

MA Seminar Antisemitism and Racism: Philosophical Perspectives on a Complex Relationship Tuesdays, 10-12 (Winter Semester 2024-25) Department of Philosophy, SIR 2 (Sitzungsraum)	Prof. Dr. Robin Celikates Department of Philosophy Email: robin.celikates@fu-berlin.de Office hours: on appointment via email
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How to conceptualize antisemitism, racism, and the relation between antisemitism and (other) racism(s) in light of their historical and present trajectories and entanglements, is a contested topic in a series of fields, from history and sociology to philosophy. In this seminar, we will explore this complex and contested relation by engaging with both classical and contemporary contributions from a philosophical and socio-theoretical perspective.

October 15

Introduction and Overview

October 22

Readings:

Theodor W. Adorno & Max Horkheimer: Dialectic of Enlightenment (1944), Elements of Antisemitism

Theodor W. Adorno: Guilt and Defense (1955), 138-158

Background readings:

Anson Rabinbach: Why Were the Jews Sacrificed? The Place of Anti-Semitism in Dialectic of Enlightenment

Jonathon Catlin: Antisemitism and Racism 'After Auschwitz'

Fabian Freyenhagen: Adorno and Horkheimer on Anti-Semitism

Lars Rensmann: The Politics of Unreason: The Frankfurt School and the Origins of Modern Antisemitism, chs. 8-9

October 29

Readings:

Jean-Paul Sartre: Anti-Semite and Jew (1946), chs. 1 + 4

Jean-Paul Sartre: Black Orpheus (1948)

Background readings:

Jonathan Judaken: Sartre on Racism

Judith Butler and Adam Shatz: 'Anti-Semite and Jew' by Jean-Paul Sartre (LRB Podcast)

November 5

Hannah Arendt: The Origins of Totalitarianism (1951), Preface to Part One + chs. 1, 6-7 (selection)

Background readings:

Hannah Arendt: Antisemitism

Jonathan Judaken: Critical Theories of Anti-Semitism, ch. 3

Michael Rothberg: Multidirectional Memory, ch. 2

Kathryn T. Gines: Hannah Arendt and the Negro Question, ch. 5

November 12

W.E.B. Du Bois: Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (1940), chs. 5-7

W.E.B. Du Bois: The Negro and the Warsaw Ghetto (1952)

Background readings:

Robert Gooding-Williams: W.E.B. Du Bois

Michael Rothberg: Multidirectional Memory, ch. 4

James M. Thomas: Du Bois, Double Consciousness, and the "Jewish Question"

Asaf Angermann: Du Bois, Marx, and the Jewish Question Reconsidered

November 19

Frantz Fanon: Black Skin, White Masks (1952), Introduction, chs. 5 + 6 (selection)

Background readings:

Bryan Cheyette: Frantz Fanon and the Black-Jewish Imaginary

Robert Bernasconi: The European Knows and Does Not Know: Fanon's Response to Sartre

Lewis Gordon: What Fanon Said, chs. 2 & 3

Kathryn T. Gines: Fanon and Sartre 50 Years Later: To Retain or Reject the Concept of Race

November 26

James Baldwin: Down at the Cross: Letter from a Region in My Mind (1963)

James Baldwin: Nothing Personal (1964)

James Baldwin: Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They're Anti-White (1967)

James Baldwin: On Being White and Other Lies (1984)

Background readings:

Terrence L. Johnson and Jacques Berlinerblau: Blacks and Jews

Ben Ratskoff: James Baldwin's Black Critique of Jewish Whiteness

Melvin Rogers: The Darkened Light of Faith, Conclusion

December 3

Moishe Postone: Anti-Semitism and National Socialism (1980)

Neil Levi: Power, Politics, and Personification (2024)

Background readings:

Lars Rensmann and Samuel Salzborn: Modern Antisemitism as Fetishized Anti-Capitalism: Moishe Postone's Theory and its Historical and Contemporary Relevance (2021)

Sai Englert and Alex de Jong: Marxism and the Critique of Antisemitism (2024)

December 10

Zygmunt Bauman: Racism, Anti-Racism, and Moral Progress (1995)

Zygmunt Bauman: Allo-Semitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern (1997)

Background readings:

Jonathan Judaken: Critical Theories of Anti-Semitism, ch. 4

Bryan Cheyette: Zygmunt Bauman's Window: From Jews to Strangers And Back Again

December 17

Etienne Balibar: Is there a Neo-Racism? (1988)

Etienne Balibar: Racism and Nationalism (1988)

Etienne Balibar: Racism, Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia (2021)

Background readings:

Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein: Is There an Option to Go Beyond Racism? An Interview on Race, Nation, Class

-- break --

January 7

Charles Mills: Dark Ontologies: Blacks, Jews, and White Supremacy (1998)

Charles Mills: White Supremacy as Sociopolitical System (2003)

Discussion with Daniel James (HU Berlin)

January 14

Leerom Medovoi: The Inner Life of Race (2024), Introduction + ch. 4 (selection)

+ Colloquium meeting with Leerom Medovoi (University of Arizona), 2-5pm (optional)

January 21

Combahee River Collective Statement (1977)

Patricia Hill Collins: Intersectionality as Critical Theory (2019), ch. 3

David Schraub: White Jews: An Intersectional Approach (2019)

Discussion with Veronika Zablotsky (FU Berlin)

Background readings:

Shaul Magid: The Price of (Non-)Whiteness (2020)

Karin Stögner: Intersectionality and Antisemitism – A New Approach

January 28

Abigail B. Bakan and Yasmeen Abu-Laban: Antisemitism as Anti-Jewish Racism (2024)

Nira Yuval-Davis: Antisemitism is a Form of Racism – or is it? (2024)

Robert Bernasconi: Racism

February 4

Glynis Cousin & Robert Fine: A Common Cause: Reconnecting the Study of Racism and Antisemitism (2012)

Bryan Cheyette and Michael Rothberg: Relational Thinking: A Dialogue on the Theory and Politics of Research on Antisemitism and Racism (2019)

Jonathan Judaken: Critical Theories of Anti-Semitism (2024), ch. 8

February 11

Concluding Discussion

All readings will be made available as pdf files via Blackboard.

Assessment/Requirements:

- Careful study of the assigned readings, active participation class discussion and online discussion forums, and regular attendance of seminar meetings (please note that you are expected to communicate absences beforehand).
- For at least 4 sessions of your choice you are expected to make substantial contributions to the discussion forum on Blackboard; these can take a variety of forms including, but not limited to, posting (non-trivial) questions about the readings, answering questions others have posted, commenting on the readings and their strengths and shortcomings, discussing an example related to the readings, making connections etc.
- Final paper (ca. 5000-7500 words, depending on the requirements of the module you are taking; first outline (on which you will receive feedback) due February 28, 2025, final version due March 31, 2025, both via email).
- The final grade is based on the paper.
- As a member of the campus community you should see yourself as sharing a commitment to mutual respect and constructive engagement in classroom discussions as well as academic integrity and fairness. Any form of plagiarism is incompatible with such a commitment, and will result in the student failing the assignment.
- For some further information on how to write final papers in philosophy, see: https://www.geisteswissenschaften.fu-berlin.de/we01/media/FU-Philosophie_Hausarbeiten_20210611b1.pdf

Readings

Adorno, Theodor W. & Max Horkheimer. 1944. Dialectic of Enlightenment, Stanford UP 2002.

Adorno, Theodor W. 1955. Guilt and Defense: On the Legacies of National Socialism in Postwar Germany, Harvard UP 2010.

Arendt, Hannah. 1951. The Origins of Totalitarianism, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973.

Bakan, Abigail B. & Yasmeen Abu-Laban. 2024. Antisemitism as Anti-Jewish Racism: Reflections on an Anti-Racist Analytic, in: *Historical Materialism*, 32 (1): 225-266.

Baldwin, James. 1984. On Being White and Other Lies, in: *Black On White*, Schocken 1998, 177-180.

Baldwin, James. 1998. *Collected Essays*, Library of America.

Balibar, Etienne. 1988. Is there a Neo-Racism?, in: *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Verso 1991, 17-28.

Balibar, Etienne. 1988. Racism and Nationalism, in: *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Verso 1991, 37-68.

Balibar, Etienne. 2021. Racism, Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, <https://www.versobooks.com/en-gb/blogs/news/5164-racism-anti-semitism-islamophobia>.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1995. Racism, Anti-Racism, and Moral Progress, in: *Life in Fragments*, Blackwell, 179-192.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1997. Allo-Semitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern, in: *Modernity, Culture, and "the Jew," Polity*, 143–156.

Bernasconi, Robert. 2021. Racism, in: *Key Concepts in the Study of Antisemitism*, Palgrave Macmillan, 245-256.

Cheyette, Bryan & Michael Rothberg. 2019. Relational Thinking: A Dialogue on the Theory and Politics of Research on Antisemitism and Racism, <http://lernen-aus-der-geschichte.de/Lernen-und-Lehren/content/14651>.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2019. *Intersectionality as Critical Theory*, Duke UP.

Combahee River Collective Statement, 1977, https://americanstudies.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Keyword%20Coalition_Readings.pdf

Cousin, Glynis & Robert Fine. 2012. A Common Cause: Reconnecting the Study of Racism and Antisemitism, *European Societies*, 14 (2): 166-185.

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1940. *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept*, Oxford UP 2014.

Du Bois, W. E. B. 1952. The Negro and the Warsaw Ghetto, in: *The Oxford W. E. B. Du Bois Reader*, Oxford UP 1996, 469-473.

Fanon, Frantz. 1952. *Black Skin, White Masks*, Pluto Press 2008.

Judaken, Jonathan. 2024. *Critical Theories of Anti-Semitism*, Columbia UP.

Levi, Neil: Power, Politics, and Personification: Toward a Critique of Postone's Theory of Antisemitism, *Historical Materialism*, 32 (2), 163-194.

Medovoi, Leerom. 2024. *The Inner Life of Race: Souls, Bodies, and the History of Racial Power*, Duke UP.

Mills, Charles. 1998. Dark Ontologies: Blacks, Jews, and White Supremacy, in: *Blackness Visible*, Cornell UP, 67-96.

Mills, Charles. 2003. White Supremacy as Sociopolitical System, in: *From Class to Race*, Rowman & Littlefield, 177-194.

Postone, Moishe. 1980. Anti-Semitism and National Socialism, *New German Critique*, 19 (1), 97-115.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. 1946. Anti-Semite and Jew, Schocken 1976.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. 1948. Black Orpheus, *The Massachusetts Review*, 6 (1965) (1): 13-52.

Schraub, David. 2019. White Jews: An Intersectional Approach, *AJS Review*, 43 (2): 379-407.
Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2024. Antisemitism is a Form of Racism – or is it?, *Sociology*, 58 (4): 779-795.

Background Readings

Angermann, Asaf. 2024. Du Bois, Marx, and the Jewish Question Reconsidered, *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 12 (1): 51-82.
Arendt, Hannah. 1939. Antisemitism, in: *The Jewish Writings*, Schocken, 2007, 46-124.
Balibar, Étienne & Immanuel Wallerstein. 2019. Is there an option to go beyond racism? On 'Race, Nation, Class', <https://www.versobooks.com/en-gb/blogs/news/4428-is-there-an-option-to-go-beyond-racism-etienne-balibar-and-immanuel-wallerstein-on-race-nation-class>
Bernasconi, Robert. 2005. The European Knows and Does Not Know: Fanon's Response to Sartre, in: Frantz Fanon's 'Black Skin, White Masks': New Interdisciplinary Essays, Manchester UP, 100-111.
Butler, Judith & Adam Shatz: 'Anti-Semite and Jew' by Jean-Paul Sartre (LRB Podcast), <https://www.lrb.co.uk/podcasts-and-videos/podcasts/close-readings/human-conditions-anti-semite-and-jew-by-jean-paul-sartre>.
Catlin, Jonathon: Antisemitism and Racism 'After Auschwitz', in: *Critical Theory and the Critique of Antisemitism*, Bloomsbury, 203-230.
Cheyette, Bryan. 2005. Frantz Fanon and the Black-Jewish Imaginary. In: Frantz Fanon's 'Black Skin, White Masks': New Interdisciplinary Essays, Manchester UP, 74-99.
Cheyette, Bryan. 2020. Zygmunt Bauman's Window: From Jews to Strangers and Back Again, *Thesis Eleven*, 156 (1): 67-85.
Englert, Sai & Alex de Jong. 2024. Marxism and the Critique of Antisemitism, *Historical Materialism*, 32 (1): 35-57.
Freyenhagen, Fabian. 2019. Adorno and Horkheimer on Anti-Semitism, in: *A Companion to Adorno*, Wiley, 103-122.
Gines, Kathryn T. 2003. Fanon and Sartre 50 Years Later: To Retain or Reject the Concept of Race, *Sartre Studies*, 9 (2): 55-67.
Gines, Kathryn T. 2014. *Hannah Arendt and the Negro Question*, Indiana UP.
Johnson, Terrence L. & Jacques Berlinerblau. 2022. Blacks and Jews: Fifty-Five Years After James Baldwin's "Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They're Anti-White", <https://lithub.com/blacks-and-jews-fifty-five-years-after-james-baldwins-negroes-are-anti-semitic-because-theyre-anti-white/>
Gooding-Williams, Robert. 2023. W.E.B. Du Bois, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/dubois/>.
Gordon, Lewis. 2015. *What Fanon Said*, Fordham UP.
Judaken, Jonathan. 2008. Sartre on Racism, in: *Race after Sartre*, SUNY Press, 23-53.
Judaken, Jonathan. 2024. *Critical Theories of Anti-Semitism*, Columbia UP.
Magid, Shaul. 2020. The Price of (non) Whiteness <https://contendingmodernities.nd.edu/theorizing-modernities/the-price-of-non-whiteness/> .
Rabinbach, Anson. 2000. Why Were the Jews Sacrificed? The Place of Anti-Semitism in Dialectic of Enlightenment, *New German Critique*, 81 (1): 49-64.
Ratskoff, Ben. 2020. James Baldwin's Black Critique of Jewish Whiteness, *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 27 (3): 240-260.

Rensmann, Lars. 2017. *The Politics of Unreason: The Frankfurt School and the Origins of Modern Antisemitism*, SUNY Press.

Rensmann, Lars & Samuel Salzborn. 2021. Modern Antisemitism as Fetishized Anti-Capitalism: Moishe Postone's Theory and its Historical and Contemporary Relevance, *Antisemitism Studies*, 5 (1): 44-99.

Rogers, Melvin: *The Darkened Light of Faith. Race, Democracy, and Freedom in African American Political Thought*, Princeton UP 2023.

Rothberg, Michael. 2009. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*, Stanford UP.

Stögner, Karin. 2020. Intersectionality and Antisemitism – A New Approach, <https://fathomjournal.org/intersectionality-and-antisemitism-a-new-approach/> .

Thomas, James M. 2020. Du Bois, Double Consciousness, and the "Jewish Question", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43 (8): 1333–1356.

Further Reading

Adorno, Theodor W. 1962. Zur Bekämpfung des Antisemitismus heute, in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bd. 20.1., Suhrkamp 1997, 360-383.

Adorno, Theodor W. 1967. *Aspects of the New Right-Wing Extremism*, Polity 2020.

Bell, Dorian. 2018. *Globalizing Race: Antisemitism and Empire in French and European Culture*, Northwestern UP.

Bojadžijev, Manuela, Robin Celikates, & Paul Mecheril. 2025. Special Issue: The Racism Debate in Germany, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, , Advance online publication.

Fields, Karen E. & Barbara J. Fields. 2012. *Racecraft*, Verso.

Friedman, Steven. 2023. *Good Jew, Bad Jew: Racism, Anti-Semitism and the Assault on Meaning*, Wits UP.

Gilroy, Paul. 2000. *Against Race*, Harvard UP.

Hall, Stuart. 2021. *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, Duke UP.

Mosse, George. 1978. *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism*, University of Wisconsin Press 2020.

Parfitt, Tudor. 2020. *Hybrid Hate. Conflations of Antisemitism and Anti-Black Racism From the Renaissance to the Third Reich*, Oxford UP.

Penslar, Derek. 2022. Who's Afraid of Defining Antisemitism?, *Antisemitism Studies*, 6 (1): 133-145.

Shabi, Rachel. 2024. *Off-White: The Truth About Antisemitism*, Oneworld.

Stoetzler, Marcel (ed.). 2023. *Critical Theory and the Critique of Antisemitism*, Bloomsbury.

Teter, Magda. 2023. *Christian Supremacy. Reckoning with the Roots of Antisemitism*, Princeton UP.

Thakkar, Sonali. 2024. *The Reeducation of Race: Jewishness and the Politics of Antiracism in Postcolonial Thought*, Stanford UP.

Ullrich, Peter, et al. (eds.). 2024. *Was ist Antisemitismus?* Wallstein.

Volkov, Shulamit. 1987. Antisemitism as a Cultural Code, *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 23: 25-45.

Waxman, Dov, David Schraub & Adam Hosein. 2022. Arguing about Antisemitism: Why we disagree about Antisemitism, and what we can do about it, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 45 (9): 1803-1824.