

## **Coming to terms with the past, and educational materials for combating anti-Semitism in Germany and Serbia**

Differences in perceptions and ascriptions of perpetrator and victim status after the Second World War mean that the experience and practice of teaching about the Holocaust in Germany differs in key respects from teaching about it in the countries that formerly constituted Yugoslavia. The division between those who are victims and those who suffered is not as clear in the latter case as in that of Germany, where a freely elected party, with massive support from the general population, under no external duress and meeting little resistance, persecuted Jews and other groups.

This said, one inescapable similarity between post-war Yugoslavia (after both the Second World War and the wars of the 1990s) and post war Germany is the imperative placed upon the post-war society to come into terms with its the past.

The process thus undergone in Germany, which despite its manifold shortcomings is often regarded as a positive example of its kind, can be examined via the analysis presented in 1959 by Theodor W. Adorno, a philosopher and sociologist from a Jewish family who went into exile in the US in 1933 and worked there with Marcuse and Horkheimer. After his return to Germany after the fall of Nazism, he taught at Frankfurt University's Institute of Social Research, of which he became head in 1958; the main concern of his work became Auschwitz. His theory is based on psychoanalysis, Hegelian dialectics and Marx' theory of capitalist and bourgeois society. His lecture on 'Was bedeutet Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit?' (What does coming to terms with the past mean?) was broadcast in the radio in 1959 and first published in German in 1977 in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 10.

### ***Vergangenheitsbewältigung*: The German case**

One of the key points Adorno makes in his lecture on *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* is that in everyday speech in German, such a "reappraisal" of or "coming to terms" the past<sup>1</sup> implies the drawing of a line under it, considering it as finished; in Adorno's view, the German population sought to free itself from the shadow of National Socialism (Adorno 1986, p. 115). Adorno discusses the "guilt complex" held by Germans at this time, which, in his interpretation, they perceived as a constructed collective guilt; the use of this psychiatric term, he continues, suggests that these feelings are essentially pathological (ibid., p. 117). A study conducted by Adorno's Institute for Social Research revealed "that recollections of deportations and mass murder were described using saving expressions or euphemistic circumlocutions, or that a vacuous sort of discourse formed around these memories – the universally accepted, almost benevolent expression 'Kristallnacht', used for the pogrom of November 1938, is evidence of this tendency" (ibid. p. 116). It was common among the generation which witnessed National Socialism and the Second World War to claim they had not known what had happened to their Jewish neighbours, or, if they had known, to deny or minimise the events or offset the Allies' bombarding of Dresden against Auschwitz. Adorno regards these reactions and counteraccusations as inhumane attempts to justify what had happened, which ultimately lead to victim-blaming due to the difficulty in accepting that such atrocities were inflicted unprovoked and undeserved. Adorno further observes that the refusal to discuss Auschwitz appeared to stem from an unwillingness to ascribe such a reputation to Germany (ibid., pp. 116-117).

To Adorno's mind, the reintroduction of democracy to Germany from above, by the Allies after the Second World War in a time of crisis – rather than at the peak of liberalisation and economic wealth, as had been the case for the establishment of democratic practices in other Western European countries - meant that Germans, rather

---

1

The terms Adorno uses here are *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* and *Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit*.

than internalising its values, tolerated it for as long as everything went well, and that they had not genuinely come to consider themselves as agents of democracy. His view in this lecture is that Germans are not ready for democracy: “They make an ideology of their own immaturity” (ibid., pp. 118-119).

Adorno states that we can only come to terms with the past when the causes of what had happened have disappeared (ibid., p. 129). He goes on to name the primary cause of fascism in Germany in his view, the “authoritarian personality, which habitually thinks within the paradigm of power and powerlessness; rigidity and the inability to react; conventionality; conformist behavior; lack of self-reflection; and finally an altogether deficient capacity for experience” (ibid. p. 120). Adorno diagnoses a “collective narcissism”, encouraged by the National Socialist ideology which additionally gave a lot of people security and a sense of being cared for, which was damaged by the downfall of Hitler and partially repaired by the economic growth seen after the Second World War (ibid., pp. 120-122).

Adorno considers the capacity for critical self-reflection to be contingent upon a knowledge of Freudian psychoanalytic theory, and is of the view that mass psychoanalysis would be helpful to German society; he envisaged a therapeutic effect from psychoanalysis influencing Germany’s intelligentsia, if it were to do so. Adorno does not believe that encounters between Germans and Israelis will help to defeat anti-Semitism because anti-Semitism, in his assessment of it, has nothing to do with Jews and thus cannot be combated with knowledge of Jews (ibid., pp. 127-128). Prompted by this assessment, we will now go on to discuss the phenomenon of anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism did not appear suddenly in the 1930s but has a long history in Germany and developed from anti-Judaism. It has different manifestations which still exist today – in Germany and Serbia.

## **Anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism**

Anti-Semitism did not appear suddenly in the 1930s but has a long history in Germany, where it developed out of anti-Judaism. It has various different manifestations which still exist today in Germany, Serbia and elsewhere.

*Anti-Judaism* is the religiously based proto-form of anti-semitism. It has historically been most frequently observable within Roman Catholicism, but has also been manifest in the Orthodox church. A central attitude of medieval Germany, it developed into a 'modern' anti-Semitism – on which we will comment further below - via Luther and had become established as such by the nineteenth century. Horkheimer and Adorno have defined it as hatred for Jews as adherents of the 'wrong' religion (Horkheimer/Adorno 1969). Anti-Judaism has given birth to a number of stereotypes around Jews, which have included allegations levelled at them of ritual murder, the poisoning of wells and the desecration of the host.

*Modern anti-semitism*, as hatred for Jews arising with and since the nineteenth century has been defined, has been referred to by Horkheimer and Adorno as a phenomenon of bourgeois society (Horkheimer/Adorno 1969) and can be classified as one of the following: first, nationalist or racially-based (German: *völkisch*) anti-Semitism, a hatred of Jews based on their perceived classification as a separate people, which first emerged in Germany at the outset of the nineteenth century and sought to separate the category of the 'German people' from others considered as being outside this group. This form of anti-Semitism served to promote calls for a German nation state in which citizenship would be defined via blood, in contrast to the French idea of the nation. Serbia likewise saw the emergence of this form of anti-Semitism in the course of the foundation of the Kingdom of Serbia. *Racist anti-Semitism* defines Jews as a 'counter-race' (*Gegenrasse*; Horkheimer/Adorno 1969), using Darwin's and Gobineau's theories; this form of anti-

Semitism primarily existed in Germany from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, but found few adherents in Serbia (Mihailović o.A.), although some proponents of it emerged there in the 1940s.

*Eliminatory anti-Semitism* is the form of anti-Semitism practised in Germany and its allied and occupied states during National Socialist rule. Its manifestation in Serbia was largely through the German Wehrmacht and ethnic Germans, with varying degrees of involvement in anti-Semitic acts by the Serbian population (Sekelj 2002).

*Structural anti-Semitism, or anti-Semitic conspiracy theories*, entail the projection onto Jews of power and the lust for power, as manifested, for instance, in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Horkheimer/Adorno 1969); these beliefs revolve around the notion that Jews control the world, including the stock markets, the media, Hollywood, politics and the economy.

### **Critical Theory and anti-Semitism**

The school of Critical Theory founded by, among others, Adorno and Horkheimer can provide a solid basis for attempts to explain anti-Semitism. While its analysis is focused upon anti-Semitism in Germany, as the country in and proceeding from which it took its worst and most noxious forms, it can also be usefully applied to the phenomenon as it manifests in Serbia. In their *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, Adorno and Horkheimer claim that the economic purpose of anti-Semitism is to “conceal domination in production” (Horkheimer/Adorno 1969, p. 182). They explain this assessment as follows: A worker, while he (or she) sells his/her labour in a factory, does not perceive that factory as the place of his exploitation; but instead, the sphere of circulation (such as the sphere of trade) as the power . The worker does not realise how little he<sup>2</sup> actually gets for his

wages until he is attempting to purchase products. In this way, the responsibility assigned to this sphere of circulation for the exploitation of the worker is a 'socially necessary illusion' (Horkheimer/Adorno 1969, p. 183) whose role is to prevent a general critique of capitalism arising and keep the worker selling his labour. The argument continues that Jews are identified with the sphere of circulation as for a long period in history, permitted neither to own land nor to practise a trade, they had been firmly enclosed within it.

This explanation cannot suffice for Serbian anti-Semitism, as here Jews were not enclosed in the sphere of circulation, but were allowed to learn trades. However, they were primarily an urban population and only achieved equality with non-Jews before the law in 1888; this means that, for a long period in their history, the Jews of Serbia were neither farmers – which put them out of step with the Serb prototype – nor did they have access to administrative positions in the Kingdom. Despite these facts, the popular idea among Serbs that Jews are rich harks back to patterns of perception like those defined by Adorno and Horkheimer; it serves to distract people from the mechanisms of power and explain to them the changes with which they have been confronted in the modern age.

Adorno and Horkheimer have defined the relationship between power and the Enlightenment as a dialectical one, producing progress both in man's inhumanity to man and in the journey towards liberation. Anti-Semitic ideologies regard Jews as the negative principle as opposed to a variously defined positive one; while those subject to racism are told to go back where they came from, the anti-Semite desires to wipe Jews from the face of the earth. These ideologies spread widely within Europe during the period of Nazi rule and were put into action in large parts of Serbia by the German *Wehrmacht*, with varying degrees of active or tacit support from the local population.

In the view of Adorno and Horkheimer, anti-Semitism represents a form of the

---

The male version is also used in original.

sublimation of unmet needs and manifests a sense of satisfaction that others are in no better position than one oneself. An anti-Semite projects his or her own desires for wealth and prosperity onto Jewish bankers, a process whose power to tip the societal balance is particularly marked in periods of crisis and uncertainty about future prosperity for the entire population; the situation in Serbia since the beginning of the 1990s is an example of such a state. In this process, the economic wrongs suffered by an entire class are blamed on the Jews. Historically, Jews were excluded from the status of members of the peoples of Europe. As representatives of the urban bourgeoisie, they brought progress to rural areas via trade; in Serbia, a traditionally agrarian society with sharp contrasts between the urban and rural spheres, they thus became an object of enmity for Orthodox farmers, being perceived as endangering the established order of their lives.

### **Religious anti-Semitism in Germany and Serbia**

Due to the fact that the membership of 'the community of blood' (Horkheimer/Adorno 1969, p. 185) in Germany, and of the people of Serbia, was drawn from Christian believers, anti-Semitism with religious roots has been a factor in both countries. The Serbian Orthodox church, unlike Roman Catholicism, associates its faith with its people, enabling such a religious construction of the rejection of Jews; in a similar way, German Protestantism tended to support the exclusion at the heart of anti-Semitism. A general problem in Christianity is the fact that the claim of the abstract God of the Jewish faith to have become incarnate in Jesus has lessened the terror of the absolute because it has enabled humanity to perceive itself in God (Horkheimer/Adorno 1969, p. 186). In this way, the subject becomes a form of surrogate faith, which, in Adorno and Horkheimer's view, creates room for racist ideologies (Horkheimer/Adorno 1969). As we have indicated above, anti-Semitism contains elements of the projection of one's own powerlessness, and desire for power, onto the Jews. As the one afflicted with paranoia

constructs the world around him or her in accordance with his or her blind purpose, so do anti-Semites long privately for what they publicly denounce and project onto Jewish people. This is a pattern which becomes evident in the conspiracy theories which arose in Serbia and which we will discuss in the course of this essay.

After 1945, so argue Adorno and Horkheimer, anti-Semitism became able to dispense with Jews owing to its development into a closed-circuit world view which plays out in the context of fixed patterns of thought (Horkheimer/Adorno 1969, p. 210) which they refer to as 'ticket thinking' and which are evident in Serbia in the East-West opposition prevalent there. The theory developed by Moshe Postone progresses from and goes beyond this starting point to offer an explanation for the hallucinatory perception that Jews are the powers behind capitalism and communism alike. In so doing, Postone refers to Karl Marx' idea of the fetish, which he initially developed in relation to produced goods and which is at the heart of his analysis of capital. Commodities have a 'dual character', their value and their utility value, which translates into money and the commodity itself. Money appears as the manifestation of the abstract, yet in reality it is not the cause of these societal relationships, but rather their expression (Postone 1988, pp. 247-248). The fetish emerges in the appearance of relationships within capitalist society as an opposition between the abstract and the concrete, with the latter being perceived as 'natural' and industrial capital as the continuation of 'natural' manual work, in contrast to the 'parasitic' character of financial capital (Postone 1988, pp. 249-250). National Socialist rhetoric made reference to this constructed opposition between creative and acquisitive capital, '*schaffendes*' and '*raffendes*' Kapital.

Jews, rather than industrial capital, were the most suitable objects of blame for the consequences of the Industrial Revolution and the transition to the modern age while it was unfolding. The rapid expansion of the latter took place simultaneously with the political emancipation of the former; Jews thus found entry into the emergent

middle classes and their numbers increased in particularly those professions and spheres of public life which were extending their reach and were strongly associated with the new form into which society was seeking to develop. This notwithstanding, bourgeois society is as familiar as other societal forms with the division into the abstract (political) state and concrete (bourgeois) society, and with the splitting of the individual into an abstract citizen and a concrete person with a private life. In Germany, the nation as a concept was never abstracted from bourgeois society, but always remained a concrete concept by virtue of shared language, history, traditions and religion (Postone 1988, p. 259). The Jews were the only population group in Europe to fulfil the idea of citizenship as a politically abstract concept; while they belonged to the nation in an abstract sense, they rarely did so in any concrete way, and their national citizenships were widely spread within Europe (Postone 1988, p. 253). Uncanny powers were ascribed to them: the power, for instance, to kill God, unleash the plague, institute capitalism and socialism alike, and dominate the world. It is such attribution of power that differentiates anti-Semitism from racism; the racist considers the 'subhuman' object of his or her antagonism and derision to be powerless. By contrast, the power ascribed to the Jews is regarded as great and difficult to control, its sources as occult and conspiratorial: "The Jews stand for an extraordinarily powerful, incomprehensible international conspiracy" (Postone 1988, p. 244). This, alongside the identification of the Jews with the abstract, is a notion to be found in Serbia as in Germany; in the former, there is additionally an essentialisation of the Serbian people, with their unified language and faith; it is a form of anti-Semitism which continued here after the end of the Second World War.

### **Conspiracy theories and anti-Semitism in Serbia until after the Second World War**

Racially-based anti-Semitism was popularised in the Serbia of the 1930s by the bishop Nikolaj Velimirović and by the Zbor party founded in 1935 by Dimitrije Ljotić, which held

pro-Nazi and pro-fascist beliefs and published various anti-Semitic pamphlets and books (Byford 2006, p. 53-58). Velimirović believed that Jews were behind a wide range of phenomena, many of them as far opposed as imaginable: democracy, strikes, socialism, religious tolerance, atheism, pacifism, general revolution, communism and capitalism. His evangelist 'Bogomoljcen' movement within the Serbian Orthodox church brought to Serbia the anti-Semitic notions of Ford, who suspected Jews of being the forces behind socialism and Freemasonry. Velimirović viewed small, non-Orthodox Christian churches as the fruit of Jewish and Masonic influences within Christianity whose aim was to destroy Orthodoxy (Byford 2006, p. 59-61). The Serbian Orthodox church believed that Jews were at the root of the 'world's three great evils: communism, capitalism and Freemasonry'.

Velimirović's ideas also contained traces of religious anti-Judaism; he continued to believe that the Jews had killed Christ and were conspiring against Christian Europe (Byford 2006). His proclamation that the Serbs had Aryan blood, Slavic surnames, Serb forenames and Christian hearts reflected racial theories (Byford 2006, p. 60). The Slovenophilia which arrived in Serbia from Russia at the outset of the nineteenth century and made reference to German Romantic thought experienced a renaissance at this time, attaining particular popularity among Orthodox clergy, including Velimirović, who posited an opposition between the degenerate West (*truli zapad*) and the superior culture of the Slavs (Byford 2006, p. 62). The Western values thus categorised as corrupt and debased were the same ones frequently attributed to Jews; in this way, anti-Western sentiment and anti-Semitism overlapped and complemented one another.

Dimitrije Ljotić accused the Jews of seeking to eradicate the white race, with Bolshevism as the eastern variant of their masterplan and European plutocracy the Western version. In his view, the Jews had torn the people apart through the political parties inherent to democracy and caused its disintegration through the omnipotence of Jewish capital, as manifest in banks, trade and industry, and through communism (Sekelj 2002). He perceived Jews as being behind the French and Russian revolutions and the

Congress of Berlin. Ljotić believed Yugoslavia to be in Jewish hands and its media and education system to be under Jewish influence. Seeking to incite resistance to the Masonic, communist and Jewish alliance he believed to be in operation, he was one of the organisers of the anti-masonic exhibition which took place in Belgrade in 1941 (Byford 2006, p. 57). Europe, to his mind, was subject to the influence of new ideologies including individualism, liberalism, materialism and secularism, all of which he read as portents of the demise of Christianity in Europe.

Velimirović and Ljotić evinced virtually identical notions in relation to Jews; they both considered Christianity to be in jeopardy, perceived Jews as being behind all the innovations to which Serbia's new bourgeois society had given rise, and regarded the Jews as being possessed of immeasurable power. Their ideas represent manifestations of the conspiracy theory pointed to by Postone, which ascribes to Jews causality in relation to all phenomena that appear inexplicable, and a positive attitude to traditional societal forms. The identification of the Jews with everything abstract and the concomitant hatred of both represents the common denominator between Ljotić, Velimirović and the Nazis. The ideas in these two figures' theories relating to a white or Aryan race bear clear traces of the racist variant of anti-Semitism; it was, however, a way of thinking that was not taken up by the wider Serbian population, except perhaps in relation to the Austrian-influenced *Vojvodina*. We also observe here the 'ticket thinking' so defined by Horkheimer and Adorno, which considered the East good and the West bad.

Ljotić and Velimirović are not the only examples of susceptibility in what is now Serbia to anti-Semitic ideas exported from Germany. Between 1936 and 1940, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia passed several anti-Semitic laws mandating the exclusion of Jews from civil rights and from wholesale trade and determining that the number of Jewish students was to be reduced to be proportionate to their share of the general population. Jewish diplomats were denied entry to the country and Jewish tourists were refused visas (Sekelj 2002). At the request of the British government, 2000 Jewish refugees from

Germany, Austria and Hungary who had planned to flee to Palestine via the Danube were interned and later handed over to the *Wehrmacht* (Sekelj 2002). Conspiracy theories drew agreement from the general population; it comes as no surprise in this context that sixteen editions of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion were printed between 1934 and 1941 (Sekelj 2002). Eliminatory anti-Semitism entered the scene with the surrender of Yugoslavia and the arrival of the *Wehrmacht*, at which the state was divided up into German, Italian and Hungarian occupation zones, the fascist state of Croatia, which at the time incorporated Bosnia, and Nedić's puppet regime. The number of anti-Semitic policies in force varied from zone to zone; 1942 saw Serbia being declared as the country's first 'Jew-free' region, a state reached through action by the *Wehrmacht*, local ethnic Germans, the local gendarmerie and special police force, the Nedić government and Ljotić.

After the end of the Second World War, although there was no real engagement with the past and its events (Sundhaussen 1995, p. 81), anti-Semitism was condemned in strong terms. After 1967, the year in which Yugoslavia broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, some anti-Semitic acts took place, the Protocols were re-published in a few instances and Arab/Muslim propaganda against Jews came into circulation, although its dissemination was limited and it did not seek to raise anger against Jews in general.

### **Philo-Semitism in 1990s Serbia**

At the beginning of the 1990s, philo-Semitic tendencies were dominant in Serbia. The year 1987 had seen the foundation of the Serbian-Jewish Friendship Society; this organisation was funded directly and indirectly by the Milosević government, which consistently denied the existence of anti-Semitism in Serbia, depicted the state as a friend to the Jews and Croatia as an anti-Semitic country which sought to re-perpetrate the genocide of the Jews and include the Serbs. The Society sent Serbian propaganda to

Israel and referred to the Serbs and the Jews as bound together by a common fate. Vuk Drašković, an opposition politician of the 1990s, called Kosovo the Serbian Jerusalem. The Society gave its support to Radovan Karadžić, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, and claimed that the international embargo against Serbia placed the Serbs in a situation comparable to that of the Jews in the first half of the twentieth century; it referred to the Jews and the Serbs as God's chosen peoples (heavenly people). Such views clearly evince an instrumentalisation of Jews for purposes related to Serbian nationalism. In the view of Sundhaussen, the aim here was to demonstrate that the Ustascha had been anti-Serb, anti-Semitic, pro-German and pro-Catholic, likewise contemporary Croats, that the Germans were the enemies of the Serbs and the Jews and friends to the Croats, and that the Serbs were therefore friends to the Jews, who, according to this logic, were the enemies of the Croats, the Germans and the Vatican (Sundhaussen 1995, p. 90).

### **Conspiracy theories in Serbia**

Alongside this philo-Semitism, the political and cultural life of Serbia from the end of the 1980s onwards encompassed conspiracy theories about Jews. At this time, editions of the Protocols were once again in circulation, as were various works by Nedić and Ljotić, published by the 'velvet' press. First the tabloid press, and later the government-aligned daily newspaper *Politika*, began to publish pieces referring to the Jews as the fifth column of the New World Order and claiming that the Jewish mafia held power in Moscow and the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia by the international community had been promoted by the 'Jewish lobby'. George Soros, whose "Open Society" initiative provided support to a range of NGOs, was attacked for being Jewish and regarded as part of an anti-Serb conspiracy uniting the Vatican, the Comintern, Freemasons and the world's Jewry.

A document which helped to lay further foundations for this culture of

conspiracy theories against Jews was a memorandum issued in 1986 by the Serbian Academy of the Sciences which contained claims that other peoples of Yugoslavia were against the Serbs despite the latter having made the most sacrifices for the Yugoslav state and having saved Europe from being invaded by the Turks. The document further stated that the Serbs had suffered discrimination in Tito's Yugoslavia, particularly in the wake of the constitutional reform of 1974 which had accorded greater autonomy to the Serbian provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

During the NATO bombardment of Serbia, conspiracy theories gained an increasingly strong foothold amid a climate of Serbia finding itself pitted against the rest of the world. The Jews were an easy and popular scapegoat. Right-wing groupings published a list of people whom it claimed to be Jews and enemies of the Serbian people; it contained a large number of names of foreigners and two of Serbs living in Belgrade. According to Byford, the Serbian media was in general agreement that the Western media was in the hands of an anti-Serb conspiracy; from there it was a small step to alleging that people in key positions were in fact Jews. Those behind this alleged conspiracy were variously said to be the Bilderberg Group, the global elite, the Trilateral Commission, transnational enterprises, and - Jews. In a piece published in *Politika*, Smilja Avramov and Ratibor Đurđević expressed the view that the new world order was controlled by international capital, bankers, secret organisations and the Illuminati. In the same paper, Gordana Knežević wrote that a group of twelve financially powerful figures were working with Rockefeller, to whom she referred as coming from 'the house of David', in order to avoid mislabelling him as a Jew; the trope she activates here is taken from the *Protocols*, in which twelve Jewish elders control the world. In an attempt to ward off potential allegations of anti-Semitism, Đurđević differentiates between 'ordinary' Jews and 'Jews of Juda' (*judejci*).

### **Anti-western 'ticket thinking' in Serbia**

Milosević did not hark back in his ideas to the 1930s, did not make use of anti-communist arguments and – unlike other politicians from 1990s Eastern Europe - kept his distance from the Church; this notwithstanding, he did seek to raise hackles against the West and depicted Serbia as the only country resisting the new world order and an international anti-Serb conspiracy. It was during his tenure that an anti-Western and anti-Semitic culture sprang up in Serbia.

After Milosević was deposed, this image of Serbia as a lone warrior against the new world order could no longer be sustained, as it was precisely this order to which the country had surrendered. The threat, in other words, came no longer from without, but from within. This situation led to increased numbers of threatening letters being sent to well-known Serbian Jews, such as Aleksandar Lebl, Laslo Sekelj and Žarko Korač, and to Jewish communities. Korač, president of the Serbian Social Democratic Union, was attacked for his Jewishness as well as for his support for human rights in general and gay rights in particular; a gay pride march organised in 2001 was referred to by 'Obraz', a clerical-fascist youth group which had gained in strength after the turn of the millennium, as a product of the alleged Jewish lobby.

Such acts and discourses point to the revival of 1930s and 40s anti-Western 'ticket thinking' which pitted Serbian and Orthodox values against those from the West, which are considered Jewish in origin. An unsurprising concomitant of this was the rehabilitation of Ljotić, Nedić and Mihailović and the canonisation of Velimirović. The claim issued by theology students from Belgrade that all modern European values and mottos - democracy, strikes, socialism, atheism, tolerance, pacifism, revolution, capitalism and communism – are Jewish is evidently a reprise of Velimirović's thought. In 2005, graffiti appeared in Zrenjanin on the building of a women's organisation, reading 'Jews out' along with homophobic slogans; graffiti in Negotin asserted that 'racial equality is the Jewish trap', and the Jewish cemetery and the radio station B92 in

Belgrade were the targets of graffiti attacks combined with posters produced by the extreme right-wing grouping 'nacionalni stroj' which claimed that the station was supporting the new world order.

### **Anti-Semitism in other parts of former Yugoslavia**

Our focus on Serbia here does not intend to negate the existence of anti-Semitism in Croatia, Bosnia and other former Yugoslav republics. At least among scholars, there is still considerable awareness that Franjo Tudjman and the Croatian Ustascha, who ruled Greater Croatia between 1941-1945 and introduced similar anti-Jewish laws as in Germany and killed Jews, Roma and Serbs were very anti-Semitic. Bosnia has recently drawn attention for its problems with anti-Semitism, which appears to have been partly promoted by Islamist propaganda claiming that, for instance, Jews are in charge at the French satire magazine Charlie Hebdo, which in early 2015 was the target of an Islamist terror attack, and dominate the financial system, as well as seeking to find a second home in Ukraine. Such voices further assert that Jews are very rich and powerful and control everything and that Allah has damned them. Such propaganda has been disseminated by Halil Dizdarević, a Muslim reader of 'Sandžak online'<sup>3</sup>, and similar content can be found on other sites, including akos.ba, klix.ba and dnevno.ba.

### **Secondary anti-Semitism in Germany**

'Secondary anti-Semitism' is classified as having emerged since 1945 and as existing not in spite of, but because of Auschwitz (used here as a synecdoche for the mass elimination of European Jewry). Secondary anti-Semitism accuses the Jews of standing in the way of Germany's becoming a normal state. In a method book with teaching

material on anti-Semitism (Bildungsteam Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. and Tacheles e.V. 2007), suggested activities for understanding secondary anti-Semitism include the analysis of two speeches which were the subject of much debate in Germany at the time: a speech given by the author Martin Walser in 1998 on the occasion of his being presented with the German book trade's peace prize and a speech made by Martin Hohmann, a politician from the Christian Democratic Union, on 3 October 2003, the national holiday celebrating German reunification.

Martin Walser's speech decried what he described as the instrumentalisation of the memory of the Holocaust. In the same speech, he opposed the building of a central Holocaust memorial, a project in progress at the time of his speech. His comments can be interpreted as a form of secondary anti-Semitism which demands a line be drawn under history.

Martin Hohmann's speech denounced the payment of reparations to victims of German fascism and the overall presence and repetition of the crimes of National Socialism in education, textbooks and public memory: 'Thousands of rather low-quality films ensure, above all in English-speaking countries, that the cliché of the rather stupid, brutal and criminal German soldier remains alive and is continuously renewed.' His primary concern appears to be for damage to the German national spirit in the wake of Hitler's actions; there is evidence here of thinking similar to that of Martin Walser, that Germany finds itself prevented from reassuming a status of normality. The most controversial section of his speech claimed that Germans are seen as a 'perpetrator people' (*Tätervolk*) while all other nations attempt to disguise the darker sides of their history, and raised the question of whether the Jews might themselves be such a *Tätervolk*, making reference to the anti-Semitic writings of Henry Ford.

As we can see by these two examples, secondary anti-Semitism regards Jews as instrumentalising history for their own ends; it reverses the roles of perpetrators and

victims, with a tendency to regard Germans as the victims, and rejects the confrontation of German society with the atrocities and mass murder committed by Germans during National Socialism (Imhoff 2011, pp. 53-57). In other words, secondary anti-Semitism perceives Jews as standing in the way of the rehabilitation of the German nation and holding Germans' guilt over them (Rensmann 2004, pp. 90-91).

The above mentioned teaching material book on anti-Semitism by the 'Bildungsteam' and 'Tacheles Reden' can be used for extension activities with pupils and will be most useful in settings, such as special projects, which are freed from the usual restrictions of the school timetable.<sup>4</sup> The book discusses Christian anti-Judaism, modern anti-Semitism, anti-Semitism during National Socialism, anti-Semitism after 1945 and anti-Semitism and the Middle East conflict. Further on in the book, pupils - and participants in the workshops which have been offered in relation to the publication - learn more about the above-mentioned various manifestations of anti-Semitism (Bildungsteam 2007, pp. 107-109). One exercise calls on students to assign to these various types of anti-Semitism a number of remarks made by visitors to the Jewish Museum in Berlin (see Appendix). In the workshop, which was demonstrated at a summer school on the Holocaust held in Golubić and Zadar on 23-26 August 2015, definitions and quotations were printed on card and the participants were asked to match them up:

### **Manifestations of anti-Semitism (Bildungsteam 2007, pp. 107-109)**

Please assign each of the quotations from visitors to the Jewish Museum in Berlin to a manifestation of anti-Semitism.

1. Racist anti-Semitism...  
claims that Jews are a race with certain physical and mental characteristics which makes them inferior.

---

4

The material was published by 'Verlag an der Ruhr' but is now out of print.

2. anti-Jewish conspiracy theories...  
perceive Jews as a dark power with influence, united within a global Jewish conspiracy against the rest of the world.
3. Christian anti-Judaism...  
rejects Jews as members of a non-Christian religion and perceives Christianity as superior to Judaism.
4. Modern anti-Semitism...  
perceives Jews as responsible for all changes in society which have happened within the development of modernity and which are perceived as negative.
5. Anti-Semitism which supports the elimination of all Jews
6. Philo-Semitism is...  
the perception of Jews as positively different, a perception which, however, continues to assign to them an 'outsider' position.
7. anti-Semitic critique of Israel...  
gives an allegedly objective position towards Israel's policies and blames all Jews (including those outside Israel) for every negative aspect of Israeli policy and society.
8. Secondary anti-Semitism  
serves as denial of the remembrance of the mass murder of Jews during National Socialism. It entails the distortion and revision of history, the refusal to remember the Nazi-past, the reversal of the roles of victims and perpetrators, and a defensive or aggressive attitude to the notion of German guilt.

Anti- and philo-Semitic quotations collected from visitors to the Jewish Museum in Berlin in discussions with museum guides:

- A. „What? Jews did not kill Jesus?“
- B. „Are you actually a Jew?“  
„What are you?“  
„Normal...“  
„What is normal? Jew, Christian, Muslim, Atheist?“  
„I am normal – Christian...“
- C. „The small stones on Jewish graves remind Jews that they would have liked to stone Jesus.“
- D. „Jews were all rich.“
- F. „We are bankers. We also know how to deal with money.“
- G. „Jews poison water wells.“
- H. „Jews could lend money in former times because they had a lot of money.“
- I. Guide: „Jeans are a Jewish invention.“ Visitor: „Ugh, my trousers are Jewish? How can I get rid of them?“
- J. Guide: „How can you see in this picture that he is Jewish?“, visitor: „Because of his nose.“
- K. „Jews are parasites.“
- L. „Only Jews think they are so important. I don't have any problems with other foreigners.“
- M. „Are so many men in the USA circumcised because of the big influence of Jews?“
- N. „Of course Jews are more intelligent. Wasn't it also a Jew who invented the atomic bomb?“
- O. „There are so many great Jewish musicians. Will they hold concerts here as well?“
- P. „Zionism is an invisible and powerful empire which cannot be found on any map of the world but exists in every capitalist part of the world.

- Q. „Why did so few Jews die on 9/11?“
- R. „Jews moan when it comes to the Holocaust but they do the same with Palestinians today.“
- S. „Jews use the Holocaust for their advantage.“
- T. „Jews were driven out of Germany because they were too powerful.“
- U. „We also suffered during the Second World War.“

Another method from the book published by Bildungsteam is the enabling of students to complete a change of perspective and learn empathy with fictitious figures posited to have gone through an actual historical event, such as the boycott of Jewish shops which took place in April 1933. Participants in the workshops run in conjunction with the publication receive a role card and have to think in a group about how the person will probably behave and share their assessment with other groups who discussed another person's possible behaviour. One description, for example, is the following:

## Portrait 4

**Task:** Read the text and discuss how the person would have behaved during the boycott: did s/he follow the call to boycott [Jewish shops], or did s/he not agree but nevertheless boycott, or did s/he fight against it?

First, collect all possible options for behaviour [in this situation] and choose one option. Then come back to the whole group after 30 minutes.

Otto Hauptmann works in a factory for electric motors in Berlin. Since his apprenticeship before the First World War, he has been a member of the trade union. Although he and his comrades in the trade union have been fighting for better working conditions and higher wages, he has not been very successful yet. The inflation of 1923 and the depression of 1928 worsened the situation of wage earners. Nevertheless, Otto thinks that [this fight] will be more successful as soon the economic situation stabilises. Thanks to the trade union, he still has a job. The owner of the factory is allegedly Jewish and dismissed the older workers first. The trade union defended the jobs of its members. In discussion with his colleagues, he is increasingly confronted with radical opinions. A lot of them think that factory owners need to be expropriated and workers should take over the government. Otto thinks that you probably need expertise in order to lead a factory and the government.

In order to come to terms with the past, the causes at the root of the development of fascism need to be overcome. In order to understand the psychological function behind the refusal of guilt and of the perception of collective guilt which is often connected with secondary anti-Semitism, young people have to learn about the past not in numbers and dates, but with empathy and critical analysis. Learning empathy means changing one's perspective and attempting to imagine how another person feels. These sorts of

methods in combating anti-Semitism are as important as the analysis of anti-Semitic opinions and the distinction of various manifestations of anti-Semitism.

## **Bibliography**

Adorno, Theodor W.: What does coming to terms with the past mean? Hartman, Geoffrey (ed.): Bitburg in moral and political perspective. Bloomington 1986, pp. 114-129.

Bildungsteam Berlin-Brandenburg e.V./Tacheles reden e.V. (ed.): Woher kommt der Judenhass? Was kann man dagegen tun?. [Where does hate against jews come from? What can be done against it?] Mülheim a.R. 2007.

Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels (ed.) [Capital market group of the German book trade]: Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels 1998 [peace prize of the German book trade],

Martin Walser. Ansprachen aus Anlaß der Verleihung. Frankfurt/Main 1998.

Byford, Jovan: Teorija zavere. Srbija protiv "novog svetskog poretka". [Conspiracy theory. Serbia against the „new world order“] Belgrade 2006.

Hohmann, Martin: Der Wortlaut der Rede von MdB Martin Hohmann zum Nationalfeiertag. [text of Martin Hohmann's speech for the national holiday] Telepolis, at: <http://www.heise.de/tp/r4/artikel/15/15981/1.html> (31.7.2015)

Horkheimer, Max/Adorno, Theodor W.: Dialektik der Aufklärung. Philosophische Fragmente. [Dialectic of enlightenment. Philosophical fragments] New edition, Frankfurt

a.M. 1969.

Imhoff, Maximilian Elias: Antisemitismus in der Linken. Ergebnisse einer quantitativen Befragung. [Anti-Semitism among the leftists. Results of a quantitative survey] Politische Kulturforschung vol. 7. Frankfurt a. M. 2011.

Postone, Moishe: Antisemitismus und Nationalsozialismus. [Anti-Semitism and national socialism] In: Diner, Dan (ed.): Zivilisationsbruch. Denken nach Auschwitz. [Break of civilisation. Thoughts after Auschwitz] Frankfurt a.M. 1988, pp. 242-254.

Rensmann, Lars: Demokratie und Judenbild. Antisemitismus in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. [Democracy and the image of jews. Anti-Semitism in the political culture of the Federal Republic of Germany] Wiesbaden 2004.

Sekelj, Laslo: Antisemitizam u Jugoslaviji od nastanka do drugog svetskog rata (1918-1941). [Anti-Semitism in Yugoslavia from the origin to the second world war] In: Nova srpska politička misao. Specijalno izdanje. [New Serbian Political thought. Special edition] 2002, pp. 75-92.

Sundhaussen, Holm: Das "Wiedererwachen der Geschichte" und die Juden: Antisemitismus im ehemaligen Jugoslawien. [The „reawakening of history“ and the Jews: Anti-Semitism in former Yugoslavia] In: Hausleitner, Mariana (ed.): Juden und Antisemitismus im östlichen Europa. [Jews and anti-Semitism in Eastern europe]