

Clemens Heni

Antisemitism: A Specific Phenomenon

Holocaust Trivialization – Islamism –
Post-colonial and Cosmopolitan anti-Zionism

Edition Critic

“A thorough, objective and intelligent analysis of the principal form taken by contemporary anti-Semitism.”*

Dr. Anthony Julius, London

“A fascinating research, an important book, an alarming perspective.”

Dr. Simon Epstein, Jerusalem

“This is an important book, published in a crucial time.”

Prof. Dr. Yoav Gelber, Haifa

“Clemens Heni's *Antisemitism: A Specific Phenomenon* is a masterful and very sobering analysis of global anti-Semitism.”

Prof. Dr. Phyllis Chesler, New York City

“Heni fights a battle to restore integrity to academia and the left.”

Prof. Dr. Neil Kressel, Wayne (New Jersey)

“In Clemens Heni's *Anti-Semitism: A Specific Phenomenon* we have a rare combination of courage and acumen, much needed in the study of this highly volatile topic.”

Prof. Dr. David Patterson, Dallas

“This is a must read book.”

Prof. Dr. Sam Edelman, Chico (California)



Clemens Heni holds a PhD in political science from the University of Innsbruck, Austria (“summa cum laude,” 2006). In 2008/2009 he was a Post-Doctoral Associate at Yale University. He is the Director of the Berlin International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (BICSA), founded in 2011.

This book analyzes the specifics of antisemitism and Jew-hatred in the 21st century. It includes a groundbreaking assessment of the political leanings of many prominent scholars in the field.

Today's antisemitism extends far beyond right-wing circles and can be found among liberals, leftists, anti-racist communities, Islamists, and post-colonial scholars in the Western world.

Using English and German sources, the author demonstrates the need to oppose Holocaust trivialization as well as other 'modern' forms of antisemitism like anti-Zionism and the defamation of the Jewish state of Israel.

* For more praise look inside the book.



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Praise for the Book

A thorough, objective and intelligent analysis of the principal form taken by contemporary anti-Semitism.

*Dr. Anthony Julius, London, author of *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (2010, 2012); Deputy Chairman, Mishcon de Reya; Chairman, London Consortium; Visiting Professor, Birkbeck College, University of London; Vice-President of the Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund; in 1992 he wrote a doctoral dissertation at University College London (UCL) about T.S. Eliot, *Anti-Semitism and Literary Form**

Clemens Heni's "Antisemitism: A Specific Phenomenon" is a masterful and very sobering analysis of global anti-Semitism. It is an academically respectable "call to arms;" a passionate and yet dispassionate account of virulent Jew-hatred in the Islamist world and its "politically correct" counterpart in the West. Read it and weep. Read it and join those among us who have not lost our moral sanity or historical post-Holocaust memory. May we join Heni – who excels in the nuances of contemporary German and European anti-Semitism and in its North American counterpart – in standing up to the ruthless lies. Heni understands that comparing alleged discrimination against Muslims with the genocidal extermination of the Jews is itself one of the many new forms of Jew-hatred. He also understands that the entire western academic enterprise is endangered by its cowardly and opportunistic refusal to tell the truth about the Jews, Israel, and antisemitism.

*Prof. Dr. Phyllis Chesler, Emerita Professor of Psychology and Women's Studies, City University New York, author of 15 books, including her bestseller *Women and Madness* (1972), *The New Anti-Semitism* (2003) and *The Death of Feminism: What's Next in the Struggle For Women's Freedom* (2005)*

Clemens Heni understands the insidiousness and perfidy of contemporary antisemitism, hiding as it does behind many veneers of respectability. Drawing on a superb background and experiences on several continents, he exposes many deceitful

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aspects of contemporary Holocaust denial, Muslim antisemitism, and hatred emanating from the extreme right and left. He is a man of great courage endowed with a strong sense of mission. Heni fights a battle to restore integrity to academia and the left. He fights against antisemitism in all its forms, and he does so with outstanding intellectual expertise. Bravo!

Prof. Dr. Neil J. Kressel, William Paterson University, Department of Psychology, Author of "The Sons of Pigs and Apes: Muslim Antisemitism and the Conspiracy of Silence (2012) and Bad Faith: The Danger of Religious Extremism (2007)

Clemens Heni's monumental book is a timely reminder of the central role of Jew-hatred in Jewish and world history. What began in antiquity, and continued in the Middle Ages, as hostility to the Jewish "other" of the pagan and, later Christian world, turned in the 19th century to rejection of the Jews' attempts to shed their uniqueness and become like the rest of the people among whom they lived. European antisemitism led to the Holocaust, and post-Holocaust guilt feelings camouflaged it for several decades. Meanwhile, the Jewish problem moved from Europe to the Middle East, and was elevated from the personal and communal level to the national one. The Jewish State faces the problem of acceptance as much as the Jewish individual faced it before the Holocaust. As Heni meticulously shows, present antisemitism – sometimes disguised as anti-Israelism or anti-Zionism – is carried by a peculiar coalition: successors of European pre-war right-wing antisemites, the post-colonial radical left and fundamental Islamists, Suni and Shi'ite alike. Only Jew-hatred could unite these conflicting elements. This is an important book, published in a crucial time.

Prof. Yoav Gelber, Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel; Professor, Department of Land of Israel Studies, Haifa University, author of many books on the Second World War, Israeli history, and the Israel Defense Forces (IDF)

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This is a courageous work on a problem of great contemporary relevance. Antisemitism is once again emerging as a major threat in many locations today. Fueled by a variety of dark causes, and present in groups on both the political right and the political left, as well as among Islamists, it again poses a fundamental threat not only to Jews but also to western civilization. Heni's work forces all of us to think deeply about the matters of prejudice and hatred and is a contribution to all those who are seeking ways to combat these plagues.

Prof. Dr. Steven T. Katz, Slater Professor of Holocaust and Judaic Studies, Director of the Elie Wiesel Center for Judaic Studies, Boston University; author of numerous books on the Holocaust, Judaism, Jewish Thought, Religious Thought, Post-Holocaust Dialogues; National Jewish Book Award runner-up for Wrestling with God: Jewish Theological Responses During and After the Holocaust (2007)

Coming to the defense of Jews and Israel has never been an exercise for faint-hearted people. Clemens Heni undertakes that defense with skill and consummate scholarship as well as courage.

Prof. Dr. Edward Alexander, Professor emeritus, Department of English, Washington State University, Seattle, author of The State of the Jews. A Critical Appraisal (2012)

Clemens Heni is a young scholar with true courage. He has taken on a subject that is uncomfortable for academics. By turning a mirror at the academic world he has shown that the evil of anti-semitism has a strong foothold in the academy. The new anti-semitism does not wear the same clothes as its Christian, rightwing and Nazi fore bearers. It wears a new mantle of anti-Israelism and Islamic Judeophobia. Whereas Islam's mythic fear of Jews is unwarranted and unsubstantiated; the reality based Jewish fear of Islam has been reified and replicated over and over again from Iran to North Africa to Europe by real facts of murder, terror and intimidation and threat. If only 10% of the Islamic world embraces anti-Jewish and anti-Israel hatred then that means more than 100 million people have the potential to act on

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their fears. Heni points this out in a well-documented fashion. Of special note for anyone is his description of the destruction of the Yale Anti-Semitism center. This is a must read book.

Prof. Dr. Samuel M. Edelman, Professor Emeritus, Jewish Studies, Holocaust Studies, and Communication Studies, California State University (CSU), Chico; Founder of the program in Modern Jewish and Israel Studies at the California State University Chico in Northern California; Former Executive Director, Scholars for Peace in the Middle East (SPME); Director and CEO, Center for Academic Engagement and, Faculty Affairs Advisor, Israel on Campus Coalition, Washington, DC

In Clemens Heni's *Anti-Semitism: A Specific Phenomenon* we have a rare combination of courage and acumen, much needed in the study of this highly volatile topic. Basing his findings on a vast range of research, Heni's analysis of German anti-Semitism, its ties to contemporary Islamism, and implications for anti-Zionism is penetrating and deeply insightful. His assessment of the current scholarship on anti-Semitism, with all the controversies that go with it, is eye-opening, exhaustive, and indispensable to contemporary and future scholars. It is a 'must read' for students and scholars alike.

Prof. Dr. David Patterson, Hillel Feinberg Chair, Ackerman Center for Holocaust Studies, The University of Texas at Dallas; A winner of the National Jewish Book Award and the Koret Jewish Book Award, Patterson has published more 30 books; author of A Genealogy of Evil: Anti-Semitism from Nazism to Islamic Jihad (2010)

Antisemitism is a not a breakaway territory in the mainland of modernity; nor is its illogical aberration. Whether we like it or not, the unpleasant truth is that antisemitism is a significant and inescapable part of modernity. By no means were demonization of the Jews and the charge of *maleficium* for their supposed collective participation in occult evil just a marginal trait in Christian Europe. Incredible as it sounds, it was its substantial and essential feature which did not contradict the greatest cultural and intellectual accomplishments of medieval and Renaissance Europe. The same may be said about modern an-

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tisemitism which was practiced in the most civilized European societies and sophisticated scholarly circles. Antisemitism did not deny the modern project with its promises of equality, pursuit of happiness, just society, and better life. Likewise, modernity did not deny antisemitism until the Catastrophe of Humanity which we know as the Holocaust. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why Clemens Heni, in his profound and painstaking study, aptly describes antisemitism as a specific, strange, awkward, and paradoxical phenomenon, which departs from our modern sensibilities and fails us as human beings, which leaves us devastated, disenchanted, yet which stays... It is still there whatever we say and whatever we do. It changes its forms over time, it walks in disguise as an honest and liberal criticism of Israel, it masquerades as a perfectly legitimate and consistent fight for human rights, it lends itself to philosophy and cultural studies, it misleads politicians, and it misguides scholars, yet it does not disappear.

Why is it so? Clemens Heni's timely and important book will help us throw more light on antisemitism – this specific phenomenon, as the author would have it.

Prof. Dr. Leonidas Donskij, Department of Political Science, Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania; Member of European Parliament (MEP), ALDE (2009–2014)

A fascinating research, an important book, an alarming perspective.

Dr. Simon Epstein, Historian, Jerusalem; latest publication: 1930. A Year in the History of the Jewish People (2011, in French)

Clemens Heni says: 'A scholar on antisemitism who is not doing advocacy for Jews is fooling him- or herself. A doctor who is looking for new medicine is doing advocacy – for mankind – as well as scholarship.' Heni espouses Antisemitism Studies as a rigorous academic field in its own right while rejecting a bogus neutrality toward the subject matter. By synthesizing extensive scholarship, an incisive critical faculty, and good old fa-

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shioned chutzpah, Heni has produced a major work that is so individual that any stray page would tell you who its author is. By intrepidly taking on some of the most famous historians of the generation and demonstrating where they have fallen right into trendy mindsets lavishly underwritten by powerful forces of Left and Right (in roughly equal measure), Heni sensationally unmasks and dethrones a number of today's icons. He does it in a freewheeling style that captivates the reader. One doesn't have to agree with him on everything to appreciate that this book is a foremost and invaluable contribution to the debate, not least in Holocaust Studies, which continue, along with Israel, to occupy center stage of the European debate.

Dr. Dovid Katz, Dovid Katz was visiting professor in Judaic studies at Yale University in 1989–1999. From 1999 to 2010 he was professor of Yiddish language, literature and culture at Vilnius University, Lithuania. He is based in Vilnius, where he edits www.DefendingHistory.com

Clemens Heni's important book is both necessary and disturbing. His laser-like focus on the specificity of antisemitism, the longest lasting social pathology in Western civilization, is a much needed reminder that Jew-hatred combined with Holocaust denial and trivialization are linked in the ongoing attempt to demonize, delegitimize and, ultimately, destroy the State of Israel. Heni's nuanced and informed analysis confirms the 'treason of the intellectuals' on both the right and left wing, while revealing the extent to which Islamic fundamentalism is bent on destroying Israel.

Prof. Dr. Alan L. Berger, Raddock Family Eminent Scholar Chair in Holocaust Studies; Director, Center for the Study of Values and Violence after Auschwitz; Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, Florida; author or numerous books on Holocaust Literature

At a time when anti-Semitism is on the upsurge around the world, and Iran is threatening to destroy the one Jewish state, Clemens Heni provides a vital analysis of the threat

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and the need to act to fight this scourge before it is allowed to spread further and cause the type of catastrophe that Jews have experienced all too often in their history.

Dr. Mitchell Bard, Executive Director of the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise and author of The Arab Lobby (2010)

Only by taking the Holocaust as a unique and unprecedented crime against the Jewish people can its full historical implications be understood, so that steps may be taken to avoid its recurrence. No one is safe. Clemens Heni uses his deep study of German National Socialism and Neo-Nazi activity to uncover the depths of contemporary anti-Semitism, a disease exponentially growing both on the left and on the right, in Western civilization and in Islam, often under the thin veil of anti-Zionism and anti-Americanism. This virulent plague of our times attacks individuality, enlightened reason, scientific thought and democracy – all the freedoms we hold dear. I cannot praise this book too highly.

Prof. Dr. Norman Simms, Associate Professor (emeritus) in the Department of Humanities and English at University of Waikato in Hamilton, New Zealand, author of Alfred Dreyfus: man, milieu, mentality and midrash (2012)

Clemens Heni's book "Antisemitism – a Specific Phenomenon" sheds important light on a problem which characterizes societies in crises. The deeper a crisis in a society is, the stronger is its need for someone to blame, and the Jew is always there to serve as a scapegoat; there are Jews in Europe, and there is – voilà – Israel, the state of the Jews. Classic anti-Jewish attitude, which is deeply rooted in Christianity, found its way to classic Islamic discourse and immigrated to Europe to amplify the local, original, version. People in the media, academia and the arts compete as to who will wage a better covert war against the Jew, by using, or rather abusing, Israel and its struggle for survival, as a means to blame the Jew for all the world's problems. Horrible events such as the Holocaust are denied, minimized, justified and

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even posed as a Zionist plot, and the Jew who is depicted as controlling the world's economy, media and politics becomes the common enemy, the cause of all problems of societies in crises. Clemens Heni's book is a very important document for anyone who wants to understand how Jews became the scapegoat of Europe in particular and the declining West in general.

Dr. Mordechai Kedar, Lt. Col. (res.) Israel Defense Forces (IDF), The Begin-Sadat-Center for Strategic Studies (BESA), Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan (Israel)

This penetrating study systematically exposes the intertwining of anti-Zionism and contemporary antisemitism and Western academia's papering over the Islamist threat to Jews and the West. Heni analyses the pernicious trend to universalize and trivialize the Holocaust and minimize the role of antisemitism. He reveals Germany's continuing refusal to grapple honestly with antisemitism and the meaning of the Holocaust.

*Prof. Dr. Stephen H. Norwood, University of Oklahoma, Department of History, author of *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses* (2009)*

ANTISEMITISM: A SPECIFIC PHENOMENON

Holocaust Trivialization – Islamism –
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Foreword

When I started working on this book project several years ago, I did not anticipate the significant and specific rise of antisemitism in the year 2012 alone, when this study was finished.

This book was written for the interested public, for scholars in the field, for undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate students, for journalists, decision-makers, politicians, philanthropists, and public intellectuals, among others. In this study, I deal in particular with scholars in Western countries and their take on antisemitism, Islamism, and the Holocaust. This is quite an unusual approach in research. Many authors do not discuss the work of their colleagues, regardless of how bad or mistaken their research and/or activism are. Thus, not much has changed for the better in the last years and decades, when it comes to research on antisemitism.

Most scholars think of the consequences, taking into consideration who will have power on search committees, peer journals and at professional conferences. Taking all this into account, they almost never dare to discuss problematic aspects or tropes of leading colleagues in the field. Even if they disagree, they do not go public.

Therefore, I think it is imperative finally to start focusing on prevailing problems with past and current scholarship. Most decision-makers, politicians, journalists, think-tank experts, and members of the public base their judgments on antisemitism on the expertise of scholars. Whether those experts are on TV, radio, the Internet, published in newspapers, interviewed, or on campus, many people indirectly or directly are influenced by leading scholars in the field. Mainstream media often interview scholars after an antisemitic attack, or an anti-Jewish slur at a rally. Criticizing antisemitism is rarely controversial as long as the antisemitic slur or attack was made by a right-wing extremist or neo-Nazi, whether in the style of the KKK,

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the Front National in France, the British National Front in the UK, the NPD in Germany, or the FPÖ in Austria, for example.

- But what about antisemitism disseminated by a German Nobel Prize Winner in Literature, who singles out Israel as a “threat to world peace?” (Günter Grass)
- What if the rejection of the uniqueness of the Holocaust is a core ideology of a Yale historian, who received an award in Germany in 2012 (Timothy Snyder), as well as of the newly elected President of that country? What if the new German President additionally accused those who emphasize the unprecedented nature of the Shoah of doing so because they are just looking for an “absolute” in a godless world? (Joachim Gauck)
- What if in 2012 a leading European and German center like the Center for Research on Antisemitism (ZfA) at Technical University in Berlin employs a follower of anti-Israel superstar Edward Said? What if that Center prefers to talk about “Islamophobia,” instead of analyzing the Iranian threat and Islamist antisemitism? (Achim Rohde)
- What if a leading expert in literature, gender studies and philosophy from California is awarded a very prestigious prize in Germany, when she is known as a leading voice in calling the Jewish state “apartheid” and urging the world to “boycott” Israel? (Judith Butler)
- What if her close friend, another American professor from Yale known for her anti-Zionist stance, who accused Israel of possible “crimes against humanity” during the anti-Hamas war in 2008/2009, and who has denounced Israel for being a nation-state was also awarded a highly respected prize in the very same country in 2012? (Seyla Benhabib) Who are the professors and members of such prize search committees?

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Antisemitism, as I shall argue in this study, is a specific phenomenon and not just an instance of generic racism or prejudice. Many scholars and people of good will all too often confuse antisemitism, which led to the Shoah and is today aiming at the destruction of the Jewish state of Israel, with racist policies, colonialism, or simple prejudice. I was very much involved in anti-racist and anti-neo-Nazi activism in Germany in the 1990s, when dozens of immigrants, punk-rockers, left-wingers, homeless, and others were murdered by German neo-Nazis. The political climate, the political culture at the time, was equally horrible and racist. Antisemitism, though, is different. Even today's racist state policies (and we have had plenty in Germany in recent decades) which led to expulsions of refugees never led to genocide.

Scholars should not fool themselves when it comes to antisemitism and pretend to be 'neutral.' Ignoring the Iranian threat is taking a position, not remaining neutral. Remaining silent on Islamist antisemitism is not being neutral either. Islamist antisemitism is the most dangerous form of antisemitism in our 21st century world. What would this Islamist threat look like if the West confronted it? What if Western politicians, diplomats, public intellectuals, Nobel Prize Winners, opinion- and decision-makers, scholars, activists, NGOs, and the public rallied against, discussed and confronted antisemitism on a regular basis? What if Islamist antisemitism were included in the curricula of high-schools in Germany and Europe and on campuses around the world, as are Nazi antisemitism and other forms of this "longest hatred?" This could be a game-changer, as silence would no longer prevail.

Germans love to portray themselves as a model for the world when it comes to remembering the Holocaust. In fact, many Germans have a predilection for dead Jews, while defaming living ones. I said this in a

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lecture at Hebrew University ten years ago in December 2002. Sadly, this phrase has maybe never been truer than in 2012.

Cosmopolitanism is a nice idea and anti-cosmopolitanism was a core element of right-wing antisemitic Europe in the 19th century through Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc and its left-wing followers in the West defamed cosmopolitanism and Jews, too.

Today, though, left-wing and liberal cosmopolitanism has sometimes turned into a tool to denounce the Jewish state of Israel. Even Islamists (like at Columbia University) follow the Western idea of cosmopolitanism and argue against Zionism and Israel. Philosophically, several rather troubling aspects of cosmopolitanism go back to Immanuel Kant, as well as to Hannah Arendt.

I have been involved in research on antisemitism since 1996, when I was still a student. Today, though, I fear that the field is being hijacked by scholars who use research on antisemitism as a tool to spread not the analysis and criticism of antisemitism but rather the opposite: post-colonial ideology, anti-Zionism, Holocaust trivialization, and the denial of Islamist antisemitism.

Scholarship on antisemitism needs to change. It is my hope that this book will serve as a catalyst for that change. And, for change to happen, scholarship itself must also become the subject of scholarship: we need to analyze what our colleagues are saying and writing on antisemitism. We cannot continue to accept distortions and inversions of the past or the present – or that is all that we will have left in the future.

Introduction

About this book

Antisemitism is an ideology still alive, over 67 years after the unprecedented crimes of the Holocaust. Antisemitic incidents and antisemitic propaganda are on the rise, on a worldwide level. Antisemitism has changed its outlook. German Nazi style Jew-hatred, which is still alive among neo-Nazis and a few old Nazis, e.g., former SS-men or women, and increasingly has followers in Eastern Europe, transformed often into left-wing and Islamist anti-Zionism in the early 21st century. Hatred of Israel is the core element of today's antisemitism. Blood libels and antisemitic conspiracy myths, for example, about 9/11 as an inside job, are spreading as well. Antisemitism is a widespread and fluid ideology. For example, the distortion or obfuscation of the Holocaust is a mainstream phenomenon in the world as well, sometimes with close ties to anti-Zionist propaganda, when remembrance of the Holocaust is called "Holocaust religion" (see chapter two).

We can even find problematic aspects in highly sophisticated circles of "cosmopolitans" today, from Columbia University to Yale University to German universities (chapter seven). This is interesting, because most scholars from the fields of philosophy, history, the humanities and the social sciences, see *anti*-cosmopolitanism as a typical form of Soviet or right-wing form of antisemitism. Indeed, today we have many groups, even governments in Europe in particular, which share an anti-cosmopolitan agenda, like in Hungary, Lithuania, or circles in Germany, Austria, Italy, and many other countries. Anti-cosmopolitanism was a typical element of German antisemitism in the 19th century. Wilhelm Marr, previously a supporter of Jewish

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emancipation, created the term “antisemitism” in 1879¹ and argued against cosmopolitanism.²

In recent years, though, universalism and cosmopolitanism, ideas I myself usually like and embrace, have a much darker side when it comes to the *Jewish* (nation-) state of Israel. Liberal and Islamic cosmopolitanism aim at Israel and its Jewish character – this is a widely unknown aspect of today’s antisemitism and I will try to shed at least some light on this phenomenon.

However, what is typical mainstream scholarship saying when it comes to antisemitism? It has become fashionable in recent years to publish small books to introduce important figures of world history, topics, ideologies etc. Oxford University Press, a leading publishing house worldwide, started such a project in 1995, its *A Very Short Introduction* series, including books on *Global Warming, Feminism, Magnetism, Angels, The Meaning of Life, Modern China, or Antisemitism*. In our busy and hectic worlds, reading small books on complicated as well as easily accessible topics is trendy. One can buy some 50 or 90 small books of that kind and feel up-to-date about the crucial ideas and facts. According to the publishing house, their books are bestsellers and have been translated into 25 languages. The *A Very Short Introduction* series is cheap, at \$7.99 a copy, and some bookshops are selling the books in book stands nearby the exit. I myself was alerted to the series in a book store in New Haven, Connecticut, for example. In 2007 historian and author, Steven Beller

¹ Wilhelm Marr (1879): *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum. Vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet*, Bern: Rudolph Costenoble.

² Wilhelm Marr (1879a): *Vom jüdischen Kriegsschauplatz. Eine Streitschrift*, Bern: Rudolph Costenoble, 17. He mentions his support for Jewish emancipation from the 1820s through 1848, until he found that Jews would never change their “race” (“Raceneigenthümlichkeit”), Marr 1879a, 16–17. This is the typical modern style of antisemitism, and Marr emphasized his non-religious background when dealing with Jews. This brochure is a response to a critique of J. Perinhart about Marr’s *The Victory of Jewry over the Germans* from the same year (Marr 1879).

About this book

published in this series *Antisemitism: A very short introduction*.³ A leading German publishing house, Reclam, known for its tiny books on all sorts of important topics, providing information particularly for teachers, professors, pupils, and students, translated the book,⁴ which is among the cheapest and smallest books in German (and English) introducing the subject of antisemitism. The very last paragraph of Steven Beller's *Antisemitism: A very short introduction* reads as follows:

“Antisemitism, in the form of a political movement aimed at persecuting, discriminating against, removing, or even exterminating Jews is no longer a major threat in our globalized world. Yet anti-semitism in the form of resentment at Jewish success and Jewish power, whether illusory or not, and in the form of social and cultural dislike or prejudice, will persist as long as there are Jews, just as would be the case for any other identifiable ethnic or religious group. The question is how can this ‘eternal’ form of anti-semitism be kept within minimal and ‘harmless’ dimensions. In those terms, the answer to antisemitism is ultimately not a Jewish state, but the establishment of a truly global system of liberal pluralism.”⁵

This is a remarkable statement: Beller denies the Iranian and Islamist threat (“Antisemitism is no longer a major threat in our globalized

³ Steven Beller (2007): *Antisemitism – A Very Short introduction*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press. The series promotes itself like this: “Ideal for train journeys, holidays, and as a quick catch-up for busy people who want something intellectually stimulating, Very Short Introductions combine authoritative analysis, new ideas, and enthusiasm to make often challenging topics highly readable. These books can change the way you think about the things that interest you, and are the perfect introduction to subjects you previously knew nothing about. Because of this, they have proven to be extremely popular with general readers, as well as undergraduate students and their lecturers. So, where's the gap in your knowledge? ...,” <http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/category/academic/series/general/vsi.do> (visited May 13, 2012).

⁴ Steven Beller (2009): *Antisemitismus*. Translated by Christian Wiese, Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun. The price is 5€.

⁵ Beller 2007, 119.

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world”) and he “ultimately” knows that the “Jewish” state of Israel is “not the answer to antisemitism.”

Beller is also known for challenging critics of antisemitism like political scientist and sociologist Andrei S. Markovits from the University of Michigan.⁶ Instead of analyzing antisemitism in our world, Beller promotes “a truly global system of liberal pluralism.”

As mentioned, I will deal with this topic which essentially is the relationship between cosmopolitanism, German philosopher Immanuel Kant, philosopher Hannah Arendt, American political scientist Seyla Benhabib, for example, on the one side and the Zionist project of a particular Jewish *state* of Israel on the other side, later in this book (chapter seven). Probably not many books in the above mentioned series will promote a world without a Dutch nation-state, or without an Indonesian nation-state, or without an Egyptian nation-state. Israel, though, is singled out and Beller says that its very existence is “ultimately” “not the answer to antisemitism.” Beller, who is not at all alone in his claim, really knows the answer to antisemitism: No more Jewish State, the destruction of Israel is the answer to antisemitism. This is what Oxford University Press and Reclam promote; and this is among the reasons why I have written *this* book.

⁶ “Andy Markovits similarly loses perspective when discussing the anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism of his erstwhile friends in the European left. He states, for example, that the BBC, Guardian and Independent share a ‘hostility towards Israel, Jews, and the USA’ (222). Israel and the USA perhaps, but Jews? As an online reader of the Guardian and BBC, I do not think their criticism of the United States and of Israel is based on a distorting ‘hostility’ so much as an astute objectivity and a refreshing outsider’s perspective, although I can see why many Americans I know are, like Markovits, antagonized by it. But why would Markovits claim that the BBC, Guardian and Independent are hostile to ‘Jews’, that they are effectively antisemitic? That is a grievous misrepresentation of these institutions, ignoring their decades of combating prejudice and championing the rights of individuals and minorities, Jews very much included,” Steven Beller (2007a): “In Zion’s hall of mirrors: a comment on Neuer Antisemitismus?,” *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 215–238, 219–220. Beller equally rejects the analysis of the “new antisemitism” by Omer Bartov, Michael Walzer, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, Alain Finkielkraut, Thomas Haury, Jeffrey Herf, Robert Wistrich and Matthias Küntzel, *ibid.*, 217.

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Antisemitism is a specific phenomenon – I’ve chosen the title of this book intentionally. It is important to emphasize this specificity. Antisemitism is the “longest hatred,” to quote historian and scholar of antisemitism Robert Wistrich.⁷ No other ideology is as old. For more than 2000 years Jews have been a specific target for paganists (from the Roman-Greek-Egyptian societies of antiquity to our days of anti-monotheistic New Right wingers, and others), then and in particular for Christians and Germans, as well as for Islamists and pan-Arab nationalists. The Holocaust was an unprecedented crime. Never before and never since was a specific group of people in its entirety a target for complete destruction. Germans wanted to kill all the Jews they could find in Europe and everywhere that they controlled during the Second World War from 1939 until 1945. Even horrible regimes, which killed political or other enemies in their own countries did not aim at a specific group of people everywhere they could find them. I will analyze the uniqueness of the Holocaust in some detail (chapter four).

Antisemitism is both the longest hatred and the most flexible ideology. Right-wingers, left-wingers, and the mainstream are producing antisemitic tropes. One can find antisemitism in Japan, South America, South Africa, as well as in Egypt, Qatar, Germany, Sweden, Russia, Pakistan, Syria, The United States, the UK, France, Spain, Indonesia, Austria, Iran, Hungary, Turkey, Malaysia, Lithuania, or Australia, among other places. The existence of none of these countries (or regions) is in question, regardless how cruel its policies are (take Iran as an example). Israel, though, is the only state on earth whose very existence is questioned. This is a scandal and has to be challenged on a daily basis by scholars, citizens, politicians, activists and public intellectuals.

It is tremendously important to focus on the uniqueness of the Holocaust in our times, as this book will demonstrate. Many people

⁷ Robert S. Wistrich (1991): *Anti-Semitism. The Longest Hatred*, London: Methuen.

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(particularly outside North America and Europa) never dealt with the Holocaust and ignore this worst crime against mankind. Even those who deal with it are often motivated by quite different approaches. Increasingly people are using the Holocaust as a tool for their own agendas. Too many scholars, activists, authors, and the public are eager to distort the Holocaust by universalizing it. Therefore, it is crucial to analyze the specifics of antisemitism, distinct from pure racism, prejudice, or discrimination.

The biggest danger for Jews, Israel, and the entire world is the Iranian threat. Iran has a nuclear program and seeks nuclear arms.⁸ The Mullah regime is driven by irrational Islamist messianism, awaiting the arrival of the so-called 12th Imam, the Mahdi. Iran launched verbal attacks against Israel, calling for a “World without Zionism,” and to “wipe Israel off the map,” as Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad said on October 26, 2005, in Teheran. He is just one Iranian leader spreading Jew-hatred; others include supreme leader Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader of the 1979 Iranian Islamist style revolution, or his successor Ali Khamenei, currently the highest authority in Iran.

Arab antisemitism is growing, too. The so-called Arab spring in 2011 immediately developed into an Islamist fall, or winter. As early as mid February 2011, before president Hosni Mubarak resigned, the unofficial spiritual leader of the biggest Islamist organization in the world, the Muslim Brotherhood, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, gave a speech at Cairo’s Tahrir Square, urging the Muslim world to re-conquer Jerusalem, read: to kill Jews and to destroy Israel. Before, in January 2009, al-Qaradawi had praised Allah for having installed leaders to punish the Jews. The last who was installed by Allah was Hitler, in his view. Al-Qaradawi, though, is far from being an outsider. He is a well-

⁸ For a young and outstanding voice against the Western and British denial of the Iranian threat and against the affirmation of Islamism, anti-Zionism and antisemitism see a speech by English bestselling author Douglas Murray at the Cambridge Political Union in March 2011, <http://www.cus.org/connect/debates/2011/this-house-would-rather-a-nuclear-iran-than-war> (visited July 9, 2012).

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respected author among German, American and international Islamic Studies scholars (see chapter three).

Turkey, once the only secular Muslim democracy on earth, has turned into an Islamist regime since the AKP party took power in 2002. Ever since, antisemitism has been on the rise in this NATO member state as shown by the notorious Gaza flotilla in May 2010.

In addition, other forms of antisemitism are on the rise. Holocaust denial among neo-Nazis (or the Iranian regime), is a prominent example. We are even facing Holocaust affirmation today, like on Egypt Television, where Amin al-Ansari on January 26, 2009, praised the Holocaust and showed the most horrifying pictures of the Holocaust in an approving way. In Germany, hundreds if not thousands, of mostly German-Turkish and German-Muslim internet-users also praised the Holocaust on Facebook after the so-called Gaza flotilla was stopped by the Israeli Army on May 31, 2010. Although it is criminal to deny, let alone affirm, the Holocaust under German law, those antisemites published entries on their Facebook accounts under their real names, mostly including real pictures of them, sometimes with their family, wives, husbands, and children. The German elite, scholars, politicians, and media failed to criticize these antisemitic statements.

The universalization of the Holocaust has become a major topic in public debates and scholarship as well. As early as 1980, Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer analyzed the distortion of the Holocaust by the expansion of its numbers of victims from six to eleven (or even more) million victims.⁹

More sophisticated attempts distort the Holocaust by saying that modernity itself, or capitalism and not Germans, their allies, and antisemitism were the cause of the Holocaust (see chapter four). Others say that not only Jews, but many other groups were victims of

⁹ See Alvin H. Rosenfeld (2011): *The End of the Holocaust*, Bloomington (IN): Indiana University Press, 283, footnote 7 [chapter 3]. He quotes from "Yehuda Bauer, 'Whose Holocaust?,' *Midstream* 26, No. 9 (November 1980): p. 43."

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a Holocaust, including the Herero and Nama in German South-West Africa (today: Namibia) in 1904–1907, some controversial scholars talk about *Kaiser's Holocaust* (see chapter two).

In 2004, a typical volume from a leading publishing house, Routledge, included all kinds of real or supposed genocide of the 20th century in the very same volume with an analysis of the Holocaust; this is a denial of the unprecedented character of the Shoah.¹⁰ Worse, three topics were referred to as “Holocaust,” “Holocaust: The Genocide of the Jews,” “Holocaust: The Gypsies,” and “Holocaust: The Genocide of Disabled Peoples.”¹¹ The cover picture of that book shows a man from Sarajevo, Bosnia. Including this with the Holocaust is a complete distortion of history and an equation of incomparable events in history. The Holocaust is embedded and does not count as an unprecedented crime any more. This is all the more important to analyze because many scholars and activists follow an anti-Zionist agenda and accuse Israel and the Jews of emphasizing the uniqueness of the Holocaust, not because it was unique, but rather because, in this biased view, it serves Israel to do so.

Analyzing and criticizing these and related tendencies has been a core element of my research in the last fifteen years.

In March 2012, Canadian historian Catherine Chatterley challenged an exhibition in the city of Winnipeg, Canada, dealing with the German concentration camp in Dachau, which obfuscated the Holocaust by framing Christian and other inmates of Dachau concentration camp as victims of the Holocaust.¹² They portray their exhibit as an example of “interfaith” experiences. Former director of the United

¹⁰ Samuel Totten/William S. Parsons/Israel W. Charny (eds.) (2004): *Century of Genocide. Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Second Edition, London/New York: Routledge.

¹¹ Totten/Parsons/Charny (eds.) 2004, v.

¹² Catherine Chatterley (2012): “The Holocaust was not an Interfaith Experience,” March 24, 2012, http://www.winnipegjewishreview.com/article_detail.cfm?id=2283&sec=4 (visited April 1, 2012).

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States Holocaust Memorial (USHM) in Washington D.C., Walter Reich, states that the Holocaust, “was, indeed, not an interfaith experience but the most intense example of a specifically antisemitic experience.”¹³

Closely related to universalization is distortion of the Holocaust, which is accompanied (particularly, but not exclusively in Germany and Austria) by the projection of guilt. Germany’s crimes do not look so bad if others like Jews or the allies in the Second World War, committed crimes as well. Arguing like this is also called “secondary antisemitism”¹⁴ in scholarship (see chapter two). For example, framing the aerial war against Germany (e.g., against the city of Dresden) as a “bomb Holocaust” and accusing the UK’s Royal Air Force (RAF) of war crimes, and comparing or equating this with the Holocaust, is a typical form of secondary antisemitism. The same holds for the so-called “Holocaust of expulsion” of Germans from the East after World War II. I will deal with this in some detail in this book.

Other forms of Holocaust distortion and universalization include terms like “Kaiser’s Holocaust,” when dealing with colonialism, “African Holocaust,” when dealing with slavery, “Golden Holocaust,” when talking about smoking, “Babocaust,” when talking about abortion, “ecological Holocaust” or “ecological Kristallnacht” when talking

¹³ Walter Reich (2012): “Chatterley Helps Correct Growing Effort to Universalize Holocaust,” March 27, 2012, http://www.winnipegjewishreview.com/article_detail.cfm?id=2298&sec=1&title=Former_Director_of_US_Holocaust_Memorial_Museum:_Chatterley_Helps_Correct_Growing_Effort_To_Universalize_Holocaust (visited April 1, 2012).

¹⁴ Clemens Heni (2008): “Secondary Anti-Semitism. From Hard-core to soft-core denial of the Shoah,” *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 20:3-4 (Fall 2008), 73-92, <http://jcpa.org/article/secondary-anti-semitism-from-hard-core-to-soft-core-denial-of-the-shoah/> (visited November 18, 2012); Clemens Heni (2008a): “Shoah Remembrance and New Anti-Semitism. Derealization, Universalization, and Trivialization of the Holocaust and Anti-Semitism,” in: Věra Tydlitová/Alena Hanzová (eds.), *Reflections on Anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism in Historical and Anthropological Perspective*, Pilsen: The Center for Middle Eastern Studies [University of West Bohemia], 26-34.

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about global warming, ecology or starvation in the ‘third World,’¹⁵ or the “Holocaust on your plate,” when talking about the treatment of animals. Other examples include statements by American feminist Betty Friedan, who compared in her book *Feminine Mystique* the situation of American housewives in 1963 with the situation of “the millions who walked to their own death in the concentration camps,”¹⁶ as Jewish Studies scholar Alvin H. Rosenfeld criticizes in his book, *The End of the Holocaust*. Of course, feminism is a very important field of research and activism. But comparing the situation of women in the 1950s or early 1960s with concentration camps in Nazi Germany cannot be taken seriously. This is a denial of what happened in those camps. Rosenfeld analyzes the way the Holocaust is completely distorted when everyone is eager to portray her- or himself as the potential victim of a possible “Holocaust.” He analyzes the treatment of the legacy of Holocaust victim Anne Frank. Most theater plays, books and campaigns using the name of Anne Frank completely distort her life under the rule of National Socialism. Her Jewishness is minimized if not completely ignored and obfuscated. Rosenfeld also points to the tendency in America (and elsewhere) to portray Anne Frank as someone who always loved mankind, sending a positive message against bigotry, hatred, ‘prejudice,’ or racism. Antisemitism, though, is completely misrepresented in this list, because genocidal Jew-hatred resulted in something completely different compared with the situation of minority groups (sexual, religious, political etc.) in the US, Canada, Europe and elsewhere today. There cannot be hope deriving from Anne Frank’s legacy – she was killed in the concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen.

Another example of those who exploit the dead Anne Frank are Arabs like the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, which was occupied by

¹⁵ Albert Gore (1989): “An Ecological Kristallnacht. Listen,” March 19, 1989, <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/03/19/opinion/an-ecological-kristallnacht-listen.html> (visited March 14, 2012).

¹⁶ Rosenfeld 2011, 47.

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Egypt until 1967, then under Israeli rule until 2005, and since 2006 increasingly under the rule of Islamist terror group Hamas. Many Palestinians portray themselves as victims of Israel and the Jews, projecting the latter as the 'new Nazis.' This kind of antisemitism is widespread among activists in the Western world as well, and in the United Nations and many other organizations.

This is the empirical background for why a book on antisemitism in the early 21st century is so important. However, my scholarship on antisemitism actually started a few years before the 21st century, before the second Intifada of 2000 and the horror of September 11, 2001.

In the 1990s, I studied history, cultural studies (B.A.), philosophy, and particular political science (B.A., and M.A.) at the Universities of Tübingen and Bremen in South-West and North-West Germany, respectively. Then I received a PhD in political science at the University of Innsbruck (Austria) in 2006. My thesis dealt with the German New Right, political culture, antisemitism and anti-Americanism in Germany from 1970 until 2005. I also dealt with the antisemitic ideology Joseph Goebbels embraced as early as 1926, years before the Nazis came to power in 1933. My main field of research is German history and society, particularly the 20th century until today. I started working on this book while employed at Yale University as a Post-Doctoral Researcher in 2008/2009 (for my research in recent years see an overview in the next chapter).

This book focuses on German and Western *scholarship* in the fields of antisemitism, post-colonialism, Islamic Studies, history, social sciences, and related fields. It seeks to introduce all relevant forms of antisemitism. Generally speaking, and this is important to underline here, antisemitism is a *specific* phenomenon. It is distinct from racism, colonialism, prejudice or so-called group-focused enmity against human beings, a concept introduced in Germany some 10 years ago.

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The latter is a fashionable concept in the (German) social sciences and promoted by pedagogue Wilhelm Heitmeyer¹⁷, psychologist Beate Küpper¹⁸, and their colleague, pedagogue Andreas Zick from the University of Bielefeld,¹⁹ the party of the Greens in the German Parliament²⁰, and many other scholars, activists, and politicians alike. Zick published an article with a couple of colleagues, promoting the concept “group-focused enmity” for non-German speakers.²¹

¹⁷ Wilhelm Heitmeyer (2010): “Krisen – Gesellschaftliche Auswirkungen, individuelle Verarbeitungen und Folgen für die Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit,” in: Wilhelm Heitmeyer (ed.), *Deutsche Zustände. Folge 8*, Berlin: Suhrkamp, 13–46.

¹⁸ Beate Küpper (2011): “Das Projekt Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit in Deutschland. Eine 10-jährige Langzeituntersuchung mit einer jährlichen Bevölkerungsumfrage zur Abwertung und Ausgrenzung von schwachen Gruppen,” http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/ikg/zick/GMF%20Projekt_Skizze_2011.pdf (visited April 11, 2011).

¹⁹ Andreas Zick/Beate Küpper (2011a): *Antisemitische Mentalitäten. Bericht über Ergebnisse des Forschungsprojektes Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit in Deutschland und Europa. Expertise für den Expertenkreis Antisemitismus*, http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Themen/Politik_Gesellschaft/EXpertenkreis_Antisemitismus/kuepper.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (visited October 6, 2012).

²⁰ “Wider die Extremismustheorie – Für ein Bundesprogramm gegen gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit. – Positionspapier – Astrid Rothe-Beinlich MdL, Mitglied im Bundesvorstand von BÜNDNIS 90/ DIE GRÜNEN Monika Lazar MdB, Sprecherin für Strategien gegen Rechtsextremismus, Sven-Christian Kindler MdB, Haushaltsberichtersteller für die Bundesprogramme gegen Rechtsextremismus,” <http://www.gruene-linke.de/2010/07/12/wider-die-extremismustheorie-fur-ein-bundesprogramm-gegen-gruppenbezogene-menschenfeindlichkeit/> (visited April 11, 2011).

²¹ Andreas Zick et al. (2008): “The Syndrome of Group-Focused Enmity: The Interrelation of Prejudices Tested with Multiple Cross-Sectional and Panel Data,” *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 64, No. 2, 363–383; the other authors of this article are Carina Wolf, Beate Küpper, Eldad Davidov, Peter Schmidt, and Wilhelm Heitmeyer. “The authors thank the Volkswagen Foundation, Freudenberg Foundation and Möllgaard Foundation for their financial support to the project on ‘Group-focused Enmity.’ We thank Tom Pettigrew and Uli Wagner for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article, and Jim Sidanius and Jorge Vala for their inspiring ideas on the topic at the International Workshop on ‘Group-focused Enmity’ in 2006. The fourth and fifth authors would like to thank Maria Rohlinger for insightful ideas and discussions during the spring seminar 2006 in

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They introduced nine categories of this “group-focused enmity:” 1) racism, 2) sexism, 3) xenophobia, 4) antisemitism, 5) Islamophobia (since 9/11), 6) Devaluation of homosexual groups, 7) homeless people, 8) disabled, 9) Devaluation of newcomers (new neighbors, classmates etc.).²²

Including genocidal antisemitism in such a list of simple prejudice is downplaying and obfuscating antisemitism. No one can seriously argue that “new neighbors” face similar threats like Jews in Germany today. Comparing or equating antisemitism and “Islamophobia” is problematic, from a scholarly as well as political point of view. It distorts the fact that 9/11 was made by Islamists. Instead, Islamophobia is introduced as a concept to distort the fact that Islamists are a huge threat to Jews. Zick et al. just called thousands of people and asked them questions about these groups, supposedly or actually victims of a group-focused enmity. They distort the political culture in Germany, which is based on antisemitism and hatred of Israel rather than on hatred of homeless or new neighbors. Resentment against the homeless is a problem, but there are no rallies against the homeless. There are rallies, though, against Israel, in Germany, targeting Jews in Germany as well. What Zick et al. do is research for social work. That is fine and important, but has nothing to do with research on antisemitism. Zick et al. stand for mainstream research in the social sciences. What are their conclusions?

“The key role to avoid such processes seems to be the fight for social integration processes and a struggle to combat private and public ideologies of inequality.”²³

This is not at all convincing. If a Nobel Prize Laureate in Germany attacks Israel and defames the Jewish state as a “threat to world peace,” is he doing so because he is not socially accepted or is a vic-

Cologne, Germany. The fourth author also would like to thank the German Israeli Foundation (GIF) for their financial support,” Zick et al. 2008, 363–364.

²² Zick et al. 2008, 366.

²³ Zick et al. 2008, 380.

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tim of inequality? No. If German firms collaborate with Iran (one way or another), supporting a regime which is denying the Holocaust and urging the world to “wipe Israel off the map,” are these firms victimized by social dominance and inequality? No. There are many more questions about this supposedly group-focused enmity.

It is highly counterproductive to compare or equate antisemitism with Islamophobia and several other aspects of supposedly group-focused enmity. This is a distortion of the specifics of antisemitism. No wonder that words like “Islamism,” “anti-Zionism,” or the research of international scholars on antisemitism like Robert Wistrich do not show up in the report of Zick and Küpper in 2011. They follow Wolfgang Benz, Werner Bergmann, and Brian Klug;²⁴ Klug is known as a harsh anti-Israeli author and scholar. In January 2009, he argued against the military response to rocket fire from the Hamas-ruled Gaza strip. He defamed Israel and her “unspeakable state terror.”²⁵ In addition to their reference to Klug, Zick and Küpper reject the analysis of “Muslim antisemitism,” because they cannot see “distinct elements” in Islamic Jew-hatred.²⁶ Yet Zick is a Board Member of the *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism (JSA)*,²⁷ and the very first conference of that journal in 2010 was dedicated to “Muslim Antisemitism.”²⁸ Klug denied that there is a “new antisemitism,” and he downplayed and obfuscated the threats Jews and Israel are increasingly

²⁴ Zick/Küpper 2011a, 5.

²⁵ Brian Klug (2009): “Not in my name. In the midst of the carnage in Gaza, it defies belief that my synagogue has asked me to march in solid support of Israel,” *The Guardian*, January 9, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/jan/09/israel-palestine-gaza> (visited October 6, 2012).

²⁶ Zick/Küpper 2011a, 11.

²⁷ <http://www.jsantisemitism.org/board.html> (visited October 6, 2012).

²⁸ “First Annual Conference on Muslim Antisemitism. Held on October 2-3, 2010 at the Metropolitan Doubletree Hotel, New York City,” <http://www.jsantisemitism.org/conferences/2010/2010conference.html> (visited October 6, 2012).

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facing.²⁹ Therefore, it is worth noting that those German scholars referred to Brian Klug in their report in 2011.

My book introduces the most important elements of today's antisemitism. It consists of two parts and nine chapters. Part one (chapters one through three) deals with Germany and antisemitism.

Chapter one goes back in history and deals with German antisemitism since the 17th century and the imagined 'eternal Jew,' Ahasver; it then deals with two other major antisemitic pictures or fantasies: Mammon, the imagined 'Jewish god of money,' and Moloch, the imagined 'Jewish god of sacrifice.' It ends with remarks about the German reception in 2011 of the "end of a 54 year old family father" – Osama Bin Laden.

Then I discuss elements of "Holocaust distortion" or "Holocaust obfuscation," which is related to "secondary antisemitism" – antisemitism because of and after Auschwitz.

Secondary antisemitism has become mainstream in Germany. This general tendency can be seen in the year 2012 in particular, five examples can illustrate this. The new German President, Joachim Gauck, denies the universal uniqueness of the Holocaust. He equates red and brown and accuses those who emphasize the uniqueness of the Shoah that they are just seeking for a kind of religion in a godless world. Other troubling tendencies include awards for anti-Zionist philosopher Judith Butler from the University of California in Berkeley, for equally anti-Zionist and self declared cosmopolitan, political scientist at Yale University Seyla Benhabib, and for Yale's historian Timothy Snyder, who distorts the Shoah in a similar way than Gauck. A leading European center for research on antisemitism, the Center for Research on Antisemitism (ZfA) at Technical University in Berlin, appointed an anti-Zionist, post-Orientalist follower of anti-Israel

²⁹ Brian Klug (2003): "The Myth of the New Anti-Semitism," *The Nation*, February 2, 2004, <http://www.thenation.com/article/myth-new-anti-semitism?page=full> (visited October 6, 2012).

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'superstar' Edward Said. This indicates that even researchers *in the field of antisemitism* – and not just in the fields of comparative literature, Middle East Studies, Islamic Studies, Cultural Studies, sociology, political science and history, where Said has been a hero for many scholars worldwide, for decades – now openly show their support for someone like Said. I will deal with these examples in detail in this book.

Germans seem to have a predilection for the obfuscation of history and for aiming at Israel as a Jewish state. These five events in 2012 honoring these individuals stand symbolically for this trend.

Chapters two and three deals with several examples of the failure of German scholarship on antisemitism and Islamism, including the Center for Research on Antisemitism (ZfA) at Technical University Berlin and its long-time (1990–2011) head Wolfgang Benz. In recent years, that center focused on alleged "Islamophobia" and Benz even collaborated with hardcore Islamist activists in Germany via the internet page *Muslim-Markt*. Equally problematic is a poem by German Nobel Prize Laureate Günter Grass in April 2012 where he stated that Israel, not Iran, is a "threat to world peace." Mainstream media in Germany promoted such anti-Zionist antisemitism while ignoring the Iranian threat. Framing remembrance of the uniqueness of the Shoah as "Holocaust religion" is not just an attitude of Holocaust deniers; even mainstream professors in philosophy in Germany promote such tropes. I also provide a short overview on organized Islamism in Germany today.

Part two (chapters four through nine) deals with the Holocaust, antisemitism, Islamic antisemitism and anti-Zionism and how today's Western scholarship reacts to it. The rejection of the uniqueness of the Shoah has become mainstream (chapter four). It is particularly disturbing and highly dangerous for the future of Holocaust remembrance that the young generation of scholars is obsessed with comparative genocide studies in order to deemphasize the role of the

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Holocaust or to inflate the term Holocaust (chapters five and six). Many of these scholars also criticize Israel for “using” the Holocaust for political purposes. Chapter seven deals with an almost unknown and unchallenged phenomenon: left-wing, liberal or *cosmopolitan* criticism of the nation-state, and its relationship to the rejection of *Eretz Israel*. Chapter eight deals with Yale University and its decision to shut down the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism (YIISA) in 2011 (disclaimer: I was employed by Yale University and by YIISA in 2008/2009). Chapter nine is about the biggest threat to Israel and the Jews in the 21st century so far: Islamist antisemitism.

Most liberals or left-wingers fail to analyze Islamic antisemitism. They embrace post-Orientalism, post-colonialism, all kind of “cultural turns,” like the post-colonial turn, linguistic turn, spatial turn, or whatever turn. Conservatives and right of center authors, scholars and activists, who are extremely underrepresented in the humanities and social sciences on American campuses, for example, are often more open to the analysis of Islamic antisemitism. On the other side conservatives and right of center authors are sometimes unable to decode Holocaust distortion. Many of them do not know that US President Eisenhower encouraged the Muslim Brotherhood in 1953 to spread to Europe to fight communism. They are equally reluctant to analyze the policies of former President Ronald Reagan vis-à-vis the German past, the Holocaust and the worst organization on earth ever, the Schutzstaffel (SS). In 1985 together with conservative FRG chancellor Helmut Kohl, he honored German soldiers, including members of the SS at a cemetery in Bitburg. To put it in a nutshell: this book analyzes antisemitism in all its forms and does not turn a blind eye to Muslim antisemitism like left-wingers do. It has also not a blind eye to Holocaust distortion and a downplaying of the German guilt, often deriving from pro-Christian positions, which are accom-

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panied by anti-communism and the denying of the unprecedented character of the Shoah.³⁰

This book is a scholarly attempt to shed some light on more than just one form of antisemitism. I try to introduce most relevant aspects of today's antisemitism. While many scholars prefer to downplay or ignore antisemitism as a topic for scholarship, others deal with it, but are reluctant to include Islamic antisemitism or the distortion of the Holocaust by scholarly colleagues. Most scholars have no problem dealing with right-wing extremism, as it is an easy topic and to *some* degree an important one, too. It becomes much more difficult when one starts focusing on the left, on liberals, the Muslim world, and the mainstream in the Western world. As is clear from my doctoral dissertation, I know about the importance of dealing with right-wing extremism and its impact on German society.

However, most Germans who portray themselves as anti-Nazi are unable to recognize today's antisemitism in its Muslim, left-wing, liberal, and mainstream incarnation. It is easy and comfortable to pretend to be a 'nice person' who is actively engaged against neo-Nazis. The very same people, though, are not simply unable to analyze other forms of antisemitism. They actually denounce scholars and others who analyze neo-Nazi antisemitism along with Muslim, left-wing, and mainstream antisemitism. I myself witnessed many scholars, colleagues, and the public in the last years, particularly since the second Intifada in September 2000 and after the mass murder of 9/11, who did not just misrepresent, downplay or deny

³⁰ Fox News' Glenn Beck talks about a "revolutionary Holocaust" and means – not the Shoah, but the history of Communism, see his show in winter 2010 about "revolutionary Holocaust," <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,583732,0.html?mep> (visited February 28, 2012). This is a distortion of the Shoah and beyond a serious analysis of the crimes of Stalinism; see also chapter six and my analysis and criticism of historians Ernst Nolte, Timothy Snyder and Jörg Baberowski, among others.

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antisemitism. Many of them, pretending to be scholars of antisemitism in all its forms, defamed any scholarship, which dealt with more than just neo-Nazi antisemitism. Some of them even promote antisemitism in a disguised form.

I hope this book helps initiate a vibrant debate among both scholars, students, and the public about antisemitism as a specific and highly dangerous phenomenon. This book raises a liberal, scholarly voice for Israel and against Holocaust trivialization and antisemitism in all its forms.

Research on antisemitism – *some* aspects of the state of the art

Antisemitism means hatred of Jews as well as hatred of the Jewish state of Israel, and it means the distortion of the Holocaust. Besides fashionable anti-Zionist books, framed as introductions into the study of antisemitism, scholarly research on antisemitism resulted in several important studies in recent years, too. First of all the opus magnum of Israeli historian and head of the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (SICSA) at Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Robert S. Wistrich: *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad*, published in 2010.³¹ Discussing the entire history of antisemitism, Wistrich focuses on Muslim, Arab, and Iranian antisemitism in particular. The number of books and scholarly articles by Wistrich since the early 1970s on the topic of antisemitism are exceptional in the field. He is also among the very few scholars who are trained in analyzing historical aspects of antisemitism, like the history of the Jews in Vienna in the late 19th century until the 1930s, and also are commentators and scholars on contemporary antisemitism. He uses his scholarly tools and achievements to alert the world when it comes to

³¹ Robert S. Wistrich (2010): *A Lethal Obsession. Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad*, New York: Random House.

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