyone swears an oath to the Golden Calf, which rises from the

67. Christel Köhle-Hezinger and Adelhart Zippelius, “Da ist der Michel aufgewacht und hat sie auf den Schub gebracht.” Zu zwei Zeugnissen antisemitischer “Volkskunst,” in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 84 (Jg.): 68. As a boy, around 1914, Adorno attempted to confront these Jew-hating Germans at least symbolically, and, during World War I, defended words of foreign origin against the German language purists as well as possible, and fancied, with a friend at that time, that “when we used our distinctive words of foreign origin to be hurling arrows at the indispensable patriots from our secret kingdom which could neither be reached from the Westerwald nor in another way, Germanized, as the others loved to say” (Theodor W. Adorno [1959], *Wörter aus der Fremde*, in Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften* [11], ed. Rolf Tiedemann, 1998, 217f [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft]). Ahasver and foreign words have a close relationship: “Foreign words are the Jews in language,” Theodor W. Adorno (1951), *Minima Moralia. Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1971): 141.

68. Norbert Mecklenburg, “Ums Goldne Kalb sie tanzen und morden.” Philo- und antisemitische Gedichte des alten Fontane, in *Wirkendes Wort. Deutsche Sprache und Literatur in Forschung und Lehre*, 50: 370.

69. *Ibid.*: 371.

70. Cf. *ibid.*: 373-376.

rabbi's grave in a ghostlike blue glow.⁷¹

When this fantasy was disseminated internationally, the Jews' consultations as set down by Goedsche are finally transformed into the speech of one rabbi: " 'The Rabbi's Speech' was soon distributed in Russia and other countries, as if it were an authentic document; it was a precursor of the later *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which were more detailed and sophisticated."⁷²

A 1928 brochure by the Catholic Dr. Friedrich Mack, with the apt title *The False God Mammon Kills the Law and Love*, begins as follows: "The 'system of Mammon' is the 'greatest emperor and tyrant,' and its 'coat of arms'⁷³ displays the following typical images: 'the Golden Calf, the rich glutton, Judas, the thief with the money bag.'"⁷⁴

JEWES ON AHASVER

It must be mentioned that (at least) the legend of Ahasver was also met by a literary and artistic Jewish countermovement. Jews attempted in many ways to shatter the anti-Jewish core of the Ahasver myth by, for instance, viewing the "eternal Jew" in a positive light, as if referring to Moses regarding promise, liberation and transcendence. A 1901 picture of Ahasver by Alfred Nossig, carrying "transcendence through the occident"—Nietzsche notwithstanding—as Alfred Bodenheimer says, serves as an example.⁷⁵ We must also think of the anti-Jewish undertones in Thomas Mann's works and his lack of understanding of Jakob Wassermann's quest for a possibility of being both "a Jew and a German."⁷⁶ Similar to Nossig, German artist Stefan Heym also tried to give Ahasver positive Jewish features, even promise and revolution.⁷⁷ In Franz Kafka's work, however, the more

71. Hadassa Ben-Itto (1998), "*Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion*"—*Anatomie einer Fälschung* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2001): 54f.

72. *Ibid.*: 55.

73. Even in seemingly harmless descriptions such as "Rappen im Wappen" ("Rappen" means both "black horse" and "coin"; "black horse/coin on his coat of arms"), as provided by Fontane, the anti-Jewish content can be deciphered—the Jews as horse traders who are made fun of here, without explicitly being called Jews; cf. Mecklenburg 2000: 366. Open (cf. the following note) and rhetorically skillful (Fontane) antisemitism exists side by side and is quasi complementary to National Socialist antisemitism on the Nazis' path to power.

74. Friedrich Mack, *Der Götze Mammon tötet das Recht und die Liebe* (Luxemburg [Liga vom guten Buch R 7], 1928): 2f.

75. Alfred Bodenheimer, *Wandernde Schatten. Ahasver, Moses und die Authentizität der jüdischen Moderne* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002): 26; see figure, p. 27.

76. Cf. *ibid.*: 84.

77. Historian Frank Stern on Heym's 1981 novel *Ahasver*: "Here, Ahasverus is

dominating, sad image of Ahasver emerges, at times in Kafka's tragic writing against himself, whom he sees as the eternally wandering Jew. His image of the surveyor, which can mean both "surveyor" and "messiah" in Hebrew, is one approach to understanding this vision.⁷⁸ Here, the reference to Günther Anders, who grappled intensely with Kafka, is evident. In 1978, in a seldom-noted text on his "Judaism," Anders speaks of his "Ahasveric destiny,"⁷⁹ which has been persisting for 70 generations for Jews. Here, as an older man, Anders returns to thoughts that moved him deeply as early as 1935: In the poem "Ahasver besingt die Weltgeschichte" ("Ahasver chants about world history"), Anders, who had had to flee from Nazi Germany two years previously, writes:

Only I shall not perish, only I escape the cycle of life, every month going back to the beginning, only I am spared, because I am not worthy. [. . .] Am I to remain forever chosen? Am I to be forever refused what every other is granted? Never to completely perish, never to rest beneath the footsteps and raking, never to live with death, unbound from time and moon?⁸⁰

MAMMON TODAY, AFTER THE 9/11 MASS MURDER

On September 11, 2001, Islamist suicide killers murdered almost 3,000 people in New York City when two hijacked airplanes were flown into the twin towers of the World Trade Center. Broad segments of German society reacted to this event with comments such as "Sowas kommt von sowas" (roughly: "what goes around comes around," whereby the speaker expresses sympathy for something unnamed, yet understood, while distancing himself or herself from it), a saying that the PDS (Partei des demokratischen Sozial-

not a symbol of Christian suffering, a victim yearning for redemption, but the human embodiment of the spirit of resistance, of a theology of change, of a rebellious *Zeitgeist* across the centuries. [. . .] He is seeking to effect *tikkun ha'olam*, as it is called in Hebrew, the fundamental change, the revolutionizing, the reforming, the betterment of human society" (Frank Stern, "Der Ewige Jude"—Stereotype auf der europäischen Wanderung, in *Die Macht der Bilder. Antisemitische Vorurteile und Mythen*, ed. Jüdisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1995 [Vienna: Picos]: 117).

78. Cf. Lovis M. Wambach, *Ahasver und Kafka. Zur Bedeutung der Judenfeindschaft in dessen Leben und Werk* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1993).

79. Günther Anders (1974), *Das Günther Anders Lesebuch*, Bernhard Lassahn, ed. (Zurich: Diogenes, 1984): 249.

80. Günther Anders (1935), *Tagebücher und Gedichte* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1985): 379f. Ahasver must not die, just as, for generations, the antisemitic German fraternity students considered Jews in Germany not capable of giving satisfaction in a duel.

ismus, the Leftist party that evolved from the ruling East German SED, the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, now called “Die Linke” [the left]), even used as a slogan.

The reference to the 19th century is not all that far away; the images of Mammon, Moloch, and Ahasver are still alive. It became apparent, in fact, after 9/11 that anti-Ahasver texts of the German left had contributed to ideology formation since the 1970s. *Konkret* magazine’s left-leaning Hermann Peter Piwitt comments:⁸¹

Of course: I simply cannot call a nation “my own” as long as country estates, factories and urban land ownership are not “nationalized” as well, that is, that they belong to those whose work created them. Is it for this reason that terms such as “homeland,” “fatherland” are beneath our dignity, once and for all? Our leftist laborer of the superstructure knows: There is nothing more homeless, more rootless, more like Ahasver, than capital. It hurries around the globe, seeking tax shelters, low-wage countries and a cemetery-like climate for investments, where it can fatten up on the work of others.

Former Federal president Johannes Rau, a devout Protestant and politician of the Social Democratic Party, also spoke of “capitalist Mammon.”⁸²

81. Hermann Peter Piwitt, *Einen Kranz niederlegen am Hermannsdenkmal*, in *Tintenfisch 15. Thema: Deutschland. Das Kind mit den zwei Köpfen*, ed. Hans Christoph Buch, 1978, 17-24 (Berlin: Wagenbach): 18; also cf. Broder 1986: 92f. Piwitt’s anti-Semitism is linked with a language-purist form of anti-Americanism: “This depressed national sentiment of the Germans also stems from the fact that their revolutionary traditions were cut off from them. That is how this Yankee language emerged which dominates us with words like ‘fighting’ and ‘dope,’ ‘power’ and ‘message’ even where we resist” (Hermann Peter Piwitt in *Konkret* 1981, quoted in Henning Eichberg, *Abkoppelung. Nachdenken über die neue deutsche Frage* [Koblenz: Bublies Verlag, 1987]: 177). Eichberg is the forward thinker of the New Right, a version of right-wing extremism in Europe (especially France, where Alain de Benoist is his counterpart) and the Federal Republic of Germany since the late 1960s. His “rhetorical mimicry” is paradigmatic for concealed National Socialist journalism in post-Holocaust Germany; cf., fundamentally, Heni 2007.

82. In a eulogy of Herder, Rau writes, “Weimar—in other words, it is not only a fond national myth which the rulers from the right or the left used skillfully for their own ends, again and again, without any scruples, no, Weimar—that is simply a unique occurrence in our history: a republic of men of letters and scholars in which it was not—power based on weapons,—and certainly not filthy ‘capitalist Mammon,’ but rather—intellect, fantasy and a well-nigh exploding creative energy unfolded” (Johannes Rau [1996], *Rede zum 250. Geburtstag Johann Gottfried Herders*, in *Nationen und Kulturen. Zum 250. Geburtstag Johann Gottfried Herders*, ed. Regine Otto 1996 [Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996]: 2).

But he indicated far more: in fighting Israel, anti-Zionists are struggling against the “ideelle Gesamtjude”⁸³ [Israel as collective Jew]: “From the previous, isolated Jewish outsider in the midst of a non-Jewish population evolved a Jewish outsider state in the midst of a non-Jewish community of states.”⁸⁴

In such a statement, National Socialism is compared or equated more and more with the United States or Israel. In addition, such “committed individuals” seek to liberate and cleanse the world from “unrestrained capital,” from “turbo-capitalist financial jugglers.” “The stock exchange was the first place to be opened again in the disaster area. A symbol? Mammon over mind?” is what not only Horst Mahler,⁸⁵ a Neo-Nazi and Holocaust denier

83. Joffe speaks of “Israel as the Über-Jew”: Josef Joffe (2005), *Nations We Love to Hate: Israel, America and the New Antisemitism*, The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, ed. (Jerusalem, 2005); *Posen Papers in Contemporary Antisemitism*, No. 1:1. Hans Mayer speaks of the “Jewish outsider state” and decades ago identified the core of anti-Zionism: “Whoever attacks ‘Zionism,’ but by no means wants to say anything against the ‘Jews,’ is kidding himself or others. The state of Israel is a Jewish state. Anyone who wants to destroy it, avowedly or by means of a policy that can have no effect other than such an annihilation, is practicing the hatred of Jews of yore and from time immemorial” (Hans Mayer [1975], *Aussenseiter* [Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1981]: 451, 457). On the other hand, Mayer equates several groups of “outsiders” with Jews, which is definitely not convincing, as antisemitism is an entire worldview and not “just” a prejudice or a simple form of racism, part of several racisms. Sociologist Moishe Postone argued in this direction long ago, in the early 1980s (“Antisemitism and National Socialism”). In an article Postone wrote as part of his theoretical criticism of Hannah Arendt, he noted: “I have argued elsewhere that modern antisemitism should be understood as a powerful, fetishised form of anti-capitalism that attributes the tremendous transformations of social, cultural, and political life in the industrialized world to a destructive world conspiracy—that of the *Elders of Zion*. Antisemitism, then, is a revolt against history as constituted by capital misrecognised as a Jewish conspiracy. That conspiracy (and, hence, that history) must be destroyed if the world is to be saved. This suggests that, contrary to Arendt’s assertion, it is precisely the nature of the crime of extermination, and not only the choice of victim, that can be derived from the history of modern antisemitism” (Moishe Postone [2006], *Reflections on Jewish History as General History*. Hannah Arendt’s *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, in *Jüdische Geschichte als Allgemeine Geschichte. Festschrift für Dan Diner zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hg., Raphael Gross and Yfaat Weiss [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht]: 205). Postone is wrong in accusing Goldhagen of establishing a kind of “quasi-ontologically” German antisemitism (see *ibid.*: 210, footnote 64); for Goldhagen, see Heni: 2009.

84. Hans Mayer, *Aussenseiter* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1975): 451.

85. Mahler was invited to the Iranian Holocaust denial conference, held December 11 and 12, 2006, in Iran, but could not attend because German officials confiscated his passport. Even before 9/11, in March of 2001, Mahler underpinned his

and good friend of Iran, but also leftist radicals⁸⁶ of the Infoladen (a small, radical left cultural center), say. What historian Paul Rose analyzes conceptually for the 19th century, with his triad of Ahasver, Moloch, and Mammon, is still virulent even after Auschwitz, after the “Zivilisationsbruch” (“rupture of civilization,” Dan Diner) and is activated more and more as a sketch of a movement passed off as a revolution, a liberation of all of humanity.

Today, many opponents of globalization— Hamas, Islamic Jihad, the Al-Aqsa Brigades, Al Qaeda, or Hizbullah—continue this struggle, *each with their own* means and methods. The Islamists “run ahead to death” with their suicide bombing. They import Heidegger⁸⁷ to the Middle East. (This does not mean that all Muslim antisemitism and Jew-hatred is just an import from Europe, by the way, but that Europe influenced its evolution.)

Historian Robert Wistrich has reported that the Arabic Writers’ Asso-

antisemitism with anti-Mammon phrases in a paper he wanted to give at a conference (which was then prohibited) of Holocaust deniers in Lebanon: “The peoples will triumph over the East coast and free themselves from the worldly god of the Jews, Mammon, in the historic moment when they recognize that every people having a powerful history is a tangible form of God (German Idealism: Herder, Hegel,” <http://www.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/mahler/parttwo.html> [accessed August 2, 2010).

86. “It almost seems as if one would have to broaden Horkheimer’s dictum that anyone who does not wish to speak about capitalism should remain silent about fascism; anyone who does not wish to speak about anti-capitalism should remain silent about fascism as well” (Thomas Uwer, Thomas von der Osten-Sacken, and Andrea Woeldike [2003a], Vorwort, in *Amerika. Der “War on Terror” und der Aufstand der Alten Welt*, Thomas Uwer and Thomas von der Osten-Sacken, eds., 2003, 16 (Freiburg: ça ira).

87. In the doctoral dissertation of a Cairo scholar that was accepted at the Freie Universität Berlin, Heidegger is received affirmatively, and even imported for political Islam—especially also referring to the circling around “death”; for example, there is talk of “Muslim Dasein”: Mohamed Soffar, *The Political Theory of Sayyid Qutb: A Genealogy of Discourse* (Berlin: Köster, 2004)—see Part I: “The Context of Sayyid Qutb’s Discourse (The Muslim Dasein) 47-179, and the subsection “Heidegger’s notion of death” 125-128. The Islamists’ suicide terrorism has a philosophical core here. “Through surpassing the limits of his Being to attain a certain purpose, the Shahid has passed from one level of existence to the other through the gateway of death. Death is for him less painful than the prick of a needle” (128). Without recourse to this doctoral dissertation (Prof. Friedemann Büttner and Prof. Gudrun Krämer were on the committee), cf. the references in “Islamisten lesen Heidegger,” Israeli philosopher Avishai Margalit on hatred of the West, in: *Jüdische Allgemeine* 32 (August 11, 2005): 13, as well as the study by Gerhard Scheit, *Suicide Attack. Zur Kritik der politischen Gewalt* (Freiburg: ça ira, 2004).

ciation published a new version of the *Damascus Blood Libel*, but today's version includes matzah balls made not only with the blood of Iraqis, Palestinians, Lebanese and other Arabs, but also of Christians.⁸⁸ While the "Islamofascists"⁸⁹ struggle against the Jewish Moloch in addition to Mammon, famed German⁹⁰ writer Martin Walser publicly(!) declares death to Jews fighting against the invading enemy, a.k.a. "eternal Jew"⁹¹ (characterized as such by von Arnim in 1811, too—and, as Ahasver, is "invulnerable" in the anti-Jewish fantasy).

Walser's 2002 novel *Tod eines Kritikers* (Death of a Critic) is permeated with antisemitic imagery.⁹² Other Germans struggle with broad segments of the global "Left" in its unbroken mania of making the abstract concrete against the "god of money," against Mammon. It's Walser versus Ahasver, the Left versus Mammon, the Islamists versus Moloch.

Since the founding of Israel in 1948, this planetary takeover theme has now been retooled as a Jewish-state takeover. The persistence of an anti-Jewish image extends beyond the Holocaust. An incorrect analysis of capitalism, riddled with the old images of Mammon, returns time and again. Piwitt's words quoted above—that there is "nothing more homeless, more rootless, more like Ahasver, than capital"—says it all. On January 25, 2003, 20,000 people, European Leftists, demonstrated against the World Economic Forum in Davos, some dressed up as Jews dancing around a golden

88. Robert S. Wistrich, *Muslim Antisemitism: A Clear and Present Danger* (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 2002): 31.

89. Robert S. Wistrich (2004), *Der alte Antisemitismus in neuem Gewand, in Neuer Antisemitismus? Eine globale Debatte*, ed. Doron Rabinovici, Ulrich Speck, and Natan Sznajder (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2004): 265.

90. Cf. Thomas Assheuer, *Die Klone Gottes. In der aufgeklärten Republik verwandelt sich Religion in Esoterik. Das jüdisch-christliche Erbe ärgert viele immer mehr. Warum nur?*, in *Die Zeit*, 8 (2003).

91. The words of Frank Schirrmacher, who was otherwise very sympathetic to Walser and defended the writer's memory-repressing secondary antisemitic speech in St. Paul's Church of October 1998, in his public rejection of advance publication of Walser's novel *Tod eines Kritikers*: Frank Schirrmacher, *Tod eines Kritikers*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 29, 2002. "Do you understand that we will not print a novel that plays with this murder is committed fictionally? Do you understand that we will not offer a forum for the thesis, returning here in veiled form, that the eternal Jew is invulnerable?" (ibid.).

92. For a comprehensive treatment of antisemitism in Walser's oeuvre, see the doctoral dissertation by Matthias N. Lorenz, *"Auschwitz drängt uns auf einen Fleck." Judendarstellung und Auschwitzdiskurs bei Martin Walser* (Stuttgart/Weimar: Metzler, 2005); on necessary criticism of Lorenz because of his ties to anti-Zionist Klaus Holz, see Heni 2007: 280, footnote 1166.

calf⁹³—a kind of feel-good antisemitism, because the “antisemitism linked to the struggle against globalization presents a point of contact for the Right and the Left that has not existed so openly since the heyday of national bolshevism.”⁹⁴

These foes of Jews consider themselves Leftist, free, emancipated, and progressive—and not Nazis. Political scientist Daniel J. Goldhagen notes:

An emblematic image of globalized antisemitism is of Donald Rumsfeld wearing a yellow star inscribed with “sheriff,” followed by a cudgel wielding Ariel Sharon who is flanked by a golden calf. [. . .] That this scene, expressing the putative globalized nature and predations of the Jews, was created for an anti-globalization demonstration in Davos is no mere coincidence.⁹⁵

Josef Joffe, political scientist and co-publisher of the German weekly *Die Zeit*, also dissected the antisemitic and anti-American dimension of the Davos scandal:

The message? America is in thrall to the Jews/Israelis, and both are the acolytes of Mammon and the avant-garde of pernicious global capitalism. Let’s call this “conceptual” or “neo-antisemitism.” This variant lacks the eliminationism of the classical type, but it is rife with its most ancient motifs: greed, manipulation, worship of false gods, sheer evil. What is new? It is the projection of old fantasies on two new targets: Israel and America. Indeed, the United States is an antisemitic fantasy come true, the Protocols of the Elders of Zion in living color. Don’t Jews, their first loyalty to Israel, control the Congress, the Pentagon, the banks, the universities, and the media? This time, the conspirator is not “World Jewry,” but Israel. Having captured the “hyperpower,” Jews qua Israelis finally do rule the world. It is Israel as the Über-Jew, and America as its slave.⁹⁶

Here, the German specificity of this otherwise global phenomenon lies in the coupling and mutual intensification of the resentment against Jews, as *secondary antisemitic*⁹⁷ patterns of rejection of memory and projection of

93. <http://www.heise.de/tp/deutsch/inhalt/co/14065/1.html> (accessed December 15, 2008).

94. Andrei S. Markovits, *Amerika, dich hasst sich’s besser. Antiamerikanismus und Antisemitismus in Europa* (Hamburg: Konkret Literatur Verlag, 2004): 194. Markovits analyzes this scene in Davos, cf. *ibid.*: 193f.

95. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (2003), *The Globalization of Antisemitism*, <http://www.forward.com/articles/8736/> (accessed December 15, 2008).

96. Joffe 2005: 1.

97. For the concept of secondary antisemitism, see Clemens Heni, “Secondary

guilt appear *in concert* with *primary antisemitic motifs*.⁹⁸

CONTEMPORARY GERMAN ANTISEMITISM

Though this paper cannot reflect on Left antisemitism as a whole, a few important aspects must be mentioned. In 2002, Marxist sociologist Klaus Holz wrote with some friends an article⁹⁹ in which he accuses Left support for Israel as sometimes being “blinded by Auschwitz.” Holz and friends wrote that Israeli policies are “state terrorism” and that “Palestinian violence” is just “a response” to such Israeli actions. In a small book about antisemitism, Holz repeated his controversial argument, now saying that Muslim antisemitism (if it exists) is nothing but a response to the experiences of Muslim immigrants in Europe.¹⁰⁰ As a well-known scholar on antisemitism,¹⁰¹ Holz’s own contribution to new antisemitism by bashing criticism of Muslim antisemitism as “blinded by Auschwitz” is remarka-

Antisemitism: From Hard-Core to Soft-Core Denial of the Shoah,” *Jewish Political Studies Review* 20, 03-4 (Fall 2008): 71-92, <http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/Templates/ShowPage.asp?DB?ID=1&LNGID=1&TMID=111&FID=625&PID=0&IID=2675> (accessed February 14, 2009).

98. Cf., for example, the current figures produced by empirical social research on secondary antisemitism in the Federal Republic of Germany: Aribert Heyer, Julia Iser, and Peter Schmidt (2005): Israelkritik oder Antisemitismus? Meinungsbildung zwischen Öffentlichkeit, Medien und Tabus, in *Deutsche Zustände. Folge 3*, ed. Wilhelm Heitmeyer, 2005, 144-165, especially 151, 154, 160 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch, 2005). More than 68% of those surveyed agreed with the statement “I am annoyed that the Germans are still confronted with the crimes against the Jews today”; of these: 23.8% agreed “more or less” and 44.5% agreed “wholeheartedly,” *ibid.*: 151. Heitmeyer, the editor of this series, is one of the fathers of equalizing antisemitism with “Islamophobia” as well as other “prejudices,” such as “discrimination” of jobless people and others. This ignores completely the specificity of antisemitism, in history, related to the Holocaust, and today.

99. Klaus Holz, Elfriede Müller, and Enzo Traverso, Schuld und Erinnerung. Die Shoah, der Nahostkonflikt und die Linke, *jungle world*, November 13, 2002; see http://www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/jungle_world/_2002/47/29a.htm (accessed August 2, 2010).

100. Cf. Klaus Holz, *Die Gegenwart des Antisemitismus. Islamistische, demokratische und antizionistische Judenfeindschaft* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2006): 9. Holz also accuses critics of political Islam of having the tendency to be part of “Islamophobia,” *ibid.*

101. Holz is on the short list (consisting of six persons) for the job as director of the Berlin Center for Research on Antisemitism (ZfA); Wolfgang Benz, head of the ZfA, will retire in fall 2010.

ble.¹⁰² Besides academic examples, there are of course also left-wing organizations that promote antisemitic tropes. The latest examples include rallies against Israel during the War on Gaza, where groups like the Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP) (German Communist Party), the Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands (MLPD) (Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany), a lot of so-called “Friedensbündnisse” (peace groups), or members of Parliament of the Party of the Left (*Die Linke*) participated. Daily newspapers like *Junge Welt* promote antisemitism by saying “I am against the state of Israel” and “Zionism” is a “project of the colonial powers,” as Mamdouh Habashi of the African and Arab Research Center told the *Junge Welt* in an interview on January 10, 2009.¹⁰³

These are just a few remarks on left-wing antisemitism in Germany. There have always been leftists against antisemitism, but today they are only a tiny minority. While extremist right-wingers are always antisemitic, in some rather conservative parts of German society, including Chancellor Merkel, there is a certain tendency to support Israel. On the other hand, the capitalist establishment in Germany (and Austria) concludes big business deals with Iran; the government is well aware of them, if not actually involved in such activity and cooperation.

The slogans chanted at demonstrations, such as “Beat the Zionists dead, make the Middle East red!”¹⁰⁴ (by the '68 generation) and “USA-SA-

102. For criticism of Holz, see Yves Pallade (2008): “Only non-Antisemites,” statement at the OSCE hearing at the German Bundestag, January 25, 2008, partly published in http://www.achgut.com/dadgdx/index.php/dadgd/article/yves_pallade_only_non_antisemites/ (accessed February 14, 2009); Matthias Küntzel (2006): Anmerkungen zum Fall Holz, in <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/anmerkungen-zum-fall-holz> (accessed February 14, 2009); and especially Lars Rensmann, *Demokratie und Judenbild* (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004): 105-113; see also Heni 2008, footnote 59. For left-wing anti-Semitic politics, e.g., in 1973 in Germany, see an anti-imperialistic group and their papers for a typical “Palestine week”—“Down with Imperialism, down with Zionism,” etc.—see Heni 2007: 53-54, and *ibid.* footnote 125.

103. <http://www.jungewelt.de/2009/01-10/001.php> (02.14.2009).

104. As early as 1976, Jean Améry spoke of a “new antisemitism”—anti-Zionism; cf. Jean Améry (1976), *Der neue Antisemitismus*, *Tribüne* 15 (59): 7012. One of the first big volumes on the new antisemitism was already published in 1974 (!); see Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, *The New Antisemitism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974). This book, dealing with Christian, Arabic, Left, Right and Center antisemitism and other aspects, was dedicated: “For those who have died because they were Jews—.” Until today, a lot of scholars, politicians, and activists, especially outside the United States and Israel, are not aware of the fact that “new antisemitism” is not really new and exclusively a phenomenon of the 21st century, nor that Arab and Muslim antisemitism is that new.

SS”¹⁰⁵ (by the “Autonome” of the 1980s), as well as “USA: genocide headquarters”—this slogan being used just a few days *after* the mass murder in New York, for example in Bremen at a radical leftist demonstration with more than 1,000 participants¹⁰⁶—are connected by a thread of projection of guilt that finally materializes in a whole tangle of hatred, resentment, and projections in the winter of 2003 and finds its fitting image in the dance around the Golden Calf in Davos. This is similar to Catholic anti-Mammonism¹⁰⁷ of 1928, the antisemitic stoneware jugs of 1910 from the Westerwald or Cologne, as well as Fontane’s poetry of the late 19th century. The fact that a dance around a Jewish golden calf can unite Europeans in the 21st century, after the rupture of civilization—that is inconceivable; and when history repeats itself this time, it is not a farce. The danger of this new-old antisemitism lies in particular in the Arabic and Islamic worlds:

The Protean caricature of the Jew has been resuscitated by today’s followers of Jihad. Israel and Jewry have become the surrogate in the Holy War against America and the corrupt modern world (the *jahiliyya*). Uncle Sam has, in a sense, melded with Shylock to turn into the awe-inspiring ghost of globalization that threatens to overrun the world of Islam.”¹⁰⁸

Habermas’s “European chauvinism”¹⁰⁹ vis-à-vis the United States relies on the peace movement, evolving into the pan-European movement of February 15, 2003¹¹⁰—and these people dancing in Davos are such

105. Dan Diner (1993a): “USA-SA-SS”: Bundesrepublikanische Verschiebungen, in Diner, Dan, *Verkehrte Welten. Antiamerikanismus in Deutschland. Ein historischer Essay* (Frankfurt/Main: Eichborn, 1993): 117-167.

106. Having heard about this demonstration, I prepared some hundreds of flyers with slogans like “Behind the call for ‘peace’ the killers are hidden” or “you ignore the threat of Islamic Jihad,” and others. Throwing these flyers on to the demonstration at the event itself, I was all alone.

107. Neo-Nazis, too, stir up emotions today explicitly against “Mammon” and speak of an “anti-Mammonist definition of capitalism,” according to the “Kampfbund Deutscher Sozialisten”; cf. http://www.kds-im-netz.de/wetter/antikapi/grundsatz_4.htm (accessed August 2, 2010).

108. Wistrich 2004: 269f.

109. Markovits 2004: 218.

110. Ralph Peters, too, puts the German-French axis of this current-day anti-Americanism into context in a quite businesslike manner in commenting, “Sorry, but Gaul does not give Rome orders” (Ralph Peters, Hitler war wenigstens ehrlich. Ihr widert uns an: Die Amerikaner sind mit den Deutschen fertig, in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 15, 2003). In contrast, entirely in line with Habermas’s/ Derrida’s European chauvinism, see Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, *Das kosmopolitische Europa. Gesellschaft und Politik in der Zweiten Moderne* (Frankfurt/

peace dancers in the name of the anti-Jewish and anti-American¹¹¹ resent-

Main: Suhrkamp, 2004). There, even the important term “cosmopolitanism” is used in an anti-American way—namely, that there is “worldwide an alternative to the American Way, a European way which places the rule of law, political equality, social justice, cosmopolitan integration and solidarity in the center” (ibid.: 393). According to this point of view, the United States is unjust, unequal, without law and solidarity.

111. Another form of radical anti-Americanism and also a form of what I call “soft-core” Holocaust denial is the comparison of the United States after 9/11 with Nazi Germany. This is an essential part of fashionable philosopher Giorgio Agamben. In 2003—the same year as Davos happened—he wrote the following lines: “The USA Patriot Act issued by the U.S. Senate on October 26, 2001, already allowed the attorney general to ‘take into custody’ any alien suspected of activities that endangered ‘the national security of the United States,’ but within seven days the alien had to be either released or charged with the violation of immigration laws or some other criminal offense. What is new about President Bush’s order is that it radically erases any legal status of the individual, thus producing a legally unnamable and unclassifiable being. Not only [do] the Taliban captured in Afghanistan not enjoy the status of POW’s as defined by the Geneva Convention, they do not even have the status of persons charged with a crime according to American laws. [. . .] The only thing to which it could possibly be compared is the legal situation of the Jews in the Nazi Lager [camps], who, along with their citizenship, had lost every legal identity, but at least retained their identity as Jews” (Giorgio Agamben [2003], *State of Exception* [Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005]: 3-4). There are a lot of things to criticize here, including Agamben’s view on law, democracy (which he, coming from the “radical left,” detests like his godfather from the radical right, Carl Schmitt), which is too much for a short essay. But most important is that such a comparison is anti-semitic, because it banalizes the Holocaust. Jews were killed by Germans, intentionally. Whether one is in favor or not with former President Bush’s policies in regard to war criminals like the Taliban (and they *are* criminals), America has no plan to eradicate all Taliban. Such an accusation is extremely absurd. The fact that Agamben nevertheless is taken seriously in the Western world, especially in “intellectual circles” who prefer “the latest thing” in philosophy, is a sign of decay in serious scholarly and intellectual research in the 21st century. A journalist in 2003 described Agamben splendidly: “Because Agamben must be taken seriously. That at least is the claim he has successfully defended until now. He benefits from the perfume of the radical. The Agambenian critique of democracy could not be more trenchant: today’s constitutional states are in essence nothing more than huge concentration camps. This is what he attempts to demonstrate in *Homo Sacer*, originally published in 1995, with an eclectic overview of the legal history of the West. The modern state is nothing other than a totalitarian organisation for the efficient administration of bare biological life” (Daniel Binswanger [2005]: Preacher of the profane. Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben is a beacon for an entire generation of young intellectuals across Europe—and a flighty eclectic, in <http://www.signand sight.com/features/399.html> [accessed August 2, 2010], first published in German

ment¹¹² against “the Jewish principle,” not to mention the existential threat for Israel and the Jews worldwide because of Jihadism and its friends. As terribly as the words of an Achim von Arnim were turned into reality more than 130 years after their publication in the actual annihilation of Jews, of the “eternal Jew” by willing Germans, all the more depressing is the existence is of the same anti-Jewish images 60 years *after* Auschwitz. The talk of “We happen to be living in difficult times, Modernity has so many anti-integrating elements, etc. etc.,” which never goes beyond attempts to understand the perpetrators, and even prays for them—the “terrorists”—daily, as Cardinal Meisner blurted out¹¹³ on the occasion of the Catholic World

in *Die Weltwoche*, October 13, 2005). The “universalization” of National Socialism, the Holocaust, and concentration camps is part of my criticism of new antisemitism. The father of this concept of “universalization” of German guilt and denial of the specific of the destruction of European Jews is Martin Heidegger; see Heni 2008.

112. “What was said and written in Germany in the weeks after 9/11 is worth being recorded as a kind of clinical history of the incurably healthy. It was passion plays of the commenting class. The hysteria of those days has calmed down, the yearning for total peace remains. It will articulate itself again. Coming soon in the German theater” (Henryk M. Broder, *Kein Krieg, nirgends: Die Deutschen und der Terror*, with a text by Reinhard Mohr [Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2002]: 13). Wolfgang Benz, historian and director of the Berlin Center for Research on Antisemitism (ZfA) at the Technical University of Berlin, is quoted in this volume of Broder, as Benjamin Weinthal documents in a critical article: “Benz has been criticized in the past for seeming to justify the motives of the 9/11 terrorists with what some perceived as anti-Americanism. *Der Spiegel* journalist Henryk M. Broder cited a quote from Benz in his 2002 book *No War, Anywhere*, addressing the outbreak of anti-Americanism in Germany following the September 11, 2001, attacks. At the time, Benz commented that the Twin Towers in Manhattan “are symbols of pride and wealth and arrogance. Building such buildings is extreme arrogance, and so vulnerability is built in. And the attacks on these buildings, with these attacks one could erase feelings of helplessness and one’s own humiliations and turn them into the opponent’s helplessness and humiliation. And that provokes the drastic and dramatic reactions and the martial reactions, and that’s what makes it so dangerous and devastating to attack and destroy these particular symbols (Benjamin Weinthal, Berlin Center ignores Iranian threat, *Jerusalem Post*, December 10, 2008” [<http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?apage=1&cid=1228728130041&pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull>] [accessed February 14, 2009]).

113. In an interview with Spiegel Online on August 9, 2005, the cardinal said, “You may think I’m crazy, but I pray for the terrorists every evening. God’s blessing can make holy men out of terrorists: One must overcome the evil by the good. I have not yet upset myself for half a minute with the question that things could get going here, too. God will make sure that things go well” (<http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/0,1518,368465,00.html> [accessed August 2, 2010]). It is part of the Shahids’ ideology that god, Allah, makes terrorists into holy men or martyrs.

Youth Day, affirms the new antisemitism, as Mark Strauss established in late 2003:¹¹⁴

The new antisemitism is unique because it seamlessly stitches together the various forms of old antisemitism: The far right's conception of the Jew (a fifth column, loyal only to itself, undermining economic sovereignty and national culture), the far left's conception of the Jew (capitalists and usurers, controlling the international economic system), and the "blood libel" Jew (murderers and modern-day colonial oppressors).

SUMMARY

In this analysis of Ahasver, Mammon, and Moloch, I have attempted to make clear that these old patterns of antisemitism, which require examination in the future as well, are not all that new, particularly in their specifically German expressions. Even German revolutionary antisemitism in combination with conservative hatred of Jews displayed all three elements that Strauss identifies precisely: hatred of Mammon, Jews and the sphere of money and circulation; disgust about the imagined Jewish blood sacrifice to Moloch; and the image of Ahasver, the "eternal Jew," which is subordinated only to his own interests, his unchangeable character, and his domination of the world. Together, these three images constitute the immense danger of antisemitism and anti-Zionism. Nevertheless, it is correct to speak of a *new antisemitism* after 9/11 and the Intifada starting in autumn 2000, since an international political situation has come about that has isolated Israel to a greater extent than ever since 1948.

Appeasement toward Islamic jihad is ubiquitous, not only in the Federal Republic of Germany but throughout Europe. Antisemitism research, cultural studies, political sociology, literary studies, history, political science, and other sciences involved should be obliged to confront this ideological triad of willing executioners. But the typical responses of playing down antisemitism as a "protest" against a particular "policy," the question of who might benefit from critical antisemitism research that analyzes antisemitism *sui generis* and does not break it down as if it were a "social problem" or regard it in the context of the history of racism, must be identified as what they are: back-handed affirmation. Historian Omer Bartov said it simply:

Hitler taught mankind an important lesson: If you see a Nazi, a fas-

114. Mark Strauss (2003), *Antiglobalism's Jewish Problem*, in http://www.ncsj.org/AuxPages/111303FP_A-S.shtml (accessed August 2, 2010).

cist or an antisemite, then you must say what you see. If you want to justify or apologize for something, then describe exactly what you are playing down. If a British newspaper publishes an antisemitic cartoon, one must call it antisemitic. If the attacks on the twin towers in New York were founded upon antisemitic motifs, one should say so. If a Malaysian prime minister expresses antisemitic opinions, one must not attempt to apologize for what is inexcusable. If a self-proclaimed liberation organization demands the annihilation of the Jewish state, one must not pretend that it is demanding anything else. Where clarity ends, complicity begins.”¹¹⁵

Contrary to attempts to forget history and to trivialize the German role in it; to downplay and to ignore the current, genocidal threat deriving from political Islam, Islamism, or a murderous Islamist regime like that of Iran¹¹⁶ and organizations like Hezbollah, Hamas, Al Qaida, the Taliban, and others; and to forget the political culture of many Arab and Muslim countries and their communities and friends in the Western world, including the spreading of lawful Islamism, I have tried in this small piece to decode some *specifics* of antisemitism, namely the influential images of Ahasver, Mammon, and Moloch.

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Note: Where two dates are given in this list, the first date indicates the first publication date or the year a piece was written, while the second date gives the published year I am quoting from.

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116. The Israel daily newspaper *Jerusalem Post* has a column on its home page called “The Iranian Threat”; see also Alireza Jafarzadeh, *The Iran Threat. President Ahmadinejad and the Coming Nuclear Crisis* (New York: PalgraveMacmillan. Syria is a similar case. Venezuela (represented by “leftist” Hugo Chavez) supports Iranian Holocaust denial and the Iranian ambitions to produce nuclear facilities, including a nuclear bomb; in addition, Chavez recently allowed antisemites to destroy synagogues in Venezuela and to promote violent Jew-hatred.

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The Politics of Antisemitism

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The goal of this paper is to formulate a theory on the individual and collective root causes, the semantic and argumentative structures, and the specific social contexts and social developments relevant to antisemitism. Works from the fields of psychology, sociology, and political science will also be included.

Key Words: Antisemitism, Germany, Politics, Psychology

When formulating an outline for a political theory of antisemitism, it seems necessary to take the implicit and partial correspondences between the theories of antisemitism, which are formulated in the social sciences, and make them explicit, putting them in relation to one another. Theoretical differentiations both vertically and horizontally should be considered, while the degree of sociotheoretical abstractness (macro, meso, micro) should also be incorporated into the structuring of a political theory of antisemitism, as well as the question of the relationship between emotionality and cognition in antisemitic resentments. Furthermore, those trends in social science research into antisemitism that have exhibited theoretical weaknesses should be delineated, thereby also precipitating an inquiry into the theoretical and empirical limitations of a political theory of antisemitism.

Taking Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno as a starting point, it seems necessary to consider a political theory of antisemitism not only as an aspect of civil-society socialization, but as a theory of civil society itself. According to the understanding of Horkheimer and Adorno, antisemitism and modernity are inextricably linked: modern antisemitism has the Enlightenment as both a precondition and a limitation; the possibility for (and the reality of) barbarism, created by scientific emancipation, includes at the same time the potential for self-reflection and the development of a critical maturity, in the form of affiliations critical of religion.

The dialectical relationship between civilization and nature, summed up by Horkheimer and Adorno (1947, 219) in the sentence “Civilization is the victory of society over nature, a victory which turns everything into

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savage nature,” describes nature as simultaneously being both proviso and imperative, precondition and compulsion, and the beginning and end of all attempts to establish a generalized, objective rationality in interplay with an instrumental, subjective one. According to Horkheimer and Adorno, it is precisely within this dialectic that one can see the essence of antisemitic attempts to understand the world. The natural is eliminated by the civilizing, and this process of elimination, being not an integrative neutralization but rather an annihilation, in turn transmutes into brute nature and thereby violence. The sociotheoretical key to this metatheoretical conjecture is the codification of the relationship between individual and society through the medium of the drive, and of the localization of the individual in his first and second nature. The essence of antisemitism, which Horkheimer and Adorno ultimately conceive as a phenomenon to be understood psychologically, consists of the “unenlightened drive”—the psychic entity’s individually manifesting but superindividually generated and collectively acted out desire for identity, a desire that in view of the drive limitations within civil society *must* remain unfulfilled. As paradoxical as this may seem, modern antisemitism actually requires the Enlightenment in order to be able to descend into barbarity; it is simultaneously the true nature of civil society, as well as its negation.

Modern antisemitism has also traditionally incorporated religious antisemitism—which in its anti-Jewish orientation may have exhibited arbitrariness, but was certainly not accidental—and therefore “cannot deny its Christian heritage” (Bauer 1992, 77), with the genetic simultaneity of premodern and modern antisemitism clearly legible in the internal coding of antisemitic ciphers. Referring to Sigmund Freud, it is clear that antisemitism or Jew-hating has its theological origins in Christianity, and that this unconsciously lives on in the form of Christian metaphors and myths within the fantasies of antisemites. The deeper cause for this projection oriented toward “the Jews” lies in the differences between Christianity and Judaism, which emerge from a small narcissistic discontinuity, meaning that the origins of antisemitism are essentially of a religious nature, since Jewish monotheism took away from humanity the illusion of potentially being God (cf. Grunberger & Dessuant 1997, 262, 300); however, antisemitism formulates itself as an attempt (and, in light of antisemitic barbarity driven to mass extermination, definitely a pathetic one) at a “distorted cure” (Freud 1921, 159) for the profound narcissistic wound as an expression of antisemitic fantasies; it formulates itself as “hearsay about the Jews” (Adorno 1951, 125)—and not as a real engagement with Jewish religion or the history of Jewishness. Therefore, antisemitism can only be deciphered by analyzing antisemites themselves—and not by analyzing Judaism or Jewish history. It is not an accident that the antisemite chooses “the Jews” on which to project

his obsessions, nor is it accurate to say that antisemitism has anything to do with actual Jewish behavior.

Picking up on assertions by Parsons, Sartre, Horkheimer/Adorno, and Arendt concerning the concrete manifestations of an antisemitic projection oriented toward “the Jews,” one must emphasize that, because of the totalization of civil society and the associated essential interchangeability emerging from the commodification of all life, the projection screen of antisemitism has become instrumentalized, and therefore, in a dehumanizing sense, arbitrary. The ticket mentality (Horkheimer/Adorno) manifests itself in a reified way of perceiving the world, oriented toward interchangeability, indiscriminateness, and arbitrariness, and marked by a large portion of disinterest in and lack of empathy toward others. Antisemitic resentments certainly do not limit themselves to Jewish targets—in fact, as pointed out by Sartre, basically anyone can take on the function of the Jew in antisemitic fantasies; however, this does not change the historical reality that antisemitism has always been and continues to be directed against Jews, and with barbaric brutality.

The antisemitic worldview is thereby structured by a dualistic detachment from the external world, in which one’s own beliefs are not checked against reality, the antisemite *reacts (apparently)* to an action or statement that *does not exist* (it is or was simply a figment of fantasy), and people or characteristics can be declared “Jews” or “Jewish,” even if they are not such in actuality: “Juif par le regard de l’autre” (Traverso 1997, 203). This process takes place within the antisemitic formation of a Jewish idea, in which a transparent projection screen may be provided by Jewish culture, religion, and history, which themselves become arbitrarily distorted or even generated anew; because of this, Sartre is correct in focusing attention on the worldview and passion of the antisemites, in order to begin making antisemitism comprehensible. In accordance with Arendt, one can say that in contrast to premodern anti-Jewish prejudice, modern antisemitism represents an evolving historical process of abstraction culminating in a new peak in the twentieth century: away from actual Jews as *projection objects* toward the fictional “Jew,” who has been identified as alien to the *Volk*, who is defined solely by antisemites, and who has no more hypothetical possibilities for escaping the antisemitic delusion.

According to Hannah Arendt, the evolution of modern antisemitism through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was thus a process of radicalization in which anti-Jewish prejudices and resentments were increasingly divorced from the realities of society, until finally within the total ideology of National Socialism they became complete abstractions that “required no Jews, but only images of Jews, in order to unleash the hatred against them” (Schulze Wessel/Rensmann 2003, 128). The real, empirically

localizable conflicts between Jews and non-Jews in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were taken as the starting point of theoretical analysis for Arendt and (in a manner transforming perhaps one or two centuries) for Parsons as well, do not represent the cause of antisemitism, but instead the *precipitating impetus* for the transformational quantum leap from premodern religious antisemitism toward modern *völkisch* antisemitism (cf. Nonn 2008, 10).

This also means that historical conflicts and social differences between Jews and non-Jews cannot be drawn upon as genuine causes when explaining antisemitism. As Sartre pointed out, the important thing for antisemitism is not the historical reality, but rather the mental images made “from Jews” by the historical participants. It is the idea “qu’on se fait du Juif qui semble déterminer l’histoire, non la ‘donnée historique’ qui fait naître l’idée” (Sartre 1945, 447). For Sartre, antisemitism is, in this respect, also not explainable through external factors (of social or historical experience), but solely through the formulated and fantasized idea of the Jew. Significant here is not the actual Jew, nor the actual behavior of Jews, but rather “l’idée de Juif” (ibid., 448), the mental image that the antisemites have made of the Jew.

On a political and social level, antisemitism during the emerging modern was at first directed only against the Jews, and especially against their legal and political emancipation. The process of radicalization then took place through the increasingly stronger emphasis on general political questions surrounding antisemitism—a process succinctly summarized by Shulamit Volkov (1978) with the term *cultural code*, which is what antisemitism had become through this process—erupting into a critique of the whole social and political system, finally leading to conceptions of a fundamentally new society, “inspiring the fantasies of the *völkisch* movement toward designing, planning, and building” (Schulze Wessel 2006, 222).

The delusional behind the process of antisemitic projection was and is concretized in a transaction of reciprocal reversals of the relationships between individual and society, a transposition between internal and external, between psyche and sociality. Borrowing from Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno’s analyses of mimesis and false projections in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947, 220), it can be said that the antisemitic worldview is not interested in a mimetic transformation process with an accurate representation of the object and a simultaneous recognition of the subject, but rather the opposite, in a projectional delusional transformation of external reality with the goal of conforming the social environment to match the individual’s delusional drive structure. Although, as previously stated, modern antisemitism differs from premodern anti-Jewish prejudice

in effectuating a process of abstraction, it nonetheless then delusionally seeks concrete projection screens and accuses Jews of *being* abstract and not concrete—for example, in the form of commodities or money. As Sartre pointed out, antisemites thus repudiate particular abstractions of civil society, especially the forms of modern property such as money and stocks, because these were closely associated with rationality and therefore were also related to the abstract intelligence of “the Jews.”

Thus, in the antisemitic fantasy, Jews become symbolic of abstraction *itself*, which makes clear the highly contradictory contents of antisemitic resentments: Jews are accused of abstractness and are thereby blamed for the modern, which likewise encompasses socialism as much as liberalism and capitalism as much as enlightenment, as well as urbanity, mobility, and intellectualism (cf. Benz 2004; Schoeps/Schlör 1995). Only concreteness, and in politics the *völkisch*, are not encompassed by this antisemitic fantasy, since they represent the antithesis—as first described by Sartre (1945, 452)—of the differentiation between the generalized and the concrete in thought patterns and commodity forms, and the resulting dichotomy between worldliness and rootedness in the antisemitic worldview. With Moishe Postone (1982), it follows that the value system of modern society and the resulting differentiation between utility value and exchange value as well as the fetishization of commodities are causative of antisemitism’s establishing a connection between these economic spheres and a concrete worldview in which the abstract is dualistically associated with Jewishness.

Postone pointed out that certain aspects of the annihilation of European Jewry will remain unexplained as long as antisemitism is treated as a simple example of prejudice, xenophobia, and racism in general. Here, Postone argues that although antisemitism is certainly related to racist and *völkisch* stereotypes, racism itself is decidedly less complex than antisemitism, because it lacks the ambivalence seen in antisemitic assertions, expressing straightforward scorn instead. That is to say, as long as the belief continues that antisemitism is simply an example of scapegoating whose victims could have been members of *any other* group, because although the choice of antisemitic projection object exhibits arbitrariness, it was not accidental. Antisemitism bears not only a considerable quantitative difference (as manifested in the Shoah) in comparison to prejudice and racism, it also has qualitative differences, in the concrete (material and sexual) articulation of the potential power attributed to the Other, as well as in the abstractness of the attribution given to antisemitism, which is fantasized as a “mysterious unfathomability, abstraction and generality” (Postone 1982, 15). Because this fantasized power in antisemitism has no identifiable bearer, it is perceived as rootless, fantastically large and uncontrollable, but above all as hidden behind a façade, and is therefore perceived as conspiratorial and

unfathomable—in other words, as abstract. National Socialist antisemitism attempted to personalize and concretize this abstraction with the antisemitic extermination, although the Shoah itself had no functional meaning, and the annihilation of the Jews served no other purpose besides exterminating the abstract.

Brought into contact with racial theories that had been emerging in the late nineteenth century, a conception of the naturalness and rootedness of organicity became connected with the commodity-producing society, in which these thought patterns are themselves an expression of that same paradoxical fetish that generated the conception of the concrete as being natural, while increasingly representing the social-natural so that it appears to be biological (cf. Postone 1982, 21). The abstract and the concrete are not understood in their unity as rational parts of an antinomy, for which the real vanquishing of abstraction would be represented by the value encompassed by the historical-practical reconciliation of the contradiction itself, as well as of each of its sides. This is how the dichotomy of material-concrete versus abstract mutates into the racial dichotomy of Aryan versus Jew:

Modern antisemitism is therefore an especially dangerous form of fetish. Its power and its danger lie in that it offers a comprehensive worldview which seems to justify various types of anticapitalist discontent, giving them political expression. It nonetheless allows capitalism to continue, insofar as it attacks only the personification of that social form. This understanding of antisemitism allows one to see a significant impetus of Nazism as being an abbreviated anticapitalism. A defining characteristic of antisemitism is the hatred of the abstract. Its hypostatization of the existing concrete leads to a unanimous, barbarous—but not necessarily hate-filled mission: the deliverance of the world from the source of all evil in the form of the Jews (ibid., 24).

Historically, the antisemitic delusion was not an individual but rather a superindividual phenomenon, involving not just single paranoiacs, but rather an entire society that exalted the delusion of antisemitism as the norm, so that, historically seen, the phantasm of social normality became structured by the antisemitic delusion. The antisemites transferred their delusion to reality and attempted to adjust reality to match their own psychic deviance. The antisemitic delusion escalated from a national conception of negative integration (cf. Wippermann 1987, 36) toward the extermination of those fantasized as being non-identical, with the concrete goal of creating *völkisch* homogeneity and the extermination of the abstract possibility of non-identity and ambivalence. The antisemitic delusional structure implemented by National Socialism is thus the clearest manifestation of the social reality of antisemitic fantasies, and the mass extermination of

Jews is the utopia of modern antisemitism, which was barbarically realized in the Shoah—and whose replication in the present day is striven for by Islamic antisemitism in particular. The antisemites want to annihilate that which they desire; aggressive extermination desires go together with narcissistic identification, and fantasized envy generates the delusion of omnipotence.

The extent and radicalness of antisemitism in a social and political system are fundamentally dependent on its material and conceptual concretization—which itself has been made realizable by the modern ambivalence of enlightened thought, because capitalist totality has produced economic foundations that are essentially identical around the world, and the potential for an antisemitic reaction to the ambivalent uncertainties of the modern is equally evident everywhere. Here, the crucial macrotheoretical contextual prerequisite is the relationship between (nation-)state organizing and its implementation in the sovereign state as the site of a “systematized form of dominance” (Pelinka 2006, 225), although the relationship between the civil state and antisemitism has remained underexamined in social science research to date.

In this context, Arendt characterized antisemitism as an antinationalist worldview, pointing out that National Socialism placed little value on the nation-state and set *völkisch* thought against the national conception. Arendt sees *völkisch* ideology and racist thought as standing in opposition to nationalism, and as factors undermining it (cf. Arendt 1955, 265). However, it would be equally wrong to assume that states constituted as non-*völkisch* would automatically be non-antisemitic, as conjectured by Holz (2001), who was absolutely correct in his formal analysis but mistaken in his assumptions in positing a modern antisemitism and a “nationalist antisemitism.” The actual state forms of civil society do not correspond to the conceptual forms, but are instead defined like civil society by the dialectic of enlightenment.

The dialectic of the modern state consists of its double character: on the one hand, limiting individual instances of violence by imposing a monopolizing sovereignty and using this monopoly on physical force (Weber 1980, 29, 516), which has been recognized as legitimate to protect its citizens publicly and privately from physical violence committed by third parties; but on the other hand, simultaneously using this duality to realize the proclamation of universality to secure particular economic interests—using abstract political equality to manifest actual economic inequality—thus structuralizing power relationships (cf. Galtung 1975). Franz L. Neumann focuses on this dialectic in his analysis of modern state theory, emphasizing that both central components—sovereignty *and* freedom—form a unity within the state, and therefore cannot themselves be resolved in one direc-

tion or the other, thereby remaining in an “unresolvable contradiction” (cf. Buckel 2007, 82; Salzborn 2009).

The modern nation-state is organized around the poles of ethnos or demos (cf. Salzborn 2005), and simultaneously also around the differentiations between sovereignty and freedom, and between force and rule of law (cf. Neumann 1937). Central to this double ambivalence of the modern nation-state is that while it forms the ideational basis for antisemitism and *völkisch* thought, it could also be a guarantor for its prevention, depending on the combination of the four categories—ethnos and demos as well as sovereignty and freedom—and how they stand in concrete relationship to one another.

National Socialism, which was oriented only toward ethnos and toward sovereignty, attempted to eliminate the modern state in its ambivalence and—as one could say in agreement with Neumann (1944)—to erect an antisemitic unstate, where ambivalence and non-identity are destroyed and the fantasy of *völkisch*-narcissistic homogeneity is realized through antisemitic extermination. Here, it is evident that within the framework of antisemitic logic, the antisemitic extermination policy is neither conclusive nor even finite, but instead structurally produces newly formulated imagos on a continual basis for the ideological maintenance of the psychic and economic obsession with purity, because any attempt to unilaterally abolish the modern is structurally doomed to fail; in this respect, a delusional structure of permanent repetition is built into the antisemitic worldview—only the annihilation of the last human being could possibly fulfill the omnipotent desire for purity, which is why Sartre’s statement (1945, 470) that antisemitism is the fear of humanity itself is absolutely accurate in its naked brutality.

An explicit clarification of the relationship between the modern state and antisemitism would therefore have to take the ambivalent civil state as a starting point, before launching a historical and empirical investigation into the relationship between ethnos and demos on the one hand, and between sovereignty and freedom on the other, and then consider this in relation to the corresponding national history of antisemitism. A comparative, social science analysis of relevant historical case studies could then give insights into the precise interrelationship of the four elements—as well as offering (in contrast to many untenable pedagogical conceptions) historically and social-scientifically corroborated insights into the conditions required in a nation-state for the prevention of antisemitism.

The conscious or unconscious decision to be an antisemite is therefore the result of a commitment to a specific, idiosyncratic attitude toward modern society; it can be seen as a totality that encompasses the entire person, to borrow from Sartre and Horkheimer/Adorno. This “totalité synchrétique”

(Sartre 1945, 444) is a combination of worldview and passion, whose central focus is the idea of the Jew. Antisemitism emerges from the voluntary decision of the antisemite to understand the world in this particular way, and from the passion of wanting to give one's own resentments free rein. Between worldview and passion, between cognition and emotion, there exists an individualized mixing ratio in which, according to subject and situation, sometimes the emotional and sometimes the cognitive side dominates, thereby producing in antisemitism a dynamic relationship between worldview and passion. According to Sartre, the source of antisemitic enthusiasm can be seen in a yearning for insularity and a fear of change, whereby this fear also corresponds to a fear of oneself and of the truth. The antisemite strives for a standstill, trusting only in those essentialistically implicit certainties that are understood as being inborn, while simultaneously rejecting the acquired and the social. Antisemitism is ultimately about the desire for unfreedom and identity, articulated both cognitively and emotionally, combined with a fear of freedom and ambivalence. By separating the Jews from the homogeneously fantasized collective and isolating them sociopolitically as well as symbolically (in the fantasy of a narcissistic system of complete homogeneity), the "yearning for perfection" (Ludin 2000, 215) can be maintained, whereby narcissistic homogeneity in itself is also of value for the antisemites.

Having looked at the social-structural factors, we will now examine factors on the individual level that are significant for a theory of antisemitism, before finally turning to the mediating dimensions between individual and structure, between micro and macro levels.

Horkheimer and Adorno emphasized that antisemitism is not focused on economic benefits, but is instead informed by psychic dispositions, in which antisemitism only superficially appears to lack a rational intention: this intention is in fact composed of an (unconscious) affect that needs to be discharged—they thus took a crucial theoretical step past Sartre, who still argued a rational economic interest and did not delve deeply enough to see that this human interest can also be dominated by drive contingencies (that is, in facilitating unconscious fantasies of acting out), as is the case with antisemitism. Borrowing from Grunberger, it can be said that the antisemite projects his conflicts on the Jew, expediting an abreaction of some of his psychic complexes.

A psychoanalytical interpretation of the early childhood ambivalence conflict and the Oedipal situation as subjective sites of antisemitic fantasies can be used in underpinning psychosocial insights into the orientation of antisemitism's anti-Jewish projections and its affiliated household of fantasies and myths, as well as in understanding the attractivity for the individual of antisemitic resentments within their social dynamic from the perspective

of personality psychology, which is itself closely interwoven with the meso- and macro-structure of civil society through the triangular familial structure in its social-functional dimension as the familial medium (cf. Fromm 1936, 109) and thereby the “agent of society” (Adorno & Horkheimer 1991, 122).

Referring to the personality psychology interpretations of Loewenstein, Fenichel, Ostow, Simmel, and Grunberger, it can be surmised on the basis of empirical analyses that there is no uniform antisemitic personality (cf. Salzborn 2010, 228), but rather that an ensemble of predisposing variables exists—which do not, however, result in identical personality structures in all antisemites, because the personality structure elements as described in psychoanalytical literature emerge in parallel and complement one another, with the potential for more or less radicalization depending on individual biography and social contexts.

Abstractly formulated, the psychological commonality of all antisemites consists solely of having a similar predisposition of the psychic apparatus of the id, ego, and superego, as well as having similar patterns in the formation of psychic reactions. In general, the antisemitic ego is structured by projections, which (expanding upon Grunberger) can be described as isolated from the rest of the personality to a greater or lesser extent, resulting in an ego dissociation—again to a greater or lesser extent. The unresolvability of the antisemitic ego’s projectional structuring is the reason the antisemite rejects the reality principle, thus remaining in a phase of primitive emotional organization, or the so-called primary processes, and creates for himself a world of delusions. This is also why antisemites react irritably and aggressively toward ideas that run counter to their own fantasies: because—as also pointed out by Horkheimer and Adorno—they reject the reality outside of their ideological inner world.

However, this form of specific regression influences not only the ego, but also the antisemite’s superego, which Grunberger described as being underdeveloped and composed of components from various developmental phases:

The primary role is played here by a superego which arises not from an introjection of objects, but rather from acquired behavioral schemes. This pregenital superego, which imposes itself with its aforementioned austerity, does not lead to a true identification, but remains instead a system of acquired behavioral schemes. It consists solely of commands and prohibitions (Grunberger 1962, 258).

This antisemitic superego has introjected only the formal power that forced the individual into its acquired behavioral schemes—independent of the contents thereof. Since the antisemites’ projections materialize under

the pressure of the pregenital superego, one can also recognize in the accusations against the Jews their pregenital origin, and read in their stereotyping their regressive archaic character (cf. Grunberger 1962, 259). However, in terms of constituting the individual superego, the focus in sociotheoretical terms is not on the individual but rather on society, since transmitted concepts such as formal values, norms, and dictates, as handed down by the family as primary socialization authority, are always reproductions of political and social norm and value orientation processes, which are certainly not unexamined or unfractured, but are also not at all individual, instead being only individualized.

Moreover, the question of the antisemitic personality structure is also tied to a historically affiliating process, meaning that the cohesiveness of the worldview (and thereby the radicality of the ego dissociation) and the harmony or disharmony between ego and superego are *concretely* dependent on individual biography as well as social and political contexts, and can further stabilize or radicalize according to socialization and context. Here, a question remains about the point of no return, or the point at which antisemitic prejudices cohere into a worldview and the ego dissociation suspends itself largely in favor of a relatively homogenous personality structure shaped by antisemitism. It can be conjectured that a cognitive and especially an emotional predisposition toward antisemitic thought and affect structures is psychodynamically generated during childhood, and is therefore also furnished with a gradual potential for revision in later life. Put another way, the revision of antisemitic resentments is pedagogically possible only if they have not already been established during childhood as the emotional and cognitive fundament for the individual's overall personality structure.

If the antisemites have indeed succeeded in projecting upon the Jews, then they have achieved their dualistic paradise: all evil is now to be found on the one side, wherein they view the Jews are, and all good is to be found on the other side, where the antisemites consider themselves to be. According to Grunberger, the antisemite's ego ideal is of a narcissistic nature, and its fulfillment corresponds to a completed narcissistic integrity, which has been achieved by the antisemite through a projection upon the Jew. The creation of narcissistic integrity depends on the closing of an open narcissistic wound, which, according to Grunberger, can be considered central within the context of an Oedipal complex. People with antisemitic attitudes have never succeeded in correcting the wound to their self-esteem and have therefore foundered on the Oedipal conflict. The individual's wound corresponds to the collective wound described by Freud, which expresses itself in the Christian jealousy of Jews being (religiously speaking) the chosen people, and in the projective fantasy of a "Jewish world conspiracy."

The Jew represents the Oedipal father image, in which the psychic function of the Jew is to enable both a distancing of the Oedipal conflict as well as a lingering in the narcissistic dimension. Here, the psychodynamic goal is to “fill a deep narcissistic fissure within the subject and between the subject and the outside world” (Pohl 2006, 62). It is an avoidance of the real Oedipal conflict, resulting in a pregenital regression and an escape into the narcissistic universe as the site of the mother archetype, and the yearning for intrauterine perfection and the “prenatal elevated-elevating condition” (Grunberger 1982, 44). The antisemite stands between two worlds: that of illusion and Narcissus, and that of reality and Oedipus. For the antisemite, the Jew appears here as “the mighty and as the castrated father”:

The Jews are utilized for the abreaction of an unresolved and therefore “eternal” ambivalence towards the father. In accordance with this inner schism, he splits the introjected primal father figure into two halves: the aggressivity towards the evil, punishing father is directed towards the imago of the Jews to undergo an abreaction there, while positive feelings remain towards the beloved father figure, meaning God, the Fatherland, the ideal (Grunberger 1962, 268).

This also makes clear on an individual psychological level what Ostow (1996, 80, 85) described within Christianity’s apocalyptic imagery, in which can be seen a mythical division of the world juxtaposing “elements of danger or destruction with elements of achievement or victory,” combining “death fantasies” with “rebirth fantasies,” always in connection to messianic elements and the hope of an end to the current, negatively seen era. According to Ostow, the antisemitic worldview is therefore marked by a distinctly identifiable moralization. Sartre described this worldview as a dualism with an extreme polarization that largely excludes any kind of reality check, which itself relates to Arendt’s idea emphasizing the totality of antisemitism and the concomitant hermetic self-containment of this worldview.

Upon reaching the state of criticality, the antisemitic psyche’s internal conflicts can no longer be endured, and the ambivalence toward the id’s suppressed drive impulses and the superego’s internalized father authority becomes so unbearable that they are only manageable through externalization and thus projection. Here, the Jews serve the delusional role of the “demonized incarnation of one’s own projected destructive desires” (Beland 2004, 191f). Expanding on Grunberger, it is therefore important to pick up on Loewenstein, who pointed out that “the Jew” functions *in two respects* as a projection object for antisemitism: on the one hand, as the “repressed drives,” the internal “evil,” the forbidden (which refers back to the psychic connection between antisemitic resentment and the anal com-

plex, and thus the semantic fields of dirtiness, excrement, darkness, mysteriousness, sexuality, and money); and on the other hand, as the hated as well as beloved father, thus—in psychoanalytical terms—as a representative *simultaneously* of the id as well as the superego. However, a distinct shortcoming in theoretical antisemitism research still remains in the lack of empirically secured insights concerning the id: although one may here work as well from an assumption of pregenital dominance, the significance of oral and/or anal dimensions have not yet received sufficient empirical analysis.

The psychic mechanism of projection, characteristic of antisemitism, functions as a defensive measure against the efforts of one's own unconscious, as described by Fenichel (1946, 20):

For the unconscious of the rioters, the Jew represents not only the authorities whom they do not dare to attack, but also their own repressed instincts which they hate and which are forbidden by the very authorities against whom they are directed. Anti-Semitism is indeed a condensation of the most contradictory tendencies: instinctual rebellion directed against the authorities, and the cruel suppression and punishment of this instinctual rebellion, directed against oneself. Unconsciously for the anti-Semite, the Jew is simultaneously the one against whom he would like to rebel, and the rebellious tendencies within himself.

The antisemitic conception of the Jew is irrational, and therefore cannot be altered through concrete experiences with Jews, either. According to Fenichel, the antisemite views the Jewish God—and therefore every Jew too—as the Devil and the Anti-Christ, the evil, anti-divine principle, on the basis of which God was nailed to the cross. The question of why the Jew has taken on this role in the antisemite's projections is answered by Freud, with a view to the historical relationship between Christianity and Judaism:

The deeper motives behind Jew-hating are rooted in long-ago times, they emerge from the racial unconscious, [. . .]. I would venture to say that this jealousy, directed against a people purporting to be God's first-born favorite offspring, has not yet been outgrown by the others, as if they still put faith in this claim. Furthermore, of the customs that the Jews use to mark themselves out, that of circumcision made a disagreeable, sinister impression, which can probably be explained as a reminder of dreaded castration, harking back to a gladly forgotten piece of the primal past. And finally, the latest motive in this series, one should not forget that all these peoples who today excel in Jew-hating first became Christians late in history, and often forced by bloody compulsion. One could say they are all "badly baptized," and that, under a thin wash of Christianity, they have remained the same as their ancestors who paid homage to a barbaric polytheism. They have not yet overcome their grudge against the new

religion that was forced upon them, but they have displaced it upon the source from which Christianity came to them (Freud 1939, 197f).

By contrast to pregenitally influenced pagan religions, which focused on protecting and primarily motherly divinities, Jewish monotheism darkened religion by setting up the father as its central object, thus robbing it of motherly warmth. On the other hand, the stronger reincorporation of the motherly element in Christianity, in which the son has rediscovered the mother, has ultimately sparked a Jewish-Christian conflict in the unconscious. Andreas Peham (2004, 5) summarized the Jewish-Christian relationship from a theological-psychoanalytical perspective:

The evolution towards monotheism, towards the conception of a single, abstract God combining as a father figure both loving and punishing aspects, can also be understood in terms of psychogenesis, as “the development from a limited perception of the partial object towards the ability to perceive the entire object.” Here, there is no longer the need to dissociate the aggressive-destructive aspects and project them externally (paranoid-schizoid position). Instead, these aspects can be integrated, and the contradictory emotions can be experienced with an internal object that can also be evil and hated. The price for this antidemonization of the external world is the ambivalence conflict (depressive position). In terms of a conception of God, the Christian installation of a completely good and loving imago, corresponding to the narcissistic primal mother, implies the renewed need for dissociation and projection. Antisemitism thus appears to be overloaded: on the one hand, it proves to be “a hatred towards those who do not participate in the ritual of release from the paranoid-schizoid position, because they are perceived as a threat that casts doubt on the validity of this release”; on the other hand, it is also a projection of those negative or anal aspects which cannot be integrated. When the Christian God entered the world stage, so did the Jewish Devil; the narcissism of purity can only be achieved with the projection of the impure, of anality.

Christianity, which as a kind of younger sibling to Judaism also asserts a monotheistic worldview, has not equated the deep narcissistic wound with Judaism—which had taken away from humanity the illusion of potentially being God (cf. Grunberger/Dessuant 1997, 262, 300)—but instead with the Father himself. Antisemites do not identify with the austere law that was received with the (symbolic) murder of the primal father: instead of abstract, austere equality, they have internalized concrete power and the associated option for authoritarian arbitrariness. Within this fascination with total (fatherly) power exists simultaneously the fear of the same, as well as the fear of one’s own loss of power and status; all merge into antisemitism’s conception of the Jew being both powerful and powerless, castrating and

castrated, as pointed out by Grunberger and Freud. Therefore, oral aggression and anal destructiveness are an unconscious expression of the narcissistic-omnipotent desire for merging. The antisemitic fantasy articulates itself sociologically as a fear of losing recognition, love, or status, or as a reaction to this loss (Parsons), and psychologically as an interaction between castration anxiety and castration depression (Freud, 1939), in which this anxiety tends to elicit an aggressive acting out of the unresolved conflicts, while the depression tends to elicit a defensive one. The circumcision practiced by Judaism acquires in antisemitic fantasies a malign, sinister, and frightening mythos, closely associated with the anal conception of the Jew as devil and witch, as the “terrible, phallic, omnipotent and dangerous mother” (Grunberger 1962, 259).

In the interrelationship between castration anxiety and castration depression, there also exists the perspective of gender politics in contextualizing a political theory of antisemitism. Contrary to the assumption—arising from an understanding of gender based on theoretical difference—that women because of a differing Oedipal situation would take on antisemitism solely as an adaptation of “dominant masculine value orientations,” without this being affiliated with their psychic structure (cf. Mitscherlich-Nielsen 1983, 52), empirical findings show that such a differentiation is purely normative and does not hold in social reality. If the motif of castration is instead to be interpreted socially, then biological gender must be distinguished from social gender, meaning that the childhood perception is not about an actual lack or loss, but instead about the behavioral patterns performed with the primary gender characteristics by the parents while interacting with their children, and the fixation on defined, socially contingent, and trained gender roles as applied during early childhood education, which are *symbolically* manifested in the primary male and female sex organs. Furthermore, Elisabeth Brainin (1986, 108) showed that psychic needs and mechanisms such as narcissism, drive and affect repression, and anal-sadistic tendencies are not particular to masculine psychosexual development. In this respect, it can be stated that theoretical insights from social science research into antisemitism are empirically valid for both sexes, although there still needs to be further, primarily qualitative biographical research into what forms of gender identification concretely manifest themselves in men and women, in order to achieve a more precise picture of the theoretical dimension of gender in antisemitism. Here, too, one could presume a wider spectrum of possible identification patterns, which nonetheless ought to be traceable back to essentially similar primary socialization experiences.

Factors on the structural as well as individual levels allow one to summarize antisemitism as—to borrow from Horkheimer Adorno and Arendt—ultimately *a way of thinking*, and—to borrow from Sartre and Claussen—a

way of feeling: antisemitism is both the inability and unwillingness to think abstractly and feel concretely; in antisemitism, the two are switched, so that thinking is concrete, but feeling is abstract. Thus, all the ambivalences of modern civil society remain not only cognitively misunderstood and unconsidered, but also emotionally unprocessed, because feelings are abstracted and therefore the ambivalent uncertainties of the modern subject are not tolerated. With antisemitism, the individual is doubly desubjectivized: it forfeits intellectual mastery over its self-reflection, and forgoes the potential for emotional understanding and empathy. The antisemitic desire to *think concretely* is complemented by the inability to *feel concretely*; the worldview is to be concrete, but the feelings are to be abstract—the intellectual and emotional perspectives are subjected to an inversion, and this dichotomy leads inevitably to psychic inner conflicts. Therefore, in terms of worldview, antisemitism is a decisionistic attitude toward the world and a conscious and unconscious radical commitment to the dualistic antisemitic fantasy, both cognitively and emotionally.

Insights into the cognitive and emotional structure of antisemitism also provide significant prospects for social science research into prevention, especially from psychological and sociological sources. If one begins with the premise that antisemitism consists of a worldview and a passion that both emanate from a particular psychological basis that, though largely defined in early childhood, first produces a coherent worldview only later in psychological development, then the microtheoretical prospects for the prevention of antisemitism lie primarily within early childhood, in the encouragement of abstract thought and concrete feeling so as to strengthen the authentic and situation-appropriate articulation of one's own needs and interests—in contrast to the “especially pronounced drive repression in all areas” (Brainin 1986, 107) that is characteristic of antisemitism. Here, long-term empirical studies would be particularly useful in clarifying whether the ability for abstract thought and concrete feeling, as identified in individual biographies, also correlates in fact with a resistance against antisemitic models of interpreting the world. This question remains completely open, as the outline of a political theory of antisemitism being presented here can only demonstrate insights into its characteristics—but not, however, whether a revision or modification of these basal structures would in fact be a successful prevention strategy on the level of the individual, especially if the structural factors were to remain intact.

The conscious and unconscious interaction between factors on the structural and individual levels, as well as their reciprocal stabilization and the attendant modification of ways to articulate antisemitic resentments, occurs through a process of cultural formation. Shulamit Volkov described with her concept of the cultural code the sociocultural process of social

segmentation and homogenization, which—historically as well as currently—leads to a polarization (both symbolic and real) by antisemitism, and characterizes antisemitic mental images and worldviews. In antisemitism as a comprehensive alternative worldview, Jews have become a symbol of the modern world, as emphasized not only by Volkov, but also by Sartre, Horkheimer/Adorno, Arendt, and Postone. The cultural basis for this identification process was the formation (completed in the Wilhelmine Empire and uninterrupted to the present day) of a semantic and symbolizing interpretational figure that continually led to new extremes in the polarization of the Jew-hating sentiments, which had at first still remained localized and ambivalent: with the achievement of Jewish emancipation, antisemitism gradually became inextricably tied to its negation, whereby the Jews were assigned the function of a “third figure” (Holz).

Around the end of the nineteenth century, antisemitism became an integral part of an entire culture, and a “permanent companion of aggressive nationalism and anti-modernism” (Volkov 1978, 44). In the process, antisemitism changed from a bundle of ideas, values, and norms to a unique, widespread culture. Volkov accounts for this interpretive process on the semantic level from a symbolic viewpoint as the formation of a cultural code or the establishment of a linguistic shorthand, which on the one hand allows one to invoke particular associations and contexts, and on the other hand itself functions as a communicative cipher that refrains from any explicit mention of antisemitism’s resentments during the symbolic communication involved in the cultural creation of meaning. Antisemitism has become a code that in the thought and speech of antisemites requires no further explanations or details, so that antisemitism can be communicated by catchwords and key images needing no further explication between those communicating, because everyone “understands” the unconscious dimension, or because the speaker hopes and expects that particular insinuations and catchwords will be correctly interpreted by the listener, since they assume that they belong to the same cultural system—which consists of, as succinctly summarized by Lars Rensmann (1999, 311), “long-term, generation-spanning central value systems and codes, as well as the political and psychological behavioral dispositions, conventions and latencies.”

This communication in symbolic codes, the form and content of which the antisemite need not be aware, is based in its deep semantics on the assumption that a particular group of verbal addressees is capable of deciphering the code (which does not necessarily mean understanding it intellectually), and that this capability is denied to another group. This kind of hermetic coding also makes clear a difference in terms of generality between antisemitic and other worldviews, because the antisemitic interpretive fantasy is

not about logical all-statements, but rather pragmatic ones. This means that, in contrast to any other logical all-statement which can be made obsolete by a counter-example, in the case of the stereotype, a counter-example elicits no deconstruction of the pragmatic judgement contained within that stereotype. This is a major reason why stereotypes are so resistant to criticisms based on argumentative elucidation (Schwarz-Friesel/Braune 2007, 13).

An analysis of the hermeneutics and symbolic force of antisemitic speech in the context of cultural interpretive frameworks in the interaction between individuals and groups reveals that, for many, the catchword “antisemitism” was and is a repression of the real world, and—in terms of Critical Theory—a pathic worldview that interpretively distorted and deformed reality in such a way that it itself could appear to be the same thing, ideologically becoming it. The communication structure and interaction structure of antisemitic resentments within sociocultural space are marked by a hermeneutic logic in which Jews are perceived as non-identical.

Regarding the nation as a political form, Klaus Holz pointed out that “the Jews” are not considered foreign at all, but rather as other, thus representing a “third figure”: “He [the Jew] is neither one nor the other, neither native nor foreigner” (Holz 2000, 270). Holz argues that the polarization between native and foreigner marks out distinctly identifiable inside and outside positions, whereby “the Jew” is seen as neither one nor the other, and is thereby a third figure within this distinction between one’s own nation and the other one. “The Jew” therefore embodies within antisemitic semantics the negation of this distinction between one’s own nation and the other one, meaning that, from antisemitism’s point of view, the Jews’ existence *in itself* undermines the differentiation of nations and nation forms. In antisemitic fantasies, the Jew therefore also personifies the potential collapse of the world’s national order:

The national form serves to contain a we-group in the world. The asymmetry between one’s own and the foreign does not emerge from a denial of the nationhood or peoplehood of those outside. Instead, the symmetrical construction of “nation vs. nation” is made asymmetrical, on the level of imputations and judgements, by the dichotomy of “my nation and other nation.” This implies a certain acknowledgement of the outside. [. . .] The national form establishes a cultural interpretive framework which represents the world as nationally ordered. In this sense, the national form is at once both universalistic and particularistic (ibid., 277).

In this context, Holz puts forth the thesis that “the national form constitutes identity and alterity, the self-perception and public image of a we-

group, and that the third figure was developed in order to allow one to conceive of the national *form's* negation" (ibid., 279). Here, the "ordinary foreigner" does not personify the third figure, and therefore also not the ambivalence of the national form, but rather its constituent outsider:

The "Jews" are conceived not as the other nation, but rather as a negation of the distinction between nations. In nationalist antisemitism, they are consistently characterized as ambivalent, paradoxical, and non-identical. Internally, they do not belong, and externally, they have no location in the sense of *Volk/state/nation*. In other words, the "Jews" personify within nationalist antisemitism the *tertium non datur* of the two-sided form: the non-identical, anti-national nation (ibid., 280).

In terms of antisemitic hermeneutics, it is essential to note that the question of whether Jews in a national system *actually* become a third figure on the structural level is dependent on its systematic localization in the already outlined dynamic matrix of *ethnos* and *demos* as well as sovereignty and freedom; *if*, however, Jews are made into a third figure, then this conceptual process must be based on an affirmative utilization of the ethnic nation concept (or a similar belief), which of course could also stand in opposition to the macrostructure of a national system. Following Volkov and expanding on Holz, it can be stated that in terms of cultural and semantic (communications) structure, modern antisemitism is a *völkisch* antisemitism, which draws on ethnic and therefore antidemocratic organizing principles and aims to destroy forms of ambivalence and non-identicalness both theoretically and practically.

In the worldview of antisemitism, Jews play the permanent role of being non-belonging and non-identical, a role that is particularly expressed in—as described in detail by Holz—a dichotomous perpetrator-victim inversion in antisemitic thought; a differentiation between the identity of the we-group and the non-identity of the Jews; an ethnicization and ontologization of the respectively imputed characteristics; a differentiation between "good" and "bad" Jews within the antisemitic fantasy (which serves to deflect accusations of antisemitism); a contrasting of community and society in defining the social context of antisemitism; and antithetical conceptions charged with religious, racial, or social meaning (Judaism vs. Christianity; "Jewish race" vs. "Nordic/Aryan race"; "acquisitive" vs. "productive").

Cultural codes within a hermeneutic triadic structure facilitate the communicative transmission of antisemitic resentments, whose social dynamic and attractivity for the individual within the structural relationship between individual and group becomes comprehensible when one considers, in terms of social theory, the interlinking of micro- and meso-levels.

The focus here is on the antisemitic collective, which in terms of both real group (crowd gathering) and perceived group (intellectual unity) is relevant to antisemitism's crowd-building, in that the crowd, according to classical psychoanalytical understanding, should not be understood as a numerical dimension, but rather as a specific psychic condition that is independent of group size. In this context, Sartre posed an eminently important question of why antisemitism can continue to function for the antisemite even without any immediate connection to a physical mass movement; the answer is given by Simmel, who states that the individual is an *intellectual* participant in the mass movement of antisemitism, and not necessarily a physical one in the sense of a crowd gathering: "The anti-Semitic *idea* is a substitute for the leader" (Simmel 1946b, 54; original italics), whereby Janine Chas-seguet-Smirgel (1975, 95) additionally pointed out that the crowd desires less a master and more a set of illusions (with the goal of narcissistic fulfillment), and therefore chooses the leading principle that promises the "*union du Moi et de l'Idéal*."

Simmel describes the antisemites' physical and/or psychic absorption into the crowd, meaning into the irresponsible, seditious collective ego—via the replacement of the individual's superego with an external authority (cf. Freud 1921, 73) and therefore its externalization (cf. Adorno 1951a, 416)—within the context of the early childhood ambivalence conflict, which Grunberger placed in direct relationship to the Oedipal situation. The latent ambivalence conflict of the antisemitic crowd member is temporarily (if only ostensibly) resolved, precisely through participation in the crowd's collective ego and its splitting of the externalized parental force into a part that is loved (the Führer or the antisemitic idea) and a part that is hated (the Jews). The coming together of the crowd manifests itself in the merging of ideas and action impulses, which is a process of identification resulting from the reciprocal, latently homosexual bonds between individual group members. By relinquishing individual responsibility, the antisemitic crowd member becomes an egalitarian component of the crowd, what Sartre summarized as the "mediocrity" of the individual who participates in the crowd: an individual without responsibility, a fantasized collective ego with externalized superego.

Alfred Lorenzer (1981, 118) pointed out that the antisemitic mass psychosis has a considerable socializing effect, supported by the presence of both a personality disorder and a distinctive form of socialization. In building the crowd, adults organize themselves as children around their "personality defect that has congealed into a symptom" and become fixated at the infantile stage, whereby the crowd-building signifies a stabilization on the level of individual psychology. While the original drive impulse is thereby being subsumed by a substitute fulfillment, the aggressive-destructive

dimension of antisemitic crowd-building becomes rationalized by a worldview that offers a post-infantile socialization to the individual. According to Lorenzer, the individual's symptomatic asociality is thus neutralized, and the individual is freed on a conscious level from asocial isolation by his embedding: "Substitute fulfillment is incorporated into the consciousness" (ibid., 122). Since the antisemitic delusion, in the face of the participating individual and his individually psychological as well as his collectively political controlling agencies, is not permitted to reveal itself as delusional, it requires, in Freud's sense, precisely that rationalization of antisemitic thought: its accusations are true, and its emotionality is denied.

According to Simmel, the Jew as antisemitism's object represents the guilty conscience of Christian civilization. By accusing someone else instead of oneself, feelings of guilt can be avoided; this serves as a defense against the recognition of one's own guilt. From the perspective of religious psychology, there is also another reason for the antisemites' choice of projection object: the architectural structure of the Jewish religion offers through its conception of God an alternative form of overcoming (in this case, symbolically and abstractly) the early childhood ambivalence conflict, which antisemitism tries to resolve dualistically and concretely; the alternative conception hated by antisemites is what Simmel (1946, 61) describes as Judaism's religious transformation of a "material parental image to a spiritual collective superego," and that psychologically signifies nothing other than accepting in adulthood one's own childhood feelings of impotence around the parents (or the father image), thereby processing and historicizing it, instead of (necessarily unsuccessfully) rebelling against it, as antisemites try to do. This antisemitic crowd-oriented rebellion attempts to neutralize the fear of punishment, and also to sustain the desire for recognition and fulfillment.

Therefore, in accordance with Simmel, one can reaffirm the ultimate nonresolvability of the antisemitic conflict resolution model, since even the total annihilation of the Jews (through either assimilation or physical homicide) would simply rob the antisemites of their object and thereby impose upon them the necessity of finding another object for acting out their infantile strategy for resolving the ambivalence conflict. This is also the context for the complete denial of reality and absolute loss of touch with reality in antisemitic fantasies, because the actual goal is to rationalize the aggressive drive energies *of the antisemites*, and because their (sometimes contradictory) accusations against the Jews must necessarily lead to emotional ambivalences, due to the attempt within the psychotic crowd situation to split the parent image into two parts: one beloved and one hated. Precisely because this split is paranoid, its results remain ambivalent, and the antisemitic crowd member believes in his false accusations—not despite,

but *because* of, their irrationality—because only they can guarantee him, in his fantasy, the acquired psychological equilibrium and the apparent power of an adult.

Beyond the deficits already mentioned, a major deficiency of this outline of a political theory of antisemitism is its Christian focus: all of the above-mentioned social science theories of antisemitism were formulated in relationship to Christianity or to societies influenced by Christianity. This also applies to the empirical studies, and therefore to the assessment of these theoretical conjectures. This fails to account for Islamic antisemitism, which is especially relevant today, and that, beyond possessing theoretical foundations comparable to those of Christianity or adapted from them, also has its own independent history of antisemitism, connected to the Islamic religion itself (cf. especially Ansorge 2006; Benz & Wetzel 2007; Faber et al. 2006; Himpele 2008; Holz 2005; Küntzel 2002, 2007; Lamprecht 2007; Milson 2003; Perry/Schweitzer 2002, 2008; Wistrich 1990, 2007; Wurst 2005). Even when, particularly in regard to the psychoanalytical and psychosocial dimension, one might suspect that the theoretical concepts discussed here could also bear considerable relevance to Islamic antisemitism, this can only remain speculative, requiring independent investigation. The contemporary transformation of globalized antisemitism, which beyond the Islamic variety also has an anti-American one (cf. especially Markovits 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 71; Markovits/Rensmann 2007, 155; Nirenstein 2005; Rosenfeld 2003), therefore remains a gap in this investigation.

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Breckinridge Long and Coming to America

Steven Leonard Jacobs*

Breckinridge Long was appointed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt as assistant secretary of state. In that position, he was responsible for blocking the entry of Jewish refugees into the United States. The 1944 "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of this government in the Murder of Jews" condemned Long's action.

Key Words: Antisemitism, Breckinridge Long, U.S. immigration policy

THE LETTER

On April 25, 1940, one week shy of his twentieth birthday, Rolf Jacob¹ received a cover letter from Paul T. Johnson, superintendent, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs Field Service, addressed to him at the Chemawa Indian School, Chemawa, Oregon. Jacobs was living at the school after a long and harrowing journey escaping from the Nazis, arriving there at the end of the previous year. The letter stated:

Dear Rolf:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Secretary Hull's office.² The last paragraph would seem to be encouraging. I suggest that you retain this letter for future reference. I hope that your parents succeed in getting their passports soon.

The enclosed letter was from Avra M. Warren, chief, Visa Division, Department of State. It was addressed directly to Mr. Jackson, who wrote on Rolf's behalf. Dated April 19, 1940, it reads:

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I have your letter of April 3, 1940³ regarding the immigration visa cases at the American Embassy at Berlin, Germany, of Mr. and Mrs. Leo Jacob. Since the Department and its representatives abroad are unable to undertake inquiries regarding the whereabouts and welfare of persons who are not American citizens, it appears that Mr. Jacob's possible

1. Rolf Jacob was my late father, Ralph Edward Jacob, and Leo and Ella Jacob were my grandparents. "Jacob" was changed to "Jacobs" by U.S. Immigration.

2. The reference is to then Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who served in that position under President Roosevelt from 1933 until 1944.

3. A copy of Mr. Jackson's original letter was not among my father's papers.

internment by the German authorities is a matter lying solely between him and the German Government. I have been glad, however, to send a copy of your letter to our Embassy at Berlin with the request that you be informed regarding the present status of the cases of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob and, if possible, that you be given an indication of when it is expected that their cases may be afforded final consideration.

Leo and Ella Jacob were taken from their village of Zerbst, in Anhalt, Lower Saxony, to the city of Dessau, the home of composer Kurt Weill, where they were murdered sometime between October 1941 and April 1942.⁴

I cite their story, because their situation was not unique. The U.S. State Department's obstructionism to Jews' entry into *der goldineh medina* ("the golden land") is not altogether known. A clear misreading of the U.S. moral mandate as reflected at the base of the Statue of Liberty in New York,⁵ and its own self-perception, has come, more and more, to be fully associated

4. See Steven Leonard Jacobs, "Letters from Zerbst," in *The Netherlands and Nazi Genocide*, eds. G. Jan Colijn and Marcia Sachs Littell (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 505-518. The following excerpts are self-explanatory:

April 4, 1940: . . . We would like to go to Shanghai like others. But they want RM [Reichsmark] \$400 person . . . We are in a very sorry state. No income . . .

April 27, 1940: . . . We have made an application . . . to go to Eretz (Israel), but where will we get the RM \$80 per person besides the money for the trip? We must not think about it. The few pennies are coming to an end and what will happen then?

July 29, 1940: . . . Everyone is going away, but we are still behind. But I don't want to complain. We hope God will give us peace. I don't know what else to report. One day goes by like the other. . . .

5. Inscription at the base of Statue of Liberty, New York:

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

—Emma Lazarus (1849-1887). Jewish-American poet

with the successful machinations of one man—Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long, albeit with the help of friends. Indeed, as Long wrote in his diary entry for October 3, 1940: “About noon I had a long and satisfactory conversation with the President on the subject of refugees . . . I found that he was 100% in accord with my ideas.”⁶

Two months prior to that meeting—on June 26, 1940—Long had already written a memo to Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle, Jr. and foreign service officer James C. Dunn (who would later become the postwar ambassador to France), outlining effective ways to obstruct the granting of U.S. visas:

Attached is a memorandum from Mr. [Avra M.] Warren. I discussed the matter with him on the basis of this memorandum. There are two possibilities and I will discuss each category briefly. Their (i.e. the refugees’) entry into the United States can be made to depend upon prior authorization by the Department . . . It is quite feasible and can be done instantly. It will permit the Department to effectively control the immigration of persons in this category and private instructions can be given the Visa Division as to nationalities which should not be admitted as well as to individuals who are to be excluded. We can delay and effectively stop for a temporary period of indefinite length the number of immigrants into the United States. We could do this by simply advising our consuls to put every obstacle in the way and to require additional evidence and to resort to various administrative devices which would postpone and postpone the granting of visas.⁷

The focus of this paper, however, is not on the story of the State Department and its maneuverings, already well told in such works as Arthur D. Morse, *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy*; David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945* and *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941*; Richard D. Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and*

6. Fred L. Israel, ed., *The War Diary of Breckinridge Long* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 134.

7. “America and the Holocaust: Deceit and Indifference,” *American Experience*, www.pbs.org (accessed September 20, 2009). On June 14, 1940, twelve days before meeting with President Roosevelt, Long wrote to George Messersmith, U.S. ambassador to Mexico: “We are communicating with Consuls to be stricter in their interpretations of the law, and we have clamped down in various ways . . . All the gaps are being stopped up. I have had a [good] deal to do with it, and it has taken a considerable bit of time.” In Richard Breitman, Barbara McDonald Stewart, and Severin Hockberg, eds., *Advocate for the Doomed: The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald, 1932-1935* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 200.

European Jewry 1933-1945; Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust 1938-1945*; and Saul S. Friedman, *No Haven for the Oppressed: United States Policy Toward Jewish Refugees, 1938-1945*.⁸ Rather, it is on the man himself: who he was, what he did, why he did what he did, and the vexing question of whether or not he was truly an antisemite. Historically, however, the issue at hand is that of Long's now well-documented behavior rather than, for this contribution at least, any assessment of his psychological motivations. Then, too, I will argue in the conclusion that the very "success" of Long's obstructionism and obfuscation in the case of Jewish refugees during the Second World War maintains itself in the legacy of the present moment in the international failure not only of the United Nations but also its member-states as well to regard the genocide in Rwanda and Darfur as a further case in which to place obstacles before those attempting to flee these horrors. In the following text, I present quotes from these works to support my thesis.

JUST THE FACTS

Beckinridge Long was born on May 16, 1881, in St. Louis, Missouri, to parents of two socially prominent families: Margaret Miller Breckinridge and William Strudwick Long. As was the family tradition, and the case of others of his socioeconomic status, he spent his undergraduate years at Princeton University before returning to St. Louis and graduating from the Washington University School of Law. Passing the bar, he opened his law practice in 1907; he married Christina Alexander in 1912.

An interest in politics and public service saw Long work on the reelection campaign of President Woodrow Wilson, his mentor at Princeton, and join the State Department as third assistant secretary of state, a post he resigned in 1920 to run for the United States Senate. He was defeated twice and never held an elective office.

During Long's time in Washington, D.C., he became personal friends

8. Arthur D. Morse, *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1968); David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) and *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1968); Richard D. Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry 1933-1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987); Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust 1938-1945* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970); and Saul S. Friedman, *No Haven for the Oppressed: United States Policy Toward Jewish Refugees, 1938-1945* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973).

with then-Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Involving himself in Roosevelt's successful bid for the presidency and contributing heavily to the campaign, Long was rewarded with the post of Ambassador to Italy. His tenure there coincided with that of the fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, and he was most impressed with the country under his leadership. Indeed, in his initial reports and letters he would write:

Mussolini is an astounding character and the effects of his organized activities are apparent throughout all Italy . . . Italy today is the most interesting experiment in government to come above the horizon since the formulation of our Constitution 150 years ago. Likewise it is the most novel since then . . . The Head of Government [Mussolini] is one of the most remarkable persons. And he is surrounded by interesting men. And they are doing unique work in an original manner, so I am enjoying it all.⁹

To be fair, however, as the fascism of Mussolini increased its violence, Long would later reject his admiration. His opposition, however, to an embargo after Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935-1936 led to severe criticism of him, and may have been an instrumental factor in his return to the United States, although he insisted it was for health reasons instead.

In 1940, Long returned to the State Department, this time as assistant secretary of state with responsibilities over its Immigrant Visa Division, over which he would wield enormous power with the support of both his peers and his underlings and the backing of some above him.

Long's tenure was not without difficulties, however. His four years at the helm was rife with disagreements with other members of Roosevelt's administration, chief among whom were Henry L. Morgenthau, Jr., secretary of the treasury (who was himself instrumental in Long's undoing), and James G. MacDonald, chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees, and later ambassador to Israel. Long chose to retire in 1944, at age sixty-three, after being demoted, and return to his luxurious estate in Laurel, Maryland, devoting himself to raising and racing horses. He died there in 1958.

THE "SMOKING GUN"

On January 16, 1944, Morgenthau requested an audience with President Roosevelt, in which he presented the president with a (re-titled) report, "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of this Government in the

9. Letter to Joseph E. Davies, ambassador to the Soviet Union; and Almy Edmunds, wife of Judge Henry L. Edmunds, quoted in Israel, *War Diary*, xvii.

Murder of the Jews.” Written primarily by Josiah E. DuBois, Jr., special assistant to the secretary,¹⁰ and initialed by Randolph Paul, general counsel and head of the Foreign Funds Control Unit in Treasury, the report ultimately led Roosevelt to establish the War Refugee Board in advance of a congressional impetus for doing so.

Relatively brief (Medoff, 12 pages; www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org, 14 pages), it repeatedly cites Long for his obstructions, his distortions, his outright lies, and ends with New York Representative Emanuel Celler’s devastating comment: “If men of the temperament and philosophy of Long continue in control of immigration administration, we may as well take down that plaque from the Statue of Liberty and block out the ‘lamp beside the golden door.’ ”

Morgenthau begins his report with the comment “I am convinced on the basis of information which is available to me that certain officials in our State Department, which is charged with carrying out this policy [i.e., to work out programs to serve those Jews of Europe who could be saved], has been guilty not only of gross procrastination and willful failure to act, but even of willful attempts to prevent action from being taken to rescue Jews from Hitler.” The report then goes on to cite eight examples of such misconduct by which “certain State Department official are guilty,” and uses such words as “failure,” “concealment,” “misrepresentation,” “falsity,” and the use of “misleading statements.”

On November 26, 1943, in the aftermath of the Bermuda Conference of April 19, 1943 (which has become known for its tragic impotence in the face of the refugee crisis on the part of both the United States and Great Britain¹¹), Long was summoned to appear before the Committee on Foreign

10. See Rafael Medoff, *Blowing the Whistle on Genocide: Josiah E. DuBois, Jr. and the Struggle for a U.S. Response to the Holocaust* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2009).

11. Long himself was involved in trying to “stack the deck,” so to speak, regarding the members of the U.S. delegation, men who apparently shared his thinking and were opposed to the loosening of the immigration quotas: Congressman Sol Bloom of New York, the only Jewish member of the delegation and someone not about to make waves but who curried favor with the State Department; George Warren, executive secretary of the President’s Advisory Council on Political Refugees (the only truly oppositional voice); Long’s personal friend Robert Borden Reems; and Harold Willis Dodds, president of Princeton University. As Breitman and Kraut succinctly say it, “Long had crafted a delegation that reflected his own commitment to restrictionism.” Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy*, 139.

Though they were prevented from physically attending, the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs—representing the American Jewish Congress, B’nai Brith, the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs,

Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives. Subsequent to his testimony, both Representative Celler of New York and Representative Samuel Dickstein, also of New York, criticized him directly, and Morgenthau/DuBois included their comments in the report.

Dickstein: But the obstructive policy of our organs of Government, particularly the State Department, which saw fit to hedge itself about with rules and regulations, instead of lifting rules and regulations, brought about a condition so that not even the existing immigration quotas are filled.

Celler: Frankly, Breckinridge Long, in my humble opinion, is least sympathetic to refugees in all the State Department. I attribute to him the tragic bottleneck in the granting of visas.

I brought this difficulty to the attention of the President. I asked Long to investigate at once. No, there has been no change in conditions. The gruesome bottleneck still exists.

Breckinridge Long knew that his position was so indefensible that he was unwilling to even try to defend it at your [FDR's] pending conference with Secretary Hull on December 20. Accordingly, he took such action as he felt was necessary to "cover up" his previous position in this matter.

The "smoking guns within the smoking guns" in this matter was the failure of the State Department to give copies of Cables 354 and 482 upon request to either Secretary Morgenthau's representatives or Secretary Morgenthau directly—either of which, singly or both together, would have confirmed the obstructionism of the State Department, and that were finally leaked by a lower level State Department official to a colleague in Treasury. When pressed, however, Long sent over a paraphrase of Cable 354, and, according to the report, "specifically omitting any reference to cable 482 of January 21—thus destroying the only tangible clue to the true meaning of the message."¹² The State Department, however, confirmed the accuracy of

Agudath Israel of America, Inc., the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Synagogue Council of America, and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America—was able to submit a document entitled "Program for the Rescue of Jews from Nazi Occupied Europe." It went nowhere.

12. The fact that these two cables were dated 1943 can only mean that the Riegner Telegram of August 1942 was already known by Long and others, having been sent to contacts in both the British Foreign Office and the State Department; the State Department regarded the telegram as "a wild rumor, fuelled by Jewish anxieties." It read:

Received alarming report that in Fuhrers headquarters plan discussed and under consideration all Jews in countries occupied or controlled Germany number 3-1/2 to 4 million should after deportation and

the Riegner telegram, sent to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise in November 1942, stating that the Fuhrer headquarters are planning the “Final Solution” for the Jews—mass extermination.

The last two pages of the report spell out Long’s “misstatements,” “twisting of facts,” and “false statements,” concluding with Representative Celler’s damning comments:

His statement drips with sympathy for the persecuted Jews, but the tears he sheds are only crocodile . . . The tempest-tossed get little comfort from men like Breckinridge Long. . . . Long says that the door to the oppressed is open but that it “has been carefully screened.” What he should have said is “barlocked and bolted.”

Ultimately, there was now no place for Long to go but out.

ASSESSING BRECKINRIDGE LONG

The first book-length account of the subterfuges, machinations, and manipulations of the U.S. State Department in preventing Jewish refugees from coming to this country was Arthur D. Morse’s now-classic *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy*. Morse, a World War II historian and CBS producer and later founder of the International Broadcast Institute, wrote of Long:

. . . if Roosevelt was personally sympathetic to the victims of Nazism, Long seemed untroubled by such considerations. Long believed he was protecting the nation against an invasion by radicals and foreign agents. Through the years, he persisted in his theories about enemy agents entering as refugees,¹³ although the record indicates that only one

concentration in east at one blow exterminated to resolve once and for all Jewish question in Europe

Stop action reported planned for autumn methods under discussion including prussic acid Stop we transmit information with all necessary reservation as exactitude cannot be confirmed Stop informant* stated to have close connexions with highest German authorities and his reports generally reliable Stop inform and consult New York Stop [British] Foreign Office has no information bearing on or confirming story *Informant is now known to have been Eduard Schulte, prominent German industrialist and secret anti-Nazi.

13. Henry L. Feingold says of Long on this topic:

He formulated a confidential memorandum to his colleagues in the Department informing them of his suspicions that the rescue agencies were really in the employ of the Axis . . . There is no recorded response from Long’s colleagues to his contention that rescue organizations were

enemy agent entered the United States in the guise of a refugee. As it happened, that man was not Jewish.¹⁴

By indirection, Morse obliquely suggests both paranoia and antisemitism on Long's part.

Not so Henry L. Feingold, former director of the Jewish Resource Center at Baruch College and professor emeritus of Jewish History there. In his 1970 book *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945*, he writes:

Although Long's antisemitism was not as crude as that of the Nazis, it held many of their assumptions. Like most Nazis, Long somehow linked communism and Jewish internationalism. Like many Nazis, Long harbored a hysterical anxiety about communism which he also linked to Jews. . . . The refugee issue caused Long considerable nervous tension. Entries in his diary often reveal a paranoiac tone. Since these refugees enthusiasts (i.e., those who advocated for increasing refugee quotas) with their "inadmissible" or "peculiar" ideas were often Jewish they were lumped together as "radical boys" or "Frankfurter's boys"¹⁵ because, as Long saw it, they were "representative of his racial group and philosophy."¹⁶

For Feingold, there is no question that Breckinridge Long was an antisemite, and his antisemitism was both a distinguishing and influencing factor in the manner in which he wielded his power and his obstructionist position vis-à-vis the granting of visas to Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Europe.

A more carefully nuanced portrait of him, while extremely critically negative nonetheless, is that of David Wyman, professor emeritus of his-

"created and instigated" by the Gestapo, nor is it known whether Long's grasp of reality was ever seriously questioned by the Department after the memorandum left his desk (212).

Breckinridge Long's diary is full of charges that the rescue advocates, in pressing for a more humanitarian visa procedure or relief shipments to the camps, were really acting as Berlin's agents and subverting the nation's war efforts. Counteracting such arguments proved to be a nigh impossible task (307).

Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue*.

14. Morse, *While Six Million Died*, 41-42.

15. The reference is to Felix Frankfurter, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1939 to 1962, born in Vienna and the descendant of generations of rabbis.

16. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue*, 135.

tory, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, in his 1984 book, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*:

Breckinridge Long was an extreme nativist, with regard to eastern Europeans. His subordinates shared his anti-alienism. Their attitudes influenced not only visa policy but the department's entire response to the European Jewish catastrophe. . . . The extent to which antisemitism was a factor is more problematic. The fact that few Jews held State Department posts points to a generally antisemitic atmosphere. But direct proof of antisemitism in the department is limited.

[Note on page 191:] (Whether Long was also antisemitic is not clear. The record does not show him to be overly negative towards Jews simply because they were Jews. He appears to have had good relations with the more conservative Jewish leaders—that is, the ones who did not rankle him or openly criticize him.¹⁷)

Yet as reported in his 2009 book *Blowing the Whistle on Genocide: Josiah E. DuBois, Jr. and the Struggle for a U.S. Response to the Holocaust*, Rafael Medoff, founding director of The David Wyman Institute for Holocaust Studies, Washington, D.C., has a snippet of an unpublished interview with DuBois conducted by Henry Morgenthau III, Secretary Morgenthau's son:

DuBois: So [Morgenthau] arranged a meeting with Hull and [Assistant Secretary of State] Breckinridge Long. Breckinridge Long, incidentally, was—

Q: Antisemitic.

DuBois: Yes, I would say that's a good word to describe him. He was an antisemite.¹⁸

When Long was confronted directly on that particular question in a meeting with Secretary Morgenthau on December 20, 1943, this exchange occurred:

So I [Morgenthau] said, "Well, Breck, as long as you raise the question, we might be a little frank. The impression is all around that you, particularly, are antisemitic!" I looked him right in the eye. He said, "I know that is so. I hope you will use your good offices to correct that impression because I am not." I said, "I am very, very glad to know it." . . . And he protested and said he hoped he could work with me . . . I said, "After all, Breck, the United States of America was created as a refuge for people who were persecuted the world over, starting with Plymouth."

17. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews*, 190-191.

18. Medoff, *Blowing the Whistle*, 22-23.

And I said, "That was the concept of the United States, and as Secretary of the Treasury for one hundred and thirty-five million people—I am carrying this out as Secretary of the Treasury and not as a Jew." So he said, "Well, my concept of America as a place of refuge for persecuted people is just the same." So I said, "I am delighted to hear that."¹⁹

My own assessment, bottom line: Based on the available evidence, Long's diary entries, assessments of him by other scholars, and the actions of those charged with emergency immigration visa responsibilities, I regard Breckinridge Long as a *genteel* antisemite, and one who, like his president, genuinely wished the "problem" of Jewish refugees would go away and not sidetrack America's primary military goal of defeating the Germans as an act of state. That, coupled with his nativist elitism and conspiratorial tendencies, pushed at times to the point of paranoia, confirmed for him that those whom he did not like, especially Eastern Europeans, were Jews primarily, though his conservative political savvy dictated that he be somewhat circumspect in the public arena. For Jews, the tragedy of Breckinridge Long was that his four years in power were the years most desperately needed by those attempting to flee the maw of Hitler's genocide, and the successes of his obstructionist policies resulted in deaths that need not have been so, including my own grandparents. (One additional area worthy of further exploration thought, not central to this particular contribution, is that of examining the years 1933-1940 when escape from the Nazis was more fully possible than later, especially after America's entry into the war.)

A further and equally devastating assessment of Long is that of Breitman and Kraut in their 1987 text *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933-45*: "Long was more consumed with fears of conspiracies against himself and his country than with an antagonism toward Jews per se . . . any portrait of the suspicious, misanthropic Long as using his position to exercise a special antisemitism by deliberately barring Jews from the United States is overly simplistic."²⁰

They go on, however:

Breckinridge Long was an outspoken man of strong prejudices, deep suspicions, personal ambition, and heart-felt patriotism who had been thrust into the State Department bureaucracy by Roosevelt's act of political patronage. Though his diary contains antisemitic entries, he was more fearful of internal subversion by fifth columnists than he was of Jews per se; still, on occasion, he equated the two. Long's restrictionism was steeped in anti-radicalism. His policies and behavior were derived

19. *Ibid.*, 31-32.

20. Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy*, 127.

antisemites from his belief that he must rigorously enforce America's restrictive immigration laws in defense of national security and, of course, to nurture his own career. Long persisted in believing it unfair for Jews to ask for special favors which could, in his view, only come at a cost to other refugees. He was equally adamant, though, in rejecting special favors for other groups as well.

*Long's stubborn embrace of law and regulation in light of the Holocaust's reality was typical of a public servant wearing the blinders of bureaucratic responsibility. Only loyalty to the agency, as expressed by his commitment to its mission, mattered. Professional reward, personal fulfillment, and duty demanded the faithful administration of policies created by those above him.*²¹

What Breitman and Kraut have described in the person of Breckinridge Long is that of the *Schreibtischtäter*, the "desk murderer," a term we have come to associate more with Adolf Eichmann—*Y'mach sh'mol*"May his name be blotted out!"—and others, who, having never killed directly, were responsible for so much death, so much murder, so much evil, and personify Hannah Arendt's notion of ordinariness of the person perpetrating such horror, the "banality of evil."²²

CONCLUSION: BUREAUCRACY AND BUREAUCRATS AT WORK

In his April 2009 article "The Only Way to Prevent Genocide," Tod Linberg, research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University and the editor of its publication *Policy Review*, makes the following comment:

Atrocities short of genocide may somehow end up as tolerable, or at least tolerated. In 2005, a year after Colin Powell announced the U.S. finding of a genocide in Darfur,²³ a UN special inquiry issued a report

21. *Ibid.*, 145. Emphasis mine.

22. For a brief but excellent discussion of this idea, see Omer Bartov, "Who Were the Guilty?" www.bbc.co.uk/history (accessed October 7, 2009). An important, but little known and relevant, text is that of Guy B. Adams and Danny L. Balfour, *Unmasking Administrative Evil* (Thousand Oaks, CA, and London: Sage Publications, 1998). The latest important book regarding Eichmann himself is that of David Cesarani, *Becoming Eichmann: Rethinking the Life, Crimes, and Trial of a "Desk Murderer"* (Great Britain: Da Capo Press, 2004).

23. On September 9, 2004, Secretary of State Colin Powell appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and stated:

When we reviewed the evidence compiled by our team, and then put it beside other information available to the State Department and widely known throughout the international community, widely reported upon

saying that while criminal activities had taken place in Sudan for which perpetrators needed to be held accountable, it lacked the basis for a conclusion that those crimes amounted to genocide.²⁴ The bloodstained rulers in Khartoum were delighted to characterize the report as a vindication.²⁵

How is this possible? The United States, in the person of its secretary of state, declares the crisis in Darfur a genocide; yet the United Nations Commission disavows that the actions perpetrated there are genocide. How is this possible?

Delving into the commission's report, we learn that the four categories of groups subject to genocide according to the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide—national, racial, eth-

by the media and others, we concluded, I concluded, that genocide has been committed in Darfur and that the Government of Sudan and the Jingaweit bear responsibility—and that genocide may still be occurring

. . .

We believe the evidence corroborates the specific intent of the perpetrators to destroy “a group in whole or in part,” the words of the [Genocide] Convention. This intent may be inferred from their deliberate conduct. We believe other elements of the convention have been met as well . . .

John Hagan and Wenona Rymond-Richmond, *Darfur and the Crime of Genocide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xviii.

24. “Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General,” Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1564 of September 18, 2004, Geneva, January 25, 2005. According to the Executive Summary:

The Commission concluded that the Government of the Sudan has not pursued a policy of genocide . . . Generally speaking, the policy of attacking, killing and forcibly displacing members of some tribes does not evince a specific intent to annihilate, in whole or in part, a group distinguished on racial, ethnic, national or religious grounds.

The Commission does recognize that in some instances individuals, including Government officials, may commit acts with genocidal intent. Whether this was the case in Darfur, however, is a determination that only a competent court can make on a case by case basis.

The conclusion that no genocidal policy has been pursued and implemented in Darfur by the Government authorities, directly or through the militias under their control, should not be taken in any way as detracting from the gravity of the crimes perpetrated in that region. International offences such as the crimes against humanity and war crimes that have been committed in Darfur may be no less serious and heinous than genocide (4).

25. Tod Linberg, “The Only Way to Prevent Genocide,” *Commentary*, April (2009): 11.

nical, and/or religious—are not applicable in this case because the conflict is *tribal* and “tribes do not constitute a protected group” (126), even though it acknowledged that “the genocide perpetrated in 1994 in Rwanda vividly showed the limitations of current international rules on genocide and obliged the Judges of the ICTR [International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda] to place an innovative interpretation on those rules” (126); clearly, this was an interpretation the commission was not prepared to emulate. Such a narrow reading of the convention accurately describes what Israel Charny, founder of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide, Jerusalem, and past president of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS), calls an example of denial of genocide known as *definitionalism*—“a maddening form of resistance to acknowledging a known genocide commonly used by academics who enter into definitional battles over whether or not a given event fits a particular definition of genocide.”²⁶ Here the case is not that of academics, but rather of bureaucrats who construct a narrow vision of genocide as exclusivist in order to prevent a response. During the Second World War, Long himself, as evidenced above, narrowed definitional criteria not to open doors to permit emigration but to close them.

It gets worse. The commission concluded that the intention to commit genocide against the tribes of the Fur, Massalit, and Zaghawa were not present, arguing instead that the intent was to “murder all those men they considered as rebels, as well as forcibly expel the whole population so as to vacate the villages and prevent rebels from hiding among, or getting support from, the local population” (131). They then go on to cite two additional elements opposing intentionality: (1) “persons forcibly dislodged from their villages are collected in IDP [internally displaced persons] camps,” and (2) “in a number of instances villages with a mixed composition (African and Arab tribes) have not been attacked.” (131)

It continues to get worse, especially if we go back to Secretary Powell’s testimony before that same committee and learn that even a declaration of genocide does not obligate a nation-state to participate in its elimination even if that same nation-state is a signatory to the convention. As Powell stated:

Mr. Chairman, some seem to have been waiting for this determination of genocide to take action. In fact, however, no new action is dictated by this determination. We have been doing everything we can to get the Sudanese Government to act responsibly. So let us not be too preoccupied with this designation . . . I expect—I more than expect, I know,

26. Israel W. Charny, “Five Characteristics of the ‘Logic’ of Denials of Genocide,” in *Encyclopedia of Genocide*, Israel W. Charny, ed. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1999), 160.

that the government of Khartoum in Khartoum will reject our conclusion of genocide anyway. Moreover, at this point, genocide is our judgment and not the judgment of the international community . . .²⁷

What we see in both instances is the bureaucracy triumphing over moral, political, and military responsibilities to alleviate genocide just as Breckinridge Long used the bureaucracy of the United States government during the Second World War to thwart similar responsibilities to provide emergency immigration visas to Jews fleeing Hitler's genocide. Ironically, however, five years later, in March 2009, Luis Moreno Ocampo, the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, will issue a Warrant of Arrest for Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir, the president of Sudan, for the crime of genocide—five years after the genocidal slaughtering of thousands upon thousands of human beings.

If we turn back to the Rwandan genocide of 1994, we find not only the failure of the United Nations to act, mired in its own bureaucracy and later admitted by Secretary General Kofi Annan, but a United States government that deliberated for eighteen months(!) about whether or not to call what was happening a genocide. No more perverse hiding behind the bureaucracy is clear in the now infamous exchange between Christine Shelly of the State Department and Alan Elsner of the Reuters News Agency:

Elsner: How would you describe the events taking place in Rwanda?

Shelly: Based on the evidence we have seen from observations on the ground, we have every reason to believe that acts of genocide have occurred in Rwanda.

Elsner: What's the difference between "acts of genocide" and "genocide"?

Shelly: Well, I think the—as you know, there a legal definition of this . . . clearly not all of the killings to which you might apply that label . . . But as to the distinction between the words, we're trying to call what we have seen so far as best as we can; and based, again, on the evidence, we have every reason to believe that acts of genocide have occurred.

Elsner: How many acts of genocide does it take to make genocide?

Shelly: Alan, that's just not a question I'm in a position to answer.²⁸

This in addition to Presidential Decision Directive 25 of May 3, 1994—"U.S. Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations"—designed to substantially curtail U.S. involvement in UN military missions;

27. Hagan and Raymond-Richmond, *Crime of Genocide*, xviii.

28. Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide," *The Atlantic*, September 2001, www.theatlantic.com (accessed April 2, 2009). Power would later write *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

this even after President Bill Clinton's non-apology at Kigali airport on March 25, 1998, in which he declared:

. . . the international community, together with nations in Africa, must bear its share of responsibility for this tragedy, as well. We did not act quickly enough after the killing began. We should not have allowed the refugee camps to become safe havens for the killers. We did not immediately call these crimes by their rightful name: genocide. We cannot change the past. But we can and must do everything in our power to help you build a future without fear, and full of hope . . .²⁹

If Adams and Balfour are correct, the administrative evil of bureaucracy as evidenced in the cases of both Darfur now and Rwanda previously are very much a legacy of the successful work of Breckinridge Long fifty years before. How to overcome this regnant evil becomes the challenge if we are to prevent future genocides.

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The Left, Radical Antisemitism, and the Problem of Genocide

Philip Spencer*

The Left's historic failure to take seriously the radical, genocidal character of Nazi antisemitism risks being compounded today. The reluctance to challenge the current charge of genocide by radical Islamists against Israel manifests both a failure to understand what genocide means and allows Jews to be blamed for committing the crime they previously suffered.

Key Words: Genocidal Intent, Inverted, Islamist Antisemitism, Racial Antisemitism, Radicalism, Universalizing Approach

THE RADICALISM OF NAZI ANTISEMITISM

Before and during the Holocaust, no sustained effort was made on the Left to focus centrally on the radical and genocidal character of Nazi antisemitism. After the event, this failure was compounded by a temptation to see the Holocaust in purely universalist terms. Such failure in perception has not only made it harder to confront the further development of antisemitism but also, paradoxically, to respond to the recurring threat of genocide. The failure in particular to challenge the deeply misleading charge of genocide against Israel from radical Islamists has the effect of simultaneously stripping the concept of genocide of its fundamental meaning and allowing for the resurgence of antisemitic projections in which Jews become blamed for committing the very crime that they themselves previously suffered.

Much of the recent literature on Nazi antisemitism has emphasized its intensely radical character. However sensitive the Nazi elite were at different times to what their various audiences were willing to hear, there is little doubt that their beliefs about Jews were consistent and deeply held. Antisemitism was the key to their understanding of the way the world had become organized. So-called Jewish influence lay at the heart of the ideologies of democracy, liberalism, and socialism—no matter that these appeared to others to be quite different. This influence lay too at the heart of both the dominant forms of social and economic organization, capitalism and communism, no matter that these appeared to others as polar opposites. Jews were responsible as well for Germany's unexpected defeat in a world war, no matter that Germany had started it.

According to Saul Friedlander, one of the doyens of recent Holocaust historiography, this radical antisemitism is best understood as a redemptive ideology.¹ In Hitler's mind, the Jews were the source of all the fundamental problems, all the dangers that menaced not just Germany but humanity. For Jeffrey Herf,² this was also a deeply paranoid view, in which the Jews were thought to form an international conspiracy behind everything, not just destroying Germany from within (before the Nazis were able to flush them out) but on the global stage. It was this way of thinking that, according to Adam Tooze,³ explains in good measure how the Nazis understood the reasons for the behavior and decisions of their major global antagonists. It was the Jews, they believed, who stood behind not just the government of the USSR but also that of the United States, not to mention Great Britain, when Churchill insisted on fighting on—irrationally, in the mind of the Nazi elite.

It was also an upside-down view. As Peter Fritzsche⁴ has argued, the Jews were being blamed for what the Nazis were themselves actually doing or intended to do. They were blamed for starting the world war that Hitler himself in fact unleashed. They were blamed for America's coming into the war, even though it was Hitler who declared war on America. They were accused of intending to annihilate the Germans, when actually the Nazis were annihilating the Jews. And it was also, of course, a self-contradictory view. The Nazis contrived to blame Jews for both their demonic strength and their subhuman weakness. Yet such contradictions did not in any way weaken their convictions. It was a closed belief system, able to explain everything and not open to refutation.

This belief system has, however, also to be understood historically, in relation to earlier forms of antisemitism. It brought together, as Philippe Burrin has argued, a number of elements from earlier forms of antisemitism and organized them around a central organizing principle—race.⁵ This was itself to some extent a new element, though not completely. The Nazis after

1. Saul Friedlander, *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007).

2. Jeffrey Herf, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006).

3. Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction—The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (London: Allen Lane, 2006).

4. Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008).

5. Philippe Burrin, *Nazi Anti-Semitism: From Prejudice to the Holocaust* (New York: The New Press, 2005). There is a very interesting discussion of how racism reworked an existing antisemitic trope, the question of the blood libel, by David Biale, "Blood and the Discourses of Nazi Anti-Semitism," in *Varieties of Anti-*

all were not actually the first to introduce the element of racism into antisemitism. The Spanish Inquisition had already done this with the notion of *limpieza di sangre* back in the 15th century,⁶ although it can be argued that racism in the imperialist epoch has a far greater intensity and salience.⁷

But this particular racist hatred did not emerge *ex nihilo*. It drew on and incorporated other, earlier antisemitic ideas. Burrin insists that “there was an undeniable continuity . . . the Nazis reemployed more or less every anti-Jewish motif and theme available,”⁸ while Raul Hilberg long ago pointed out that “the Nazis did not discard the past, they built upon it.”⁹ Burrin argues that Nazi antisemitism brought together three elements in particular—Christian religious hostility to the Jews, nationalism, and racial pseudo-science. The first two were important because they enabled the Nazis to appeal to those who might not have been persuaded by racial antisemitism alone. Despite the tensions between Nazism and Christianity,¹⁰ many Christians colluded with the regime’s antisemitism.¹¹ And, as Helmut Walser Smith has argued, there were strong antisemitic strains in German nationalism¹² that facilitated its appeal. It was clearly not difficult for those who were enthused by the Nazi promise of national renewal to

Semitism: History, Ideology, Discourse, ed. Murray Baumgarten, Peter Kenez, and Bruce Thompson, 29-49 (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2009).

6. For the place of this notion in the history of antisemitism, see Leon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. 2, *From Mohammed to the Marranos* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). On the difficulty of drawing a hard and fast distinction between pre-modern (non-racial) antisemitism and (racist) modern antisemitism, see David Nirenberg, “Was There Race Before Modernity? The Example of ‘Jewish blood’ in Late Medieval Spain,” in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 232-264.

7. See Enzo Traverso, *The Origins of Nazi Violence* (New York: The New Press, 2003), chapter 2.

8. Philippe Burrin, *Nazi Anti-Semitism: From Prejudice to the Holocaust* (New York: The New Press, 2005), 92.

9. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 5.

10. As Uriel Tal has carefully explained, Nazism drew on both Christian antisemitism in various ways and (as a pseudo-religion itself) attacked Christianity as a Jewish product, while also drawing on pagan roots for both purposes. See “Religious and Anti-Religious Roots of Modern Anti-Semitism,” in *Religion, Politics and Ideology in the Third Reich* (London: Routledge, 2004).

11. Robert Michael, *Holy Hatred: Christianity, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2006).

12. Helmut Walser Smith, *The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, and Race Across the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

endorse the exclusion of Jews from the nation.¹³

None of this can be adopted to an eternalist view of antisemitism, let alone to suggest invariance. Instead, it is to point to the significance of earlier forms of antisemitism as the *radicalism* of the Nazi version. The Nazis would not have been able to develop a more radical antisemitism had they not had these earlier, powerful motifs to work upon. And it was more radical in one critical respect; it was genocidal. It was no longer or not only about exclusion or expulsion from particular places but about elimination from humanity itself. Antisemitism had been radicalized into a genocidal ideology.¹⁴

THE LEFT AND NAZI ANTISEMITISM

It is striking that no significant left-wing organization or theorist before or during the Holocaust appears to have grasped the radical, genocidal character of Nazi antisemitism as it was being developed.¹⁵ While they did provide some opposition (albeit a divided and consequently ineffective one) to the rise of the Nazis, neither of the two major Marxist organizations of the time, the Social Democratic Party or the Communist Party, grappled directly with Nazi antisemitism. As Jeffrey Herf has argued, “The persecution of the Jews . . . played only a minor role in communist thinking about the resistance.”¹⁶ Only one leading figure in the Party, Paul Merker, made any serious effort to think about what was happening to the Jews, and he was marginalized at the time and punished afterward for his efforts.¹⁷ The

13. See both Fritzsche, *Life*, and his earlier *Germans into Nazis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

14. This radicalization was famously captured by Hilberg as a sentence that became progressively shorter over the centuries: from “You shall not live among us as Jews” (signaling the intent to convert Jews from their supposedly misguided beliefs) to “You shall not live among us” (signaling ghettoization or expulsion) to “You shall not live” (signaling annihilation). *Destruction*, 5.

15. I have discussed this failure more fully in “Marxism and the Shoah—Behind and Beyond Silence,” in *Re-Presenting the Shoah for the 21st Century*, ed. Ronit Lentin (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004), 158-178.

16. Jeffrey Herf, “German Communism, the Discourse of ‘anti-Fascist’ Resistance and the Jewish Catastrophe,” in *Resistance in the Third Reich*, ed. Michael Geyer and John W. Boyer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 262.

17. Merker was in fact arrested in 1950 as an American agent and jailed for eight years. See Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). This marginalization is effectively (if perhaps unintentionally) confirmed by Allan Merson in his major history of communist resistance, which manages to refer to the Jews only three

German Socialists did not take Nazi antisemitism much more seriously.¹⁸ They sought generally to downplay its significance, fearing it might alienate some of their supporters or even members; in addition, they did not attack Nazi antisemitism directly as the Nazis came to power. They then refused to make it a central issue in underground activity or in their anti-Nazi propaganda, as David Bankier has shown.¹⁹

This was not merely a political failure that could be explained away on pragmatic grounds. It was also a theoretical failure: the independent Marxist theoreticians of the Frankfurt School (several of whom were Jewish) also did not take seriously the genocidal character of Nazi antisemitism. As late as 1942 (that is, when the Final Solution was well under way and more than a million had already been murdered), Franz Neumann, the School's expert on Nazism, insisted that the Nazis "will . . . never allow a complete extermination of the Jews."²⁰ Antisemitism was, in his view, "only the means to the attainment of the ultimate objective, the destruction of free institutions, beliefs and groups"²¹; it was not fundamental to the Nazi project. One could "represent National Socialism without attributing to the Jewish problem a central role."²²

They were not, of course, alone in this. There was a widespread blindness about Nazi goals among other social theorists at the time,²³ and a considerable reluctance even in Jewish communal organizations to appreciate what the Nazis had in mind. For Raul Hilberg, this failure was rooted in the Jewish experience of earlier forms of antisemitism and the various strate-

times in some 300 pages. See his *Communist Resistance in Nazi Germany* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985).

18. See Donald Niewyk, *Socialist, Anti-Semite and Jew—German Social Democracy Confronts the Problem of Anti-Semitism, 1918-1933* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971). Peter Pulzer argues that opposition to antisemitism had never been unanimous or unambiguous throughout the party's history. See his *Jews in German Politics—the Political History of a Minority, 1848-1933* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

19. David Bankier, "German Social Democrats and the Jewish Question," in *Probing the Depths of German Anti-Semitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews 1933-1941*, ed. David Bankier (Oxford: Berghahn, 2000), 521.

20. Franz L. Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism 1933-1944* (London: Gollanz, 1942).

21. *Ibid.*, 551.

22. Cited in Anson Rabinbach, *In the Shadow of Catastrophe: German Intellectuals Between Apocalypse and Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 184.

23. See Jacob Katz, "Was the Holocaust Predictable?," in *The Holocaust as Historical Experience*, ed. Yehuda Bauer and Nathan Rotenstreich (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981).

gies Jews had adopted before to deal with attacks on them, none of which would work with the Nazis.

It is easy, we know, to be wise after the event. There were real barriers to understanding in this case, which derive to some extent from what was radical about Nazi antisemitism. The extermination of the Jews could not be understood in utilitarian terms, as Hannah Arendt was one of the first to point out²⁴; it was, in an important sense, as Dan Diner has argued, counter-rational.²⁵ But, above all, the genocidal dimension was new. As Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassen put it some time ago, “Even veteran anti-Semites found it hard to imagine that the Nazi regime seriously intended to make the Jewish people extinct.”²⁶

THE QUESTION OF INTENT

The question of genocidal intent was for a long time, of course, the subject of often sharply polarized debate in Holocaust historiography, between “intentionalists” and their functionalist critics, although this debate has died down to some extent in recent years. For many on Left, the idea that the Holocaust was the end result of an original, deliberate, calculated intent to annihilate a whole people might seem to go against the grain. Any such argument assigns, it may be felt, too much primacy to ideas, at the expense of material circumstance. Ideas do not exist in a vacuum; people come to embrace particular kinds of ideas because of the circumstances in which they find themselves and the difficulties they face. The more acute the problems, the greater the risk of extreme violence. And the problems the Nazis faced concerned more than just the Jews. They arose from a project that was not primarily focused on the Jews but on conquest, annexation, and empire.²⁷ Not to position the Holocaust in this recognizable context is to run the risk of taking it out of history altogether and to assign the Nazis a demonic power that is both historically and morally untenable. The Nazis,

24. The phenomenon of the extermination camps could “no longer be deduced from humanly comprehensible motives”; “the incredibility of the horrors is closely bound up with their economic uselessness . . . carried to the point of non-utility.” See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1976), ix, 445.

25. See Dan Diner, “Historical Understanding and Counterrationality: The Judenrat as Epistemological Vantage,” in *Beyond the Conceivable: Studies on Germany, Nazism and the Holocaust* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

26. Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassen, *The History and Sociology of Genocide* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 324.

27. See, for example, Mark Mazower’s recent wide-ranging study, *Hitler’s Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe* (London: Penguin, 2008).

and *a fortiori* the Germans, were human beings “like us,” capable in the right circumstances of inflicting extreme violence on others. And this violence was not confined to the Jews. The reverse side of demonizing Hitler, the Nazis, and the Germans is to single out the Jews, to privilege their suffering, ignoring the violence that was meted out to others at the same time and indeed both before and after the Holocaust. We need then to focus on the universal significance of the Holocaust and be alert to the repetition of such violence against any group and not remain fixated on the Jews.

Arguments of this kind, at any rate, seem to have played an important role in shaping and structuring much of what has passed for left-wing thinking about the Holocaust—not that there has been a great deal of it. It took a long time for any major historian or social theorist of the Left to focus on the Holocaust, although the Left was not unique in this. As Saul Friedlander has noted, “15-20 years of ‘latency’ followed the war in regard to talking or writing about the Shoah,” years in which there was a “more sustained silence of intellectuals, particularly the historians.”²⁸ It was only in the 1960s, as part of a generational revolt that probed into continuities and connections between the Nazi past and the liberal-capitalist present, that there developed any sustained interest in Nazism from the burgeoning New Left.²⁹ But even then, like their forebears of the old Left in the 1930s, the question of antisemitism was not a prime concern but rather what Nazism shared with other fascist regimes and how it was connected to other forms of capitalist rule.

It was not until the appearance in at the end of the 1980s of Arno Mayer’s *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken*³⁰ that there was any sustained effort from the Left to think directly about the annihilation of the Jews. But Mayer as well was eager to treat antisemitism as essentially of secondary importance, a side effect in many ways of a much more fundamental conflict between Right and Left in a great continental civil war. The mass murder was, in his view, part of a much wider and prolonged violence, likened to the Thirty Years’ War between Catholics and Protestants in Europe in the 17th century. The violence that was meted out to the Jews was thus both geographically and historically contextualized and contained. It could be

28. Saul Friedlander, “Trauma, Memory and Transference,” in *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory*, ed. G. Hartman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 259.

29. In the communist East, historians were inevitably constrained by a Stalinist frame of reference, which made it very difficult to contribute much of substance, as Ian Kershaw has noted: “In the GDR . . . down to the upheavals of 1989 few important works specifically on the Holocaust appeared.” *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 4th ed. (London: Hodder, 2000), 95.

30. London: Verso 1990.

explained specifically in terms of frustration as the Nazis realized they were facing a catastrophic and terminal defeat at the hands of their main enemy, the Soviet Union.

Mayer's work was produced (as for a long time its sole work on the subject) by the influential British publishing house Verso, which was also associated with another prominent Left writer, the veteran Trotskyist Ernest Mandel, who also turned his attention to this topic after a gap of nearly four decades.³¹ (Mandel had in the meantime had written, also for Verso, a book on the Second World War, which managed to devote only a few paragraphs to the Holocaust at all³²). In a set of condensed theses,³³ Mandel also laid stress on the issue of the wider context, this time inter-imperialist rivalry, and emphasized that the Jews were only the first group to be targeted for genocide. Had the Nazis had been victorious, there would have been many more victims. Attention therefore needs to be turned not so much to the Jews but to all the others the Nazis also killed and were planning to kill.

This universalizing approach has gathered force on the Left in recent years, as a number of writers have sought to locate the Holocaust in the still broader context of imperialist violence, stretching back to the conquest of the New World.³⁴ From this perspective, what happened to the Jews was terrible, but so too was what happened to many others, not just at the time but before and since. What we need is to think much more broadly and generally. We need to think not so much about the Holocaust, not so much about antisemitism, and not so much about Jews but about genocide, about racism, and about all its victims.

These arguments are not trivial or unimportant. They are persuasive in many ways because they seem to fit with a certain common sense, both historically and morally. They invite us to think about the Holocaust as we think about other historical events, to connect it to the kinds of processes and developments with which we are familiar, and to broaden our horizons and sympathies from a too narrow and limiting preoccupation with "just"

31. There is a very incisive discussion of the development of Mandel's thinking (and its limitations) in Norman Geras, *The Contract of Mutual Indifference* (London: Verso 1998).

32. Ernest Mandel, *The Meaning of the Second World War* (London: Verso, 1986)

33. Ernest Mandel, "Prémises Matérielles, Sociales et Idéologiques du Génocide Nazi," in *Le Marxisme d'Ernest Mandel*, ed. G. Achcar (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999). The theses were first formulated in 1988.

34. See, for example, the important collection edited by Dirk Moses (a major contributor to this line of thought), *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2008).

the Jews. But there are some latent problems with this approach, some with perhaps surprising and paradoxical consequences.

It has, to begin with, no self-reflective aspect, no awareness that earlier efforts to think about this issue from the Left have been profoundly inadequate. There is no recognition that exactly what had occurred had been dismissed as a possibility both before it took place and while it was taking place. And, to the limited extent that Nazi antisemitism is now seen as important, it is assumed that the Nazis entirely replaced one kind of antisemitism with another. Nazi antisemitism is then typically seen only as part of a much more widespread form of racism, directed against many other peoples, not only and no longer centrally targeting Jews.

But Nazi antisemitism was not only racism. It was radical, incorporating earlier forms of antisemitism and reworking them, in a new framework, into a genocidal ideology. This genocidal ideology was itself radical. The aim was to kill all the Jews, wherever and whenever the Nazis could find them. It was in this sense a global project, not merely a German or a European one. Thus, the aim was not just to oppress the Jews, or to exploit them, or to force them out from a particular area, or to steal their goods or their resources or their property, but to murder them all. This became an overriding priority, to be pursued increasingly obsessively, at the expense of all other projects, even winning the war or saving what could be saved of the German nation-state.

If this was not demonic, it does nevertheless need to be thought about in terms of the history of morality, or rather, as Berel Lang has argued, in terms of the history of evil. For, as Lang has asserted, the Nazi elite clearly knew that what they were doing constituted a radical departure.³⁵ They went to considerable lengths to conceal what they were doing and planned what they were doing with considerable care. They engaged in a deliberate and sustained policy of dehumanization, stripping the Jews of their humanity in order to make them appear subhuman. Lang's conclusion is itself radical. For him, it is that, contrary to a whole tradition in Western philosophy going back to Plato, in which it is believed that "no one does evil willingly," the case of genocide here "comes as close any act of which humanity has experienced to exemplifying the statement of Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost*—'Evil be thou my good.'"³⁶

Lang is not alone in seeing the question in such terms. Hannah Arendt also saw this, both in the *Origins of Totalitarianism* and later in *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, even though she appeared to characterize that evil differently,

35. Berel Lang, "The Knowledge of Evil and Good," in *Act and Idea in the Nazi Genocide* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

36. Berel Lang, "Intending Genocide," in *Act and Idea*, 29.

first as “radical” then as “banal.”³⁷ What was critical was that the Nazis sought to play God, to arrogate to themselves who should and should not constitute humanity—and this was why she thought Eichmann should hang.³⁸

The Holocaust then was the event that brought the question of genocide into a very clear focus. The Nazis *did* want to eliminate a whole people off the face of the earth, and this was (albeit belatedly) understood. The Holocaust was followed by the Genocide Convention, which was a response to what the Nazis had revealed was now possible in the modern world. This is not to say that mass killing is a wholly new phenomenon. It is perfectly possible to argue that genocide can be traced back to the ancient world, to Sparta and Rome, if not before.³⁹ But as Roger Smith has argued, it is “not that the word is new, the crime ancient, so much as the crime is new, the phenomenon ancient.”⁴⁰ There is a profound sense in which the Holocaust, as it were, lit up the sky, made the question unavoidable, as it was clear that the Nazis did intend to annihilate the Jews. There was no law that covered this crime, as Raphael Lemkin had realized during the 1930s, as he reflected on what had happened to the Armenians but especially as he became more and more preoccupied with what might now happen to the Jews.⁴¹ As his worst fears were realized, he repeatedly pressed the newly

37. Richard Bernstein, however, has argued that these two conceptions are not in fact contradictory. See his *Hannah Arendt and the Jewish Question* (Cambridge: Polity, 1996).

38. “Just as you supported and carried out a policy of not wanting to share the earth with the Jewish people . . . we find that no one, that is, no member of the human race, can be expected to share the earth with you. This is the reason, and the only reason, why you must hang.” *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Viking, 1965), 279.

39. For a recent and magisterial survey of the history of genocide, see Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

40. Roger Smith, “State Powers and Genocidal Intent,” in *Studies in Comparative Genocide*, ed. L. Chorbajian and G. Shirinian (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 1999), 9.

41. There has been a recent effort, which may be seen as part of the universalizing approach under discussion here, to argue that Lemkin’s concern was not with the Jews but with a much wider phenomenon, with genocides committed by Western imperialist states over several centuries. See, for example, the special issue of the *Journal for Genocide Research* 7, no. 4 (2005), edited by Dan Stone and Jurgen Zimmerer. It is certainly the case that Lemkin began by thinking about the Armenians and not the Jews, and that his concerns and sympathies went beyond these cases. But it is also the case that what drove him was a growing anxiety about what might (and did) happen above all to the Jews. He saw the Holocaust as the radical case that made the need for a law against genocide overwhelming.

constituted international community, in the form of the United Nations, to adopt his concept of genocide and to create a law to deal with it.⁴² The convention was ratified in 1948 (24 hours before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and was then in some ways the founding document of the postwar international order. It defined this crime specifically in terms of intent, and demanded a response from humanity itself, to prevent or halt genocide and to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Genocide is not the same as other crimes. It is not the same, for example, as a war crime, since it can be committed in a time of peace as well as in a time of war. It is a crime, the greatest crime, against humanity itself. It is what William Schabas has rightly called the “crime of crimes.”⁴³ It is not a charge to be thrown around lightly.

THE CHARGE OF GENOCIDE AGAINST ISRAEL

But this is what now seems increasingly to be happening in ways that reveal some problems with an understanding of the Holocaust that fails to address not only the central role of radical antisemitism in that catastrophe but also its legacy. The charge of genocide is now increasingly being made against members of the group who were the victims of the very case of mass killing that forced the need for the concept of genocide in the first place. It is Israel above all that is now being said to be the main perpetrator of genocide today, against the Palestinians.

Now, it can be argued that there is no reason in principle why victims of genocide are not themselves capable of committing that crime themselves. Being the victim of a crime does not itself make anyone or any group any better or worse than others. Our sympathy and concern for victims does not require us to turn them into saints. One might even argue the contrary: that brutalization damages human beings and makes them far less likely to behave well, but rather the reverse. There is even a new literature emerging suggesting that there is a whole category of “subaltern genocide,” which is needed to capture cases of this kind, cases in which the oppressed take revenge on their tormentors.⁴⁴ But the category cannot encompass this

42. For a gripping account of Lemkin’s efforts, see Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (London: Flamingo, 2003). See also the recent biography by John Cooper, *Raphael Lemkin and the Struggle for the Genocide Convention* (London: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2008).

43. William Schabas, *Genocide in International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

44. See, for instance, the collection edited by Nicholas Robins and Adam Jones, *Genocides by the Oppressed: Subaltern Genocide in Theory and Practice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009). This work is very illuminating in many

charge, which is so inaccurate and disproportionate that it calls for an explanation (at least in part) in terms of the continuing history of antisemitism.

It is not, of course, a completely new charge. It emerged in the Arab world, as Meir Litvak and Esther Webman have shown in a pioneering study of the topic, as part of a set of Arab responses to the Holocaust,⁴⁵ ranging from denial (“the most pervasive theme”⁴⁶) to a wish that Hitler had “finished the job,” to blaming the Jews for having provoked the Germans in the first place and/or for collaborating with them, to equating Zionism and racism, to equating the Naqba with the Holocaust. It has always been disturbing that sections of the Left have colluded with such arguments. The case of the endorsement of Holocaust denial by the French Far Left publishing house La Vieille Taupe caused something of a scandal in the 1990s,⁴⁷ as had the American Trotskyist Lenni Brenner’s earlier effort to accuse Zionists of collaborating with Nazis.⁴⁸ But these were marginal efforts, taken up only by small groups on the Far Left, with little wider resonance.

In any event, there was a period in the 1990s when a number of writers began to argue that the Arab cause was not being helped in any way by such morally obnoxious and self-contradictory claims. Admirable and courageous in many ways, this “new Arab discourse” was nevertheless not, according to Litvak and Webman, driven by any noticeable desire to know more about the Holocaust as such; instead, it seems to have been driven by

respects but it does contain one extraordinary essay that risks throwing the whole enterprise overboard. Jones suggests in his own contributing chapter that this category includes the case of some survivors of the Holocaust (led by the legendary partisan Abba Kovner), who sought after the war to wreak what he calls a genocidal revenge on the Nazis, and seriously contemplated poisoning the entire German population. But, as Dina Porat has shown in her detailed and exemplary discussion of this episode, not only did they have no resources whatever to do so, they were specifically prevented from getting them by the Haganah, which saw such a project as both immoral and entirely counter to the interests of surviving Jews and the state of Israel they were trying to build. See Porat, *The Fall of a Sparrow: The Life and Times of Abba Kovner* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), especially chapter 12). So, far from this being a case of “subaltern” genocide, it demonstrates that a victim group, indeed precisely this victim group, was utterly opposed to genocide.

45. Meir Litvak and Esther Webman, *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

46. Litvak and Webman, 191.

47. See Alain Finkielkraut, *The Future of a Negation: Reflections on the Question of Genocide* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

48. Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators: A Reappraisal* (London: Croom Helm, 1983).

more political motives, using Arab recognition of the Holocaust as a basis for a call for mutual recognition. If Arabs would recognize the Holocaust, Israelis should then also recognize the Naqba.

This argument was always vulnerable to the criticism that it could be made to appear as if the Holocaust and the Naqba were identical injustices in a kind of flattening universalization (to follow Yehuda Bauer's argument), in which the Holocaust came to stand for all evil without any discrimination between different kinds of crime.⁴⁹ The Holocaust could even then be turned against the Jews themselves. After all, if the Jews suffered at the hands of the Nazis, others suffered before them and alongside them and after them, so why not even at their hands? But what appeared on the surface then as an attractive universalizing of the Holocaust continued at some level to ignore what was actually central to the Holocaust itself—that it was a genocide committed by radical antisemites against Jews.

Those on the Left attracted by the apparent universalism of this approach may well have feared that to continue to focus on antisemitism would detract from the universal significance of the Holocaust. But, as Robert Fine has recently argued, this omission derives from a false polarization. "Reference to the particularity of Jewish suffering in the Holocaust . . . does not subvert the universal; it substantiates it." As Hannah Arendt observed, there is no contradiction in principle between treating the Holocaust as a Jewish question and as a question of universal significance; "the physical extermination of the Jewish people was a crime against humanity perpetrated on the body of the Jewish people, and only the choice of victims, not the nature of the crime, could be derived from the long history of Jew-hatred and anti-Semitism."⁵⁰

These problems were swept under the carpet to some extent by a new turn, in which the call was no longer for mutual recognition of injustice, but for Israel itself to be charged with genocide, past and especially present, a call made with increasing insistence in the context of the revival of the Intifada at the start of the millennium, the Lebanon War of 2006, and especially after the Gaza war of 2009. Now it was no longer a question of mutual recognition, of an asserted equivalence between the Holocaust and the Naqba. The Holocaust, though still invoked (but only in its flattened

49. Yehuda Bauer, "Whose Holocaust?," *Midstream*, 26, no. 9, cited in Litvak and Webman, 325. More specifically, on the need to discriminate between different kinds of murder, see also Bauer's *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

50. Robert Fine, "Fighting with Phantoms: A Contribution to the Debate on Anti-Semitism in Europe," *Patterns of Prejudice*, 43, no. 5: 472. The quote from Arendt comes from *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 269.

universal form), had essentially been replaced by what Israel was supposed to be doing to the Palestinians and indeed to Muslims more generally. In this turn, the Holocaust had not only lost its distinctively Jewish character but, receding into the past, had been replaced by a purportedly new genocide, which now demanded all attention.

The driving force for this charge is largely a radical Islamist one, from groups such as Hamas, from Hizbollah, and from its supporters in the Islamic Republic of Iran. This is not an accident. It is not just that radical Islamists have never really moved from a denialist position, as Litvak and Webman have shown⁵¹; it is that the charge of genocide only makes “sense” within a framework that owes much of its structure to the continuing history of antisemitism. For the antisemitism of radical Islamists has, like Nazism before it, drawn upon an existing reservoir of antisemitic ideas, integrating and reworking them. Just as Nazi antisemitism was not only racist, though that was its dominant element, so radical Islamist antisemitism is not only religious, though that is *its* dominant element.

The charge of genocide plays an important part in this structure, not least because it is based on claims that can, without much difficulty, be shown to be without foundation in relation to what the Genocide Convention specifies⁵²; there is no evidence of an intent on the part of the Israeli state to annihilate the Palestinians as a group. Even if one were to attempt to read genocidal intent back into the consequences of Israel’s actions, the Palestinian population has not shrunk but grown. Palestinian children have not (as was the case with aboriginal children in Australia, for example) been taken away from their families and brought up as Israelis.

Similarly, there is no meaningful comparison between Gaza and the

51. Litvak and Webman, 365.

52. There is an important argument that the convention itself is too narrow and restrictive. This has long been argued in respect of political groups, although that is not the central issue in respect of this charge. (But see on this Caroline Fournet, *The Crime of Destruction and the Law of Genocide: Their Impact on Collective Memory*, Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007). There has also been an argument that Israel has committed “politicide.” See, for example, Baruch Kimmerling, *Politicide: Ariel Sharon’s War Against the Palestinians*, 2003, not coincidentally also published by Verso. A more sustained and credible argument against a restrictive understanding of the concept of genocide (rather than the convention, which is my focus here) has been advanced by Martin Shaw, who is rightly anxious not to allow the euphemism of “ethnic cleansing” further traction. See his *What Is Genocide?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007). For a defense of the need for a restricted concept, see William Schabas, who nevertheless (and again rightly) points to the way in which the legal concept has subsequently been developed by courts: “What Is Genocide? What Are the Gaps in the Convention? How to Prevent Genocide?,” *Politorbis* 47, no. 2 (2009).

Warsaw Ghetto. The Nazis had not withdrawn from Warsaw, leaving it in the hands of a group committed to the destruction of Germany. They forced more and more Jews into the ghetto, many of them from far away, in conditions deliberately and consciously designed to starve people to death. They transported large numbers to extermination camps and then killed those who remained. There were no Jews left inside the ghetto after the Nazis had destroyed it, as they destroyed all the other ghettos, whether or not there was any resistance. Whatever the number of casualties inside Gaza, whether civilian or armed, it is clearly not the case that the population has been annihilated. There are, moreover, no slave-labor camps nor are there any extermination camps there or anywhere else in Israel/Palestine.

It is therefore puzzling to see how, particularly on the Left, such an unsubstantiated charge has gone unchallenged on such a serious question. The extent of this silence has gone beyond what Anthony Julius has elsewhere described as a new form of “fellow-travelling” on the Left.⁵³ It suggests something deeper, a common sense in which the question of genocide has lost its specific meaning, and in which the question of genocidal ideology has all but disappeared.

None of this is to justify *a priori* in any way the conduct of Israeli troops in either of these conflicts, or to exculpate them in advance from the charge of war crimes. (And war crimes are quite specifically not the same thing as the crime of genocide; otherwise, there would have been no need for a genocide convention). Such charges require, as they always do, to be investigated and punished as such, if proven (though it should be noted that even the strongly debated Goldstone report claims that there have been war crimes on both sides). Nor is it to justify the conditions in which the inhabitants of Gaza are trapped, nor to make any claims one way or the other about who is responsible for these conditions, about whether responsibility lies with the Israelis, who have withdrawn, or with the movement, Hamas, which has taken over within Gaza. It is simply to deal with the question of the charge of genocide, which cannot be substantiated.

But this charge is not an accident. It is located within a structure that shares a number of characteristics with Nazi antisemitism, from which it has borrowed several elements, even if it has added new ones. It is, to begin with, in an important sense, an *inverted* picture of reality. Just as the Nazis projected onto the Jews what they were themselves doing or intending to do, so the charge that is Jews who intend to commit genocide inverts an actual genocidal discourse from radical Islamists (including some of the

53. Anthony Julius, “The Company They Keep; Anti-Semitism’s Fellow Travellers,” *Z-word*, July 2008. www.z-word.com/z-word-essays/the-company-they-keep%253a-antisemitism%2527s-fellow-travellers.html.

present leaders of Iran) in relation to the large numbers of Jews who happen to live in Israel.⁵⁴ Second, it is also a picture of reality in which Jews (in organizing and implementing this genocide) are engaged in a vast conspiracy, not just to subvert and destroy Islam (as in the Nazi imagination they had sought to subvert and destroy Germany) but to control the world, through their control over states, international finance and the media⁵⁵; third, it is part of a world view that sees Jews as responsible (beyond even this genocide) for all the evils and maladies that afflict the Moslem world (as they were before for those that afflicted Germany); fourth, it is part of a world view that sees Jews as responsible for all the evils and maladies of the modern world itself, including the ideas and legacies of the French and Russian revolutions, also loathed by the Nazis; and fifth, it is a self-contradictory view, as in the Nazi case, since the Jews are also here too a historically a despised and weak minority, which makes it difficult to see how they could have obtained or be able to exercise such satanic power, and to carry out the genocide itself.

This is not to argue that antisemitism is central to the world view of radical Islamists, although it can be argued that this is indeed the case, that it has become again what Volkov argued that it was in the prelude to the Nazi era, the decisive “cultural code” that defines and reveals fundamental political positions and cultural orientations.⁵⁶ Nor is to argue that the only

54. How possible it is to turn this discourse into action is, of course, hotly debated. But the discourse itself needs to be acknowledged. See for example, Kenneth L. Marcus, “Iran’s Nuclear Anti-Zionism Is Genocidal, Not Political,” *In Focus Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (2009); and Irwin Cotler, “Global Antisemitism: Assault on Human Rights,” *Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Anti-Semitism*, Working Paper no. 3.

55. See Robert Wistrich, “The Old and New Anti-Semitism,” in *Those Who Forget the Past: The Question of Anti-Semitism*, ed. Ron Rosenbaum (New York: Random House, 2004).

56. Shulamit Volkov, “Antisemitism as a Cultural Code: Reflections on the History and Historiography of Anti-Semitism,” in “Imperial Germany,” *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 23, no. 1 (1978): 25-46. Volkov has often returned to this theme, not just in her recent effort to explain why German Jews (including her own father) were so slow to realize the threat they faced, but also why the Left has failed to challenge antisemitism to the point, in her view, of allowing it to re-enter its own ideological framework. For the former, see her *Germans, Jews, and Anti-Semites: Trials in Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); for the latter—which might itself help explain the contemporary collusion of some on the Left with radical Islam on this issue—see her remarkably prescient “Western Anti-Semitism Today—An Evaluation,” in *Present-Day Anti-Semitism*, ed. Yehuda Bauer (Jerusalem: Vidal Sassoon Centre for the Study of Anti-Semitism, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1988).

materials or antecedents for this worldview are to be found in Nazism. Some of these arguments can certainly be traced back to (or perhaps more accurately be brought together with) antisemitic ideas located in interpretations of Islam (sometimes dubbed fundamentalist⁵⁷) in which Jews were seen as inferior, untrustworthy, disloyal, and dangerous in various ways.⁵⁸ Nor is to argue that the dominant organizing element is the same. It is not racist (at least not overtly), since in principle Jews can be converted to Islam—although the use of terms such as pigs and apes to describe Jews does not suggest a complete break here from a Nazi depiction of them as rats and vermin. It is self-consciously religious, though it is not a version of Islam that a vast majority of Muslims would accept. But it is nevertheless a religious antisemitism, which incorporates crucial aspects of Nazi antisemitism and without which the charge of genocide now would have much less force.

As Matthias Kuntzel⁵⁹ and Jeffrey Herf⁶⁰ have argued in recent years, this radical Islamist antisemitism is connected to Nazi antisemitism through clearly identified channels and mechanisms. They have pointed to the important collaboration between the leaders of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt and the Nazi state, but even more so between the Mufti and Hitler, who, as Kuntzel has argued, “in the course of the Second World War developed into by far the most committed supporter of National Socialism in the Arab and Islamic world.”⁶¹ And it was through the Brotherhood and through the Mufti that these ideas were reworked into the antisemitism of contemporary radical Islamists, an antisemitism whose own radicalism draws upon an antisemitism already radicalized and transformed into a genocidal ideology by the Nazis.

57. The use of this term has been persuasively criticized by Yehuda Bauer in his discussion of Islamist antisemitism, “Problems of Contemporary Anti-Semitism,” in Baumgarten, *Varieties*; see especially 319-321.

58. There are a number of general discussions of the antisemitism of radical Islamists. As well as Bauer and Wistrich (in many ways a pioneer in the field), see also the relevant chapters in Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Anti-Semitism—From Ancient Times to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), and Pierre-Andre Taguieff, *Rising from the Muck—The New Anti-Semitism in Europe* (Chicago: Ivan Dee, 2004).

59. Matthias Kuntzel, *Jihad and Jew-Hatred* (New York: Telos Press, 2007).

60. Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

61. Kuntzel, 34.

TAKING GENOCIDAL DISCOURSE SERIOUSLY

There has to date been very little response to this from the Left, for reasons that are arguably rooted in past weaknesses and silences. Many on the Left, judging by their silence on the issue, seem to find it difficult to take this new form of genocidal antisemitism seriously now. It may be much easier to think about it, as the Left did in the 1930s, not as a central issue but as a secondary one, as an effect of something else, as a superficial phenomenon, as a means to another end, as a temporary phenomenon that will pass.

This would be a serious mistake, which would compound previous errors of judgment and understanding. It would mean not taking genocide seriously again. If the charge of genocide can be allowed to go unchallenged against Israel, whatever the other rights and wrongs of the Middle East conflict, it means that the Left would have not understood what genocide is and what it requires: a genocidal ideology and a genocidal intent that derives from that ideology. For if the Holocaust holds any lessons, one of them is that when people adopt and express genocidal ideas, they need to be taken seriously. As one of the leading contemporary historians of the Holocaust, Omer Bartov, has observed, “We still do not seem to have learned a simple crucial lesson that Hitler taught us more definitively than anyone else in history: some people, some regimes, some ideologies, some political programs, and, yes, some religious groups, must be taken at their word. Some people mean what they say, and say what they will do, and do what they said. When they say they will kill you, they will kill you.”⁶²

If Bartov is right, then the Left’s historic failure to take the genocidal threat of Nazi antisemitism seriously—urgently—needs addressing. Those who do not take radical antisemitism seriously as a genocidal ideology may end up not being able to take *any* genocidal ideology seriously. They may then, in what is perhaps a final and most striking paradox, given the Left’s historic and admirable universalist sympathies, not be able to respond effectively to the threat of genocide when it recurs, as it must, to Jews—or to anyone else.⁶³

62. Omer Bartov, “He Meant What He Said,” *The New Republic*, January 29, 2004.

63. The deafening silence (though not only on the Left) to recent genocides in Darfur and Sri Lanka are perhaps the clearest signs of this present danger. The contrast between the attention accorded to these two cases of mass killing and that accorded to the Gaza war is, in this context, particularly ominous.

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ESSAYS

An Open Letter to European Officials

David Harris*

March 28, 2010

To Baroness Catherine Ashton

Dear Baroness Ashton,

Since December, you have served as the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the European Union—in other words, the EU’s foreign policy czar. A few days ago, your op-ed, “Lessons from a Gaza Trip,” was published in the *International Herald Tribune*. You waxed poetic about a project for deaf children and a school for girls you visited in Gaza. You wrote: “For the sake of the little deaf boy who stood and held my hand and for the girls who want to be able to do something with that good education, we have to move from process to peace.” Astonishingly, though, you ignored some rather obvious facts. Not once did the word “ Hamas ” appear in your article. How is it possible to write about Gaza today and fail to mention its governing authority? It’s not a small oversight, either. Hamas is the crux of the problem. How could you overlook the Hamas Charter, which defines the worldview of those in charge? The full text should be required reading for anyone, like yourself, involved in Middle East diplomacy. Here’s a taste of what the Charter says about Jews: “The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, has said: ‘The Day of Judgment will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews [killing the Jews], when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Muslims, O Abdulla, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him.’ ” And here’s how the Charter views neighboring Israel: “Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it.” Here’s how the Charter refers to so-called infidels: “The day Islam appears, the forces of infidelity would unite to challenge it, for the infidels are of one nation. O true believers, contract not an intimate friendship with any besides yourselves: they will not fail to corrupt you. They wish for that which may cause you to perish: their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate.” Being from Britain, Baroness, you may want to know

how the Second World War really started. The Charter has the answer: “They [the Jews] were behind World War II, through which they made huge financial gains by trading in armaments, and paved the way for the establishment of their state.” And while you may become teary-eyed recalling the school for girls you visited, the Charter’s view of women has little to do with aspiring to a high political office like yours: “[The woman] in the home of the fighting family, whether she is a mother or a sister, plays the most important role in looking after the family, rearing the children and imbuing them with moral values and thoughts derived from Islam. She has to teach them to perform the religious duties in preparation for the role of fighting awaiting them. That is why it is necessary to pay great attention to schools and the curriculum followed in educating Muslim girls, so that they would grow up to be good mothers, aware of their role in the battle of liberation.” The next time you visit Gaza, and before you share with the world what you think you’ve seen, please inquire about the Hamas Charter, the refusal to recognize Israel’s right to exist, the role of women, the central place of Shari’a in society, and the reasons why the EU designated Hamas a terrorist organization. Moreover, you might urge your local hosts to show you not only societies for deaf children and schools for girls, but also weapons factories and arms caches—especially those located in mosques, schools and hospitals. Perhaps you might also take a detour to their favorite missile-launching sites for attacking Israeli towns and villages. And maybe your hosts will explain their ties with Iran, including the smuggling of cash and arms, as well as the training of Hamas fighters who go in and out through hidden tunnels. Further, you might seek a visit with Gilad Shalit, the Israeli soldier whom you oddly describe as “captured,” when he was, in fact, kidnapped in a cross-border raid from Gaza. And with the EU’s laudable commitment to international humanitarian law, press your hosts on why no one has been permitted to visit him since his abduction in 2006. I would also recommend that, before your next visit to Gaza, you stop in Ramallah. Ask Palestinian Authority leaders to share their memories of the bloody civil war that Hamas triggered in Gaza, in 2007, leading to the PA’s expulsion. If they’re being honest, PA leaders will hardly subscribe to your sanitized view of Hamas-ruled Gaza today. And a stop in Cairo could be beneficial. Egypt is no less concerned than Israel about what’s going on next door. That’s why it’s building a wall along the Gaza border. Hamas, after all, proudly proclaims itself part and parcel of the Muslim Brotherhood, a longtime threat to Egypt’s stability. Frankly, when reading “Lessons from a Gaza Trip,” I couldn’t help thinking of those impressionable Western travelers who visited the Soviet Union and returned with gushing accounts of the Moscow metro, circus and ballet, the well-behaved schoolchildren, and the workers’ paradise. Dear Baroness Ashton, please wake up.

Yes, the search for peace in the region is unquestionably a sacred duty. But it can only be attained by those truly committed to coexistence and mutual respect. Hamas—that stunningly missing word in your op-ed—is not a peace seeker, but a peace saboteur. With the terrorist group controlling Gaza, the sooner you grasp this essential point, the better off we will all be.

*David Harris, the executive director, American Jewish Committee (AJC), and senior associate, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, assesses challenges to Jewish security worldwide.

Riga and Remembering

Clemens Heni*

On March 16, 2010, some 200 former Waffen-SS members marched through the city of Riga, the capital of Latvia, accompanied by at least 1,000 neo-Nazis and other ordinary Latvians. I was part of a tiny crowd of about 40 courageous protesters, including 15-year-old Punk antifascists and 83-year-old anti-Nazi Latvian octogenarians. I never have witnessed such a parade of people. But, in the year 2010, it triggers a how-and-why question—just how and why something like this persists?

In a member state of the European Union (EU), in a democratic entity, Latvia maintains a fascistic and antisemitic culture. Honoring soldiers who fought side by side with the Nazis and their crimes against humanity is proof that little has changed. This event not only denied Holocaust memory but it praised the Latvian Legion—those who took an active part in killing their nation's Jews.



Mainstream Latvia has never had a problem with honoring the Waffen-SS. On the homepage of the Latvian government, one can find the following statement:

The fact that the Latvian Legion fought on the side of the Germans makes it clear that there was collaboration, that there was co-operation with the German occupying powers. The situation emerged largely, however, because of the aggressive and criminal policies of the Soviet Union in the Baltic States in 1940 and 1941 and because of the results and psychological consequences of those policies. Co-operation was also fostered by the fact that Latvians were seeking the restoration of Latvia's independence, which had been lost during the Soviet occupation. Germany was an ally, which was forced upon Latvia. During World War II, no country in the world, even a major power, could freely select its allies on the basis of ideology or morals alone. Otherwise the democratic countries (America, Great Britain) would never have allied themselves with the totalitarian Soviet Union. Immediate interests and their coming together in a specific period of time—that is what determined the formation of coalitions . . .

The fact that the Latvian Legion fought on the side of the Germans makes it clear that there was collaboration, that there was co-operation with the German occupying powers. The situation emerged largely, however, because of the aggressive and criminal policies of the Soviet Union in the Baltic States in 1940 and 1941 and because of the results and psychological consequences of those policies. Co-operation was also fostered by the fact that Latvians were seeking the restoration of Latvia's independence, which had been lost during the Soviet occupation[;] Germany was an ally, which was forced upon Latvia.

This official justification of the Latvian Legion, the Waffen-SS of Latvia, was written by Inesis Feldmanis, Dr.habil.hist, and Kârlis Kangeris, Dr.hist. Both are members of the Latvian state commission of historians. Other examples of those involved in Latvian Legion include:

- Alfred Berzins, minister of propaganda in pre-war Latvia, was accused of killing, torturing, and deporting some 2,000 people. He was called “Obersturmbannführer” and awarded by the Germans.
- Karlis Lobe was the “Standartenführer” in the 19th division of the Latvian Legion and previously a lieutenant colonel in the 19th police battalion, including his responsibility for several “Reinigungsaktionen” (German for the killing, torturing, and deporting of people, mostly Jews and partisans, as in Windau and Goldingen).
- In the mission “Winterzauber” (“winter charm”) in July 1943, after the formation of the Latvian Legion earlier that year, seven Latvian police battalions had been involved in destroying a countryside some 40km wide along the Latvian frontier. Several hundred villages were destroyed, several thousand inhabitants killed.¹ This was a crime of the Latvian Legion itself; finally, the very fact of fighting together with

1. Heinrich Sturm (2001), Die Lettische Legion—ein Politikum. Zum Inhalt

- other units for Hitler² and the Germans is a crime!
- Viktor Arajs is the best known Latvian killer and commander during the Shoah. On July 1, 1941, SS-Brigade General Dr. Walter Stahlecker asked Arajs to establish a Latvian “Hilfssicherheitspolizei” (auxiliary police group). Arajs was leading a group of Latvian armed forces who killed, alongside the Germans, 13,000 Jews from the Riga ghetto on December 8, 1941.³ The so-called “Arajs-commando” was officially called “Lettische Hilfspolizei bei der Sicherheitspolizei” of the German “Einsatzgruppe A der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD.”⁴ The commando was known all over Latvia, including their blue autobuses with the drunken killing men inside.⁵ In the summer of 1943 the group—now a battalion—was included in the Latvian Legion.⁶ Arajs was trained in SS training camps in Germany, such as Fürstenberg and Berlin-Charlottenburg.⁷ In November 1944 he became “Sturmbannführer” in the 15th Waffen-SS-Grenadierdivision, after participating in an SS seminar in the “SS-Junkerschule,” Bad Tölz, Bavaria, and was responsible for several killing actions in Jelgava, Daugavpils, Liepaja, and Riga. In 1979, the “Landgericht Hamburg” (the district court of Hamburg) sentenced Arajs to life in prison.

What have the Latvians learned from history and the Shoah?

Apparently not much, when they continue to praise convicted mass murderers like Viktor Arajs. Dr. Efraim Zuroff, head of the Simon Wiesenthal Center’s Jerusalem office, traveled to Riga to observe the events of March 16. He reports:

des Diskurses über die lettischen SS- und Polizeiverbände, Berliner Interuniversitäre Arbeitsgruppe “Baltische Staaten,” BIAB-Berichte, Nr. 21: 38-39.

2. Members of the Latvian Legion had to swear an oath on Hitler himself and against the “Bolshevik enemies” of their “homeland.” The German reads: “Ich schwöre bei Gott diesen heiligen Eid, dass ich im Kampf gegen die bolschewistischen Feinde meiner Heimat dem Obersten Befehlshaber der Deutschen Wehrmacht, Adolf Hitler, unbedingten Gehoram leisten und als tapferer Soldat bereit sein will, jederzeit für diesen Eid mein Leben einzusetzen” (Sturm 2001: 45).

3. Cf. Martin Knop (1995), Viktor Arajs—Kollaboration beim Massenmord. In Barbara Danckwortt, Thorsten Querg, and Claudia Schöningh, eds., *Historische Rassismusforschung. Ideologen—Täter—Opfer*. With an introduction by Wolfgang Wippermann (Hamburg: Argument Verlag): 231-245, here 231. Knop deals with sources from the “Zentralen Stelle in Ludwigsburg.” The files concerning Arajs have the number “Aktenzeichen II 207 AR-Z 7/59.” Knop 1995: 231, 2f.

4. Knop 1995: 232.

5. Knop 1995: 238.

6. Knop 1995: 240.

7. Knop 1995: 241.

In reality, Tuesday's ceremony was in certain respects only the tip of a very dangerous iceberg that is attempting to rewrite the history books and create a false symmetry or equalization of Communist and Nazi crimes. And while the march was not organized by the government, it is obvious that there is strong support for its message among Latvian leaders. Thus, for example, yesterday Latvia's foreign minister Maris Riekstins issued an official statement in which he attacked my criticism of the march and attempted to equate the suffering of all the victims of the second world war, as if there was no difference between those supporting Nazism and those opposing it.



To refute these distortions, Boris Shpiegel, a prominent Russian businessman and legislator, founded the World Congress of Russian Jewry (WCRJ) and organized a WCJR conference against antisemitism and the distortion of history. As *The Jerusalem Post* reported:

In response to what it is [being called] “a new historiography” in Eastern Europe that seeks to equate the crimes of Communism and Nazism, the WCRJ, headed and funded by Russian senator and pharmaceuticals tycoon Boris Shpiegel, founded in Riga a new organization called the Anti-Fascist Movement.⁸

8. Haviv Rettig, “Jewish World: Facing the Music?,” *The Jerusalem Post*, May 19, 2010.

Shpiegel (shown below) said this at the conference:

My grandfather was killed fighting the Nazis. My parents were refugees of war. As long as these irreversible processes continue to occur in the world, this will be my calling. This is the work to which the remainder of my life is dedicated, because I am first and foremost a Jew.



For me it was a shocking event to see so many Nazis, SS-men and their friends, including today's youth of a European country like Latvia. Many scholars and activists, particularly in the West, do not take Eastern European antisemitism seriously. Many people even think any kind of anti-Russian government, society, or action is appropriate. It is not. On May 8, 2010, we are celebrating the 65th anniversary of the unconditional surrender of National Socialism. Without the heroic fight of the Red Army, this would not have happened. Bad politics of the Soviet Union, crimes like the occupation of the Baltics, deportations, and political crimes including Soviet anti-Zionism cannot overshadow the fight against Nazi Germany. Current trends in equalizing Hitler and Stalin have been called the "Holocaust Obfuscation Movement" by Brooklyn-born Dovid Katz, professor of Yiddish in Lithuania, who joined me in our anti-fascist protest in Riga. Maybe the honoring of the Waffen-SS is a wake-up for scholars and activists, including those in the United States. Antisemitism exists in several

forms. Anti-Zionist, anti-Israel antisemitism is the most dangerous form today. The Riga experience, however, can tell us that European history has not ended. Nazis are still living and we are now facing the rewriting of textbooks of the Second World War and the Holocaust. This may not happen; it is hoped at least that an international movement will stop the next march of Latvian Waffen-SS members in 2011.

*See page 81 in this issue for Dr. Heni's biography.

Jewish Antisemites?

Steven K. Baum



Who hates the Jews more than the Jews?

—Henry Miller, playwright

Self-loathing among Jews is uncommon, but certainly not unknown. By definition, antisemitic beliefs are those that substitute the Jew of social imagination for real Jews. Jewish antisemitism is apparent when it is accompanied by “denying, negating, denouncing or otherwise expressing rejection of a Jewry’s national character; its cultural-religious heritage and one’s relationship to either or both of them” (Sharan, 2004). At times, Jewish antisemitism has been lethal.

In antiquity, the historian Flavius Josephus observed that Tiberius Julius Alexander, nephew of the philosopher Philo, while serving as the Roman governor for the city of Alexandria in 68 C.E. issued the order for two Roman legions to murder and plunder his fellow Jews. Josephus reports that 50,000 Jews of all ages were slain before Tiberius gave the order for the legions to cease the attack.

There are less lethal examples as well. In *The Jewish State* (1896), Zionist Theodor Herzl made passing reference to an “anti-Semite of Jewish origin.” However, the first full description of Jewish antisemitism appears

in Theodor Lessing's *Der Jüdische Selbsthass* (1930). After visiting Poland, Lessing described the "irreconcilable differences" between Eastern European and the more sophisticated Western European Jews. So compelling was Lessing's description that hardened antisemites invariably would quote from it for years.

One of Lessing's case studies included Viennese journalist Arthur Trebitsch. Trebitsch likened Judaism to leprosy:

You cannot shake it off. Just as little as a dog or a pig can shake off its being, just so little do I tear myself away from the eternal ties of existence, which hold me on that step between man and animal: the Jews. I feel as if I had to carry on my shoulders the entire accumulated guilt of that cursed breed of men whose poisonous elf-blood is becoming my virus. I feel as if I, I alone, had to do penance for every crime those people are committing against Germanness. And to the Germans I should like to shout: Remain hard! Remain hard! Have no mercy! Not even with me! Germans, your walls must remain secure against penetration.

Well-known Jewish intellectuals also waxed antisemitic. Trebitsch's childhood friend psychiatrist Otto Weininger extolled the virtues of antisemitism. The poet Heinrich Heine declared Judaism "not a religion but a disgrace." Writer Moritz Saphir went further: "Judaism is a birth deformity, corrected by a baptismal operation," and both he and Heine soon converted to Catholicism. Karl Marx's antisemitism was not a secret, but there is less acknowledgment of other Jewish writers—e.g., Freud, Varnhagen, Wittgenstein, and Schnitzler (Gilman, 1986). The great theologian Martin Buber is said to have employed the term "Jewish" as an insult (Mendes-Flohr, 1998).

Jewish-born clergy at times were so fervently antisemitic that they went on to persecute Jews—e.g., Alfonsi, Donin, Christiani, de Burgos, Moncada, and Franceschi. Theologian Johannes Pfefferkorn went even further, helping to organize the destruction of thousands of Jewish books. In spite of his vocal and political attacks on the Jews, however, he was never truly accepted by mainstream Christianity. The Grimm Brothers' tale is most telling. Titled "Pfefferkorn the Jew at Halle," the folktale unfolds as follows.

In the year 1515, or according to others 1514, on September 13, the Wednesday following Saint Aegidius Day, at the Jewish cemetery near Moritz Castle, Johannes Pfefferkorn, a baptized Jew from Halle, after having been tortured with red-hot pincers, was bound to a column with a chain fastened around his body in such a manner that he could walk around the column. Burning coals were placed around him, then raked ever closer to him, until he was roasted and then burned to death. He had

confessed that: 1. For about twenty years he had served as a priest, although he had never been ordained or consecrated. 2. He had stolen three consecrated hosts. He had kept one of them, martyring and piercing it. The other two he had sold to the Jews. 3. Having received one hundred guilder from the Jews, he had sworn an oath to them that he would poison Archbishop Albrecht of Magdeburg and Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, together with all of their court officials. This very nearly happened, for he was in possession of poison at the time of his arrest. 4. Likewise, to give poison to all the subjects of the Archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt and to persecute them with arson. 5. He had stolen two children, one of whom he sold to the Jews. He himself helped them to martyr and pierce the one child, so they could collect its blood to mix with their excrement. Because it had red hair, he gave the other one away without harming it. 6. He had presented himself as a physician. However, instead of helping his patients, he gave them poison, thus killing fifteen people. 7. He had stolen a bound devil from a priest in Franconia, using it to practice sorcery. He later sold in for five guilders. 8. He had poisoned wells (Baum, 2008).

Anti-journalist Jewish Karl Kraus was also antisemitic (Reitter, 2003; 2008). Calling psychoanalysis “the newest Jewish malady” was only part of his rant. Kraus’s antisemitic diatribes were legendary; during a Viennese blood libel trial, he commented: “The blood that they have was not siphoned from the body of a Christian, but rather from the human intellect.” In addition, Kraus blamed the Jewish-owned (including its editor, Theodor Herzl) *The Neue Freie Presse* newspaper for sensationalizing the first World War so well that antisemite Georg von Schonerer petitioned Emperor Franz Josef: “Your Majesty, deliver the people from the yoke of the Jewish press!”

Attacking Heinrich Heine and the popular feuilleton as a superficial form of essay, Kraus extended the notion of Jewish socialism into all the arts, in a manner not dissimilar from Heinrich von Treitschke (coiner of the phrase “the Jews are our misfortune”) and Richard Wagner. Soon the antisemitic belief that Jewish art was derivative and lesser than Christian art made its mark. Described by Bertrand Russell as “the most perfect example I have ever known of genius,” Ludwig Wittgenstein wrote of himself, “Even the greatest of Jewish thinkers is no more than talented (myself for instance). I think there is some truth to the idea that I really only think reproductively. I don’t believe I have ever invented a single line of thinking” (Wittgenstein, 1994, 18).

Burdened by the culture’s version of the Jew, Kraus chose “redemption through assimilation” in 1899 and renounced Judaism. A decade later he converted to Catholicism, though he would soon grow critical of Catholics as well. By 1923, he left the church because it permitted a “pro-

duction style and box-office success” pageant that was all too reminiscent of “the Jewish spirit” (Kirsch 2008, 64-65). In a letter to fellow analyst Sandor Ferenczi, Freud said of Kraus, “He is a mad half-wit with a great histrionic talent,” though he remained respected by the Jewish intellectuals of his day, including Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and Franz Kafka.

Indeed, though Kraus may have been a perfectionist and malcontent, there are Jewish perfectionists and malcontents who were not antisemitic.

Some theories have been advanced to explain the “process by which the charges of Jew haters [are internalized] about the essential nature of the Jew” (Gilman, 1986, 58). Psychoanalysts talk about an overidentification with the aggressor (Bettelheim, 1947/1960). Along those lines, Sandor Gilman has noted that the process is “extended to any marginal group and the projection of the negative image of this group onto a fiction of itself” (Gilman, 1986, 308). Others have pinpointed assimilation—of trying to fit in with the larger cultural group (Lessing, 1930; Lewin, 1941).

Antisemitism among Jews has been statistically related to emotional insecurity and criticalness (Demakovsky, 1978). Is this different from self-loathing Catholics or Anglicans or Hindus? Probably not. But at this point, it may be a way of being accepted and to be part of polite discourse—not unlike the motivations of the Jewish anti-Zionist.

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Silencing Canadian Jews

Andrew Bostom*



*Tarek Fatah—“Hardened secular, moderate Muslim”
antisemite heir of Al-Maghribi*

My essay on Mr. Fatah’s diatribe against the Canadian Jewish community, and Jews at large, appears in Pajamas Media^[1] today. Fatah, hailed as “a paragon of secularism and moderation,” makes plain his desire to impose Islamic blasphemy law on Jews. This is hardly surprising, given the supremacist nature of mainstream, classical Islamic doctrine and practice

for over a millennium, through the present era, as the great Orientalist^[2] Gustave^[3] von Grunebaum^[4] observed in 1971: Islam is interested in making the world safe for Islam, in getting Islam into the controlling position and making it possible for Islam to be practiced perfectly, completely, and without any danger of controversion or subversion wherever Islam wishes to be practiced.

Samau'al al-Maghribi converted to Islam from Judaism in 1163 C.E., and shortly afterward wrote an anti-Jewish polemic entitled *Silencing the Jews*. Al-Maghribi's "Silencing"—ostensibly a "philosophical" tract—employs Islamic Biblical criticism to characterize the Jews as ignorant, unreasonable, and hypocritical, complemented by their Koranic depiction^[1] as accursed prophet-killers who transgress Allah's will, corrupt his message, and harbor the most intense hatred for the Muslims. Moshe Perlmann^[2] (d. 2001) translated al-Maghribi's tract into English and was the preeminent scholar of Islam's medieval polemic against the Jews. In his introduction to *Silencing*, Perlmann (in 1964) observed that this literature was redolent with motifs from the Muslim creed's foundational texts: "The Koran,^[1] of course, became a mine of anti-Jewish passages. The hadith^[3] did not lag behind. Popular preachers used and embellished such material."

In an earlier study (published 1948) of 11th-century Muslim Spain—idealized, falsely, as the paragon of Islam's ecumenism—Perlmann^[2] had described how such polemical tracts and sermons incited the mass violence which destroyed the Jewish community of Granada during the catastrophic 1066 pogrom. Its death toll of some 3000 to 4000 Jews exceeded the number of Jews reportedly killed by the Crusaders during their pillage of the Rhineland, some thirty years later, at the outset of the First Crusade.

Last week, the *National Post*^[4] of Canada published an editorial and subsequent comments^[5] by Tarek Fatah—self-proclaimed "hardened secular Muslim"^[4] and much-ballyhooed Muslim moderate—addressing Canada's Jews and the Jewish community at large. Nearly 850 years after al-Maghribi, Fatah's defamatory screeds abandon any façade of philosophical debate in his transparent effort to silence discussion of Islam by modern Jews.

The pretense for Fatah's diatribe was an appearance by intrepid Muslim freethinker Wafa Sultan^[6] at a Toronto synagogue. Canadian journalist Joanne Hill, who attended (and recorded) the event, wrote an assiduously documented reply^[5] to Fatah at the *National Post* exploding his mendacious claims about Sultan's alleged "intent." As I will demonstrate, Fatah's remarks ignore (in order to bowdlerize) what Islam's foundational texts state plainly about the Muslim prophet Muhammad's behaviors towards his child bride Aisha and the Jews of Medina and Khaybar. Fatah's rant then maliciously castigates Wafa Sultan's Jewish audience—consistent with

Islamic law (Sharia) precepts regarding “blasphemy^[7]” that the “hardened secularist” Fatah claims to reject—for daring to have such an uncensored, “blasphemous^[7]” discussion of Islam’s prophet:

Not one member of the audience found it objectionable that a synagogue was being used to slam the Prophet of Islam as a child rapist. Not one person raised an objection. We were reminded that the synagogue was a “house of sanctuary” and that anyone causing trouble will be expelled from the assembly. Yet, calling the founder of Islam a child rapist was deemed totally appropriate. Referring to Muhammad as a Jew killer seemed just fine to the 500 attendees.

According to Canadian law,^[8] for example, statutory rape is sexual intercourse with anyone under the age of 14—a punishable offense unless both parties are aged within two years of each other, or the accused is aged 12 to 13. Here is how the two most important canonical hadith collections^[3] describe Muhammad’s “relationship” with Aisha—their “marriage contract” and its sexual consummation—when the Muslim prophet was some four decades older than his child bride:

Sahih Muslim, Book 008, Number 3311^[9]: Aisha (Allah be pleased with her) reported that Allah’s Apostle (may peace be upon him) married her when she was seven years old, and she was taken to his house as a bride when she was nine, and her dolls were with her; and when he (the Holy Prophet) died she was eighteen years old.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 7, Book 62, Number 88^[10]: Narrated Ursa: The Prophet wrote the (marriage contract) with Aisha while she was six years old and consummated his marriage with her while she was nine years old and she remained with him for nine years (i.e., till his death).

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 8, Book 73, Number 151^[11]: Narrated Aisha: I used to play with the dolls in the presence of the Prophet, and my girl friends also used to play with me. When Allah’s Apostle used to enter (my dwelling place) they used to hide themselves, but the Prophet would call them to join and play with me. (The playing with the dolls and similar images is forbidden, but it was allowed for Aisha at that time, as she was a little girl, who had not yet reached the age of puberty.) (Fateh-al-Bari, page 143, Vol.13)

Sahih Muslim, Book 031, Number 5981^[12]: Aisha reported that she used to play with dolls in the presence of Allah’s Messenger (may peace be upon him) and when her playmates came to her they left (the house) because they felt shy of Allah’s Messenger (may peace be upon him), whereas Allah’s Messenger (may peace be upon him) sent them to her.

Tarek Fatah also conveniently ignores the virulently antisemitic motifs in the Koran^[1] which sanctioned Muhammad’s murderous brutality towards

the Jews, as described graphically in the hadith and pious Muslim biographies^[3] (or “sira”) of the Muslim prophet.

The Koran’s overall discussion of the Jews^[1] is marked by a litany of their sins and punishments, as if part of a divine indictment, conviction, and punishment process. The Jews’ ultimate sin and punishment are made clear: they are the devil’s minions (4:60) cursed by Allah, their faces will be obliterated (4:47), and if they do not accept the true faith of Islam—the Jews who understand their faith become Muslims (3:113)—they will be made into apes (2:65/7:166), or apes and swine (5:60), and burn in the Hellfires (4:55, 5:29, 98:6, and 58:14-19).

The Koranic curse upon the Jews for (primarily) rejecting, even slaying Allah’s prophets (verses 2:61/3:112), including Isa/Jesus (or at least his “body double” 4:157-4:158), is updated with perfect archetypal logic in the canonical hadith: following the Muslims’ initial conquest of the Jewish farming oasis of Khaybar, one of the vanquished Jewesses reportedly served Muhammad poisoned mutton (or goat), which resulted, ultimately, in his protracted, agonizing death. And Ibn Saad’s sira account maintains that Muhammad’s poisoning resulted from a well-coordinated Jewish conspiracy.

It is worth recounting—as depicted in the Muslim sources—the events that antedated Muhammad’s reputed poisoning at Khaybar.

Muhammad’s failures or incomplete successes were consistently recompensed by murderous attacks on the Jews. The Muslim prophet-warrior developed a penchant for assassinating individual Jews and destroying Jewish communities—by expropriation and expulsion (Banu Quaynuqa and B. Nadir), or massacring their men and enslaving their women and children (Banu Qurayza). Just before subduing the Medinan Jewish tribe Banu Qurayza and orchestrating the mass execution of their adult males, Muhammad invoked perhaps the most striking Koranic motif for the Jews’ debasement—he addressed these Jews, with hateful disparagement, as “You brothers of apes.” Subsequently, in the case of the Khaybar Jews, Muhammad had the male leadership killed and plundered their riches. The terrorized Khaybar survivors—industrious Jewish farmers—became prototype subjugated dhimmis whose productivity was extracted by the Muslims as a form of permanent booty. (And according to the Muslim sources, even this tenuous vassalage was arbitrarily terminated within a decade of Muhammad’s death when Caliph Umar expelled the Jews of Khaybar.)

And Muhammad’s own depictions of “the end of times” (Muslim eschatology) in the hadith^[3] highlight the Jews’ supreme hostility to Islam, condemning them to annihilation. Jews are described as adherents of the Dajjâl—the Muslim equivalent of the Antichrist—and as per another tradition, the Dajjâl is in fact Jewish. At the Dajjâl’s appearance, other traditions

state that the Dajjâl will be accompanied by 70,000 Jews from Isfahan, or Jerusalem. When the Dajjâl is defeated, he and his Jewish companions will be slaughtered—everything will deliver them up except for the so-called gharkad tree.

According to a canonical hadith—incorporated into the 1988 Hamas Charter (article 7)—if a Jew seeks refuge under a tree or a stone, these objects will be able to speak to tell a Muslim: “There is a Jew behind me; come and kill him!”

Thus Maimonides (d. 1203), the renowned Talmudist, philosopher, astronomer, and physician, as noted by historian Salo Baron (from Baron’s essay “The Historical Outlook of Maimonides” in *Proc of the Amer Acad for Jewish Res*, vol. 6, 1934-35, p. 82), emphasizes the bellicose “madness” of Muhammad and his quest for political control. Muhammad’s mindset, and the actions it engendered, had immediate and long-term tragic consequences for Jews—from his massacring up to 24,000 Jews to their chronic oppression—as described in the Islamic sources by Muslims themselves:

Following an apparently prevalent usage [Maimonides] calls the founder of Islam a “madman” [meshugga], with both religious and political aspirations, who failed to formulate any new religious ideas but merely restated well-known concepts. Nevertheless, he attracted a large following and inflicted many wrongs upon the Jews, being himself responsible for the massacre of 24,000. Following his example the Muslims of the subsequent generations oppressed the Jews and debased them even more harshly than any other nation.

For over a thousand years, since its founding in 792 C.E., Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt, has served as the academic shrine—much as Mecca is the religious shrine—of the global Muslim community. Al-Azhar University (and its mosque) represent the pinnacle of Islamic religious education.

A front-page *New York Times* story^[13] published on January 10, 2009, included extracts from the Friday sermon (of the day before) at Al-Azhar mosque pronounced by Egyptian-government appointed cleric Sheik Eid Abdel Hamid Youssef. Referencing well-established antisemitic motifs from the Koran,^[14] Sheikh Youssef intoned:

“Muslim brothers, God has inflicted the Muslim nation with a people whom God has become angry at [Koran 1:7^[15]] and whom he cursed [Koran 5:78^[16]] so he made monkeys and pigs [Koran 5:60^[17]] out of them. They killed prophets and messengers [Koran 2:61^[18]/3:112^[19]] and sowed corruption on Earth. [Koran 5:33^[20]/5:64^[21]] They are the most evil on Earth. [5:62^[22]/63^[23]]

At present, the continual, monotonous invocation by Al-Azhar clerics of antisemitic motifs from the Koran (and other foundational Muslim texts^[24]) is entirely consistent with the published writings and statements of Sheikh Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi—Grand Imam of this preeminent Islamic religious institution from 1996 until his recent passing. Tantawi’s academic magnum opus, *Jews in the Koran and the Traditions*,^[2] a 700-page treatise, elucidates the classical, mainstream theology of Islamic Jew-hatred:

[The] Koran describes the Jews with their own particular degenerate characteristics, i.e., killing the prophets of Allah [Koran 2:61^[18]/3:112^[19]], corrupting His words by putting them in the wrong places, consuming the people’s wealth frivolously, refusal to distance themselves from the evil they do, and other ugly characteristics caused by their deep-rooted lasciviousness . . . only a minority of the Jews keep their word. . . . [A]ll Jews are not the same. The good ones become Muslims [Koran 3:113^[25]], the bad ones do not.

Tarek Fatah, other so-called Muslim moderates of his ilk, and their non-Muslim promoters must be compelled to answer the following question: is it “Islamophobia^[4]” to quote such statements—rife with Koranic Jew-hatred, and made by authoritative Muslim clerics representing the Vatican of Sunni Islam—or are Mr. Fatah’s reactions, ignoring the existence of these commonplace, normative Islamic proclamations, and vilifying those who bring them to public attention, especially pernicious forms of *taqiyya*^[26] (religiously sanctioned Islamic dissimulation) and Islamic Jew-hatred?

Elaborating on the depth of Muslim hatred for the Jews in his era, Maimonides^[27] (in ~ 1172 C.E.) made this profound observation regarding the Jewish predilection for denial, a feature that he insists will hasten their destruction:

We have acquiesced, both old and young, to inure ourselves to humiliation. . . . All this notwithstanding, we do not escape this continued maltreatment [by Muslims] which well nigh crushes us. No matter how much we suffer and elect to remain at peace with them, they stir up strife and sedition.

The Jews and their communal leaders like Maimonides living under Islamic rule in the Middle Ages—vanquished by jihad, isolated, and well-nigh defenseless under the repressive system of dhimmitude—can be excused for their silent, submissive denial. There is no such excuse in our era for silently submitting to the threats of disingenuous, hateful Muslim

bullies like Tarek Fatah, given the existence of an autonomous Jewish state of Israel and a thriving Western Jewish diaspora, particularly here in the United States, living under the blanket of hard-won protections for their religious freedom, physical security, and dignity.

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[2]Great Orientalist: <http://www.andrewbostom.org/blog/2008/08/04/reaffirming-reanimating-von-grunebaum%E2%80%99s-standard-for-the-study-of-islam/>

[3]Gustave: <http://www.andrewbostom.org/blog/2008/04/19/von-grunebaum-islam-as-inherently-political/>

[4] on Grunebaum: <http://www.andrewbostom.org/blog/2009/10/10/yale%E2%80%99s-post-franz-roenthal-islamic-studies-travesty/>

<http://pajamasmedia.com/blog/silencing-the-jews/?print=1>

Silencing the Jews

Posted by Andrew G. Bostom on March 18, 2010

URLs in this post:

[1]Koranic depiction: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2008/04/antisemitism-in-the-quran-motifs-and-historical-manifestations.html>

- [2]Moshe Perlmann: http://www.amazon.com/Legacy-Islamic-Antisemitism-Sacred-History/dp/1591025540/ref=sr_1_3/102-8993833-1476108?ie=UTF8&s=books&qid=1179229261&sr=1-3
- [3]hadith: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2008/04/antisemitism-in-the-hadith-and-early-muslim-biographies-of-muhammad-motifs-and-manifestations.html>
- [4]*National Post*: <http://network.nationalpost.com/NP/blogs/fullcomment/archive/2010/03/12/tarek-fatah-from-an-ex-muslim-true-islamophobia.aspx>
- [5]Comments: <http://network.nationalpost.com/NP/blogs/fullcomment/archive/2010/03/12/counterpoint-tarek-fatah.aspx#ixzz0i0LuT8v6>
- [6]Intrepid Muslim freethinker Wafa Sultan: http://www.americanthinker.com/2009/10/allahs_apostate_cassandra.html
- [7]Blasphemy: http://www.americanthinker.com/printpage/?url=http://www.americanthinker.com/2008/02/universal_islamic_blasphemy_la.html
- [8]Canadian law: http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Statutory_rape_in_canada
- [9]Sahih Muslim, Book 008, Number 3311: <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muslim/008.smt.html>
- [10]Sahih Bukhari, Volume 7, Book 62, Number 88: <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/bukhari/062.sbt.html>
- [11]Sahih Bukhari, Volume 8, Book 73, Number 151: <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/bukhari/073.sbt.html>
- [12]Sahih Muslim, Book 031, Number 5981: <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muslim/031.smt.html>
- [13]*New York Times* story: http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/10/world/middleeast/10cairo.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=%22Egyptians%20Seethe%20Over%20Gaza,%20and%20Their%20Leaders%20Feel%20Heat%22&st=cse
- [14]Antisemitic motifs from the Koran: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/dhimmiwatch/archives/2008/04/020584print.html>
- [15]1:7: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=001:007>
- [16]5:78: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=005:078>
- [17]5:60: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=005:060>
- [18]2:61: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=002:061>
- [19]3:112: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=003:112>
- [20]5:33: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=005:033>
- [21]5:64: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=005:064>

[22]5:62: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=005:062>

[23]63: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=005:063>

[24]Other foundational Muslim texts: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/dhimmiwatch/archives/2008/04/020709print.html>

[25]3:113: <http://www.quranbrowser.com/cgi/bin/get.cgi?version=pickthall+arberry&layout=auto&searchstring=003:113>

[26]*taqiyya*: <http://www.meforum.org/2538/taqiyya-islam-rules-of-war>

[27] Maimonides: <http://www.andrewbostom.org/blog/2007/12/26/maimonides-and-the-%E2%80%9Cmeshugga%E2%80%9D-prophet>

Antisemitism at the Frankfurt Book Fair

Shimon Samuels*

In the Annual Report of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, Shimon Samuels, director of international relations at the center, noted that “this is the seventh year that the Simon Wiesenthal Centre monitors incitement to hate and violence on the display stands of the 2009 Frankfurt Book Fair—the largest literary gathering in the world. In the report, Samuels recalled that “controversy had [also] marked the Fair’s 2008 Honoured Guest, Turkey, following the number of volumes on antisemitic conspiracy theory identified by our centre, exhibited at both the official and private publishers’ stands.”

Samuels expressed his gratification “to find that this year, the displays of the almost 100 participating Turkish publishers were hate-free. According to Metin Celal Zeynioglu, secretary-general of the Istanbul-based Turkish Publishers Association, ‘this was the result of the Wiesenthal Centre’s complaints . . . [which] had led to German intervention with the Turkish authorities to stop the publication in Turkish of the many best-selling versions of *Mein Kampf*, as its copyright was held by the Munich municipality.’ ”

According to Samuels, Zeynioglu noted that “The Turkish Cultural Ministry would no longer issue the silver sticker barcode obligatory for every volume’s display and sale.” This decision was applied to any book construed to be antisemitic, for exhibiting at this, the 60th fair.

In the report, Samuels emphasized that “unfortunately, this was not the case for new texts expressing hostility to Jews, found, as in past years, on the stands of the Egyptian publishers and—for the first time—on the stands of Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Moreover, the same books already fomenting a culture of death at last year’s fair were again on the children’s literature shelves of the Palestinian Territories and on two Iranian stands”; in addition, he stressed that “[certain] Egyptian, Palestinian, and Iranian publishers are annual recidivists. They have ignored previous warnings that they are in violation of their contractual obligations to the Frankfurt Book Fair.”

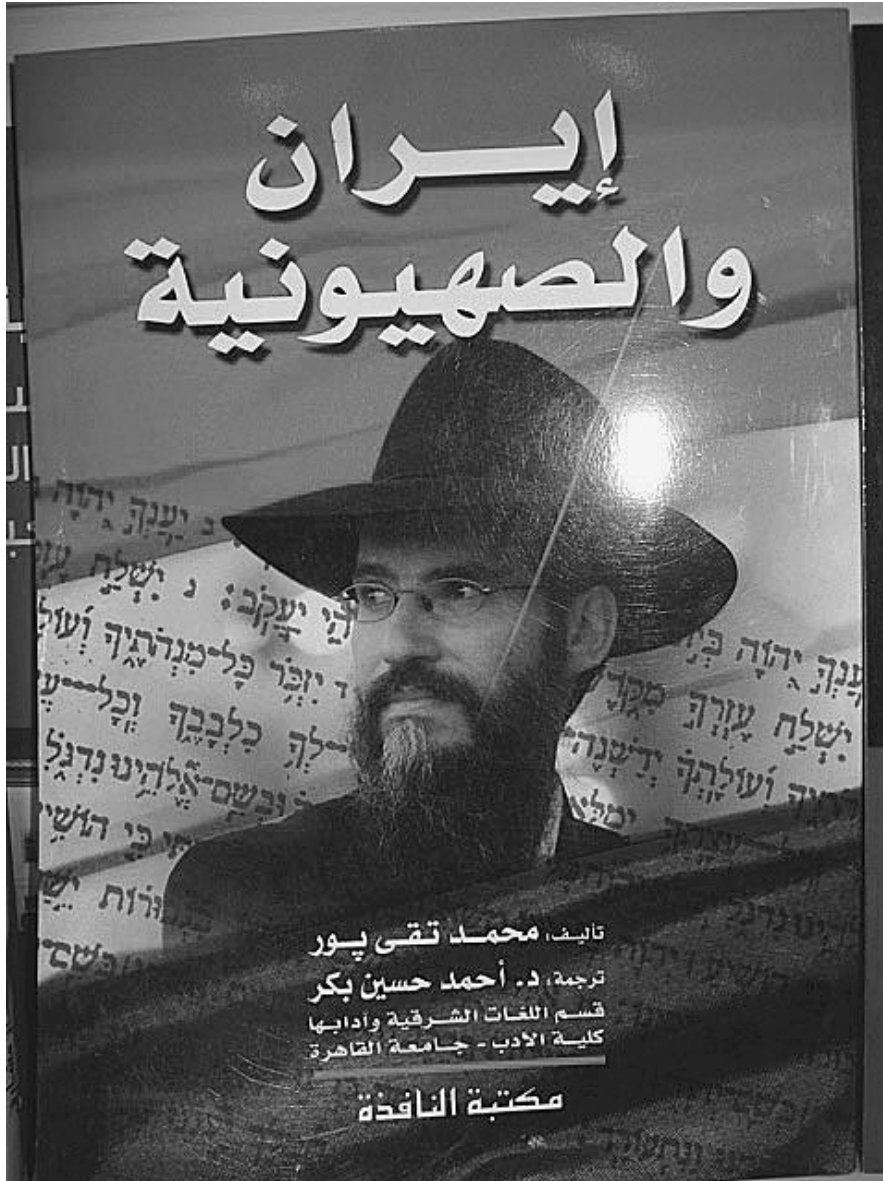
Samuels noted that “to allow these books, year after year, to remain on view to the 300,000 visitors over the five days of the fair—the book jackets are patently clear to even non-Arabic or Farsi readers—passes the message that Jew-hatred is acceptable in Germany and worldwide.”

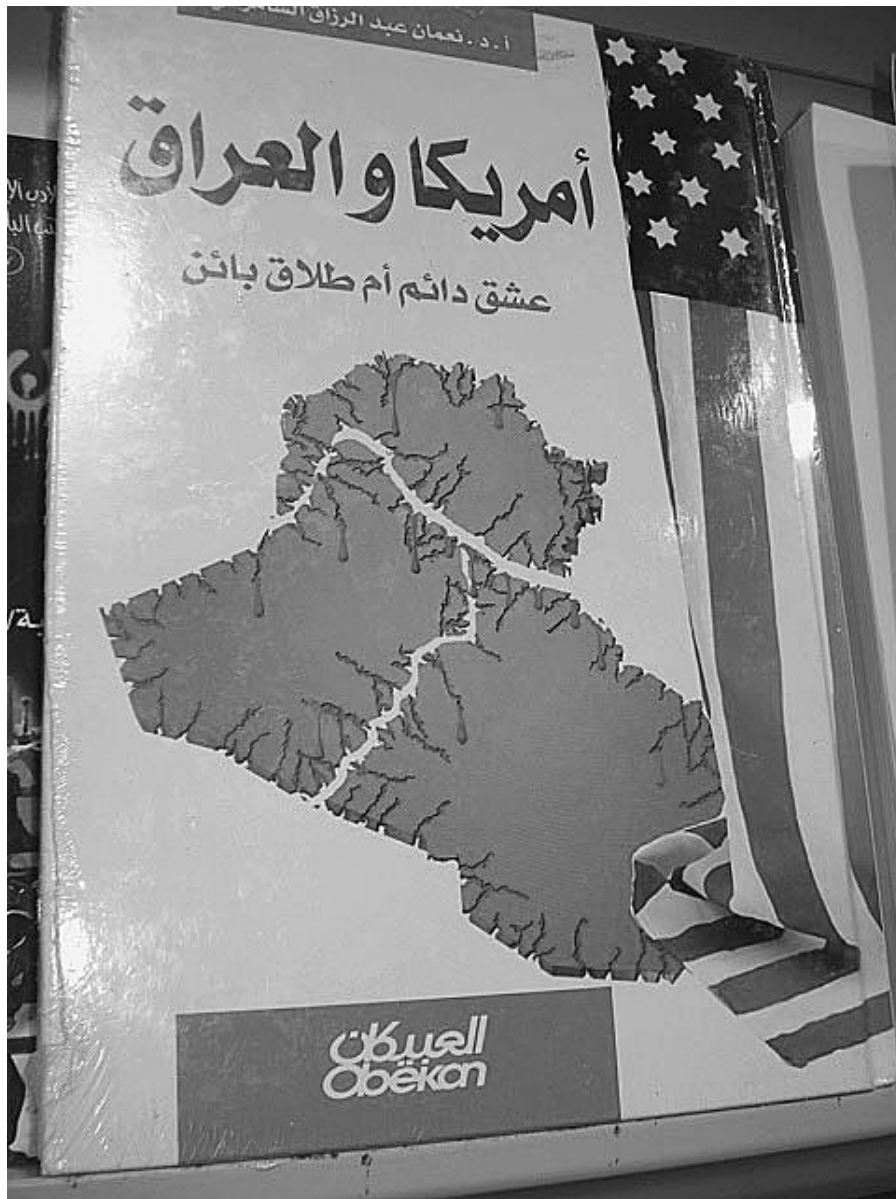
The center urged the fair to “promptly confiscate these offensive texts, to condemn their pollution of the fair and to unambiguously blacklist the above-mentioned exhibitors from participation in the 2010 fair [in October this year]. We also request your cooperation with the German authorities to

repeat their successful intervention with Turkey, by seeking similar results with Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, and Iran.”

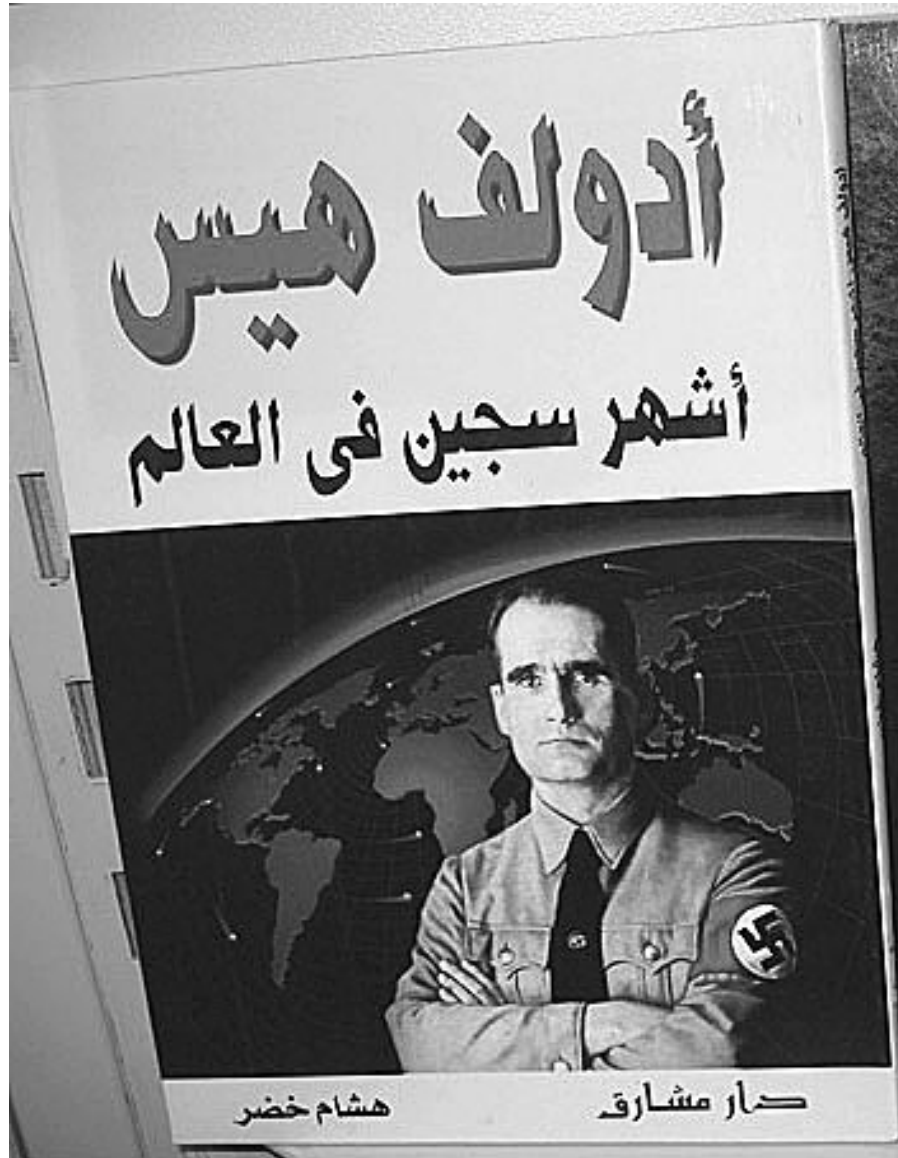
“I would sincerely wish that, next year, I will be able to report that there is nothing to report,” Samuels said.

The following photos tell the Frankfurt tale—and why Samuels has cause for alarm.

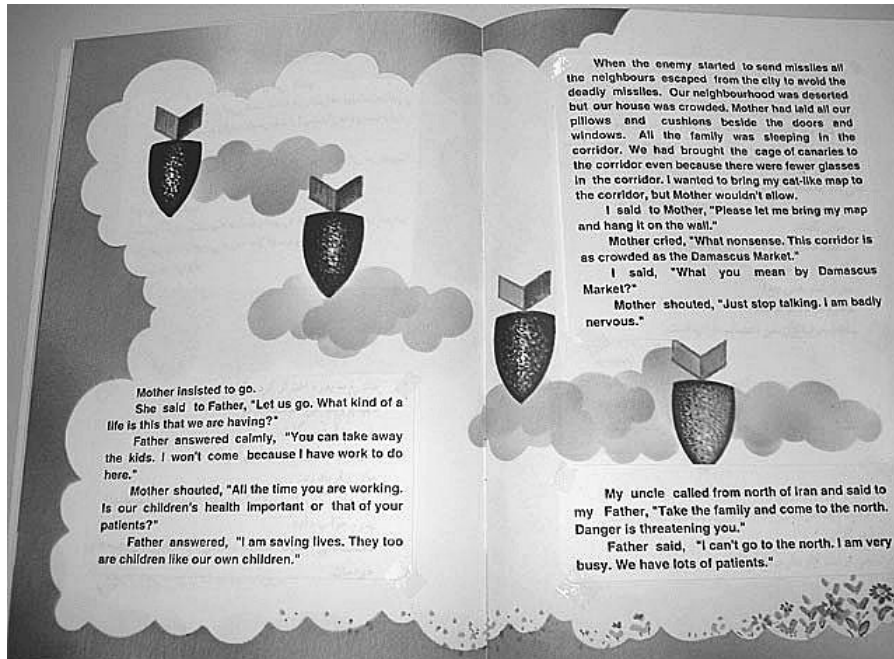
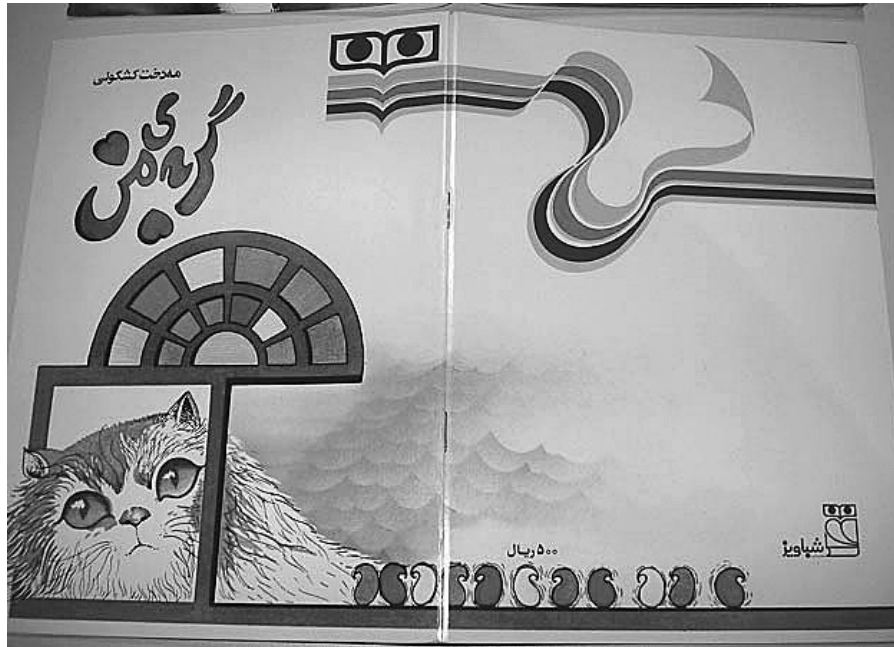


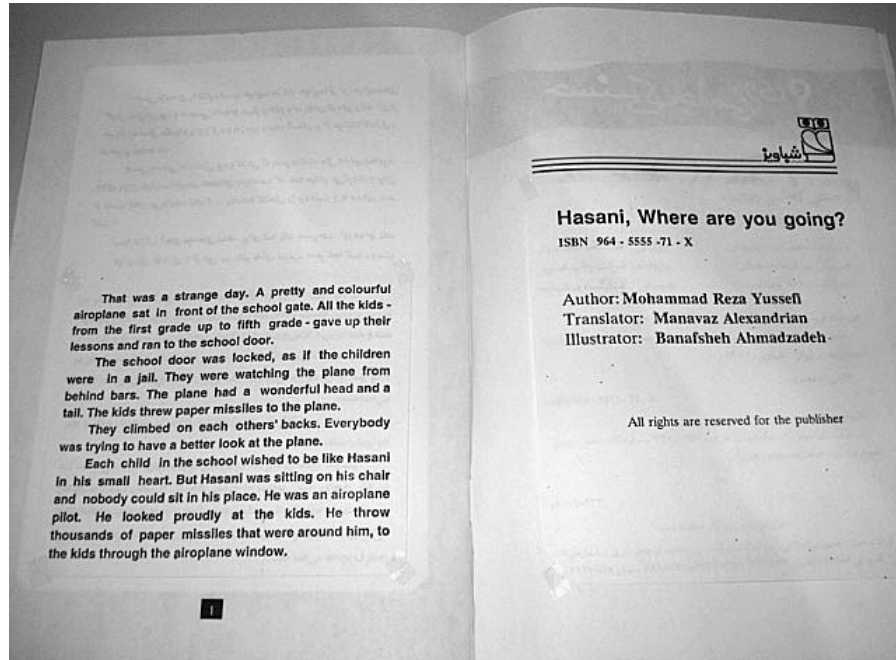


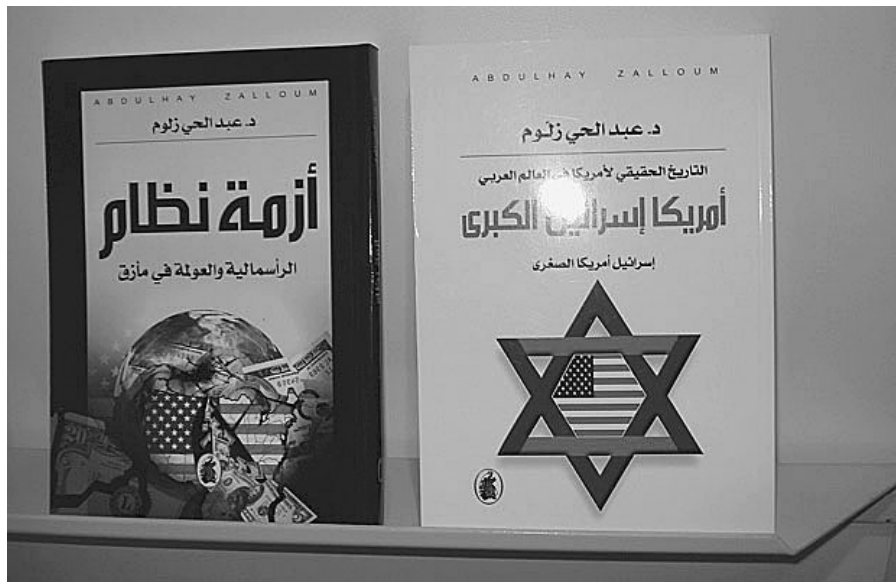








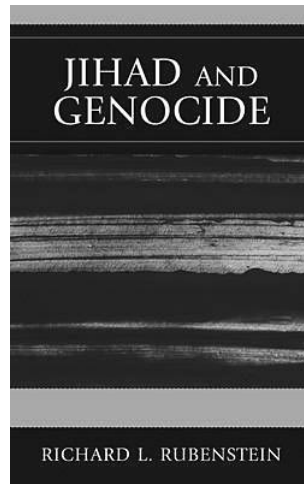




*Shimon Samuels is the director of international relations at the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Paris and an editor of *Antisemitism: The Generic Hatred—Essays in Memory of Simon Wiesenthal* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007). Dr. Samuels thanks Juergen Boos, director of the Frankfurt Book Fair, for his assistance in this report.

REVIEWS

Take Them at Their Word:
The Genuine Threat of Jihad Genocide



Richard L. Rubenstein, *Jihad and Genocide*
(Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2010), \$59.95, 251 pp.

Alyssa A. Lappen*

Concerning Islamic jihad and antisemitism, political correctness has stymied most academics, even in closely related fields. The mainstream press, virtually unwilling to explain or expose genuine Islamic doctrines, has also left a mile-wide void for mass readership.

For these reasons, since 1980 non-academics such as the great Swiss scholar Bat Ye'or¹ and Ibn Warraq² have provided the most thorough and

1. Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam*, rev. ed. (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985); *The Decline of Eastern Christianity under Islam: From Jihad to Dhimmitude* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996); *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Press, 2001); *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005).

2. Ibn Warraq, *The Origins of the Koran: Classic Essays on Islam's Holy Book* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 1998); *The Quest for the Historical Muhammed* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2000); *What the Koran Really Says: Language, Text,*

illuminating works on these subjects—and the ongoing Muslim desire for a global Caliphate intended to eradicate all other faiths. Bat Ye'or, in turn, has ably mentored a new generation of non-academic scholars, including Andrew G. Bostom, M.D.³ Fortunately, since 9/11, ranks of courageous former Muslims like Wafa Sultan,⁴ Nonie Darwish,⁵ and M. A. Kahn⁶ have also enlightened the public. Additionally, best-selling non-fiction writer Robert Spencer has produced over 13 books on Islam and jihad.

Thus, the 2010 offering by renowned Holocaust scholar Richard L. Rubenstein, *Jihad and Genocide*, is a welcome breath of fresh air. Had it been available then, Daniel Goldhagen would have greatly benefited from reading this work before writing his silly book, *Worse than War*.

Islamic tradition commands Muslims to invite those of other faiths (infidels) to Islam. If they refuse the “invitation,” they must pay the annual *jizya* tax imposed on non-Muslims (especially Jews and Christians, known as “people of the book”). If they reject that request as well, then the Qur'an orders Muslims to mercilessly fight them, as do the “traditions,” reported sayings and deeds of Muhammad known as *hadith*.⁷ The same command is

and Commentary (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2002); *Leaving Islam: Apostates Speak Out* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2003); *Why I Am Not a Muslim* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2003); *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's "Orientalism"* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2007); *Which Koran?: Variants, Manuscripts, Linguistics* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2009).

3. Andrew G. Bostom, M.D., *The Legacy of Islamic Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2005); *The Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism: From Sacred Texts to Solemn History* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2008).

4. Wafa Sultan, *A God Who Hates: The Courageous Woman Who Inflamed the Muslim World Speaks Out Against the Evils of Islam* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009).

5. Nonie Darwish, *Now They Call Me Infidel: Why I Renounced Jihad for America, Israel, and the War on Terror* (Sentinel Trade, 2007); *Cruel and Usual Punishment: The Terrifying Global Implications of Islamic Law* (Thomas Nelson, 2009).

6. M. A. Kahn, *Islamic Jihad: A Legacy of Forced Conversion, Imperialism, and Slavery* (iUniverse, 2009).

7. Qur'an 9:29 commands, “Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by God and His Apostle, nor acknowledge the religion of Truth, [even if they are] of the People of the Book, until they pay the Jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued.” As translated by Yusuf Ali, from *Yet Another Quran Browser*, [http://qb.gomen.org/ QuranBrowser/cgi/bin/retrieve.cgi?version=pickthall+yusufali+khan\\$hakir\\$herali+khalifa+arberry\\$almer@odwell\\$ale™ransliterated&layout=auto&searchstring=009:27-31](http://qb.gomen.org/QuranBrowser/cgi/bin/retrieve.cgi?version=pickthall+yusufali+khan$hakir$herali+khalifa+arberry$almer@odwell$ale™ransliterated&layout=auto&searchstring=009:27-31), viewed April 26, 2010; see also Sahih Muslim: The Book of Jihad and Expedition (Kitab al-jihad Wa'l-Siyar), as cited in Bostom, *Legacy of Jihad*, 2005,

repeated innumerable times by Islamic jurists throughout the course of Muslim history, albeit each one in slightly different wording. The classical Shafi'i jurist Ali ibn Muhammad Al Mawardi (d. 1058), for example, writes in *The Laws of Islamic Governance*:

The mushrikun [infidels] of Dar al-Harb (the arena of battle) are of two types: First, those whom the call of Islam has reached, but they have refused it and taken up arms. The amir of the army has the option of fighting them . . . in accordance with what he judges to be in the best interest of the Muslims and the most harmful to the mushrikun. . . . Sec-

138-139, from Abdul Hamid Siqqiqi, "Translation of Sahih Muslim," Muslim Students Association, *Book 019, Number 4294*:

It has been reported from Sulaiman b. Buraid through his father that when the Messenger of Allah (may peace be upon him) appointed anyone as leader of an army or detachment he would especially exhort him to fear Allah and to be good to the Muslims who were with him. He would say: Fight in the name of Allah and in the way of Allah. Fight against those who disbelieve in Allah. Make a holy war, do not embezzle the spoils; do not break your pledge; and do not mutilate (the dead) bodies; do not kill the children. When you meet your enemies who are polytheists, invite them to three courses of action. If they respond to any one of these, you also accept it and wit[h]hold yourself from doing them any harm. Invite them to (accept) Islam; if they respond to you, accept it from them and desist from fighting against them. Then invite them to migrate from their lands to the land of Muhairs and inform them that, if they do so, they shall have all the privileges and obligations of the Muhajirs. If they refuse to migrate, tell them that they will have the status of Bedouin Mu[s]lims and will be subjected to the Commands of Allah like other Muslims, but they will not get any share from the spoils of war or Fai' except when they actually fight with the Muslims (against the disbelievers). If they refuse to accept Islam, demand from them the Jizya. If they agree to pay, accept it from them and hold off your hands. If they refuse to pay the tax, seek Allah's help and fight them. When you lay siege to a fort and the besieged appeal to you for protection in the name of Allah and His Prophet, do not accord to them the guarantee of Allah and His Prophet, but accord to them your own guarantee and the guarantee of your companions for it is a lesser sin that the security given by you or your companions be disregarded than that the security granted in the name of Allah and His Prophet be violated. When you besiege a fort and the besieged want you to let them out in accordance with Allah's Command, do not let them come out in accordance with His Command, but do so at your (own) command, for you do not know whether or not you will be able to carry out Allah's behest with regard to them. <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muslim/019.smt.html> (link changed since 2005; last viewed April 26, 2010).

ond, those whom the invitation to Islam has not reached, although such persons are few nowadays since Allah has made manifest the call of his Messenger . . . it is forbidden to begin an attack before explaining the invitation to Islam to them, informing them of the miracles of the Prophet and making plain the proofs so as to encourage acceptance on their part; if they still refuse to accept after this, war is waged against them and they are treated as those whom the call has reached.⁸

Rubenstein correctly observes, “We do not know, and perhaps can never know, what proportion of the Muslim world is willing to act upon the imperative of endless *jihad* until the entire world accepts Allah or the humiliating, subordination of dhimmi status under Islamic domination.” Thus, Muslim scholars who claim to seek interchanges with non-Muslims as equals “are at an enormous disadvantage” (40).

After all, Muslims regard Muhammad as the perfect man, and are commanded to emulate him in every way. Therefore, when Osama bin Laden makes this point, who can disagree that “fundamentalists” or “radicals” are not really all that radical? The Qur’an itself, which Muslims suppose to be the direct word of God, as “received” by Muhammad, instructs them to eschew non-Muslims, even non-Muslim family members.

As Rubenstein understands quite well, it’s frequently “impossible to distinguish moderate from extremist Muslims.” This is particularly so, since the Islamic doctrine of *taqiyya*⁹ (also known as *kitman*) allows and even encourages Muslims to mask their actual beliefs when involvement with non-Muslims demands that they protect themselves or the Islamic “nation,” known as *umma*.

It’s slightly surprising, knowing all this, that Rubenstein even momentarily considers that the claims of 153 Saudi clerics after 9/11 might be genuine. In May 2002, they issued a missive entitled “How Can We Coexist” in response to the February 2002 declaration by 60 leading U.S. intellectuals regarding the principles of equality and freedom of conscience and faith for which Americans fight (33-40). In it, they seek “more avenues for dialogue and the exchange of ideas,” despite blaming the “causative relationship” of U.S. policies, and Israel and its “loathsome kind of terrorism” for the attacks. Generally, the Saudis whitewash their intentions for the benefit of the uninformed. Their request for more dialogue should more realistically be understood as adept *taqqiya*.

8. Ali ibn Muhammad Al Mawardi, *The Laws of Islamic Governance* (London: Taha Publishers, 1996), 60, as excerpted in Bostom, *Legacy of Islamic Jihad*, 190-195.

9. “*Taqiyah*,” *Dictionary of Islam*, <http://www.answering-islam.org/Books/Hughes/t.htm> (last visited April 20, 2010).

But Rubenstein deserves kudos for stating the reality: If Muhammad's actions have forever shaped normative thinking in Islam (which they certainly seem to have done), "the non-Muslim world is not likely ever to see an end to offensive jihad and its ultimate objectives (42)." This observation is a golden nugget.

Likewise, Rubenstein gives an excellent analysis of the jihad genocide the Young Turks perpetrated against the Armenians in 1915 and 1916. Less than two weeks after the November 1914 Ottoman declaration of war on the Entente (Britain, France, and their allies), the sultan demanded jihad. As a proxy of the Islamic caliphate (and then the highest cleric in Sunni Islam), albeit an appointee of the Young Turks—Mustafa Hayri Bey the next day issued "a formal (and inflammatory) declaration of jihad 'against infidels and enemies of Islam.'" Very shortly, Arabic jihad pamphlets appeared in mosques throughout the Muslim world, declaring jihad against all unbelievers, excepting the Ottomans' expedient German allies.

The forced conversions of some 100,000 to 200,000 Armenian women and children had the same effect as "outright genocide"—eliminating Christian Armenians—Rubenstein concludes. Similarly, "the Turkish belief that they did no wrong in exterminating the Armenians . . . rests ultimately on the traditions of *jihad* and the *dhimma*," the pact of Umar based on Islamic religious law, which requires the subjugation of non-Muslims (54). The same mentality dominates Muslims today, who perceive that "Islam is under attack." They consider genocide "a legitimate weapon" against Islam's supposed enemies, while also accepting the perennial Islamic notion that "defense" is equal to "unremitting *jihad*," and is in any case "*the single most important Muslim obligation*" [emphasis in original, 57].

It bears noting that the equation of jihad with self-defense is not the modern aberration of extremists, but the precise and well-documented teaching of all classical Islamic jurists, from the seventh century through our own.¹⁰

In the mid-1930s, as Rubenstein also highlights, leading Muslim clerics considered genocide against the Jewish people *an unconditional religious imperative*" [emphasis in original, 68]. These figures included both Syrian Sheikh 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam (for whom Hamas named both its "military" wing and rockets), and Jerusalem Mufti Hajj Amin al-Husseini.

Al-Husseini was not to be contented by mere subjugation of the Jewish people in perennial *dhimmi* status. During World War II, the Mufti often elaborated Islam's natural affinity with Nazism. He did not merely fight Zionism or Jewish settlement in Palestine; in his words, al-Husseini fought

10. Bat Ye'or, Bostom, M. A. Kahn, *ibid.*

“world Judaism, the hereditary enemy of Islam (*das Weltjudentum, den Erbfeind des Islams*).”

Rubenstein reinforces this point with his own emphasis upon al-Husseini's October 1944 speech to Bosnian Muslim SS chaplains: “*The friendship and common effort of the Muslims and Germans have become stronger . . . , because the latter is developing in many respects parallel to the Muslim worldview,*” the Mufti told them (98-99). Indeed, Islam considers Jews agents of the devil. As Bostom has noted in *Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism*, Islamic eschatology envisions an army of Jews accompanying the devil before their final defeat in the apocalyptic battle on Judgment Day.¹¹

In other words, as Rubenstein correctly notes, Islamic antisemitism long pre-dated Nazism. He shows that Hitler's henchmen often mimicked jihad ideology. The “world's highest ranking Nazi fugitive,” Alois Brunner, found refuge in Syria, from where in October 1987 he told the *Chicago Sun-Times* via telephone that the Jews all “deserved to die because they were the devil's agents and human garbage. I have no regrets and would do it again” (100).

SS major Dr. Johann von Leers (1902-1965) adopted Islam and in 1956 moved from Argentina to Egypt, where he died. Von Leers likewise defined Nazi genocide against the Jewish people in the terms equivalent to those of Islamic jihad. Exterminating Europe's Jews was “was fully justified as a form of retribution and self-defense” (100).

Hitler himself repeatedly lauded Islam during his “teatime ‘historical speculation,’ ” Albert Speer wrote in his memoirs, published in English in 1970. Hitler considered Arabs “racially inferior.” Nevertheless, he deeply appreciated Islam's jihad doctrine, “that believed in spreading the faith by the sword and subjecting all nations to that faith” (100-102).

Hajj Amin al-Husseini's jihad doctrine infused his Nazism, and vice versa. This alone is no revelation. Yet Rubenstein's work is quite useful as it relates to current events. It makes mincemeat of the disingenuous arguments of European Muslim Brotherhood leader Tariq Ramadan, for example, on the affinity of Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna, his grandfather, with al-Husseini.

On April 8, 2010, at New York's Cooper Union, Ramadan profusely denied al-Banna's appreciation of the Mufti's Nazi connection. As George Packer ably retorted, al-Banna littered his own remarks, researched in the original Arabic, with praise for both Nazism and fascism. Still, Ramadan refused to denounce al-Banna's personal Nazi proclivities, despite their obvious mesh with classical jihad ideology. Ramadan weakly attempted to

11. Bostom, *Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism*, 63, 166, 642.

deny the accuracy of al-Banna's direct quotes. He disconcertingly insisted, too, on masking his grandfather's outright hatred for Jews within the "context" of al-Banna's contemporary fight against Zionism.¹²

In his final three chapters, Rubenstein addresses Arab oil revenue as fueling global jihad, especially inside increasingly Islamized Europe; Iran's genocidal mania and its equally genocidal nuclear aspirations; and the underlying causes of 20th- and 21st-century Islamic raging at Israel and the West. Rubenstein also discusses much of the West's tacit acceptance of Islamic attacks on Israel, despite their openly antisemitic themes.

Rubenstein astutely emphasizes that both Western and Israeli attempts to resolve the Arab war against the Jewish state with territorial concessions are fundamentally flawed by their failure "*to take into account the religious dimension of the conflict*" (165). He states this critical point all too politely. He also buries it a little too deeply behind discussions of historical Christian animosity for Jews and historical Islamic antisemitism.

Yet, he quite successfully conveys the intensity of contemporary Islamic reflections of Jew-hatred. He cites, for example, highly regarded clerics like Egyptian Amin al-Ansari (174-175) and the Qatar-based spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, Yusuf al-Qaradawi; the latter's arguments adhere to classical Islamic law. In effect, the Jewish people in establishing their own state to rule themselves, without institutional discriminatory taxes, ridicule, persecution or regular periodic mass murder, "were not faithful to the [covenant]." Real or not, al-Qaradawi perceives a Jewish betrayal of an erstwhile promise to remain under the *dhimma*, the Islamic legal pact requiring that all non-Muslim peoples be eternally and institutionally demeaned, and subservient to Islam. And this perception alone, according to al-Qaradawi, gives all Muslims "a license to kill all Jews" (175-177).

Genocidal Islamic intent has often been openly expressed in shocking European and North American street demonstrations, from London and Paris to Washington, D.C., Ft. Lauderdale, and Montreal. Rubenstein graphically describes many such events, sourced to videos recorded during each one. (pp. 177-180) And he reminds readers of the November 2008 jihadist massacre of at least 195 people in Mumbai, by perpetrators focused

12. This reviewer was present at Cooper Union on April 8, 2010. See also George Packer, "Interesting Times: An Evening with Tariq Ramadan," *The New Yorker*, April 9, 2010, <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/georgepacker/2010/04/an-evening-with-ramadan.html> (visited April 11, 2010); and Brendan Goldman, "An Islamist in professor's garb: Tariq Ramadan returns to America," *American Thinker*, April 15, 2010, http://www.americanthinker.com/2010/04/an_islamist_in_professors_garb.html (viewed April 26, 2010).

on the murders and grotesque disfigurements of all Jews at Nariman House, the Chabad Jewish center. This attack especially, Rubenstein argues, represented an emulation of Muhammad's life. He notes that *Sirat Rasul Allah*—Muhammad's earliest surviving biography by Muslim hagiographer Ibn Ishaq—reports him to have said, "Kill any Jew that falls into your power" (180-184).¹³

Rubenstein believes that murderous contemporary Muslims are merely victims of the Sudden Jihad Syndrome. The book would have been stronger had he instead returned to his correct early conclusion that we simply do not and cannot know how many Muslims ascribe to the classical jihadist ideology represented in these actions. For, as Rubenstein also notes, even supposing potential actors *totaled under 5%* of all Muslims worldwide, they could alarmingly number up to 65 million globally (116).

More important, no mainstream Islamic cleric today espouses any determination to reform—much less eliminate—jihad war doctrine, totalitarian, genocidal, statist, or discriminatory statutes embedded in shari'a law. Ridiculous and hypocritical as it is, for example, Tariq Ramadan's 2003 call for a temporary Islamic "moratorium" on stoning women (and men) fell on deaf ears in the Islamic world. The entire discussion transpired in the West. Even seven years on, Islamic clerics aren't the least interested in the idea.¹⁴ Indeed, Ramadan himself reveres the genocidal al-Qaradawi, who not coincidentally also condones wife-beating.

Despite some minor weaknesses, however, Rubenstein's brief 250-page book gives an excellent introduction to the latest reverberations of classical Islamic jihad law and antisemitism. Readers will find the writing pristine and the research meticulous and precisely documented. Western and Israeli leaders should take some sage advice from this highly esteemed Holocaust scholar.

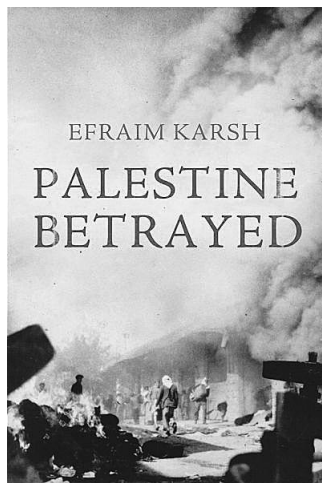
First, genocidal threats "are deadly serious and can neither be dismissed nor ignored" (vii). Second, whether Islamic rage at the West is endemic to the entire Muslim world, or remains "isolated" among a minority of 65 million, the powerful Islamic leaders and clerics promising genocide mean what they say. We risk annihilation unless we take them at their word, for to them, "nothing less than genocide will suffice."

13. Citing Alfred Guillaume, trans., *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rashul Allah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 369.

14. Clive Davis, "Searching for Ramadan," *Spectator*, May 30, 2007, <http://www.spectator.co.uk/clivedavis/31307/searching-for-ramadan.html> (visited April 5, 2010); see also Christiane Amanpour, "Iraq's election; fighting terrorism, Sudan to divide," CNN, Apr. 11, 2010, <http://archives.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1004/11/ampr.01.html> (viewed April 21, 2010).

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Not Blaming the Jews



Efraim Karsh, *Palestine Betrayed*
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 336 pp., \$32.50

Daniel Pipes*

“Nakba,” the Arabic word for catastrophe, has entered the English language in reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict. As defined by the anti-Israel Web site The Electronic Intifada, Nakba means “the expulsion and dispossession of hundreds of thousands [of] Palestinians from their homes and land in 1948.” Those who wish Israel to disappear actively promote the Nakba narrative. For example, Nakba Day serves as a mournful Palestinian counterpart to Israel’s Independence Day festivities, annually publicizing Israel’s alleged sins. So established has this day become that Ban Ki-moon, secretary general of the United Nations—the very institution that created the State of Israel—has sent his support to “the Palestinian people on Nakba Day.” Even Neve Shalom, a Jewish-Palestinian community in Israel claiming to be “engaged in educational work for peace, equality, and understanding between the two peoples,” dutifully commemorates Nakba Day.

The Nakba ideology presents Palestinians as victims without choices and therefore without responsibility for the ills that befell them. It blames Israel alone for the Palestinian-refugee problem. This view has an intuitive appeal, for Muslim and Christian Palestinians had long formed a majority on the land that became Israel, whereas most Jews were relative newcomers.

Intuitive sense, however, does not equal historical accuracy. In his new tour de force, *Palestine Betrayed*, Efraim Karsh, of the University of London, offers the latter. With his customary in-depth archival research—in this case, relying on masses of recently declassified documents from the period of British rule and of the first Arab-Israeli war, 1917-49—clear presentation, and meticulous historical sensibility, Karsh argues the opposite case: that Palestinians decided their own destiny and bear near-total responsibility for becoming refugees.

In Karsh's words: "Far from being the hapless victims of a predatory Zionist assault, it was Palestinian Arab leaders who, from the early 1920s onward, and very much against the wishes of their own constituents, launched a relentless campaign to obliterate the Jewish national revival which culminated in the violent attempt to abort the U.N. partition resolution." More broadly, he observes, "there was nothing inevitable about the Palestinian-Jewish confrontation, let alone the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Yet, more counterintuitively, Karsh shows that his understanding was the conventional, indeed the undisputed interpretation in the late 1940s. Only with the passage of time did "Palestinians and their Western supporters gradually rewrite their national narrative," thereby making Israel into the unique culprit, the one excoriated in the United Nations, university classrooms, and editorials.

Karsh successfully makes his case by establishing two main points: that (1) the Jewish-Zionist-Israeli side perpetually sought to find a compromise while the Palestinian-Arab-Muslim side rejected nearly all deals; and that (2) Arab intransigence and violence caused the self-inflicted "catastrophe."

The first point is more familiar, especially since the Oslo Accords of 1993, for it remains today's pattern. Karsh demonstrates a consistency of Jewish goodwill and Arab rejectionism going back to the Balfour Declaration and persisting throughout the period of British rule. (As a reminder, the Balfour Declaration of 1917 expressed London's intention to establish in Palestine a "national home for the Jewish people," and the British conquest of Palestine just 37 days later gave it control of Palestine until 1948.)

In the first years after 1917, Arab reaction was muted, as leaders and masses alike recognized the benefits of the dynamic Zionist enterprise that helped revive a backward, poor, and sparsely populated Palestine. Then emerged, with British facilitation, the noxious figure who would dominate Palestinian politics over the next three decades: Amin al-Husseini. From about 1921 on, as Karsh documents, Zionists and Palestinians had many choices to make; while the former invariably opted for compromise, the latter relentlessly decided on extermination.

In various capacities—mufti, head of Islamic and political organizations, Hitler ally, hero of the Arab masses—Husseini drove his constituents to what Karsh calls “a relentless collision course with the Zionist movement.” Hating Jews so maniacally that he went on to join the Nazi genocide machine, Husseini refused to accept Jewish presence in any numbers in Palestine, much less any form of Zionist sovereignty.

From the early 1920s, then, one witnessed a pattern still in place and familiar today: Zionist accommodation, “painful concessions,” and constructive efforts to bridge differences, met by Palestinian antisemitism, rejectionism, and violence.

Complementing this binary dramatis personae, and complicating its stark contrast, stood the generally more accommodating Palestinian masses, the disgracefully antisemitic British mandatory authority, a Jordanian king eager to rule the Jews as subjects, feckless Arab state leaders, and an erratic American government.

Despite the radicalization of Palestinian opinion by the mufti and despite the Nazi rise to power, Zionists kept seeking an accommodation. It took some years, but the mufti’s zero-sum policy and eliminationism eventually convinced reluctant Labor leaders, including David Ben-Gurion, that good works would not facilitate their dream of acceptance. Still, despite repeated failures, they continued the search for a moderate Arab partner with whom to strike a deal.

In contrast, notes Karsh, Ze’ev Jabotinsky, an early voice to today’s Likud party, already in 1923 understood that “there is not even the slightest hope of ever obtaining the agreement of the Arabs of the Land of Israel to ‘Palestine’ becoming a country with a Jewish majority.” Yet even he rejected the idea of expelling Arabs and insisted on their full enfranchisement in a future Jewish state.

This dialectic culminated in November 1947, when the United Nations passed a partition plan that today would be termed a two-state solution. In other words, it handed the Palestinians a state on a silver platter. Zionists rejoiced but Palestinian leaders, foremost the malign Husseini, sourly rejected any solution that endorsed Jewish autonomy. They insisted on everything and so got nothing. Had they accepted the UN plan, Palestine would be celebrating its 62nd anniversary this May. And there would have been no Nakba.

The most original part of *Palestine Betrayed* is the half that contains a detailed review of the flight of Muslims and Christians from Palestine in 1947-49. Here, Karsh’s archival research comes into its own, allowing him to present a uniquely rich picture of the specific circumstances of Arab flight. He goes one by one through the various Arab population centers—

Qastel, Deir Yassin, Tiberias, Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Safad—and then takes a close look at the villages. Israel's war of independence divides into two parts. Ferocious fighting began within hours of the United Nations vote to partition Palestine on November 29, 1947, and lasted till the eve of the British evacuation on May 14, 1948. The international conflict began on May 15 (the day after Israel came into being), when five Arab state armies invaded, with hostilities lasting until January 1949. The first phase consisted largely of guerrilla warfare, the second primarily of conventional warfare. Over half (between 300,000 and 340,000) of the 600,000 Arab refugees fled before the British evacuation, and most of them in the final month.

Palestinians fled in a wide range of circumstances and for varied reasons. Arab commanders ordered noncombatants out of the way of military maneuvers; they threatened laggards with treatment as traitors if they stayed; they demanded that villages be evacuated to improve their standing on the battlefield; or, they promised a safe return in a matter of days. Some communities preferred to flee rather than to sign a truce with the Zionists; in the words of Jaffa's mayor, "I do not mind destruction of Jaffa if we secure destruction of Tel Aviv." The mufti's agents attacked Jews to provoke hostilities. Families with the means to do so fled danger. When agricultural tenants heard that their landlords would be punished, they worried about being expelled and preempted by abandoning the land. Bitter interne-cine enmities hobbled planning. Shortages of food and other necessities spread. Services like water-pumping stations were abandoned. Fears spread of Arab gunmen, as did rumors of Zionist atrocities.

In only one case (Lydda) did Israeli troops push Arabs out. The singularity of this event bears emphasis. As Karsh notes about the entire first phase of fighting: "None of the 170,000-180,000 Arabs fleeing urban centers, and only a handful of the 130,000-160,000 villagers who left their homes, had been forced out by Jews."

The Palestinian leadership disapproved of a population return, seeing this as implicitly recognizing the nascent state of Israel. The Israelis were at first ready to take back the evacuees but then hardened their position as the war progressed. On June 16, 1948, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion explained their thinking: "This will be a war of life and death and [the evacuees] must not be able to return to the abandoned places. . . . We did not start the war. They made the war. Jaffa waged war on us, Haifa waged war on us, Beisan waged war on us. And I do not want them again to make war."

In sum, Karsh explains, "It was the actions of the Arab leaders that condemned hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to exile."

In this book, Karsh establishes two momentous facts: that Arabs aborted the Palestinian state and that they caused the Nakba. In the process,

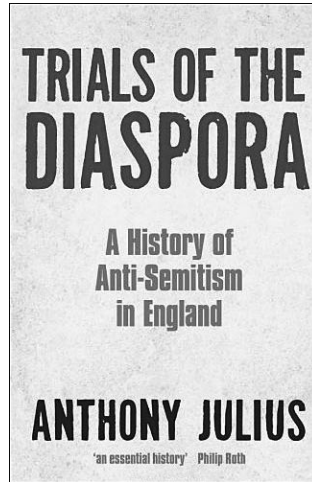
he confirms his status as the preeminent historian of the modern Middle East writing today, and extends the arguments of three of his earlier books. His magnum opus, *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789-1923* (with Inari Karsh, 1999), argued that Middle Easterners were not, as usually thought, “hapless victims of predatory imperial powers but active participants in the restructuring of their region,” a shift with vast political implications. *Palestine Betrayed* applies that book’s thesis to the Arab-Israeli conflict, depriving Palestinians of excuses and victimhood, showing that they actively, if mistakenly, chose their destiny.

In *Fabricating Israeli History: The “New Historians”* (1997), Karsh exposed the shoddy work, even the fraudulence, of the school of Israeli historians who blame the 1948-49 Palestinian refugee problem on the Jewish state. *Palestine Betrayed* offers the flip side; if the earlier book refuted mistakes, this one establishes truths. Finally, in *Islamic Imperialism: A History* (2006), he showed the expansionist core of the Islamic faith in action over the centuries; here he explores that drive in small-bore detail among the Palestinians, connecting the supremacist Islamic mentality with an unwillingness to make practical concessions to Jewish sovereignty.

Palestine Betrayed reframes today’s Arab-Israeli debate by putting it into its proper historical context. Proving that for 90 years the Palestinian political elite has opted to reject “the Jewish national revival and [insisted on] the need for its violent destruction,” Karsh correctly concludes that the conflict will end only when the Palestinians give up on their “genocidal hopes.”

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The Background Noise



Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 864 pp., \$45.00

Lesley Klaff*

“[Anti-Semitism] is the background noise against which we live our lives.”

—p. xvi

Anthony Julius’s book *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* is a detailed, scholarly, and fluent account of four antisemitisms, each with a uniquely English provenance: the antisemitism of medieval England; English literary antisemitism; modern English antisemitism; and “contemporary anti-Zionism,” which, although also currently prevalent in Europe, has an exclusively English association because of England’s involvement with the Zionist project from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-1950s. In showing the many ways in which England *arrived first* in the history of antisemitism, Julius dispels the myth of English tolerance and accommodation toward Jews: “The anti-Semitism of no other country has this density of history. The anti-Semitism of no other country is so continually innovative” (xlii).

What is so exceptional about the book, and what sets it apart from all existing histories of antisemitism, is that it describes my own experience as

a member of Anglo-Jewry in a way that is truly revelatory. Julius speaks to me personally throughout the entire book, but principally in his chapter, “The Mentality of Modern English Anti-Semitism” (349-440), where he discusses the “*unthinking*” *anti-Semitism* that demoralizes Jews by excluding us, insulting us, regarding us with condescension or with a certain amused contempt, or with prejudiced curiosity, or by treating us with “Jew-wariness” or “Jew-distrust” (351). Julius notes that this modest antisemitism, although barely visible much of the time, is nevertheless “powerful enough to influence the very formation of modern Anglo-Jewish identity” (352). Quotidian antisemitism of this kind—“best characterized as a prejudice rather than a preoccupation” (355)—frequently manifests itself in the making of an antisemitic remark or the telling of an antisemitic joke:

Question: What’s the shortest book in the world?

Answer: The Jewish book of gifts.

The exchange is one of essential inequality, in which the maker of the remark or joke is taken to declare: “I have nothing to fear from Jews. I can approach them unarmed. I can risk offending them, because they are of no account” (370). One recent personal experience comes to mind: I was at lunch with two male colleagues, each of whom purports to be a close acquaintance of mine. One of them addressed me directly and asked, “What’s the shortest book in the world?” When I replied that I didn’t know, he came out with the antisemitic “joke” above. My refusal to laugh drew the comment, “Can’t you take a joke?”

The book also causes me to rethink how I deal with antisemites. I have, in the past, spent hours, even days, arguing with pro-boycott advocates and wrangling with all manner of anti-Zionists on the Internet. I have presented them with factual refutations of their position; I have appealed to their humanity and reason. In short, I have engaged them in good faith. I now know that their positions are nondebatably because they are informed by hostility, even malice, toward Jews and Jewish projects. So from now on I shall ignore them. I have endured the humiliation of antisemitic jokes and remarks, and I have been treated as an object of curiosity with repeated and amused questions about Jewish observance. I shall tolerate this no longer. Julius has given me the insight and the confidence to walk away.

The book also stands above existing histories on antisemitism because of the sheer wealth and breadth of information presented. Indeed, Julius’s exposition of each of the four English antisemitisms is a book in itself: the reader is treated to a synthesis of all the relevant literature in conjunction with the author’s own brilliant analysis and insight. Thus, in the chapter on medieval English antisemitism we learn that the Jews were defamed, that

their wealth was expropriated, that they were subjected to discriminatory and humiliating legal regulation, that they were injured and murdered, and that they were finally expelled in 1290 by King Edward I. In providing the details of their expulsion, Julius portrays their multiple dislocations and losses, their loss of identity and livelihood, in a way that captures the fear, anxiety, and sadness that accompanies the loss of one's home and country. Of the two antisemitic libels that were invented in medieval England, "Coin Clipping" (the bleeding of the Gentile body politic) and the "Blood Libel" (the bleeding of Gentile bodies), the latter has survived and flourished to the present day, not only in England, but throughout the world. The protean nature of the Blood Libel, which "converts the single event of the Passion into an open series of murders" (74), gives it pride of place in the "discourse of denunciation" (14) that characterizes antisemitism.

The Blood Libel, or the accusation that Jews drink Christian blood for their rituals, has featured extensively in English literature. Julius's chapter on English literary antisemitism, no less than his earlier *T. S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism, and the Literary Form* (London 2003), demonstrates his impressive skill in the art of literary critique. He declares that the anonymous thirteenth-century ballad, "Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter," which alludes to the Lincoln Blood Libel, marks the start of "a murderous anti-Semitism into a national literature" (p. 164). This trend flourished throughout the period of the Jews' exile with, for example, Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale* (c. 1387-1400), Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (1592), and Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (c. 1596-7) (where the Blood Libel plays out its master theme of "Jew as aggressor/revenger"). It continued after the Jews' readmission, in works such as Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1838), Rudyard Kipling's *Life's Handicap* (1891), George Du Maurier's *Trilby* (1894), Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), and H. G. Wells's *Tono-Bungay* (1909), although the latter four are "[A]mong the less cloying, less hysterical, engagements with anti-Semitic tropes, ones conducted at a somewhat more challenging literary level" (216).

The Blood Libel presents itself in today's English literature in the form of literary critiques of Israel and Zionism. For example, Tom Paulin's poem "Killed in the Crossfire," published in the widely circulated *Observer* newspaper in 2001, and Caryl Churchill's play, *Seven Jewish Children*, performed in 2009 at the Royal Court Theatre, London—each portrays Jews as people who wish Gentiles harm, as people who intentionally murder Gentile children: "Jews manipulate, exploit, or otherwise prey upon Gentiles, but the poor dumb beasts do not see what is happening, until the sage or poet arrives to explain it" (239). In this way, the Blood Libel association of children/Jews/danger continues as strongly as it did in Dickens's *Oliver Twist*.

As elsewhere in the book, Julius's chapter on English literary

antisemitism (which covers many more texts and authors than those mentioned above) makes it clear to the reader that a harmful antisemitism can be present in the written and spoken word. This is important because there is a tendency in England to think of antisemitism only in terms of the Holocaust, in terms of state-sponsored genocide. This is partly because antisemitism faded from political consciousness after the Six-Day War, and partly because of ignorance of antisemitism's long pre-Holocaust history. There is "[A] new illiteracy . . . concerning anti-Semitic language and iconography" (517). Antisemitism in its literary form does hurt Jews: "There are two canonic works, then, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Oliver Twist*, each bearing the name of the Gentile victim of a Jew, and they thrive in a continuous present, endlessly circulating in the culture, studied, performed, adapted. And if one asks the question of English culture, which Jews today are the most potently, most vividly, *present*? The answer will be Shylock and Fagin. They represent a character-prison from which actual Jews still struggle to escape" (203-4).

The third antisemitism with an English provenance is that of the modern period. This is a quotidian antisemitism of insult and partial exclusion, a "mute though not altogether harmless prejudice" (246-7), fired by a "certain residual wariness" and "a discomfort barely able to articulate itself" (246) toward Jews. The chapter considers this "minor" (as opposed to "lethal") antisemitism from the time of the Jews' readmission in the 1650s to the late twentieth century. It discusses the readmission controversy, Jewish naturalization and emancipation, the Boer War, The Balfour Declaration and the Zionist Project, the British Mandate in Palestine, World War II, and the debate over the passing of the War Crimes Act in 1991. Throughout the explanation of this dense and distinct Anglo-Jewish history, Julius brings to life the "discourse of violence" in the expressions of hostility toward Jews (considered to be physically ugly as well as malign), and in the revival of old antisemitic canards. The chapter further explores the question: "Could Britain have done more to minimize the tragedy of the Holocaust?" The answer appears to be "Yes," certainly with respect to immigration policy. The British government prevented the possibility of escape to England for Jewish refugees at the start of the war by invalidating previously granted visas to enemy nationals. It also limited Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 between the crucial years of 1939 and 1944. One has to wonder whether this failure to facilitate the admission of Jewish refugees to Britain or Britain-administered Palestine was the result of antisemitism. Julius considers the argument both ways and concludes that while antisemitism was not decisive in blocking aid to Jews, it informed a "principle of non-obligation."

The fourth and final antisemitism that Julius addresses is "contempo-

rary anti-Zionism,” which surfaced in England in the 1960s and 1970s. This is a combination of the “new anti-Zionism” (a secular, leftist, or post-leftist anti-Zionism) and three “confessional anti-Zionisms” (Muslim, Jewish, and Christian). It has a uniquely English provenance because of its distinct configuration, and also because of England’s historical connection with the Zionist project, as a result of which “anti-Zionist positions tainted by anti-Semitism were already circulating in England in the aftermath of World War I” (442). Contemporary anti-Zionism is strongly represented in the English public sphere, making England an attractive and welcome home to American anti-Zionists, Israeli anti-Zionists, Palestinian writers, intellectuals, and academics, and to radical Islamists. In considering the question of contemporary anti-Zionism’s antisemitism, Julius gives many examples of hostility to Israel and the Zionist project that use antisemitic tropes (“conspiracy,” “control of the media,” “Jewish criminality,” “Zionism = Nazism”), and that resonate with antisemitism’s history (the boycott campaign). He also analyzes their use of counter-histories and counter-narratives that resist all factual evidence to the contrary. The Palestine/Israel conflict is viewed as “total innocence confronts total guilt.” Those accused of antisemitism deny it. They claim to abhor antisemitism. They refer to their “Jewish friends.” In their defense, they name Jewish anti-Zionists who agree with them; they make the counterclaim that the charge has been made in bad faith to deflect legitimate criticism of Israel. In so doing they betray their antisemitism because they rely on antisemitic tropes: Jewish admission of wickedness to incriminate, Jewish use of money and power to silence. But Julius distinguishes between those who culpably adopt antisemitism and those who are culpably indifferent to it, and he concedes that many contemporary anti-Zionists bear this latter, lesser responsibility. They are “fellow travellers.” The downplaying or indifference to antisemitism is still a major concern, however: “Fellow travellers do not care, or they care in the wrong way, about complaints of anti-Semitism” (530).

So, the essential message of the book is not a good one: England has been both innovative and original in the history of four distinct antisemitisms. Despite this, the book’s impartiality and balance redeems England, if only momentarily, at certain points in the narrative. For instance, during the medieval period, “[M]any Jews lived and died peaceful lives; more than a few Jews prospered; friendships and other relationships of trust were formed between Jews and Christians” (108). In the literary world, there were books that *spoke up* for Jews, such as Cumberland’s *The Jew* (1794), Edgeworth’s *Harrington* (1817), and Scott’s *Ivanhoe* (1819). Then there was George Eliot’s *Daniel Deronda* (1876), a book that stood *inside* Judaism and Jewish life and challenged received thinking about Jews. In modern times, there was a strongly philo-Semitic body of opinion that advocated

Jewish interests and praised the virtues of Judaism and the Jewish character. Moreover, lethal, state-sponsored antisemitism of the kind seen in Europe did not take hold in England because of a unique ideological privileging of the values of “common sense,” “fair play,” and “religious tolerance,” combined with a broader mistrust of all fanaticism, and the fact that English intellectuals do not form public opinion. Nor has contemporary anti-Zionism yet become “a staple of what might be termed current public doctrine; it is not part of some broad national consciousness” (443).

Given the book’s impartiality and balance throughout, I am surprised that there is no mention of the Kindertransport. This was the “rescue operation,” voted by Parliament within hours of Kristallnacht, that was responsible for saving the lives of approximately 10,000 (mostly) Jewish children between December 1, 1938, and September 1, 1939, by arranging for them to be settled in England. There are a few surviving “kindertransports” in my own Jewish community, and they remain incredibly grateful to this country for saving their lives, while the rescue operation itself remains a source of national pride.

Nevertheless, as Julius points out early on in his book, “[F]or Anglo-Jewry in general, antisemitism is the background noise against which we live our lives” (xvi). Only yesterday [May 16, 2010] I encountered a typical “Palestine Solidarity Campaign” anti-Israel demonstration outside the Sheffield Town Hall, shown in the photos accompanying this review. The protesters comprised Far Left anti-Zionists and Muslim anti-Zionists, an alliance I did not understand at all until I read Julius’s book. As there has been no recent conflagration in the Israel/Palestine conflict to warrant an anti-Israel protest, the group held up a large banner, which stated in red (a color invariably chosen for its association with blood): “Remember Gaza.” Libels published by the protesters against Israel were “Apartheid State,” “Illegitimate State,” “Stolen Palestinian Land,” and “Stolen Goods.” They were urging a boycott of all Israeli goods. Instead of trying to debate the issues with them as on previous occasions, I merely photographed them (with their permission).

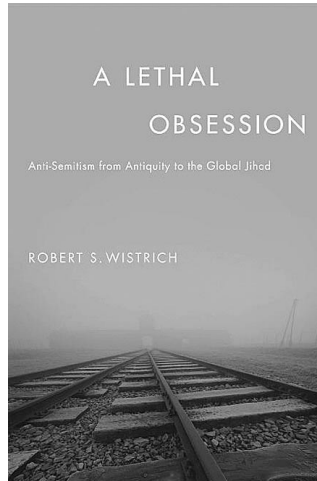
On the last page of the book, Anthony Julius poses the following question in relation to the writing of it: “Has there been any merit in the exercise?” He expresses the hope that there has, as he has committed a great deal of time to it. I can categorically and unequivocally assure him that *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* has made a profound and original contribution to the body of knowledge and understanding on the subject of English antisemitism. It not only provides an important history, but also speaks in a most personal and touching way to the experience of the English Jew. In that sense, no review can do it justice.

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These photographs show British anti-Zionists demonstrating against Israel on May 16, 2010. ©Photos copyright Lesley Klaff 2010.

Opus Magnum Wistrich



Robert S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad* (New York: Random House, 2010), 1184 pp., \$40.00

Frederick M. Schweitzer*

Robert Wistrich is the outstanding historian of antisemitism of our generation, a prolific author/editor of approximately twenty books as well as hundreds of articles, reviews, pamphlets, and booklets; it is remarkable how many of the citations he gives are to his own works, perhaps ten or fifteen percent out of a total of at least three thousand.

Having spent the proverbial forty years as a scholar confronting antisemitism, I read the thousand pages plus of Wistrich's new book, *A Lethal Obsession*, with admiration, finding much that is familiar, quite a bit that is path finding, especially on the Middle East, but all in a fresh synthesis with many striking insights and connections revealed that had not occurred even to one, like myself, who has perused some ninety antisemitic treatises. The book's coverage from antiquity to the present is anything but uniform; in fact, it is a monograph devoted to Russian-Soviet, Nazi-German, Arab-Islamic antisemitism from, variously, the 1890s, 1900, the interwar period, or no time range indicated.

Wistrich's introduction is a broad survey of the current scene, tracing its roots to the end of World War II with echoes of antisemitism's evolution over two millennia; the first two chapters, "From Deicide to Genocide" and

“Between Marx and Stalin,” 128 pages plus 20 of notes, serve as prolegomena to the exposition of the triad of examples of antisemitisms that are, indeed, lethal and obsessive, as well as interrelated and overlapping, and have Christian-European antisemitism as their common denominator. Anti-Americanism also comes forth as a common denominator for much contemporary antisemitism, as it emanates from Europe and the Middle East.

I especially value the last portion of *A Lethal Obsession*, on Arab-Muslim antisemitism, as an extraordinary example of contemporary history, where his own experience as a participant in testifying before committees and commissions, conducting interviews, making films, and the like enriches the text. I know of no exposition that is as comprehensive and searching. To be sure, however, I have considerable difficulty concurring with Wistrich’s grim and foreboding conclusion. Focused on Iran, he writes: “Unless it is checked in time the lethal triad of anti-Semitism, terror and jihad is capable of unleashing potentially universal conflagration. A deadly strain of genocidal anti-Semitism brings the nightmare of a nuclear Armageddon one step closer and with it the need for more resolute prevention action.”

Readers, I think, will be profoundly impressed with the depth and range of Wistrich’s historical research and scholarship, but they may not subscribe to all the political conclusions he draws from them. At several points he cites the writings and efforts of critics and opponents of antisemitism, anti-Zionism, anti-Israelism, and/or holy war/jihad who are scholars and journalists and politicians—European, Arab, and Iranian—but concludes that they are too few, muted, and hardly get a hearing, and that their lives are often in danger. He ignores reformers—uses neither *reform* nor *reformer* in this connection—and conveys the impression that there are none. Yet there is the work—though I must confess I am unfamiliar with it and unable to evaluate it—of reformers like Abdul Kareem Soroush, Khalid Abou el Fadl, Azizah al Hibri, Abdallah an Na’im, and Abdallah bin Baya, who participate in conferences, some of which are sponsored by Arab institutions, and Mohamed Talbi, with whom I am familiar. Talbi is the distinguished Tunisian historian of medieval North Africa and religious thinker who writes on such themes as dialogue in a pluralist world; who dismisses aims to restore the caliphate as “ideological necrophilia”; and who argues that the Qur’an must be read as a historical document subject to both higher and lower criticism, that the sharia is manmade, and that “Religious dogmas terrorize the spirit”—and much more of the same enlightened tenor. There is a lot of material to work with, though most of it is in Arabic; MEMRI (Middle East Media and Research Institute), however, does publish materials that show the reformist voice. What prospect this holds for the future,

middle term or distant, is impossible to predict.¹

Wistrich promises “a holistic and global approach” and certainly delivers: he addresses topics comprehensively, and places antisemitism in the setting of the host society as well as in its global context. Little is left out of account—though Bulgaria is an example; Latin America gets due coverage (not to leave out Argentina, where the military dictators saw three great powers in the world, the United States and the USSR, who were both manipulated by the most powerful of all, Israel. There are some repetitions over the twenty-five chapters—for example, the reader gets three or four substantial segments on Sayyid Qutb—but this is hardly a blemish when each chapter can stand alone as a separate essay; in a book that for most readers will be a reference work, such repetitions will be as asset. Chapters 3 through 12 range over the Soviet Union, post-communist Russia, Eastern Europe, Austria, Germany, France, Britain, and “Eurabia.” This last is a lynx-eyed survey of the impact of twenty to twenty-five million Muslim immigrants in the European Union, the resurgence of antisemitism and the prevalence of antisemitic anti-Zionism, the prevailing obliviousness to radical Islam, and the growing fear and appeasement of the Muslim minorities that is expressed by the media, politicians, intellectuals, artists. The Muslims bring ferocious antisemitic hatred with them from their former homes and have it confirmed by the nightly news and satellite TV from Al Jazeera and other Arab networks, but are exposed to practically nothing that can be called correcting or countervailing influences. Muslim intimidation and Western appeasement is a recurring theme in the book. In the midst of brutal antisemitic attacks and oratorical outbursts of “Death to the Jews,” Wistrich reports that the EU’s diplomat Javier Solana avers, “There is no anti-Semitism in Europe” but that its Monitoring Centre for Racism and Xenophobia felt compelled to rescind its 2003 report because it stated that antisemitism was rising and was perpetrated largely by Muslims. Wistrich’s assessment of Western cowering before Islamist intimidation is probably too mild. Ross Douthat details how an American TV comedy program removed images of Muhammad after its creators were threatened on a New York-based Muslim Web site with the fate of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh, and notes how widespread such cringing is in the Western world: a German opera house canceling performances of Mozart’s *Idomeneo*

1. Some of these observations stem from the presentation by Khaleel Mohamed of San Diego State University as a panelist on “Encountering the Stranger: A Jewish-Christian-Muslim Trialogue” at the 40th Annual Scholars’ Conference on the Holocaust and the Churches, St. Joseph’s University, Philadelphia, March 6-8, 2010; readers will find much support for Wistrich’s skepticism in Paul Berman’s new book, *The Flight of the Intellectuals* (Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2010).

because one scene features Mohammed's severed head; Random House's cancellation of a novel about Mohammed's third wife; Yale University Press's refusal to include reproductions of the cartoons in a book about the Danish cartoons; and the frequent indictments of journalists, intellectuals, and politicians for, putatively, "giving offense to Islam." Pope Benedict XVI's apology for citing in a learned conference a fifteenth-century Byzantine emperor's statement critical of Islam is another example. This kind of "knuckling under" to "the last taboo" Douthat condemns as "decadence."²

One of the keys to this situation is multiculturalism, which Wistrich analyzes at length. In some societies—Canada is one instance—Jews flourish and feel free to be and to give public expression to their mores and beliefs; the rub is that other groups also feel free to be and to express themselves, which sometimes means publicly vent the vile prejudices and angry intolerance they may harbor for Jews or other groups and minorities. In the prevailing cultural relativism, contending with such claims and behavior is the more difficult.

Anyone not Jewish, beginning with myself, reading Wistrich's chapter "Jews against Zion," about the non-Jewish Jew, the antisemitic Jew, the self-hating Jew, and variations on these types, will be aghast and disheartened. The chapter testifies not only to Wistrich's attempt at completeness but also his need to tell the story—warts and all. What is so dismaying is the scale of these off-scourings from the Jewish community over the centuries, the converts, turncoats, renegades, "no-goodniks," and the like, who, in so many striking examples, have not only seceded from but become enemies of the Jewish people and/or Israel, taking up the weapons of the antisemites and joining them as calumniators and persecutors. Wistrich quotes Aharon Appelfeld, Israeli novelist and survivor, that antisemitism directed at oneself is "an original Jewish creation," and that Jews' capacity "to internalize any critical and condemnatory remark and castigate themselves is one of the marvels of human nature." To justify themselves to their new people, these defectors seem to feel compelled to de-Judaize themselves by venomously and destructively attacking their quondam fellow Jews, Judaism, and/or Israel.

In his dismal conclusion to this chapter, Wistrich notes, they "have shown that they can match and often surpass the most anti-Semitic Gentiles. . . . [and they] have throughout the ages provided invaluable ammunition for anti-Semites. That still remains the bottom line today." In the course of this searing chapter Wistrich provides a few illustrative examples, keenly analyzed and harshly judged, among them: Maxime Rodinson, Isaac

2. Ross Douthat, "Not Even in South Park," *The New York Times*, April 26, 2010, A 23.

Deutscher, George Steiner, Noam Chomsky, Avraham Burg, and Norman Finkelstein—some of whom seem mentally deranged, “sick,” full of “poison,” and a new “Frankenstein.”³ I must say that my own research and understanding have benefited from work by the first two in this list. Wistrich also acknowledges that secular Zionists, by their denigration of Diaspora life as backward and futile, bear some responsibility for this kind of self-directed antipathy.

One of Wistrich’s pithiest chapters is on Holocaust denial. “Lying about the Holocaust” originated as a systematic ideological construct in France, beginning with a 1948 book by the Vichyite literature professor Maurice Bardèche, in which he denies the Holocaust, attacks the Nuremberg trials, and bashes reborn Israel. There follows in a kind of apostolic succession Paul Rassinier, imprisoned by the Nazis as a Resistance member and left-wing socialist and pacifist who veered off to the far Right; Robert Faurisson, another literature professor; and Roger Garaudy, a former Stalinist communist who converted to Islam and enjoys a chorus of applause and approval in Arab media for his rousing speeches intoning all the buzzwords of antisemitism: denial, blood libel, conspiracy, imperialism, genocidal, capitalist, destroy Islam, etc. Wistrich mentions somewhat in passing Ernst Zündel, a notorious neo-Nazi, Holocaust denier, and antisemitic huckster who made lots of money distributing worldwide antisemitic and denial propaganda in all its multifarious forms—possibly the largest such global network. Wistrich refers to two trials but not the third—a “hearing on the merits” (at which I testified for eight days against Zündel) convened by the Canadian Human Rights Commission, which barred Zündel from the Internet, though he fled before its decision was issued to the United States, where he had residence through his wife’s green card, but he violated his visa and was deported back to Canada, which in turn deported him to his native Germany; there he was arrested, the first German trial being balked by his antisemitic counsel, who ended all her presentations with “Heil Hitler” until she was disbarred; the second trial convicted Zündel of hate speech and Holocaust denial, and sentenced him to a five-year prison term, which ended with his release in March 2010. I also prepared lengthy analyses of the credentials and Anticipated Evidence of four well-known deniers, the ubiquitous Faurisson, Robert Countess, Tony Martin, and Mark Weber, convincing the tribunal to bar them from testifying as “unqualified” and “no experts,” which ought—assuming that fact and logic count in combating antisemitism—to put a big blot on their reputations.

3. As Finkelstein describes himself in the film about him, *American Radical*, as reviewed in *The Forward*, April 23, 2010, 16-17.

Wistrich runs through a long list of deniers, characterizing their contributions to the Big Lie Incorporated: Harry Elmer Barnes, David Irving, David Hoggan, Arthur Butz, Richard Harwood, et al.; among them, he cites Theiss Christophersen, the SS man whose book title pioneered the phrase “the Auschwitz lie.” Recalling his service in Auschwitz, Christophersen said he had never seen gas chambers and that there was nothing of the apparatus of mass death in the camp, but he revealed himself to be the usual denier fraud when, inadvertently chatting pleasantly with his chums before a German TV camera, he let slip “of course it’s all true but to help Germany it’s better to forget about it.”

The most widespread and extreme form of denial is Arab-Muslim denial, which got its “scholarly” and “scientific” start with the “revisionist” conference in Amman in May 2001 (after being rejected for Beirut a few weeks earlier, owing to objections expressed in a letter initiated by Elias Khoury, a Lebanese Christian novelist, and a dozen or so others condemning Arab anti-Zionism and denial—a rare phenomenon indeed. The luminaries at Amman were Faurisson and Garaudy, both of whom have been tried and fined in French courts for denial and hate speech, which in Garaudy’s case triggered protests and rallies all over the Middle East and brought in donations galore to pay his legal fees and fines.

There are lots of two-way conduits transmitting European antisemitism to the Middle East and Middle Eastern anti-Zionism to Europe. Electronic communication has brought about the globalization of antisemitism, to which Wistrich devotes an entire chapter. The Internet is the antisemites’ and deniers’ dream, providing access that is worldwide and borderless, and permitting stealth and anonymity as well as cross-fertilization of extreme Left and Right.

A number of topics dealt with by Wistrich invite emendation and comment:

1. One of the very few factual errors in *A Lethal Obsession* concerns Nesta Webster, the English-drawing-room antisemite and queen of conspiracy theory: she was not Roman Catholic but a Protestant fundamentalist. A bit of nomenclature: Arthur James Balfour was not the “author” of the Declaration that bears his signature; he signed it as foreign secretary in behalf of “His Majesty’s Government,” thus making the “promise” not his but the cabinet’s, and he was not Lord Balfour until he was ennobled five years later, in 1922. It is certainly true that the opposition to the Balfour Declaration, some of it in the cabinet, and to “Ziomania” by the aristocratic Anglo-Jewish “cousinhood,” was formidable, yet the greatest of the cousinhood and leader of Anglo-Jewry was the Declaration’s addressee, Lord Walter de Rothschild, who felt that Western Europe’s Jews were safe and prosperous but that the wretched Eastern European Jews required a place of refuge and

was satisfied—and many of the “cousins” agreed with him—that it should be in the ancient homeland and that he, like others, would devote resources to economic development and building up the land for settlement, even though they would not make *aliyah* themselves. Many might better be called non-Zionists than anti-Zionists. That same Balfour was the prime minister when the 1905 Aliens Act was passed, employing *Aliens* rather than *Jews* to avoid being castigated as antisemitic; while the restrictions (they applied to all immigrants) were mild and the Liberal government that succeeded Balfour’s Tories administered the act leniently, it was unique in the West as an anti-Jewish enactment before World War I—Russia had over 600 such enactments.

Until recently, Anglophiles could feel that antisemitism was little more than a nuisance, but by now it has become “something of a crisis” with an upswing in violence, vandalism, and harassment by the extreme Left, Right, and Islamists; and, even more disconcerting, antisemitic and anti-Zionist polemic is part and parcel of the mainstream discourse of academics, politicians, artists, writers, and the media. Anti-Americanism and antisemitism—which Wistrich shows have a lot in common—are frequently served up together, a handy double prejudice for uniting Left and Right. Nothing much countered these phenomena until the 2006 “All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism” led by Labour MP John Mann, before which Wistrich testified.

2. Racism, or Social Darwinism, Wistrich argues and I heartily agree, was not the core of Nazi antisemitism: “It was rooted much more in an older eschatological political agenda—one in which the Jew was the satanic wellspring and dark side of history, driving mankind relentlessly to the abyss” and is to be traced to age-old Christian antisemitism, but with the proviso that Christian hatred and fantasies were “a necessary but insufficient cause for the Holocaust.” Unsurprisingly, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is dealt with frequently and at length in *A Lethal Obsession* as the central text, though I would argue for the primacy of the New Testament as interpreted by the Church Fathers and in later medieval elaborations, all other forms of “the longest hatred” deriving from the Christian original in various adaptations, secularizations, and modernizations, the *Protocols* being one of these derivations.⁴ Many historians of the Holocaust (though Robert Wistrich is decidedly not one of them) must be faulted for neglecting its medieval roots; most are specialists in nineteenth- or twentieth-cen-

4. An illuminating edition is by Steven Leonard Jacobs and Mark Weitzman, *Dismantling the Big Lie: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Jersey City, NJ: KTAV Publishing, 2003), where each claim or assertion is traced to its origin and rebutted in detail, point by point, protocol by protocol.

tury Europe or one of its subdivisions, and they trace causes and origins no further back than the racial ideology, failing to grasp that the Jews had long been marked by a potentially lethal stereotype, the foundation on which the racial dogmas were erected. There are, moreover, already elements of racism in the Church Fathers: Isidore of Seville asserted that the Jews' evil nature never changes; St. Augustine believed that Jews will never lose the stigma of deicide: The evil "in their parents led to death"; St. John Chrysostom designated Jews "inveterate murderers, destroyers, possessed by the devil." Such statements provided starting points for medieval theologians, especially in Spain, where the Marranos afford an example of religion-inspired racialism. I disagree with Wistrich in designating Christian antipathy as "anti-Judaism" and prefer the persuasive view of Gavin Langmuir, in his "Anti-Judaism as the Necessary Preparation for Anti-Semitism," that what begins as anti-Judaism, mere hostility to a different religion, is followed an all-too-logical pathway to antisemitism, abhorrence of the people as such.⁵

3. Wistrich defines pagan classical aversion for Jews as antisemitism. If it were antisemitism, as perhaps in Tacitus, who has been called the great jewel in antisemitism's crown, it was neither lethal nor obsessive, not much more than xenophobia. Of 161 Greek and Roman authors who discussed the Jews, about half were neutral, a quarter hostile, and a quarter friendly; for the last group Jews were "a people" (*gens*) and Judaism "a licit religion." Hostility was not religious but social, because Jews were different or annoying, and it did not carry down to the level of the masses; such antagonism was directed at other peoples as well. What made pagan hostility for Jews significant in the history of antisemitism, however, is that it "provided the bedrock on which early Christian anti-Semitism could develop" in those Church Fathers who had a classical education, as virtually all of them did, and carried that hostility along with them when—like St. Ambrose—they were baptized and became bishops and theologians, the pagan antipathy confirming and reinforcing the religious.

4. Wistrich's interpretation of antisemitism in Japan invites some qualification. The *Protocols* and a whole library of the vilest antisemitica were imported into Japan and generated anti-Jewish phobias a-plenty; yet there is no mention of Jews as victims in the many volumes of the Asian war criminal trials and, in fact, about 60,000 European Jews survived in the Japanese Empire. While the Japanese spouted every kind of antisemitic fantasy—that the Jews were economic wizards, controlled public opinion through the world press, and the like—their attitude was not "lethal," since they saw the

5. Gavin I. Langmuir, "Reflections on Medieval Anti-Judaism: Anti-Judaism as the Necessary Preparation for Anti-Semitism," *Viator*, 2/2 (1972).

Jews as human beings, neither dehumanizing them as animals or bacilli (which enables a perpetrator to commit any crime against them), nor demonizing them as a superhuman enemy armed with satanic powers (that enables the perpetrator, in fear, to set about destroying them “before they get us”). Lacking the paranoia, so rife in the annals of antisemitism, that made the Jew a demonized predator and menace, the Japanese sought to form an “alliance” with world Jewry and “use” for their imperial benefit Jews’ mythical powers for “control over the financial, political and industrial worlds.” To that end, Japan planned to settle 900,000 Jews in Manchuria. Antisemitism in Japan is unlikely to become “lethal” so long as the Jews are not demonized, a notion that is quite foreign to its culture.⁶

5. Wistrich says somewhat apologetically that Allied authorities and commanders of the air offensive against Germany in World War II “never had the deliberate killing of civilians as their primary strategic aim.” Despite the qualification of “primary,” this assertion is not really true. The interwar theorists of air power (one of them postulated “the twenty-four-hour war”) and commanders of the strategic air offensive like Sir Arthur “Bomber” Harris thought the civilian population a prime target and that attacking it would inflict such a blow to morale that the people would rise up to compel ending the war.

6. On the UN, I think Wistrich overstates the negative case. The General Assembly is the sphere of the delegates who represent governments more than nations; they can say what they like and pass resolutions as they like, such as the notorious one of 1975 equating Zionism with racism—intended to delegitimize Israel in preparation for its expulsion from the UN and set in train its destruction—violating international law and human rights law as well as the UN Charter and other UN instruments that outlaw discrimination. Delegates expressing opprobrious antisemitic or “anti-Zionist” views are never called to order; nor do they soften or delete their invectives from the UN’s public record, although many of those verbal assaults invoke the *Protocols* and call for “the extinction of Israel,” for which a new term has had to be added to our vocabulary: “politicide.” Such facts demonstrate a deep prejudice on the part of many member states/governments against Jews and the State of Israel, which remained unmitigated until the repeal of the resolution in 1991, 16 years later. Wistrich’s keen analysis stresses that the repeal’s significance is easily overemphasized, because in those sixteen years, antisemitism and its twin, anti-Zionism, have seeped

6. Frederick M. Schweitzer, “The Tap-Root of Anti-Semitism: The Demonization of the Jews,” *Remembering for the Future*, vol. 2 (Oxford, UK: Pergamon Press, 1988), 887-90.

into the whole UN structure, and the General Assembly remained an antisemitic bastion legitimizing antisemitism at least until 2004.

Nevertheless, the situation is not nearly so grim as Wistrich presents it. The 2001 UN Durban Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (its intended focus was Africa and discussion of slavery and colonialism in quest of reparations for what African and Caribbean delegations wanted to brand “crimes against humanity”) was in many ways a fiasco, but the furious antisemitic rhetoric, distribution of Nazi-inspired propaganda, and antisemitic incidents were the doings at the NGO Forum (and were condemned by the UN leadership) rather than the conference. The attempt by Iran and Syria to sidetrack the conference, with a separate “hate-feast” devoted to antisemitic rhetoric again equating Zionism with racism and resolutions calling for Israel’s destruction, fizzled. The last stages in preparations for the conference brought the deletion of antisemitic and anti-Israel phrasing, and the text of the proposed Declaration and Program of Action was agreed upon, reading in part: ¶58 “the Holocaust must never be forgotten”; ¶61 “We recognize with deep concern the increase in anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in various parts of the world, as well as the emergence of racial and violent movements based on racism and discriminatory ideas against Jewish, Muslim and Arab communities”; ¶63 parallels concern with the Palestinians with, “we recognize the right to security of all states in the region, including Israel, and call upon all states to support the peace process and bring it to a successful conclusion.” Shimon Peres, Israeli foreign minister at the time, praised the Declaration as “an accomplishment of the first order for Israel” and a “comedown for the Arab League.”

The 9/11 terrorist attacks occurred shortly after the conference and did much to obscure and vitiate its achievements. The follow-up conference, Durban II, held in Geneva in 2009, went awry, though one lesson applied was to eliminate the NGO Forum. Preparations went through a similar process of editing out from the conference’s proposed agenda antisemitic/anti-Israel wording that originated with Arab countries, and steering back to its fundamental concern with slavery and colonialism (which were as awkward for the Arabs as for Western countries). UN protocol, however, requires that conferences begin with speeches by heads of state, all of whom are invited; the only one to come was Iran’s president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who effectively extinguished the conference in delivering a vicious antisemitic/anti-Israel speech, wielding every weapon in the arsenal of Jew hatred and calumny, and confirming the refrain of protesters that “Durban is a joke.”⁷ (Ahmadinejad used the same prerogative in being the only head of state to

7. Naomi Klein, “Minority Death Watch,” *Harper’s*, September 2009: 53-67;

show up and try to convulse the UN conference reviewing the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, May 3, 2010.)

The UN did finally begin to reverse itself as a bastion of antisemitism in 2004, when it sponsored its first conference on antisemitism. The secretary-general urged member states to take action to combat the “alarming resurgence” of Jew-hatred: “This time, the world must not, cannot be silent,” and he called for the General Assembly to adopt a resolution condemning all antisemitic acts and violence and declaring that political developments, in Israel or elsewhere, can never justify antisemitism. In 2005 the General Assembly voted to establish an annual UN commemoration of the Holocaust; in January 2007 it passed a virtually unanimous resolution that “condemns without reservation any denial of the Holocaust” and “urges all member states unreservedly to reject any denial of the Holocaust as a historical event, either in full or in part, or any activities to this end.”

To be sure, many delegates to the UN persist in their anti-Israel stance, and the “anti-Zionism” they express is often a fig leaf for antisemitism. The UN is somewhat schizophrenic in that it has addressed antisemitism as a threat to Jews but fails to do so as a threat to Israel. Yet, one has to distinguish the harangues spoken with impunity by delegates in the General Assembly from the activities of UN officials and employees of the Secretariat and other UN agencies, where one finds distinguished public servants like William Schabas and the Israeli representative to the Human Rights Committee David Kretzmer, who would be insulted to hear their work impugned as antisemitic or anti-Israel—though there certainly are rotten apples like John Dugard, singled out by Wistrich.

7. To avoid an almost automatic charge of racism, speakers at the UN rostrum and elsewhere attempt to camouflage their antisemitism by attacking Israel/Zionism/Zionists, which is presumably tolerable because it is a political or ideological or national rather than racial category. In this the Muslim orators, following the example of the Soviets, are heirs of Hitler, as Wistrich demonstrates in one of his most illuminating analyses. To Hitler and the Nazis, establishing a Jewish state, whether in Palestine or anywhere, would create a center of political power and a leverage point that world Jewry would quickly exploit, *Protocols* fashion, to erect a regional and then a global dominance, as the Vatican served the world’s Roman Catholics. Nazi Germany and, later, Soviet Russia had great success in peddling this complex of notions under the banner of anti-Zionism in the Middle East, and in the mufti Hitler had an apt disciple. All Stalin and the Soviet propaganda apparatus had to do, and following them the Arabs, was

this article is an attack on the Obama administration for its early withdrawal from Durban II.

detach the racial component, substituting *Zionist* for *Jew* in the Nazi lexicon. It is a perfect weapon for internationalists—as Marxists presumably are—as well as Islamists, and more recently, anti-globalists, and meshes handily with belief in the Jewish world conspiracy that carries with it many components of historic antisemitism. In a variation on the tactic, Stalin and the communist regimes in Eastern Europe made adroit use of the antisemitic anti-Zionism lever to discredit Jewish communists as “bourgeois nationalists” and “aliens” and thus open the way to displacing these rivals, but hewing as closely as they could get away with without appearing to stray into racism and violating a fundamental principle of Marxism; such a “foreign minority” could not be tolerated in the government, deflecting it and the nation from its destined path. Antisemitic anti-Zionism remains a formidable mobilizing force in the world, whether in politics or inciting street violence; all that the ploy requires is to accuse someone, whether true or not, no matter how many generations back, of being Jewish or of Jewish descent or of being a hidden Jew, and, behold, a Zionist conspirator. Stalin figures importantly across many pages of *A Lethal Obsession*, but the reader never gets the concentrated analysis and insights on his character and biography that Wistrich offers regarding Hitler (on whom he has written voluminously); he underestimates Stalin’s antisemitism when he states that Stalin’s “obsession” with Jews began only late in the war or in 1945, which is quite dubious if one remembers, among much else, that he had a head start in antisemitism, having spent a year in a seminary at the insistence of his pious mother, who wanted him to be a priest.

8. Unsurprisingly, Wistrich’s coverage of Europe is especially perceptive and comprehensive, almost every country coming under his microscope. Spain, we learn, is the most antisemitic and anti-Zionist country in the European Union, presenting us with another example of antisemitism without, or virtually without, Jews, as in Poland, Pakistan, Malaysia, Japan, among others. Wistrich details the story of the lands of the “history cleaners”—Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine—where wartime leaders like Horthy, Antonescu, and Tiso are rehabilitated, and in so doing antisemitism is rehabilitated. Ukraine appears to me to have the worst record, more extreme in its antisemitism and collaboration with the killers, although the story is far less documented and far less documentable, and far less told, than, say Poland’s, and yet is certainly among the most extreme and dangerous today. The view prevailing widely in Romania is that Jews/Zionists long manipulated the country as they do the United States, the European Union, the papacy, and international banking and finance. More specifically, until 1989 and the fall of Ceaucescu, Romania was run by a clique of Judeo-Masonic communists directed from Moscow; since 1989 it has been victimized by the CIA, the Mossad, and World Zionism. Romania

was finally admitted to the European Union in 2007 after protracted negotiations by which it was prodded into accepting EU ordinances that condemn antisemitism and incitement of religious/ethnic hostility. The EU has used this negotiating technique with several nations with considerable success—at least until the country gains admission, when it becomes a more difficult issue of enforcement. While an emerging post-Cold War minority rights regime in Europe that benefits Jews and condemns antisemitism is a positive development, few of these compelling instruments are legally binding; nevertheless, they repeat legal principles and norms specified in other, including UN, documents and thus possess a great deal of moral and political weight as “soft law.” As with the UN, I think Wistrich’s critique ignores positive developments in the EU.⁸

Austria, to which Wistrich has devoted much thought and many works over his career, suffers from historical amnesia and persists in the myth that it was “Nazism’s first victim.” Under Kreisky, one of those non-Jewish or antisemitic Jews, we have a long-serving chancellor who appointed four ex-Nazis to the cabinet; attacked and mocked Simon Wiesenthal as part of the “Zionist conspiracy”; condemned Israel as Nazi, apartheid, and the like; trivialized antisemitism and the Shoah; and defended the ex-Nazi Wehrmacht officer and president Kurt Waldheim. Haider, who died in an auto accident in 2008 after winning a great electoral triumph for the extreme Right, was the third of this Austrian trio; like his predecessors, this son of an SA storm trooper beat the populist nationalist drum of xenophobia, chauvinism, antisemitism, and anti-Zionism, and was vociferously pro-Arab and Palestinian, although equally vociferously anti-immigrant. One of the few promising turns occurred in the early 1990s, when the socialist chancellor Franz Vranitsky acknowledged Austrian coresponsibility with Germany for the Shoah and repeated the admission on an official visit to Israel.

Of all the European countries, France, the first to emancipate its Jews, and Germany, the perpetrator of the Shoah, continue to be of particular significance.

Wistrich lingers long over the strange obliviousness in France regarding antisemitism, and how it stirs Muslim youths to violent assaults, murder, riots, and arson, committed in mayhem across the country. In reading these chapters with all their horrors and astounding casualty totals, I was reminded that during the decade-long Dreyfus affair, Jews were gravely threatened but there were no deaths (except one or very few in Algeria) because the government of the Third Republic directed its police to protect

8. I hope to pursue this topic in an article on international law and antisemitism.

the Jews and their property; it took a long time and many deaths before President Chirac stopped pronouncing that there was no antisemitism in France and took action. France has the added difficulty of black supremacist groups, who use militia tactics to terrorize Jewish communities, claiming that slavery was worse than the Holocaust and justifying themselves with demagogic rhetoric borrowed from the (American) Black Panthers and Nation of Islam. At least one of these groups was roused to violent anger and bellicose threats by the Nation of Islam's myth-making scholarship in *The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews*, that Jews originated and dominated the four-hundred-year Atlantic slave trade, profited from it immensely, owned a disproportionate number of slaves, and were the cruelest and most oppressive masters, all of which made Jews guilty of "genocide." These nonsensical ideas were given resounding public voice by the popular black (mixed race) comedian and politician (would-be president), though he was probably a descendant of free black slavers who were more numerous in the slave trade than Jews ever were, forgetting that Arabs were more massively engaged than any other group over a longer period of time. Dieudonné was fined once or twice for inciting racial hatred but was undeterred because, generally speaking, French courts have been sluggish in enforcing laws against hate speech.

In Germany, antisemitism has become respectable once again. Jews are fair game to attack and malign, Israel even fairer: "We have nothing against the Jews, only against the Zionists." Germany exemplifies "secondary antisemitism": projecting onto Jews, Zionists, Israel—so as to escape—their own guilt or that of their fathers and forefathers for Jewish persecution, and resentment at being reminded by Jews, especially Jews from across the Atlantic, of German responsibility for the Holocaust. "The Germans will never forgive the Jews for Auschwitz"; they suffer from "Holocaust fatigue." Strangely, these attitudes and arguments, which are shared by so many Germans, derive, as I can tell from contending with some of my German cousins, from the half century old and older claims and assertions of the radical Right—old Nazis and new Nazis. It finds further justification in intellectuals like Nolte, a student of the ur-Nazi philosopher Heidegger, Sybeberg, Walser, and the more conservative historians of the *Historikerstreit*, such as Andreas Hilburger; they relativize Jewish suffering and persecution as comparable to German suffering and loss under Allied bombing, Russian conquest and occupation, and Germans displaced from the former eastern territories, so that the Germans turn out to be the true victims. Nolte has it that Stalin's purges and the Soviet Gulag, being so utterly horrible, frightened the Germans and led to Auschwitz; that Germany by comparison to the USSR in the 1930s was a land of social harmony and peaceableness; moreover, since it was the Jewish Bolsheviks who

made the Revolution of 1917 and slaughtered millions, it is the Jews who bear “the burden of guilt.” For a time, indeed, it became open season for voicing antisemitism in ways frightening to Jews, as in the efforts of Jürgen Moellemann to organize a party on the lines of Haidar’s Freedom Party in Austria. Fortunately, prominent politicians like Joschka Fischer and the present chancellor Angela Merkel condemned such antisemitic eruptions as “intolerable under any circumstances.” Yet the public snapped back against their leaders and some upbraided and physically threatened politicians who defended the Jews, and they made Norman Finkelstein’s denigration of the Shoah in his *Holocaust Industry* a German bestseller, welcoming his aspersions on the “Industry” as a profiteering venture of American Jews to get rich by humiliating Germany into paying huge reparations to Israel, a criminal state that persecutes the Palestinians, etc., etc. Wistrich might have pointed up the change in Germany by contrasting Finkelstein’s notoriety with the triumphal tour a decade earlier of Daniel Goldhagen, who indicted the Germans in his book and in his lectures as “Hitler’s willing executioners.” Today the situation is not auspicious for Jews in Germany: public opinion surveys register that nearly half the population deny any responsibility for the Shoah, more than 60 percent are hypercritical of Israel, and about a third harbor antisemitism views and stereotypes. On the other hand, a recent rally in Dresden that brought out 5,000 neo-Nazis was thwarted by 10,000 to 15,000 counter-demonstrators.

9. The negative dossier on Pope Benedict XVI gets amplified here: Wistrich reports that in the summer of 2007 the pope gladly welcomed the venomously antisemitic Polish priest and media mogul purveyor of his hatreds, Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk, to his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo, enhancing his prestige and legitimacy for a European and, probably, a wider audience. We are reminded, too, that Benedict restored to good standing an antisemite and Holocaust denier, the English bishop Richard Williamson, an anti-Vatican II prelate and defector from the Roman Catholic Church. To this list should be added the Vatican document *Dominus Jesus*, authored by Benedict in 2000 before he became pope, which appears to weaken the liberal teachings of Vatican Council II, return to the old Catholic teaching of “outside the Church no salvation,” and leave the Jews in the outer darkness; it says, among other things, that people outside Christianity are “in a gravely deficient situation in comparison with those who, in the Church, have the fullness of the means of salvation,” and that non-Catholic Christian communities have “defects.” Worse is Benedict’s restoration of the Good Friday prayers for the conversion of the Jews, employing moderate rather than vile language, but nevertheless sanctioning one form of annihilation and dancing on the grave of John XXIII.

“A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER”

As a whole, *A Lethal Obsession* is a vade mecum through recent years and unfamiliar subjects, much of it a stunning example of contemporary history. The first two-thirds of the book serves as prelude to Wistrich's exposition of Arab-Muslim antisemitism, what he called in an earlier work and preliminary reconnaissance “a clear and present danger.” His point of departure is the Ottoman Empire, where from the 1890s onward anti-Zionist journalism and sermons in mosques stoked up much agitation to the effect that Zionism was a threat to the empire and to Palestine, since it was socialist, emancipatory of women, and generally subversive. A factor that should not be overlooked is the European and American missionaries in Palestine, who brought their native Christian antisemitism along, infecting Christian Arabs with it and Arabs generally, while Greek Orthodox clergy imported the latest Russian-style antisemitism. The Balfour Declaration and the end of World War I brought the British Mandate under the League of Nations and the appointment of Haj Amin el-Husseini, a pivotal figure, as mufti of Jerusalem in 1920; he and the insurgent leader Qassam stirred up riots and pogroms against the Jews and the British that persisted intermittently until 1939. By then a systematic exterminatory ideology had evolved out of imported antisemitism (most notably the *Protocols*, translated by a Christian into Arabic in 1925, and Nazism) and indigenous anti-Zionism that rationalized the destruction of the Jewish homeland by reference to the whole panoply of conspiracy, demonization, intrinsic evil, money, greed, deception, and all the elements of age-old antisemitism; the Jews were embarked on the destruction of Islam and annihilation of the Arabs, hence “Jews into the sea.” The Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Egypt in 1928, adopted the same *Protocols*-laced poisonous recipe. The mufti of Jerusalem, Husseini, now non grata in the Mandate and stripped of his office, fled in 1940 to Iraq and participated in the murderous pro-Axis Rashid Ali regime, and fled again, this time via Rome and Mussolini to Berlin and Hitler, with whom he conferred as a devoted ally and disciple. He recruited Muslim SS and other units among Muslims in the USSR and the Balkans, and broadcast weekly his Nazi-inspired executionary propaganda on Berlin radio to the Middle East, concluding each with the exhortation, “Kill Jews wherever you find them, for the love of God, history, and religion.” Following Husseini's lead, among others, the Arabs had only to adopt Hitler's interpretation of Zionism as a plot to establish a center of power from which Jews would mobilize the Diaspora and construct their world empire and thereby destroy Islam and exterminate the Arabs; hence the necessity to destroy the Jews and wipe out the mandate. Assisted through the strenuous efforts made in the Middle East by the German foreign office and after the

war by Nazi escapes, Hussein energetically propagated this incentive to genocide and provided much ideological guidance and inspiration for generations of Arab-Muslim leaders, schooling them in fascism and Nazi ideas and aims and providing fabulous precedents for such as Ahmadinejad. After the war, Hussein was indicted by Yugoslavia, the United States, and Britain, but trial was not proceeded with and he escaped from Paris, apparently with French assistance; Wistrich calls this the first act of appeasement by the West out of fear of antagonizing the Arabs. Hussein campaigned, organizationally and ideologically, to strangle the infant Israel, but failing in that, he spent the years until his death in 1974 refining his ideology of death.

By a kind of apostolic succession, Hussein was followed by Arafat, another pivotal figure, who was related to him by blood and ideology. Arafat was schooled in guerilla tactics by a refugee Nazi officer in Egypt, and many refugee Nazis as well as *Mein Kampf* figure large in his bio; he was corrupt and sybaritic, and according to *Forbes* magazine was the sixth wealthiest man in the world, and, according to Wistrich, “ran the richest, best financed revolutionary terrorist movement in history.” Initially secular, nationalist, and Marxist in outlook, in later years Arafat mouthed the fanatical Islamist rhetoric of jihad and holy war, but by any orientation he was dedicated to Israel’s destruction and utilization of all the elements of antisemitism in his anti-Israel propaganda: racism, conspiracy, demonization, Holocaust denial, blood libel, apartheid, Israelis = Nazis, and the like, but masquerading successfully to much of the world as statesman and Nobel laureate. His successor as president is the “moderate” Mahmoud Abbas, who wrote his dissertation in Moscow and parroted the Soviet line in his skepticism about gas chambers and guesstimating casualties at a good deal less than one million; Wistrich comments that he never retracted these egregious misstatements and Israel never asked him to do so, which is “difficult to comprehend.” Abbas reiterates the right of return and has never in so many plain words stated Israel’s right to exist. By contrast to the unending hue and cry over the Palestinian exodus and the right of return, the exodus of 850,000 Sephardic Jews from Muslim lands after 1945 never became a concern of international relations, nor was it taken up by the UN. In what may turn out to be an effective move, the Israeli Knesset began preparing legislation to require that responsibility by Arab states for displaced Jewish, Christian, and Palestinian refugees be part of peace negotiations. This may succeed in reminding the world of that loss and suffering and getting the item on the UN’s agenda.

Wistrich calls the Hamas 2006 electoral victory “a major shift of paradigm” in the Palestinian conflict; it signifies that Islamist holy war is or soon will overshadow Arab nationalism as a decisive factor; the growing

Islamicization of the conflict renders the opposing parties more irreconcilable and a peace settlement more remote or simply unattainable. Symbolic of the turnabout: Hamas fell out with Abbas and tried to assassinate him, and would take over the West Bank from Abbas and Fatah except for the Israeli military presence. In its covenant Hamas quotes the *Protocols* extensively as a law of history and draws on radical Islamists like Qutb to sanction its cult of death and destruction: "Israel's end is a historical necessity grounded in the Koran." Sunni Hamas is a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, but it has no difficulty in cooperating with Shiite Hezbollah in Lebanon in working for the destruction of Israel, portrayed increasingly as part of the global holy war in the United States, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Kashmir, Rome, etc. Both Hezbollah and Hamas are cat's paws for Iran and its Syrian ally. Wistrich describes the present landscape as the "Holocaust-denying, Jew-hating axis of anti-Westernism [that] runs from Tehran via Damascus to Beirut and Gaza."

Shiite Persia/Iran has a very long history, especially from the sixteenth century under the Safavid dynasty, of Jewish persecution, humiliation, forced conversions, and a Marrano-like category of submissive Jews well into the twentieth century. Jews were theologically branded as "ritually impure," a "fanatically bigoted doctrine," says Wistrich, by which Jews could not touch anyone or anything that was Muslim, and were even barred from going out in rain or snow to prevent contaminating it and thereby Muslims. Relief and some degree of normality began in the 1920s with the first shah, who pursued policies of secularization and modernization and changed the country's name to Iran (a racial claim to be the land of the Aryans), but was pro-Nazi, permitting the Germans to make its usual propaganda effort in Iran and funnel antisemitic racist doctrines into the country. Nevertheless, Jews began to thrive, and more so under the second shah, another brutal modernizer, who recognized Israel in 1950, supplied it with oil, and maintained friendly relations with it and the West until he came to grief in the revolution of 1979 that brought Khomeini to power. Khomeini had been much exposed to Nazi propaganda. He must also have learned something of Iranian apocalyptic hopes and fears that centered on "Mahdi Hitler" and such straws in the apocalyptic wind as the German consul's 1941 report that Muslim clergy were "saying that 'the twelfth imam has been sent into the world by God in the form of Adolf Hitler'"; there were also wild rumors that Hitler had converted to Islam and would announce it once he killed all the Jews and saved Iran from communism and the USSR. Khomeini also drank for a time at the Marxist spring.

Iran's Islamic revolution of 1979, according to Wistrich, is an upheaval comparable to those of the French, Russian, and Chinese revolutions. Khomeini revived the purity code in full force, treating Jews once

more like untouchables in India. There are only about 25,000 Jews left in Iran, sunken essentially in dhimmi status, and, though they are subject to endless verbal assaults, there are fewer physical attacks on Jewish institutions and individuals than in Europe, the former Soviet bloc, and North America. Bizarrely, during its eight-year war of a million casualties with Iraq, Iran secretly bought weapons from Israel and stridently denied it, all the while accusing Saddam Hussein of being a Zionist agent. The Jews of Iran are trapped, potential hostages, as in 1930's Germany. The massive propaganda war against Israel and Zionism, coupled as they are with the United States, is unrelenting: Iran depicts itself as waging an apocalyptic war against the two Satans. There is no opposition or countervailing influence operating; the "moderates" speak the same demonizing lingo. Former president Khatami says Israel must go: it is a "wound" in "the body of Islam" that cannot be healed, a wound "truly demonic, stinking, contagious," and the like. And former president and defeated presidential candidate Rafsanjani, also a "moderate," said that "one atomic bomb" will dispose of Israel without a trace but Islam would soon recover from the damage.

President Ahmadinejad of Iran is notorious for public speeches at the UN and elsewhere denying the Holocaust and calling for Israel to be wiped off the map. The two notions are related and serve an eschatological purpose. His loathsome diatribes deny the Holocaust and accuse the Israelis/Jews of genocide; this "inverse Holocaust denial" appears to be a psychological necessity: to say it never happened is preparation for repeating it in punishment of those who are guilty of it. His obsession with the Holocaust and incessant denial work to delegitimize Israel, and in this he is abetted by the wholesale importation of Western denial and Western deniers, who joined him in the state-sponsored "Holocaust Conference" of 2006. As some legists have noted but despair of any action being taken, Ahmadinejad ought to be indicted for incitement to genocide, crimes against humanity for persecution of Bahai'is and other minorities, complicity in human rights violations, and pursuit of atomic weapons—all in violation of the UN Charter, its treaties, and international law.

Wistrich sees in Ahmadinejad a second Hitler and argues that what he and Saul Friedländer developed as an explanatory construct fits Iran; it is "redemptive anti-Semitism," the liberation of the glorious but threatened Aryan race from the demonically evil Jews by, variously or in succession, disemancipation, impoverishment, expulsion, and annihilation.⁹ Through

9. Saul Friedländer, "Redemptive Anti-Semitism." In *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939*, vol. 1 (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), 72-112.

his presidency, Ahmadinejad believes the second Iranian/Islamic revolution has been inaugurated and that the Hidden Imam, or Mahdi, will soon appear and bring redemption through the holy war waged successfully against the two Satans—the Little Satan, Israel, which drives and controls the Great Satan, America. Ahmadinejad thinks he has a sacred mission to accelerate the coming of the Mahdi, which will be preceded by destruction, wars, and chaos; in Israel's relative failure against Hezbollah and Hamas, the financial crisis of the West, etc., he reads the signs of the approaching apocalypse that will spur on the Mahdi. In his speech in 2005 to the UN, Ahmadinejad prayed for the Mahdi's return, explaining to bystanders that the Mahdi whispers into his ears. The Mahdi, with Jesus as his lieutenant, will return to overthrow the Dajjal (an apocalyptic Islamic conception of an evil Jewish figure, comparable to the Christian notion of the Antichrist, who was to rule the world in tribulation until overthrown, and the end of history and the end of injustice are inaugurated). The Mahdi is expected to land in Mecca, proceed to Medina, attack and destroy Israel, and then head for Tehran, where Ahmadinejad has had a great boulevard built for his triumphal entry. Then, presumably, the United States and the West will be destroyed in what Wistrich calls "the last jihad," heresy and infidelity will be extirpated, Islam will be universal, and sharia govern everyone in a Pax Islamica.

Ahmadinejad stands in the company of megalomaniacs like Hitler, Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot, and Saddam Hussein. The question becomes how powerful and decisive a figure is he in exercising executive authority and political leadership. The equally critical question is how widely shared by the ruling circles in Iran are his ghastly apocalyptic views. Wistrich cites numerous examples and provides plentiful quotations to demonstrate that they are not just Ahmadinejad's conceptions but those of the regime, beginning with the supreme leader Khamenei, to whom Ahmadinejad is subordinate. All he or they need is atomic weapons; they already have the rockets. Whether one sees Ahmadinejad as an idiot, as some do, exploiting all the clamor he arouses to make himself some sort of popular hero at home, or a grave threat, one who means what he says and will act on it, remains a matter of perception and judgment. It's Wistrich's view that Western observers do not perceive the ties linking the terrorist war on Israel and the West with Ahmadinejad's apocalyptic ideology, a coherent worldview deriving from the Qur'an, *hadith*, sharia, and modern, imported accretions from the West, spiced by Shi'ite messianism and a seemingly fervent belief in Jesus's second coming. Heaven only knows the world would have been better off had it taken Hitler's and Stalin's threats literally. Wistrich warns that this kind of apocalyptic inspiration and expectation grips much of the Arab-Muslim world, and "needs to be rapidly neutralized

if Armageddon is to be averted.” What will come to pass in the land of King Cyrus the Great and Haman?

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Having run this intellectual marathon with Robert Wistrich, I recall his several observations about the strength and protean character of antisemitism and its unique capacity to persist and adapt itself to different times, places, and cultures over the course of two millennia. *A Lethal Obsession* confronts one with the depressing probability that antisemitism cannot be overcome; that antisemitism is never really “new,” only renewed or adapted to new conditions; and that there are only new antisemites practicing old antisemitism. There is no prospect of extinguishing antisemitism, since, as the Zionist pioneers understood, it is impervious to reason, fact, logic; they assumed, wrongly as it turns out so far, that normality would be attained with the advent of a Jewish state. My own rule of thumb to explain antisemitism’s persistence is that human nature is so contrived that once an idea or thought has entered the mind, whether individual or collective, it can never be erased, confronting us with the necessity of an unending process of containment to checkmate antisemitism from turning lethal. Wistrich makes only brief mention of psychological factors by reference to Freud’s hypothesis that antisemitism is “rooted in the remotest past ages” and is linked to the fear engendered by the circumcision-castration complex; he pretty much contents himself with the observation that historians of antisemitism cannot “afford to ignore unconscious factors if we wish to come closer to understanding the riddle of anti-Semitism.” But neither he nor anyone else gets us much further than focusing on the fear and hatred inspired by the conception of the demonized, conspiratorial, deicidal Jew as the motivation of persecution and genocide.

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Empirical Meets Theoretical



Samuel Salzborn, *Antisemitism as a Negative Guiding Principle of Modernity/ Antisemitismus als negative Leitidee der Moderne* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2010), £23.25

Roland Imhoff*

Very few ideas about social groups have provoked a comparably large array of theoretical approaches as antisemitism. A confusing amount of proposals have been made to explain (not excuse) the existence and appearance of antisemitic thought and action. These theories, however, which refer to all societal levels—individual, family, society—have often remained unconnected and isolated. Simultaneously, there is a striking absence of empirical research to test these ideas. With his recent study, *Antisemitism as a Negative Guiding Principle of Modernity*, Samuel Salzborn aims to fill this gap in the existing literature by integrating eleven genuinely original theoretical drafts, deriving testable hypotheses, and providing an empirical approach to either falsify or verify these hypotheses.

In the first and most voluminous section of his book, Salzborn presents eleven distinct theoretical approaches to the phenomenon of antisemitism, in chronological order of their publication: Sigmund Freud (1939), Talcott Parsons (1942), Jean-Paul Sartre (1945), Ernst Simmel (1946), Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno (1947), Hannah Arendt (1951), Béla Grunberger (1962), Shulamit Volkov (1978), Moishe Postone (1982),

Zygmunt Baumann (1989), and Klaus Holz (2001). Salzborn succeeds in summarizing the outlines of each theory, not without occasionally taking a partisan view: any theoretical bits that try to explain antisemitism with reference to certain Jewish characteristics, behaviors, or historical action is explicitly rejected by Salzborn. Antisemitism research, to explicate one of his main credos, ought to focus on the antisemite, not the Jew. This contradicts any notion of correspondence between Jewish features and antisemitic thought and sentiment, for which Talcott Parsons may serve as an example: “The reasons why the Jew is a vulnerable symbol in this connection are not trivial; they are deeply rooted in the character both of the Jewish people and of the wider society in which they live” (Parsons, 1942, 121). Salzborn rejects these approaches and approvingly cites Klaus Holz: “If antisemitic prejudices are ascribed to characteristics of the Jews, they would have to be regarded as valid: The Jews are indeed like that. This would not be a contribution to antisemitism research but to antisemitism” (Holz, 2001, 61).

Aside from these delimited boundaries of what a theory of antisemitism should provide, Salzborn briefly sketches each approach in detail and derives hypotheses. It might disturb the critical reader that many of rather speculative psychodynamically inspired psycho-sexual assumptions remain unquestioned. Despite this (potentially subjective) drawback, the theoretical part is an important and congenial contribution to the field of antisemitism research that fulfills the promise of providing an exhaustive and integrative overview of previously isolated theoretical approaches. By elaborating testable hypotheses, the author provides the theoretical groundwork for a complete research program. At this point, however, the work could have profited from further sharpening of the argument by directly integrating the described theories and pitting contradictory hypotheses against each other.

The second section describes the empirical project intended to test the hypotheses derived from the theoretical groundwork laid out in the first chapter. To this end, Salzborn conducted seven in-depth, telephone-based interviews with individuals who had been identified as antisemitic on the results of their quantitative data as participants of a large survey project, the German GMF Survey, a group-based enmity project (Heitmeyer, 2005). Each interview was started with a “neutral” issue that was informally pretested as an adequate stimulus to be open enough not to enforce antisemitic projection but offer a wide range of interfaces that bore the potential of connecting to antisemitic worldview: the visit of Pope Benedict XVI to Cologne, Germany—his first to that country—for Youth Day in the summer of 2005. Media coverage of this event included references to Benedict’s history as a member of the Hitler Youth as well as his visit to the synagogue. The discussions that follow from this initial input stimulus remain largely unstructured and are hypothesized to tap into respondents’

associative network more readily than would a fully prestructured interview or even questionnaire.

Although the empirical approach has been planned to avoid repeating/reproducing consistent patterns that are either agreed upon or not, it has to be conceded that the empirical part is definitely the weakest part of the book. The fact that it leaves the reader with a considerable degree of disappointment, however, is not surprising: the theoretical analyses laid out in the first chapter and the numerous hypotheses derived from it could serve as a theoretical base of a large and extensive research program for several researchers, not just one.

Aside from the very small database (seven participants), it is a major drawback of the book in its current form that the full transcriptions of the interviews are missing. This puts the reader in the uncomfortable position of not being able to check the plausibility of most of the author's claims independently. However, even despite this missing data it becomes clear enough that the goal of a completely unstructured interview based on a neutral input stimulus was not fully met. On several occasions in the book, the interview is directed toward the issues of Christian-Jewish relations (264, 289) and Germany's Nazi past (269, 275).

It has to be concluded that most hypotheses are neither clearly falsified nor verified. This is not surprising, considering the limitation of the empirical base of the study: a small sample of unstructured interviews. Although such an approach may be promising for the generation of hypotheses, to test hypotheses the applied method should allow the explicit falsification of core predictions. The current empirical base, however, allows only the observation that a hypothesized pattern is either present or absent. Absence of such a pattern, of course, does not allow any far-stretching conclusions about the validity of the claim.

The second major flaw of the empirical approach (besides the small sample) is the lack of a control group. If certain characteristics are claimed to be an integral part of antisemitic reasoning, the existence of such patterns among antisemites is only half of the equation (convergent validity). To further back up the claim, Salzborn would have to provide evidence that this exact same pattern does not show among non-antisemites (discriminant validity). This of course is problematic, as theoretically, Salzborn refers to latent antisemitism, i.e., antisemitism that is not necessarily openly expressed. Thus, individuals' scores of antisemitism questionnaires cannot be taken at face value (which Salzborn does anyway by selecting latent antisemites on the basis of their explicit self-report). The selection criteria used by Salzborn (responses to items tapping into latent antisemitism as indicators of such latent antisemitism) should have been used to recruit two contrasting groups with high vs. low degrees on latent antisemitism. The

interpretation of the interviews as well as the interviewers would have to be blind to this variable. In this sense, hypotheses could actually be critically tested with the possibility of falsifying them (i.e., no difference between the groups or even differences against the hypothesized direction).

Following the empirical section, Salzborn integrates all theories introduced into a political theory of antisemitism. His claim, however, that this is being done in light of his own empirical work remains a bluff. As mentioned above, none of the hypotheses is falsified on the base of the empirical data, so that the general base of his theory after the empirical work is pretty much the same as before: For all hypotheses there was either preliminary evidence or at least no contradictory evidence.

Despite this lack of integration of the empirical results (most likely due to the lack of clear implications of the empirical work), this chapter remains an impressive work of combining different theory streams to form a coherent picture of antisemitism. Salzborn condenses his political theory of antisemitism with a memorable phrase: “Antisemitism is simultaneously the inability and unwillingness to think abstractly and feel concretely.” To test this claim, future research could explore the unique relations of antisemitism with both the inability to feel concretely (operationalized as difficulties identifying and describing one’s own feelings; alexithymia) and to think abstractly (operationalized as low need for cognition).

Despite its great appeal and potential inspiration for future research, from a psychological perspective Salzborn’s conception of a clear-cut dichotomy between affect and cognition is unsatisfactory. This dichotomy seems to be based more on alleged self-evidence on the basis of lay lexical differentiation than on theoretical considerations or even empirical findings. At no point is it clearly defined what the difference between these two systems is supposed to be and how they could relate to each other. Particularly in light of the weak evidence for a clear distinction between cognitive and emotional processes, it is unclear whether this distinction is useful in the field of antisemitism research.

In summary, Salzborn’s book is a milestone in the reception and integration of antisemitism theories. It could serve a whole generation of antisemitism researchers as a reference point from which the clearly spelled-out hypotheses can be tested—with all methodological diversity. Though empirically the reported study does not meet up to the expectations built up after the impressive theoretical introduction, this might have asked a little too much.

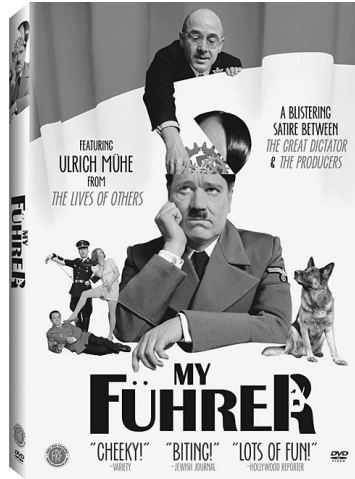
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A Jew in Hitler's Bunker?



My Führer: The Truly Truest Truth About Adolf Hitler.
A German satire.

English subtitles. First-run features theatrical release 2007;
DVD North American release 1-19-2010

Florette Cohen*

What was director Dani Levy's objective for filming *My Führer: The Truly Truest Truth About Adolf Hitler*? Was it intended in Freudian terms as an unconscious wish fulfillment through cinematic fantasy? Or was it a political satire at its most basic level? Or maybe it was a tool Levy used to deflect guilt from modern Germany for the Holocaust, thus reducing secondary antisemitism?

Since the Golden Age of Hollywood, researchers have debated the psychological underpinning drawing moviegoers to the cinema. Researchers have suggested that psychologically movies function much like dreams in that they allow moviegoers to live out their deepest darkest fantasies (Monaco, 1976). Levy's *My Führer* reinvents history and rewrites the final months of the Third Reich, much like Quentin Tarantino did with *Inglorious Basterds* (which tells the tale of a Jewish vigilante group, the Basterds, during WWII). However, where Tarantino and the Basterds succeeded in fulfilling every American's darkest fantasy by enveloping Hitler and the ruling Nazi party in a fiery blaze, Levy turns Hitler into a Jew-needy babbling idiot.

The story begins on December 25, 1944, when Joseph Goebbels (played by Sylvester Groth in both *My Führer* and *Inglorious Bastards*) concocts his “most brilliant idea” to revitalize a melancholy Hitler and rebuild his oratory skills. On order of Goebbels a somewhat famous Jewish acting teacher, Adolf Grünbaum (Ulrich Mühe), is transported out of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp—his task to transform Hitler (Helge Schneider) into the energetic and charismatic Führer of 1939 in time to deliver his New Year’s speech to the German people.

Acting exercises become psychotherapy sessions, and the Jew Grünbaum becomes Hitler’s confidant—his pillar of strength. Levy adds to the dark fantasy by having Grünbaum knock Hitler out during a boxing match after Hitler taunts, “Why don’t you Jews fight back, instead of going like sheep to the slaughter?” The movie closes with Grünbaum hiding under the platform delivering a voiceless Hitler’s New Year’s Day speech to an audience of thousands. In the ultimate knockout Grünbaum deviates from the written speech and presents a devastating picture of Hitler and Nazi Germany. But for me it wasn’t a good enough fight.

To me, as an American Jew who lost family during the Holocaust, this movie didn’t satisfy the unconscious need for the aggressive desire that all humans possess in the way that Quentin Tarantino did with *Inglorious Bastards*. According to Freud (1933), unconscious wish fulfillment as expressed in dreams and other forms of fantasy provide a socially acceptable outlet for unacceptable aggressive social behavior. By definition then *My Führer* does not and will not satisfy such a need—the only blood being shed is that of the Jewish Grünbaum.

What Levy did provide at times was a comical satire of humanity’s darkest hours. Basic political satires play on the details of our expectations, thereby distorting, exaggerating, and even ridiculing their rule-driven existence; they interweave fact and fantasy and prompts us to laugh at the intended target. As a political satire playing on the insecurities of a depressed and tormented Adolf Hitler, *My Führer* provided those moments of laughter.

From its beginning, the movie satirizes the German obsession with paperwork, the Nazi salute, Hitler’s bed-wetting, his infantile tantrums, and his inability to perform sexually. In part, the Chaplinesque slapstick routine was effective. I found myself chuckling when the “Heil Hitlers” became so cumbersome that Hitler himself retorted “Heil me,” and when Nazi officers contacted over 100 various bureaucratic offices to release Grünbaum from Sachsenhausen. And who wouldn’t laugh when Grünbaum orders Hitler to get down on all fours and bark like a dog, whereupon Hitler’s German shepherd Blondi jumps on Hitler’s back and begins humping him? But for me this was where the laughter ended.

The satire was incomplete. There were too many serious moments and too many instances where the Nazi atrocities were blamed on Hitler's being abused in childhood and on his low self-esteem. Levy's portrayal of Hitler casts him in a sympathetic light. Rather than the brutal monster we have come to know through the pages of history books, Hitler is rendered a pathetic and feeble man—a prisoner of Nazi guards. In one scene Hitler sneaks out of his room in the middle of the night to walk through the rubble of Berlin. In another he tells Grünbaum, "Don't take the Holocaust thing so personally—it wasn't even really my idea." So whose was it? Are we to forgive Hitler for millions of deaths because his childhood was less than ideal? Or, better yet, should we believe that Hitler was an innocent victim of the Holocaust himself—a puppet of Goebbels?

In Levy's defense, one must evaluate *My Führer* in reference to its intended target—the German audience (for whom the Holocaust remains a sensitive topic). According to secondary antisemitism theory, reminders of Nazi persecution and Jewish suffering stir up guilt feelings and, consequently, defensive antisemitism (Imhoff, 2009). Portraying Hitler as a bed-wetter, with a Jew as his therapist, may have been much more acceptable to a German audience than a Jewish vigilante group scalping German soldiers. What may be considered a flop in the United States may actually be hailed as genius in Germany.

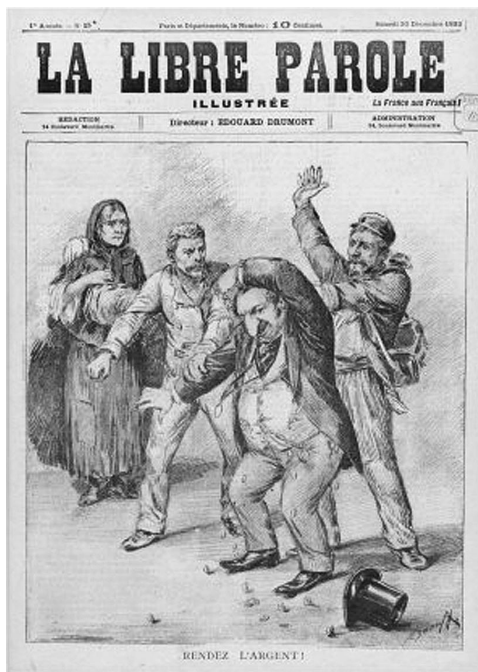
Thus, when viewing *My Führer*, rate it for what it is—historical fiction intended to entertain without provoking antisemitism, not historical commentary.

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ANTISEMITICA



The cover of Edouard Drumont's 1893 magazine La Libre Parole, depicting Christians beating a Jew, demanding that he "Give back the money."



Figurines of Jews with a big nose, yarmulke, and bags of money, in different positions. The shop inserted a real zloty in each bag. Warsaw Airport Gift Shop, March 2010.

The Jews are a peculiar people: things permitted to other nations are forbidden to the Jews. Other nations drive out thousands, even millions of people and there is no refugee problem. Russia did it, Poland and Czechoslovakia did it. Turkey threw out a million Greeks and Algeria a million Frenchmen. Indonesia threw out heaven knows how many Chinese and no one says a word about refugees. But in the case of Israel, the displaced Arabs have become eternal refugees. Everyone insists that Israel must take back every single one. Arnold Toynbee calls the displacement of the Arabs an atrocity greater than any committed by the Nazis.

Other nations when victorious on the battlefield dictate peace terms. But when Israel is victorious, it must sue for peace. Everyone expects the Jews to be the only real Christians in this world. Other nations, when they are defeated, survive and recover but should Israel be defeated it would be destroyed. Had Nasser triumphed last June [1967], he would have wiped Israel off the map, and no one would have lifted a finger to save the Jews. No commitment to the Jews by any government, including our own, is worth the paper it is written on.

There is a cry of outrage all over the world when people die in Vietnam or when two Blacks are executed in Rhodesia. But, when Hitler slaughtered Jews, no one demonstrated against him. The Swedes, who were ready to break off diplomatic relations with America because of what we did in Vietnam, did not let out a peep when Hitler was slaughtering Jews. They sent Hitler choice iron ore and ball bearings, and serviced his troops in Norway. The Jews are alone in the world.

If Israel survives, it will be solely because of Jewish efforts. And Jewish resources. Yet at this moment, Israel is our only reliable and unconditional ally. We can rely more on Israel than Israel can rely on us. And one has only to imagine what would have happened last summer [1967] had the Arabs and their Russian backers won the war, to realize how vital the survival of Israel is to America and the West in general.

I have a premonition that will not leave me: as it goes with Israel so will it go with all of us. Should Israel perish, the Holocaust will be upon us all.

Eric Hoffer

(1902-1983)—American longshoreman, social writer, and philosopher
Los Angeles Times, May 26, 1968

