American Jewish Committee
A Century of Leadership

Treatment of Jewish Themes in Hungarian Schools
by Monika Kovacs

Part of a series of reports prepared for the AJC's East European Curriculum Review Project. What do children in the postcommunist countries of Central and East Europe learn in the classroom about Judaism, Jewish history, the Holocaust, and Israel?

Foreword

Mónika Kovács's The Treatment of Jewish Themes in Hungarian Schools, which is being published simultaneously in English and Hungarian, is the fourth in a series of reports prepared for the American Jewish Committee's Central and East European Curriculum Review Project. The first three reports dealt with Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

This project focuses on countries that have recently emerged from Communist rule. How are Jews likely to fare in these postcommunist societies? A key determinant, most certainly, will be the educational system, which crucially shapes the outlook of the younger generation. What do children in the postcommunist countries of Central and East Europe learn in the classroom about Judaism, Jewish history, the Holocaust, and Israel? Does an exposure to the school curriculum enhance their understanding of Jews and Jewish life, or does it reinforce negative perceptions of Jews? Do students gain some sense of the richness of Jewish history, especially as it relates to their own history? Do they come to appreciate Judaism as a religious phenomenon spanning the ages? Is both the enormity and uniqueness of the Nazi genocide of the Jews made clear to them? Do students become acquainted with the history of modern Israel and contemporary world Jewry in an objective manner?

Professor Kovács considers these questions in the context of the Hungarian school system. Future publications in the series will deal with educational curricula in Ukraine, Russia, Croatia, and Lithuania. By making clear what exists in the educational sphere at present, the Curriculum Review Project seeks to spur curriculum reform where appropriate. Certainly, education should encourage intergroup understanding and not intergroup hostility.

David Singer, Director

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The Treatment of Jewish Themes in Hungarian Schools

Textbooks reveal a great deal about the culture of the period in which they are written and used. They are both written documents of a given era and shapers of the opinions of subsequent generations. They contain the knowledge that the adult generation considers worthy of transmittal to the younger generations. Needless to say, textbooks are not the only means by which "knowledge" is transmitted. We must also consider the influence of other actors in the process of socialization, e.g., family members, peer groups, mass media, and institutions such as churches and civic organizations. Nevertheless, the preeminent role of textbooks is assured by the fact that the "veracity" of the information found in them is validated by the education system itself. Indeed, pupils must demonstrate in various tests and examinations that they have acquired knowledge of the facts presented to them in the textbooks. In this way textbooks take on a normative role.

My task was to investigate how Jewish history and culture, Judaism, and modern Israel are treated in Hungarian school textbooks today. In the course of my research during 1997-98 I examined the contents of almost fifty history, literature, and geography textbooks.

The Jews of Hungary after the Holocaust

After the Communist takeover in 1948, the assertion of Jewish identity and the expression of anti-Semitic views became taboo in Hungarian public life. Both were regarded as "improper" forms of behavior. Communist ideology aimed to eradicate ethnic distinctions and religious convictions. Remembering the harsh reality of persecution and seeing the obvious failure of assimilation, many Jews were attracted by this promise. Meanwhile, for perpetrators of the former violence, the "forgetting" of the past and the class-war interpretation of history could not have come at a better time. Relief was felt by those who had played active roles in the persecution of the Jews, by those who had swum with the tide, and by those who had failed to help their Jewish compatriots in their time of peril. The issue of Hungarian complicity in the Holocaust disappeared from the public agenda, not to return for many decades.

Apart from Communist ideology, the sociological consequences of the Hungarian holocaust also strengthened the taboo surrounding the assertion of Jewish identity. The less assimilated Jews of rural areas, who had preserved their traditions intact, had been murdered in the death camps. At the same time, in the capital, the group having the greatest chance of finding a place to hide and of obtaining false papers—and thus the greatest chance of survival—had been the most assimilated Jews. After the war, lacking language, religion, and traditions, this group was simply unable to return to the culture of the Jewish minority. At the same time, the brutal reality of persecution cast doubt on the purpose and desirability of assimilation. Survivors of the Holocaust formed a very distinct group, each member having experienced great vulnerability and fear as well as the loss of many loved ones. Nevertheless, this common awareness could not be transformed into a positive self-identity. The other alternative—that of repression or

"forgetting"—was fostered by the fiction of equality as propounded by Communist ideology.

The taboo began to weaken in the 1980s, owing to both political and psychological changes. On the one hand, the weakening of Communist ideology permitted people to profess a variety of religious convictions and ethnic identities. On the other hand, the second and third post-Holocaust generations had reached adulthood. For these people the persecution of the Jews was an event in the past that they had not experienced but wished to explore. A new generation of social researchers began to reexamine "forgotten" issues: the history of the Holocaust, the question of responsibility, the sociological and psychological characteristics of Jewish identity. It became more and more common for members of the third generation to return to the religious beliefs and ethnic traditions of the community.

The fall of Communism in 1989 was a significant turning point. Increased liberty meant that what had previously been a rudimentary ethnic identity could be transformed into a thriving Jewish cultural life with schools (both religious and secular), publishers, newspapers, organizations, and cultural events. Whole series of historical works, films, and books appeared covering different subject areas: e.g., the Holocaust, Jewish religion and customs, Zionism, and Israel. Political freedom brought with it the renewed expressions of anti-Semitism, which had been illegal under Communism.

Lacking political legitimacy and continuity, some of the new political parties sought to base their ideologies in the political and intellectual life of 1930s Hungary. Yet these parties were unable to ignore the Holocaust completely—a fact that led them to adopt a number of "defense mechanisms." The first was to deny all responsibility. Essentially, this meant demonstrating that the persecution of the Jews had taken place as a consequence of German pressure and that the alliance with fascism had been a geopolitical necessity (and thus on both scores Hungary was innocent). Another popular strategy was the relativization of the Holocaust. Here, two methods were employed. First, it was argued that the Jews had not been the only people to suffer atrocities during the war and under Communism, and that therefore the Holocaust did not deserve special treatment. Second, repeated attempts were made to reduce the numbers of Holocaust victims—as if responsibility would thereby be proportionately reduced. Those politicians and intellectuals who sought their legitimacy in historical tradition (but who were nevertheless incapable of facing the reality of the Holocaust) very easily found themselves in the same camp as those who consciously or subconsciously believed that in the anti-Semitic ideology of the 1930s they had found the best means of expressing their political identity. In the years following the fall of Communism, therefore, the "Jewish question" once again assumed an important position in public life, a position it had not had since the 1930s. Sleeping Beauty had awakened after forty years of slumber. Anxiety was considerable.

Although bloodless, the political transformation in Hungary shook society to its very foundations. The development of a stable political system, economy, and value system will probably take several decades. Changes have already affected both the form and the

substance of education. Politically and ideologically sensitive areas such as the teaching of history have been particularly affected. Under Communism, there was just one history textbook for each type of school. Teachers were subject to rigorous controls; they were never to express personal opinions that contradicted the "official line." After decades of Communist indoctrination, people rightfully began to demand a "more objective" approach to the teaching of history. An increasing number of textbooks became available, and teachers no longer had to fear retribution if they expressed their own views in the classroom. Still, a lack of time, psychological repression, and the complex political sensitivity of the sub-

ject meant that a social consensus that could have been used as a starting point for the teaching of history failed to develop. This does not mean that all "versions" are equal in scholarly value, but many excellent works are now available for textbook writers and teachers alike. Nevertheless, both the lack of a consensus and the effect of a relativizing approach to history are recognizable in the textbooks.

The Jews in Hungarian Textbooks under Communism

Most of the school textbooks used in Hungary until the fall of the Communist system in 1989 are no longer available. However, their influence cannot be ignored. For several decades successive generations of school children were required to read them, so such books constitute an important part of the "tradition" of Hungarian textbook writing.

In 1992 a conference was held in Budapest at which the image of Jews in Communist textbooks was debated. The lectures given at this conference were later published in a small volume. "Over the four decades, new textbooks appeared in four waves," said one participant. "Generally, it may be stated that almost immediately small changes began to be made to what had originally been a more honest approach. Indeed, by the mid-sixties the whole subject had largely become a taboo area. Still, one should also point out that textbooks published in the early eighties did reveal the facts in a more consistent and determined manner." The change in the 1980s was made primarily in relation to the Holocaust: textbooks began to include examinations of the growing anti-Semitism that culminated in the Holocaust. Furthermore, after three decades of complete absence, the Bible was also gradually reincorporated into the school curriculum. Yet, while treatment of the Holocaust became increasingly thorough, there was still no analysis of the social and political background and effects of the anti-Jewish laws. Meanwhile two large areas—the efforts of individuals and organizations to save Jews and the responsibility borne by the occupied countries (including Hungary) for the persecution of the Jews—continued to be ignored. Karsai draws attention to "that strange bidding game of suffering and deprivation in which even the authors of Hungarian school textbooks sought to conceal or suppress the essential, peculiar, and unique character of the Jewish Shoah by rather oddly listing the victims in ‘rank order.’ Thus, in accordance with class-struggle ideology, first place on the list was reserved for Communists, political prisoners, and Soviet POWs."

After Communism

Since 1989, Hungarian education has been subject to constant adjustment. Change has

affected the types of schools (state, private, denominational) and the curriculum. At present, schools may comprise twelve, eight, six, or four grades. Pupils graduate after twelve years of schooling. Some children attend vocational and trade schools. History is usually taught from the fifth grade up. Schooling is compulsory for children aged 6 to 16 years. Since the majority of children attend eight-grade primary schools and four-grade secondary schools, they study history twice—from fifth to eighth grades in primary school, and from ninth to twelfth grades in secondary school. Children having a particular interest in the subject may choose to take extra history lessons in the eleventh and twelfth grades. Literature is studied from first grade until twelfth grade, and geography from fifth grade until tenth grade.

A booklet published annually by the Ministry of Education lists books that may be used as textbooks and study aids in schools. Teachers from the various departments at individual schools may decide which textbooks they wish to use from this list. The right of schools to choose their textbooks is regulated by the National School Curriculum, published in 1995. It determines the minimum level of knowledge that must be attained by pupils in the various grades (until tenth grade, which marks the end of compulsory education and the point at which students must take the basic school examination). The National School Curriculum is being introduced gradually. In the 1997-98 academic year, its provisions were compulsory only for grades 1 and 7. However, in many schools, curricula for all grades are already being drawn up on the basis of the provisions of the National School Curriculum. Meanwhile, textbook authors are also making efforts to fulfill the Curriculum’s various requirements.

The National School Curriculum specifies the following requirements for pupils at the end of grade 8: knowledge of "Jewish religion and the Bible," "events from the Bible," and the "beginnings of Jewish history." Required knowledge of world and Hungarian history for tenth graders includes the following subject areas: "anti-Semitism," "use of sources to analyze the theories underlying German national socialism: racial theory, anti-Semitism," "Holocaust, genocide." In addition, among "further names and expressions" that should be known, we find: "racial theory, concentration camp, Holocaust, Auschwitz, Jewish laws, ghetto, deportation."

Thus, two large subject areas have been included in the National School Curriculum: the beginnings of Jewish history and the Holocaust. However, the Curriculum consists of basic guidelines only. Consequently, while it may ensure that certain subjects are discussed, the scope and depth of classroom discussions will be determined by textbooks and teachers.

Ancient Jewish History, Judaism, and Christianity’s Jewish Roots

In accordance with the requirements of the National School Curriculum, all ancient history textbooks cover ancient Jewish history, Judaism, and the Jewish roots of Christianity.

Textbooks for pupils in grades 5-7 and 9 contain separate chapters on the beginnings of Jewish history (the wanderings of Abraham, exile in Egypt, Moses, the occupation of the

land of Canaan, the first kings, wars fought against the Philistines, the occupation of Jerusalem, the division of the country, the rise of the prophets, Egyptian and Assyrian attacks, the destruction of Jerusalem, captivity in Babylon, liberation from Babylon). These textbooks emphasize that the first monotheistic religion was the Jewish religion. They point out that the Jewish Bible is a sacred book for Christians (who call it the Old Testament). Characteristically, the textbooks refer to the "people of the Bible," "the Jews ... known from the Bible," "the land of the Bible." This approach is ambiguous. On the one hand, it draws a distinction between the history of the Jews and the histories of the other ancient peoples, giving Jewish history a special emphasis by linking it with the Bible. On the other hand, it places Jewish history firmly within the context of Christianity, thereby implying that Jewish history deserves attention for this role only.

In the very short book used in the trade schools, little mention is made of the ancient history of the Jews. Indeed, the subject is covered in just one paragraph, which is written from a Christian point of view: "The real importance of the Jewish people stems from their culture rather than their economic or political role. It was among Jews that monotheism developed (the cult of Jahve). This belief later became the basis of Christianity, too. The holy scripture of the Jewish religion became the Old Testament of the Christian Bible."

Chapters of the textbooks concerned with the beginnings of Jewish history are usually factual, although the biblical language is occasionally confused with the historical, for example: "... fate came to pass: the

Assyrians conquered Israel." And sometimes simple errors are made (with anti-Semitic undertones), e.g.: "as collective punishment [for their defeat in the ‘Jewish war’] the majority of Jews were forced to emigrate from their homeland to various points around the Empire (and thus, first the Empire’s commerce and then the whole of Europe's commerce necessarily fell into the hands of Jewish merchants)."

The rise of the Christian religion is examined in almost every textbook. Connections are made with developments in Jewish history (dissatisfaction with Roman rule, the Bar Kochba uprising, defeat in the "Jewish war," the expectation of a messiah). The books state that the first Christians were Jews, and that it was only later that these Jewish Christians began to spread their faith to non-Jews. One exception is Bánhegyi, who states that "while people tend to think of the Jewish background [of Jesus], there are other theories, too." The conversion of Paul is usually mentioned under a separate subheading.

Since Judaism is often referred to as the cradle of Christianity—i.e., as something that Christianity has superseded—authors tend to slip into anti-Judaic formulations (both explicit and implicit). Further, while Christian doctrines are made known in their longer and shorter forms and are shown in a positive light, the laws and customs of Judaism are referred to with obscure references and often negative undertones.

Száray’s book takes a very different approach. It sees the development of Christianity as the assimilation of the Jewish Diaspora and the Hellenization of Palestine. Christian bias

appears primarily in the form of criticism of nonassimilating Jews. The author emphasizes the conflict between the Pharisees ("who wished to maintain traditional Jewish rituals") and the Essenes ("who were opposed to the ‘official’ branch of Jewish religion")—and again the perspective favors the Es-senes. The conversion of Paul is portrayed in terms of Jewish disappointment with Christianity as being the reason for their rejection of it (thereby implying that they would earlier have become Christians).

In textbooks for the trade schools the appearance of Christianity is examined in just one paragraph. Once again the Christian perspective is dominant. Indeed, in one passage the old charge against the Jews (concerning the murder of Christ) is repeated: "As the Son of God and the Savior of Mankind, Jesus accepted the judgment of death imposed by the Roman governor (Pilate) and the Jews who clung to their old faith."

Jewish history and Judaism are treated in a more thorough and comprehensive manner in three books by Gönczöl, Herber et al., and Stefány et al. Unlike other authors, the authors of these three books specifically avoid examining Judaism from the Christian perspective. Instead their goal is to impart knowledge about Jewish customs, festivals, and symbols by comparing biblical accounts with archaeological and historical data and by demonstrating the links between historical events and the various Jewish festivals—e.g., Pesach and Hanukkah. All three books trace Christianity back to its roots in Jewish history, describing the various spiritual branches (belief in redemption, sects, and the work of Philo of Alexandria).

In summary, we may state that the silence of the earlier period has been broken. Today all history textbooks examine Jewish history and Jewish religion. Nevertheless, the Christian perspective is often dominant. In general, it is implied that a knowledge of Jewish history is required to understand the Christian religion and the Bible. More specifically, a comparison tends to be made between Judaism and Christianity to the advantage of the latter. Still, some of the books offer an impartial analysis of the biblical and historical facts and the connection between the Jewish historical situation and the appearance of Christianity. And they do so without forcing the Christian perspective. We consider the greatest problem to be the anti-Semitic approach of textbooks used in trade schools. Young people studying at these schools will soon become members of sections of society that are particularly susceptible to anti-Semitism (with low social status and few educational qualifications). In addition, the majority of these children will have no further opportunities to study history within the framework of institutionalized education.

The Bible in Literature Textbooks

The Bible is mentioned in some literature textbooks, and therefore extracts from the Bible are to be found among the collections of background readings.

The book by Gyémánt et al. contains just one paragraph on the Bible. Unlike many textbooks, it does not mention the New Testament. Instead, it establishes a clear link between the Bible and Jewish monotheism and the history of the Jewish people.

The work of Gintli and Schein contains profound and separate analyses of both Old and

New Testaments. The authors even concern themselves with the question of the canonization of the books of the Old Testament. Their treatment of this subject is of a very high standard.

Domonkos provides a detailed analysis of parts of the Bible, mainly from the Old Testament. He offers details of many of the narratives and the historical backgrounds to these narratives. He examines the extent to which the Bible continues to influence Western thought and the arts. Unfortunately, this author's treatment of the historical context of the New Testament is less exhaustive. He repeats without commentary some (anti-Jewish) passages. For example, he writes, "Mark ... compiled his work in the following way: At first the Jews accept and embrace Jesus. When, however, they realize that his promise is one not of worldly salvation (economic, political liberation, success) but of spiritual liberation, they turn from him." In addition, Domonkos's useful and valuable summary is marred by one or two doubtful remarks. When considering the Song of Songs, he writes, "researchers are still unable to decide how this text turned up among the sacred texts. Perhaps because—as some experts believe—the love expressed in it is to be understood allegorically: God and the chosen people, Christ and the faithful of the Church, and their devotion to each other."

To sum up: In those few literature textbooks in which I found chapters on the Bible—many books still lack such chapters—treatment of the subject matter is increasingly extensive. Furthermore, the authors of these books are more successful than the writers of the history books in separating the Old Testament and Jewish religion from the New Testament and Christianity. These literature textbooks serve to complement the history textbooks.

Jews in the Medieval and Modern Eras

Most history textbooks on the medieval era either ignore the Jews completely or make only brief mention of them in connection with population figures—where they are often classified as "foreigners." Further, while all textbooks cover the Crusades, only one or two mention the anti-Jewish pogroms, one containing a contemporary description of a pogrom. Other textbooks fail even to mention the Jews.

Similarly, little mention is made of the Jews in history textbooks covering the modern period. Some books refer to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, but no explanation is given as to why they were expelled. This tends to imply that anti-Jewish sentiment was "natural" or "unavoidable," as for example in the following account: "Between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries large numbers of Jews migrated to Poland and Lithuania …. In the fifteenth century attacks against them became more frequent, and they began to be settled on the outskirts of larger towns." Here the authors offer no explanation as to why the Jews were persecuted, and they also fail to identify the perpetrators of the violence.

In contrast, in the next volume of their textbook series Herber et al. devote a separate chapter to the medieval Jewish people. The reasons for the growth of the Jewish Diaspora in the ancient period (the subjugation of the uprisings against Rome) are analyzed, and a

comparison is made between the political hostility of the Romans toward the Jews and the religious hostility displayed by Christians. In addition, the textbook contains detailed information on the living conditions of Jewish communities in Christian societies (restrictions placed on Jews, the causes and consequences of their professional specialization in finance), Jewish persecution in the various countries, Jewish religious and community life, the development of groups speaking different dialects (Sephardi and Ashkenazi), the flourishing of Jewish culture between the tenth and twelfth centuries, and the work of Maimonides.

Since the textbooks hardly mention the social situation of Jews in the medieval period, it comes as no surprise that many books also fail to mention subsequent changes in more modern periods. Thus the issue of emancipation is ignored in many of the books. For instance, when seeking to explain the Dreyfus case, authors tend to point to the conflict between liberal and conservative forces alone, although some do mention the Jewish background of the captain. There is no analysis of the consequences of emancipation and assimilation. The anti-Semitic aspects of the case are simply overlooked.

The contradictory nature of the emancipation-assimilation issue is well demonstrated by the different ways in which authors portray Jews in different situations. Thus, when discussing the population issue in Hungary, authors portray Jews as members of a thoroughly assimilating group, as people who add to the numbers of Hungarians within the country. On the other hand, in discussions of the economy, "Jewish merchants" and "Jewish capitalists" tend to appear as "outsider or foreign" groups.

Once again, the textbook forming part of the series by Herber et al. is a real exception. In this textbook, the issues of emancipation, assimilation, and anti-Semitism are thoroughly examined (the Dreyfus case in France, the Tiszaeszlár blood libel in Hungary, and the Russian pogroms). The book also describes the origins of Zionism.

In summary, we may state that most textbooks on the medieval and modern periods do not mention the Jews. Rare but notable exceptions are the volumes in the textbook series by Herber et al. Even where

authors do mention the Jews, they tend to do so by briefly referring to the restrictions, expulsions, and pogroms suffered by them but without explanation. If an explanation is offered, it often turns out to be anti-Jewish—blaming the Jews or portraying the atrocities as in some way natural or unavoidable.

European Jews in the Twentieth Century and the Holocaust

The National School Curriculum requires that pupils be educated about the Holocaust. All authors of history textbooks refer to the anti-Semitic and racist nature of Nazi ideology. However, some authors give no reasons for the Nazis' persecution of the Jews, while others simply apply the scapegoat theory. In a few cases, the "explanation" repeats the original anti-Semitic charges: "Given that many people of Jewish origin could be found among the capitalists and among those who had become rich during the war, and that they were very much overrepresented among supporters of the Communist

movement ... it seemed ‘obvious’ to use a method that had been tried and tested in the medieval period: to declare the collective responsibility of the Jewish people."

It is unfortunate that some authors use words such as elpusztul, to be killed off, elpusztít, to exterminate, and kiírt, to annihilate, when referring to the murder or death of Jews. In general, these words are used in connection with plants and animals, not with human beings.

The most important facts concerning the Holocaust are mentioned briefly by both Bardocz (Kristallnacht, death camps) and Lator (Wannsee conference, death camps, assisted escape of Danish Jews to Sweden), and rather laconically by Horváth and Kovács. The persecution of the Jews is covered in greater depth by Helméczy, Bihari, Jóvérné, and Benkes. Each of these authors devotes a separate chapter to the Holocaust.

Helméczy mentions both the anti-Jewish Nazi propaganda and the measures taken prior to the Holocaust (the wearing of the yellow star, the marking of Jewish shops, Kristallnacht, and the "final solution"). In a separate chapter on the Holocaust entitled "The Horrors of Nazism," Helméczy describes the death camps and provides a map showing their locations and the numbers of murdered Jews from the different European countries. The numbers shown on the map, however, are substantially lower than the real losses. For example, in the case of Hungary, the map indicates 190,000 murdered Jews, whereas in reality almost twice that number (if we consider Hungary’s present borders) or three times that number (if we take the country’s wartime borders) were murdered. According to Stark, the number of victims may be put at between 440,000 and 465,000 people, while Braham estimates the total loss at 564,507. In brackets, Helméczy concedes that the "Hungarian data indicate a greater number of victims." We are left wondering why he chose to publish figures taken from a "West German textbook."

Bihari includes a separate chapter on the persecution of the Jews (concentration camps, ghettos, Babi Yar, the Warsaw ghetto uprising). He also quotes from the autobiography of Rudolf Höss, the Nazi commandant of Auschwitz. However, this author’s contention that "Poland was the only country in which Jews began a struggle against the occupiers" is open to dispute, since a Jewish resistance movement also operated in Hungary. Jóvérné, too, examines the Holocaust in a separate chapter. She gives a succinct and factual account of the death camps. Like Bihari, however, Jóvérné states that "Poland was the only country in which Jews carried on an independent struggle." In their book, Benkes et al. cite the assertion of German philosopher Karl Jaspers that: "Anyone who on the basis of such judgment organizes the systematic slaughtering of a people, and who participates in this action, commits a crime that is quite different from anything that has gone before."

The most extensive coverage of the Holocaust is provided by Herber et al. and by Hosszú. These authors emphasize the manner in which the withdrawal of the Jews’ rights as citizens prepared the way for genocide. Herber et al. examine in detail the question of responsibility: "The mass murder of many millions of people was organized and executed in a bureaucratic and highly technical manner …. In Germany, the satellite states, and the

occupied countries, many millions of people took part in the action. They were very much aware that the deportees were being taken directly or indirectly to their deaths, and thus each society must examine both its role in the Second World War and the question of its responsibility. It is not possible to explain everything as having been the crime of just one person (Hitler), of one or two organizations (NSDAP, SS), or of one nation alone. Nor may other societies—those that refused to accept the refugees (who were fleeing for their lives)—disclaim all responsibility …."

One of the most popular textbooks, by Salamon, hardly deals with the persecution of the Jews. The author describes the Holocaust in a single paragraph as though it was just one of many horrors of the Sec-

ond World War. The Germans' treatment of the Jews is seen in much the same light as other countries' treatment of their own "enemies," implying that the Jews really were the enemies of the Germans and were being treated in a "normal" way—that is, as enemies are usually treated. Salamon writes, "The Germans were not the only ones to treat their enemies badly. The inhumanity shown by the Japanese toward their prisoners of war became legendary. Meanwhile Stalin ... had whole peoples dragged off to Siberia .... In the United States, 110,000 Japanese Americans were detained illegally in camps amid atrocious conditions." The author mentions the Warsaw ghetto uprising in one sentence, emphasizing the futility of the struggle rather than its moral significance.

Sipos's is the only textbook currently available for trade schools. When discussing Nazi ideology, the author attempts to give an "explanation" for anti-Semitism, but time and again he himself resorts to anti-Semitic generalizations and errors, as in the following sentences: "Nationalist ideology blamed foreigners among the country's economic and political leaders for both the defeat at war and the economic difficulties. In Germany, the Jews formed the only significant foreign element at that time." In the next paragraph, which examines anti-Semitism, Jews are again denoted as foreigners. After a consideration of religious anti-Semitism, the author immediately expresses the anti-Semitic generalization that capitalists and communists were Jews, too. Ignoring—indeed denying—emancipation, he states: "Foreigners, who had been pushed to the edges of society, were unable to own land …. In various countries, Jews were present in large numbers among members of the developing capitalist class. Jews were still denied equal rights. Thus, some of them sought relations with the opposition movements. The Jews were therefore present in relatively large numbers in the Socialist-Communist organizations." While the author mentions the Nuremberg Laws and Kristallnacht, he completely ignores the Holocaust. Indeed, reading his work, one might get the impression that most Jews could have fled Germany if they had wanted to; thus he states that "the increasing strength of anti-Semitism led many Jews to emigrate."

We conclude that the majority of textbooks examine—briefly or in some depth—anti-Jewish Nazi ideology, the persecution of the Jews, and the Holocaust. However, two textbooks—one by Salamon (which is very popular in grammar schools) and another by Sipos (which is used in trade schools)—contain insufficient information, deny the significance of the Holocaust, and even use anti-Semitic wording.

Hungarian Jews in the Twentieth Century and the Holocaust

The so-called Jewish laws were both symptoms and consequences of the political anti-Semitism that was rampant in Hungary between the two world wars. These laws undoubtedly contributed to the fact that in 1944 many people simply "failed to see" that "the country was becoming the ally of mass murderers" and took no action to save the Hungarian Jewish population. "After 1919 Hungary was ruled by an essentially feudal-conservative form of government which had been born amid a wave of anti-Jewish feeling and was based on the restriction or denial of opportunities to Jews in politics and the bureaucracy ...," wrote István Bibó in his essay on interwar Hungary. "The passing of anti-Jewish laws did nothing but add wind to the sails of the right wing. Rather than lessening the danger of bloody persecution of the Jews, such laws allowed Hungarian society to grow accustomed to the exclusion of Jews from the common foundations of human dignity."

Almost all textbooks make reference to the Jewish laws—including the numerus clausus law of 1920, which restricted the number of university places offered to minority (including Jewish) students. Most books include the full texts of these laws. Nevertheless, many authors fail to analyze the effect and significance of the laws, and thus we have no way of knowing what conclusions are drawn by pupils who read—or study!—these texts. Such pupils could very easily fall into the same trap as earlier readers by becoming "accustomed" to the laws.

The monocultural approach—which seeks to force the assimilation of minorities—is reflected in the fact that the authors portray the Second Jewish Law as more serious than the First—not just because the Second Law placed greater working restrictions on Jews, but because it differentiated Jews from non-Jews on racial grounds rather than "simply" on religious grounds. For example, "[The provisions of] the Second Jewish Law applied not only to people of Jewish religion, but also to people of Jewish descent, and therefore can be considered a race law." Unfortunately, some pupils may draw the conclusion that religious discrimination is somehow less serious than racial discrimination. Furthermore, the supposition is put forward that Jews can be distinguished from non-Jews on the basis of race.

The majority of the textbooks give the impression that the laws reflected the wishes of a small minority (of course, nowhere are we told how this minority managed to get the laws onto the statute books). Authors also point to German pressure, thereby reducing the responsibility of successive independent Hungarian governments for the anti-Jewish measures taken prior to March 1944 when the Germans occupied the country. We are left with the impression that the majority of the population opposed the legislation, whereas in actual fact "the actions taken to disadvantage the Jews economically were strongly supported by the masses right across the country." At the same time, apart from a few exceptions, the efforts of people to oppose the violations of civil rights are ignored. For example, a statement issued by members of the intelligentsia protesting the First Jewish Law is mentioned or cited in only three of the textbooks.

Little reference is made to the political anti-Semitism that was rampant throughout intellectual and political life in Hungary between the two world wars. The authors largely ignore the manner in which (as in such other European countries as Germany, Austria, and France) anti-Semitism became a "cultural code" in the sense that Volkov uses this expression with regard to German society: "Professing anti-Semitism became a sign of cultural identity, of one's belonging to a specific cultural camp. It was a way of communicating an acceptance of a particular set of ideas and a preference for specific social and moral norms." Instead of analyzing this phenomenon, the authors frequently use the scapegoat theory to explain anti-Semitism. Thus authors "explain" anti-Semitism after 1919 by pointing to the Jewish backgrounds of the Communist leaders, but they fail to differentiate sufficiently between cause and effect. Bihari's explanation demonstrates the problem well: "Anti-Semitism flared up because the right-wing portrayed the Autumn Rose Revolution and the Republic of the Councils as a Jewish conspiracy, and even blamed the Jews for the defeat in war. This propaganda was based on the fact that there were very many people of Jewish background among the leaders of the workers' parties and in the government of the councils." It is left to teachers to explain the meaning of "Jewish background," and why it was that contemporaries of these political leaders—and the author of the textbook—considered "Jewish backgrounds" to be important. Sipos's "explanation" of anti-Semitism turns into an anti-Semitic generalization itself: "There was a strengthening of anti-Semitism (hatred of the Jews), and this was added to by the significant role of domestic Jewry in the revolutionary leadership (especially in the Communist movement)."

Jóvérné analyzes the social standing of Jews in a far more detailed manner than other authors. Her analysis considers the place of residence and employment of Jews, as well as the feudal background of this stratification. However, she does all this within the context of the Jewish laws and the numerus clausus. Contrary to her own intentions, the author thus tends to lend support to the "legality" of such measures, for her commentary on Jewish assimilation in Hungary and the legal equality of citizens is seriously deficient.

Benkes et al. devote a separate chapter to an analysis of political anti-Semitism. They examine the position of Jews in society and the differences existing between various Jewish groups (Jews recently arrived from Galicia and assimilated Jews). But, once again, there is no analysis of the reasons why—despite legal emancipation—a person's religious beliefs continued to be recorded, or why—where a person had no religious beliefs, as was true of the Communists and Social Democrats—an interest continued to be shown in his or her descent.

The murder of the Jews took place in waves: In 1941, 20,000 Jews who had fled to Hungary from other countries and thus lacked citizenship were deported by the Hungarian authorities to Galicia, where they were subsequently murdered by the Germans. In 1942 Hungarian military units staged a bloodbath in Novi Sad (Újvidék), Yugoslavia: many Jews were among the victims. In the same year, the so-called "labor service" (forced labor) was introduced, which "increasingly left people at the mercy of others, providing an opportunity for villainy and human torture, which on the front sometimes took the form of a regular human massacre." Finally, in March 1944, the

Germans occupied Hungary. With the active collaboration of the Hungarian authorities, they first collected the Jews into ghettos and then deported them to death camps. Once the rural Jewish population had been dragged off, the Hungarian government brought an end to the deportations. However, following the political takeover of the Arrow Cross (the Hungarian Nazis), Jews living in Budapest were forced into the ghetto and tens of thousands were murdered.

In contrast to the other books, which can best be described as annals, Nagy's is a political history. For this reason, it could serve to supplement the other books. However, instead of—in the manner of Bibó—analyzing such phenomena as the indifference of Hungarian society, the responsibility of the political elite, or action taken by people to save human lives, the author devotes only one short paragraph to the persecution of the Jews. The text leaves us unsure what exactly the author considers to be the "injustice"—that certain people were called Jewish "henchmen" even though they did nothing for the Jews, or that such expressions were used at all in those times. The author's words are the following: "Despite an increase in anti-Semitic propaganda, the deleterious measures taken against the largely assimilated Hungarian Jews provoked varying degrees of antipathy in many people. This was so if only because—given the 'racial hysteria'—a person who was less radical or more moderate in his views, or held anti-German views, was immediately labeled a 'friend of the Jews' or a 'Jewish henchman' even if he was '100 percent Aryan.' One person accused of being such was the chief of staff, Gyula Kádár, but the ignominious campaign even reached as far as the wife of the regent, who was criticized by the extreme right wing." Meanwhile, Nagy's attempts to present forced labor as having saved lives is pure cynicism or worse: "many owed their lives to the fact that they had been enlisted into the military labor service and were therefore saved from being taken off to the concentration camps in Germany in 1944," he writes. In accordance with the real facts, "The field was often demined by men who were pushed onto the minefields in groups. Many died, and there were a great number of serious casualties.... The labor service draftees were poorly equipped, they were dressed in rags and were starving.... These often sick skeleton figures of labor service men were tortured by fascist henchmen, while Hungarian and German soldiers working alongside them hit them, too…. [The Soviet advance at Voronezh] began the end for the Second Hungarian Army and the labor servicemen.... Just 6-7000 labor servicemen out of 50,000 returned home," writes Braham on the labor service.

Seifert's book is similar to Nagy's in that it describes and evaluates the work of various ministers and governments instead of just recording events. It is all the more disappointing, therefore, that it ignores the introduction of the Third Jewish Law. The author does no more than list the various provisions of the bill. (The bill declared marriage between a Jew and a non-Jew to be a violation of racial purity!) On the other hand, the author is eager to stress his view that Bárdossy, the prime minister in 1941, was unaware of the fact that Jews sent back to Galicia would be murdered by the Germans. Seifert's argument that "an important factor in any judgment of Hungary's role in the Second World War" is the fact that "825,007 Jews lived here ... in relative security until the German occupation" raises further doubts. His argument might have had some validity if Hungary had really been capable of protecting its own citizens. However, this

was not the case, and it therefore seems rather strange that this should be used as an apology for siding with the Germans in the war. The author covers the Hungarian holocaust in two chapters. Half of the text is concerned with the rescue actions. This is a disproportionately large share given that the number of those who escaped is far outweighed by the number of those who were murdered. Citing a "piece of data" of unknown origin, the author states: "We may estimate the number of people hidden by the general public at more than one hundred thousand." With great certainty, he states that "around 310,000 Hungarian Jews ... were lost. (The figure of 600,000, is erroneous.)" He fails to explain how he has arrived at this figure, which is contradicted by all other sources. His overplaying of the rescue efforts and a tendency to underestimate the number of victims are obviously designed to reduce the significance of the Holocaust and to "launder" Jewish losses so that they may be placed onto the general list of Second World War losses.

Bardocz writes very briefly of the Hungarian holocaust. He mentions the forced labor but does not make it clear that most of those who were forced to serve were Jewish men. He also fails to describe the real meaning of being in a fighting unit without a weapon. Discussing the issue of responsibility, the author mentions Horthy's responsibility for the deportations in a separate footnote. Nevertheless, elsewhere he refers to these deportations as if the Hungarian right wing had been solely responsible for them. (In reality they were carried out while the Sztójay government, not the Hungarian Nazis, was in office.) Rescue actions are mentioned in just one rather doubtful sentence: "... many people got top marks for their true Christian patriotism and humanity." Unfortunately, these "many" were not so many.

Helméczy writes little about the persecution of the Jews in Hungary and does not even mention forced labor. Similarly, he fails to refer to the collaboration of the Hungarian authorities. And like other authors too, he writes in sentences without subjects. He does, however, mention the rescue actions and the name of Wallenberg. As I mentioned earlier, he wrongly records the number of victims.

Salamon's book lacks a separate chapter on the Hungarian holocaust. The author mentions forced labor, but does not expand on it. He very often leaves the subject out of sentences that are concerned with the murder of Hungarian Jews. And nowhere does he discuss the question of Hungarian responsibility. Salamon does not give the number of Jewish victims separately, nor does he mention the rescue actions.

Sipos's sentences lack subjects, too, in his treatment of the deportation and murder of the Hungarian Jews. He provides no facts or numerical data, and fails to mention the question of responsibility and the rescue actions.

Horváth examines the fate of the Hungarian Jews in a very superficial manner. He mentions neither the question of Hungarian responsi-

bility nor the rescue actions. The only person mentioned by name is Horthy: "400,000 Jews were dragged off, before Horthy put a stop to it." This sentence—perhaps contrary

to the author's intentions—portrays Horthy in a negative light. For, if it is true that Horthy could have stopped the deportations with a wave of his hand, why did he not do this immediately? Why did he wait until the whole of the rural Jewish population had been murdered? Horváth's paragraph on war losses is characteristic of his attitude. He states that Hungarians who fought alongside Germans "died heroes' deaths," but lists murdered Jews among other victims: "Hungary's human losses ... amounted to 900,000! Out of this sum, about 150,000 died heroes' deaths in the war, while the large majority of deaths were from civilian casualties (the exterminated Jews, the innocent victims of military actions, and those who died as prisoners of war)." Thus, his book not only lacks an examination of the Holocaust, it also fails to list Jewish losses in a proper and just way.

Dürr's reader contains a passage on the concentration camps in which the author repeatedly states that the Jews were of the "Jewish religion." Like authors who wrote under Communism, Dürr, identifying the Nazis' victims, mentions "those who disagreed with the Nazis' system" before he mentions the Jews. He does refer to the question of responsibility, but only in connection with Germans operating in the concentration camps.

Bihari examines the Hungarian holocaust in a separate chapter. He describes in detail the measures taken against the Jews by the Hungarian government after the German occupation of the country. He speaks frankly of Hungarian responsibility. Still, his text contains the following rather doubtful sentence: "In this tragedy, perhaps the saddest aspect was that the Jews generally did not resist...." Again this remark—like similar remarks of his cited already—tends to give the impression that resistance was a real possibility. Thus, in a certain sense, it shifts blame away from the perpetrators and onto the victims. Bihari's data concerning the number of Jews deported from rural areas are accurate. On the other hand, he does not tell us what caused the deaths of half the Jews living in Budapest—that they died owing to the atrocious conditions in the ghetto or were murdered by the Hungarian Nazis. Furthermore, Bihari almost completely ignores the rescue actions.

Lator writes succinctly and factually of the Hungarian holocaust (e.g., he mentions the names of Endre and Baky, who as Hungarian state secretaries assisted Eichmann in the deportation of the rural Jewish population). He writes in relative detail of the Jews of Budapest and of the rescue actions (above all of Wallenberg's actions to save Jews).

Jóvérné's book includes separate sections on the deportations and the Budapest ghetto, as well as an honest discussion of Hungarian responsibility. The author quotes from the Nuremberg confession of Edmund Veesenmayer, German plenipotentiary to Hungary in 1944, that the deportations could be achieved "so quickly and smoothly—only with the full assistance of the Hungarian government."

Benkes et al. mention the question of Hungarian responsibility several times in their book. They refer to the fact that the suppression of the Jews corrupted many people, and they also cite Veesenmayer's confession. Their book hardly mentions the rescue actions.

Herber et al. devote just one paragraph to the deportation of Hungary's rural Jewish population. Unfortunately, they—like other authors—use sentences without subjects, for example when they write "Hitler's 'solution' to the Jewish question was begun ... the deportation of the Jews from rural areas to the annihilation camps was set in motion ...." They write in greater detail of the fate of Jews living in Budapest, and they mention the rescue actions, too. The book includes no separate discussion of the question of Hungarian responsibility, even though the authors had earlier stated that "every society must examine its role in the Second World War and the question of its responsibility." One half sentence refers to Horthy's suspension of the deportations—once all the Jews from country areas had been taken off. Similarly brief is the treatment of the Arrow Cross's attempt to begin the "liquidation of the 250,000 Jews who were still in Budapest."

We should make special mention of Hosszú's textbook because it is so different from the others in quality. Its greatest virtue is its inclusion of a substantial amount of source material, thus allowing pupils to become almost eyewitnesses to important historical events. For example, they can read contemporary accounts of Kristallnacht, Auschwitz, and the deportation of Hungarian Jews.

Hosszú is the only textbook author to analyze in depth the "rural-urban" debate, which played such an important role in Hungarian intellectual life between the two world wars. His analysis shows the manner in which anti-Semitism became a "code" in public thinking in Hungary. Hosszú manages to avoid oversimplifications and leaves it to the reader to form his or her own opinions (on the basis of the well-selected sources) of the ideas put forward by the two opposing sides.

When discussing the Jewish laws, he cites both the protest against the first bill and the parliamentary debate surrounding it. He makes it very clear that the Second Jewish Law "took away the livelihoods of about 60,000 people, while initiating a process of social demoralization and corruption." He gives a detailed account of the bloodbath of Novi Sad (Újvidék): "... most of the citizens who fell victim to this unprecedented mass murder, performed by military and police units ... were of Serbian or Jewish background." He is the only author to write honestly of the labor service, by quoting chief of staff Ferenc Szombathelyi: "Brutality became patriotism, atrocities heroism, and corruption virtue .... There were two types of discipline: one for the Jews (where anything was allowed), and another for everyone else (where rules had to be kept to)."

Hosszú's book contains a separate chapter on the Holocaust. The author quotes from a work by Hannah Krall in connection with the Warsaw uprising. He devotes a whole chapter to an inquiry into the fate of the Hungarian Jews. He states clearly that "the Germans did not have enough people to carry out the deportations, and therefore relied on the assistance of the Hungarian armed forces and the government administration," and that "in rural areas, the Hungarian population watched passively as their Jewish compatriots were separated and dragged off from them in a humiliating manner." Hosszú also examines the role of the churches and the efforts of foreign embassies and

Hungarians to save people.

Overall we found that the textbooks exhibit a great number of deficiencies, gaps, and distortions in their treatment of the Hungarian holocaust. Several authors underestimate the number of victims and overemphasize the extent and significance of the rescue actions. Furthermore, many authors ignore the question of Hungarian responsibility. Frequently, they use sentences without subjects and thus avoid having to name perpetrators and culprits. At the same time, many books provide honest discussions of the question of Hungarian responsibility. And Hosszú's book in particular contains a wealth of source material.

Since the end of Communism, history textbooks have tended to include an increasing amount of material on the Holocaust. Literature textbooks, on the other hand, have continued to ignore this subject area almost completely. Literature textbook authors seem to refer to the Holocaust only when its existence can no longer be denied. Even when this is so, they still write about it in half sentences or with obscure references. This deficiency is a grave one for a number of reasons. First—contrary to Adorno's prediction—important literary works have

been published since the Holocaust and, indeed, about the Holocaust. Some works have been written by Hungarian authors and poets, and these works should not be excluded from classroom literature. Second, in the course of the Holocaust, so many important Hungarian writers were murdered, subjected to forced labor, imprisoned in concentration camps, or forced into hiding, that Hungarian literary life was scarred forever. The only literature textbook to cover the Holocaust in any depth (at least in connection with the victims) is a work by Horgas and Levendel. In a section on the life and works of Radnóti, a very important Hungarian poet of Jewish origin, the authors write about the murders of the writers Antal Szerb and György Bálint, the painter Imre Ámos, and the violinist Miklós Lorsi. The authors of another book, Mohácsy and Vasy, give a detailed account of the labor service and do not avoid mentioning the fact that Radnóti "was shot dead ... by his Hungarian companions with the assistance of two Austrian SS soldiers."

The majority of authors write of the Holocaust in an impersonal manner—in the full literal sense of the word, for their sentences often have no subjects. Their texts give the impression that people—politicians, soldiers and ordinary citizens—could not influence and bore no responsibility for the chain of events, for example: "May 1944 ... finds him in Bor ... The camp is cleared at the end of August, in September they are directed west ... toward the vicinity of Abda, where the poet and 22 of his companions are shot dead."

The Holocaust in Other Books

Two highly relevant volumes were published on the fiftieth anniversary of the Hungarian holocaust (1944). One of these books, Persecution and Rescue, represents an important supplement to the textbooks, because its subject matter tends to be ignored by the textbooks. It is not just a moral obligation to remember those who risked their own lives to help the victims of persecution. By learning about the actions and choices of such people, we may also begin to understand that it was possible to act, and that the

individual is always responsible for his or her behavior even in the most trying situations. Unfortunately, these publications were just "anniversary publications" and are now available only in libraries.

Another excellent supplement to the textbooks is the General Collection of Historical Terms. This lexicon contains such terms as Jewish religion, anti-Semitism, ghetto, Zionism, synagogue, yellow star. It correctly defines and explains the phenomena and places them in an historical context. For example, under "Jewish religion" one may read of the position of Judaism in Hungarian society: "Jews were living in Hungary even before the country was conquered by the Hungarians. In the medieval period, their rights were severely restricted. In 1849 they were granted full religious freedom. In 1895 the Jewish religion was officially recognized by the state. After 1945 it received full legal equality with the other religions. The denomination maintains several educational, social, and other institutions."

In recent years, two "alternative" teacher training/study programs covering persecution of the Jews in the twentieth century have been initiated in Hungary. The programs have their own study material. The workbook for the first program, Multiculture, contains a separate chapter on anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. The purpose of the chapter is: "to consider the ways in which society may protect itself from these destructive ideas." The author of the workbook first relates in chronological order the various stages of Jewish persecution in Hungary and Germany. Then he identifies various points of analysis that help children to determine political and ethical values that may be used against racism, and what the individual can do in such situations. This chapter of the workbook serves as a good supplement to the history textbooks, owing to both the well-presented chronology of events and the fact that the author raises the question of the individual’s political and moral responsibility—an issue ignored by authors of the history textbooks.

The second program and book, Facing History and Ourselves: The Holocaust and Human Behavior, deals exclusively with the Holocaust. Employing a wealth of source material and an interdisciplinary approach, the authors examine the factors that led to the Holocaust: ethnocentrism, nationalism, the spread of Nazi ideology, Nazi methods, etc. Subsequently, they analyze the decisions, behavior, and responsibility of perpetrators, bystanders, and rescuers as well as the fate of the victims. The final chapters of this twelve-chapter volume are concerned with the possibilities of applying justice, remembrance, and prevention. The book has been adapted from a U.S. publication bearing the same name. It has been expanded to include a supplementary chapter on Hungary between the two world wars. Supplementary Hungarian texts and source material have been incorporated elsewhere in the publication, too. The size of the book permits a more subtle examination of the various subject matters. Instead of the ambiguous notes found in the textbooks, each event is accompanied by a precise explanation.

The State of Israel

The history and present condition of the State of Israel is touched upon in history textbooks and in regional geography textbooks. According to the National School

Curriculum, regional geography should include an examination of the Middle East. The curriculum makes no particular mention of Israel.

Under Communism, the "official" view was in line with Soviet policy. Thus it was anti-Zionist and anti-Israel. "The Soviet Union has played a special role in the worldwide campaign of delegitimation of Zionism, Judaism, and Israel since the late 1960s. It has taken over in practice the heritage of Nazi anti-Semitism, and already in Stalin's last years the paranoid theory of the world Jewish conspiracy, in Marxist-Leninist disguise, acquired an 'anti-Zionist' tinge. In the past fifteen years, it has also been the Soviet Union which has stood in the forefront of the global campaign to equate Zionism with Nazism, just as it orchestrated the infamous 'Zionism is Racism' resolution at the UN in November 1975 in conjunction with the Arab states," writes historian Robert S. Wistrich in an exposition of Soviet policy.

Zionism became popular in Hungary (the birthplace of Herzl) only after 1944. Young people in particular were attracted to the movement, but growth in this support was cut short by the Communist political takeover of 1948. After 1948-49 all Zionist organizations were abolished and Zionist leaders were imprisoned. The Communist takeover rendered emigration to Israel impossible. A new wave of emigration took place at the time of the Hungarian Uprising in 1956. Despite the difficulties, Karády estimates that by 1957 between a third and a quarter of Hungary's surviving Jewish population had emigrated to Israel.

Communist textbooks contained few references to Israel. In both the news and public debate, the picture painted of Israel was negative almost without exception. The country was usually cast in the role of nationalistic aggressor. Since the end of Communism, a far more positive image of Israel has evolved. News reports of the Arab-Israeli conflict now tend to be more carefully balanced.

History textbooks generally make only brief mention of the Jewish state—usually in just one or two paragraphs. While most textbooks mention the British mandate in Palestine, only three of the books refer to Great Britain's reluctance to permit Jewish settlement in Palestine even when Jewish lives were directly threatened in Europe. With one notable exception—Hosszú—all authors refer to Zionism in half sentences only. Hosszú devotes a separate chapter to the Jewish national movement and records the diverse reactions of Jewish communities (at various stages of assimilation) to the demand for Jewish collective rights. He also writes about Zionism. All textbook authors mention Arab resistance to Jewish immigration between the two world wars, as well as the acceleration of Jewish immigration after the Holocaust. Textbooks then carry information on Israel's declaration of independence and the wars fought by Israel and the Arab countries. In general, while textbooks state that in 1948 it was the Arab countries that attacked Israel, several of them forget to mention that the subsequent UN resolution concerning the withdrawal of forces was violated not just by Israel but also by Egypt and Jordan. Impartiality is lost, and one could easily gain the impression that Israel shoulders greater responsibility for the Arab-Israeli conflict. This impression could be strengthened by the manner in which several books refer to the Palestinians with great sympathy, while

allotting the role of aggressor to the Jews. Helméczy's book is an exception to this trend. This author's position is supportive of Israel.

Herber et al. examine the history, economy, and political institutions of the State of Israel in relative depth. Information is provided on the country's major political parties and organizations. Indeed, the book even mentions the Eichmann trial. The authors give a detailed and considered account of the Arab-Israeli wars, including an analysis of the disputes that preceded armed conflict. The roles of aggressor and defender are clearly distinguished.

Four of the geography books contain extensive examinations of Israel. Two other books devote just one or two paragraphs to Israel. Several authors provide an historical overview of the history of Israel from ancient times. The history of the Arab-Israeli wars is examined in greater detail in the geography books than in the history books. Most authors attempt to write without bias. The economic achievements of Israel are highly praised although most authors argue that these achievements are due to American aid. Several books contain information on the special Israeli production units—the kibbutz and the moshav. One book even carries a long passage on the Sabbath. The only very negative book is probably an unreworked version of a book published many years ago, for elsewhere the author refers to Israel with far less bias. Thus, in the first book a map appears under the title "Israel's conquests and the displacement of the Palestinian people," whereas in the second book the same map is entitled "From Palestine to modern Israel: changes in population composition between 1947 and 1994."

To sum up: the history of modern Israel is covered in both history and geography textbooks. Coverage is more extensive and more positive in the latter. History textbooks continue to exude the anti-Israel and pro-Arab position of the Communist era, particularly in connection with the Arab-Israeli conflict. The geography textbooks are less biased in their treatment of the Israeli-Arab wars and have great regard for the economic achievements of Israel.

Conclusion

The publishing of textbooks in Hungary has undergone great change since the fall of Communism. A multitude of textbooks of diverse quality and content are now available. Schools may choose from among these books in accordance with their own tastes and goals.

The subject areas under examination—Judaism, Jewish history, and Jewish culture—are covered extensively and consistently in several textbooks. Nevertheless, in many textbooks we found distortions and areas of neglect. Three factors account for such inadequacies: the anti-Judaic tradition of European culture, ethnocentric historicizing, and Communist anti-Zionism.

Anti-Judaism is manifested in the more detailed and positive manner in which Christianity is portrayed. But it is also present in the fact that textbooks ignore medieval Jewish culture and history and fail to refer to the persecution of the Jews, which is rooted

in the same Christian anti-Judaism. The majority of textbooks on the medieval period fail even to mention the Jews, thereby implying that the "historical role" of the Jews ended with the appearance of Christianity. Most textbooks on the modern period lack any discussion of emancipation. Thus, although all textbooks examine the various stages of Jewish persecution and the Holocaust, they portray these phenomena as separate chains of events without historical antecedents—e.g., a thousand years of Christian anti-Semitism, the appearance and spread of political anti-Semitism, etc. There is a danger that children will be taught "the facts" but miss the essence of the scandal—i.e., that 6 million people could be deprived of all human rights and then brutally murdered in the heart of modern Europe with the whole world looking on; and that the numbers of those who opposed the genocide are eclipsed by the hundreds of millions of individuals who did nothing. Ethnocentric historicizing strengthens this tendency by attempting to reduce both the number of victims and the sense of responsibility and by attributing the persecution

of the Jews to the "extreme right wing" and the deportations to the "Germans."

The pro-Arab anti-Zionist ideology of the Communist era is still apparent in the textbooks, primarily in connection with the Arab-Israeli wars. At the same time, the approach of some textbooks is impartial and factual. Geography textbooks speak highly of the economic achievements of Israel.

Schools have a wide choice o

books at their disposal. Some textbooks are excellent (generally these have been written recently) and a special reader has been published on the Holocaust. It is to be hoped that these new books will gradually replace older, less appropriate books that still contain instances of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. A new book urgently needs to be written for the trade schools, since the present book is full of insulting and erroneous wording. This deficit is particularly worrying given that pupils at these schools can be susceptible to xenophobia and anti-Semitism.

Endnotes

1. See Péter Kende’s introduction and András Kovács’s article in Péter Kende, ed., Zsidóság az 1945 utáni Magyarországon (Jews in Hungary after 1945), 1984, pp. v-xv, 1-37.

2. See András Kovács, "Asszimiláció, antiszemitizmus, identitás—A zsidóság a modern magyar társadalomban" (Assimilation, anti-Semitism, identity—Jews in modern Hungarian society), in Monika Víg, ed., Hogyan éljük túl a XX. századot? (How shall we survive the twentieth century?), 1992, pp. 262-89. Cf. Viktor Karády, "A magyarországi antiszemitizmus: kísérlet egy történeti kérdéskör megközelítésére" (Anti-Semitism in Hungary: An attempt to approach some historical issues), Regio 2 (1991): 5-35.

3. For example, in 1984 an important work of István Bibó was republished. See "Zsidókérdés Magyarországon 1944 után" (The Jewish question in Hungary after 1944),

in Péter Hanák, ed., Zsidókérdés, asszimiláció, antiszemitizmus (The Jewish question, assimilation, anti-Semitism), 1984. Cf. some articles on persecution of Jews, rescue actions, question of Jewish identity in Medvetánc 2-3 (1985).

4. Results of these researches were published in Mária M. Kovács et al., eds., Zsidóság, identitás, történelem (Jews, identity, history), 1992.

5. See Mónika Kovács, "Kategorizáció és diszkrimináció. Az antiszemitizmus mint csoportnyelv" (Categorization and discrimination: Anti-Semitism as group language), Világosság 5 (1993): 52-62.

6. The most important book is Randolph L. Braham, A magyar holocaust (The Hungarian holocaust), 1988.

7. Tamás Raj, ed., A gyerekeknek nem mindig mondják meg az igazat. A zsidóság a tankönyvekben és a hittankönyvekben (Children are not always told the truth: Jews in school and religious textbooks), 1994.

8. Judit Bokor, "Az állami tankönyvek zsidóságképe 1948-tól napjainkig" (The image of the Jews in state textbooks from 1948 to the present), ibid., p. 14.

9. Ilona Miklós, "A Biblia az állami tankönyvekben" (The Bible in state textbooks), ibid., pp. 41-48.

10. László Karsai, "Tankönyveink a soáról" (Hungarian textbooks on the Shoah), ibid., p. 31.

11. "A Biblia népének vándorlása" (The migrations of the people of the Bible), in László Kojanitz, Az ókori civilizációk (Ancient civilizations), pp. 49-59. For another version of same, see László Kojanitz, Történelem 5. Munkafüzettel (History 5 with workbook). See also: "A Biblia földje, Palesz-tina" (Palestine, the land of the Bible), in Miklós Száray, Történelem 1 (His-tory 1), pp. 38-39; "Ábrahám földjén" (In the land of Abraham), in Attila Bardocz, Történelem és közjogi ismeretek 1 (History and legal studies 1), pp. 63-64; "A Biblia népei" (Biblical peoples), in Béla Veresegyházi, Történelem 5 (History 5), pp. 60-62; "Az ószövetségi Bibliából" (Extracts from the Old Testament), in István Filla and Péter Szebenyi, Régen volt, hogy is volt (törté-nelmi olvasókönyv) (An historical reader); "Palesztína" (Palestine), in Péter Horváth, Történelem 5 (History 5), pp. 59-60; "A Biblia világa" (The world of the Bible), in István Filla, Történelem 5 (History 5), pp. 58-60.

12. "Christians call this Jewish Bible the Old Testament. Together with the New Testament, this is the sacred scripture of the Christian religion" (Ko-janitz, Az ókori civilizációk, p. 49).

13. Sándor Sipos, Történelem 1 (History 1), p. 26.

14. Kojanitz, Az ókori civilizációk, p. 56.

15. Bardócz, Történelem és közjogi ismeretek 1, p. 139.

16. "A keresztények" (The Christians), in Kojanitz, Az ókori civilizációk, pp. 141-49; "Panem et circensis," in Bardocz, Történelem és közjogi ismere-tek 1, pp. 139-40; "A kereszténység kialakulása" (The development of Christianity), in Veresegyházi, Történelem 5; "A kereszténység" (Christianity), in Horváth, Történelem 5, pp. 130-31; "A kereszténység" (Christianity), in Fe-renc Bánhegyi, Történelem 7 (History 7), pp. 100-4; "A kereszténység kiala-kulása" (The development of Christianity), in Filla, Történelem 5, pp. 133-40.

17. Bánhegyi, Történelem 7, p. 100. According to another author, Chris-tianity did not develop from the Jewish religion but was just "influenced" by it: "The Christian religion that developed in Palestine was as exclusively mono-theistic as the Jewish religion. Its development was influenced by Arab, Per-sian and above all Jewish religious doctrine" ("A kereszténység kialakulása" [The development of Christianity], in Csaba Horváth, Történelem mindenki-nek 1 [History for all 1], p. 55).

18. For example: "Christians did not want to be different from the other Jews. For a time they attended services in the Temple at Jerusalem as before. However, when one of the Christian preachers accused the Jews of being dis-loyal toward God, the lives of Christians in the city became endangered. Their escape just helped to spread Christian teachings" (Kojanitz, Az ókori civilizációk 5, p. 145).

19. This Christian perspective also appears retrospectively, e.g., "In the spring of the thirtieth year, he went to Jerusalem to celebrate Easter with his twelve disciples" (Veresegyházi, Történelem 5, p. 122). "When he was just twelve years old, Jesus went ... with his parents ... to the Easter festivities in Jerusalem" (Bánhegyi, Történelem 7, p. 101). "When he was twelve years old [Jesus] spent the Easter festivities with the priests in the temple of Jerusalem" (Filla, Történelem 5, p. 135).

The author demonstrates some confusion when he states: "The Roman governor made them angrier by sending his troops into Jerusalem with images of the emperor on their insignia. This was a violation of the laws of the Jewish religion forbidding graven images" (Kojanitz, Történelem 5, p. 142). In fact, the ban was on the worship of other gods and (!) graven images. In another book by Kojanitz, this error is omitted: "The Roman emperors tried to per-suade people that they should perform sacrifices as if they were gods and as a mark of respect, but this was against the regulations of the Jewish religion" (Kojanitz, Történelem 5. Munkafüzettel, p. 129).

Or take the hidden condemnation reserved for those who "took the holy scriptures seriously": "In the family-focused Hellenized world, ideas preserv-ing the ancient aspects of the holy scriptures (e.g., an eye for an eye) or the commandment concerning punishment until the seventh generation were not taken seriously" (Száray, Történelem 1, p. 134). "Jesus ... made known the last judgment, from then on nothing but the belief in

one God counted ... Other more minor services and various bans were not so important" (ibid., p. 135).

20. "According to Christian teaching, instead of the old law of the Old Testament, which the chosen people, the Jews, had broken and violated so often, God had made a new covenant with mankind—and by His doing so, the term chosen people was extended to all Christians (to all those who accept his mercy and the forgiveness of their sins)" (Bardocz, Történelem és közjogi ismeretek 1, p. 140).

21. "The appearance of Christianity later was promoted by the Helleni-zation of Jews living in the eastern metropolises. Their stiff adherence to the rules of their religion was ended, but they brought with them their monotheistic religion and their belief in the coming of the Messiah" (Száray, Történelem 1, p. 94). "The Jews, who had become acquainted with the Greek philosophies, preserved their monotheistic faith but now understood the biblical passages symbolically rather than literally. They no longer kept the strict cultist rules (e.g., the ban on certain items of food)" (ibid., p. 134).

22. "Much of the expansion of the new religion was linked to the name of the apostle Paul ... Christianity became open to everyone. It was then that it became clear to most Jews that the new teachings did not mean liberty for their people, and thus they did not recognize Jesus as the Savior. Instead they continued to wait for their savior" (Száray, Történelem 1, p. 136).

23. Sipos, Történelem 1, p. 54. In a textbook for vocational secondary schools—Béla Bellér, Történelem 1 (History 1)—Jews are mentioned in the odd paragraph "The Jews, the monotheistic people" (p. 47) or in connection with the appearance of Christianity, originally a "Jewish sect" (pp. 192-94).

24. "A zsidó államok" (The Jewish states), in Enikõ Gönczöl, Õskor, ókori civilizációk (Prehistoric and ancient civilizations), pp. 105-9; "Izrael története" (The history of Israel), in Attila Herber, Ida Martos, László Moss, and László Tisza, Történelem 1 (History 1), pp. 135-40; "Az ókori Izrael; Júdea és a kereszténység születése" (Ancient Israel, Judea, and the birth of Christianity), in Judit Stefány, Gábor Bíró, and László Lõrinc, Õskor, ókor, középkor (The prehistoric, ancient, and medieval periods), pp. 81-93, 203-13.

25. They are also examined in Bánhegyi's book. The chapter entitled "The Jewish religion" covers not only early Jewish history but also the Torah, Talmud, and Ten Commandments as well as the prophets (Bánhegyi, Történelem 7, pp. 50-52).

26. "The Jewish people signed a covenant and held a dialogue with God, the almighty and all-powerful ... From among the ancient literature of the eastern peoples, the Bible—comprising the holy scriptures of the Jewish people—had an exceptional role, owing to its great influence on the culture, thought, and religion of the whole of Europe" (Gyémánt et al., Irodalom 14 éveseknek [Literature for 14-year-olds], p. 9).

27. Tibor Gintli and Gábor Schein, Irodalom 14-15 éveseknek (Literature for 14- and 15-

year-olds).

28. Péter Domonkos, Irodalom 1 (Literature 1), p. 65.

29. Ibid., p. 63. We might ask the author to explain how Christ and the church could be part of the Old Testament.

30. For example, Árpád Balla, Történelem 6 (History 6); Péter Szabó, Történelem 6 (History 6); Mátyás Helméczy, Történelem 7 (History 7).

31. For example, "... the number of Jews in Hungary increased" (Csaba Horváth, Történelem mindenkinek 2 [History for all 2], p. 124); "the Italians and Jews, who made a living from commerce and finance, lived in a separate street" (Enikõ Csukovits, Liliom és holló [Lily and the raven], p. 44).

32. For example, "... as well as those who dealt with financial affairs, who were often of foreign origin (Germans and Jews)" ("Polish society," in Erzsébet Szász, A kora újkor egyetemes története [World history of the early modern period], p. 56). See also footnote 35 and "The most influential elements of the bourgeoisie in Hungary were of foreign origin. ... most of them [worked as] Jewish corn merchants ..." (Pál Újvári, Történelem 3 [History 3], p. 255).

33. "Despite noble sensibilities, in places bloody anti-Jewish pogroms and debaucheries were committed by the Crusaders" (László Nagy, Magyarország Európában [Hungary in Europe], p. 46).

34. For a contemporary historical account of the massacre committed by the Crusaders in Cologne, see Ibolya Hartmann Földesné, Zsuzsanna Gyulai Hudyné, Attila Hudy, and István Rubint, Középkor. Történelmi szöveggyüjtemény (Middle ages, collection of historical texts), pp. 53-54.

35. But the author’s wording presents the Jews as "foreigners" and their expulsion as the "lesser evil." Thus, "In Spain various religions and cultures lived side by side for centuries: Christians, Arabs, and Jews…. Then the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews began ... but even those who had earlier converted under duress were hunted away.... The air of suspicion did not weigh down only on foreigners" ("The reign of Phillip II," in László Kojanitz, A hitszakadás és a felvilágosodás kora. Európa és Magyarország 1517-1789 [The era of religious schism and the Enlightenment], p. 58).

"As an explanation" the victims are also blamed. "Over a period of 100-150 years, feelings had mounted among the peasantry ... against the Jewish financiers in the higher social circles.… Conversion movements and bloody pogroms came one after the other" ("The countries of the Iberian peninsula," in Pál Újvári, A középkor története [History of the medieval period], p. 154).

Another author mentions that "the church supported royal power through the Inquisition,

and in exchange it received a free hand to persecute ... the Jews, whose confiscated wealth even enriched the ruler" ("Phillip II," in Erzsébet Szász, A kora újkor egyetemes története [Universal history of the early modern period], p. 68).

36. "All problems were still blamed on them" (Mária Walter, Történelem középiskolások számára 2 [History for secondary school students 2], p. 186).

37. "Polish society," in Szász, A kora újkor egyetemes története, p. 56.

Another author also fails to explain the reason for the persecution of the Jews: "... Emperor Leopold threatened merciless reprisals if Jews appeared ... in the mining towns" (Ágnes R. Várkonyi, Megújulások kora [The time of innovations], p. 43). Cf. "Louis the Great, at the anxious time of the black death epidemic, ordered the expulsion of the Jews from his country" (Újvári, A középkor története, p. 183).

Several sources contain some anti-Jewish laws of the Middle Ages, but most textbooks offer no information about these laws at all. For example, in his book Magyar középkor (Hungarian middle ages), Gábor Nagy provides extracts of laws restricting the Jews under various rulers: King László, King Kálmán, the Golden Bull, Webõczy's Triple Book. Even these books fail to illuminate the Jewish social condition in medieval society. Those who do concern themselves with the restrictions, barely give any interpretation, e.g., Pál Újvári in his chapter entitled "The peoples and natural resources of the country" (Újvári, A középkor története, p. 183), and "Két zsidó sors a török kiûzésekor" (The fate of two Jews during the explusion of the Turks), in Péter Bihari, A régi rend fénykora (The golden age of the old order), p. 29.

38. Attila Herber, Ida Martos, László Moss, and László Tisza, Történelem 3 (History 3), pp. 103-5. It is questionable, however, what effect is achieved when in the same book—obviously with some irony—the authors quote medieval expressions relating to the Jews: "The fierce Crusaders did not wait until reaching the Holy Land, they began their fight against the heathens by destroying (through pogroms) the Jewish diaspora in France and the Rhine-land.... Local churches turned a blind eye, and sometimes even offered their support in the 'slaughter' of 'Christ's executioners'" (ibid., p. 75).

39. One other book mentions that Joseph II's edict of tolerance brought relief to the Jews (Attila Bardocz, Történelmi és közjogi ismeretek 3 [Historical and legal studies 3], p. 85).

40. Géza Závodszky, Történelem 3 (History 3), p. 208.

41. "A further increase of two million in the Hungarian population stems from the assimilation. In the course of voluntary Magyarization, about 700,000 Jewish ... inhabitants [of Hungary] became Hungarian" ("The increase in the Hungarian proportion [of the population]," in Pál Újvári, Történelem 3 (History 3), p. 270. "... voluntary assimilation resulted in a significant increase in the Hungarian population. Above all, [the assimilation] of the Jews who had found a new home in Hungary ... During the [First World] War, the number of Jews in Hungary who were willing to assimilate was added to

by the Galician refugees. Since compared with other ethnic groups living in Hungary, the Hungarians were the most prepared to accept [the newcomers] and were willing to make mixed marriages, assimilation resulted in an increase in the Hungarian proportion [of the population] in the kingdom" (L. Nagy, Magyarország Európában, p. 236).

Several authors mention the participation of Jews alongside Hungarians in the war of liberation of 1848-49. For example, Bardocz states: "Mention should be made of the Jews, too, who as one of the most middle class sections [of society] became supporters of the revolution and of the war of liberation" (Attila Bardocz, Történelem és közjogi ismeretek 3 [Historical and legal studies 3], p. 183), but most books leave this out too.

42. "Let us remember: it was mostly Jewish corn merchants who began to accumulate capital in the Reform period" (Géza Závodszky, Történelem 3 [History 3], p. 142).

43. Attila Herber, Ida Martos, László Moss, and László Tisza, Történelem 5 (History 5), pp. 251, 266, 291, 326, and 344.

44. For example, "By making the Jews (Jewish capital and only Jewish capital) responsible for the economic problems—and thereby finding a scapegoat—they fanned up emotions" (Mátyás Helméczy, Történelem 8 [History 8], p. 51). "Hitler regarded the Jews as an ‘inferior race’ and as the cause of all problems" (ibid., p. 53).

45. Attila Bardocz, Történelem és közjogi ismeretek 4 (Historical and legal studies 4), p. 99.

46. For example, "The number of killed off Jews according to original place of residence" or "Everything was so arranged that sooner or later even the strongest—whose labor had been used for a time—would go to pieces and be killed off " (Helméczy, Történelem 8, p. 110). "The Nazis ... killed off the Jewish ‘race’..." (Konrád Salamon, Történelem 4 [History 4], p. 143).

47. Csaba Horváth, Történelem mindenkinek 3 (History for all 3), pp. 103-5 and 130.

48. Gábor Kovács, Történelmi olvasókönyv XX. század (Historical reader, twentieth century), p. 118. "... preparations were made for the killing off of the ... Jews of the capital city" (Péter Bihari, A 20. Század története fiataloknak [Twentieth-century history for young people], p. 230). "They wanted to annihilate the Jews completely" (László Lator, Történelem a közép-iskolák IV. osztálya számára [History for fourth graders of secondary school], p. 138).

49. Helméczy, Történelem 8, p. 110.

50. Tamás Stark, Zsidóság a vészkorszakban és a felszabadulás után (1939-1955) (The Jews during the holocaust and after liberation), 1995, p. 74.

51. Braham, A magyar holocaust, p. 454.

52. Bihari, A 20. Század története fiataloknak, p. 203.

53. See also Tsvi Erez, "A magyar zsidó ellenállás három síkja" (The three levels of Hungarian Jewish resistance), in Sándor M. Kiss, ed., Ma-gyarország, 1944. Fejezetek az ellenállás történetébõl (Hungary, 1944. Chapters from the history of the resistance), 1994, pp. 307-14.

54. Ágota Szirtes Jóvérné et al., Történelem 4. 1914-1990 (History 4, 1914-1990), p. 143.

55. In Benkes et al., Történelem 4. 1914-1990 (History 4, 1914-1990), p. 198.

56. Herber et al., Történelem 6 (History 6) and Gyula Hosszú, A század fele 1914-1945 (The half century 1914-1945).

57. Herber et al., Történelem 6, p. 184.

58. Salamon, Történelem 4, pp. 143-44.

59. Sándor Sipos, Az emberiség rövid története 3 (Short history of humankind 3), p. 141.

60. Religious anti-Semitism is mentioned in very favorable terms by Sipos: "People of the same religion constituted one unit and one community, they took common steps against people of other religions. In a Europe that was becoming Christian, the Jews were the largest other religious community," he writes, making the pogroms and the continuous denial of rights almost "natural" (ibid., p. 141).

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid., p. 145.

63. "Zsidókérdés Magyarországon 1944 után," p. 164.

64. Ibid., p. 143. István Bibó (1911-1979) was an influential political scientist and democratic politician who—as a non-Jew—examined the social and psychological antecedents and consequences of the Hungarian holocaust in an extensive study. The study appeared first in 1948 in Válasz.

65. One exception is Horváth, who mentions that the First Jewish Law "broke with the principle of civil equality" (Horváth, Történelem mindenkinek 3, p. 171), but most authors provide no commentary at all.

66. Some of the books contain passages that could lead pupils to draw anti-Semitic conclusions. For example, a pupil might easily conclude from the following passage that the numerus clausus disadvantaged Jews because they were lacking in loyalty to the nation and morals: "The adopted bill stipulated that ... a factor in the assessment of

applications was the requirement of national loyalty and moral reliability. This measure disadvantaged Hungarians of Jewish descent in particular" (Salamon, Történelem 4, p. 52). Or for example, according to Helméczy, "this bill, adopted after right-wing pressure, was linked primarily to the fact that in 1919 many of the leaders of the proletarian dictatorship had been Jewish intellectuals" (Helméczy, Történelem 8, p. 61).

67. Bihari, A 20. Század története fiataloknak, p. 173. Or: "... in which the restriction is made not just on a religious basis, but on a racial basis (descent) too" (Lator, Történelem a középiskolák IV. Osztálya számára, p. 118); "... which discriminated between Hungarian citizens not just on the basis of religion but on the basis of race, too" (Jóvérné, Történelem 4. 1914-1990, p. 127).

68. When referring to the adoption of the numerus clausus law, for instance, Salamon writes that "the right-wing and extreme right-wing minority in the national assemble forced the bill through ..." (Salamon, Történelem 4, p. 52); "Owing to the strengthening of Hitler's Germany, ... the extreme right wing and anti-Semitism began to strengthen in Hungary, too ... the First Jewish Law was passed after pressure from the right wing" (Helméczy, Történelem 8, p. 68); "... went further to satisfy German demands. In 1938 the First Jewish Law was passed and in 1939 the Second Jewish Law. ... The Government considered that the 'Jewish question' was an area in which it could afford to bow to the demands of the Arrow Cross and of the Germans. People said at the time [that this would] take the wind out of the sails of the right wing" (Bihari, A 20. Század története fiataloknak, p. 173).

69. Thus the following passage clearly absolves the Hungarian government from any responsibility: "The hard-pressed Government had no choice but to give in to the extreme right-wing pressure" (Sipos, Az emberiség rövid története 3, p. 165).

70. Bibó, "Zsidókérdés Magyarországon 1944 után," p. 146.

71. Salamon, Történelem 4, p.115. Béla Dürr, Történelmi olvasókönyv az általános iskola 8. Osztálya számára (Historical reader for eighth graders in primary school), pp. 53, 91; Hosszú, A század fele 1914-1945, pp. 276-77.

72. Shulamit Volkov, "Antisemitism as a Cultural Code. Reflections on the History and Historiography of Antisemitism in Imperial Germany," in Leo Baeck Institute Year Book (London, 1978), vol. 23, p. 34.

73. Or according to Helméczy, anti-Semitism itself was a concept that had been imported from Germany. "As a consequence of the strengthening of Hitler's Germany (and especially after the establishment of a common border with Germany) the extreme right wing and anti-Semitism began to gain ground in Hungary, too ..." (Helméczy, Történelem 8, p. 68).

74. Bihari, A 20. Század története fiataloknak, p. 131. Helméczy makes similar comments on the numerus clausus law: "This law, passed after pressure from the right

wing, was linked to the fact that in 1919 many of the leaders of the proletarian dictatorship had been Jewish intellectuals" (Helméczy, Történelem 8, p. 61).

75. Sipos, Az emberiség rövid története 3, p. 158.

76. Jóvérné, Történelem 4. 1914-1990, p. 118.

77. The authors cite Tibor Hajdú's mistaken generalization: "A great percentage of the more qualified intellectuals participating in the workers' movement were of Jewish descent. (Although they had been converted and were therefore Christian by denomination; for them this was really of no significance)" (Benkes et al., Történelem 4. 1914-1990, p. 136. Of course, not every left-wing person of Jewish descent had in fact converted to the "Christian religion."

78. Bibó, "Zsidókérdés Magyarországon 1944 után," p. 143.

79. László Nagy, Magyarország Európában—A honfoglalástól a közelmúltig (Hungary in Europe—from the conquest until the recent past), p. 273.

80. Ibid., p. 275. It would have been more accurate to write that a few men did survive despite their being drafted into the labor service!

81. Braham, A magyar holocuast, pp. 258-60.

82. "During his premiership but without his knowledge, the Germans murdered 16,000 Jews of foreign origin in Kamenets-Podolsk after they had been repatriated from Hungary" (Tibor Seifert, Magyarország története 1938-1990 [History of Hungary between 1938 and 1990], p. 14). It would be interesting to know what exactly Bárdossy had been thinking about according to Seifert.

83. Ibid., p. 16.

84. Ibid., p. 19.

85. Ibid., p. 23.

86. "At that time there were already so-called 'labor servicemen' for political reasons in the Hungarian army, to whom one did not dare give weapons, but whose work was required by the army" (Bardocz, Történelem és közjogi ismeretek 4, p. 149).

87. "It is difficult to explain why the Regent permitted events to unravel so far" (ibid., p. 153).

88. "Hungarian public opinion and government circles acknowledged the abominable actions of the Germans and their extreme right-wing Hungarian servants in paralyzed shock" (ibid., p. 153).

89. Ibid.

90. "... then the open and organized persecution of the Jews began. ... This was followed by the forced removal of the rural Jewish population to the Nazi death camps ..." (Helméczy, Történelem 8, p. 102).

91. For example, "In April, the Jews began to be assembled in various ghettos. From May until June the rural Jewish population was taken off to the German concentration camps" (Salamon, Történelem 4, p. 143).

92. For example, "From April the assembling of the Jewish population in collection camps and ghettos was begun ..., then their transport to the German concentration camps" (Sipos, Az emberiség rövid története 3, p. 196).

93. Horváth, Történelem mindenkinek 3, p. 183.

94. "Millions were dragged off ... all those who gave the slightest indication that they disagreed with the fascist regime were taken to concentration camps, or who were simply Jewish or even perhaps Gypsy. ... German fascists murdered eight million people in these camps. Six million people were murdered because they were of Jewish descent" (Dürr, Történelmi olvasókönyv az általános iskola 8. osztálya számára, p. 122).

95. "Veesenmayer reported to Berlin that the Hungarian government was fully active in the anti-Jewish measures and was proceeding with unusual speed" (Bihari, A 20. Század története fiataloknak, p. 231).

96. Ibid., p. 230.

97. He writes the following only: "thousands were shot into the Danube, further thousands were marched toward Vienna on foot …" (ibid., p. 234).

98. "Many decent people—especially in the capital city—took risks and offered assistance to the persecuted ones. Nevertheless, the majority of the Hungarian population was characterized by indifference" (Jóvérné, Történelem 4. 1914-1990, p. 157).

99. Ibid., p. 157.

100. "A number of people were corrupted by taking on the ownership of the former property of the Jews ..." (Benkes et al., Történelem 4. 1914-1990, p. 221).

101. Attila Herber, Ida Martos, László Moss, and László Tisza, Történelem 4 (History 4), p. 191.

102. Ibid., p. 184.

103. Ibid., p. 197.

104. Hosszú, A század fele 1914-1945, p. 199.

105. Hosszú cites Rudolf Vrba and Josef Lanik, "Auschwitz Protocol," brought to Hungary in April 1944 (ibid., pp. 322-23).

106. Ibid., p. 333, citing Béla Zsolt's "Kilenc koffer" on the persecution of the Jews of Nagyvárad.

107. Ibid., p. 301.

108. Ibid., p. 297.

109. Ibid., p. 331.

110. He writes, for example, about the "good pastor" Sztehló and his activity on a committee that saved 1700 people (ibid., p. 341).

111. For example, one of the books contains the following passage about Tibor Déry: "... many molest and hound him before 1945. He is forced to hide owing to the grim atmosphere of the war years" (Gyémánt et al., Irodalom 14 éveseknek, p. 188).

112. Béla Horgas and Júlia Levendel, Irodalom 4 (Literature 4).

113. Károly Mohácsy and Géza Vasy, Irodalom 4 (Literature 4), p. 283.

114. László Devecsery, Jelek az idõben (Signs in time), p. 82.

Or: "... he is shot with twenty-two of his companions" (Gyémánt et al., Irodalom 14 éveeseknek, p. 144); "… he found the life of the country depressing. This became more and more apparent as fascism made its advance. ... Owing to the German invasion, life for the poet becomes increasingly harsh, and increasingly threatening. He is conscipted into the labor service for a third time, from which he no longer returns" (Ferenc Dobcsányi, Irodalmi olvasókönyv 8. osztály (Literature reader for the eighth grade), pp. 157, 171.

115. Szabolcs Szita, ed., Magyarország 1944. Üldöztetés—embermentés (Hungary in 1944. Persecution and rescue), 1994; Gyula Vargyai and János Almási, Magyarország 1944. Német megszállás (Hungary 1944. German occupation), 1994.

116. Általános történelmi fogalomgyüjtemény (General collection of historical terms), p. 310.

117. The "Multikultúra" program has been elaborated and circulated by the Másképp Alapítvány. The program "Facing History and Ourselves" is being conducted in Hungary

by the Hannah Arendt Association.

118. Adél Rózsavölgyi, Multikultúra (Multiculture), p. 21.

119. Robert Wistrich, "Global Anti-Zionism in the 1980s," in Between Redemption and Perdition: Modern Antisemitism and Jewish Identity, 1990, p. 217.

120. Viktor Karády, Szociológiai kisérlet a magyar zsidóság 1945 és 1956 közötti helyzetének elemzésére (A sociological attempt to analyze the situation of Hungarian Jews between 1945 and 1956), 1984, p. 104.

121. Salamon is the most honest here: "During the Second World War Great Britian restricted the number of Jewish immigrants to Palestine in order to keep the goodwill of the Arabs and ensure its oil supply and the route to India" (Salamon, Történelem 4, p. 180).

122. However, the following passage is easily misunderstood—or is anti-Hasidic and intolerant: "Hasidism is strongly anti-Zionist, rejects all attempts at securalization (including the autonomy of the minority)—thereby providing a strange ally for anti-Semitic governments—and wishes to keep the Jewish people in religious isolation and in traditional expectation of the Messiah" (Hosszú, A század fele 1914-1945, p. 233).

123. For example, "The First Israeli-Arab War ended with a complete Israeli victory achieved with the support of USA and Great Britain (despite the UN resolution, which was passed in order to establish an independent Palestinian-Arab state" (Bardocz, Történelem és közjogi ismeretek 4, p. 165); "Israel occupied a considerable amount of Arab land after ignoring the UN proposals" (Sipos, Az emberiség rövid története 3, p. 215).

124. "The Palestinians who fled from their homes strive to establish their own state" (Magyar Lajos Alapítvány, Történelem 4 [History 4], p. 261); "... where, however, half the population was Arab. All this led to the explosion of the First Arab-Israeli War" (Horváth, Történelem mindenkinek 3, p. 208); "The contradictions still remain, Israel keeps a considerable amount of Arab territory occupied, and a large Arab population lives on Israel’s territory. They wish to achieve their goal of restablishing an independent state of Palestine by armed conflict, terror actions" (Sipos, Az emberiség rövid története 3, p. 215); "The greatest problem is posed by the Palestinian-Arab refugees, who still live in refugee camps, numbering 100,000" (Bihari, A 20. Század története fiataloknak, p. 255).

125. "At the same time, the whole Arab world was shaken by the fact that even when the Arab countries acted together they were unable to defeat the little Jewish state of Israel, a country that has defended its independence with great courage and determination in four wars and has recently developed a thriving economy and cultural scene" (Helméczy, Történelem 8, p. 126).

126. Herber et al., Történelem 6 (History 6), pp. 258-60, 342-44.

127. Tamás Kleininger, Földrajz 6. osztály (Geography for sixth grade), pp. 120-21; Hajdú et al., Földünk—Környezetünk 13-14 éveseknek (The world and our environment for 13-14-year-olds), pp. 29-32; Hajdú et al., Földünk—Környezetünk 15-16 éveseknek (The world and our environment for 15-16-year-olds), pp. 90-92; Ferenc Probáld, Regionális Földrajz a középiskolák számára (Regional geography for secondary schools), pp. 127-33.

128. Vendelné Nagy and Károly Udvarhelyi, Földrajz 6 (Geography 6), p. 171; Ferenc Probáld, Földrajz, Gimnáziumok 2 (Geography, grammar school 2), pp. 128-29.

129. For example, "... they have established a developed economy ... outstanding results have been achieved" (Nagy and Udvarhelyi, Földrajz 6, p. 171).

130. For example, "Given the high dependency on imports and the peculiar geopolitical situation (arms, maintenance of modern army), the country would hardly be able to survive without foreign support—primarily the political and economic assistance of American Jews" (Hajdú et al., Földünk— Környezetünk 15-16 éveseknek, p. 92).

131. "In the course of four wars fought with its Arab neighbours, Israel has occupied or conquered considerable amounts of territory. Israeli expansion has deprived the Palestinian people of their home, some of whom live in the occupied territories but most of whom languish as refugees in various Arab countries," he writes in Ferenc Probáld, Földrajz, Gimnáziumok 2, p. 128.

132. Ibid., p. 129.

133. Ferenc Probáld, Regionális földrajz a középiskolák számára, p. 129.

134. "The Holocaust was far from being the irrational proliferation of the almost withered remains of ancient barbarism. It was a fully legitimate resident of the construct of modernism ... an indispensible feature was the capacity of modern bureaucracy to unite large numbers of individual moral beings for such immoral purposes," writes Baumann about the "normality of the Holocaust." See Zygmunt Bauman, "Sociology after the Holocaust," British Journal of Sociology 39 (1988): 4.