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A Forgotten Chapter of the Frankfurt School's Research on Antisemitism

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Otto Kirchheimer's *The Policy of the Catholic Church Toward the Jews* (1943)

A Forgotten Chapter of the Frankfurt School's Research on Antisemitism

HUBERTUS BUCHSTEIN

This article places Otto Kirchheimer's unpublished essay, The Policy of the Catholic Church Toward the Jews, within the context of the Frankfurt School's studies of antisemitism during the 1940s. It identifies the traces left by Kirchheimer's text on the Institute's subsequent research, and emphasizes the differences between Kirchheimer's approach and the future theory of antisemitism conceived by Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, suggesting that this essay was the starting point for larger research projects on antisemitism by Horkheimer's Institute for Social Research. Kirchheimer's later writings on antisemitism are also discussed.

Otto Kirchheimer (1905–1965) was one of a group of young German-Jewish lawyers driven into exile after 1933, who had to establish new livelihoods and restart their professional careers as scholars, some under the most difficult conditions. The political and academic conflicts Kirchheimer experienced during the Weimar Republic, the Nazi period, his French and American exiles, and later during the establishment of the two newly emerging German

states after 1945, are reflected in his multifaceted academic oeuvre.¹ The 1943 text *The Policy of the Catholic Church Toward the Jews* was produced by Kirchheimer at the Institute for Social Research (ISR) in New York. From 1937 to 1944 he worked there with Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Franz L. Neumann, and others who fled Germany.

Kirchheimer was born on November 11, 1905, in Heilbronn, Germany. Even as an adolescent, he became devoted to socialist ideas and was active in the German-Jewish *Wandervogel* movement.² After obtaining his *Abitur* (high school degree), he studied law, completing his studies with a doctorate under Carl Schmitt in 1928. He then worked as a *Referendar* (law clerk) and a lawyer, quickly making a name for himself as a sharp-tongued writer on the left-wing of the SPD (Social Democratic Party). Directly following the handover of power to Hitler's government, Kirchheimer's license to practice law was revoked. He was briefly jailed in May 1933. After his release, he fled to Paris and worked there for the former Frankfurt *Institut für Sozialforschung*, which had also gone into exile. In November 1937, he relocated to the United States, where he worked at Horkheimer's Institute for Social Research in New York through 1943, involved in various projects and publications. After leaving the Institute, he worked for the Office for Strategic Services (OSS), where he was involved in preparing for the Nuremberg Trials. He then worked for the US State Department, and from 1955 on, taught at the New School for Social Research in New York. In 1961, he accepted a Chair of Public Law and Government at Columbia University. Kirchheimer died on November 22, 1965, in Washington, DC.

KIRCHHEIMER'S MANUSCRIPT AND THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL'S RESEARCH ON ANTISEMITISM

Kirchheimer prepared the text on the Catholic Church in the context of the studies on antisemitism at the Institute for Social Research (ISR), during the initial phase of this work by the Frankfurt School

in exile.³ The first concrete plans for a major study on antisemitism at the ISR began in 1939, when antisemitism was already escalating in the United States and had become the subject of a broader public debate in books such as Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here*.⁴ The findings of this multi-year research at the ISR led to the publication of the series *Studies in Prejudice* beginning in 1949.

The Institute's journal had to cease publication in France because of the German occupation of Paris, but it continued with a New York publisher beginning with the double volume in 1939–1940. The first issue of this volume included Horkheimer's programmatic essay *The Jews and Europe*. The article, a mixture of political observations, theoretical deliberations, and historical-philosophical reflections, was permeated with the fear that the fascist model of governance and a murderous form of antisemitism would spread worldwide. It ended with a note stating that it had been completed on the first day of the outbreak of the war in September 1939. It was also the source of the famous dictum, "But whoever is not willing to talk about capitalism should also keep quiet about fascism."⁵ In the article, Horkheimer developed the hypothesis that the Nazi regime had stabilized the monopolistic capitalism of the Weimar Republic, which had fallen into an existential crisis in the form of a historically new post-liberal order.

Kirchheimer had contributed a short text on this article at Horkheimer's request. This text from the late summer of 1939 includes an overview of empirical findings from various areas of the economy in Italy and Germany.⁶ Presenting large amounts of data, Kirchheimer documented a strengthening of private capitalism through re-privatizations under both regimes, the processes of concentration in various sectors at the expense of small and medium-size businesses, a reduction of wages and an intensification of labor, the continuous importance of large-scale land holdings in agriculture, the failure of the expansion of public administration, and increasing bureaucratization. Even if Horkheimer's essay *The Jews and Europe* did not directly take up any individual passages or tables of numbers from Kirchheimer, it is easy to see that Kirchheimer's findings were incorporated into Horkheimer's statements about the role of

business monopolies, advancing concentration, and the expansion of the government apparatus.⁷ In this essay, Horkheimer still advocated a functionalist interpretation of antisemitism, which assumed the primacy of economic factors.⁸ He made the decreasing importance of the sphere of circulation, which Kirchheimer had illustrated with data, fit his own interpretation and refashioned it into a complete vanishing. According to Horkheimer, the Jews were the circulation agents par excellence. They owed their emancipation to the fact that they served as pioneers of capitalism and were indispensable as lenders in the sphere of circulation. To Horkheimer, the sphere of circulation was simultaneously the foundation of bourgeois democracy and the universality of the law. As circulation disappeared, he believed, Jews were “being run over” and had become superfluous.⁹ At the same time, democracy and the universality of the law had become obsolete.

In 1941, the project outline “Research Project on Antisemitism” (which he prepared to a large extent in 1939) was published in *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*. Under Horkheimer’s leadership, the Institute presented an interdisciplinary and thematic research program on antisemitism that was to provide the basis for intellectual combat. The goal of the project’s analysis was “to show that anti-Semitism is one of the dangers inherent in all more recent culture.”¹⁰ The project was to demonstrate in different ways that antisemitism is widespread, has deep historical roots, and is also found where it is hardly assumed; for example, in the work of humanistic Enlightenment philosophers. The Institute’s hypotheses on the “Foundations of National Socialist Anti-Semitism” are formulated in Section VI of the project outline, which attribute the Jews’ weakened role in society to “the change in the functions of money.”¹¹ The empirical evidence provided for the new importance of the sphere of circulation in capitalism came from a small paper Kirchheimer had prepared for the project outline, *Funktionswandel und Konzentrationstendenzen im Bankgewerbe* (*Functional Transformation and Concentration Tendencies in the Banking Industry*).¹² Kirchheimer summarized how Germany’s banking sector had changed since 1933, focusing especially on

the increase of political influence in decisions about loans, and the Reich's heavy indebtedness to the banks. Overall, he found a shift of profits from private bankers to major banks, and considered the Nazi Aryanization of Jewish property part of the process of growing concentration. Horkheimer used Kirchheimer's figures about changes in the private banks' and major banks' total deposits as evidence supporting his hypotheses on economic transformation.¹³ However, he made the findings more pointed using them to explain the complete liquidation of the sphere of circulation. According to Horkheimer, it was the decline of the power of financial capital and the replacement of the market by a planned economy overseen by government bureaucracy that made the anti-Jewish policies of the Third Reich possible in the first place.

The first attempts to gain financing from the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations for empirical and historical research on antisemitism failed. It was only in early 1943 that Franz Neumann, working jointly with Arkadij Gurland and Kirchheimer,¹⁴ succeeded in obtaining funding from the American Jewish Committee (AJC) for two parts of the Institute's original research project.¹⁵ It was initially scheduled for one year, from April 1943 to March 1944, and was to be headed by Friedrich Pollock. The researchers in New York were to work on the economic and social causes of antisemitism, and the scholars on the West Coast were to conduct present day psychological studies under Horkheimer's leadership.¹⁶ The New York group was directed by Friedrich Pollock and Leo Löwenthal, although most of its work was conducted by Arkadij Gurland and Paul W. Massing with Kirchheimer involved part-time.¹⁷ Kirchheimer's close personal friend Herbert Marcuse also contributed to the work of the group and commented extensively on the original research agenda.¹⁸

In order to be able to present the AJC with the first findings that could be used politically, the group of researchers in New York concentrated on experiences of antisemitism and its political function in European history, including a survey of German emigrés about their experiences and the reactions of the German population to the Nazi regime's antisemitic policies. The findings from the first

year of research were presented to the AJC at a conference in New York in the spring of 1944 and delivered in the form of a hectograph research report in August 1944, which was never published. The 150-page report was augmented with several essays and exposés as well as a list of 21 authors, including Kirchheimer.¹⁹ The AJC leadership was sufficiently convinced of the results that in the fall of 1944, it approved the financing for continuing and expanding the project as well as for the establishment of a Scientific Department directed by Horkheimer. The publication of the five volumes of *Studies in Prejudice* in the United States between 1949 and 1951 was a “sensational scientific success” for the ISR, which established its legendary reputation as a pioneer of empirical research on prejudice.²⁰

KIRCHHEIMER'S *THE POLICY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
TOWARD THE JEWS*

Two of Kirchheimer's texts stem from the Frankfurt School's context, and both are titled *The Policy of the Catholic Church Toward the Jews*.²¹ The first is a 21-page typescript, which remains incomplete and presents a number of hypotheses. The second, running to 32 typed pages, is a more in-depth version of the same work, with more detailed references. Neither carries a date, yet we can narrow down the time of writing with reasonable certainty on the basis of other sources. Kirchheimer was funded for special projects in the context of the antisemitism project from mid-June to mid-August 1943.²² Considering his other activities and the work flow at the Institute, the second, more detailed, manuscript can be dated to the autumn of 1943.²³ Additionally, the agenda for the joint meeting of the Institute for Social Research and the AJC on December 8, 1943, announces Kirchheimer as the third speaker (alongside Friedrich Pollock and Arkadij Gurland) at this dinner meeting, held at The Harmonie Club in New York City, and his talk is titled “The Catholic Church and Her Jewish Policy.”²⁴ The text has never been published and was never referenced, with the exception of a brief note in a footnote by Felix Weil in *The Chicago Jewish Forum*, a

minor newsletter that existed for just a few years.²⁵ (The second version of Kirchheimer's essay is published in this issue of *Antisemitism Studies* for the first time. See pages 272–296.²⁶)

Kirchheimer begins *The Policy of the Catholic Church Toward the Jews* with a statement reminiscent of Carl Schmitt's writings on Catholicism, stating that the Catholic Church must be viewed primarily as a flexible religious institution,²⁷ and develops his deliberations by distinguishing between Catholic doctrine and "the different, sometimes even contradictory, motivations which have guided Catholic attitudes towards the Jews at different periods and in different regions" (1).²⁸ One constitutive element of Catholic doctrine, Kirchheimer states, is its "anti-Judaism," which he strictly differentiates from antisemitism. He describes various theological interpretations and evaluations of Judaism, beginning with the New Testament through the Middle Ages to the late 18th century, as well as the Church's practical policies toward Jews. In this description, Kirchheimer emphasizes those elements of Catholic theology that protect Jews because, in principle, they can be evangelized. He dates the watershed in Catholic policy toward Jews to the early 19th century, which was caused by the looming loss of much of the Church's societal power in the course of capitalist modernization. More than before, it had to opportunistically seek potential political allies in order to maintain its position of power in society. Kirchheimer selects the examples of the Kulturkampf in the German Reich and, in more detail, the Dreyfus Affair in France to examine Catholic tactics concerning the Jewish Question. In these conflicts, the Catholic Church seized the opportunity to more influentially assert its public rejection of capitalist modernity using antisemitic propaganda. Catholic theologians condemned "the evils of finance-capitalism personified in the Jews" (6). Using the example of the Weimar Republic, Kirchheimer explains that the Catholic Church is more tolerant toward Jews in contexts where Catholicism is also a minority faith.

In the final section, "Catholic Policy and Totalitarianism," he argues that the senior leadership of the Catholic Church is not only prepared to cooperate with those in political power at a

given time to maintain the Church as an institution, but is even “willing to sacrifice the Catholic parties” (9), as illustrated by the examples of fascism in Italy and National Socialism in Germany. During the Weimar Republic, the Catholic Church declared that working together with the NSDAP was irreconcilable because of its anti-clerical propaganda. Yet, immediately after Hitler took over the government, not even his militant antisemitism could move the leadership of the Catholic Church to refuse to collaborate with the new German government. In the concluding passages, Kirchheimer states that “after 1939 antisemitic policies rapidly spread all over Europe” (9). This simultaneously showed a shift in the Catholic Church’s position toward the Jewish Question resulting from concern about the Vatican’s position of power in fascist Italy. Now, the Vatican did emphasize that it nonetheless remained the fundamental task of the Catholic Church to overcome Judaism, but that there were “certain definite limits” to this goal (10). In light of its universal mission the Church had to insist that Jews would still be permitted to convert to Catholicism. From this followed the political thrust countering a “race doctrine, which would tend to nullify the Church’s freedom to enlist” (10). According to Kirchheimer, the Catholic Church still did not take a friendly stance toward Jews—official Church publications continued to describe them “both as members of the financial oligarchy and as revolutionaries” (10)—but from 1939 on, the Catholic Church saw itself subject to a “struggle with totalitarianism,” as did the Jews (11).

It is striking that Kirchheimer does not draw the obvious political conclusion that new allies in the struggle against antisemitism could be won in this changed constellation. This presumably has to do with the fact that Pope Pius XII, who had taken office in 1939, was friendly toward Germany, and Jewish circles in the US were aware of this. The new pope raised more fears than hopes for the future of European Jewry.²⁹

It is easier still to understand why Kirchheimer refrained from relying on Catholicism as an ally against antisemitism if we also examine the first version of the text, which survives only in part. In addition to the deliberations focusing on Europe in the

more detailed version, this text includes several pages on American Catholicism and its role in antisemitism, which had increased sharply since the early 1930s. In these six pages, he reminds readers of the marginalized role of Catholics in American history and also emphasizes the special significance of immigration from Ireland for changes in North American Catholicism. In the early 20th century, the social competition in the lower strata of society between Irish immigrants and Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and Russia led to the emergence of “anti-Jewish bias,” with particular contempt for Jewish competitors.³⁰ This had formed an echo chamber for rapidly increasing antisemitism among Catholics in the American industrial labor force in the preceding years. In the political realm, it had been stoked above all by the Catholic “radio priest” Father Charles Coughlin’s aggressive antisemitic propaganda during the 1930s.³¹ Kirchheimer relates the “meteoric rise” of “Coughlinism” in the United States to similar contemporary “popular Catholic anti-Semitic movements” in Poland and Austria. So while antisemitic mass movements led by Catholics were not a new phenomenon, their existence in the United States at the time, however, was new and could prepare the ground for a “native American fascism.” The AJC’s major concern and reason for financing the study was combating antisemitism, and little trust was placed in other representatives of the Catholic Church in America when it came to that goal. They would do nothing against rampant “Coughlinism” for the simple reason that it promised to attract new adherents to Catholicism, who had an “inferiority complex” in North America.

THE LATER IMPACT OF KIRCHHEIMER’S ESSAY
ON ANTISEMITISM

Kirchheimer had already left the Institute when the final report was submitted to the AJC in August 1944. Nonetheless, his work left its mark on its future research on antisemitism. His deliberations in the chapter “Elements of Anti-Semitism”—also written in the summer of 1943—did not directly influence Horkheimer and

Adorno in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Yet certain parallels are to be found with respect to their differentiation between religious and *völkisch* forms of antisemitism and their view of Christianity as an institution.³² In contrast, there are no points of contact with their interpretation of Christian antisemitism following Freud's image of patricide.³³ In their reading of antisemitism, Horkheimer and Adorno followed a different path from Kirchheimer, one that presented itself in the empirical studies in the early phase of the antisemitism project. Surveys of German-language emigrants in the United States in 1943—Kirchheimer was also involved in their analysis³⁴—revealed that devout Catholics and conservatives helped Jews far more than Protestants. Horkheimer later used this finding to support his hypothesis that conservatives are often better guardians of critical thinking than liberals. The question of Catholicism plays no role in the best-known volume of *Studies in Prejudice*, the book *The Authoritarian Personality*, co-authored by Adorno.³⁵ And there are hardly any references to the functionalist interpretation of antisemitism in Neumann's *Behemoth*.³⁶

Kirchheimer's observation that antisemitism was widespread among the American Catholic industrial labor force had a greater impact. Gurland and Neumann succeeded in securing funding from the Jewish Labor Committee (JLC)³⁷ for the ISR to conduct a major special study on antisemitism in the U.S. labor force beginning in the summer of 1944.³⁸ The lengthy interim report, *Antisemitism among American Labor*, completed a year later on the basis of 566 interviews, stated that antisemitism was widespread among industrial workers: nearly 31 percent were classified as "actively hostile to Jews," 38.5 percent as rejecting them, but without assenting to consistent discrimination, and 30.5 percent as "friendly to Jews." The share of respondents who approved of the persecution of Jews in Germany was significantly higher among Catholic workers than among those of other faiths, whereby the highest share was found among Catholics who no longer attended church.³⁹ The leadership of the Institute considered results of this kind so unfavorable for the American labor force that it decided not to prepare the study for publication.⁴⁰ Kirchheimer's work

on the Catholic Church and antisemitism was also continued, in a sense, by his colleague Paul W. Massing in the first volume of *Studies in Prejudice*, entitled *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Antisemitism in Imperial Germany*, published in 1949. The book examines the background of the Nazi regime's political antisemitism in the German Empire. With respect to Catholicism, Massing too underlined how political antisemitism took root in the *Deutsche Zentrumspartei* (Catholic Center Party) in the course of the Kulturkampf.⁴¹

While he was preparing the antisemitism project, Kirchheimer hoped he would be able to move to California to join Horkheimer and other members of the Frankfurt School.⁴² Yet Horkheimer repeated once again in his answer that to his regret, he would not be able to support him in this matter.⁴³ In the end, Neumann, who had already left the Institute before and taken a position at the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in Washington, which was just being established, helped Kirchheimer obtain a position there as well. Kirchheimer left the ISR for Washington, DC, to start working with the OSS in 1944.

KIRCHHEIMER'S LATER STATEMENTS ON ANTISEMITISM

Kirchheimer's thoughts on antisemitism in *The Policy of the Catholic Church Toward the Jews* had little in common with the concept of a "philosophical prehistory of anti-Semitism"⁴⁴ as elaborated in *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Instead, there were more similarities to the functionalist interpretation Horkheimer had previously championed, but without his apodictic claim regarding an entirely new societal epoch for Jewry. Clearer parallels can be found, however, to Hannah Arendt's approach in the first part of her 1951 book *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, in which she localizes the phenomenon of antisemitism in terms of time and space and places it within the political histories of Germany and of Europe more generally. Like Kirchheimer, Arendt championed the position that changes in social and religious antisemitism beginning

in the last third of the 19th century were tied to the history of nation-building and modern imperialism.⁴⁵ In her political history of antisemitism the Jews do not appear as victims, always damned to be passive, but as a societal minority actively, and more or less skillfully, engaged in political life. Kirchheimer would concur with this view.

After leaving the ISR, Kirchheimer continued to study antisemitism, at least in smaller works. Here, the parallel to the activist component in Arendt's position becomes even more evident. Most of his closer relatives had been able to flee Europe during the war, but not all of them escaped—some members of his family were murdered in the Holocaust. His brother-in-law Adolf Rosenthal was murdered in Theresienstadt in 1942, and his brother-in-law Ludwig Rosenthal in Izbica in 1943.⁴⁶

In a book review for *The Washington Post* published after the Eichmann Trial of 1961, Kirchheimer called Germany's murder of the Jews the "greatest crime of modern history," carried out "in cold blood and with mathematical precision," and reminded readers of heroic Jewish resistance in the camps. Even if their struggles were unsuccessful, their activism made them, "if often only for a fleeting moment, heroes with the sense of a mission and certain of their place in the history of their people."⁴⁷ A few weeks later, he reported to the American public in the same newspaper that there was a group of people in Germany for whom the memory "of their country's shame forms a key to their frame of mind."⁴⁸ Although this group was still rather small, it was growing and consisted mostly of young people who wanted to face up to the German past.

In 1965, he again took up the topic of antisemitism and the Catholic Church in a review of the book *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* by Guenter Lewy in *Dissent*, then one of the leading journals in the American leftist intellectual milieu. He saw Lewy's findings on contemporary history, which relied on countless sources, as confirming his own hypotheses about the sociology of power. According to Lewy, the Catholic Church in Germany had cooperated with the Nazi regime after 1933 purely out of power interests,

similarly to the industrial and military leaders, and had declared its loyalty to the bitter end in return for the state's financial services. In contrast to Lewy's interpretation, however, Kirchheimer insists on the fact that Catholic hatred of Jews is not the same thing as Nazi antisemitism. Kirchheimer used the contrast of France to answer the question of why the Catholic Church in Germany and Italy did not muster more energy against the murder of the Jews. In France, the state and the church are separate, which gives centrifugal forces within the church greater weight, thus creating greater latitude for individual believers' decisions of conscience. After 1945, the historical opportunity to sever the unholy alliance of church and state in Germany was wasted: "now the alliance is once again profitable in terms of money, educational privileges, and Church influence in state policy."⁴⁹ He considered the play *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Deputy*) by Rolf Hochhuth, which premiered in Berlin in 1963, to be the first public questioning of the image of the Catholic Church as an institution that resisted the Nazi regime; a position widely cultivated after 1945 by West Germany, as a "product of [the] imagination"⁵⁰ mixed with "elements of misrepresentation."⁵¹ In personal conversations with German friends, Kirchheimer expressed his optimism about a growing German commitment to face the past and admitted to making plans to take a professorship at Freiburg University in Germany.⁵²

Just before his death, Kirchheimer reviewed Gordon Zahn's book *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars* for *The Washington Post*. He praised the book for its detailed description of the German Catholic Bishop's strong support for the German army during the war. "Given the trends of our time," he concluded, Zahn had written "a tragically important book" because it "demonstrates how little guidance the individual may expect in hours of gravest moral doubt from any established institution."⁵³ Before the review was printed, Kirchheimer died on November 22, 1965, in Washington, DC, on his way to catch a plane. He was buried beside his parents in the Jewish cemetery in his hometown of Heilbronn, Germany, in accordance with his wishes.

NOTES

I would like to thank Sandra Lustig for translating the first draft of this article and for her critical comments as well as for the suggestions made by Douglas Morris and Kerstin Pohl.

1. On Kirchheimer's biography and academic career, see Hubertus Buchstein, Lisa Klingsporn, and Frank Schale, "Otto Kirchheimer—Capitalist State, Political Parties, and Political Justice," in *SAGE-Handbook of Frankfurt School Critical Theory, Volume One* (London: SAGE, 2018), 105–122.

2. Originating in the early 20th century in Germany, *Wandervogel* was a movement of high-school and university students inspired by Romanticism, who sought to liberate themselves from the constraints of modern industrial society via hikes through nature.

3. On antisemitism research at the exiled Institute for Social Research, see Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 219–252; and, Rolf Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories, and Political Significance* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 350–379; and, in more detail Eva-Maria Ziege, *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie. Die Frankfurter Schule im amerikanischen Exil* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2009); and, Lars Rensmann, *The Politics of Unreason: The Frankfurt School and the Origins of Modern Antisemitism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2017).

4. Sinclair Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here* (New York: Doubleday, 1935).

5. Max Horkheimer, "The Jews in Europe," (1939) in *Critical Theory and Society: A Reader*, eds., Stephen E. Bronner and Douglas M. Kellner (New York: Routledge, 1989), 78.

6. Otto Kirchheimer, *Über Max Horkheimer s die Juden und Europa*, no date, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, Archivzentrum, Papers of Max Horkheimer IX, 10.6 (12 pages).

7. See Horkheimer, "The Jews in Europe," 79, 84, and 90.

8. On the functionalist interpretation of antisemitism championed by Horkheimer in 1939 and his transition to an interpretation based on the history of civilization (inspired by Adorno) from 1941 on, see Helmut König, *Elemente des Antisemitismus. Kommentare und Interpretationen zu*

einem Kapitel der *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Weilerswist: Velbrück, 2016), 220–244.

9. Horkheimer, “The Jews in Europe,” 89.

10. Institute for Social Research, “Research Project on Antisemitism,” *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science* 9 (1941), 124.

11. Institute for Social Research, “Research Project on Antisemitism,” 140. On the functionalist features of the theory of antisemitism in this project outline, see König, *Elemente des Antisemitismus*, 235–240.

12. No date; Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Archivzentrum, Papers of Max Horkheimer, Na 1, IX, 10.4 (2 pages).

13. Institute for Social Research, “Research Project on Antisemitism,” 141.

14. Kirchheimer’s early involvement in the organizational preparations for the antisemitism project is evident from a letter from Kirchheimer to Max Horkheimer dated July 16, 1943 (Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Archivzentrum, Papers of Max Horkheimer, Letters VI,11, Blatt 310).

15. On the various attempts to secure funding for the project and Horkheimer’s skepticism about the American Jewish Committee, see Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School*, 350–359. The AJC was established in 1906 as an advocacy group for Jews promoting integration into American society (on the AJC, see Ziege, *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie*, 61–72).

16. See Max Horkheimer “Plan des Forschungsprojekts über Antisemitismus” (1943), in Max Horkheimer, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Volume 12 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1985), 167–171.

17. See Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School*, 362.

18. See Letter by Leo Löwenthal to Herbert Marcuse on June 29, 1943, quoted in Peter-Erwin Jansen, ed., *Das Utopische soll Funken schlagen ... Zum hundertsten Geburtstag von Leo Löwenthal* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2000), 101–114.

19. See Institute for Social Research, “Project on Antisemitism: Report to the American Jewish Committee on the First Year of the Project Ending March 15, 1944” (Universität Frankfurt, Archivzentrum, Nachlass Max Horkheimer, IX, 121a, pp. 142–144).

20. Ziege, *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie*, 252.

21. State University of New York, University at Albany, Special Collections & Archives, Otto Kirchheimer Papers, Series 4, Box 2, Folder 15.

22. This is evident from the project budget for the AJC. “Re: Antisemitism Project, Preliminary Budget” (Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Archivzentrum, Papers of Max Horkheimer, 665, Blatt 19).

The year is not entirely correct as indicated by Weil in his article in *The Chicago Jewish Forum*, which is partly based on the “unpublished study *The Policy of the Catholic Church Toward the Jews, written in 1942 by Dr. Otto Kirchheimer*” (Felix J. Weil, “The Cold War Against the Jews in Argentina,” *The Chicago Jewish Forum* 10, no. 1 (1951): 11).

23. In a letter to Max Horkheimer dated September 20, 1943, Kirchheimer writes that “anti-Semitism” and his other commitments “are literally [eating] up his time” (Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Archivzentrum, Papers of Max Horkheimer, Letters VI, 11, Blatt 307).

24. Agenda for the Joint Meeting of the Institute for Social Research and the AJC on December 8, 1943, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Archivzentrum, Papers of Arkadij Gurland, Documents and Letters, Na 5/131.

25. See Weil, “Cold War Against the Jews,” 11.

26. The appendices are not reprinted since they are merely summaries of relevant books and essays on the topic.

27. On Schmitt’s deliberations on the remarkable elasticity of the doctrine of the Catholic Church as an institution, see Carl Schmitt’s book from 1925, *Römischer Katholizismus und politische Form* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1984). Kirchheimer obtained his doctorate under Schmitt in Bonn in 1928 and was intimately familiar with his writings. See William E. Scheuerman, *Between the Norm and the Exception: The Frankfurt School and the Rule of Law* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).

28. For the purpose of citation, these page numbers refer to a numbered print-out of the unpublished manuscript.

29. See Egal Feldman, *Catholics and Jews in Twentieth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 125–127.

30. This quotation and the following ones are taken from the first text. Institute for Social Research, “Policy of the Catholic Church Toward the Jews” (typescript, no date), State University of New York, University at Albany, Special Collections & Archives, Otto Kirchheimer Papers, Series 4, Box 2, Folder 15.

31. On “Coughlinism” and its political successes see, Neil Baldwin, *Henry Ford and the Jews: The Mass Production of Hate* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001).

32. See Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1972), 206–208.

33. See Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 206–208.

34. See Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School*, 362.
35. See Theodor W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson and Nevitt R. Sanford, eds., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 1951).
36. See Franz L. Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), 108–130.
37. The Jewish Labor Committee was founded in New York in 1934 as an umbrella organization for Jewish trade unions.
38. The final report of this study was not published either. On the project's findings, see Mark P. Worrell, *Dialectic of Solidarity: Labor, Antisemitism, and the Frankfurt School* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); and, Ziege, *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie*.
39. See Institute for Social Research, "Antisemitism among American Labor, 1944–45," New York, 1455 pages (Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Archivzentrum, Nachlass Max Horkheimer, IX 146, 1–23), 755–760.
40. See Jay, *Dialectical Imagination*, 224–227.
41. See Paul W. Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Antisemitism in Imperial Germany* (New York: Harper, 1949), 219–221.
42. Letter from Otto Kirchheimer to Max Horkheimer, dated 22 January 1943. (Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Archivzentrum, Papers of Max Horkheimer, Letters VI, 11, Blatt 318).
43. "As things are, I can only hope that somehow you will arrive here anyway—if in the meantime you have not been appointed chief of some section of the State Department, or in some other powerful agency." Letter from Max Horkheimer to Otto Kirchheimer, dated 8 February 1943. (Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Archivzentrum, Papers of Max Horkheimer, Letters VI, 11, Blatt 317).
44. Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, xvii.
45. In the revised German edition of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, which appeared in 1955, four years after the first American edition, Arendt calls this the transition from "Antisemitismus als gesellschaftliche Idiosynkrasie" (antisemitism as a societal idiosyncrasy) to "Antisemitismus als politische Bewegung" (antisemitism as a political movement). See Hannah Arendt, *Elemente und Ursprünge totaler Herrschaft* (München: Beck, 1986), 72, 77. The terms she used in the English edition were less trenchant: "aristocratic antisemitism" with "mild discrimination without further political significance" and "antisemitic movement." See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Orlando: Harcourt, Brace & Co.,

1951), 32, 39. There is no evidence that Kirchheimer and Arendt met in person while they were both in Paris, or in the first years of their exile in New York. The sparse correspondence between the two in the 1950s and 1960s, however, indicates that Arendt valued Kirchheimer's book *Political Justice: The Use of Legal Procedure for Political Ends* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), and that he agreed with her in the debate about *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (State University of New York, University at Albany, Special Collections & Archives, Otto Kirchheimer Papers, Series 2, Box 1, Folder 11).

46. See Hanna Kirchheimer-Grossman, *The Kirchheimer Family: From Baden to the Wider World* (Arlington: printed privately, 2010), 55, 56.

47. Otto Kirchheimer, "Heroes in Hitler's Ghettos," *The Washington Post* (September 9, 1962), 6.

48. Otto Kirchheimer, "How German Jews Fare," *The Washington Post* (November 4, 1962), 9.

49. Otto Kirchheimer, "Book-Review. Guenter Lewy: The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany," *Dissent* (Winter, 1965), 92.

50. *Ibid.*, 93.

51. *Ibid.*, 93, 94.

52. Buchstein et al., "Otto Kirchheimer: Capitalist State," 118.

53. Otto Kirchheimer, "Book Review of Gordon Zahn, German Catholics and Hitler's Wars," State University of New York, University at Albany, Special Collections & Archives, Otto Kirchheimer Papers, Series 4, Box 3, Folder 22.

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