Confronting Contemporary Antisemitism
Distinguished Visiting Professor Ira Forman
Center for Jewish Civilization

Wednesday: 11:00 am -1:30 pm (ICC 117)

Office Hours: For Mr. Forman (305-Q Bunn): Wednesday 9:30 AM-10:55 AM

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Course Description: This course will examine the origins and background of contemporary antisemitism, as a prerequisite to understanding the complex nature of today’s antisemitism and the wide-ranging efforts to combat it. We will closely examine the U.S. Government’s role in combatting antisemitism in recent decade as well as the role of actors in civil society that oppose bigotry. The course is specifically focused on exploring how future practitioners in the fight against 21st century antisemitism—U.S. State Department or other federal government professionals, Non-government Organization (NGO) leadership, civic activists and others—can be most effective. Students will study the varying types of antisemitism in different parts of the world, how to assess the degree of threat to various national Jewish communities and explore the tools that can be used to protect these communities and to push back against anti-Semitic hate crime and hate speech. We will study the cultural, intellectual and ideological origins of antisemitism and the Jewish social and political response to it. The following questions will be addressed, including: what are the roots of contemporary antisemitism and what makes it different from its pre-modern and theological roots, also known as anti-Judaism? What are the patterns of antisemitism in Eastern and Western Europe? Finally, what are the implications of the global resurgence of antisemitism and whether we can

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1 Syllabus content is subject to addition and changes during the semester
2 Except the first class on January 17 when the class will start at 12 noon and end at 1:30 PM. Also the week of January 28th. On Wednesday, January 31 I will be traveling and we will reschedule the class for another time on Friday, February 2. Starting Wednesday, February 14 our class will move from Makom to ICC 117 for the rest of the semester.
equate antisemitism and anti-Zionism in an ideological, political and intellectual narrative?

**Learning Goals:** This course will attempt to provide students with the following skills and appreciations:

1. To learn critical thinking in connection with course topics;
2. To enable students to approach the problem of global antisemitism by analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) and prioritization, develop an understanding of organizational culture, understand the tools available and develop the ability to identify and utilize institutional allies;
3. To understand the history of antisemitism;
4. To gain an understanding of the nature of contemporary anti-Semitism;
5. To understand the roles of different international actors who combat anti-Semitism;
6. To understand the tools that actors in government and the non-profit world can employ to combat antisemitism or other forms of human rights abuse.

**Course Requirements:**

**Class Attendance and Consistent Participation:** Students are expected to attend all meetings of the course and to have carefully completed the reading assignments. Any student who missed more than one class will write a 2 page-long summary of the class readings from that week. All the summaries are due no later than a week after the missed class.

**Weekly Critical Questions:** For each class, each student should write two critical questions about the weekly readings and post them **24 hours prior to the class.** These questions should probe and challenge the readings, testing their arguments, evidence, and/or internal coherence. To put them on Blackboard, go to the **Tools** selection on the course site, then select **Discussion Board.** You will find a list of the weeks of the course, click on the appropriate one. Then click **Create Thread.** You can then type your questions in the that thread. Please include your name in the thread title.

**Mid-term Essay:** In addition to fulfilling reading assignments, critical questions and demonstrating strong class participation, students are required to submit an exam essay no later than March 1, 2018 and a research paper at semester’s end—April 30.

Quizzes on films and readings may be required during the course of the semester.
*Research Paper: (12 to 15 pages-long):* Every student will write a research paper on his or her topic. Students will be asked to pick a country from a list provided in class, analyse the nature of the local antisemitism, that country's history, the nature of the Jewish community, government policy, and using the techniques of analysis and tools to come up with a plan to protect the Jewish community and counter antisemitism. This paper will be based on comprehensive research of primary and secondary sources. The research topic **will be discussed and approved by Professor Forman.** Research paper is due no later April 30.

**Grades:** Letter grades are awarded. The University grading scale of “A” through “F” is used in this class.

**Note:** All the written assignments should be e-mailed to Professor Forman.

Please note: Late submissions will result in an automatic grade penalty (unless justified by a medical note). **No exceptions.**

**Georgetown University Policy on Religious Observance:** The University is very respectful of all religious observance and of the requirements of such in the lives of its students. In short, when your religious observance calls for you to be away from class or to need a deferral from assignments, you are most welcome to let your professor know that, so that an adjustment can be made to accommodate your request. Here is the official wording of the University policy in this regard:

“Georgetown University promotes respect for all religions. Any student who is unable to attend classes or to participate in any examination, presentation, or assignment on a given day because of the observance of a major religious holiday (see below) or related travel shall be excused and provided with the opportunity to make up, without unreasonable burden, any work that has been missed for this reason and shall not in any other way be penalized for the absence or rescheduled work. Students will remain responsible for all assigned work. Students should notify professors in writing at the beginning of the semester of religious observances that conflict with their classes. The Office of the Provost, in consultation with Campus Ministry and the Registrar, will publish, before classes begin for a given term, a list of major religious holidays likely to affect Georgetown students. The Provost and the Main Campus Executive Faculty encourage faculty to accommodate students whose bona fide religious observances in other ways impede normal participation in a course. Students who cannot be accommodated should discuss the matter with an advising dean.”

**Course Outline and Required Reading:**

All the readings will be available on Blackboard in the Readings section, with the exception of the following books that can be purchased at a book store:

Will Eisner, *The Plot: The Secret Story of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

**Class 1: January 17**
Introduction
We will begin with an overview of the course and our goals; review of course requirements and discuss changing meeting times for two classes that conflict with religious holidays.
No assignments are due; syllabus and bibliography to be reviewed;

Class 2: January 24
Jewish Demographics, Why Antisemitism?, and 20th Century Antisemitism
Classes 2 & 3 will examine historical antisemitism, examine Jewish demographics and explore different theories for the reasons of antisemitism. In Class 2 we will pay particular attention to the Nirenberg readings.

Assigned Reading:


**Class 3: February 2, 1:30 PM - 4:00 PM in Healy 106**  
**Christianity, Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism**  
(Guest Lecturer, Father Dennis McManus)  
A wide-ranging exploration of the history of Christian Anti-Judaism and how it relates to more modern forms of antisemitism.

**Assigned Reading:**


**SUGGESTED READING**  
Website that contains all of the documents of the Catholic-Jewish dialogue since 1965: [http://www.ccjr.us/dialogika-resources](http://www.ccjr.us/dialogika-resources)

**Class 4: February 7**  
**Assessing and Measuring antisemitism**  
To combat antisemitism we have to first identify what outcomes we desire. Moreover every government and every NGO has limited resources so we also must
prioritize where and when we want to employ those resources. Therefore, we must use the available data—survey research, hate crime reporting, etc.—to set priorities. However, all the available data sources have weaknesses and limitations so we must first understand those limitations and then supplement our data with anecdotal/non-quantitative information to effectively prioritize and focus our efforts.

**Assigned Reading:**
1. Survey of EU Jewish Communities Undertaken by the European Union’s Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA)
   a. FRA Summary of the findings in the eight largest EU Jewish communities  
   b. “Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States: experiences and perceptions of antisemitism”  
   Read Sections 2.3 and 2.4 pp 35-39. (Click on the top publication in the right-hand column labeled “Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States: experiences and perceptions of antisemitism”)

2. The Kantor Center at Tel Aviv University *Antisemitism Worldwide 2016* pp 5-10. Also chose two countries or regions reported on and read the section of the report that pertains to these two countries. For example if you chose the United Kingdom and Scandinavia you would read pages 56-60 and pages 22-25.  

3. Web page of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) pertaining to antisemitic hate crime in 2015  

4. “ADL Global 100: An Index of Anti-Semitism” Executive Summary pp 1-51  
   [http://global100.adl.org/#map/weurope](http://global100.adl.org/#map/weurope)

   [https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/270416.pdf](https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/270416.pdf) Read the country reports for France, Hungary, Sweden, Turkey and the United Kingdom. Be prepared to contrast the tone and length of each of these reports to the hate crime data and the survey research readings for this session.

**Class 5: February 14**

*The Role of the U.S. Government in Combatting Antisemitism*  
(Guest Lecturer, Amy Lillis, US Foreign Service Officer and Rusk Fellow at Georgetown)
The *Global Anti-Semitism Review Act* of 2004 established an office of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism (SEAS) at the U.S. Department of State. However, the SEAS office is only a very tiny part of the bureaucracy at the State Department. The Department's embassies and consulate, its regional bureaus, the office of our U.N. Ambassador, the Democracy Human Rights and Labor bureau are among the many offices of the State Department that determine how effective our policies to combat antisemitism really are. The National Security Staff at the White House and of course the President also play a vital role in setting and implementing policies in this arena of foreign policy. Moreover, the Secretary of State's own views as well as the views of the White House regarding the role human rights should play in foreign policy also effects what actions the U.S. government is willing to take to counter antisemitism around the globe. Some believe that given all these offices who are engaged in this effort that the SEAS Office may actually hinder the effort to counter antisemitism. We will explore the role of the various Executive Branch actors in developing and implementing our antisemitism policy.

**Assigned Reading:**

8. Transcript of President Obama's Address honoring four new Righteous Among the Nations at the Israeli Embassy January 2016 – read the transcript of the President's remarks or watch the last 21 minutes of the video [https://www.c-span.org/video/?403785-1/president-obama-remarks-israeli-embassy](https://www.c-span.org/video/?403785-1/president-obama-remarks-israeli-embassy)
9. *Atlantic,* "Why Keep State Department Special Envoys?," August 30, 2017

**Class 6: February 21**

**Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe**

(Guest Lecturer, Professor Anna Sommer Schneider)

Like Hungary Eastern European states have not experienced significant anti-Israel antisemitism. However, xenophobic, right-wing and neo-nazi movements are a significant problem. In this session we will start with examining Poland and also look at how some of the same issues of historical antisemitism, nationalism and anti-immigrant movements are also threatening both small and medium size Jewish communities in a number of states which were once part of the Warsaw Pact.

**Assigned Reading:**

   https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311486760_Antisemitism_in_current_Poland_economic_religious_and_historical_aspects


7. *Forward,* 7/17/17, “Meet the Jewish Activist Who Boosts Trump, Netanyahu and a Powerful Anti-Semitic Polish Priest”

8. SF Gate, August 20, 2017, “Jews ask Poland’s leader to Denounce Rising Antisemitism”
   https://www.apnews.com/06ec175984db44e2a83c6f26f5de74a5/Jews-ask-Poland's-leader-to-denounce-rising-anti-Semitism

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Class 7: February 28

**Other Actors Combatting Anti-Semitism**

*[Guest Lecturer, Mark Weitzman, Director of Government Affairs for the Simon Wiesenthal Center]*

The Executive Branch of the U.S. government is only one actor involved in the fight against global antisemitism. As we read last week it was the Congress that wrote the legislation mandating the creation of the SEAS office. In addition Israel and many of our European allies have developed policies that are designed to protect vulnerable Jewish communities. Perhaps, most importantly, NGOs and other civil society organizations are critically important in pushing back against this hatred. We will examine the role all of these institutions have played— not just in combatting antisemitism but also in the larger struggle for human rights.

**Assigned Reading:**


2. Gal Beckerman *When They Come for Us We Will Be Gone: The Epic Struggle to save Soviet Jewry*, Chapter 2, ”Failure May Have Become our Habit, 1963-1964”

3. J.J. Goldberg *Jewish Power*, n pp.163-176


5. Letter from Co-Chairs of the Bipartisan Taskforce to Combat Antisemitism to Hungarian Prime Minister
March 7: No Class, Spring Break

Class 8: March 14

Hungary 2015: A Case Study

Hungary has the fourth largest Jewish population in the European Union. According to the FRA survey of 2012 Hungarian Jews are the most likely of the European Union Jewish communities to have thought of leaving their home country over the last five years because of antisemitism. Yet Hungarian Jews are not nearly concerned as western European Jews of violence and antisemitism associated with anti-Israel sentiment is not a significant problem. However, Hungarian Jews can’t escape the antisemitic 20th history of their country. We will explore this history. We will see how history defines current antisemitism in Hungary and how it relates to the 2015 attempt by the Hungarian government to erect a statue honoring one of Hungary’s most prominent historians and one of Hungary’s most prominent antisemite.

Assigned Reading:

   https://www.ushmm.org/research/scholarly-presentations/conferences/the-holocaust-in-hungary-70-years-later/the-holocaust-in-hungary-frequently-asked-questions#1
2. The Homan Statue in Szekesfehervar: A case Study
   https://www.britannica.com/event/Treaty-of-Trianon
   http://www.hungarianhistory.com/lib/tria/tria35.htm
5. Hungarian Spectrum, three articles
   http://hungarianspectrum.org/tag/treaty-of-trianon/


March 21: No Class

Class 9: March 28

The Crisis for Jewish Communities in Western Europe

France and other western European countries have the extreme right, ultra nationalist antisemitism that characterizes eastern European states. But most of the Jewish communities of Western Europe are also fearful of the violent the antisemitism coming from a small minority of their fellow Muslim citizens. In the wake of the 2014 Gaza conflict and the subsequent threats to Jewish communities many western European Jews began ask if it was time to think of emigrating.

Assigned Reading:

2. James Kirchick, Daily Beast, 1/10/15, "Do Jews Have a Future in France"  
http://www.thedailybeast.com/do-jews-have-a-future-in-france
https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/04/is-it-time-for-the-jews-to-leave-europe/386279/
8. Re-read from Class 4 “Discrimination and hate crime against Jews in EU Member States: experiences and perceptions of antisemitism”  

Class 10: April 4
Anti-Semitism and Hatred of Muslims
Guest Lecturer, Arsalan Suleman, Fellow at GU Institute for the Study of Diplomacy and former Acting US Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).
Most of the literature on Muslim-Jewish relations address tensions between the two communities— especially in Europe. Yet there is also a recognition by many in both communities that when one minority community is threatened in a society other minorities are also likely to become victims. How are antisemitism and Muslim hatred the same? How is each of these hatreds unique? What tools work in combatting both types of hatred and what tools are effective with combatting one but not the other? How are the tensions between Muslim and Jewish communities an obstacle to working together? We will also discuss what challenges American Muslims face in the era of Trump.

Assigned Reading:
1. Aljazeera, 8/9/17, When anti-Semitism and Islamophobia join hands”  
   Material from the Muslim-Jewish conference  Just read pp. 1-2, 5-6, 13-15
3. Dr. Faisssal Hameed and Mehri Niknam MBE Co-Editors Confronting Antisemitism and Islamophobia: An exploration of their socio-historic and theological roots and similarities. pp. 34-44
4. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 7/7/17, “Muslims and Jews hammer out strategies for blocking bans on ritual slaughter and circumcision:
10. http://bridge.georgetown.edu/islamophobia-the-right-word-for-a-real-problem/

Class 11: Wednesday, April 11
Anti-Semitism in Other Parts of the World
When we think about global antisemitism we usually envision the threats faced by Jewish communities in Europe or perhaps antisemitism coming out of Arab states that do not have Jewish communities any more. However, roughly five percent of world Jewry lives outside Europe, the United States or Israel. Each of the Jewish communities in these countries face their unique forms of antisemitism.

Assigned Reading:
2. Washington Post, 5/15/17 “A Turkish TV Blockbuster Reveals Erdogan’s conspiratorial, anti-Semitic worldview”
3. Roya Hakakian, Tablet 12/30/14 “How Iran Kept Its Jews”
   https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/conspiracy-theory/2015/04/23/0d2d07ca-e90b-11e4-aae1-d64271d8afa_story.html?utm_term=d05a4fde2e93
5. Enrique Krauze, New York Times, 8/15/14 “Anti-Semitism Stirs in Latin America”
   http://www.haaretz.com/jewish/features/1.591841

Class 12: April 18

Antisemitism in the United States

(Guest Lecturer, Jonathan Greenblatt, CEO of the Anti-Defamation League)

Until this past decade the American Jewish community was the largest Jewish community in the world. Though antisemitism was a constant throughout American history (most prominently in the first half of the twentieth century) American antisemitism never was as endemic or virulent as the European variety. Moreover, in the last 50 years Jewish Americans have experience an unprecedented acceptance in American society. In the last year, however, incidents of social media antisemitism, virulent anti-Israel sentiment on some college campuses and the rise of the alt-right has many American Jews asking if the last fifty years were just an aberration. In this session we explore historical American antisemitism, American attitudes to Judaism today and whether recent events foretell a trend.

Assigned Reading:

3. *U.S. News*, 3/20/17, “Frightening False Alarms: Despite the recent wave of threats against Jews, the U.S. is likely not becoming more anti-Semitic”
https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2017-03-20/is-america-becoming-more-hostile-toward-jews


5. ADL Survey 2016: An Anti-Defamation League Survey

http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/statistics-on-religious-hate-crimes

7. *Jewish Virtual Library*, "ADL Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents 2016"


http://www.pewforum.org/2014/07/16/how-americans-feel-about-religious-groups/

**Class 13: April 25**

**Anti-Semitism and its relation to criticism of Israel**

Many analysts of antisemitism see the development of a new strain of this disease arising since the Holocaust and gaining particular strength in the 21st century. This “new” antisemitism eschews the blatant racial hatred of Jews that characterized the first half of the 20th century and focuses laser-like on the state of Israel—judging Israel to standards that other nation states are not held. In this session we will address many questions. Is this type of criticism of Israel truly antisemitic? If so how do we distinguish between legitimate criticism of Israel and antisemitism? What is the U.S. policy toward this type of criticism of Israel? Why has the United States supported efforts to codify a working definition of antisemitism? What kind of strategy should we develop to counter 21st century antisemitism.

**Assigned Reading:**

1. U.S. Department of State, “Defining Antisemitism”
https://www.state.gov/s/rga/resources/267538.htm

2. Andrew Baker, *Times of Israel* “To fight anti-Semitism first define it”
http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/to-fight-anti-semitism-first-define-it/


