

University of Maryland, College Park

History 408K: Antisemitism: The Old, the Modern and the New in European History and Beyond

Fall 2021
Th: 11:00-12:50
TLF 2103
Office phone: 5-7667

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The course will offer a history of antagonism to Judaism and the Jews from early Christianity to the present, primarily but not only in Europe. We will examine change and continuities between the “old” forms of Christian anti-Judaism and the “modern” racist antisemitism that culminated in Nazi Germany’s “Final Solution of the Jewish Question in Europe,” that is, the Holocaust. We then turn to the “new” and “globalized” antisemitism inspired by radical Islamism that emerged in the latter half of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries, as well as right-wing forms of antisemitism in revolts against globalization and modernity. We examine antisemitism as a long-term cultural tradition, and the circumstances during which it became particularly virulent. Why has it persisted so long? When and why did it become violent and dangerous? What was and is its connection to mainstream currents in European and Western culture? What are its religious and secular forms? What are the similarities and differences between antisemitism, and racism towards peoples of color? The seminar assumes that answering such questions requires familiarity with key events, persons, and texts over a long period of time. This longer view offers needed perspective on present and possible trends in the future. In view of events of recent years, this historical overview is particularly timely.

Course Organization and Requirements

We meet once a week in a seminar format. Each participant will be asked to briefly introduce a text. The number of such presentations during the semester will depend on the number of students in the seminar. You should come to class having done the reading indicated on the syllabus for that day. Participation in discussion is essential.

Grades will be determined by a three-page analysis of a text selected from the required readings, which will be handed out and e-mailed on Sept. 16th and will be due Tuesday, Sept. 23rd (5%); **a mid-term exam handed out on October 21 and due via email on Monday, October 25th** (25%); a fifteen-page paper due **December 5th** (30%); regular and informed participation in class discussion (10%); and a final exam (30%) on **Wednesday, December 14, 8-10 am**. The papers are due in an MS-Word (**not PDF**) e-mail attachment, (not hard copy) sent to Professor Herf at jherf@umd.edu with the subject line: [Your name-final paper] by midnight of the due date.

A one- or two-paragraph preliminary description of your paper topic is to be handed by **November 4th**. Papers generally should deal with authors and/or themes raised in the course. Before you decide on a paper topic you should read the entire syllabus and consider all periods and authors not only those already covered in lectures from the first half of the semester and consult with me during office hours. I will offer in person office hours Tuesday and Thursday, 2-3, and virtually via Zoom on Wednesdays at 4pm.

All of the required and recommended reading, as well as essays not included in these works, will be available at the reserve desk in McKeldin Library on two hour reserve. Required texts may be purchased at the University Book Center. A considerable amount of required reading will also be available to you online via ELMS system at no cost. Recommended readings are listed to offer readings that could be used for a course paper or for further reading. They are not required reading for the course,

and you need not purchase them. I will use the UMEG coursemail system to send messages. To ensure that you receive these messages, please use a UMD e-mail address and check your inbox regularly. You can send messages to me via the ELMS site though my preference is that you simply send me an email. I will send announcements via the ELMS site and via email.

Standard university rules regarding plagiarism are followed in this course.

Required Readings

1. David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*
2. Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths: A Historical and Contemporary Anthology*.
3. Robert Chazan, *From Anti-Judaism to Anti-Semitism: Ancient and Medieval Christian Constructions of Jewish History*.
4. Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* reprint ed.
5. Jeffrey Herf, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust*
6. Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World*
7. Leon Poliakov, *The History of Antisemitism, Volume II: From Mohammed to the Marranos*.

Recommended:

1. Christopher Probst, *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany*
3. Matthias Kuentzel, *Jihad and Jew-Hatred: Nazism, Islamism, and the Roots of 9/11* Telos Press, 2009.
3. David Kertzer, *Popes Against the Jews*.
4. Robert Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession: Antisemitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad*. (ebook) Random House: Kindle edition:

Schedule of Classes

Week 1

Sept 2 Introduction

Required reading: Yehuda Bauer, "Problems of Contemporary Antisemitism," in Murray Baumgarten, Peter Kenez and Bruce Thompson, eds., *Varieties of Antisemitism*, 315-327, in "Files" in ELMS Canvas (hereafter ELMS).

Week 2

Sept. 9 Beginnings of the Western Tradition: The Jews in the New Testament

Required: From the *New Testament*, trans. Richmond Lattimore, *Matthew*, 71-74 (13.4-20), 98-101 (23); *John*, 195-199 (1-2), 205-208(8), 215-218(8), 221-235 (10-15), 242-245 (19); *Romans*, 347-349 (11), ELMS; David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, 13-86.

Recommended: Robert Chazam, "Jewish History: Classical Christian Constructions," *From Anti-Judaism to Anti-Semitism: Ancient and Medieval Christian Constructions of Jewish History*, vi-106; James Carroll, *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews*, 71-121; Leon Poliakov, *From the Time of Christ to the Court Jews*; Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism*; Robert Wistrich, *The Longest Hatred*.

Week 3

Sept. 16 Anti-Judaism from the Early Christian Church to Medieval Europe
Due to Yom Kippur, this seminar will be rescheduled to another day that week

Required: Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, 87-134; "Medieval and Early Modern" in Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths*, 5-28.

Recommended: Chazam, "Jewish History: Medieval Christian Constructions *From Anti-Judaism to Antisemitism*, 109-248; Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 237-277; Anthony Julius, "Medieval English Antisemitism," *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Antisemitism in England*, 105-147; Gavin Langmuir, *Towards a Definition of Antisemitism*, "Irrational Fantasies" and "Medieval Antisemitism."

Week 4

Sept. 23 Jewish Enmity in Islam: Selections from the Koran

Required: "Selections from the Koran," in "Files" in ELMS; Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, 135-182." Norman Stillman, "Traditional Anti-Judaism in the Islamic World," *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, in "Course Documents" via "Modules" in ELMS.

Recommended: Andrew G Bostom, *The Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism: From Sacred Texts to Solemn History*; Bassam Tibi, *Islamism, and Islam*.

Week 5

Sept. 30 The Spanish Inquisition on the Jews: Anti-Judaism and the Beginnings of Racism

Required: Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, ch. 6, 217-245; Perry and Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths*, “Expulsion of the Jews from Spain,” and “The Spanish Inquisition and the *Conversos*,” and “The Persecution of Portuguese Jews,” 29-42; Leon Poliakov, *The History of Antisemitism, Vol. II: From Mohammed to the Marranos*, in “Book Two, Spain,” 147-232, and “Modern Spain,” 279-301.

Recommended: James Carroll, “The Inquisition: Enter Racism,” 363-384; Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*; Francisco Bethencourt and Jean Birrell, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1438-1834*; Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*.

Week 6

Oct. 7 The Protestant Reformation: Luther

Required: Martin Luther, “On the Jews and their Lies,” and Johann Andreas Eisenmenger, “Judaism Exposed,” in Perry and Schweitzer, eds., *Antisemitic Myths*, 43-56; Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, ch. 7, 246-324; Thomas Hobbes, “Chapter XXXIX, Of the Signification in Scripture of the Word *Church*,” and “Chapter XL, Of the Rights of the Kingdom of God, in Abraham, Moses, the High-Priests, and the Kings of Judah,” in *Leviathan*, 314-326, on ELMS.

Recommended: Heiko A. Oberman, *The Roots of Antisemitism in the Age of the Renaissance and Reformation*, part 3, “Martin Luther: The Jews as Benefactors and Malefactors,” 94-146, on ELMS; Anthony Julius, “English Literary Antisemitism,” in *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Antisemitism in England*, 148-241, at McKeldin reserve; Recommended: Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought*; Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora*, “Modern English Antisemitism,” 242-262, ELMS; Jerry Z. Muller, “Edmund Burke: Commerce, Conservatism and the Intellectuals,” in *The Mind and the Market*, 104-138.

Protestant Reformation (2): Philosemitism in England from Cromwell to Churchill

Required: Selections from Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The People of the Book: Philosemitism from Cromwell to Churchill* (tba. on ELMS Canvas).

Week 7

Oct. 14 Antisemitism, and Modernity: Voltaire to the French Revolution

Required: Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, ch. 9, 325-387; Perry and Schweitzer, “Voltaire: The Philosophe as Antisemite,” in *Antisemitic Myths*, 57-64; selections from Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Bauer, eds. *The Jew in the Modern World*, “Debate on the Eligibility of the Jews for Citizenship,” and “The Emancipation of the Jews of France,” 114-118, ELMS.

Recommended: Walter Laqueur, "Enlightenment and After," in *The Changing Face of Antisemitism*; Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715-1815*; Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews*; Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: Volume I, The Rise of Modern Paganism*; Nirenberg, 387-422.

Week 8

Oct. 21 The Jews, Capitalism and Modernity: Karl Marx and Werner Sombart

Required: Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, 423-460; Perry and Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths*, 75-82.

Recommended: Muller, "Karl Marx: From Jewish Usury to Universal Vampirism," in *The Mind and the Market*, 166-207; Robert Wistrich, *Revolutionary Jews from Marx to Trotsky*; Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 401-438; Jeffrey Herf, "Werner Sombart: technology and the Jewish question," in *Reactionary Modernism*, 130-151 in "Files" on ELMS.

Take home mid-term: Handed out Oct. 21, due via email Monday Oct. 25

Week 9

Oct. 28 Nationalism, Revolts against Modernity, and Antisemitism in 19th Century Germany and France

Required: Required: Perry and Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths*, 90-119; George Mosse, "The Jew" in *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, 126-149; Shulamit Volkov, "Antisemitism as a Cultural Code," in "Files" in ELMS.

Recommended: Helmut Walser Smith, *The Continuities of German History: Nation, Religion, and Race across the Long Nineteenth Century*; Shulamit Volkov, *Germans, Jews and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation*; Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933*; Paul Lawrence Rose, *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner*; George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology*; Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*; Leon Poliakov, *The History of Antisemitism. Vol. IV: Suicidal Europe, 1870-1933*; Pierre Birnbaum, *The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898*; Norman L. Kleeblatt, ed., *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice*; Frances Malino and Bernard Wasserstein, *The Jews in Modern France*; Michael Burns, ed., *France, and the Dreyfus Affair: A Documentary History*.

Week 10

Nov. 4 Antisemitism in Russia: From the Pogroms to the Publication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

Required: Required: Perry and Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths*, 120-137; Norman Cohn, “Foreword to the Serif Edition,” (also on ELMS); *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 25-278

Recommended: Steven J. Zipperstein, *Pogrom: Kishinev and the Tilt of History*; John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza, eds. *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*; Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism from the French Revolution to the Establishment of the State of Israel*.

Week 11

Nov. 11 Hitler’s Antisemitism to the Nazi Era of Persecution, 1933-1939

Required: Perry and Schweitzer, eds., 161-189; Adolf Hitler, “Letter to Adolf Gemlich,” and “The Aryan” and “The Aryan and the Jew,”; and “Eliminating the Jews: From the Nuremberg Laws to Kristallnacht,” in Anson Rabinbach and Sandor L. Gilman, eds. *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, selections on ELMS; Susannah Heschel, “When Jesus Was an Aryan: The Protestant Church and Antisemitic Propaganda,” *Betrayal: The German Churches and the Holocaust*, 68-89, ELMS.

Recommended: “The Munich Years and the Legacy of the War,” and “Jews: The Visible Enemy,” in Rabinbach and Gilman, *Third Reich Sourcebook*, ELMS; Christopher Probst, *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany*; Mosse, “Toward National Socialism” in *The Crisis of German Ideology*, 237-317; John Weiss, “The Great War and Racism,” and “The Seedbed: The Postwar Wave of Anti-Semitism, *Ideology of Death*, 191-238. Leon Poliakov, “Part Two: 1914-1933” in *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. 4, *Suicidal Europe*; Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria*; Robert Wistrich, *Laboratory for World Destruction: Germans and Jews in Central Europe*; Richard Evans, “Was the German Army ‘Stabbed in the Back’ in 1918,” in *The Hitler Conspiracies*, 47-84; Saul Friedlander, “Part One: Persecution,” *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 3-140; Susannah Heschel, *Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany*; Robert Erickson and Susannah Heschel, eds., *Betrayal: The German Churches and the Holocaust*; Richard Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919-1945*.

Week 12

Nov. 18 Antisemitism and the Holocaust, 1939-1945

Required: Jeffrey Herf, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust*; Perry and Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths*, 190-216.

Recommended: Rabinbach and Gilman, eds., selected documents from “The Annihilation of European Jewry, 1942-1945,” *Third Reich Sourcebook*, 745-814, ELMS;

Saul Friedlander, "Part Three: Shoah," *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 287-422; Michael Phayer, *The Catholic Church, and the Holocaust, 1933-1965*, 1-132; Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 475-478.

Additional seminar possibly on in week of November 15-19. The First "America First": American Antisemitism from Henry Ford, to Charles Lindbergh and During World War II

Required: Perry and Schweitzer, 144-147; Joseph Bendersky, "Dissension in the Face of the Holocaust: The 1941 American Debate over Antisemitism," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 24, no. 1 (Spring, 2010), 85-116, ELMS; Charles Stember, et. al., *Jews in the Mind of America*, selections on ELMS; Pierre Birnbaum, "Political Antisemitism, 'State Jews' and Roosevelt's New Deal," in Anthony McElligott and Jeffrey Herf, eds., *Antisemitism Before and Since the Holocaust*, 149-182, ELMS.

Recommended: Richard Breitman and Allan Lichtman, *FDR and the Jews*; Donald Warren, *Radio Priest: Father Coughlin, the Father of Hate Radio*; Wayne Cole, *America First: The Battle over Intervention, 1940-1941*; Leon Poliakov, "The United States," in *The History of Antisemitism*, vol.4, *Suicidal Europe, 1870-1933*, 219-254; Neil Baldwin, *Henry Ford and the Jews: The Mass Production of Hate*; Henry Ford, *The International Jew*.

Thanksgiving Break Nov. 24-28

Week 13

Dec. 2 Islamism and the Jews During and After the Holocaust

Required: Required: Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World*; Sayyid Qutb, "Our Struggle with the Jews," in Perry and Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths*, 307-316; Haj Amin al-Husseini, "Islam and the Jews," excerpts on ELMS; Bassam Tibi, "Religion, Prejudice and Annihilation: The Case of Traditional Islamic Judeophobia and Its Transformation into the Modern Islamist Antisemitism," and Meir Litvak, "Iranian Antisemitism and the Holocaust," in McElligott and Herf, *Antisemitism Before and Since the Holocaust*, 115-145 and 205-231.

Recommended: David Motadel, *Islam and Nazi Germany's War*; Meir Litvak, "The Islamic Republic of Iran and the Holocaust: Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism," in Herf, ed., *Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism in Historical Perspective*, 250-267, ELMS; Wistrich, "Hitler and the Mufti," in *A Lethal Obsession*, ELMS; Bassam Tibi, *Islamism and Islam*; Meir Litvak and Esther Webman, *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust*; Sayyid Qutb, (full text) "Our Struggle with the Jews," in Ronald Nettle, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations: A Muslim Fundamentalist's View of the Jews*, 72-89, ELMS.

Week 14

Dec. 9 Communism, the Radical Left. the Jews and Israel: From Anti-Fascism and Pro-Zionism to Anti-Zionism and Antagonism to Israel

Required: Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*, 13-39, 106-161; Karel Kaplan, *Report on the Murder of the General Secretary*, selections ELMS; Perry and Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths*, 247-263; Robert Wistrich, "Between Marx and Stalin," and "The Soviet War Against Zion," in *A Lethal Obsession*, 107-153; Dariusz Stola, "Anti-Zionism as a Multipurpose Policy Instrument: The Anti-Zionist Campaign in Poland, 1967-1968," in Herf, *Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism...*, 159-185, ELMS; Jeffrey Herf, "The Entebbe Hijackings and the West German Revolutionary Cells," *Undeclared Wars with Israel: East Germany and the West German Far Left, 1967-1989*, 317-341, ELMS.

Recommended: Jonathan Brent, *Stalin's Last Crime: The Plot Against the Jewish Doctors, 1948-1953*; Arkady Vaksberg, *Stalin Against the Jews*; Joshua Rubenstein and Peter Kenez, "Pogroms in Hungary, 1946," and Norman Naimark, "Gomulka and Stalin: The Antisemitic Factor in Postwar Polish Politics," 223-250 in Baumgarten, Peter Kenez and Bruce Thompson, eds., *Varieties of Antisemitism*; Jeffrey Herf, *Undeclared Wars with Israel: East Germany and the West German Far Left, 1967-1989*.

Week 15 Additional seminar at date to be announced

Issues of Recent Decades: Antisemitism and Islamist Terror; Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism; Antisemitism and the Radical Right; Holocaust Denial; Antisemitism and White Racism.

Required: " Hamas Covenant, 1988: The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement," http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp, ELMS; Matthias Küntzel, "September 11 and Israel," 123-150, in *Jihad and Jew-Hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the Roots of 9/11* in "Files" in ELMS; Jeffrey Herf, "What Is Old and What is New in the Terrorism of Islamic Fundamentalism," in Baumgarten et al., *Varieties of Antisemitism*, 370-376; Robert Wistrich, "Antisemitism and Holocaust Inversion," 37-49; Elhanan Yakira, "Five Reflections on Holocaust Denial, Old and New Forms of Hatred of Jews and the Delegation of Israel," 335-352 in McElligott and Herf, *Antisemitism Before and Since the Holocaust*; "Holocaust Denial: A Neo-Nazi Mythology," in Perry and Schweitzer, *Antisemitic Myths*, 283-290; Jeffrey Herf, "Anti-Semitism and Holocaust Denial," in "Files" in ELMS; Deborah Lipstadt, "White Insurrection" and Jeffrey Herf, "Response to Lipstadt," *The Jewish Quarterly*, May, and August 2021, in "Files" in ELMS.

Recommended: Paul Berman, *Terror and Liberalism*; Robert S. Wistrich, "The Holocaust Inversion of the Left," in *From Ambivalence to Betrayal: The Left, the Jews and Israel*, 448-478; Wistrich, "The Globalization of Anti-Semitism," in *A Lethal Obsession*, 600-630, 684-938; *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth*

and Memory; Richard J. Evans, *Lying about Hitler*; Elhanan Yakira, *Post-Zionism, Post-Holocaust: Three Essays on Denial, Forgetting and the Delegation of Israel*; Deborah Lipstadt, *Antisemitism: Here and Now*; Alvin Rosenfeld, *Resurgent Antisemitism*; Meir Litvak and Esther Webman, *From Empathy to Denial: Arab Responses to the Holocaust*;