

Ahasver, Mammon and Moloch: Anti-Jewish images 1602 to 9/11

Antisemitism and Germany:

anti-Jewish images from 1602 to 9/11

About Ahasver (the »eternal Jew«), anti-capitalist antisemitism (»Mammon«) and blood libel (»Moloch)

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Prologue

As early as 20 years ago, Henryk M. Broder, one of the most prominent German journalists and authors, characterized the ways German society deals with anti-Semitism as follows[1]:

“There were and are three ways in which one may deal with the phenomenon of anti-Semitism in the Federal Republic: in a scientific way, in a historicizing way and in a defensive way. In the first case, one has to collect data, as if the issue at

hand were drunk driving or working-class children at secondary schools. But one must make sure not to draw conclusions from the data. In the second case, it is recommended to select topics such as 'Anti-Semitism in the late Tsarist period' or 'Christians and Jews in the time of the first crusade,' which are surely important subjects, but whose greatest virtue is, of course, that everybody involved has been dead for a long time and one need not reckon with angry responses. Finally, in the third case, it is advisable to declare anti-Semitism a marginal phenomenon accompanying the otherwise fruitful German-Jewish symbiosis, to describe the Third Reich as a kind of natural catastrophe or accident, and to rehabilitate figures of contemporary history with a reputation of being anti-Semitic and to prove that they have been misunderstood. If indeed all three conditions are fulfilled, then the work will be considered high-level and will enjoy public funding." [2]

Introduction

I consider this paper as part of a theoretical approach to the study of anti-Semitism. The paper examines the anti-Jewish images of Ahasver, Mammon and Moloch and contributes to research on anti-Semitism, or to criticism of anti-Semitism, a criticism of both ideology and at the level of political economy. This is in contrast to many a dictum of desiring specifically "not to point out literary anti-Semitism" when dealing with Ahasver [3]. Analysis of anti-Semitism must include an examination of the society or context made it possible to think up and write down precisely a legend about Jews. For this reason, this working paper attempts to examine analogously three of the most important anti-Jewish images which are intertwined with one another: Ahasver, Moloch and Mammon. In doing so, it goes without saying that the historical point of departure is not to be regarded in isolation, but in its relationship to the contemporary manifestation of such images. In addition, it is imperative to

inquire about specifically German patterns of this anti-Jewish triad.

Preliminaries: The German specificity and antisemitism

Before explaining in detail the three images of Ahasver, Mammon, and Moloch, let us at least to focus briefly on some German specifics. Three US scholars may help me in pointing this out. First the historian, philosopher, poet and Pulitzer-Prize winner Peter Viereck (1916-2006). In 1941 he finished his famous doctoral dissertation (PhD) at Harvard University, shortly after the start of World War Two. He served later as psychological advisor to the US Army. Viereck's PhD, entitled *Metapolitics. From Wagner and the German Romantics to Hitler*[4], attempted to define why Germany is a special case which has to be distinguished from other European and Western countries. Even though Viereck finished his work in 1941, before he knew about the Holocaust, his contribution is important in understanding German antisemitism. He distinguishes five developments which make Germany a specific case. 1) The "German" revolt against Rome and the "universal legalism of the Roman Empire and the universal absolutes of Christianity". Besides Viereck's pride in Christianity, he nevertheless points to an important point: Germans, or Hermann the Cheruscan (Arminius) fought the Romans at the battle of Teutoburg Forest in A.D. 9. This is indeed an important event in German nationalism even in the contemporary context, and even worse, it was an important topic in the rise of National Socialism. A more detailed analysis could also look at Jewish roots of universal rights and law, going beyond Viereck's pro-Christian perspective. Paganism was an important element of the early anti-universalist and cultural-relativist German attempt to reject Roman universalism. Roman universalism is, on the other hand, an important aspect of the American Revolution and constitution, e.g. the famous "Novus Ordo

Saeclorum", to which I referred in my PhD in 2006.[5] The anti-Roman German ideology can be seen in Heinrich v. Kleist's "Hermannsschlacht" (The Battle of Hermann) of 1808. Among other elements, the black flag of the Germans in that battle is important, as it indicates the 'total will' to destroy, not just to defeat.[6] The late 19th century movement "Los von Rom" [away from Rome] around Austrian agitator Georg von Schönerer claimed: "Ohne Juda, ohne Rom bauen wir Germaniens Dom" [Without the Jews, without Rome, we build Germany's cathedral].[7]

2) The second revolt Viereck assesses is the medieval Saxons who reject Christianity. Instead, they fought "for their god Wotan against Charlemagne (...)." [8] 3) The third German Revolt is related insofar as Luther and the Reformation in the 16th century rejected as well (Catholic) universalism and Rome in order to establish a 'German' way of Protestant Christianity. Furthermore: we can see a specific German situation in terms of creating three different ways of anti-Jewish thinking. First the Pagan Revolt against monotheism, which is an important aspect of right wing extremism, especially the "New Right", the topic of my PhD. The neo-pagan resentment against monotheism and the cultural relativist plea for "a god for every people". rejects Christianity. It is seen by pagan anti-monotheist ideology as another form of Judaism (on another level). Viereck was already pointing to these tendencies, even though he might have been too optimistic about Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular. The two other religious elements in Germany are of course Luther and Protestantism, and Catholicism. No other major European country has three big and influential religious elements of antisemitism. Italy, France, Spain, and Poland, are all Catholic. Britain has a tradition of Protestant, but Germany has both. In addition National Socialism was supportive of (neo)paganism. This complex religious situation in Germany since the 16th century must be taken seriously in its specifics. 4) The fourth German

“Revolt against the Roman Empire’s western heritage” was directed against France. From the late 18th century until the late 19th century, from “Sturm und Drang” [“Storm and Stress”] until the neo-romantics, a specific German way of denouncing western values and principles developed. Finally,

“Nazism, the fifth revolt, the most radical break ever made with western civilization, would annihilate our liberties, our very bodies and our most basic ethics.”[9]

Vierecks outlook of 1941 saying „Germany’s ceaseless cultural pendulum will swing back to its western pole“ failed. Even at the time this was printed in 1941 the Germans were killing the Jews in the Holocaust.

Therefore, I turn now to my second reference, dealing with the German specific: this is Daniel Jonah Goldhagen’s PhD also at Harvard University, published in 1996. It is entitled *Hitler’s willing executioners*[10]. Goldhagen argues that a specific type of German antisemitism evolved as the result of a unique political culture. He focuses on the antisemitic motivations of German perpetrators and killers during the Holocaust. He refers to the “Polizeibataillone” [Police Battalions], “Jewish” work in the concentration camp, and the “Death marches”. Elsewhere I have written about the specific argumentation of Goldhagen and the Goldhagen debate, also in relation to the attempt of philosophers Horkheimer and Adorno and their “Dialectic of Enlightenment” of 1947. This debate aimed at shedding some light on both bourgeois society in its unspecificity and on Germany and its specific development, first until 1933 and then until 1945.[11]

One quote of Goldhagen’s work here is important for understanding. The specific German understanding of “the Jew” is in its core different from other anti-Jewish constructs like that in France in late 19th century (Dreyfus-affair), or in Russia at the 1880s, at the start of the pogroms:

“The underlying German cultural model of ‘the Jew’ (*der Jude*) was composed of three notions: that the Jew was different from the German, that he was a binary opposite of the German, and that he was not just benignly different but malevolent and corrosive. Whether conceived of as religion, nation, political group, or race, the Jew was always a *Fremdkörper*, an alien body within Germany.”[12]

The ensuing Goldhagen debate was a significant step forward in increasing the awareness of antisemitism as the core of National Socialism and the Shoah.

The third contribution I would like to refer to is historian Paul Lawrence Rose’s. He wrote several books on German history, of which the most important for my paper is *German Question/Jewish Question. Revolutionary Antisemitism from Kant to Wagner*, first published in 1990.[13] I shall focus on some of Rose’s important questions, which help in the understanding of the phenomenon of German history and antisemitism. He shows that, especially from the 19th century until Hitler and National Socialism, a type of “revolutionary” antisemitism developed in Germany’s political culture.

“The historical problem, however, is why it was that German antisemitism, rather than that of any other society, produced the movement and the means for physically implementing the ‘destructionist’ mentality. We cannot say just it was an accident that German and not, say, Polish or French antisemitism brought about the Holocaust and shrug off further discussion. For a fire to burn, there must be tinder and fuel. Only if an entire culture were permeated – not always malevolently – with anti-Semitic sensibility could it allow itself to initiate and participate in such a process as the Holocaust. I tried in this book to delineate a peculiarly German corruption of the whole spectrum of intellectual and political culture – even of ‘pro-Jewish’ opinion – by a habit of thinking and feeling that was profoundly anti-Jewish. (...)

To regard German antisemitism as just one of many antisemitisms and disconnect it in any substantial way from the explanation of the Holocaust is to fall into a most serious historical error.”[14]

Rose highlights an often neglected point, and I want to contribute with my working paper, to some extent, to the discussion about the specific German version of modern antisemitism, without neglecting general and almost universal elements of antisemitism in the contemporary context.

Making a connection between the German case and other aspects of antisemitism, Viereck helps us understand what is taking place. In his new introduction to *Metapolitics* in 2003, more than 60 years after the first edition, he adds some paragraphs dealing with Muslim antisemitism. As I will later discuss current trends in new antisemitism, his perspective is interesting. He clearly sees the danger of political Islam, even though he reduces the problem somehow as ‘just’ an import from Germany. For example he writes, that “Sati al-Husri, father of pan-Arabism in the 1920s, was a devoted Fichte scholar. So was Sami al-Jundi, a founder of the Baath (...)”.[15] Genocidal antisemitism cannot be appeased, and Viereck, like Goldhagen (whom he obviously does not like[16]) decades later, was well aware of the specificity of German Jew-hatred, which went beyond all known boundaries in the history of racism and exploitation (like imperialism and colonialism). As Viereck explains:

“After all, anti-Semitism was not profitable. This misses the point of Nazi *Metapolitics*: that it used up its transports for its death camps even when other use of transport would have been of greater economic and military use, just as working the persecuted minorities would have been more profitable than murdering them. (...) I wrote my book because I found most Americans blind to Hitlerism as a new religion, an evil Wagnerian dream. Not an economic utilitarianism that could be appeased, bought off.”[17]

There is a need to try to understand that National Socialists and Germans killed the Jews because they wanted to kill the Jews. There was no other aim or purpose in the Holocaust.

Without comparing Nazi Germany completely with Islamicist totalitarianism, we must focus on the special threat which derives from political Islam (and theological implications of Islam itself) and also relates to National Socialism and European antisemitism. This should and must also be the topic of further studies.[18]

Today there is a need to understand radical Muslim prayers, comments and resolutions, as Dr. Mordechai Kedar explained at a YIISA public lecture.[19] Benny Morris in his assessment that it is important to understand the specific threat deriving from political Islam, one that is contrary to typical political conflicts in Europe.[20] We have to learn to understand the language of (political) Islam, which differs harshly from Western civilization. If the West did learn something from the Holocaust, National Socialism and its antisemitism, then we have to focus on this new, different, but also genocidal threat, aimed especially at Jews and the state of Israel.

These more general aspects of German history and other aspects of antisemitism will now be analyzed in more detail. I will begin with Ahasver.

1) Ahasver

In a Danzig chapbook of 1602, the Jew Ahasver was depicted as a Jerusalem shoemaker, and the villain who, according to the Christian anti-Jewish idea, did not permit poor Jesus, carrying the cross on his back, to rest on his way to Golgotha. For this reason, the Jewish shoemaker was cursed and sent away to wander the world forever. Although this legend had existed since the 13th century[21], even if under another name, I would like to ask even at this point whether one can

make out a German specificity in the appellation “*ewiger Jude*,” “eternal Jew,” which had soon become notorious. Whereas in most European countries, the legend of the wandering Jew – the Wandering Jew, *le juif errant*, *Juan Espera en Dios*, *Ebreo errante* – is traditional and well-known, it was re-coded early – in 1694 – in German-speaking lands as the saga of the “eternal Jew.”[22] The attribute “eternal” cries out for redemption: for Christianity, it embodies the refusal on the part of Jewish People to accept the coming of Jesus as the son of God. This type of “redemption” consists in the demise of Judaism. The word “eternal” entails the anti-Jewish accusation of “Jewish stubbornness,” which was handed down especially in German-speaking countries. In France, Spain and England, it was “only” about the wandering Jew, in any case not about the “eternal” Jew. Since the late 19th century, however, blood and “race” have also been termed “eternal,” both of them central topoi of volkish thinking and modern antisemitism. Even the chapbook of 1602 which created the legend of Ahasver has its specifically German background,

“given that just a short time before, the Jews’ ‘stubbornness’ had become apparent anew because of their refusal to join the Reformation and had stirred up Luther’s anger.”[23]

In addition, concern with Jews can be interpreted as a concrete expression of a literary projection of actual conditions in the Hamburg of the day, when many Portuguese were “exposed as or revealed themselves to be”[24] Jews. And it is specific to Germany that in the 16th century, the Reformation reactivated old Christian dreams especially in a German framework, as Adolf Leschnitzer analyzes – and not, or to a lesser extent, in the contexts of Calvinism or other Protestant streams, e.g. in Switzerland, Holland or England[25]:

“The Jew Ahasverus embodied an age-old Christian dream which Protestant theology, above all Luther himself, had

passionately conjured up and brought to life again: the image of the damned and rueful Jew, who had once sinned against the Redeemer and who now meekly confessed his guilt.”[26]

These images have a significant impact over the centuries, indeed, we can recognize them as the *longue durée* of anti-Judaism developing towards antisemitism.[27] The following episode from the principality of Waldeck from the early 19th century vividly illustrates on another level a German specificity of a hallucination of the “wandering/eternal Jew” to be examined in more detail in further studies:

“Making the figure of Ahasver ‘real’ in the economic realm went along with making ‘eternal’ a category of time in the sense of the obviously continuing obligation to be mobile. In 1815, the magistrate of the City of Korbach in Waldeck refused to grant the wealthy Jewish import-export trader Salomon Simon who lived there citizen’s rights, the reason being, among others, that he had been roaming the world for years. For example, he had recently been to Düsseldorf. That is why one could call him a ‘vagrant.’[28]

Even though the “*wandering Jew*” is also called “the walking shoemaker” in Bavaria or “the running Jew” in Switzerland, Werner Zirus already emphasizes in 1930 that the “term ‘eternal Jew’ for the mysterious wayfarer” makes the “philosophical interpretation” more stimulating than “the more real names”[29]. Another scholar speaks aptly of the linguistic connection “*eternal Jew – real vagrant*” using the example of Waldeck.[30]

With the image of the “eternal Jew,” the individual imputation of guilt which made the individual Jew into Judas Iscariot, the betrayer of Jesus, could be recoded to create collective guilt and collective punishment of all Jews. For instance, in the mid-19th century, Karl Gutzkow, still often considered a harmless liberal writer of the literary movement Young Germany (*Junges Deutschland*), said, “The Jews were not damned to

wander the earth” because they had “committed a crime” against Christianity, but one “against humankind!”[31] Rose summarizes these developments as follows:

»A living, Wandering Jew was a far more pregnant emblem of enduring Jewish wickedness than a dead Judas Iscariot. (...) (In this book I translate *Ewiger Jude*, following English usage, as ›Wandering Jew‹, but the German emphasis on his unredeemed eternity of life has always to be kept in mind).«[32]

Between 1806 and 1808, Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano recorded old German songs and titled their collection “Des Knaben Wunderhorn” (“The Youth’s Magic Horn”). Ahasver can be clearly recognized in all of the collection’s anti-Jewish diction.[33]

In 1811, decades before Chamberlain’s antisemitic theories of race, von Arnim already formulated in his text ‘Versöhnung in der Sommerfrische’ that the Jews were bound to their Jewish “nature” “like a snail to the burden of its shell”, because: “He will always remain a Jew.”[34] Entirely consistent with this, Arnim and Brentano have Ahasver appear as the “eternal Jew” in “Des Knaben Wunderhorn.” And finally, it was von Arnim’s speech before the “Christlich-deutsche Tischgesellschaft” (“Christian-German dining society”) in the spring of 1811 – “On the Features of Jewry” – which has been characterized as “the nastiest antisemitic text of German Romanticism,” as historian Susanna Moßmann records. A glance at this inflammatory work makes the German line of continuity to Julius Streicher’s tirades of hate clear.[35] In “Versöhnung in der Sommerfrische,” Arnim works through the old Christian commandment to baptize in an apparently typically German way: he has a mariner take in a shipwrecked Jew and baptize him, only to throw him back into the open sea, as Germanist and publicist Gerhard Scheit reports:

“This is obviously the quintessence of the salvation of Jewry, as Arnim understands it – it is balanced in the center between

old and modern hatred of Jews and leaves hardly a doubt about the internal connection between the two.”^[36]

In baptizing, the Christian mariner has done his duty to liberate the world from unchristened Jews so that his Lord may return. The fact that this Christian seafarer then committed murder is completely irrelevant, for, from his Christian perspective, “the” Jew counts only as a factor for his own redemption as a Christian; as a human being, a Jew has no rights. And the Jew did not become a different person by being baptized, either, that is the racist tone of this story. The ‘eternal Jew’ must perish, according to the antisemitic ideology. The principality of Waldeck may serve as an example. An article devoted to the ‘eternal Jew’ had been written there in 1787. It tells the historic story about Jesus’s cross and the shoemaker in a specifically Protestant version. More interesting, however, is the ways in which the material has been handed down from generation to generation: “The legend was not dismissed as a ‘fable,’ but reinterpreted in an economic context because of the experiences that the Christians of Waldeck had putatively had with ‘the Jews.’”^[37] Thus, the two following versions of the antisemitic legend are typical:

“‘The eternal Jew cheated once, therefore, he must carry his burden forever. He once rested in [the village of] Wrexen and was seen there.’”

And:

“‘The eternal Jew that you’ve all surely heard of, he passes through at night, wailing and wailing all the time. That is because, – he used to cheat a lot of poor people and broke the Sabbath, he couldn’t get enough. And now, he has to fly through the air eternally because of that, all night long.’”

Volker Berbüsse interprets these two texts as follows:

“The first version was written down in 1860 by local Waldeck historian Ludwig Curtze, the second was recorded on tape in 1956 and published by Gustav Grüner. Both occurrences have something astounding in common: There is no recourse to the happenings around Jesus’s death on the cross, and the Jew of the Waldeck legend does not become an eternal Jew because of his transgressions, he is one even before doing evil.”^[38]

Rose, in turn, makes it clear that this transformation – Berbüsse speaks of reinterpretation – of the image of Ahasver was carried out as early as the 1830s. Accordingly, Ahasver’s refusal to grant Jesus a respite was transposed into a character trait of egoism:

»The Jews had formerly resisted Christ; now they resisted love and humanity. But at the root of this formal shift was the anthropological fear of ›the other‹ that refuses to be absorbed into the organic whole.«^[39]

In doing so, Rose conceptualizes “the other” especially as the “specifically Jewish,” as his title shows: *German Question/Jewish Question*.

Richard Wagner, the epitome of the Jew-hating star composer of the Germans to this day[40], revived Ahasver in “Jewishness in Music” (1850) in just as Christian-German a manner as did von Arnim, and what is more, redeeming humanity:

»But, remember, that there is only one real form of deliverance from the curse which besets you – that of Ahasuerus – the ‘Untergang’!«[41]

In his 1844 work “On the Jewish Question,”[42] Karl Marx saw emancipation to true humanity appear in the demise of Judaism[43]. Marx criticized Bruno Bauer, who had written an anti-Jewish essay on the “Jewish Question” shortly before that. Marx wanted to plead for political rights for Jews, but this did not go without contradictions, as he saw (like many

radicals of his time) Jews as responsible for capitalism. He wrote:

“Let us look at the actual, secular Jew of our time...the Jew of everyday life. What is the Jew’s foundation in our world? Material necessity, private advantage. What is the object of the Jew’s worship in this world? Usury/Huckstering. What is his worldly god? Money. Very well then; emancipation from usury/huckstering and money, that is, from practical, real Judaism, would constitute the emancipation of our time.”[44]

As did for example many socialists and Marxists thereafter, including during state socialism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War, Marx rejected the idea of accepting Jews as Jews:

“The social emancipation of Jewry is the emancipation of society from Jewry/Judaism.”[45]

Even though the anti-Jewish impact of this text has been well discussed at least since 1949[46], some scholars still do not even mention that Marx wrote an antisemitic article.[47] Historian Robert Wistrich, however, pointed out the problematic aspect of Marx’s essay:

“Marx undermined his own defence of Jewish civil rights in bourgeois society. At the heart of the ‘Jewish question’ Marx perceived the contradiction between political and human emancipation, between man’s existence as abstract citizen and egoistic bourgeois in civil society, and his species-essence as a social being. The road to full emancipation must lead back to man himself, not as an isolated individual but as an integrated human being who has overcome the separations he experiences in everyday life. The *solution* to the ‘Jewish question’, which presaged Marx’s imminent transition to Marxism, demanded the resolution of the contradiction between civil society and the political State. Since Marx identified Judaism as the worldly religion of money-worship which

underlay the atomism of society, it was evident that human emancipation was impossible until it had been concretely *aufgehoben*, i.e. abolished. Thus on the one hand, Marx supported Jewish emancipation as a demand fully consistent with the principles of bourgeois society while at the same time calling for its liquidation in the name of a higher social order. This dialectical paradigm which he bequeathed to the socialist movement encouraged an ambivalent stance towards the Jewish question open to anti-Semitic interpretation.”[48]

French Philosopher Robert Misrahi comes to the same conclusion. In the early 1970s, he wrote on Marx and the ‘Jewish question’, including an analysis of Christian German philosophy and also of French anti-Semites of that time like anarchist Pierre Joseph Proudhon.[49]

Marx retracted his equating of “Jewish principle” and “egoism,” “haggling” and money^[50] years later – among other places, in “Capital,” Volume 1 (1867) – in his epistemological retraction of such Jew-hating reification. After all, Marx recognized, in his analysis of the value form and the fetish character of commodities, that the tables were turned on their heads and started to dance, that man is no longer the subject of history, but rather commodities and value. In later years, Marx did not go along with a projection or reduction of this dance to a group of people or a particular sphere of the process, the process of circulation, although labor and production do not lose their dignity[51]; his analysis no longer permitted this.

And this is where both the other distorted images from the anti-Jewish arsenal unleash their effects: Moloch and Mammon.

2) Moloch and Mammon

Moloch is considered to be the god of human sacrifice, Mammon the god of money. Both are connoted as Jewish and

traditionally had strongly pejorative characters. Moloch served not only as a sign of Jewish human sacrifice, as in 1840 in the Damascus Blood Libel and in a European philosophy of those years which inspired one to see "Judaism as Molochism"[52]. Later it served also as an expression of modern life, in particular of urban life.[53] Machines, too, were often called 'Moloch' in a derogatory way, Moloch was cast pejoratively as a symbol of an anonymous, devouring power.[54] Today there are internet sites which agitate explicitly against the autobahn as a "Moloch,"[55] publicists stir up readers against the "Moloch USA"[56] in their books.

Analytically speaking, the following idea is important: Christians project their own obsession with blood precisely onto the religion of the Jews (necessary as the basis out of which Christianity could develop), which had itself evolved in opposition to the cult of blood. This instance of projection is a typical element of antisemitism. Horkheimer/Adorno write in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment*:

»The Jews as a whole are charged with practicing forbidden magic and bloody rituals. Disguised as an accusation, the subliminal craving of the indigenous population to revert to mimetic sacrificial practices is joyously readmitted to their consciousness. Once the horror of the primeval age, sent packing by civilization, has been rehabilitated as a rational interest through projection onto the Jews, there is no holding back. It can be acted out in reality, and the evil which is acted out surpasses even the evil content of the projection. The popular nationalist fantasies of Jewish crimes, of infanticide and sadistic excess, of racial poisoning and international conspiracy, precisely define the anti-Semitic dream, and fall short of its realization.«^[57]

This subject theory of critical theory, which is constituted in an orthodox psychoanalytical manner following Sigmund Freud, and which I would like to test here regarding the image

of Moloch, demonstrates how problematic every form of research on antisemitism is that believes it has to concern itself with Jews' behavior. Grotesquely misunderstanding antisemitism as racism and playing it down, so to speak, as prejudices or stereotypes against any random 'Other'[58] underestimates the psychodynamics of the antisemitic subject. Analyses that purport to draw conclusions from the interactive behavior between Jews and non-Jews are not only mistaken, but occasionally even champion antisemitic figures of thought themselves, for example sociologist Bernd Estel of the University of Tübingen, Germany:

"But also regarding the Jews who had resided locally for a long time and were usually well-integrated, even their more frequent supranational business ties and their internal social cohesion had to arouse the suspicion of the nationalists; and this suspicion was nourished additionally by the fact that the Jews belonged disproportionately to the 'Golden International,' perceived as un-German, on the one hand, and the 'Red International' on the other."[59]

In spite of the insights of critical social science, this assumption, based on the correspondence theory of truth, suggests that a certain type of behavior or the mere existence of Jews could lead to antisemitism. The anti-Semite, however, does not need to experience Jews himself.[60] Astonishing (or not) this article of Estel was published in an important volume of two co-workers of the Berlin Center for Research on Antisemitism (ZfA), Werner Bergmann and Rainer Erb, who do not even comment on this anti-Jewish article of Estel in the foreword or another part of this volume. I think it is interesting that two scholars, both affiliated with an institute for research on antisemitism, could edit and publish such an article.

My analysis of Moloch, as it occurs in Adorno/Horkheimers 'elements of antisemitism' attempts to shed light on the specificity of antisemitism like my analysis of Ahasver and

Mammon.

Now, about Mammon, who already resonated in Estel's talk of the "Golden International." The New Testament says: "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon"[61]. An idea of Rose's is of interest here; he speaks of a process of *secularization* of the blood libel beginning in the 19th century. The Medieval blood libel accused Jews of requiring human blood to carry out their rituals. Socialist versions of this blood libel by Karl Marx and Moses Hess argued that the Jews had secularized the religious practice and were now serving the god of money – Mammon had replaced Moloch.[62] A problematic point in Marx's criticism of religion lies precisely in this idea that emancipation is possible only as a rejection of god *and* Mammon, who is merely a secularized form of Jewish power.

It is exactly here that lies the key to understanding the connection between handed-down anti-Judaism and modern antisemitism. By no means does the latter feed only into the theories of race and their application, as researchers still frequently argue; in addition, they set the date of the onset of racial thinking much too late – usually only at the end of the 19th century. In this way, Jews are attacked from both sides: by the conservatives, by Christians who view the Jews as those who defiled Jesus's blood or who bring sacrifices to Moloch, and at the same time by the radical avant-garde, which promised the liberation of humankind from Mammonism, the rule of money, in an anti-Christian, anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois way. Christianity offers the foil for this secularization of antisemitism in the image of Mammon. Here a German *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community) could be delineated – still without a unified state, which came into existence only in 1871 – making it seem insignificant whether an antisemitic attack came from the right, the left or the center. Later, it was by no means only the volkish and the NSDAP of the Weimar Republic who opposed intellectuals, department stores or urban life, but already the early anti-

Semites around court chaplain Adolf Stoecker and his Christian-Social Party[63] as well as broad streams of German society. This disapproval manifested itself in debates about a “department store tax” that came up again and again and, as early as the 1890s, in an ongoing “department store debate” that said far more about German sensitivities than about the everyday behavior of consumers who sometimes shopped there.[64] Above all, we must reflect upon the combination of Moloch, Mammon and department store/warehouse, as several anti-Jewish threads of discourse (only a few of which were mentioned here) reinforced one another. Werner Sombart’s antisemitic utterance about German “*Helden*” (heroes) and English “*Händler*” (traders) at the beginning of World War I in 1915 puts these feelings of resentment in a nutshell.[65] Sombart had determined in 1911 that traders were in principle “Jewish” when he equated “Jewish rationalism” with “capitalist spirit.”[66]

In other words, the *longue durée* of antisemitism reveals itself relating to the image of Mammon as well. As early as 1910, a series of stoneware jugs were produced in the Westerwald region that sent their German-volkish or German-national message unmistakably. Christel Köhle-Hezinger and Adelhart Zippelius described them:

“At the top, the tree runs into a scroll: ‘Great happiness and joy at the news: Germany is rid of the Jews.’ Beyond the border, the Jews hurry towards a Golden Calf surrounded by an aureola on a raised platform before a camp of tents in the background, the “dance around the Golden Calf” begins. It, too, was often quoted both orally and in writing by anti-Semitic agitators as the embodiment of ‘the Jewish spirit of Mammon’.”[67]

In the late 19th century, Theodor Fontane had committed his antisemitism to paper in writing that “*der*” (“the”) “Meyerheim” – in the semiotics of language and names, this unequivocally meant Jews – “were present” “all over.” The popular German

author continues: "They dance and murder around the Golden Calf." Norbert Mecklenburg, who wrests this poem, "*Entschuldigung*" [68] from oblivion, counters the hegemonial, defensive reception of Fontane:

"The Golden Calf as god of the Jews was a central anti-Semitic ideologeme which could make traditional Christian anti-Judaism with its anti-Mammonist components interface seamlessly with modern anti-capitalist and racist anti-Semitism because of its biblical origins." [69]

Hermann Goedsche (better known as Sir John Retcliffe), whom Fontane not only knew well as a colleague in the editorial department of the *Kreuzzeitung* and whose works he received [70], set a milestone for the 'Antisemitic International' as early as 1868 in his novel *Biarritz*. In a decisive scene of this novel, which is set by the grave of a rabbi in the Prague cemetery, Jews from all twelve tribes gather every hundred years to consult on their power and domination over the world:

"After each participant has spoken, everyone swears an oath to the Golden Calf which rises from the rabbi's grave in a ghostlike blue glow." [71]

When this fantasy was handed down internationally, the Jews' consultations as set down by Goedsche are finally transformed into the speech of one rabbi:

"'The Rabbi's Speech' was soon distributed in Russia and other countries, as if it were an authentic document; it was a precursor of the later *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which were more detailed and sophisticated." [72]

A 1928 brochure by the Catholic Dr. Friedrich Mack with the apt title "The False God Mammon Kills the Law and Love" begins as follows: The "system of Mammon" is the "greatest emperor and tyrant," and its "coat of arms" [73] displays the following typical images: "the Golden Calf, the rich glutton, Judas, the

thief with the money bag.”[74]

3) Jewish resistance to the image of the “Wandering Jew”

It must be mentioned that (at least) the legend of Ahasver was also met by a literary and artistic Jewish countermovement. Jews attempted in many ways to shatter the anti-Jewish core of the Ahasver myth by, for instance, viewing the “eternal Jew” in a positive light, as if referring to Moses’ regarding promise, liberation and transcendence. A 1901 picture of Ahasver by Alfred Nossig, carrying “transcendence through the occident” – Nietzsche notwithstanding – as Alfred Bodenheimer says, serves as an example.[75] We must also think of the anti-Jewish undertones in Thomas Mann’s works and his lack of understanding of Jakob Wassermann’s quest for a possibility of being both “a Jew and a German.”[76] Similar to Nossig, Stefan Heym also tried to give Ahasver positive Jewish features, even promise and revolution.[77] In Franz Kafka’s work, however, the more dominating, sad image of Ahasver emerges, at times in Kafka’s tragic writing against himself, when he sees himself as the eternally wandering Jew. His image of the surveyor, which can mean both “surveyor” and “messiah” in Hebrew, is one approach to understanding this.[78] Here, the reference to Günther Anders, who grappled intensely with Kafka, is evident. In 1978, in a seldom noted text on his “Judaism,” Anders speaks of his “Ahasveric destiny”[79] which has been persisting for 70 generations for Jews. Here, as an older man, Anders returns to thoughts which moved him deeply as early as 1935: In the poem “Ahasver besingt die Weltgeschichte” (“Ahasver chants about world history”), he, who had had to flee from Nazi Germany two years previously, writes:

„Only I shall not perish, only I escape the cycle of life, every month going back to the beginning, only I am spared, because I am not worthy.“ (...) Am I to remain forever chosen?

Am I to be forever refused what every other is granted? Never to completely perish, never to rest beneath the footsteps and raking, never to live with death, unbound from time and moon?"[80]

4) Mammon today, after the 9/11 mass murder

On September 11, 2001, Islamist suicide killers murdered almost 3,000 people in New York when two hijacked airplanes were flown into the twin towers of the World Trade Center. Broad segments of German society reacted to this event with comments such as "Sowas kommt von sowas" (roughly: "what goes around comes around," whereby the speaker expresses sympathy for something unnamed, yet understood, while distancing him/herself from it), a saying which the PDS (Partei des demokratischen Sozialismus, the Leftist party which evolved from the ruling East German SED, the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, now called "Die Linke," "the left") even used as a slogan.

The reference to the 19th century is not all that far away; the antisemitic images of Mammon, Moloch and Ahasver are still alive. It became apparent after 9/11 that anti-Ahasver texts of the German left had contributed to ideology formation since the 1970s:

"Of course: I simply cannot call a nation 'my own' as long as country estates, factories and urban land ownership are not 'nationalized' as well, that is, that they belong to those whose work created them. Is it for this reason that terms such as 'homeland,' 'fatherland' are beneath our dignity, once and for all? Our leftist laborer of the superstructure knows: There is nothing more homeless, more rootless, more like Ahasver, than capital. It hurries around the globe, seeking tax shelters, low-wage countries and a cemetery-like climate

for investments, where it can fatten up on the work of others,”

wrote Hermann Peter Piwitt[81], longtime writer for the most important left-wing magazine in the Federal Republic, Konkret, in a 1978 volume in Wagenbach Verlag's Tintenfisch series, which was popular among writers and members of the Left and the alternative scene, expressing what German leftists think about Jews without even mentioning them. Former Federal President Johannes Rau, too, a devout Protestant and politician of the Social Democratic Party, spoke of “capitalist Mammon.”[82] But far more: in fighting Israel, anti-Zionists are struggling against the “ideelle Gesamtjude”[83] [Israel as collective Jew]:

“From the previous, isolated Jewish outsider in the midst of a non-Jewish population evolved a Jewish outsider state in the midst of a non-Jewish community of states.”^[84]

In doing so, National Socialism is compared or equated more and more with the US or Israel. In addition, such ‘committed individuals’ seek to liberate and cleanse the world from ‘unrestrained capital,’ from ‘turbo-capitalist financial jugglers.’ “The stock exchange was the first place to be opened again in the disaster area. A symbol? Mammon over mind?” is what not only Horst Mahler[85], a Neo-Nazi and Holocaust denier and good friend of Iran, but also leftist radicals[86] of the ‘Infoladen’ (a small, radical left cultural center) Tübingen say. What historian Rose analyzes conceptually for the 19th century with his triad of Ahasver, Moloch and Mammon, is still virulent even after Auschwitz, after the “Zivilisationsbruch” (“rupture of civilization,” Dan Diner) and is activated more and more as a sketch of a movement passed off as a revolution, a liberation of all of humanity.

Today, many opponents of globalization, Hamas, Islamic Jihad,

the Al-Aqsa Brigades, Al Qaeda or Hizbullah continue this struggle, *each with their own* means and methods. The Islamists 'run ahead to death' with their suicide bombing. They import Heidegger[87] to the Middle East. (This does not mean that all Muslim antisemitism and Jew-hatred is just an import from Europe, by the way, but that Europe influenced its evolution.)

As Robert Wistrich reports, the Arabic Writers' Association published a new version of the blood libel in their Damascus-based weekly in 2000, repeating the Damascus Blood Libel which had electrified European politics in 1840; today, the fantasy is about Jewish matzah balls that the Americans make from the blood of Iraqis, Palestinians, Lebanese and other Arabs, but also of Christians.[88] While the "Islamofascists"[89] therefore struggle against the Jewish Moloch in addition to Mammon, a famous, neo-heathen, anti-Christian and anti-Jewish writer[90] in Germany, Martin Walser, (publicly!) breaks a taboo, wishing death on a Jew and fighting against the enemy invading from the outside: the "eternal Jew"[91], who, ironically and cynically, presents himself as debonair and salacious – characterized as such by von Arnim in 1811, too – and, as Ahasver, is 'invulnerable' in the anti-Jewish fantasy. Walser's 2002 novel "Tod eines Kritikers" ("Death of a Critic") is permeated with time-honored anti-Jewish images.[92] Other Germans struggle with broad segments of the global 'Left' in its unbroken mania of making the abstract concrete against the 'god of money,' against Mammon. Walser versus Ahasver, the Left versus Mammon, the Islamists versus Moloch.

Since the founding of the state of Israel in 1948, this 'anti-mammonist' anti-capitalism, which culminates in the Jewish world conspiracy, has supported antisemitism disguised as anti-Zionism in refraining from analyzing power relations, and in cultivating resentment against the Jews, which had now evolved into resentment against the Jewish state. The persistence of this anti-Jewish image extends beyond the

Holocaust. An incorrect analysis of capitalism, riddled with the old images of Mammon, thus returns time and again. Piwitt's words quoted above – that there is “nothing more homeless, more rootless, more like Ahasver, than capital” – expresses this paradigmatically. On January 25, 2003, 20,000 people, first and foremost European Leftists, demonstrated against the World Economic Forum in Davos and some dressed up as Jews dancing around a golden calf[93]: a kind of feel-good antisemitism, because the

“anti-Semitism linked to the struggle against globalization presents a point of contact for the Right and the Left which has not existed so openly since the heyday of national bolshevism.”[94]

These foes of Jews consider themselves Leftist, free, emancipated and progressive, and not Nazis. Political scientist Daniel J. Goldhagen analyzed this image:

»An emblematic image of globalized antisemitism is of Donald Rumsfeld wearing a yellow star inscribed with ›sheriff‹, followed by a cudgel wielding Ariel Sharon who is flanked by a golden calf. (...) That this scene, expressing the putative globalized nature and predations of the Jews, was created for an anti-globalization demonstration in Davos is no mere coincidence.«[95]

Josef Joffe, too, political scientist and co-publisher of the German weekly *Die Zeit*, also dissected the antisemitic and anti-American dimension of the Davos scandal:

»The message? America is in thrall to the Jews/Israelis, and both are the acolytes of Mammon and the avant-garde of pernicious global capitalism. Let's call this ›conceptual‹ or ›neo-antisemitism‹. This variant lacks the eliminationism of the classical type, but it is rife with its most ancient motifs: greed, manipulation, worship of false gods, sheer evil. What is new? It is the projection of old fantasies on

two new targets: Israel and America. Indeed, the United States is an antisemitic fantasy come true, the Protocols of the Elders of Zion in living color. Don't Jews, their first loyalty to Israel, control the Congress, the Pentagon, the banks, the universities, and the media? This time, the conspirator is not ›World Jewry‹, but Israel. Having captured the ›hyperpower‹, Jews qua Israelis finally do rule the world. It is Israel as the Über-Jew, and America as its slave.^[96]«

Here, the German specificity of this otherwise global phenomenon lies in the coupling and mutual intensification of the resentment against Jews, as *secondary antisemitic*[97] patterns of rejection of memory and projection of guilt appear *in concert* with *primary antisemitic* motifs.[98]

Though this paper cannot reflect on Left antisemitism as a whole, a few important aspects have to be mentioned. Marxist sociologist Klaus Holz wrote with some friends in 2002 an article[99] in which he accuses Left support for Israel as sometimes being “blinded by Auschwitz”. Holz and friends wrote that Israeli policies are “state terrorism” and “Palestinian violence” is just “a response” to such Israeli actions. In a small book about antisemitism, Holz repeated his controversial argumentation, now saying that Muslim antisemitism (if it exists) is nothing but a response to the experiences of Muslim immigrants in Europe.[100] Holz is a well-known scholar on antisemitism, therefore his own contribution to new antisemitism by bashing criticism of Muslim antisemitism as “blinded by Auschwitz” is remarkable.[101] Besides academic examples there are of course also left-wing organisations which promote antisemitic tropes. The latest examples are rallies against Israel during the War on Gaza, where parties like the Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP) [German Communist Party], the Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands (MLPD) [Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany], a lot of so-called “Friedensbündnisse” [peace groups], or members of Parliament of the Party of the Left [Die Linke] participated.

Daily newspapers like *junge Welt* promote antisemitism by saying “I am against the state of Israel”, and “Zionism” is a “project of the colonial powers”, as Mamdouh Habashi of the African&Arab Research Center told the *junge Welt* in an interview on January 10, 2009.[102] These are just a few remarks on left-wing antisemitism in Germany. There have always been leftists against antisemitism, but today they are only a tiny minority. While extremist right-wingers are always antisemitic, in some rather conservative parts of German society, including chancellor Merkel, there is a certain tendency to support Israel. On the other hand, the capitalist establishment in Germany (and Austria) concludes big business deals with Iran; the Government is well aware of them, if not actually involved in such activity and cooperation.

Back to my remarks on the German left: The slogans chanted at demonstrations, such as “Beat the Zionists dead, make the Middle East red!”[103] (by the ‘68 generation) and “USA-SASS”[104] (by the “Autonome” of the 1980s), as well as “USA – genocide headquarters,” the latter slogan being used just a few days after the mass murder in New York, for example in Bremen at a radical leftist demonstration with more than 1,000 participants[105], are connected by a thread of projection of guilt which finally materializes in a whole tangle of hatred, resentment and projections in the winter of 2003 and finds its fitting image in the dance around the Golden Calf in Davos, Switzerland. This is the same topos as that of the Catholic anti-Mammonism[106] of 1928, the antisemitic stoneware jugs of 1910 from the Westerwald or Cologne, as well as that of Fontane’s poetry of the late 19th century. The fact that a dance around a Jewish golden calf can unite Europeans in the 21st century, *after* the rupture of civilization: that is inconceivable – and when history repeats itself this time, it is not a farce. The danger of this new-old antisemitism lies in particular in the Arabic and Islamic worlds:

“The Protean caricature of the Jew has been resuscitated by

today's followers of Jihad. Israel and Jewry have become the surrogate in the Holy War against America and the corrupt modern world (the *jahiliyya*). Uncle Sam has, in a sense, melded with Shylock to turn into the awe-inspiring ghost of globalization which threatens to overrun the world of Islam." [107]

Habermas's "European chauvinism" [108] vis-à-vis the US relies on the 'peace movement,' consequently the pan-European movement of February 15, 2003 [109] – and these people dancing in Davos are such peace dancers in the name of the anti-Jewish and anti-American [110] resentment [111] against 'the Jewish principle,' not to speak of the existential danger for Israel and the Jews worldwide because of Jihadism and its friends. As terribly as the words of an Achim von Arnim were turned into reality more than 130 years after their publication in the actual annihilation of Jews, of the 'eternal Jew' by willing Germans, all the more depressing is the existence is of the same anti-Jewish images 60 years *after* Auschwitz. The talk of "We happen to be living in difficult times, Modernity has so many anti-integrating elements, etc. etc.," which never goes beyond attempts to understand the perpetrators, or even prays for them – the "terrorists" – on a daily basis, as Cardinal Meisner blurted out [112] on the occasion of the Catholic World Youth Day, affirms the new antisemitism, as Mark Strauss established in late 2003 [113]:

"The new anti-Semitism is unique because it seamlessly stitches together the various forms of old anti-Semitism: The far right's conception of the Jew (a fifth column, loyal only to itself, undermining economic sovereignty and national culture), the far left's conception of the Jew (capitalists and usurers, controlling the international economic system), and the >blood libel< Jew (murderers and modern-day colonial oppressors«.

Conclusion

The analysis of Ahasver, Mammon and Moloch has attempted to make clear that these old patterns of antisemitism, which require examination in the future as well, are not all that new, particularly in their specifically German expressions. Even German revolutionary antisemitism in combination with conservative hatred of Jews displayed all three elements which Strauss identifies precisely: hatred of Mammon, Jews and the sphere of money and circulation; disgust about the imagined Jewish blood sacrifice to Moloch; and the image of Ahasver, the 'eternal Jew' which is subordinated only to his own interests, his unchangeable character and his domination of the world. These three images together constitute the immense danger of antisemitism and anti-Zionism. Nonetheless, it is correct to speak of a *new antisemitism* after 9/11 and the Intifada starting in autumn 2000, since an international political situation has come about which has isolated Israel to a greater extent than ever since 1948. Appeasement towards Islamic jihad is ubiquitous, not only in the Federal Republic of Germany. Antisemitism research, cultural studies, political sociology, literary studies, history, political science and other sciences involved should be obliged to confront this ideological triad of willing executioners. But the typical response of playing down antisemitism as a 'protest' against a particular 'policy,' the question of who might benefit from critical antisemitism research which analyzes antisemitism sui generis and does not break it down as if it were a 'social problem' or regard it in the context of the history of racism, must be identified as what they are: back-handed affirmation. Historian Omer Bartov put it in a nutshell:

"Hitler taught mankind an important lesson: If you see a Nazi, a fascist or an anti-Semite, then you must say what you see. If you want to justify or apologize for something, then describe exactly what you are playing down. If a British newspaper publishes an anti-Semitic cartoon, one must call it

anti-Semitic. If the attacks on the twin towers in New York were founded upon anti-Semitic motifs, one should say so. If a Malaysian prime minister expresses anti-Semitic opinions, one must not attempt to apologize for that which is inexcusable. If a self-proclaimed liberation organization demands the annihilation of the Jewish state, one must not pretend that it is demanding anything else. Where clarity ends, complicity begins.”[114]

Contrary to attempts to forget history and to trivialize the German role in it, and to downplay and to ignore the current, genocidal threat deriving from political Islam, Islamicism, or a murderous totalitarian regime like that of Iran[115] and organizations like Hezbollah, Hamas, Al Qaida, the Taliban, and others, not to forget the political culture of many Arab and Muslim countries and their communities and friends in the western world, I have tried in this small piece to decode some *specifics* of antisemitism, namely the influential images of Ahasver, Mammon, and Moloch.

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Footnotes

^[1] "Footnotes. Little has been written to date about the role of footnotes in science and the literature. It is certain, however, that they are a reserve in which subjectivity can run riot unpunished. (...) They are often a system of secret references and inform us in this way about preferences and dislikes which are allegedly irrelevant. Authors also reveal to us in their footnotes how their texts are supposed to relate to current events" (Redaktion 17oC (1996): Fußnoten, in: 17^oC. Zeitschrift für den Rest, issue 13, November/December/January 1996/97, p. 95). If there are sometimes two time data given in my references, the first indicates the first publication or the year a piece was written, while the second just shows the published year I am quoting from.

[2] Henryk M. Broder (1986): Der Ewige Antisemit. Über Sinn und Funktion eines beständigen Gefühls, Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, p. 209.

[3] Mona Körte (2000): Die Uneinholbarkeit des Verfolgten. Der Ewige Jude in der literarischen Phantastik, Frankfurt a.M./New York: Campus, p. 16. Körte is affiliated with the *Berlin center for research on antisemitism*. The section »Der Ewige

Jude« seems similarly depoliticizing; in: Stefan Rohrbacher/Michael Schmidt (1991): *Judenbilder. Kulturgeschichte antijüdischer Mythen und antisemitischer Vorurteile*, Reinbek bei Hamburg: rororo, pp. 246-252. Committed to immanence of the work, Hans Otto Horch plays down antisemitism, explicitly separating literary analysis from a political analysis critical of ideology: Hans Otto Horch (1985): *Judenbilder in der realistischen Erzählliteratur. Jüdische Figuren bei Gustav Freytag, Fritz Reuter, Berthold Auerbach und Wilhelm Raabe*, in: Herbert A. Strauss/Christhard Hoffmann (ed.) (1985): *Juden und Judentum in der Literatur*, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, pp. 140-171, here p. 171.

[4] Peter Viereck 1941/(2004): *Metapolitics. From Wagner and the German Romantics to Hitler*. Expanded edition. With a new introduction by the author, New Brunswick/London: Transaction Publishers.

[5] Clemens Heni (2007): *Salonfähigkeit der Neuen Rechten. ‚Nationale Identität‘, Antisemitismus und Antiamerikanismus in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Henning Eichberg als Exempel*, Marburg: Tectum Verlag (doctoral dissertation, University of Innsbruck, Department of Political Science, 2006). For “Novus Ordo Saeculorum”, its impact on the American Revolution and Constitution see my argumentation, which is based on Hannah Arendt’s “On Revolution”, Heni 2007, pp. 332-334.

[6] This is the argumentation of political scientist Andreas Dörner, cf. Heni 2007: 325-327.

[7] For some remarks and literature dealing with the topic of anti-Roman German thinking, including the Thomas Mann of the First World War, see Heni 2007: 328. See also Forrest McDonald (1985): *Novus Ordo Saeculorum. The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

[8] Viereck 2004: 12.

[9] Viereck 2004: 14.

[10] Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (1996): *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York: Knopf. In Germany the title was translated incorrectly, saying "Hitlers willige Vollstrecker", while "Vollstrecker" means executor and not executioner.

[11] This is a chapter entitled „Wie deutsch ist abendländische Vergesellschaftung? Die Analyse der ‚ordinary Germans‘ von Daniel J. Goldhagen und die ‚Elemente des Antisemitismus‘ von Max Horkheimer und Theodor W. Adorno im Vergleich“ in my new book Clemens Heni (2009): *Antisemitismus und Deutschland. Vorstudien zur Ideologiekritik einer innigen Beziehung [Antisemitism and Germany. Preliminary Studies of a 'heartfelt' relationship]*, Morrisville, NC, USA: Lulu Publisher, pp. 47-103, available as hard copy and online at www.lulu.com.

[12] Goldhagen 1996: 55.

[13] Paul Lawrence Rose (1990)/1992: *German Question/Jewish Question. Revolutionary Antisemitism from Kant to Wagner*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[14] Rose 1992: 384-385.

[15] Viereck 2004: xxiii.

[16] Cf. Viereck 2004: xxiv.

[17] Viereck 2004: xxxiv.

[18] „I argue that the bottom line for a pluri-cultural – not a multi-cultural – platform is the unequivocal and binding acceptance of the core European values of secular democracy, individual rights of men and women, secular tolerance and civil society. In my understanding this is the basis for Euro-

Islam, and contrasting options of ghetto-Islam or fundamentalist Islam are anti-European" (Bassam Tibi (2008): Political Islam, World Politics and Europe. Democratic Peace and Euro-Islam versus Global Jihad, London/New York: Routledge, p. 215).

[19] Lecture of Dr. Mordechai Kedar at YIISA on February 4, 2009.

[20] Lecture and discussion with Prof. Benny Morris at YIISA's Second Annual William Prusoff honorary Lecture, Yale University, February 3, 2009.

[21] On the history of the Wandering Jew, cf. the standard work: George K. Anderson (1965)/1970: The Legend of the Wandering Jew, Providence: Brown University Press.

[22] Adolf Leschnitzer (1962): Der Gestaltwandel Ahasvers, in: Hans Tramer (ed.) (1962): In zwei Welten. Siegfried Moses zum Fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag, Tel Aviv: Bitan, pp. 470-505, here p. 473: "The term "ewige Jude" appears for the first time in 1694 and is used more and more often in the following decades."

[23] Ibid.: 480.

[24] Ibid.: 481.

[25] John Weiss (1996)/1998: Der lange Weg zum Holocaust. Die Geschichte der Judenfeindschaft in Deutschland und Österreich, Berlin: Ullstein, p. 46-52. Weiss published his book in the US in 1996 with the very fitting and telling title "Ideology of Death. Why the Holocaust Happened in Germany." The altered title of the German edition provides food for thought. Even though (or, tragically, because) Goldhagen's study – Goldhagen 1996 – had been published the same spring (in the US; in Germany in August), Weiss's study, which at its core supports Goldhagen, and rounds out his thesis with important fragments from ideology-criticism and the history of ideas,

unfortunately hardly found an audience.

[26] Leschnitzer 1962: 482.

[27] On the continuity of antisemitism, cf. Leon Poliakov (1955)/1977-1988: Geschichte des Antisemitismus. 8 Bände, Worms: Heintz Verlag; Robert S. Wistrich (1991): Antisemitism. The Longest Hatred, London: Methuen. An interesting materialist criticism of the anti-Jewish images "from the medieval passion play to the National Socialist film" is provided by Gerhard Scheit (1999): Verborgener Staat, lebendiges Geld. Zur Dramaturgie des Antisemitismus, Freiburg: ça ira.

[28] Volker Berbüsse (1987): »Darum muß er ewig seinen Packen tragen«. Die waldeckische Version der Sage vom ‚ewigen Juden‘, in: Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, vol. 83., pp. 219-228, here p. 227.

[29] Werner Zirus (1930): Ahasverus. Der Ewige Jude, Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, p. 2.

[30] Berbüsse 1987: 227.

[31] Karl Gutzkow (1838): Julius Mosens Ahasver und Noch einmal Ahasver, quoted in Körte 2000, p. 42.

[32] Rose 1992: 24f.

[33] For example, the shoemaker is imagined not only as the enemy of Christ, but also as rich, Mammon meets Ahasver., see <http://www.musicanet.org/robokopp/Lieder/christdh.html> (12.15.2008).

[34] Achim von Arnim (1812), Die Versöhnung in der Sommerfrische, quoted in: Susanna Moßmann (1994): Das Fremde ausscheiden. Antisemitismus und Nationalbewußtsein bei Ludwig Achim von Arnim und in der »Christlich-deutschen Tischgesellschaft«, in: Hans Peter Herrmann/Hans-Martin Blitz/Susanna Moßmann (1994): Machtphantasie Deutschland.

Nationalismus, Männlichkeit und Fremdenhaß im Vaterlandsdiskurs deutscher Schriftsteller des 18. Jahrhunderts, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch, pp. 123-159, here p. 139.

[35] It is precisely the “debonair and salacious tone of the speech with its references to Aristophanes and Eulenspiegel” (Moßmann 1994:152) which shows how aggressive Arnim’s thinking is. He ponders whether it might be worthwhile to pulverize Jews in order to ascertain how their bodies react, cf. Achim von Arnim (1811): Über die Kennzeichen des Judentums, in: Achim von Arnim (1992): Werke in sechs Bänden, Frankfurt/Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, volume 6, pp. 362-387.

[36] Scheit 1999: 259.

[37] Berbüsse 1987: 226.

[38] Ibid.: 224f.

[39] Rose 1990: 28.

[40] Every year without fail, the Bayreuth Festival has continued to be an event where the political and societal establishment gathers.

[41] Richard Wagner (1850)/1950: Judaism in Music [Das Judentum in der Musik]. Being The Original Essay together with the later Supplement. Translated From the German and furnished with explanatory notes and introduction by Edwin Evans, Senior, F.R.C.O., London: William Reeves, pp.49-50; cf. als Scheit 1999: 26 and the 1869 edition, now under Wagner’s real name in Wagner 1950 and <http://mydocs.strands.de/MyDocs/05845/05845.pdf> (12.15.2008), after the first edition had been published under a pseudonym, and as an anti-Semitic test case, as Gerhard Scheit analyzes aptly, Scheit 1999: 273f. Constantin Frantz, too, stated in his work “Ahasverus oder die Judenfrage” in 1844 that “Jews always remain Jews” and “Jews have always been wandering”,

for: "They themselves are Ahasverus who is not granted peace, not even the peace of the grave, because they cannot die" (cf. Rose 1992: 38). Eugen Dühring used similar words in 1881: "The Jews remain collectively a single Wandering Jew" (quoted in *ibid.*: 39).

[42] Karl Marx (1844)/1956: *Zur Judenfrage*, in: *Marx-Engels-Werke (MEW)* vol. 1, Berlin (Ost): Dietz Verlag, pp. 347-377.

[43] See Julius Carlebach (1978): *Karl Marx and the Radical Critique of Judaism*, London, Henley and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul. The book is dedicated: "To my parents Chief Rabbi Dr. Joseph Zvi Carlebach and Charlotte Carlebach, née Preuss. They lived as Jews...Loved Judaism...And died because they were Jews...in a concentration camp outside Riga, 26 March 1942 – 8 Nissan 5702".

[44] Quoted by Marvin Perry/Frederick M. Schweitzer (2008): *Antisemitic Myths. A Historical and Contemporary Anthology*, Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, p. 79.

[45] Perry/Schweitzer 2008: 82.

[46] See Edmund Silberner (1949): *Was Marx an Anti-Semite?*, in: *Historica Judaica*, 11 (April 1949).

[47] Most recently David M. Seymour wrote on Marx and the „Jewish Question“ without discussing the long and interesting debate about the antisemitism in Marx' own work at that time (1844), see David M. Seymour (2007): *Law, Antisemitism and the Holocaust*, Abingdon: Routledge-Cavendish, pp. 1-12. Seymour consequently and intentionally plays down the antisemitism in the work of early Marx .

[48] Robert Wistrich (1982): *Socialism and the Jews. The Dilemmas of Assimilation in Germany and Austria-Hungary*, Rutherford/Maadison/Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, pp. 25-26.

[49] „Ainsi donc, nous avons pu établir que l'article de Marx sur La Question Juive est un texte antisémite (...)“ (Robert Misrahi (1972): Marx et la question juive, Paris: Gallimard, p. 241).

[50] Marx 1844.

[51] Cf. Jürgen Langenbach (1982): Selbstzerstörung als Vollendung des bürgerlichen Subjekts. Zur Identität von abstrakter Arbeit (Technik) und Faschismus, Munich: Raben Verlag. According to Langenbach, Marx actually does follow in the wake of the ontology of labor in all his writings. Langenbach, on the other hand, underestimates the ideological power of antisemitism, nonetheless (and implicitly?) examines a German specificity of the work mania (right up to the National Socialist state), which correlates analytically with a critique of the anti-Jewish image of Mammonism.

[52] Rose 1990: 251-262.

[53] Jürgen Reulecke/Clemens Zimmermann (ed.) (1999): Die Stadt als Moloch? Das Land als Kraftquell? Wahrnehmungen und Wirkungen der Großstädte um 1900, Basel/Boston: Birkhäuser.

[54] Stuart Chase (o.J)/ca. 1930: Moloch Maschine. Die Kultur- u. Wirtschaftskrise d. Welt, Stuttgart: Dieck.

[55] <http://www.moloch-autobahn.de> (12.15.2008).

[56] Karlheinz Deschner (2002): Der Moloch. Eine kritische Geschichte der USA, 10th revised edition, Munich: Heyne.

[57] Max Horkheimer/Theodor W. Adorno (1947)/2002: Dialectic of Enlightenment. Philosophical Fragments, edited by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, Translated by Edmund Jephcott, Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 153. See also the discussion related to the lecture of Brigitte Sion at YIISA on December 4, 2008, on “blood”, “Christian projection” and Horkheimer/Adorno; her paper is here

<http://www.yale.edu/yiisa/Sionoutline12408.pdf> (02.26.2009).

[58] It would be important and interesting for research to have a look on the concept of „the other“ and the specific Jewish dimension in it in the philosophies of Emanuel Levinas or Michael Walzer, for example.

[59] Bernd Estel (1990): Nationale Identität und Antisemitismus in Deutschland, in: Werner Bergmann/Rainer Erb (ed.) (1990): Antisemitismus in der politischen Kultur nach 1945, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, pp. 57-78, here p. 66.

[60] Horkheimer/Adorno 1947: 166 says: „It has been shown, in fact, that anti-Semitism's prospects are no less good in ‚Jew-free‘ areas than in Hollywood itself.“

[61] Die Bibel, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft (Lutherbibel), 1975, Matthäus 6, 24.

[62] Cf. on this the chapter »>Against Humanity<: Moloch, Mammon, and the Secularization of the Blood Libel« in: Rose 1990: 44-50.

[63] Detlef Briesen (2001): Warenhaus, Massenkonsum und Sozialmoral. Zur Geschichte der Konsumkritik im 20. Jahrhundert, Frankfurt/Main/New York: Campus, p. 157.

[64] On the early rejection of the department store, cf. the chapter »Eine >hassenswerte Betriebsform<: Die Warenhausdebatte um die Jahrhundertwende« in: Briesen 2001: 12-23.

[65] Werner Sombart (1915): Händler und Helden. Patriotische Besinnungen, München/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

[66] Werner Sombart (1911): Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, p. 242.

[67] Christel Köhle-Hezinger/Adelhart Zippelius (1988): »Da ist der Michel aufgewacht und hat sie auf den Schub gebracht«.

Zu zwei Zeugnissen antisemitischer ›Volkskunst‹, in: Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, 84. Jg., pp. 58-84, here p. 68. As a boy, around 1914, Adorno attempted to confront these Jew-hating Germans at least symbolically, and, during World War I, defended words of foreign origin against the German language purists as well as possible, and fancied, with a friend at that time, “when we used our distinctive words of foreign origin to be hurling arrows at the indispensable patriots from our secret kingdom which could neither be reached from the Westerwald nor in another way, Germanized, as the others loved to say” (Theodor W. Adorno (1959)/1998: Wörter aus der Fremde, in: Adorno (1998): Gesammelte Schriften, volume 11, edited by Rolf Tiedemann, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, pp. 216-232, here pp. 217f.). Ahasver and foreign words have a close relationship: »Foreign words are the Jews in language«, Theodor W. Adorno (1951)/1971: Minima Moralia. Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, p. 141).

[68] Norbert Mecklenburg (2000): »Ums Goldne Kalb sie tanzen und morden«. Philo- und antisemitische Gedichte des alten Fontane, in: Wirkendes Wort. Deutsche Sprache und Literatur in Forschung und Lehre, vol. 50, pp. 358-381, here p. 370.

[69] Ibid.: 371.

[70] Cf. ibid.: 373-376.

[71] Hadassa Ben-Itto (1998)/2001: »Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion« – Anatomie einer Fälschung, Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, pp. 54f.

[72] Ibid.: 55.

[73] Even in seemingly harmless descriptions such as “Rappen im Wappen” (“Rappen” means both “black horse” and “coin”; “black horse/coin on his coat of arms”), as provided by Fontane, the anti-Jewish content can be deciphered – the Jews as horse traders who are made fun of here, without explicitly being called Jews, cf. Mecklenburg 2000: 366. Open (cf. the

following note) and rhetorically skillful (Fontane) antisemitism exist side by side and are quasi complementary to National Socialist antisemitism on the Nazis' path to power.

[74] Friedrich Mack (1928): *Der Götze Mammon tötet das Recht und die Liebe*, Luxemburg (Liga vom guten Buch R 7) pp. 2f.

[75] Alfred Bodenheimer (2002): *Wandernde Schatten. Ahasver, Moses und die Authentizität der jüdischen Moderne*, Göttingen: Wallstein, p. 26, see a figure p. 27.

[76] Cf. *ibid.*: 84.

[77] Historian Frank Stern on Heym's 1981 novel "Ahasver": "Here, Ahasverus is not a symbol of Christian suffering, a victim yearning for redemption, but the human embodiment of the spirit of resistance, of a theology of change, of a rebellious *Zeitgeist* across the centuries. (...) He is seeking to effect *tikkun ha'olam*, as it is called in Hebrew, the fundamental change, the revolutionizing, the reforming, the betterment of human society" (Frank Stern (1995): »Der Ewige Jude« – Stereotype auf der europäischen Wanderung, in: *Jüdisches Museum der Stadt Wien* (ed.) (1995): *Die Macht der Bilder. Antisemitische Vorurteile und Mythen*, Wien: Picus, pp. 117-121, here p. 121).

[78] Cf. Lovis M. Wambach (1993): *Ahasver und Kafka. Zur Bedeutung der Judenfeindschaft in dessen Leben und Werk*, Heidelberg: Winter.

[79] Günther Anders (1974)/1984: *Das Günther Anders Lesebuch*, edited by Bernhard Lassahn, Zurich: Diogenes, pp. 234-251, here p. 249.

[80] Günther Anders (1935)/1985: *Tagebücher und Gedichte*, Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, pp. 379f. Ahasver must not die, just as, for generations, the anti-Semitic German fraternity students considered Jews in Germany not capable of giving satisfaction in a duel.

[81] Hermann Peter Piwitt (1978): Einen Kranz niederlegen am Hermannsdenkmal, in: Hans Christoph Buch (ed.) (1978): Tintenfisch 15. Thema: Deutschland. Das Kind mit den zwei Köpfen, Berlin: Wagenbach, pp. 17-24, here p. 18, also cf. Broder 1986: 92f. Piwitt's antisemitism is linked with a language-purist form of anti-Americanism: "This depressed national sentiment of the Germans also stems from the fact that their revolutionary traditions were cut off from them. That is how this Yankee language emerged which dominates us with words like 'fighting' and 'dope,' 'power' and 'message' even where we resist'" (Hermann Peter Piwitt in Konkret 1981, quoted in Henning Eichberg (1987): Abkoppelung. Nachdenken über die neue deutsche Frage, Koblenz: Bublies Verlag, p. 177). Eichberg is the forward thinker of the New Right, a version of right-wing extremism in Europe (especially France, where Alain de Benoist is his counterpart) and the Federal Republic of Germany since the late 1960s. His 'rhetorical mimicry' is paradigmatic for concealed National Socialist journalism in post-Holocaust Germany, cf. fundamentally Heni 2007.

[82] In a eulogy of Herder, Rau writes, "Weimar – in other words, it is not only a fond national myth which the rulers from the right or the left used skillfully for their own ends, again and again, without any scruples, no, Weimar – that is simply a unique occurrence in our history: a republic of men of letters and scholars in which it was not – power based on weapons, – and certainly not filthy 'capitalist Mammon,' but rather – intellect, fantasy and a well-nigh exploding creative energy unfolded" (Johannes Rau (1996): Rede zum 250. Geburtstag Johann Gottfried Herders, in: Regine Otto (ed.) (1996): Nationen und Kulturen. Zum 250. Geburtstag Johann Gottfried Herders, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, pp. 1-12, here p. 2).

[83] Joffe speaks of "Israel as the Über-Jew": Josef Joffe (2005): Nations We Love to Hate: Israel, America and the New

Antisemitism, Jerusalem, The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (ed.) (2005): Posen Papers in Contemporary Antisemitism, No. 1, p. 1. Hans Mayer speaks of the "Jewish outsider state" and decades ago identified the core of anti-Zionism: "Whoever attacks 'Zionism,' but by no means wants to say anything against the 'Jews,' is kidding himself or others. The state of Israel is a Jewish state. Anyone who wants to destroy it, avowedly or by means of a policy that can have no effect other than such an annihilation, is practicing the hatred of Jews of yore and from time immemorial" (Hans Mayer (1975)/1981: *Außenseiter*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, p. 451, p. 457). On the other hand, Mayer equates several groups of "outsiders" with Jews, which is definitely not convincing, as antisemitism is an entire worldview and not "just" a prejudice or a simple form of racism, part of several racisms. Sociologist Moishe Postone argued in this direction long ago, in the early 1980s ("Antisemitism and National Socialism"). In an article he wrote as part of his theoretical criticism of Hannah Arendt: "I have argued elsewhere that modern anti-Semitism should be understood as a powerful, fetishised form of anti-capitalism that attributes the tremendous transformations of social, cultural, and political life in the industrialized world to a destructive world conspiracy – that of the 'Elders of Zion.' Anti-Semitism, then, is a revolt against history as constituted by capital misrecognised as a Jewish conspiracy. That conspiracy (and, hence, that history) must be destroyed if the world is to be saved. This suggests that, contrary to Arendt's assertion, it is precisely the nature of the crime of extermination, and not only the choice of victim, that can be derived from the history of modern anti-Semitism" (Moishe Postone (2006): *Reflections on Jewish History as General History*. Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, in: Raphael Gross/Yfaat Weiss (Hg.) *Jüdische Geschichte als Allgemeine Geschichte*. Festschrift für Dan Diner zum 60. Geburtstag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 189-211, here p. 205). That Postone is wrong in accusing Goldhagen of establishing a

kind of “quasi-ontologically” German antisemitism (see *ibid.*, p. 210, footnote 64), is another discussion, for Goldhagen see Heni 2009.

[84] Mayer 1975: 451.

[85] Mahler was invited to the Iranian Holocaust denial conference, held on December 11 and 12, 2006 in Iran. Mahler could not attend because German officials confiscated his passport. Even before 9/11, in March of 2001, Mahler underpinned his antisemitism with anti-Mammon phrases in a paper he wanted to give at a conference (which was then prohibited) of Holocaust deniers in Lebanon: »The peoples will triumph over the East coast and free themselves from the worldly god of the Jews, Mammon, in the historic moment when they recognize that every people having a powerful history is a tangible form of God (German Idealism: Herder, Hegel)« (<http://www.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/mahler/parttwo.html> (12.15.2008)).

[86] “It almost seems as if one would have to broaden Horkheimer’s dictum that anyone who does not wish to speak about capitalism should remain silent about fascism: anyone who does not wish to speak about anti-capitalism should remain silent about fascism as well,” (Thomas Uwer/Thomas von der Osten-Sacken/Andrea Woeldike (2003a): Vorwort, in: Uwer/von der Osten-Sacken (ed.) (2003): *Amerika. Der ‚War on Terror‘ und der Aufstand der Alten Welt*, Freiburg: ça ira, pp. 7-17, here p. 16).

[87] In the doctoral dissertation of a Cairo scholar which was accepted at the Freie Universität Berlin, Heidegger is received affirmatively, and even imported for political Islam – especially also referring to the circling around “death”; for example, there is talk of “muslim Dasein”: Mohamed Soffar (2004): *The Political Theory of Sayyid Qutb. A Genealogy of Discourse*, Berlin: Köster, Part I.: »The Context of Sayyid Qutb’s Discourse (The Muslim Dasein)«, pp. 47-179, and the

subsection »Heidegger's notion of death«, pp. 125-128. The Islamists' suicide terrorism has a philosophical core here. »Through surpassing the limits of his Being to attain a certain purpose, the Shahid has passed from one level of existence to the other through the gateway of death. Death is for him less painful than the prick of a needle« (p. 128). Without recourse to this doctoral dissertation (Prof. Friedemann Büttner and Prof. Gudrun Krämer were on the committee), cf. the references in "Islamisten lesen Heidegger." Israeli Philosopher Avishai Margalit on hatred of the West, in: Jüdische Allgemeine, No. 32, August 11, 2005, p. 13 as well as the study by Gerhard Scheit (2004): Suicide Attack. Zur Kritik der politischen Gewalt, Freiburg: ça ira.

[88] Robert S. Wistrich (2002): Muslim anti-Semitism. A clear and present danger, New York: The American Jewish Committee, p. 31.

[89] Robert S. Wistrich (2004): Der alte Antisemitismus in neuem Gewand, in: Doron Rabinovici/Ulrich Speck/Natan Sznaider (ed.) (2004): Neuer Antisemitismus? Eine globale Debatte, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 250-270, here p. 265.

[90] Cf. Thomas Assheuer (2003): Die Klone Gottes. In der aufgeklärten Republik verwandelt sich Religion in Esoterik. Das jüdisch-christliche Erbe ärgert viele immer mehr. Warum nur?, in: Die Zeit, 8/2003.

[91] The words of Frank Schirrmacher, who was otherwise very sympathetic to Walser and defended the writer's memory-repressing secondary-anti-Semitic speech in St. Paul's Church of October 1998, in his public rejection of advance publication of Walser's novel „Tod eines Kritikers,“ Frank Schirrmacher (2002): Tod eines Kritikers, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 29.5.2002. "Do you understand that we will not print a novel that plays with this murder is committed fictionally? Do you understand that we will not offer a forum for the thesis, returning here in veiled form, that the

eternal Jew is invulnerable?" (ibid.).

[92] For a comprehensive treatment of antisemitism in Walser's oeuvre, cf. the doctoral dissertation by Matthias N. Lorenz (2005): »Auschwitz drängt uns auf einen Fleck« Judendarstellung und Auschwitzdiskurs bei Martin Walser, Stuttgart/Weimar: Metzler; on necessary criticism of Lorenz because of his ties to anti-Zionist Klaus Holz, see Heni 2007: 280, note 1166.

[93] <http://www.heise.de/tp/deutsch/inhalt/co/14065/1.html> (12.15.2008).

[94] Andrei S. Markovits (2004): Amerika, dich haßt sich's besser. Antiamerikanismus und Antisemitismus in Europa, Hamburg: Konkret Literatur Verlag, p. 194. Markovits analyzes this scene in Davos, cf. ibid.: 193f.

[95] Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (2003): The Globalization of Antisemitism <http://www.forward.com/articles/8736/> (12.15.2008).

[96] Joffe 2005: 1.

[97] To the concept of secondary antisemitism see Clemens Heni (2008): Secondary Anti-Semitism. From Hard-core to soft-core denial of the Shoah, in: Jewish Political Studies Review, 20:3-4 (Fall 2008), pp. 73-92, online at <http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/Templates/ShowPage.asp?DBID=1&LNGID=1&TMID=111&FID=625&PID=0&IID=2675> (02.14.2009).

[98] Cf., for example, the current figures produced by empirical social research on secondary antisemitism in the Federal Republic of Germany: Aribert Heyer/Julia Iser/Peter Schmidt (2005): Israelkritik oder Antisemitismus? Meinungsbildung zwischen Öffentlichkeit, Medien und Tabus, in: Wilhelm Heitmeyer (ed.) (2005): Deutsche Zustände. Folge 3, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch, pp. 144-165, especially pp. 151, 154, 160. More than 68% of those surveyed agreed with the

statement "I am annoyed that the Germans are still confronted with the crimes against the Jews today," of these: 23.8% agreed "more or less" and 44.5% agreed "wholeheartedly," *ibid.*: 151. Heitmeyer, the editor of this series, is one of the fathers of equalizing antisemitism with "Islamophobia" and also other "prejudices", like "discrimination" of jobless people and others. This ignores completely the specificity of antisemitism, in history, related to the Holocaust, and today.

[99] Klaus Holz/Elfriede Müller/Enzo Traverso (2002): Schuld und Erinnerung. Die Shoah, der Nahostkonflikt und die Linke, in: *jungle world*, 13. November 2002, see http://www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/jungle_world/_2002/47/29a.htm (12.15.2008).

[100] Cf. Klaus Holz (2006): Die Gegenwart des Antisemitismus. Islamistische, demokratische und antizionistische Judenfeindschaft, Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, p. 9. He also accuses critics of political Islam of having the tendency to be part of „Islamophobia“, *ibid.*

[101] For criticism of Holz see Yves Pallade (2008): Only non-Antisemites, statement at the OSCE hearing at the German Bundestag, January 25, 2008, partly published in http://www.achgut.com/dadgd/index.php/dadgd/article/yves_pallade_only_non_antisemites/ (02.14.2009); Matthias Küntzel (2006): Anmerkungen zum Fall Holz, in: <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/anmerkungen-zum-fall-holz> (02.14.2009), and especially: Lars Rensmann (2004): Demokratie und Judenbild, Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 105-113; see also Heni 2008, footnote 59. For left-wing antisemitic politics, e.g. in 1973 in Germany, where an anti-imperialistic group wrote for a typical „Palestine week“: „Down with Imperialism, down with Zionism“ etc., see Heni 2007: 53-54, and *ibid.* Footnote 125.

[102] <http://www.jungewelt.de/2009/01-10/001.php> (02.14.2009).

[103] As early as 1976, Jean Améry, spoke of a “new anti-Semitism” – anti-Zionism, cf. Jean Améry (1976): Der neue Antisemitismus, in: Tribüne, vol. 15., issue 59, pp. 7010-7014, here p. 7012. One of the first big volumes on the new antisemitism was already published in 1974 (!), see: Arnold Forster & Benjamin R. Epstein (1974): The new Antisemitism, New York etc.: McGraw-Hill Book Company. This book, dealing with Christian, Arabic, Left, Right and Center antisemitism and other aspects, was dedicated “For those who have died because they were Jews-“. Until today a lot of scholars, politicians, and activists , especially outside the US and Israel, are not aware of the fact that “new anti-Semitism” is not really new and exclusively a phenomenon of the 21st century. Nor is Arab and Muslim antisemitism that new.

[104] Dan Diner (1993a): »USA-SA-SS«: Bundesrepublikanische Verschiebungen, in: Diner, Dan (1993): Verkehrte Welten. Antiamerikanismus in Deutschland. Ein historischer Essay, Frankfurt/Main: Eichborn, pp. 117-167.

[105] Having heard about this demonstration I prepared some hundreds of flyers with slogans like “behind the call for ‘peace’ the killers are hidden”, or “you ignore the threat of Islamic Jihad” and others. Throwing these flyers on to the demonstration at the event itself, I was all alone.

[106] Neo-Nazis, too, stir up emotions today explicitly against ‘Mammon’ and speak of an “anti-Mammonist definition of capitalism,” according to the »Kampfbund Deutscher Sozialisten«, cf. http://www.kds-im-netz.de/wetter/antikapi/grundsatz_4.htm (12.15.2008).

[107] Wistrich 2004: 269f.

[108] Markovits 2004: 218.

[109] Ralph Peters, too, puts the German-French axis of this

current-day anti-Americanism into context in a quite businesslike manner in commenting, "Sorry, but Gaul does not give Rome orders" (Ralph Peters (2003): Hitler war wenigstens ehrlich. Ihr widert uns an: Die Amerikaner sind mit den Deutschen fertig, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, May 15, 2003). In contrast, entirely in line with Habermas's/Derrida's European chauvinism: Ulrich Beck/Edgar Grande (2004): Das kosmopolitische Europa. Gesellschaft und Politik in der Zweiten Moderne, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp. There, even the important term "cosmopolitanism" is used in an anti-American way: namely, that there is "worldwide an alternative to the American Way, a European way which places the rule of law, political equality, social justice, cosmopolitan integration and solidarity in the center" (ibid.: 393). According to this point of view, the US are unjust, unequal, without law and solidarity.

[110] Another form of radical anti-Americanism and also a form of what I call „soft-core“ Holocaust denial, is the comparison of the US after 9/11 with Nazi Germany. This is an essential part of fashionable philosopher Giorgio Agamben. He wrote the same year as Davos happened, 2003, the following lines: „The USA Patriot Act issued by the U.S. Senate on October 26, 2001, already allowed the attorney general to 'take into custody' any alien suspected of activities that endangered 'the national security of the United States,' but within seven days the alien had to be either released or charged with the violation of immigration laws or some other criminal offense. What is new about President Bush's order is that it radically erases any legal status of the individual, thus producing a legally unnamable and unclassifiable being. Not only the Taliban captured in Afghanistan not enjoy the status of POW's as defined by the Geneva Convention, they do not even have the status of persons charged with a crime according to American laws. (...) The only thing to which it could possibly be compared is the legal situation of the Jews in the Nazi Lager [camps], who, along with their citizenship, had lost every

legal identity, but at least retained their identity as Jews” (Giorgio Agamben (2003/2005): State of Exception, Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 3-4). There are a lot of things to criticize here, including Agamben’s view on law, democracy (which he, coming from the “radical left”, detests like his godfather from the radical right, Carl Schmitt), which is too much for a short essay. But most important is the following: Such a comparison is anti-Semitic, because it banalizes the Holocaust. Jews were killed by Germans, intentionally. Whether one is in favor or not with former President Bush’s policies in regard to war criminals like the Taliban (and they are criminals), America has no plan to eradicate all Taliban. Such an accusation is extremely absurd. The fact, that Agamben nevertheless is taken seriously in the Western world, especially in “intellectual circles” who prefer “the latest thing” of philosophy, is a sign of decay in serious scholarly and intellectual research in the 21st century. A journalist in 2003 described Agamben splendidly: “Because Agamben must be taken seriously. That at least is the claim he has successfully defended until now. He benefits from the perfume of the radical. The Agambenian critique of democracy could not be more trenchant: today’s constitutional states are in essence nothing more than huge concentration camps. This is what he attempts to demonstrate in “Homo Sacer”, originally published in 1995, with an eclectic overview of the legal history of the West. The modern state is nothing other than a totalitarian organisation for the efficient administration of bare biological life” (Daniel Binswanger (2005): Preacher of the profane. Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben is a beacon for an entire generation of young intellectuals across Europe – and a flighty eclectic, in: <http://www.signandsight.com/features/399.html> (01.18.2008), first published in German in Die Weltwoche, October 13, 2005). The “universalization” of National Socialism, the Holocaust, and concentration camps, is part of my criticism of new

antisemitism. The father of this concept of “universalization” of German guilt and denial of the specific of the destruction of European Jews is Martin Heidegger, see Heni 2008.

[111] “What was said and written in Germany in the weeks after 9/11 is worth being recorded as a kind of clinical history of the incurably healthy. It was passion plays of the commenting class. The hysteria of those days has calmed down, the yearning for total peace remains. It will articulate itself again. Coming soon in the German theater” (Henryk M. Broder (2002): *Kein Krieg, nirgends: Die Deutschen und der Terror*. With a text by Reinhard Mohr, Berlin: Berlin Verlag, p. 13). Wolfgang Benz, historian and director of the Berlin center for research on antisemitism (ZfA) at the Technical University of Berlin, is quoted in this volume of Broder, as Benjamin Weinthal documents in a critical article: “Benz has been criticized in the past for seeming to justify the motives of the 9/11 terrorists with what some perceived as anti-Americanism. Der Spiegel journalist Henryk M. Broder cited a quote from Benz in his 2002 book *No War, Anywhere*, addressing the outbreak of anti-Americanism in Germany following the September 11, 2001 attacks. At the time, Benz commented that the Twin Towers in Manhattan “are symbols of pride and wealth and arrogance. Building such buildings is extreme arrogance, and so vulnerability is built in. And the attacks on these buildings, with these attacks one could erase feelings of helplessness and one’s own humiliations and turn them into the opponent’s helplessness and humiliation. And that provokes the drastic and dramatic reactions and the martial reactions, and that’s what makes it so dangerous and devastating to attack and destroy these particular symbols.” <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?apage=1&cid=1228728130041&pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull> (02.14.2009) , Benjamin Weinthal, Berlin Center ignores Iranian threat, Jerusalem Post, December 10, 2008.

[112] In an interview with Spiegel Online on August 9, 2005,

the Cardinal said, "You may think I'm crazy, but I pray for the terrorists every evening. God's blessing can make holy men out of terrorists: One must overcome the evil by the good. I have not yet upset myself for half a minute with the question that things could get going here, too. God will make sure that things go well" (<http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/0,1518,368465,00.html> (12.15.2008)). It is part of the Shahids' ideology that god, Allah, makes terrorists into holy men or martyrs.

[113] Mark Strauss (2003): Antiglobalism's Jewish Problem, in: http://www.ncsj.org/AuxPages/111303FP_A-S.shtml (12.15.2008).

^[114] Omer Bartov (2004): Der alte und der neue Antisemitismus, in: Rabinovici/Speck/Sznaider (ed.) (2004), pp. 19-43, here p. 43.

[115] The Israel daily newspaper Jerusalem Post has a column on its Homepage called „The Iranian Threat“, see also Alizera Jafarzadeh (2008): The Iran Threat. President Ahmadinejad and the Coming Nuclear Crisis, New York City: PalgraveMcMillan. Syria is a similar case. Venezuela (represented by „leftist“ Hugo Chavez) supports Iranian Holocaust denial and the Iranian ambitions to produce nuclear facilities, including a nuclear bomb; in addition, Chavez recently allowed anti-Semites to destroy synagogues in Venezuela and to promote violent Jew-hatred.