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Administration

CSI-0219: Hating the Jews More than Necessary: Antisemitism

COURSE INFORMATION

Instructor Info:

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Office

Extension x5592

:

Office Hours: Monday and Wednesday, 2:30-4:30; Tuesday, 2:00-3:30 (sign up on [Hampedia](#)) and by appointment. Feel free to call or email me at any time with questions (voicemail goes to email, so I should receive it promptly).

Term:

2013F

Meeting Info:

Monday 02:30 PM - 03:50 PM Franklin Patterson Hall (FPH) 102

Wednesday 02:30 PM - 03:50 PM Franklin Patterson Hall (FPH) 102

Description:

According to a famous and revealing anecdote, antisemitism means hating the Jews more than necessary. Among the most perplexing things about antisemitism is its persistence. It has flourished for over two millennia in a wide variety of settings, and, despite the rise of modern multiculturalism, seems to be on the rise again. It is no wonder that it has been called the longest hatred. Among the questions we will ask: How does it relate to other forms of prejudice? What are its origins? What forms does it take, and how do they change over time? What are its religious, psychological, or social roots? What were its effects? How did the Jews respond? The course moves from from the cultural prejudices of the Classical world, through the anti-Judaic teachings of the Christian churches, to the rise of modern social, political, and racial antisemitism and their new contemporary manifestations, including the Middle East conflict.

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2:09 AM, Nov 15 James

Course Objectives: Hating the Jews more than necessary: Can we think of a comparable phrase in another context of prejudice? Why was it necessary to hate the Jews in the first place?

Summary/Overview

The course moves from the cultural prejudices of the Classical world, through the anti-Judaic teachings of the Christian churches, to the rise of modern social, political, and racial antisemitism culminating in the Shoah, or Nazi genocide against the Jews. In the aftermath of World War II, the survival of antisemitism seemed unthinkable. Nonetheless, antisemitism soon reappeared in various contexts, including lands in which there were relatively few Jews. Beginning with the purge trials of the communist bloc, its center of gravity moreover seemed to be shifting from right to left. The course therefore concludes with an exploration of recent and contemporary antisemitism, including the debates over its changing definition in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Further, rather than treating its topic in isolation, the course seeks to locate it in the broader course of Jewish and European history. The course is no substitute for a Jewish history course, for it must be made clear that Jewish history cannot be reduced to a history of antisemitism. By the same token, the Jews cannot be reduced to passive subjects. They devised a wide range of responses that varied with the era and their freedom of action: apologetics, negotiation, assimilation, domestic political action, armed resistance, and Zionism.

One thing to bear in mind is that, just as Jewish history cannot be reduced to the history of antisemitism, so, too, antisemitism cannot be reduced to the handful of justly remembered traumatic moments: the Crusades, the Expulsion from Spain, the massacres of the 17th century, the pogroms of the late 19th century, or the Shoah. On the one hand, less dramatic forms of subjugation and humiliation were the more enduring reality. On the other, relationships between Jews and gentiles entailed daily complex patterns of coexistence as well as conflict.

Rather than providing pat answers, the course attempts to pose careful questions. It provides a survey of developments, access to primary sources and evolving scholarship, and a framework for their interpretation. Some aspects of the topic may elude consensus, but students will come to understand why, in the process learning to make explicit their own assumptions and to support their own conclusions with historical perspectives and evidence.

Wald

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The overarching goal of the course is to guide students through a systematic exploration of the questions raised in the course description. Participants will acquire an understanding of the subject matter, the concepts and methods appropriate to such an investigation, and the interpretation of primary sources and secondary literature.

Concepts, Content, and Method

Rather than treating its topic in isolation, the course seeks to locate it in the broader course of Jewish and European history. (The emphasis is on European history because that was the classic locus of antisemitism, which there unfolded its essential traits. Antisemitism existed elsewhere but did not necessarily develop distinct and influential forms. We will touch on antisemitism in the US at several points as appropriate, and I will be happy to assist students in pursuing investigations in areas of individual interest.) That said, the course is no substitute for a Jewish history course, for it must be made clear that Jewish history cannot be reduced to a history of antisemitism and persecution (what Salo W. Baron some eight decades ago famously called the "lachrymose" conception of Jewish history). Relationships between Jews and gentiles entailed complex patterns of daily coexistence as well as occasional conflict. They also did not unfold in linear and progressive fashion: Jews in the year 900 were arguably better off than they were in 1600. (The "Whig" conception of Jewish history makes no more sense than the "lachrymose" one.)

By the same token, the Jews cannot be reduced to passive subjects, at the low end of the spectrum stretching from total dependency and powerlessness to autonomy and power. They devised a wide range of responses to persecution that varied with the era, their freedom of action, and their individual or collective orientation: theological interpretation, apologetics, negotiation, assimilation, conversion, emigration, political action (domestic or international, particular or universal), armed resistance, and Zionism. Just as Jewish history cannot be reduced to the history of antisemitism, so, too, antisemitism cannot be reduced to the handful of justly remembered traumatic moments: the Crusades, the Expulsion from Spain, the massacres of the 17th century, the pogroms of the late 19th century, or the Shoah (Nazi genocide). Less dramatic forms of subjugation and humiliation were the more enduring reality.

Antisemitism is a shorthand and not unproblematic term, chosen principally for reasons of convenience and familiarity. The older term, "Jew-hatred," is in some ways preferable because it is

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COURSE LIST

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broader, unambiguous, more descriptive, and raw. Hence, too, the title of the course. "Hating the Jews more than necessary": Can one think of a more revealing phrase? Can one think of a comparable phrase in another context of prejudice? (hating the Latinos more than necessary? Asian-Americans? homosexuals?) Why was it necessary to "hate" the Jews in the first place? The exquisitely humorous-cynical formulation, which has been attributed to various sources, signals both the venerable nature of the animus and the divide between the traditional hostility and new, more vicious (and vulgar or "classy") modern forms arising in Central Europe over a century ago. The ubiquity and perdurability of Jew-hatred lead one to ask not only how it could last so long and under such different circumstances, but also whether any such phenomenon—manifesting itself in forms ranging from religious bigotry and social discrimination to genocidal pseudo-scientific racism—can truly be subsumed under a single meaningful definition.

That problem has been complicated by developments of recent decades. Prior to the Shoah, antisemites were not afraid to proclaim themselves as such. Afterward, the survival of antisemitism initially seemed unthinkable. Those who still disliked Jews in any case had to deny the charge, which, ironically, became easier because the phenomenon was so closely associated with the ultimate and unique extreme of Auschwitz.

Persecution and hatred of Jews nonetheless reappeared in various contexts, including lands in which there were few Jews. Beginning with the "anti-cosmopolitan campaign" and purge trials of the communist bloc, the center of gravity of antisemitism moreover seemed to be shifting from right to left. Although it was possible to dismiss the tendency as yet another Soviet betrayal of the left's noble traditions, "anti-Zionism," as the principal form of criticism of Jews (whether as Jews or as people who just happened to be Jews) became a fixture of left and Third World political discourse and arguably intensified after the fall of communism. The course therefore concludes with an exploration of debates over recent and contemporary antisemitism, including its role or changing definition in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the antiglobalization movement, and anti-Americanism.

Our concern here, it should be emphasized, is not to re-fight the Middle East conflict:

- (1) That is not within the purview of the class.
- (2) Others have been conducting it quite competently—and with weapons—for over a century.
- (3) Honorable people can be found on both sides of the

Coffeehouses
Catastrophe and
Culture: East
Central Europe in a
Century of
Upheaval

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Debates in History

CSI-0150: Fighting
Over the Facts:
History as Debate

CSI-0173/HACU-
0173: Cultures in
Resistance: The
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Europe

CSI-0219: Hating
the Jews More than
Necessary:
Antisemitism

CSI-0219: Hating
the Jews More
Than Necessary:
Antisemitism

CSI-0228: Gold,
Lead, and
Gunpowder:
Knowledge &
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Renaissance
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CSI-0258:
Preserving the Past,
Planning for the
Future: Historic
Preservation and
Local History

CSI-0267:
Introduction to
Digital Humanities

CSI-0275: Hopes
and Fears: Religion,

question.

Criticism of Israel, let us make this clear, is not automatically to be equated with antisemitism. That said, the fact that Jews of/and the Jewish state as such have become a particular focus of worldwide political animus and that much of the anti-Zionist discourse draws upon motifs found in classic antisemitic discourse and often seems to extend to Diaspora Jews gives us pause for thought. It is a moral dilemma and an intellectual opportunity.

Rather than providing pat answers, then, the course attempts to pose careful questions. It provides a survey of developments, access to primary sources and evolving scholarship, and a framework for their interpretation. Some aspects of the topic may elude consensus, but students will come to understand why, in the process learning to make explicit their own assumptions and to support their own conclusions with historical perspectives and evidence.

These latter points are of particular importance when dealing with emotionally charged or contemporary issues. Membership in an intellectual community—what used to be called the Republic of Letters—entails the ability to rise above personal passions (though not commitment) and articulate opinions in a civil manner and on the basis of reasoned and universally accessible argument. As Rosa Luxemburg said, freedom is always the freedom of those who choose to think differently.

Evaluation Criteria: As you will see, there is a great deal of reading in the syllabus (a "reading-intensive course," as the jargon would have it). Never fear: there are reasons for this.

(1) In order to understand something thoroughly, you need to have a command of the full range of source material.

(2) Both learning how to learn in general and learning about a specific field or subject entail developing *reading strategies*. The task and challenge for you are to learn how to work through the mass of material, both obtaining an overview of the sources and issues and deciding what, to your mind, is most important (whether illuminating or perplexing). Simple logic and mathematics dictate that we cannot discuss every single page of every single text. The goal for individual class preparation and group discussion should be to address the overarching issues of any given class with reference to specific evidence from the relevant readings. Because our class has no prerequisites and enrolls students with varied interests and varied levels of background knowledge, the syllabus is a very full one. It

Gender and Possessions from the Middle Ages Through the Industrial Revolution

CSI-0293: Mass Man, Mass Movements, Mass Culture: Europe In The Era Of Classical Modernity

CSI-0293: Mass Man, Mass Movements, Mass Culture: Europe In The Era Of Classical Modernity

CSI-118T: Books, Technology, and History from Manuscript to Cyberincunabula

Dangerous Books: Introduction to Textuality and Culture

Fighting Over the Facts: History as Debate

Prague and Krakow: City, History, Text

Preserving the Past Planning for the Future: Historic Preservation and Local History

Writing and Talking about the Nazi Regime: Constructing Memory and History in Personal and Public Accounts

The Rise of Jewish

represents an ideal of thoroughness but in practice assumes no prior knowledge on the part of the student. Some of you will want to explore every text in detail, and some of you will be content with a more basic grasp of the issues. That is fine, and I always strive to satisfy all possible clienteles. Whenever possible, I will also provide explanations and study tips in the syllabus.

(3) Most important, then, remember that this is your class: Your participation in discussion in the seminar format is what makes or breaks it. You are not expected to understand everything perfectly (otherwise, why would you need a teacher?). Rather, do your best with the readings, and then bring your reactions—impressions, conclusions, confusions, dilemmas—to class, and together, we will explore them. At first, the number and nature of the texts may be daunting (perhaps, seemingly, overwhelming). I guarantee, however, that things will get easier as the semester unfolds. It always works.

(4) The ability to work through a mass of evidence, draw, and elegantly express your own reasoned conclusions is the most important skill of the historical craft and moreover the one that is most transferable to personal and professional life outside the college walls. The resultant time management skills are pretty handy, too.

(5) As noted below ("Additional Info"), the essential requirement regarding the reading is that you *do* it. That means—regardless of whether you purchase books and print out pdfs—that you need to (a) read actively rather than passively and thoroughly rather than superficially; (b) be able to discuss a given piece in some depth as concerns both concepts and evidence, and (c) that in turn presupposes that you have some way of retaining and organizing information information between the time that you read and the time that you come to class, and from one class to the next—particularly when it comes time to write an essay. Taking good notes is the key. It takes a bit longer in the short run but saves you time in the long run, so that you don't have to go back and do double work.

(6) My best hint on reading strategy: Set aside a small block of time and go through all the readings for a given day at a fairly quick pace. Don't take notes or worry about details this time. When you finish a given piece, stop to ask yourself why it was assigned, i.e. what its main point were, and how they contribute to the class session in question and the unfolding of the course as a whole. Jot down the key ideas or facts—or the questions that remain unresolved. Once you've gone through the whole set of the day's readings in this way, you can go back over each

Secular Culture

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piece much more intelligently and efficiently. You'll know where to focus your efforts and why. Take some more notes on individual pieces, and then see whether you can put together a little summary of the whole batch. (On many occasions, there will be a required reading response that serves these purposes.)

Remember, above all, that the purpose of a seminar is both diagnostic and cumulative. What we are striving for all along and evaluating or grading is not perfection from the start (an impossibility anyway), but individual growth and progress. The task of the teacher is to facilitate that process.

Readings

Students are expected to complete the readings before class, and to come to class prepared to discuss them in detail. The aim is not perfection on the first try. Just make good-faith effort, and bring your questions to class. Together, we will find the answers.

Writing assignments

Students will post periodic brief online reading responses and write several essays based on the course material, with the opportunity/option to do a larger research project.

Summary: I don't believe in assigning rigid weights to any single class exercise or assignment: i.e., it is not a zero-sum game, in which a "poor" performance on a single paper can drag down an otherwise excellent grade or evaluation. Rather, I consider the progression, the trajectory, and the overall result: What have you learned or how have you grown intellectually?

Hampshire classes employ the portfolio evaluation method. When we can see your entire work in front of us at once, we are best able to understand its development and appreciate its growth (it also allows me to control and check my reactions to earlier work, so that I can ensure I was fair and consistent). It's a lot more work for the teacher, but ultimately more satisfying for all parties. **Please note:** This means that you need to retain copies of all your individual writing assignments, along with my comments. You will need to turn in this portfolio of work at the end of the term. (I in turn will return all work to you after I have evaluated/graded it.)

Additional Info:

The following books are available for purchase at Amherst Books:

8 Main St., Amherst
<http://www.amherstbooks.com/Textbooks/index.shtml>
tel. 413-256-1547

You are of course free to obtain the books wherever it is convenient, but I do think it important to support independent bookstores (not least because the owner is a Hampshire alumnus who has also taught here).

Amherst Books prices are competitive, and above all, the service is top-notch. You will find there people who actually know books. They can also order additional copies very quickly.

I am all too aware of the cost of college books, though I should note that the kinds of books we use in our history courses are relatively cheap. If you were taking the Modern Europe survey course at many a college or university, the single traditional "textbook" (an updated edition of the one that I used and the generation before me used) would cost you well over \$ 100. That's just for one title. The situation is, if anything, worse in language instruction and the natural and social sciences.

Bottom line: It is a course requirement that you *do* the reading, but it makes no difference to me *how* you do it. You are free to purchase the books, borrow the books from a library--whatever. For that matter, I encourage you to consider sharing, if that works. If, for example you have a friend or neighbor in the class and can share the same copy, that's fine with me. However, there really is a strong reason to purchase books: it makes it much easier to do the work, and owning a personal library (even if some of the contents change as you buy new books or sell those you no longer need) is part of being an intellectually engaged person.

Required Books:

¥ Norman Solomon, *Judaism: A Very Short Introduction* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1996)

¥ Albert S. Lindemann and Richard S. Levy, eds., *Antisemitism: A History* (NY: Oxford University, 2010)

¥ Robert Chazan, ed., *Church, State, and Jew in the Middle Ages* (NY: Behrman House, 1980)

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

¥ George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (NY: Howard Fertig, 1997)

[there may be another title, but I'll let you know]

All other readings will be available online (generally, as pdfs or as links to websites)



Wednesday, 4 September (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 1

Introduction to the Course: How Should We Start?

In-class reading exercise: Who said that? Is it antisemitic?

Overview of course plan and requirements

Monday, 9 September (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 2

Jews and Judaism: Basic Facts and Historical Perspectives

Reading

Norman Solomon, *Judaism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) (purchase or on reserve in library):

entire—
or read at least the Introduction, Chapters 1-5, 7-8, and the two Appendices: i.e. pp. 1-83, 98-125, 136-38

The semester has started and it's time to get serious and get down to work. Don't worry, though: the book is small (in both dimensions and number of pages) and reads easily.

Antisemitism, as most scholars will tell you, is ultimately about non-Jews rather than Jews—i.e. who Jews are and what they do.

That said, if we are to study antisemitism as a form of hatred directed against the Jews, we nonetheless need to understand the nature of Jewish life, belief, and culture (for their own sake, and as a standard against which to measure antisemitic allegations).

The course assumes no privileged point of view or background knowledge. Today's reading was assigned in part in order to provide a level playing field: Here, a scholar attempts, in concise fashion, to explain Judaism in general terms to a general audience. Note, for example, how he addresses questions of identity and self-understanding as well as the perspectives of the majority culture.

There are also other merits. As Solomon, following Michael Meyer, explains (pp. 10 ff.), the three factors that shape contemporary Jewish identity in the West (the focus of our course) are: "the Enlightenment, anti-Semitism, and the rise of the State of Israel." Indeed, all three—the promise of emancipation, the persistence of

hatred whether because of or despite emancipation, and the latest answer to the problem, which was supposed to function as both a refuge and a source of cultural renewal.loom large in our exploration this semester.

Note: We'll devote a bit of time at the start of class to an overview of the syllabus and books. In order to wrap up what we started on Wednesday, and so as to bring up to speed anyone who was not present then.

First response exercise: post reactions to Solomon using the link to the "Forum," below (instructions there).

 [Response #1: Solomon](#)

Wednesday, 11 September (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 3

Antisemitism: Terms, Concepts, Definitions, Perspectives

In class: Racism? Antisemitism? What? (slides)

Readings:

¥ Salo W. Baron, "Opening Remarks" at the conference on "Problems of Research in the Study of the Jewish Catastrophe 1939-1945," *Jewish Social Studies* 12 no. 1 (Jan. 1950): 13-16. (**NOTE: start with this one**; see below for guidance) ([pdf](#))

¥ Albert S. Lindemann and Richard S. Lewy, eds., *Antisemitism: A History* (NY: Oxford University, 2010): Introduction (1-16) and Albert Lindemann, "The Jewish Question" (17-33) (purchase) [**Note**: for those of you who do not yet have the book, I have scanned these portions as pdfs: [Intro](#). [Ch. 1](#)]

¥ Marvin Pery and Frederick M. Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths: A Historical and Contemporary Anthology* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), Introduction, XVII-XXIII (purchase; and on reserve) ([pdf here](#) in case you have not yet purchased the book)

¥ Ben Halpern, "What is Antisemitism?" *Modern Judaism* 1 no. 3 (Dec. 1981): 251-62 ([pdf](#)) (also [accessible from JSTOR](#) via your college library databases)

¥ Helen Fein, "Explanations of the Origin and Evolution of Antisemitism," in Helen Fein, ed., *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, Current Research on Antisemitism, ed. Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Bergmann (Berlin and NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 3-22 ([pdf](#))

Study Guide

The readings assigned for today provide a convenient overview of what, as you see, are the numerous approaches to antisemitism and the resultant vast scholarly literature.

Hint: I would suggest you first review the study guide from last time.

(1) Solomon, following Michael Meyer, explains (pp. 10 ff.) identifies the three factors that shape contemporary Jewish identity in the West (the focus of our course) as: "the Enlightenment, anti-Semitism, and the rise of the State of Israel." Why? What do they signify or explain?

(2) As you will see, Lindemann and Levy argue that one cannot understand antisemitism in isolation from the actual character of Jews and Judaism. What factors did you note in Solomon that might be relevant to this argument?

What is distinctive about the approach of the Lindemann and Levy anthology?

This is our introduction to a book we will use throughout the term. Below are some hints on how you might approach and frame it.

Start today's readings with Baron. One of the most distinguished scholars of his day, he offers some reflections on the nascent attempt to assess the Nazi genocide in light of the larger patterns of Jewish history (note the date). What perspectives or concepts does he accept or reject? How might his effort be of help to us as we seek to orient ourselves at the start of the course?

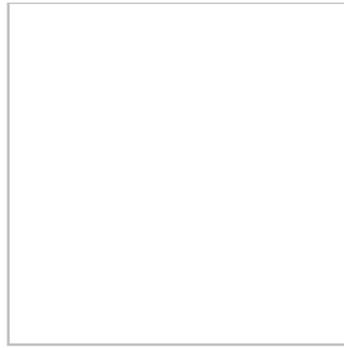
What is Halpern's distinctive approach? How might his definition of antisemitism map onto the general definitions that you have thus far encountered?

Fein likewise takes a broad view, though from another angle. (Note: As an introduction to an anthology, her's essay makes reference to pieces by a number of authors. Don't let that confuse or worry you: (1) We'll read some of them (e.g. Ruether, Katz) later. (2) Her references to some extent overlap with other texts that you've read, which attempt to offer a brief overview of the topic and the historiography. (3) The latter part of the essay in particular takes this broad approach.) Consider, especially, why Fein believes that a sociological approach can be valuable. How does her schema of the evolution of antisemitism compare with that of Lindemann and Levy or others that we have begun to explore?

(Note: You may skim the Perry and Schweitzer Introduction: the other readings are weightier. However, this one does connect the historical with the contemporary. Try to get a sense of the authors' fundamental perspectives so that you can compare them with those of our other texts)

Obviously, we can only sample the latter here. For example, I have not assigned any of the more "heavy duty" social-scientific pieces on the nature of prejudice, the lessons and weaknesses of contemporary opinion polling, and the like. I will allude to and summarize some of this literature in class from time to time, and I will be pleased to provide you with guidance on further reading if there are issues that you wish to pursue in greater depth individually or collectively.

Monday, 16 September (02:30PM - 03:50PM)



Meeting 4

Pagans, Jews, and Christians: Classical Antiquity, Empire, and The Rise of the Church

Readings:

¥ Benjamin Isaac, "The Ancient Mediterranean and the Pre-Christian Era," in Lindemann and Levy, 34-46

¥ Philip A. Cunningham, "Jews and Christians from the Time of Christ to Constantine's Reign," in Lindemann and Levy, 43-62

¥ Perry and Schweitzer, 1-10 (the document here provides excerpts from the sermons of St. John Chrysostom).

NOTE: If you're interested in exploring the full texts of the homilies, they are [available here](#) from the Internet Medieval Sourcebook

¥ Norman A. Beck, *Mature Christianity in the 21st Century: The Recognition and Repudiation of the Anti-Jewish Polemic of the New Testament*, expanded and revised edition (Philadelphia: The American Interfaith Institute/World Alliance; NY: Crossroad, 1994): excerpt from the Introduction by Christopher Leighton; Preface; Norman A. Beck, Preface, selections from the Introduction ("The Role of Polemic in Sacred Scriptures of Religious Communities"), Chapter 11 ("Conclusions, Implications, and Future Agenda for a Mature Christianity in the Twenty-First Century," 16-25, 54-61, 321-28 ([pdf](#)))

¥ Rosemary Radford Ruether, "The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism," in Helen Fein, ed., *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, Current Research on Antisemitism, ed. Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Bergmann (Berlin and NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 23-45 ([pdf](#))

¥ Take a look at some of the following passages from the [New Testament](#) (at least one from each of the following books):

MARK:

¥ 2:18-3:6 [i.e. Chapter 2, Verse 18, to Chapter 6, Verse 6]

¥ 7: 1-23

¥ 14:1-2, 53-65

¥ 15:6-15

MATTHEW

¥ 23:1-37

¥ 27:13-26

JOHN

¥ 8:31-47

¥ 12: 36-43

¥ 15: 18-25

ROMANS

¥ 6:12-23

¥ 9:1-18

¥ 11:11-32

ACTS

¥ 23:12-35

Go to this page, find the appropriate book, click on the link, and just scroll down to the desired passage.

Alternatively, you can go to the [citation search page](#). E.g. for our first selection: in the "Book" box Mark; "Starting Verse": 18. From that line, you can follow links to previous or following chapters.

This may be unfamiliar material, but that's why we are studying it. Read around in it to get a sense of how the Jews and Judaism are portrayed. We'll go through representative passages in class to flesh out the detail.

¥ review Fein, pp. 10-13 (from last time)

Recommended/at least skim:

Perry and Schweitzer, Section 23, "The Catholic Church Confronts its Antisemitic Past": read at least "Nostra Aetate" and "Notes on the Correct Way to Present Jews and Judaism," pp. 220-27, if you can.

You can also find the selections at the Vatican website: [Nostra Aetate](#) and ["Notes on the correct way to present the Jews and Judaism"](#).

Study Guide:

The principal readings for today present two Christian perspectives: first, statements about the Jews and Judaism contained in sacred Christian scripture (the New Testament) and the writings of one of the early Church Fathers, and second, the attempts of two contemporary scholars/theologians to come to terms with anti-Judaism and antisemitism in the Christian tradition. (Laqueur again provides you with an overview.)

The selection from Ruether is a précis of one of the fundamental works in the field. Be sure to read pp. 23-36 with particular care. Beck's book attempts to develop and apply the lessons of scholars such as Ruether: What sorts of anti-Jewish statements can be found in the New Testament? Further, what is one to do with bigoted passages in a sacred scripture? What is meant by religious "maturity"?

Consider, for example: Where do Ruether and Beck find anti-Judaic sentiment in the New Testament, and how do they categorize it? To what extent do they assign responsibility to theological versus historical-political conditions? How do they respond to defensive reactions asserting that Christianity cannot be

antisemitic, i.e. that such doctrines are extrinsic rather than intrinsic to the religion?
What theological or pastoral solutions do they propose?

Cunningham shares some of their views, agreeing that "social circumstances fostered the rapid dominance of a theologically based antisemitism (in the broader sense of animosity to Jewish difference) that became entwined with emergent Christian self-understanding," but goes on to say, "anti-Jewish perspectives are not religiously intrinsic to Christianity." (61). Is he saying the same thing in a different way--or saying something very different? What do you think? How can one tell?

Hint: You will find it helpful to review the chronology in Fein, pp. 10-13, and Lindemann and Levy, pp. 17-24 (from last time)

Note: We'll start using the Chazan anthology next time, so make sure you obtain a copy (the one that is supposed to be on reserve in the Library seems to have gone missing)

Wednesday, 18 September (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 5

Discrimination and Protection: The Place of the Jews in Medieval Christian Society

Readings

¥ continuation of discussion of material from last time (**see Study Guide, below**, for details)

¥ Robert Chazan, ed., *Church, State, and Jew in the Middle Ages* (NY: Behrman House, 1980) (purchase; will be on reserve by end of week)

¥ Preface and Introduction (ix-14)

¥ Canon law and church protections (17-35, 43-51) ([pdf](#) for the preceding selection and this one)

¥ Charters (57-66, 77-93)([pdf](#))

[note: because some of you do not yet have the book and the reserve copy was lost and is in the process of being replaced, I have scans of these portions]

¥ "[On the Insolence of the Jews](#)": letter from Bishop Agobard of Lyon to Emperor Louis the Pious, 826/827 (Internet Sourcebook) [[link fixed](#)]

Study Guide

NOTE: We'll start by wrapping up some of the material from last time. I'll try to present an overview of some key issues, and then, together explore some of the texts.

(You may wish to rview these selections from the New Testament)

¥ [Mark 2:18-28; 3:1-6](#)

¥ [Mathew 23:1-37](#)

¥ [Luke 10:25-37](#) (parable of the Good Samaritan)

¥ Mark [14: 1-2, 53-65](#) (arrest of Jesus)

¥ Mark [15:6-15](#) (Jesus before Pilate, crowd)

¥ John [8:31-47](#)

¥ Romans [9:1-18](#)

Review the Lindemann-Levy anthology, Ruether, and Beck (as necessary), and raise any issues that you think we still need to discuss.

Optional: I have certain things that I want to make sure we cover, but you will have your own ideas and needs (some of which you have already shared). I have created a "forum" below, where you can upload either your suggestions on what to explore that remains from last time, or simply offer comments and reactions on the material. It's a good way for you to familiarize yourself with the coursewar, in any case.

New material for today:

Having examined the anti-Judaic aspects of Christian doctrine as embodied in the New Testament and the teachings of the Church Fathers, we now turn to a consideration of Jewish life in medieval Christian Europe. Subtlety and attention to detail are important, for (1) the status of the Jews was unique in that it was both inferior and protected, and (2) we need to recall that persecution was only part of the story (though necessarily the larger one in a course on antisemitism), and (3) developments did not follow a linear pattern: the Jewish position was arguably better at the beginning of the Middle Ages than at the end. What all of this adds up to, then, is the necessity of a truly historical approach.

Explore the primary sources as you have been doing. i.e. with an eye not only to grand themes or topics, but also perspectives, and nuances of language as well as ideas.

Guidance on reading Chazan:

Read Chazan's introductory remarks carefully before you start. Consider, for example, his rationale for the organization of the book. As you read, then, do so on multiple levels, paying attention not just to the topic (e.g. the Crusades), but also to the division of the material among various rubrics (church, state, etc.).

There is a good deal of material here, but you will soon figure out how best to approach it, e.g. how carefully you need to scrutinize each text. I would suggest that you first read quickly through all the assigned documents, without worrying about the detail, so as to get a sense of the content, flavor, and patterns. Then return to those that you find most informative (and as you do so, ask yourself why you made those choices).

Many documents present similar themes, with variations, in different contexts. As you become accustomed to noting the similarities, you will also find it easier to note the differences, and in both cases, to determine what is most important. Consider, too, the general nature of decrees, official correspondence, and the like, versus the statements of private individuals. What role do formulae and conventions play in each? What perspectives or language might we find in one genre or the other? Why?

Feel free, here and in the coming sessions, to read other documents that we have not assigned as required reading. To the extent, of course, that interest and time permit.



Suggestions for further discussion of Christianity, New Testament; general reactions

Monday, 23 September (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 6

Medieval Europe: From Discrimination to Persecution

video clip in class: Crusades and medieval persecution, from "The Longest Hatred" [**we'll save this for next time**]

Readings

¥ Continue from last time: Chazan 1-14 (as necessary); 20-21, 55-66, 88-93

¥ "On the Insolence of the Jews": letter from Bishop Agobard of Lyon to Emperor Louis the Pious, 826/827 (Internet Sourcebook) [link fixed]

- - -

¥ Gavin Langmuir, "Medieval Antisemitism," in his *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 301-10 ([pdf](#))

¥ Chazan, documents on:

- Crusades (97-122, 133-41, 145-46)
- the incidents at Blois and Bray, etc. (293-307)
- Restrictions on the Jews (169-77)
- The question of usury (197-220)(read around in this section; use your judgment)

¥ Jewish literary and liturgical responses: review Solomon, *Judaism*, 54-81, on festivals and prayer. In order to understand the Jewish poetry of medieval northern Europe, one needs to understand its relation to the literary forms and beliefs of traditional worship.

¥ Jewish literary and liturgical responses: Anonymous, "The Crusaders," "The Martyrs of Mainz"; David bar Meshullam of Speyer, "The Sacrifices"; Ephraim of Regensburg, "To God in Exile" and "Be Not Far From Me"; Ephraim of Bon, "Lament for the Massacre at Blois"; Barukh of Magenza, "The Martyrs of Blois"; Eleizer bar Judah of Worms, "The Murder of Bellel and Hannah," in *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse*, ed. T. Carmi (NY: The Viking Press, 1981), 368-70, 372-79, 384-88 ([pdf](#))

Note: You may wish to review the brief selection from Solomon first: in particular, pp. 77-78 and 81, on the poetry of *piyyutim* and *selihot* and medieval pietism.

¥ Jewish literary and liturgical responses: "Commemoration of Martyrs" (Av ha-

Rahamim), [in memory of Jewish martyrs], prayer for the dead (El Male Rahamim), *Daily Prayer Book/ Ha-Siddur Ha-Shalem*, trans. and ed. Philip Birnbaum (NY: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1979), 384, 606 ([pdf](#)) (Note: You may wish to review the assigned selection from Solomon first.)

¥ Jewish literary and liturgical responses: "Pour Out Thy Wrath," *The Passover Haggadah with English Translation and Commentary*, ed. Nahum Glatzer, third ed. (NY: Schocken, 1979), 67 ([pdf](#))

This passage occurs at the moment in the ceremony when the door is opened for the prophet Elijah, traditionally the harbinger of the Messiah and future redemption. On Passover and the Seder (ritual meal), see Solomon, *Judaism*, 54-61 (esp. 58-61).

Recommended

¥ Review Fein, pp. 13-16 (from class 2)

Study Guide

Why did persecution of the Jews arise, what forms did it take, and how did they evolve?

Start with Langmuir's very brief essay, which will provide you with a historical framework for the interpretation of the primary sources. The emphasis here is not yet on the "chimeric" or fantastic (as he puts it) charges of ritual murder, and the like (which we will turn to next time), and instead, on the transitional phenomenon of intensified violence on traditional grounds. Think about what Langmuir means when he says:

"The nature of the hostility was old; its pervasiveness and intensity, however, was new, and it forced the Jews to adopt new forms of conduct that aroused new kinds of hostility; a self-fulfilling prophecy had been set in motion." (305)

Take that as your point of departure: What does he mean? What were the causes? the consequences? Consider his ideas in the framework of Fein's essay, especially pp. 12-14. (You may also wish to review Ruether from the class on the Church)

We'll start by working through Langmuir and Fein and then turning to the documents.

We will close with a consideration of the Jewish response to persecution: in literature, liturgy, and collective memory (never fear: the texts are brief). Study these primary sources carefully: What are they saying? What aspects of the historical experience do they emphasize? How is the historical experience reframed in a theological context? (I'll provide some additional explanation in class.) [**Note**: we may save the liturgical texts for next time]

Resources: maps/images for use in class.



Wednesday, 25 September (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 7

Medieval Europe: Birthplace of "Antisemitism"?

--video clip (in class) from "The Longest Hatred"

Readings

¥ Chazan, documents on:

--The Black Death (128-31);

--The assault on the Talmud (221-38; skim 231-8)

-- Government condemnations of ritual murder charges and other attacks on Jews (123-8)

--William of Norwich and related cases (141-45, 151-7)

--usury (197-220)

¥ Pery and Schweitzer, Sections 2, 4 ("The Libel of Ritual Murder," "Jews Blamed for Black Death"), pp. 11-19, 26-28

¥ [Fourth Lateran Council](#) (1215): read Canons 1 (articles of faith, including transubstantiation), 2-3 (on heresies), 21 (on confession and eucharist), and 67-70 (on Jews and Saracens) (from [Internet Medieval Sourcebook](#))

¥ Gavin Langmuir, "From Anti-Judaism to Antisemitism," in his *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 275-305 ([pdf](#))

¥ Gavin Langmuir, "Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder," in his *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 209-36 ([pdf](#))

Recommended only

¥ Thomas of Monmouth, "[The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich, 1173](#)" ([Internet Medieval Sourcebook](#))

In case you would like to read a fuller account of the alleged murder. Note, by the way, how the fateful notion of a secret Jewish world conspiracy already emerges here—perhaps, ironically, from the lies of the Jewish apostate Theobald rather than the imagination of Thomas of Monmouth? (see Langmuir's essay, p. 225)

¥ Gavin Langmuir, "Ritual Cannibalism," in his *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 263-81 ([pdf](#))

This piece describes another variant in the fantastic charges against the Jews: namely, that they consumed the blood of Christians (especially children). Note how Langmuir distinguishes this from the crucifixion story associated with William of Norwich.

Study Guide

We've been going through a lot of material at a quick pace, but that's the nature of a college course above the introductory level: Historians analyze both bodies of sources--looking for patterns--and individual sources--looking for the details, which in turn help to reveal the patterns. You need to be able to do both (hint: you need to read actively, not passively: mark up your texts, take notes, jot down ideas).

I'll start by trying to pull together some of the material from the preceding sessions so that we can catch up.

Historians are also sensitive to context and change over time. What constituted antisemitism as opposed to anti-Judaism? What is the specifically historical component of these arguments? That is, the claim is that antisemitism was not always present, but arose at a specific time for specific reasons: why here and now?

Langmuir's work is some of the most important and influential recent scholarship on antisemitism, a concept that he steadily attempted to define and refine in a series of essays. He is known in particular for the exploration of the "irrational" Christian beliefs that he sees at the heart of antisemitism, proper. We are reading here some of his fundamental case studies bearing on this issue. Note, for example, how he carefully explores, in parallel, both the original source material and the echo of the cases in the historiography. Be prepared to discuss Langmuir's theories in some detail.

Class exercise/assignment (due before class): see link below.

 [Medieval Antisemitism](#)

Monday, 30 September (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 9

The Early Modern Era

Readings

¥Ralph Keen, "Antisemitism in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods," in Lindemann and Levy, 79-93

¥ Jonathan Karp, "Antisemitism in the Age of Mercantilism," in Lindemann and Levy, 94-106

¥ R. Po-chia Hsia, "Jews as Magicians in Reformation Germany," in Sander L. Gilman and Steven T. Katz, eds., *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis* (NY and London: New York University Press, 1991), 115-39 ([pdf](#))

Ronnie Hsia's innovative piece provides new perspectives on topics we have encountered earlier (e.g. ritual murder, host desecration) , and thereby, Luther's attitude toward the Jew.

The essay summarizes many of the arguments developed in his *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).

¥ Perry and Schweitzer, "The Accusation of Host Desecration," pp. 20-25

¥ Perry and Schweitzer, pp. 43-48 (on Luther)

[NOTE: read this first, but then sample the full text by Luther; see below]

¥ Perry and Schweitzer, Section 24, "Protestant Churches Confront Their Antisemitic Past," 236-46

How does this compare with the statements by the Catholic Church, pp. 219-35?

¥ Chayim Bloch, *The Golem: Mystical tales from the Ghetto of Prague*, trans. Harry Schneiderman (Blauvelt, NY: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1972), 50-71, 125-33 ([pdf](#))

The legend of Rabbi Loew (1513-1609) and the Golem is perhaps the most famous popular cultural legacy of the Prague Jewish community (here in an early twentieth-century adaptation). Consider, for example, how the stories portray the position of the Jews in relation to secular and sacred gentile authorities. In particular, consider the fear of the "blood libel" and the longing for protection and deliverance. (Note: This is actually less reading than the page numbers might suggest. The print is relatively large, and the selections read easily.)

Strongly recommended--but read *after* you have completed the other texts:

Martin Luther, "On the Jews and Their Lies," in his *Works. American Edition*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, Helmut T. Lehmann, et al., 55 vols. (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, and Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press/Fortress Press, 1955-86), 47: 121-306: here *just* 123-41, 172-78, 214-19, 226-79, 292-97, 304-6 ([pdf](#))

Documentary anthologies tend to accord Luther's two supposed main texts on the Jews only the briefest of excerpts. The secondary literature in turn often speaks only of the apparent and glaring contrast between the attitude expressed in these two "pamphlets" (as they are often but incorrectly called: "Lies" is some 170 pages long). According to this view, Luther urged kindness toward the Jews until they failed to convert, after which he viciously turned on them. The reality is more complicated. To their credit, Perry and Schweitzer, in their anthology, avoid these errors.

I nonetheless urge you at least to sample this one (the break gives you the leisure to do so). The selection from Luther is rather lengthy because it has to be. Luther's arguments were in fact both long and complex. Make sure, however, that you get through the other assigned readings.

Study Guide

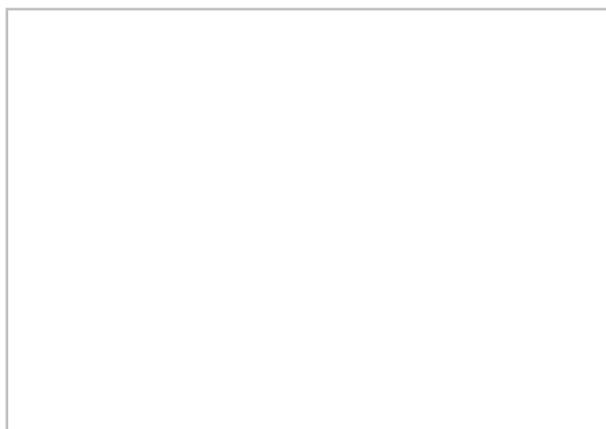
As we have seen, the Middle Ages was arguably *the* crucial period in shaping the way that Christians perceived and treated Jews, and thus, the Jewish experience itself. It was telling that Jacob Marcus's fundamental anthology (1938), entitled, *The Jew in the Medieval World* included the subtitle, *A Source Book: 315-1791*. No historian of mainstream Europe would choose those dates. For him, however, the boundaries made eminent sense. Why?

What, then, of the next period in history? Scholars are still divided in their terminology, with the choices reflecting their varied values and organizing principles: "Renaissance and Reformation"? "Early Modern" era? A famous pioneering feminist article asked, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" i.e. did the status of women undergo the dramatic improvement that this term drawn from cultural and intellectual history would suggest? We can apply the same question to the Jews. And what of the Protestant Reformation? Given that the medieval treatment of the Jews was to a considerable extent shaped by the Church, did the Protestant critique of Catholic authority and practice affect the status of the Jews? "Early Modern" suggests something different, but almost equally portentous. Just wherein did "modernity" consist? If Europe as a whole was entering a phase of modernity, did the Jews come along or remain behind?

Wednesday, 2 October (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 10

Emancipation?



Readings

¥ suggestion: start by reviewing the Helen Fein piece from early in the term, pp. 13-19 ([pdf](#))

¥ Adam Sutcliffe, "The Enlightenment, French Revolution, Napoleon," in Lindemann and Lewy, 107-20

¥ excerpt from: Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism 1700-*

1933 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980): Introduction, Chapters 1-3 (on Eisenmenger and Voltaire), pp. 1-43 ([pdf](#))

[be sure to read the introduction carefully: what argument is he trying to make?]

¥ Pery and Schweitzer, sections 9 and 10 (on Eisenmenger and Voltaire), pp. 49-64

¥ "The Jew Bill" and documents on the emancipation measures and debates in the German lands (Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, Joseph II, Johann David Michaelis, Moses Mendelssohn) and AbboŹ GrŹgoire, in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 27-53 ([pdf](#))

It would be good here to focus on the exchanges between Dohm, Michaelis, and Mendelssohn. Be prepared to discuss them in class.

Joseph II's Patent of Toleration is a crucial government document. Rather than getting bogged down in the details, ask yourself what the rationale of emancipation or toleration is.

¥ "The Process of Political Emancipation in Western Europe": documents on the Jews and the French Revolution, in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 112-37 ([pdf](#))

This is a good chunk of documentation, but read for the key issues and patterns rather than detail, as such. E.g. what common trends do you see? Focus on the debate on emancipation in France, 112-21.

¥ Exchange between Voltaire and Isaac de Pinto; Fichte on the Jews, in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 304-10 ([pdf](#))

Study Guide

Who wanted to emancipate the Jews, and why? Who resisted, and why? What was the Jewish response, i.e. what were the attractions of emancipation? Were there any limits or drawbacks? How did the Jews themselves feel about emancipation?

Note: It is likely that we will continue discussion of some of this material next time.

Reminder: be sure to purchase Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution*, if you have not already done so. We will need it next.

Monday, 7 October (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 8

Medieval Spain:From "Golden Age" to Expulsion

Readings

NOTE: we'll also continue discussion of Langmuir and selected documents (e.g. on Talmud) from last time

¥ Pery and Schweitzer, 29-37 (on the Expulsion and Inquisition)

¥ Chazan, documents on church-state relations and the Expulsion: pp. 179-80, 190-95, 265-76, 309, 320-22

¥ Fouad Ajami, "The Other 1492: Jews and Muslims in Columbus's Spain," *The New Republic*, 6 April 1992, 22-25 ([pdf](#))

¥ Marc Cohen, "Medieval Jewry Under Islam," in the *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, ed. Martin Goodman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 193-218 ([pdf](#))

¥ "The *Koran* on the 'Children of Israel'" and "The Pact of Umar," in *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews Source Reader*, ed. William W. Hallo, David B. Ruderman, and Michael Stanislawski (NY: Praeger, 1984), 82-86 ([pdf](#))

Classical texts taken to be determinative in shaping Muslim attitudes and policies toward Jews.

¥ "Solomon Alami's Explanations of the Pogroms of 1391," "Samuel Usque's Consolation for Israel's Tribulations," and "The Messianic Mood of Sixteenth-Century Safed" (hymn: Lekha Dodi), in, 148-50, 156-57, 180-81 ([pdf](#))

(See also Solomon, *Judaism*, 41-49.) How can we characterize the Jewish response to persecutions in Spain? Why were these episodes viewed as so traumatic? What is the significance of exile? To what extent did the responses follow a traditional form? shape future patterns of behavior?

¥ John Kelsay, "Antisemitism in Classical Islamic Sources," in Michael Berenbaum, ed., *Not Your Father's Antisemitism: Hatred of the Jews in the 21st Century* (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2008), 101-17 ([pdf](#))

¥ Jewish responses: the longing for redemption even in the relatively secure setting of "Golden Age" Spain: "Hasdai Ibn Shaprut's Epistle to the King of the Khazars," and Judah Ha-Levi's *Sefer Ha-Kuzari*, in *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews Source Reader*, ed. William W. Hallo, David B. Ruderman, and Michael Stanislawski (NY: Praeger, 1984), 97-99, 112-14 ([pdf](#))

Study Guide

What were the essential similarities or differences between Christian vs. Muslim policy toward the Jews? Why does the case of the Spanish Jews loom so large in Jewish consciousness and accounts of Jewish history?

As these readings should suggest, debates about the past are often debates about the present (and vice versa). If we hope to understand current controversies involving, for example, the relative tolerance or intolerance of Islam, or the supposed tradition of Muslim-Jewish conflict (I cite only the issues most relevant to our overall purposes), it is helpful to begin by examining the historiography of the medieval period.

Suggestion: Start with Cohen and Ajami, in order to get an overview of the

situation and the issues. Next, look at the selection from the Qur'an and the Pact of Umar, and Kelsay's piece on Islam. Then, read the documents in Chazan and Pery-Schweitzer and on the pdfs to see how they illustrate the issues.

Resources:

[Map of Spain, 910-1492](#)

[The Califate in 750](#)

[Europe and the Mediterranean around 1190](#)

[The Ottoman Empire, 1481-1683](#)

(all from Shepherd's *Historical Atlas* via U. Texas)

Looking ahead: prepare for first essay (due after break)



Medieval World and Islamic Empire



First Essay: Document Interpretation, due October 15

Due: Upload in a standard format (e.g. Word, rtf, pdf, etc.) by 5:30 p.m. Oct. 15 (the website will not accept submissions after that date and time--and neither will I).

Task: One of the fundamental tasks of academic research is one that we carry out all the time in daily life without thinking about it: the evaluation of information and interpretation of evidence.

In about 4-5 (printed, double-spaced) pages, analyze a substantive document or related set of documents from among those assigned in Chazan for classes 6-7. (If in doubt about your choice, check with me first) That is, do *not* merely summarize the contents. The task is instead to offer an *interpretation* of your own:

What is the significance of the document? What central ideas or issues does it raise? Explain how it helps us to understand the world of the Jews in the Middle Ages. Be sure to address in some way the following points: the identity of the author and (at least probable) audience, the purpose and circumstances under which it was written. What communication strategy does the author therefore employ? For example, what does the language—tone, imagery, allusions, vocabulary—tell us about the origins and purpose of the text? How does the author use them to accomplish his goal? (You may wish to consider in addition: You may not be able to arrive at definitive answers--either because you do not yet know enough, or simply because the document does not permit them: What questions remain to be answered?)

In offering your interpretation, draw explicitly and as you find

appropriate upon the relevant secondary sources we have read: the Antisemitism anthology, Fein, Halpern, Ruether, Langmuir. For example, if you are treating a document produced by the Church, you would need not only to address the specific concerns and purposes of the document, but also to refer to the larger theological concerns that gave rise to the policy in question and shaped policy toward the Jews. And in that context, you might also need to refer to the policies of the state, which might or might not correspond to those of the Church.

You may also wish to make comparative observations concerning other documents in Chazan. (Note: You should not do any extra research. You have plenty to do here.) Be sure to document your essay with references¹**foot- or endnotes**²Chicago style. Four to five pages is a rather small space, so you will have to plan your argument and choose your words with special care. The task is not to summarize or rehash all the information contained in the secondary or related primary literature (there is no room for that anyway), and rather, to *frame* your interpretation, distilling from it only what is necessary to explain and support your interpretation of the document. Scholars do this all the time in their writing. See, for example, how our authors handle this: whether Perry and Schweitzer in their introductions to various documentary sections, or the authors in Lindemann and Levy, citing individual documents in interpretations that may cover centuries.

As you prepare your essay, consider how the methods that you utilize here can be applied to subsequent class readings and written assignments.

Wednesday, 9 October (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 11

Race and Nation

Reading

¥ George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (NY: Howard Fertig, 1997), 1-93 ([pdf](#))

Study Guide

We are now encountering several ironies. How was it, for example, that the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which gave rise to the emancipation movement, also contained the seeds of a new scientific racism. Consider (think

of the readings from last time, too), the complex reasoning behind proponents and opponents of emancipation, and their ambivalent attitudes toward Jews.

Monday, 14 October (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

NO CLASS: BREAK

Wednesday, 16 October (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 12

The Rise of Political Antisemitism

Reading

¥ Mosse, 128-68

¥ Richard S. Levy, "Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria, 1848-1914," in Levy and Lindemann, 121-35

¥ Richard J. Golsan, "Antisemitism in Modern France," in Levy and Lindemann, 136-49

[some of the material here, as in the Mosse chapter, takes us into a later era]

¥ Heinrich von Treitschke, "A Word About Our Jewry" (1880), Theodor Mommsen, "Another Word About Our Jewry," Emile Zola, "J'Accuse," in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 343-56 ([pdf](#))

¥ Wilhelm Marr, "The Victory of Jewry Over Germandom," in Levy, 76-93 ([pdf](#))

¥ "German Volkish Antisemitism" (Ahlwardt, Fritsch, v. Gebtsattel, Pan-German League), in Perry and Schweitzer, 104-6, 110-19

¥ "Destroyers of Traditional Values": Adolf Stoecker, "Our Demands on Modern Jewry," in Levy, 56-66 ([pdf](#))

¥ "Antisemitism in Hungary": Győző Ist—czy, "Jews, the Iron Ring Around Our Necks" (1878), in Levy, 97-103 ([pdf](#))

¥ "French Antisemitism and the Dreyfus Affair," in Perry and Schweitzer, 90-103

Study Guide

This class and the following ones entail some chronological back-and-forth, but the themes should be easy to follow, and in some ways, the recurrence of topics in different texts and contexts should facilitate understanding.

With emancipation, we have entered a new era. As Katz noted in his introduction, in 1860, many would have assumed that the "Jewish Question" was settled and

had ceased to exist: Jews were emancipated or becoming emancipated in western and central European countries. And yet, hatred returned, and soon even grew stronger.

We have seen that Langmuir and others found a turning point in the High to Late Middle Ages. What was the equivalent here? What was distinctive about political antisemitism? For example, were its beliefs qualitatively different from those of other antisemitic tendencies we have studied? What accounted for the rise of political antisemitism? Where was it strongest? What accounted for its decline?

Monday, 21 October (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 13

From Race and Cultural Pessimism to Conspiracy

Readings

¥ **Note: let's start by discussing some of the documents from last time: e.g. Marr, Stoecker, and the Treitschke debate**

¥ Mosse, 94-127

¥ Pery and Schweitzer, "German Volkish Antisemitism" and Wagner's "Judaism in Music," 104-10

Note, if you wish to read the full text of Wagner's essay, you can find it [here](#)

¥ "The Myth of an International Jewish Conspiracy": *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, in Pery and Schweitzer, 139-44

(we'll take up the other documents in this section later in the term)

¥ Houston Stewart Chamberlain, excerpt from *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 356-59 ([pdf](#))

¥ Hermann Goedsche, "The Rabbi's Speech: The Promise of World Domination" (1872), in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 360-63 ([pdf](#))

As our other readings note, this piece, from the novel, *Biarritz*, was often associated with or grafted onto the *Protocols*

Study Guide

Why did the presence of Jews in cultural life seem so threatening to many? Why, for example, did their Jewishness rather than their specific beliefs or the objective merits of their works seem to become a prime issue of contention? What was the connection (if any) between racial antisemitism and the new cultural pessimism?

Can we account for the rise of conspiracy theories at this time?

Wednesday, 23 October (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 14

Jewish Responses to Antisemitism

Readings

* **wrap-up from last time:** vřlkisch antisemitism and conspiracy theories

¥ Supracommunal action: documents on the Alliance IsraŽlite Universelle, in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 316-21 ([pdf](#)) Note: You may in addition read pp. 313-15 (attached) for the background on the Damascus Affair.

¥ Todd M. Endelman, "Conversion as a Response to Antisemitism in Modern Jewish History," in Sander L. Gilman and Steven T. Katz, eds., *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis* (NY and London: New York University Press, 1991), 59-83 ([pdf](#))

¥ Otto Weininger, "The Jew Must Free Himself from Jewishness" (1903), Theodor Lessing, "Jewish Self-Hatred" (1930), in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 269-74 ([pdf](#)) At least skim to get the main ideas. Weininger is difficult, so see Mosse, 108-11.

¥ Pery and Schweitzer, section 15, "Zionism as a Defense against Jew-Hatred" (selections from Herzl and Nordau), 120-26

¥ Varieties of action in Russia: Baron Maurice de Hirsch, "Appeal to the Jews of Russia" (1891); Simon Dubnow, "Autonomism" (1901); The Bund, Decisions on the Nationality Question (1899, 1901, 1905, 1910); All-Russian Zionist Conference, The Helsingfors Program (1906); Czernowitz Conference on the Yiddish Language (1908), in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 417-25 ([pdf](#))

Skim: Get a sense of how autonomism worked from the position of both the Bund and the Zionists.

Then turn to and *read closely* the four longer primary sources assigned for today (**but first** see Study Guide below).

¥ Bernard Lazare, "Jewish Nationalism and Emancipation" (1897-1899), in Arthur Hertzberg, ed., *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (NY: Atheneum Temple Books, 1976), 469-76 ([pdf](#)) **Note:** See general instructions for this class session and the mini-response. The notes at the end explain some of the references in the document.

¥ Leo Pinsker, "Autoemancipation," in Arthur Hertzberg, ed., *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (NY: Atheneum Temple Books, 1976), 179-98

(pdf) The notes at the end explain some of the references in the document.

Note: See general instructions for this class session and the mini-response.

¥ Nahman Syrkin, "The Jewish Problem and the Socialist-Jewish State" (1898), in Arthur Hertzberg, ed., *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (NY: Atheneum Temple Books, 1976), 331-50 (pdf) The notes at the end explain some of the references in the document. **Note:** See general instructions for this class session and the mini-response.

¥ David Ben-Gurion, "The Imperatives of the Jewish Revolution" (1944), in Arthur Hertzberg, ed., *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader* (NY: Atheneum Temple Books, 1976), 605-19 (pdf) The notes at the end explain some of the references in the document. **Note:** See general instructions for this class session and the mini-response.

Recommended/optional if you need more background/or for future reference

¥ Selected documents on Zionism: Manifesto of the Bilu (1882); Theodor Herzl, "A Solution of the Jewish Question" (1896); Protestrabbiner, Protest Against Zionism (1897); The Basle Program (1897), Ahad Haam, The First Zionist Congress (1897); Rabbi Zadok Hacohen Rabinowitz, The Zionists are Not Our Saviors (c. 1900); The Mizrahi, Manifesto (1902); Max Nordau, "Jewry of Muscle" (1903); documents on the Seventh Zionist Congress (1905); Israel Zangwill, "A Manifesto" (1905); Ber Borochov, "Program for Proletarian Zionism" (1906); Helsingfors Conference, *Gegenwartsarbeit*, in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 529-55 (pdf)

Skim these documents to get a sense of the concerns and range of thought of the Zionist movement and some of its Jewish opponents in its formative phase.

Study Guide

Although Zionism comes first to mind when we think of modern responses to antisemitism, the historical situation was in fact more complex. Zionism also drew on ancient traditions and positive attachment to the Jewish ancestral land. Equally important, it was but one among multiple stances or behaviors, including assimilation, self-hatred, conversion, emigration, and political action in both Jewish and universalist contexts. The primary and secondary sources assigned for today are intended to convey the range of the dilemmas and possible solutions that modern situation of the Jews entailed.

Obviously, Zionism is a large and complicated topic that we cannot study in depth in this class. For that matter, although it is common to speak of "Zionism" as if it were a simple and monolithic movement, it was in fact as diverse as the Jewish population itself, with many strands and currents. The selections were therefore chosen primarily with an eye to the way that they address the issue of antisemitism, which is of course our prime concern. However, all are by major theoreticians and leaders, and thus at the same time provide a sense of the political and intellectual range of the movement, as such.

Study hint: Start with Endelman and the selections in Pery and Schweitzer. Then turn to the shorter primary sources. After that, turn to the four longer documents by Pinsker, Lazare, Syrkin, and Ben-Gurion. Skim all four and then

choose at least one to read closely (see also the instructions for today's mini-response). Obviously, the more attention you can devote to all four, the better--but be sure to read one closely first.

As always, don't get bogged down in the detail. Rather, pay attention to detail to the extent that it is illustrative of larger issues or concerns. Did most or all Jews think that there was a "Jewish Problem" (to use the language of non-Jews and antisemites)? If so, how did they define it, and how did their varied definitions point to specific and equally varied solutions?

Note: for background see the set of "selected documents on Zionism" from *The Jew in the Modern World*.

Assignment: documentary mini-response

[Response on Zionism](#)

Monday, 28 October (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 15

The Left and the Jews

Readings

¥ Pery and Schweitzer, "The Jew as Evil Capitalist: Marx and Sombart," pp. 75-89

The question of Marx's views is one of the most vexing. Clearly, his language and tone make us uncomfortable now. What, however, was he really saying? Most discussions of his essay are, frankly, disappointing. Many Marxists and sympathizers are defensive or seem to want to explain the problem away. Many non- or anti-Marxists, by contrast, read the text in a singularly crude and undialectical way that suggests little if any understanding of Marxian philosophy. The document is both problematic and more complex than meets the eye. We'll try to do justice to at least some of that subtlety, though our major concerns today are elsewhere. In a sense, the text is something of a red herring as far as we are concerned. To the extent that Marxists took up the Jewish question, as our other documents show, they were attempting to address social issues in more concrete terms. If there was antisemitism on the left, it did not arise from one youthful and abstruse piece by the converted and then atheist descendant of rabbis from Trier.

¥ Friedrich Engels, "On Anti-Semitism," August Bebel, "Anti-Semitism and Social Democracy," in Frank Mecklenburg and Manfred Stassen, eds., *German Essays on Socialism in the Nineteenth Century*, The German Library, ed. Volkmar Sander (NY: Continuum, 1990), 251-68 ([pdf](#)) August Bebel (1840-1913) was one of the most influential leaders of the German socialists.

¥ Documents on the Russian Revolution and the Jews: Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question," [see note], Stalin, "The Jews Are Not a Nation," Provisional Government, "Emancipation by the March Revolution," Yevseksiya,

"The Liquidation of Jewish Bourgeois Institutions," "Birobidzhan: Jewish Autonomous Region," in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 428-36 ([pdf](#)) In this selection, focus on the excerpts by Lenin and Stalin (428-32).

¥ then review (from session 14)

-Syrkin ([pdf](#))

-Ben-Gurion ([pdf](#))

-documents on Autonomism ([pdf](#))

Study Guide

Most scholars agree that the traditional left was not immune from antisemitism. The real debate turns on the question of whether that antisemitism arose because or in spite of left-wing doctrines.

It should be noted that leftism was not necessarily synonymous with Marxism (a fact that may escape those for whom the Soviet orthodoxy of "Marxism-Leninism" in retrospect appears normative). In countries with Latin traditions, for example, Marxism was less dominant.

Discussions of alleged Marxist antisemitism usually turn on Marx's "On the Jewish Question" (see, further, the instructions for that reading) and his private remarks about various individuals of Jewish descent. In fact, however, Marxist doctrine on the Jews and antisemitism, though derived from his general internationalist stance, was developed mainly by his successors. Lenin, for example, vehemently opposed any notion of Jewish nationalism—but was an unreserved enemy of antisemitism.

Return to the Autonomist, Bundist, and socialist Zionist documents from Meeting 14. To what extent do their proposed solutions to the "Jewish Question" overlap with or contradict those of the non-Jewish left?

Note: The placement of this section and the preceding one is in some ways interchangeable in that material in each refers to the other. The references to Jewish choices in the present session on "The Left" should be intelligible on their own terms. If, however, you feel you need more background, just review the material from last time.

Wednesday, 30 October (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 16

War and Revolution in Central and Eastern Europe: From Pogroms to Civil War

Reading

see study guide, below

¥ Chaim Nachman Bialik, "The City of Slaughter," in Robert Chazan and Marc Lee Raphael, eds., *Modern Jewish History: A Source Reader* (NY: Schocken Books, 1974), 116-24 ([pdf](#))

note: start with the excerpt and background above, then read the long version [here](#)

¥ István Deák, "Antisemitism in Eastern Europe (Excluding Russia and the Soviet Empire) Since 1848," in Levy and Lindemann, 222-36

¥ Heinz-Dieter Lšwe, "Antisemitism in Russia and the Soviet Union," in Levy and Lindemann, ed., 166-79 (you need read only this portion)

¥ Mosse, Chapter 11, "War and Revolution," pp. 171-90

¥ "Persecution and Pogroms in Tsarist Russia," in Perry and Schweitzer, 127-37

¥ The Allies and the Republic of Poland: "Minorities Treaty" (1919), "An Appeal by 'A Group of Jewish Soldiers of the Red Army' to 'The Jewish Workers and Toilers'" (1920), Constitution of the Republic of Poland (1921), Yitzhak Gruenbaum, "Why Did We Create the Minorities Bloc?" (1922), in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, second ed. (NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 437-46 ([pdf](#))

¥ "Antisemitism in Poland: Roman Dmowski, 'The Jews and the War' (1924)," in Richard Levy, ed., *Antisemitism in the Modern World: An Anthology of Texts, Sources in Modern History* (Lexington, MA and Toronto: D. C. Heath, 1991), 178-89 ([pdf](#))

Study Guide

Although the major narrative arc in most histories of antisemitism usually turns toward the rise of political and "racial" antisemitism as the novel development and the one that paved the way for the rise of Nazism, we need to bear in mind that the majority of European Jews lived in Eastern or East Central Europe. Antisemitism was more "traditional" here, but also more vicious and violent. The two narratives converge tragically in the Holocaust, in which the Jews of these regions became the principal victims of the new German racial hatred. The destruction of the old Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and German Empires as a result of the First World War proved to pose new challenges as well as opportunities for the Jewish communities.

Study hint: Start with the documents in Perry and Schweitzer, and Bialik. Then read Džak, Lšwe, and Mosse.

Monday, 4 November (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 17

National Socialism (I)

Readings

¥ Doris Bergen, in Levy and Lindemann, just pp. 196-204

¥ Mosse, Chapter 12 ("From Theory to Practice"), 191-214

¥ Raul Hillberg, Chapter 1 ("Precedents") of his *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961), 1-17(pdf)

¥ Perry and Schweitzer, sections 18-20 ("The Intensification of German Antisemitism after World War I," "The Worldview of Adolf Hitler," "Nazi Racial Culture: The Corruption of the Intellect"), 156-89

Documents:

¥ [Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service \(1933\)](#)

¥ [Exchange Of Letters Between Hindenburg and Hitler Concerning the Status of Jews who Served in the German Army \(1933\)](#)

¥ [Organization of the Anti-Jewish Boycott of April 1, 1933](#) [D Instructions Given by the National-Socialist Part](#)

¥ [Prayer Composed by Rabbi Leo Baeck for all Jewish Communities in Germany for the Eve of the Day of Atonement, October 10, 1935](#)

¥ ["Wear It With Pride, The Yellow Badge," Article by Robert Weltsch \(the reference to April 1 means the Nazi economic boycott of Jewish enterprises\)](#)

¥ [Nuremberg Laws On Reich Citizenship, September 15, 1935](#)

¥ [Nuremberg Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor, September 15, 1935](#)

¥ [Prayer Composed by Rabbi Leo Baeck for all Jewish Communities in Germany for the Eve of the Day of Atonement, October 10, 1935](#)

¥ [Riots Of Kristallnacht - Heydrich's Instructions, November 1938](#)

¥ [Description of the Riot at Dinslaken \(Kristallnacht, 1938\)](#)

¥ [Discussions by the Authorities Following Kristallnacht](#)

¥ [Regulation for the Elimination of the Jews from the Economic Life of Germany, November 12, 1938](#)

¥ [SS Views on the Solution of the Jewish Question \(1938\)](#)

¥ [Extract from the Speech by Hitler, January 30, 1939](#)

"Chronological Table" of the Holocaust, from Gerhard Schoenberner, *The Yellow Star: The Persecution of the Jews in Europe 1933-1945*, trans. Susan Sweet (NY: Bantam Books, 1979), 215-18 (pdf)

Read through the chronology and look for patterns. What do you see? What changes over time? You may focus here on the years 1933-39, but at least take a glance at the later developments. [there is a [chronology on the Yad Vashem site](#), but it is a bit more difficult to get an overview of the flow of events as a whole using that interface]

Study Guide

Nazism is, naturally, viewed, as the culmination of antisemitism. Certainly it was that, in a sense: the most extreme manifestation up to that point. In what other

ways was it or was it not a culmination or logical outgrowth of centuries of Jew-hatred?

What was the essence of Nazi antisemitism as an idea or ideology? What role did it play in Nazi thought as a whole? How did it come to manifest itself in state policy?

Ask yourselves, in addition, some of the questions that we have posed before: Consider, for example, the nature--social position and culture--of the German Jews; the attitudes of the surrounding population.

Wednesday, 6 November (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

NO CLASS: ADVISING-EXAM DAY

Monday, 11 November (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 18

National Socialism (II)

Readings

¥ Bergen, in Levy and Lindemann, 204-11 (and review first part, as necessary)

¥ Mosse, Chapter 13 ("Racism and Mass Murder"), 215-31

¥ Pery and Schweitzer, sections 21, 22 ("The Jew in Nazi Wartime Propaganda," "The Holocaust (Shoah)"), 190-216

¥ Christopher R. Browning, "One Morning in Jozefow: Initiation to Mass Murder," in David F. Crew, ed. *Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945*, 300-Rewriting Histories, ed. Jack R. Censer (London and NY: Routledge, 1994), 300-15 ([pdf](#))

¥ Primo Levi, "Useless Violence," in his *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (NY: Summit Books, 1988), 105-26 ([pdf](#))

¥ Primo Levi, "Stereotypes," in his *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (NY: Summit Books, 1988), 149-66 ([pdf](#))

¥ David Ben-Gurion, "Imperatives of the Jewish Revolution": here, 609-10, 616-19 ([pdf](#))

¥ Documents on German policy toward the Jews (from Yad Vashem): [**note:** see Study Guide below]

¥ [Instructions by Heydrich on Policy and Operations Concerning Jews in the Occupied Territories, September 21, 1939](#)

¥ [Report by Uebelhoer on the Establishment of the Ghetto in Lodz, December 10, 1939](#)

¥ From a Wehrmacht Report on the Extermination of the Jews in the Ukraine, Sept. 2, 1941

¥ Extracts from a Report by Einsatzgruppe A in the Baltic Countries, Oct. 15, 1941

¥ Exchange of Letters Between Reichskommissar Lohse and the Ministry for the Eastern Territories, Concerning the "Final Solution," Nov. 15 1941

¥ Protocol of the Wannsee Conference, January 20, 1942

¥ Order by Himmler On July 19, 1942, for the Completion of the "Final Solution" in the Government-General

¥ Report by Kube on the Extermination of Jews and the Fight Against the Partisans in Belorussia, July 31, 1942

¥ From a Speech by Himmler Before Senior SS Officers in Poznan, October 4, 1943: Evacuation of the Jews

Recommended if you have the time/inclination:

Documents on the ghettos and Jewish armed and cultural resistance:

¥ profile of Emmanuel Ringelblum and excerpts from his writings (from actionreinhardcamps.org)

¥ Calls For An Armed Struggle Made By the Jewish Resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto(from Yad Vashem)

¥ The Last Letter From Ghetto Revolt Commander Mordecai Anielewicz, Warsaw, April 22, 1943 (from Yad Vashem)

Study Guide

Review the guide, and as necessary, the [chronology](#), from the last class. What were the turning points in the history of the "Final Solution"? What continuities or discontinuities do we see between pre-war and wartime Nazi rule?

Read through (selectively/by skimming, if necessary, but get through each one) the primary sources assigned for today: what do they tell you about the Nazi mentality and the place of antisemitism in Nazi Germany and in the conduct of the Holocaust? How do they complement or otherwise relate to the secondary readings for today.

How can we characterize the experience of the victims? Why do so many feel helpless to explain it to outsiders?

What was the relation between the Jews and the surrounding populations?

What new perspectives or insights did the readings provide?

Wednesday, 13 November (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 19

Interwar, Postwar, Postcommunist: Varieties of Antisemitism. From the Genteel to the Neo-Nazi

Reading

¥ William D. Rubinstein, "Antisemitism in the English-Speaking World," in Lindemann and Levy, 150-65

¥ George Orwell, "Anti-Semitism in Britain," *Contemporary Jewish Record* VIII no. 2 (April 1945): 162-71 ([pdf](#))

¥ "The Myth of an International Jewish Conspiracy": Henry Ford and Nesta Webster, in Perry and Schweitzer, 144-55

¥ John Beaty, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, seventeenth printing (Barboursville, VA: Chestnut Mountain Books, 1958): ix-xiii; skim as much of 1-13 as necessary, but focus on: 14-39 (just get the main point about the supposed historical argument in the first section; you can skim 22-24, 34-41), 106-7, 122-37 ([pdf](#))

NOTE: don't worry about the detail. Instead, skim the names and dates (many will not mean much to you anyway), and read for the big points: Why does the author think that the Jews are responsible for all the evils of the modern world, from the Russian Revolution and World Wars and Cold War to the Middle East conflict?

Virtually unknown in mainstream circles today, this text was among the most popular anti-communist and antisemitic texts of the Cold War and McCarthyite era. It remains in print and popular in the subterranean world of right-extremists. For example, it helped to shape the world view of the gunman who murdered an African-American guard at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in summer 2009.

¥ Heinz-Dieter Lšwe, "Antisemitism in Russia and the Soviet Union," in Lindemann and Levy: here, 179-95

¥ Perry and Schweitzer, "Antisemitism in the Soviet Union and the New Russia," 247-63

¥ Yevgeny Yevseev, "Fascism Under the Blue Star" (1971), in Richard Levy, ed., *Antisemitism in the Modern World: An Anthology of Texts, Sources in Modern History* (Lexington, MA and Toronto: D. C. Heath, 1991), 259-66 ([pdf](#))

¥ "The Long Shadow: New Fears of Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union," *Newsweek* cover story, 7 May 1990, 34-38, 43-44 ([pdf](#)) [**CAN SKIP FOR NOW**]

Recommended:

¥ Perry and Schweitzer: "The Lingering Appeal of Nazism in Germany," and "Neo-Nazi Antisemitism in the United States: A Radical Fringe," 264-82 [**CAN SKIP FOR NOW**]

Study Guide

This is something of a grab-bag session, for considered as well as practical reasons. The phenomena described here did not, generally speaking, add anything radically new to the arsenal of antisemitism. Nonetheless, the very familiarity of the charges—from traditional social scorn to outř conspiracy theories—raises perplexing questions.

That antisemitism reached crisis proportions in the US—a country notably free of a deep-rooted and vicious antisemitic tradition in the European mold—in time of social upheaval and economic crisis does not seem surprising. But what to make, then, of Orwell's observation that the War in some ways increased rather than decreased antisemitism in Allied lands? Or in the Soviet bloc thereafter? If one considers the purge trials of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Stalin's abortive plans for a new "great terror" directed now against the Jews, and the "anti-Zionist" campaign launched after Israel's victory in the Six Day War of 1967, an obsession with Jews and Jewish power emerges as a strangely persistent feature of communist policy of the post-Holocaust era.

Was Soviet discrimination against Jews a reflection of intrinsic leftist prejudice? an eruption of supposedly suppressed nationalist sentiment? a cynical tool of domestic and foreign policy? How to account for the popularity or revival of Nazi views of Jews in the former East Bloc, even after half a century of communist socialization and re-education? Why do bizarre views of Jewish world conspiracies remain so potent among the American extreme right?



Essay 2 (due November 24)

Due: November 24, by 5:30 p.m.

Length: 7-10 pages

Task: You have now spent half a term immersed in the course material. Helen Fein (*Explanations*) notes that there have been many attempts to explain antisemitism. She reviews various theories of its causes, and notes that "the development of antisemitism may be used to illustrate and probe more general theories of conflict and intergroup relations," with regard to "power," "group cohesion, cognitions, and conflict," and "political mobilization." Regarding the pre-modern era, she observes,

"Because there were no consensual limits to conflict as the anti-Judaic myth marked the Jew as an enemy, a people outside the Christian universe of obligation, conflicts in which Jews figured or in which hostility was displaced onto them were more likely to become deadly than other class or group conflicts. . . . Beginning in the 12th century, the anti-Judaic myth was reinforced by chimeric accusations (ritual murder), providing new sanctions for collective violence against the Jews."

Discuss, in the way most meaningful to you (but in proper academic form) what you have learned about the patterns of hostility to Jews in the Western world from the origins of the Common Era through the Reformation.

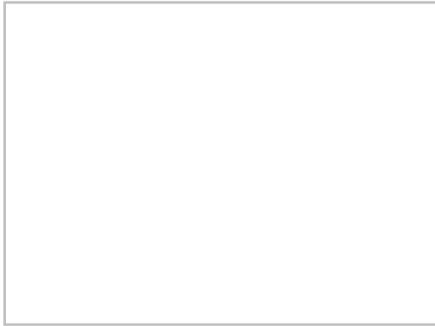
Be sure to support your interpretation with reference to the broadest possible range of our readings: secondary sources (Lindemann and Levy, as well as pieces available as pdfs, e.g. Langmuir) as well as primary sources (*at least a dozen* documents from Chazan, Perry & Schweitzer, or assigned online readings).

Document your essay in standard scholarly format with foot- or endnotes in Chicago Style. For further guidance, click on [this link](#).

Monday, 18 November (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 22

Arabs and Islam (and Nazis?), Israel and Jews



the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem meets with Hitler for the first time: November 28, 1941

Readings

¥ Norman A. Stillman, "Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in the Arab and Islamic World Prior to 1948," in Lindemann and Levy, 212-21

¥ Meir Litvak and Esther Webman, "Israel and Antisemitism," in Lindemann and Levy, 237-49

¥ Perry and Schweitzer: "Muslim Antisemitism: Recycling Old Myths": here, pp. 307-23

¥ [Hamas Covenant 1988](#) ("The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement"), 18 August 1988 (from the Avalon Project at Yale) [**Note**: start with the very brief excerpt in Perry and Schweitzer, 321-23, but be sure to read the full text here]

¥ Robert Wistrich, "Hitler and the Mufti," Chapter 20 of his *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad* (NY: Random House, 2010), 662-83 ([pdf](#))

¥ "[The Farhud](#)," from the Holocaust Encyclopedia of US Holocaust Memorial Museum

¥ The Kÿntzel debate:

-["Debating the Islamist-Nazi Connection: An Exchange between Matthias Křyntzel and Andrew Bostom on the roots of Islamist Jew-hate,"](#) *Frontpage Magazine*, 2 Jan. 2008

- David Hirsh, "[Matthias Křyntzel and Colin Meade critically review Gilbert Achcar's *The Arabs and the Holocaust*](#)," *Engage Online*, 24 Sept. 2011 (**Note**: be sure to click on the link to download the pdf of the full review and Achcar's reply here.)

¥ The Herf debate:

-Jeffrey Herf, "[Hate Radio: The long, toxic afterlife of Nazi propaganda in the Arab world](#)," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22 Nov. 2009

-Richard Wolin, "[Herf's Misuse of History](#)," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22 Nov. 2009

-Jeffrey Herf and Richard Wolin, "[Islamofascism: An Exchange](#)," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22 Nov. 2009

¥ Elaine Sciolino, "[Heroic Tale of Holocaust, With a Twist](#)" [how Paris mosque saved Jews during Holocaust], *NY Times*, 3 Oct. 2011

¥ Tom Bousfield and Catrin Nye, "[The Muslims who saved Jews from the Holocaust](#)," BBC, 17 April 2013

Study Guide

[NOTE] the above readings are essentially the ones we will use, though I may make some minor adjustments--if so, soon]

Our principal readings take the generally accepted scholarly view that, although there were anti-Judaic elements in traditional Islam and anti-Jewish policies and actions in traditional Islamic societies, antisemitism in Islamic culture is a European import, or at the least, primarily a phenomenon that came to flourish in a specifically modern historical context. Another strain of thinking, more prevalent in someĀgenerally popular westernĀpolitical discourse (many of these authors are not specialists in Islam or Arab/Middle Eastern culture), sees intolerance and antisemitism as more integral to Islam itself.

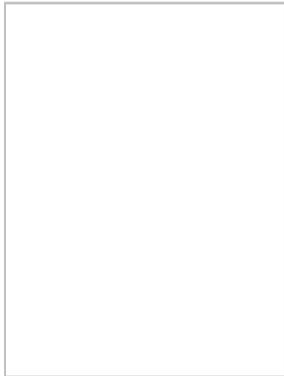
Another way of framing the issue might be to talk about continuities and context. As you undertake the readings for this week, you may find it helpful not only to review our reading on Islamic Spain, but also to consider our approach to the much more extensive readings on Christian anti-Judaism and antisemitism: How did we frame the issues and define the terms of debate? Among the questions to ask yourselves in all cases: are these genuinely historical rather than anachronistic arguments?). To the extent that we find antisemitism in modern Islamism or Arab politics, how do we evaluate the role of old texts and distant history?

And what of the role of clearly newer European "imports" such as Nazism and the conspiracy theories epitomized by the *Protocols*? That text was clearly antisemitic. Is there any reason to judge its modern proliferation in the Arab and Islamic world as any less antisemitic than when it appears in western circles today? And what of the role of Nazism and its close ties to elements of the Islamist and Arab nationalist leadership? Are these two phenomena to be viewed as merely pragmatic--or predictive and indicative?

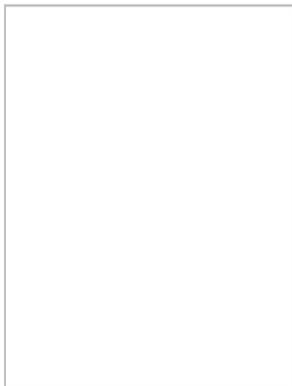
Wednesday, 20 November (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 23

A "New Antisemitism"?



cover of *New Statesman* (2002)



cover of *The Nation* (2004)

Reading

NOTE: see Study Guide for hints on reading strategy

Overviews

¥ "[How we define antisemitism](#)": Definitions in current European Union policy documents, summarized by Comment Is Free Watch ([cifwatch.com](#))

The starting point for many of the most important government deliberations on antisemitism was the "working definition" generated by the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), which underlies or is in general accord with definitions employed by the UK and US governments. This page from [cifwatch](#) provides a convenient overview of both the key points from the EUMC document and the evolution of subsequent policy debates. Of particular interest will be the attempts to define cases in which criticism of Israel

can't depending on the circumstances cross the line into antisemitism.

¥ Walter Laqueur, Preface and "The New Antisemitism," in his *The Changing Face of Antisemitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day* (Oxford and NY: Oxford University Press, 2006), vii-20 (pdf)

¥ Natan Sharansky, "3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization," (originally published: *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 16:3-4 (Fall 2004))

¥ Brian Klug, "The Myth of the New Anti-Semitism," *The Nation*, 2 Feb. 2004

Klug denies the existence of a new phenomenon. What is his rationale? Does he adduce evidence that the other scholars ignore, or merely interpret the same phenomena differently?

¥ Tariq Ali, "To be Intimidated is to be an Accomplice: Notes on Anti-Semitism, Zionism and Palestine," *Counterpunch*, 4 March 2004

Given that you have spent the semester studying the history of antisemitism, what do you make of Ali's *historical* arguments? Tariq Ali, incidentally, was the distinguished speaker at Hampshire College's *Eqbal Ahmad Memorial Lecture in 2009*.

Case Studies

-Klug-Kristallnacht Update:

¥ Ben Cohen, "Jewish Museum's Obsolete Debate on Anti-Semitism," *Haaretz*, 7 Nov. 2013 [link should be publicly accessible; if not, see copy at [Pundicity](#)]

¥ "German think tank protesting Oxford speaker on anti-Semitism," Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA), 4 Nov. 2013

-here: [statement of protest by the International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism](#)

¥ Philip Weiss, "Klug targeted by McCarthyite 'Ôdossier' because he will speak on anti-Semitism in Berlin on Kristallnacht anniversary," *Mondoweiss*, 7 Nov. 2013 [* incidentally, do at least skim some of the comments, which, in these debates, sometimes figure almost as significantly as the articles themselves]

-The Debate Over the EUMC Definition

¥ David Hirsh, "Defining antisemitism down: The EUMC working definition and its disavowal by the university & college union," *Fathom*, 13 Sept. 2012 [includes a genealogy of the working definition]

¥ Ben White, "Israel lobby uses discredited anti-Semitism definition to muzzle debate," *The Electronic Intifada*, 28 September 2012

¥ Ben White, "Discredited definition of anti-Semitism no longer in use, says BBC," *Electronic Intifada*, 30 Oct. 2013

¥ "In praise of the EUMC Working Definition of Antisemitism," *CIF Watch*, 31 Oct. 2013

¥ "SWC to EU Baroness Ashton: 'Return Anti-Semitism Definition Document to EU Fundamental Rights Agency Website,'" *Simon Wiesenthal Center*, 6 Nov. 2013

-Lobbies, Dual Loyalty, and Conspiracies

¥ Christopher Hitchens, "Overstating Jewish Power: Mearsheimer and Walt give too much credit to the Israel lobby," *Slate*, 27 March 2006

¥ "The Wrong Guys," *The Forward*, 24 Aug. 2007

¥ Walter Russell Mead, "Jerusalem Syndrome: Decoding the Israel Lobby," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2007

¥ Walter Russell Mead, "John Mearsheimer Dances With the Dark," *The American Interest* (Via Meadia blog), 23 Sept. 2011

[the original Walt-Mearsheimer article, if anyone has the time/patience, is [here](#).]

¥ Peter Wilby, "The New Statesman and Anti-Semitism" (response to criticism of the cover illustration above), *New Statesman*, 11 Feb. 2002

¥ Robin Shepherd, "Another Vast Conspiracy: British media and society are gripped by lies about a 'secret' Israel lobby controlling foreign policy," *Wall Street Journal*, 18 Nov. 2009

¥ Robin Shepherd, "Update: Top British Documentary Makers Peddle Conspiracy Theory About Secretive Zionist Lobby Ahead of Landmark TV Show," Robin Shepherd online, 16 Nov. 2009

¥ Martin Bright, "Jewish envoy not loyal to UK says Labour MP," *Jewish Chronicle Online*, 1 Dec. 2011

-*The Guardian*

¥ Chris Elliott, "The readers' editor on... averting accusations of antisemitism," *The Guardian*, 6 Nov. 2011

¥ Adam Levick, "The Guardian vindicates CiF Watch," CiF Watch, 11 Nov. 2011

It is striking that a website was created just in order to monitor what its creators see as hate speech in one of a nation's most respected and prominent newspapers (the equivalent here would be a "NYTimes Watch"). Finally, in 2011, the *Guardian* seemed to acknowledge that there was in fact a problem. What is your view of the situation?

(I encourage you to read around in the site [skim] to get a sense of the debates. The links in Levick's piece point you to a generous range of material, and the tag cloud in the left margin takes you to even more.)

Study Guide

As we have seen, defining antisemitism can be complicated, particularly in a contemporary world in which antisemites no longer claim that name. As Lindemann and Levy say in their conclusion (p. 250; which we will read later):

Possibly the sole unanimous conclusion of this collection of essays is that

intelligent and informed people can disagree about the meaning of antisemitism. Yet the task of definition is a necessary one. Otherwise, we risk being saddled with a term that has become nearly meaningless and thus mostly useless, or even an obstacle to understanding. We have a genuine need for a less inclusive formulation, one that rests on some careful distinctions.

The editors moreover argue that, among the features that distinguish modern antisemitism from older Jew-hatred were (1) "its implicit call for action" (p. 251) and (2) the belief in "a vastly exaggerated conception of Jewish power, now seen as so imperling that it had to be fount to the bitter end." As they put it, "This belief in the power of the Jews, more than any other characteristic, set antisemitism apart from centuries of Jew-hatred that preceded it. To this day it continues to differentiate antisemites from the casually prejudiced." (p. 253)

Definitions are important not just to historians and social scientists, but also to policy-makers who must oppose prejudice yet uphold freedom of expression. In the past decade, there has been a great deal of discussion about the boundary between criticism of Israel and antisemitism. Why has this issue become so prominent and sensitive? How does your study this semester help you to make sense of the controversy?

Is there such a thing as a "new antisemitism"? How do advocates define it? Why do opponents reject the concept? Consider, too, the EUMC working definition of antisemitism: Does it reflect the belief in the "new antisemitism"? Do you find it reasonable in light of the above and your studies this semester? On what grounds do critics oppose the EUMC definition and its use?

Hint: My suggestion:

-Start by reading cifwatch's "How we define antisemitism," and Sharansky and then Laqueur and Klug on the "new antisemitism."

Consider very carefully, for example, to what extent the various pieces agree or disagree with the definition from Lindemann and Levy and the EU working definition as well as one another. Some of these articles are subtle and complex and may not be as easy to pigeon-hole as one might at first expect. What specific argument is each trying to make? Even when they objectively disagree, are their respective stances in any way reconcilable?

-Finally turn to the case studies that follow.

[Naturally--and sadly--the number and range of contemporary topics are almost infinite. I am happy to supply you with references to many others.]

The average general reader, confronted with debates such as this, would most likely either (1) form a snap judgment based on preconceptions or (2) throw up her hands in despair of ever being able to figure it out. You, by contrast, now have considerable historical background and conceptual sophistication. How do they help you to orient yourself and form judgments?

(Note: to repeat something stated at the outset and at the top of the web page: I myself do not expect you to come to one conclusion rather than another regarding the difficult issues that we tackle at the end of the term. Some people may find these issues sensitive or problematic, but the classroom is a safe space for intellectual debate. Your personal views are your own business. All I care

about--and am entitled to ask in an academic context--is that, when we discuss these questions as historical issues and subjects of scholarly analysis, you apply the full standards of scholarly rigor: draw upon what you have learned for the past three months, and support your ideas with evidence based on the sources.)

Monday, 25 November (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 22

The "New Antisemitism" of the New(est) Left? (and its old antecedents)

Readings

¥ **NOTE:** we'll start by wrapping up discussion of key items from last time, e.g. the discussion of the "new antisemitism" by Sharansky and Klug, as well as the controversy over the EUMC definition (review the study guide for that session).

¥ Colin Shindler, "[The Left and Israel: a tortured path](#)," *Open Democracy*, 8 Feb. 2012

This is a *pržcis* of his book, *Israel and the European Left: Between Solidarity and Delegitimization* (NY and London: Continuum, 2012), portions of which we will read:

-Foreword, pp. x-xxi ([pdf](#))

-Chapter 14: "The post-Stalinists and the anti-Stalinists," 227-42 ([pdf](#))

-Chapter 15: "The Changing Face of the British Left," 243-58 ([pdf](#)) [note: some of this is more of local interest; skim as you see fit]

-Chapter 16: "The Campaign Against Normalization," 259-81 ([pdf](#))

¥ Andrei Markovits, "Twin Brothers": European Anti-Semitism and Anti-Americanism," Chapter 5 of his *Uncouth Nation: Why Europe Dislikes America*, The Public Square, ed. Ruth O'Brien (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 150-200 ([pdf](#))

¥ "[Chip Berlet interviews David Hirsh on Contemporary Antisemitism and Conspiracy Theory](#)," *Engage Online*, 6 Sept 2012

¥ AWL Students, "[NUS and the EUMC definition of anti-semitism](#)," *Workers' Liberty*, 15 April 2013

¥ "[Judith Butler on Hamas, Hezbollah & the Israel Lobby \(2006\)](#)," *Radical Archives*, 28 March 2010

¥ Benjamin Weinthal, "[What Drives Gays and Lesbians to Bash Israel?](#)" [originally in *Gay City News*, 9 July 2010 and no longer available there]

Recommended/Optional (materials referenced in or otherwise related to the above)

¥ Durban [World Conference Against Racism NGO Declaration](#), 3 Sept. 2001

This is a sprawling hodgepodge of a document; several sections deal explicitly

with antisemitism (248-49) and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (98-99, 160-65, 326, 418-26)

¥ Eric Lee, "[Munich and the left](#)," *Workers' Liberty*, 1 Aug. 2012

¥ Ira Berkovic, "[Ken Livingstone and anti-semitism](#)," *Workers' Liberty* 28 March 2012

¥ review earlier reading: Yevgeny Yevseev, "Fascism Under the Blue Star" (1971), in Richard Levy, ed., *Antisemitism in the Modern World: An Anthology of Texts, Sources in Modern History* (Lexington, MA and Toronto: D. C. Heath, 1991), 259-66 ([pdf](#))

Study Guide

As we have seen, many scholars argue that antisemitism, once largely the province of the traditional elites, the churches, and the far right, has become most prominent among certain sectors of the left, as well as in the Arab and Muslim worlds. What are we to make of the question of left antisemitism? After all, the left has historically (on a doctrinal level, at least) been opposed to antisemitism and all forms of discrimination and racism.

First, we need to ask: is there a substantial phenomenon that can be categorized as left antisemitism? And if so, what are its sources? For example (to oversimplify): does its existence reflect continuities with or a break from earlier traditions? That is, does it derive from anomalous and atavistic tendencies within popular and socialist movements? Or is it the offspring (legitimate or bastard) of classic Marxist-Soviet internationalism and anti-Zionism? Or does it, rather, represent something else altogether? And, given that Lindemann and Levy (among others), associate modern antisemitism with fear of Jewish "power," does that make more plausible the assertion that anti-Israel and anti-American sentiments go hand-in-hand, and are increasingly difficult to separate from antisemitism?

In the Preface to his book (xiv), Andrei Markovits observes,

"Over the last thirty-five years, a steady anti-Americanism and an uncompromising anti-Zionism, which occasionally borders on the anti-Semitic, have become key characteristics that both divide and determine political identity absolutely. They are 'wedge issues'—clear articles of faith or 'deal breakers'—whose importance overshadows, and even negates, many relate components of the 'clusters' that characterize such an identity."

He goes on to state very clearly (xiv-xv) that he is writing from the left. He notes his support for affirmative action, gay marriage, reproductive rights, health care reform, legalization of marijuana, labor unions, gun control, environmentalism, the Kyoto Climate Protocols, and Palestinian statehood (among other issues). He states his opposition to school prayer, charter schools, the death penalty, the human rights violations and other abuses of the Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo prisons, and George W. Bush's Iraq policy.

"Yet I am increasingly avoided by leftists on both sides of the Atlantic owing solely to the two wedge issues mentioned above. As a reaction against this, I find myself having withdrawn from the established American and European lefts in whose presence I feel increasingly misplaced. I am not writing this to elicit sympathy for my increasing political marginalization but rather to make a point of how central anti-Americanism and anti-Zionism have become to virtually all lefts on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond." (xv)

NOTE/REMINDER: the fact that a given topic is included in these final sessions of the semester does not necessarily mean that it is antisemitic--only that it factors in debates about the nature of contemporary antisemitism. Similarly, please bear in mind that are not here to take sides in (much less, solve) the Arab-Israeli conflict--only to address it to the extent that questions of antisemitism arise.



Shindler, Israel and Left



* optional* discussion forum

In case you'd like to share further ideas before or after class.

Remember: stay on topic, play nicely.

Wednesday, 27 November (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

NO CLASS: THANKSGIVING

Monday, 2 December (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 23

Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions, ... Antisemitism?

Reading

Suggestion: begin by reviewing Markovits (from last time), e.g./especially pp. 163-77, 181-91

The BDS Movement in its Own Words

¥ [Palestinian BDS call](#)

¥ [PACBI call for Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel](#)

¥ [Cornell Students for Justice in Palestine, "#SorryNotSorry: Why Boycotting the Boycott Fails,"](#) November 26, 2013

¥ [PACBI petition on Israel and Guadalajara Book Fair, "Israel'Ó should be boycotted and condemned, not celebrated and honored,"](#) 28 November 2013 [note that "Israel" is put in quotation marks] (Israel MFA announcements [here](#) and [here](#))

The Harvard Controversy

¥ [David Gellis, "Summers Says Anti-Semitism Lurks Locally: Divestment strongly denounced in Morning Prayers speech,"](#) *Harvard Crimson*, 19 Sept. 2002 (in other readings, see also Markovits, 191-93; further: Rubenstein [last session], 310-15)

¥ [Karen W. Arenson, "Harvard President Sees Rise in Anti-Semitism on Campus,"](#)

New York Times, 21 Sept. 2002

¥ President Lawrence Summers, "[Address at morning prayers](#)," 17 Sept. 2002

¥ Judith Butler, "[No, it's not anti-semitic](#)," *London Review of Books* 25 no. 16 (21 August 2003)

Case Studies

The Churches and "Adversus Judaeos" (again)

¥ "[An Easter Message from Sabeel](#)," April 6, 2001 (Sabeel is the Palestinian Christian "liberation theology" center in Jerusalem)

¥ The Palestine "Kairos" Document (2009) and responses:

- [Call to Action: U.S. Response to the Kairos Palestine Document](#) (2011)
- James M. Wall, "[It's the right moment for churches to pay attention to Israel's occupation](#)," *The Electronic Intifada*, 23 December 2011
- Philip Weiss, "[US Kairos committee slams lobby and Christian Zionists, calls on Christians to 'pay price' of anti-Semitism charge so as to speak out](#)," *Mondoweiss*, 29 June 2012
- Central Conference of American Rabbis, "[Resolution on the 2009 Kairos Document](#)" (2010)
- Christians for Fair Witness on the Middle East, "[Cautions to U.S. Churches Regarding the Kairos Document](#)," *Dialogika/Council of Centers on Jewish-Christian Relations*, 4 Jan. 2010

¥ Diana Appelbaum, "[The Anti-Semitism of the Presbyterian Church, USA](#)," *American Thinker*, March 24, 2006

¥ Ted A. Smith and Amy-Jill Levine, "[Habits of anti-Judaism\[;\] Critiquing a PCUSA report on Israel/Palestine](#)" (originally published in *Christian Century*, 29 June 2010)

¥ Dexter Van Zile, "[A Shipwreck of their Faith](#)," *New English Review*, April 2010

¥ "[The NGOs that Exploited Christmas](#)," *NGO Monitor*, December 22, 2011

Academic boycotts, Academic Freedom, and Antisemitism

¥ Association for Asian American Studies. "[Official Statement Regarding the Resolution](#)," 3 May 2013

¥ Jonathan Marks, "[Update on the Association for Asian American Studies and BDS](#)," *Commentary*, 4 August 2013 ¥ Jonathan Marks

¥ "[George Orwell Call Your Office](#)," *Commentary*, 14 October 2013

¥ [AAUP Statement on Academic Boycotts](#), 10 May 2013

¥ Stanley Fish, "[Academic Freedom Against Itself: Boycotting Israeli Universities](#)," *NY Times*, October 28, 2013

¥ Stanley Fish, "[Boycotting Israeli Universities, Part Two](#)," *NY Times*, 11 November 2013

¥ David Lloyd, "[The taboo on boycotting Israel has been broken](#)," *The Electronic Intifada*, 26 November 2013

¥ Claire Potter, "[One Side Fits All: An Interesting Development @ #2013ASA](#),"

Chronicle of Higher Education, November 22, 2013

[most of the above address the general principle and substance of the boycott argument rather than antisemitism]

General

¥ Khaled Abu Toameh, "[On Campus: The Pro-Palestinians' Real Agenda](#)," *Gatestone Institute*, March 24, 2009

¥ Hen Mazzig, "[An Israeli Soldier to American Jews: Wake up!](#)" *Times of Israel*, October 10, 2013

¥ Naomi Zeveloff, "[Push To Expand Title VI to Religion. Jewish Groups Press for Permanent Civil Rights Extension](#)," *The Forward*, 18 May 2012

¥ Chelsea Hawkins, "[Defining the Dialogue: Part I A civil rights complaint could re-evaluate academic freedom](#)" [Source: City on a Hill Press], *Scholars for Peace in the Middle East* (SPME), May 24, 2012

¥ Manfred Gerstenfeld, "[US Legal Tools to Fight Anti-Jewish Discrimination: Interview with Kenneth L. Marcus](#)," [Source: Arutz Sheva], *SPME*, November 26, 2013

¥ Gideon Shimoni, "[Deconstructing Apartheid Accusations Against Israel](#)," *Middle East Strategic Information*, 24 March 2008

¥ Petra Marquardt-Bigman, "[Targeting the Jewish State: the kind of culture BDS loves](#)" and "[Bigoted Double Standards: Ben White hits rock bottom for BDS](#)," *The Warped Mirror*, 28, 30 May 2012

Study Guide

Given that the debate over the existence of a "new antisemitism" largely turns on the extent to which criticism of Israel and Zionism may become antisemitic, among the most contentious subjects is anti-Israel activism in the form of the "Boycott, Sanctions, Divestment" (BDS) movement, which has become very visible on college campuses and in churches and other social-action settings.

Proponents claim that BDS is a worthy successor to the non-violent international movement of solidarity and protest that helped to weaken the South African apartheid regime. Opponents (above and beyond criticizing its ineffectiveness), argue that it unfairly targets Israel. Charges of antisemitism have arisen insofar as its vitriolic treatment of Israel seems to meet Sharansky's "3-D" standard, as well as to the extent that some BDS proponents have employed language and logic that echo traditional antisemitism.

There is plenty of material to work with here, partly because this is such a prominent topic in the academic world (or parts of it), and partly because I just wanted to give you material that you could sift according to your own interests. I would suggest that you start with the Harvard debate, which reflects the key differences of opinion about the BDS movement and the boundary between anti-Israelism and antisemitism. This can serve as the point of departure for our conversation. Then be sure to sample material from each of the key groupings. In any case, the pieces are short and read easily.

NOTE/REMINDER: the fact that a given topic is included in these final sessions of the semester does not necessarily mean that it is antisemitic--only that it factors

in debates about the nature of contemporary antisemitism. Similarly, please bear in mind that are not here to take sides in (much less, solve) the Arab-Israeli conflict--only to address it to the extent that questions of antisemitism arise.

Optional discussion forum

In case you'd like to share further ideas before or after class.

Remember: stay on topic, play nicely.

Position Paper on "New Antisemitism" due Dec. 10

Due: Upload by 6:00 p.m. so that we can discuss on last day of class.

Note: please upload in any common format such as Word, pdf, .rtf, Pages, etc. If you use NeoOffice, please save in a different format (e.g. pdf), as I do not have a current version of that software.

Length: c. 5 pp.

Task:

As we have seen, some scholars and commentators today strongly assert the existence of a "new antisemitism." Others deny it with equal vehemence. Intelligent and well-informed people may be found on both sides of the debate.

Where do you stand on this question?

Note: it will not do to say that it is "just the old antisemitism":

-Advocates of the term claim that it is qualitatively different from the previous form, even though there are continuities (just as post-emancipation antisemitism was different from medieval antisemitism).

-Opponents of the term claim that the phenomena at issue simply are not antisemitism.

Define the term, then explain whether you accept or reject it, citing as extensively as possible both the general/theoretical literature and relevant examples that have become the subject of debate.

Document your answer thoroughly with foot- or endnotes (in Chicago Style; see earlier assignment for guidance)

Wednesday, 4 December (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 24

Contemporary Controversies and Discontents

Readings

¥ Continue discussion from previous session, as necessary (see study guide, below)

¥ Perry and Schweitzer, pp. 256-82

¥ "The top 10 illiberal, uninformed and racist comments of the Guardian's latest star, Juan Cole," *CifWatch*, 31 July 2012

Joseph Massad, "The last of the Semites: It is Israel's claims that it represents and speaks for all Jews that are the most anti-Semitic claims of all," *Al Jazeera*, 21 May 2013 Joseph Massad

¥ Petra Marquardt-Bigman, "Good Jews, bad Jews, and the ugly writings of Columbia University Professor Joseph Massad," *The Warped Mirror*, May 22, 2013 |

¥ Spencer Ho and Lazar Berman, "Swedish Jew files for asylum in her own country," *Times of Israel*, 19 Nov. 2013

¥ Online Hate Prevention Institute, [Recognizing Hate Speech: Antisemitism on Facebook](#) (report of March 2013) [note: you need read only the beginning portions of the document]

¥ Jonathan Tobin, "FBI Stats Again Belie Islamophobia Myth," *Commentary*, 26 Nov. 2013 [original FBI statistics [here](#)]

¥ Washing Zionism Clean with all the Colors of the Rainbow ("Pinkwashing," "Greenwashing," "Bluwashing")

-Sarah Schulman "Israel and Pinkwashing," *NY Times*, November 22, 2011 (she offers further documentation [here](#))

-James Kirchick, "Pink Eye," *Tablet*, 29 Nov. 2011

-David Harris, "'Israel and 'Pinkwashing': What Was the New York Times Thinking?," *Huffington Post*, 27 Nov. 2011

-Philip Weiss, "How Sarah Schulman managed to get Pinkwashing into the New York Times," *Mondoweiss*, 6 Feb. 2012

-Arthur Slepian, "An Inconvenient Truth: The Myths of Pinkwashing," *Tikkun*, July 3, 2012 (the article contains a link to the full [debate](#) at *Tikkun*)

-Alan M. Dershowitz, "The next hate fest," *NY Post*, 25 Feb. 2013

-Sigal Samuel, "Why We Need A Pinkwashing Conference," *Daily Beast*, March 1st 2013-

-"Sarah Schulman of 'pinkwashing' fame is a paranoid fraud," *Elder of Zion*, 16 June 2013

-Ben Lorber, "Israel's environmental colonialism and eco-apartheid," *International Journal of Socialist Renewal*, 12 July 2012

-Allison Deger, "JNF launches new bluewashing website @ PositivelyIsrael," *Electronic Intifada*, March 27, 2012

-Benjamin Doherty, "#IDFWithoutBorders: Israel's bluewashing campaign in Philippines," *Electronic Intifada*, 18 Nov. 2013

-israelilaundry.org, a project of Jewish Voice for Peace, dedicated to showing "How Israel tries to clean up its image as a violator of Palestinian human rights through misleading LGBT, environmental and Jewish identity PR campaigns."

-Sam Sokol, "KKL-JNF to convene emergency gathering after anti-Semitic Australia attack," *Jerusalem Post*, 28 Oct. 2013

¥ **The Blumenthal blow-up**

-Eric Alterman, "The I Hate Israel Handbook," *The Nation*, 16 Oct. 2013

-Max Blumenthal, "A Response to Eric Alterman: A continuing conversation about *Goliath: Life and Loathing in Greater Israel*," *The Nation*, 23 Oct. 2013

-"Eric Alterman replies to Max Blumenthal's letter," , 28 Oct. 2013

-J. J. Goldberg, "Max Blumenthal's 'Goliath' Is Anti-Israel Book That Makes Even Anti-Zionists Blush," *The Forward*, 31 Oct. 2013

-Max Blumenthal, "A Response to J. J. Goldberg of The Forward," *Max Blumenthal blog*, 1 Nov. 2013

¥ (I was going to include some pieces on contemporary Eastern/East-Central Europe, but you came up with several of those on your own)

PLUS: what you have individually added to the forum

Study Guide

Continue with themes from previous session/recent sessions. For example, we should return to the topic of the churches and BDS, as well as any other topics that you wish to address.

Assignment due before class: find an article that you would like to discuss (see below)



Assignment: find an example of antisemitism (or purported antisemitism) in the contemporary world

Due before class (preferably the night before, so we all have time to read):

Locate a brief article or other documentation of contemporary antisemitism or debate around antisemitism that you think would be appropriate for class discussion today.

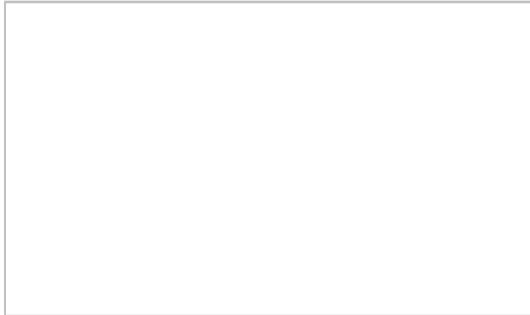
Post the source reference and provide a link (or upload a file if

the material is not available online) along with a sentence or two explaining how you think it pertains to the class.

Monday, 9 December (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 25

History Denial? Genes, Bones, and Buildings



postcard sent from Israel at the time of the Lebanon War, 2006

Readings

Note: see Study Guide, below

Foundations and Orientations

¥ Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, "The Rape of History: Denial, Revision, and the Search for a True and Meaningful Past," in their *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say it?* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: The University of California Press, 2000), 231-56 ([pdf](#))
(**Hint:** read this piece first)

¥ S. Ilan Troen, "De-Judaizing the Homeland: Academic Politics in Rewriting the History of Palestine," in Phillip Carl Salzman and Donna Robinson Divine, eds., *Postcolonial Theory and the Arab-Israel Conflict* (London and NY: Routledge, 2008), 195-207 ([pdf](#)) (**Hint:** read this after Shermer and Grobman and before the other online texts.)

Case Studies

-Blatant Falsehoods and Fabrications

¥ Perry and Schweitzer, sections 28, 29 ("Holocaust Denial: A Neo-Nazi Mythology" and "African-American Antisemitism: The Nation of Islam" [e.g. myths about the slave trade; with a critique by Henry Louis Gates, Jr.], and second half of section 30 ("Muslim Antisemitism"): 283-305, 323-36

-Jews, the Historic Israel, and Indigeneity

(see Troen for background most relevant to this section)

-----Archaeology

¥ Nadav Shragai, "A campaign of denial to disinherit the Jews," *Haaretz*, 5 Nov. 2004 ([pdf](#))

¥ Nadav Shragai, "In the beginning was Al-Aqsa," *Haaretz*, 27 Nov. 2005 ([pdf](#))

¥ Richard Harrington, "Was Nadia Abu El Haj Treated Fairly?" *History News Network*

¥ Itamar Marcus and Nan Jacques Zilberdik, "PA historical revision: Judean Shekel coin from 66 CE is 'ancient Palestinian coin' and part of the 'Palestinian cultural tradition.'" *Palestinian Media Watch*, 12 March 2012

¥ Palestinian Media Watch presents considerable material on a variety of themes involving historical debate or denial. (Clearly, the organization has a point of view or political agenda, but the contents of the translated primary source material stand or fall on their own merits):

-Jewish History Rewritten

-Palestinian History Fabricated

-Jesus Represented as Muslim Palestinian

-Israel Accused of Heritage Theft

-----Not the Real Jews

¥ Michael Barkun, "The Christian Identity Movement," Southern Poverty Law Center

¥ Will Offley, "David Icke And The Politics Of Madness: Where The New Age Meets The Third Reich," *Public Eye*, 29 Feb. 2000

¥ David Icke, "The Elephant in the Living Room . . . At War With the World," *The David Icke Newsletter*, January 29th 2012

¥ Patricia Cohen, "Book Calls Jewish People an 'Invention,'" [on Shlomo Sand's book], *New York Times*, 24 Nov. 2009

Sand's book, it should be noted, is not at all antisemitic. It is, however, generally considered to be anti-Zionist, and both critics of Israel and outright antisemites have readily seized upon its arguments, perceived arguments, or individual claims (see the other documents listed here). It can therefore perfectly serve to illustrate the conundrum of the tangled academic, political, and moral debates that are our concern in this session.

¥ Zaid Nabulsi, "A terrible disease of the mind," Part I, *Palestine Remembered*, 19 Jan. 2009; Part II, *Dissident Voice*, 19 Aug. 2010, [**NOTE: had to recover Part II: it is the most directly relevant**]

¥ Fawaz Turki, "Israel is not a Jewish state," *Gulf News*, 23 Oct. 2010

¥ Texe Marrs, "Jews' Are Not Descendants of Abraham," *Power of Prophecy*

¥ Jim W. Dean, "New Genome Study Destroys Zionist Claims to Palestine,"

Veterans Today with PressTV [Iran], 27 Feb. 2013

¥ Diana Muir Appelbaum and Paul S. Appelbaum, "The Gene Wars," *Azure* 27 (Winter 2007) ([pdf](#))

Don't worry too much about the details of the science or the other case studies. Rather, read for the big points: What constitutes a claim to nationhood--and statehood on a given territory? Why have genetic arguments suddenly become important? How have they influenced the competing historical claims of Jews and Palestinians? Be sure to study the general discussion of nationalism at the end.

Optional/Resources

¥ "[Jewish Refugees From Arab Countries: The Historical Narrative](#)" (you need read only pp. 35-43), from: [Justice for Jews From Arab Countries](#))

Many discussions of antisemitism and the Middle East conflict still focus on the Israel-Palestine question in the context of the European Holocaust and Israel, to the exclusion of the indigenous Jews of the Mediterranean region. In fact, there was an immense exodus of Jews who fled persecution in Arab countries from North Africa to Iraq arising from the 1948-49 Arab-Israeli war.

Study Guide

We all know that Holocaust denial is generally considered antisemitic. But what about other, less sensitive cases that are just factually preposterous? those that, objectively speaking, distort the meaning of known facts? or those that merely question conventional historical narratives impinging on controversial topics? Again: it should be stressed that not all topics or opinions represented here necessarily involve antisemitism, but they have become part of the debate about the definition and manifestation of antisemitism. Just as, when dealing with criticism of Israel, scholars have tried to distinguish between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" criticism, so, too, in the case of general historical interpretation, they try to draw a dividing line between "revision" of accepted wisdom and interpretation and "denial" of established facts and interpretation.

These cases, illustrate both revision and denial, showing how complex and controversial the relation between Middle Eastern politics, Jewish history, and antisemitism has become. As such, they may help us to come to some more general conclusions about the nature of antisemitism and the relation between history and contemporary life. How do our semester-long studies of antisemitism in general, and the recent readings on the "new antisemitism" help you to make sense of these issues? Where is the boundary between "legitimate" and "illegitimate"?



[SherRape.pdf](#)

Wednesday, 11 December (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Meeting 26

Putting It All Together. Final Reflections: the course, the debate and the state of the world

Reading

Endings and Orientations

¥ Lindemann and Levy: "Conclusion: Not the Final Word," 250-63

¥ Mosse, "A Conclusion That Does Not Conclude," 232-37

New Analytical Frameworks

¥ review Helen Fein, "Explanations of the Origin and Evolution of Antisemitism," in Helen Fein, ed., *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, Current Research on Antisemitism, ed. Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Bergmann (Berlin and NY: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 3-22 ([pdf](#))

Now that you have spent a semester studying the subject, does this sociological model account for historical antisemitism? What about contemporary antisemitism?

¥ David Hirsh, "Hostility to Israel and Antisemitism: Toward a Sociological Approach," *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 5 (2013): 1401-22 ([pdf](#))

Hirsh offers a newer sociological approach, specifically based on the contemporary manifestations and debates

¥ Richard L. Rubenstein, "The Witness-People Myth, Israel, anti-Zionism in the Western World," in Michael Berenbaum, ed., *Not Your Father's Antisemitism: Hatred of the Jews in the 21st Century* (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2008), 293-328 ([pdf](#))

Rubenstein, who has written extensively on subjects such as theology and the Holocaust, grounds his discussion in a long-term view of anti-Jewish thought. What does he mean by the idea of the "witness-people"? How does it relate to phenomena you have already studied? What particular interpretive power does it contribute to attempts to make sense of current controversies? Focus on these issues, and not on the specifics of his views on the Middle East conflict, as such.

Miscellany

¥ discussion of any of the pieces on contemporary issues, from preceding sessions

¥ in-class: people and polls

¥ in-class exercise: Is it antisemitic?

Resources/Optional

¥ [The Middle East Conflict, Antisemitism and the Holocaust](#) (from Yad Vashem)

Study Guide

After a semester of hard work, we have come a long way. What have we learned? ...

* * *

Looking back and looking ahead

As you know, Hampshire College requires students to fill out a self-evaluation at the end of each class. Here are some ideas that may prepare you for that task: I think you can most appreciate what you learned in the abstract by considering it in the context of your own work habits and skills.

At the beginning of the semester, I warned you that you would have to work very hard and might begin by feeling very confused. I also said that the goal was not perfection, but progress, according to your individual efforts and abilities: What one gets out of a course is proportional to what one puts into it, and so, if you took the course seriously and made a good-faith attempt to understand the readings, then you should find that both your knowledge and skills had grown.

The heavy reading load was intended to introduce you as quickly as possible to the demands of scholarship and prompt you to develop effective reading strategies.

The writing assignments in turn forced you to make sure that you had indeed read the texts closely, and actively rather than passively.

As you will recall, the course goals were as follows

- (1) To teach you to think historically, i.e., to help you to perceive both the connectedness of past and present and the "foreignness" of the past.
- (2) To provide you with an introduction to a central periods and set of problems of European history.
- (3) Through the study of historical texts and methods, to help you to develop basic skills applicable to any other academic endeavor demanding the evaluation of data.

You might therefore ask yourself to what extent you met these goals. For example, do you now feel more confident about your ability to address historical questions? Do you now find it easier to pick up a text on any unfamiliar topic and nonetheless grasp its main arguments? Do you find that academic reading and writing in general now come more easily to you?

Think about the following: How (if at all) has your view of history changed in the course of the semester? How (if at all) does history fit—even loosely or informally—into your academic program? (This doesn't mean that you have to take history courses, though I of course hope that you do. Rather, what might a historical perspective contribute to work in your field?) More generally, what place does history have in the broader context of a liberal-arts college? For that matter, how valid is the idea of a liberal-arts education today? Our final readings can serve as your point of departure.

You don't need to write up answers to all these questions when you post your self-evaluation on the Hub, but they may help you to formulate it.

Thank you very much for your hard work this semester. Congratulations on having survived. I wish you a very pleasant break.

Summarize the results of your paper on the new antisemitism

Be sure to do this by the night before class, so that we all have an idea of what everyone else is doing.

Final instructions

Final Instructions

1. Upload your final paper.

2. Post your self-evaluation on The Hub.

(Note: this is important. It helps you better understand what you have learned, and it helps us to understand how you saw your own performance. Just Do it.)

3. You are done

(assuming you owe no earlier work. If you do, be sure to contact me; see below).

4. Enjoy your vacation!

And of course, please feel free to contact me if I may be of assistance to you in the future.

What comes next?

¥ Summary course evaluations:

If you have completed the work for the course, I will indicate such in the summary course evaluation form that CASA requires us to fill out at the end of the term. If we check this off, it means that you have (to the best of our knowledge) completed all course requirements and will receive an evaluation.

¥ Evaluations:

I always make it a point to review thoroughly all the work of each student at the end of the course. I need to see the evolving pattern of your knowledge and skills. However, I also need to review the feedback that I have given you. The nature and extent of comments that we give you, naturally, may vary according to circumstances, and I want to make sure that the final evaluation is as accurate and fair as possible.

In the olden days, we used to ask you to provide a self-addressed, stamped envelope with copies of your papers

bearing our comments. Fortunately, in the digital age, this is usually not the case. I have copies of all your work, and a record of my comments in digital form, so if you have done all the work, your task is complete.

Note: I tend to read all papers and write evaluations promptly (i.e. by Christmas or New Year's, as circumstances permit). However, course evaluations are not due until mid-January, and may not necessarily be posted until then. There is thus no need for concern if your evaluation does not appear immediately. As long as the summary evaluation form says that you are done, you are all set.

¥ Incompletes:

Hampshire students have traditionally taken a lax view of deadlines (or just getting stuff done), and faculty have been fairly indulgent. However, in recent years, the College has come to conclude that an overly generous policy serves no one's interests: in many cases, even when we grant incompletes, the work does not get done.

Under the new policy (effective Fall 2013), incompletes (1) are granted only under exceptional circumstances (i.e. not just because you flaked out and screwed up), (2) must be promptly, explicitly, and formally negotiated and tied a firm deadline, which (3) falls much sooner than it used to.

INCOMPLETE POLICY

Faculty are not obligated to negotiate an incomplete. In those cases where a student has requested and the faculty member agrees that an incomplete is appropriate, that information must be recorded no later than the course completion summary deadline for that semester.

To record an incomplete, both student and faculty member will fill out the appropriate form to record the new negotiated deadline by which the student will complete all remaining work for the course. That date will not exceed the first day of the spring semester for a fall incomplete, and June 30th for a spring incomplete.

If the negotiated deadline passes without the faculty member receiving and recording the completed work from the student, the incomplete will be converted to a "No Evaluation." Faculty have one month from the negotiated date to evaluate the work.

Students experiencing exceptional circumstances that could

make it difficult to adhere to any part of this policy should immediately be referred to CASA for assistance with accommodating circumstances.



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Monday, 16 December (02:30PM - 03:50PM)

Optional/Breaking News

One of the "great" things (if you like depressing news) about teaching this class is that one comes across new material literally every day. In this weekend's selection, the US Ambassador to Belgium ran into trouble when he seemed to condemn historical Muslim antisemitism but blame contemporary manifestations on Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict, i.e. seemed to excuse it. Some press reports:

¥ Menachem Gantz, "Jew-hate stems from conflict," *YNet News*, 3 Dec. 2011

¥ Adam Kredo, "White House distances itself from U.S. ambassador to Belgium following shocking comments," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 4 Dec. 2011

¥ Adam Levick, "US Ambassador blames Israel for Muslim antisemitism: Teachable moment for the left?" *CivWatch*, 4 Dec. 2011

¥ Gil Shefler, "US raps envoy for anti-Semitism comments," *Jerusalem Post*, 5 Dec. 2011

"Dirty Jew, shut up and return to your country!" coincidentally, a report on the antisemitism in Belgium at the heart of the controversy:

¥ "Jewish teenagers in Belgium, leave their schools because of anti-Semitism," *European Jewish Press*, 4 Dec. 2011

Moodle Docs for this page

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