

HIS/POL XXX: The Politics of Prejudice: Religion, Israel, and U.S. Foreign Policy

Professor Holly Huffnagle

Spring 2019

Thinking Historically GE (4 credits)

Thinking Globally GE (4 credits)

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COURSE DESCRIPTION:

Antisemitism has been called the world's longest hatred. It's been called a virus. A disease. The leading cause of genocide. Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel recalled, "We were there. We saw our parents, we saw our friends die because of antisemitism." But what really is it? Is it a bigotry or an ideology? Why has it persisted for so long? And why—decades after the Holocaust—are we now seeing a resurgence around the world? By tracing the development of antisemitism from the past to the present, this course will seek answers to these questions in order to better comprehend current events, trends, and international policies; better monitor and combat this hatred; and better promote democratic principles, human rights, and respect for the other.

In 1948, three years after the end of World War II and the Holocaust (and the same year as the establishment of the State of Israel), the French philosopher Jean Paul Sartre published his famous "Reflections on the Jewish Question." He noted that if the Jew did not exist, the anti-Semite would invent him. Therefore, antisemitism was not—and is not—a Jewish problem. It is a problem for non-Jews. And it must primarily be viewed and understood as "our [non-Jews'] fault." Antisemitism is a problem, especially, as we will see from our own history, for Christians. While hatred of Jews has existed well before the time of Christ, more than a thousand years of Christian anti-Judaism laid the groundwork for the Holocaust. And while many theorized (and hoped) that antisemitism would end after the Holocaust, today it extends across dozens of countries on different continents, takes many different forms, and current trends reveal rising levels. In the last few years alone, Jews have been purposefully targeted and killed once again in the heart of Europe: in France, Belgium, and Denmark. Nor is the United States immune to antisemitism—most religiously-motivated hate crimes take place against Jews. What our nation witnessed Charlottesville in the summer of 2017 is a stark reminder of this fact. What are we going to do about it?

This is not one's typical course. As both a historian by training and a former diplomat, my goal is to bring the past—the history of antisemitism—into the current events, conflicts, and diplomatic engagements of the present. The first half of the course will focus heavily on the historical context, causes, and components of antisemitism, while the second half will explore how antisemitism manifests itself in the political movements of the far-right, the far-left, within Islam, and even in countries where there are no Jews. This type of class structure will allow us to grapple with primary sources, such as Martin Luther's *On the Jews and their Lies* or the plagiarized forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and then—once equipped with this contextual knowledge—learn how engage the topic as a diplomat in an international organizational setting.

Given the timely and controversial nature of this subject, as the few remaining Holocaust survivors pass away, as a fair and democratic resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict increasingly seems unattainable, as Islamist terrorist networks and propaganda increase, and as

anti-Jewish conspiracy theories rapidly spread across the Internet, it is all the more important for students to study this topic—to know its history, recapture its relevance, and participate in more-informed discussions with elected officials and policy makers on ensuring that combating antisemitism remains a domestic and foreign policy priority.

COURSE OBJECTIVES:

Westmont College actively promotes an interdisciplinary approach across majors and seeks to develop students' intellectual capacities. This course—which has history, religious studies, political science, and international relations components—has two main objectives: to enhance one's ability to think critically and to better engage diplomatically by utilizing historical knowledge and tools. American historian David Nirenberg provocatively (and rightly) said that the critical thinkers of our present age “increasingly reject the idea that history can tell us anything vital about many of the questions that seem most pressing to us... Many see the mere invocation of the past as a symptom of special pleading (for example, when histories of antisemitism or the Holocaust are invoked to silence criticism of the State of Israel.) Far too often they are right; history can easily become unreflective, pathological, impending criticism rather than furthering it.” And yet history provides a “powerful stimulus to consciousness about the ways in which we see the world.”¹

The course will also uphold Westmont's mission of cultivating thoughtful scholars, faithful leaders, and grateful servants for global engagement. It aspires to promote curiosity, intellectual insight, and reflection, while humbly acknowledging our own limitations. Throughout the semester, students will grapple with the difficult and complex topic of antisemitism. With gained insight, students will be able to provide more informed and compassionate responses to the following questions: What is the relationship between Christian anti-Judaism and racial (and genocidal) antisemitism? How have the old theological and racist forms of European antisemitism been incorporated with the anti-Jewish and anti-Israel sentiment coming from Islamist sources? How did (and does) the State of Israel and Israeli governmental policies affect antisemitism? While criticism of Israel (as the self-proclaimed Jewish state) is not necessarily antisemitic—and, in fact, often it is not—where is the line? When can anti-Israel animus cross the line into antisemitism? How do Jews themselves view antisemitism (and what constitutes antisemitism) differently? And given the varied opinions and beliefs, how do we promote the judicious use of the term? Lastly, and more importantly, what does this topic mean to us as Christians? This topic is not only academic, but also advocative.

Even if our questions have no easy answers, Nirenberg rightly noted, “without asking them we cannot become self-conscious about how we think, either about past worlds or about our own...It points to a real danger in asking such questions, we stop asking them too early, as soon as we reach an answer that harmonizes comfortably or usefully with our own view of the world.”² Although students may have more questions by the end of this course, I hope they will be higher order questions.

HIS/POL XXX and GENERAL EDUCATION:

First, this course fulfills the “Thinking Historically” component of the Westmont General

¹ David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013), 11.

² *Ibid.*, 2-5.

Education curriculum. By the end of the semester, students will be able to:

1. Better understand the complex process of historical change, while also appreciating the particularities of time and place.
2. Read and work critically with primary and secondary historical texts. They will be able to recognize and understand source subjectivity and its contribution to a more balanced historical perspective.
3. Engage in thoughtful and interpretive conversations; further develop critical thinking skills; and practice constructing a historical narrative through written assignments, oral presentations, and class discussions.
4. Appreciate the important role historical context plays in shaping our understanding of the world and develop the ability to see others in this context to better cultivate compassion and encourage a posture of humility.

Secondly, this course will also fulfill Westmont's "Thinking Globally" requirement. Given the multifaceted nature and global impact of antisemitism, this course will utilize a comparative global perspective and equip students to be informed participants of enacting justice in the world. It will enable students to think globally about contemporary antisemitism by exposing them to a range of comparative perspectives on history, religious views, politics, and society, placing this phenomenon in a global context, discussing how hatred of Jews and Judaism has been impacted by globalization, and considering how issues of justice are at stake in the contemporary challenges being examined. Students will encounter various ways of thinking (different from their own), work with multiple (and often competing) narratives, and be exposed to a range of methodologies that extend beyond Western/North American approaches.

COURSE LEARNING OUTCOMES:

In accordance with Westmont's Institutional Learning Outcomes, students will be better able to:

- Differentiate different types of antisemitism and apply appropriate foundational theories to analyze pagan/Greco-Roman, religious, socio-economic, racial, and political antisemitism.
- Analyze the antisemitism through the lens of different Jewish internal and external experiences, categorized by political, religious, and historical contexts.
- Articulate how antisemitism is approached in different countries or distinct geographical areas.
- Demonstrate how antisemitism, its development, and different understandings affect contemporary politics and policies around the world, and within the United States.
- Understand contemporary sources of antisemitism and discuss what is meant by Zionism and anti-Zionism and where criticism of Israel can cross the line into antisemitism.
- Show increased global awareness and compassion, and reflect on how the study of antisemitism, including Christian anti-Judaism, might better inform one's Christian faith.

COURSE PROCEDURE and CLASSROOM POLICIES:

Classes will vary in format, including but not limited to formal lectures, student-led discussions, documentaries, and site visits (museums, synagogues, etc.). Prior to the lecture, students will

have completed the required reading assignments. Students are expected to attend all classes and participate in class discussion unless they have an excused absence.

Westmont College's policy for academic integrity will be strictly followed. Dishonesty of any kind may result in loss of credit for the work involved and the filing of a report with the Provost's Office. Major or repeated infractions may result in dismissal from the course with a grade of F. Plagiarism on Europe Semester will not be tolerated. To plagiarize is "to present someone else's work—his or her words, line of thought, or organizational structure—as your own. This occurs when sources are not cited properly, or when permission is not obtained from the original author to use his or her work." The College's plagiarism policy can be found here: http://www.westmont.edu/_offices/provost/plagiarism/plagiarism_policy.html.

Students who have been diagnosed with a disability are strongly encouraged to contact the Office of Disability Services as early as possible to discuss appropriate accommodations for this course. Formal accommodations will only be granted for students whose disabilities have been verified by the Office of Disability Services. These accommodations may be necessary to ensure your equal access to this course. Please contact Sheri Noble, Director of Disability Services prior to the group's departure date in August (805-565-6186, snoble@westmont.edu) or visit the website for more information: http://www.westmont.edu/_offices/disability.

All electronic devices need to be silenced and put away before class begins. Please use computers for note-taking purposes only. To ensure focus and limit distractions, I recommend coming to class with a notebook and a writing utensil.

COURSE ASSIGNMENTS and GRADING:

Grades will be assigned as follows:

- Class participation: **10%**
- Leading a class discussion: **10%**
- One primary source analysis essay: **15%**
- Mid-term Exam: **25%**
- Group presentation: **15%**
- Final Paper: **25%**

1. Class Attendance and Participation (10%)

Regular class attendance and active participation are central requirements to do well in this course. It is expected that all students will come to class prepared (having read all assigned reading material), take thorough class notes, and contribute to course development by demonstrating your grasp of the readings, asking questions and sharing thoughtful insights and ideas.

2. Leading an in-class Discussion (10%)

In addition to the lecture, each class will spend ample time reflecting on and debating the readings. Each student will have the opportunity to lead one of these discussions and will need to come to class prepared with questions, possible answers, and ready to keep the conversation moving.

3. Student Presentation (15%)

Students will work in groups of 3-4 and participate in a mock United Nations High Level Forum on Global Antisemitism.

[Need to add description]

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4. Mid-term Exams (25%)

A midterm exam, consisting of both objective and subjective questions, will be given during the semester. The majority of exam points will be earned during the exams' essay section. Students will be given a choice of four prompts (based on class readings, lectures, class discussions, etc.) and will select two to on which to answer during the exam.

5. Writing Assignments (40%)

Students will turn in two major writing assignments. The prompts will be provided separately in class. The first is a primary source-based essay (five pages) which will constitute 15% of the final grade. The second—in lieu of a final exam—will be a final paper (8-10 pages) which will be worth 25% of the final grade. Essays will be evaluated on the following criteria:

- a. The essay addresses the questions asked in the prompt.
- b. The essay is well written and well organized.
- c. The essay uses a range of appropriate sources historical background/context and to defend your arguments.
- d. The essay includes citations using footnotes as well as a separate bibliography at the end of the essay. Both the footnotes and bibliography information should follow the Chicago Manual of Style.
(http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html).

COURSE BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Required Readings³

1. Albert S. Lindemann and Richard Levy, eds. *Antisemitism: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
2. David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*. New York: Norton, 2013.
3. Ron Rosenbaum, *Those who Forget the Past: The Question of Anti-Semitism*. New York: Random House, 2004.
4. Alvin Rosenfeld, *Resurgent Antisemitism: Global Perspectives*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
5. Robert S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad*. New York City: Random House, 2010.

Films

Students will have the opportunity to watch several recent films (mostly documentaries) during the course of the semester, including:

- Germans and Jews (2016), directed by Janina Quint

³ Additional required readings not listed below will be given in class.

- Vice Documentary, *Charlottesville* <https://news.vice.com/story/vice-news-tonight-full-episode-charlottesville-race-and-terror>
- *The Cleaners* (2018), by Hans Block
- *Watchers of the Sky* (2014), directed by Edet Belzberg

COURSE SCHEDULE

Classes will be held once a week for three hours. There will be a 15-minute break every class session. Please note the below schedule is subject to change.

Week 1: Why the Jews? What is Antisemitism?: Introduction and Definitions

Before working on ways to combat antisemitism, we first need to explore what exactly it is. This class will discuss the origins and types of antisemitism. Is a formal definition needed? Why or why not? We will also explore how antisemitism fits within the family of bigotries and racisms, but how and why it is also different, and why this nuance matters in making more informed policy decisions.

Required

1. One pager on “Are Jews a Religious Group or an Ethnic Group?”
2. Robert Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred*. New York: Schocken, 1991), pp. 3- 12.
3. ADL Global 100: An Index of Antisemitism. <http://global100.adl.org/>
4. International Holocaust Remembrance working definition. May 2016. https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/press_release_document_antisemitis_m.pdf
5. Andrew Baker. “To fight antisemitism, first you have to define it.” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*. May 7, 2018. <https://www.jta.org/2018/05/07/news-opinion/fight-anti-semitism-first-define>.

Recommended

TBD

Week 2: Early Christian and Medieval Anti-Judaism

Required

1. John 2:13-25; John 5: 1-18; John 10: 22-39; Matthew 27: 1-37
2. Complete Official Text of the Oberammergau Passion Play, 126-135
3. Text on the Deicide charge (TBD)
4. Selections from St. Augustine and John Chrysostom (TBD)
5. Gavin I. Langmuir. *Toward A Definition of Antisemitism*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996. (Selections TBD)
6. Anthony Julius, “On Blood Libels,” (a pre-publication excerpt from *Trials of the Diaspora, A History of Antisemitism in England*), http://www.engageonline.org.uk/journal/index.php?journal_id=12&article_id=42

Commented [HH2]: The course schedule is completely in a draft stage. And many, if not most, sources listed will be altered. Some will be added, others deleted altogether as I streamline the objectives and goals of the course with the readings and class lectures/discussions.

7. Thomas of Monmouth. "The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich, 1173." In *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook, 315-1791*, Jacob Marcus, 121-127. New York: JPS, 1938. <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1173williamnorwich.asp>.
8. Luther, Martin. "On the Jews and Their Lies—Part 11." 1543. In *Luther's Works*, Martin H. Bertram, translator. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971. <https://www.ccrj.us/dialogika-resources/primary-texts-from-the-history-of-the-relationship/273-luther-1543>.

Recommended

1. Boys, Mary C. "Christianity's Complicity in the Shoah: Continuities and Discontinuities." *Journal of Interreligious Studies* (November 2014): 30-36.
2. Christopher Probst. *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.

Week 3: Socio-economic Antisemitism: Origins and Persisting Theories

Required

1. Germany/Austria chapter in Steven Beller. *Antisemitism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
2. Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question" <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/jewish-question/index.htm>
3. Wilhelm Marr, *The Victory of Judaism Over Germandom*
4. Emile Zola, "J'accuse" *L'Aurore* January 13, 1898. <http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/J%27accuse>.
5. Walter Laquer, *The Changing Face of Antisemitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 71-89.
6. Albert S. Lindemann, *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs – Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank 1894-1915* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 79-128.

Recommended

TBD

Week 4: Genocidal Antisemitism: The Holocaust

Required

1. Walter Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Antisemitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 107-124.
2. Robert Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (New York: Schocken, 1991) pp. 66- 77.
3. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Excerpt from Chapter 11, Nation and Race (beginning with sentence midway through chapter "The mightiest counterpart to the Aryan is represented by the Jew." http://www.hitler.org/writings/Mein_Kampf/mkv1ch11.html
4. Caricatures of Jews from *Der Sturmer*, <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/holoprelude/dersturmgal/index.html>
5. Susannah Heschel, "When Jesus Was an Aryan: The Protestant Church and Antisemitic Propaganda," *Betrayal: The German Churches and the Holocaust*, 68-89.

Recommended

1. Joseph Goebbels, "The Jew"
2. Lucy S. Dawidowicz. *The War Against the Jews*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975, pp. 3-69.

Week 5: Antisemitism after Auschwitz

Synagogue site visit

Catholic Church Response (and diplomatic engagements from 50th anniversary of *Nostra Aetate*)

Required

1. *Nostra Aetate* (prefaced with remarks at ceremony by William H. Cardinal Keeler in 1997, http://www.sacredheart.edu/pages/1875_october_28_1965_nostra_aetate_vatican_i_i_document_cfm)
2. Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 167 – 169 (TBD)
3. Alina Cala. "Antisemitism Without Jews and Without Antisemites." (TBD)
4. Poland's 'Holocaust' or 'Memory' Law

Recommended

TBD

Week 6: Israel, Zionism, Anti-Zionism

Is there a 'new' antisemitism? Should a definition of antisemitism include some of its anti-Israel manifestations? Are comparisons of Israel with Apartheid-South Africa antisemitic? Calls for Boycott/ Divestment and Sanctions? Questions of an "Israel Lobby"?

Required

1. Article on creation of Israel (maybe Wistrich one?). Need unbiased historical narrative.
2. Theodore Herzl, *The Jewish State*, "The Jewish Question" (through section "Palestine or Argentina") <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Zionism/herzl2b.html>
3. Brian Klug, "No, Anti-Zionism Is Not Anti-Semitism," December 3, 2003, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/dec/03/comment>
4. Judy Rebick, "Israel Is An Apartheid State And That Is Why They Are Losing Legitimacy," *Transforming Power*, March 1, 2010 <http://transformingpower.ca/en/blog/israel-apartheid-state-and-why-they-are-losing-legitimacy>
5. Benjamin Pogrund, "Israel is a Democracy In Which Arabs Vote – Not an Apartheid State," *Focus 40* (December 2005) http://www.zionism-israel.com/ezone/Israel_democracy.htm
6. News articles from Malmo, Sweden and Wuppertal, Germany (TBD)
Required: "The Palestinian National Charter : Resolutions of the Palestine National Council, July 1-17,1968," http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/plocov.asp
7. "Hamas Covenant, 1988: The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement," http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.
8. Article on the Palestinian Christians (TBD)s

Recommended

Commented [HH3]: This is too dated, but need to find something similar to present dual narratives.

TBD

Week 7: The Arab World: Antisemitism as Conspiracy Theories and Political Islam

Primary source essay due

Required

1. Robert S. Wistrich. *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad*. New York City: Random House, 2010.
2. Bernard Lewis, *Semites and Anti-Semites: An Inquiry Into Conflict and Prejudice* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), pp. 117-139, 140-148, 205-222.
3. *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*
4. Frederick Schweitzer and Marvin Perry. *Antisemitic Myths A Historical and Contemporary Anthology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008. [pages TBD]

Recommended

TBD

Week 8: Communism and the Soviet Jewry Movement

Commented [HH4]: Possibly move to section on the Left, and open up this class session.

Required

Recommended

Week 9: Midterm Exam

Week 10: Spring Break

Week 11: Challenges on the Right: Holocaust Denial and Historical Revisionism

Required

1. Anna Sommer Schneider chapter in Alvin Rosenfeld. *Resurgent Antisemitism: Global Perspectives*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
2. Deborah Lipstadt. *History On Trial: My Day in Court With David Irving*. New York: Ecco, 2005. (selection TBD)
3. Rafal Pankowski. *The Populist Radical Right in Poland*. New York: Rutledge, 2011. pp. 104-110.
4. "The Holocaust Was a Hoax," <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3X2vUMh9Hr0>
5. Article on far-right parties in Europe with relation to antisemitism (TBD)

Recommended

Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*. New York: The Free Press, 1994.

Week 12: Challenges on the Left

Required

1. Mitchell Cohen, "Antisemitism and The Left That Doesn't Learn," *Dissent Magazine*, Fall 2007, <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=972>
2. What is happening with Corbyn and Labour....

Recommended

1. Zionist article on failure of intersectionality
2. David Hirsch or David Rich articles

Week 13: Violent Antisemitism: Western Europe

Required

1. Jeffrey Goldberg, "Is It Time for the Jews to Leave Europe?" *The Atlantic*. April 2015.
2. Gunther Jikeli Antisemitism among Muslim communities

Recommended

Reading on the refugee crisis in Europe, and the debate over incoming antisemitic attitudes

Week 14: Digital Antisemitism and Hate Speech

Film: *The Cleaners* (2018), directed by Hans Block

Required

Tesis. "Dignity and Speech: The Regulation of Hate Speech in a Democracy." 2009.

Recommended

TBD

Week 15: Monitoring and Combating Antisemitism Today: What is being done?

We will look both at efforts abroad and right here at home in the United States.

ADL guest speaker (Cindy Silverman)

Extra credit opportunity: Volunteer project with the Anti-Defamation League in Santa Barbara

Required

1. Charlottesville
2. Article on UC schools?
3. Debate on Antisemitism Act going through Congress...
4. Kenneth Marcus, "Is BDS Anti-Semitic" in Cary Nelson and Gabriel Noah Brahm, *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel*, 243-258.

Recommended
TBD

Week 16: UN High Level Forum on Global Antisemitism: Student Presentations

Film: Watchers of the Sky (2014), directed by Edet Belzberg

Week 17: Final Papers Due

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