

Lernen aus der Geschichte e.V.

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Das mehrsprachige Webportal publiziert fortlaufend Informationen zur historisch-politischen Bildung in Schulen, Gedenkstätten und anderen Einrichtungen zur Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Schwerpunkte bilden der Nationalsozialismus, der Zweite Weltkrieg sowie die Folgegeschichte in den Ländern Europas bis zu den politischen Umbrüchen 1989.

Dabei nimmt es Bildungsangebote in den Fokus, die einen Gegenwartsbezug der Geschichte herausstellen und bietet einen Erfahrungsaustausch über historisch-politische Bildung in Europa an.

Mónika Kovács:

Topic Area and Pedagogical Recommendations for Holocaust Education

I. The Holocaust in the Context of Human Rights

Time: 6 X 45 minute lesson

Summary: The Holocaust is the negative reference point for modern civilisation, as Adorno said: “The very first demand on education is that there not be another Auschwitz”. We have to erect memorials to the murdered millions at the same time as putting all our efforts into raising the kind of autonomous citizens who know and defend their human rights and the human rights of others.

I. The term: Holocaust (45 minute lesson)

1. What do we already know and what questions do we seek to answer?

-Stick a piece of paper next to the board with the “Holocaust” written on it and stick a large sheet of paper underneath this (so that there is room left to stick two more pieces to the wall later on) which has “What Do We Already Know?” written at the top. -Ask the students to write as many thoughts as they can on a piece of paper connected to the word “Holocaust”. -Get the students into groups of 4-5 and ask them to compare what they have written with one student from each group summarising the work of the group and writing the thoughts collected from the group on the sheet of paper on the wall under the title “What Do We Already Know?” (There is no need to repeat a thought that a previous group has already written on the paper.) -Repeat this whole process with a second sheet of paper with the title “What Questions Do We Seek To Answer?” written on the top.

2 Naming

Preparation: prepare enough naming cards (from the “naming” sheet) so that each student in the group has a card each.

-Give each student a card and ask them to read the definition or thought that is written on it. -Create small groups of students with different cards. The groups should compare definitions and discuss the reasons why different people use different names to describe the same event. -One spokesperson from each group should tell the whole class what was discussed in their group.

II. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (45 minute lesson)

Preparation: Each member of the group will need a copy of the declaration and each group should be given 4-5 plain sheets of paper.

-Ask the students to study the declaration and to underline those rights which were abused during the course of the Holocaust (based on what the students know so far). -Ask the students to discuss in groups of 4-5 which rights they underlined and why. -Collect the numbers of the rights mentioned and ask each group to write an individual right on a blank sheet of paper and stick it to the wall explaining why they thought that right was abused during the Holocaust.

III. Watching the film entitled: *Eyes of the Holocaust* * (2X45 minute double lesson)

Big paper*

Preparation: each pair will need wrapping paper and a marker pens.

1 Before the film starts, discuss how the students are going to deal with what they see in the film so this does not have to be discussed afterwards. It must be made clear that for the first two parts of this process, there is to be absolute silence. All communication is done in writing. Students should be told that they will have time to speak in pairs and in the large groups later. Also, before the activity starts, the teacher should ask students if they have questions, to minimize the chance that students will interrupt the silence once it has begun.

2 After watching the film:

-Each pair receives a Big Paper and each student a marker or pen. They are to comment on the film, and ask questions of each other in writing on the Big Paper. The written conversation must start on the film but can stray to wherever the students take it. The teacher can determine the length of this step, but it should be at least 15 minutes.

□ - Still working in silence, the students leave their partner and walk around reading the other Big Papers. Students bring their marker or pen with them and can write comments or further questions for thought on other Big Papers. Again, the teacher can determine the length of time for this step based on the number of Big Papers and his/her knowledge of the students.

□ - Silence is broken. The pairs rejoin back at their own Big paper. They should look at any comments written by others. Now they can have a free, verbal conversation about the film, their own comments, what they read on other papers, and comments their fellow students wrote back to them.

Directed by Janos Szasz, Shoah Visual History Foundation 2001.

* Source: <http://www.facinghistorycampus.org/campus/reslib.nsf/TipsNew/FB378455F883D91485256F8500519>

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-Teacher should debrief the process with the large group. The discussion can touch upon the importance and difficulty of staying silent, the mode of communication, and the level of comfort with this activity. This is the time to delve deeper into the content. The teacher can use the prompts on the Big Papers to bring out the students' thoughts.

IV. The defence of human rights: the world after the Holocaust (2X 45 minute double lesson)

Preparation: each student will need a sheet on the life of Raphael Lemkin as well as a copy of the UN 1948 resolution.

1 Introducing the work of Raphael Lemkin -Give each student a copy of sheet on the life of Raphael Lemkin as well as a copy of the UN December 9th 1948 resolution. -Discuss why it was important for the UN to take a stand (in groups of 4-5). Could the UN prevent a new genocide from beginning?

2 Where do you stand? Exercise

Prepare 2 posters -one saying, "I agree" and the other saying, "I disagree" -and stick them at opposite ends of the room, so that people can form a straight line between them. (You may want to draw a chalk line between them, or use a piece of string),

-Explain that you are now going to read out a series of statements with which people may agree to a greater or lesser extent.

- Point out the two extreme positions - the posters stating "I Agree" and "I Disagree". Explain that people may occupy any point along the (imaginary) line, but that they should try to position themselves, as far as possible, next to people whose views almost coincide with their own. Brief discussion is permitted while people are finding their places!
- Read out the statements in turn. Vary the rhythm: some statements should be read out in quick succession, while for others you may want to take a little time between statements to allow for discussion.
- Stimulate reflection and discussion. Ask those at the end-points to explain why they have occupied these extreme positions. Ask someone near the centre whether their position indicates the lack of a strong opinion or lack of knowledge.
- Allow people to move position as they listen to each others' comments.
- When you have gone through the statements, bring the group back together for the debriefing.

Statements:

Source: http://eycb.coe.int/compass/en/chapter_2/2_47.html

- 1 People have the right to say or write what they like.
- 2 It is always a crime to kill a person.
- 3 Everyone has the right to leave their country should they wish to.
- 4 There will always be wars.
- 5 There is no such thing as a just war.
- 6 Soldiers are murderers.
- 7 It is impossible to learn from history.
- 8 Each nation has the government that it deserves.
- 9 It's not the government's job to make sure that people don't starve -but the people's!
- 10 The way we choose to treat our citizens is no business of the international community.
- 11 It is more important to have a roof over your head than to be able to say what you like.
- 12 If human rights can't be guaranteed, there is no point in having them.

3. What have you learned? What do you still want an answer to?

-Go back to the questions that were asked at the beginning and stick a piece of paper to the wall with the question "What Have We Learned?" written on it.

- Ask the students to form groups of 4-5 to discuss what they have learned and one person from each group to come forward and write these points on the third piece of paper. - Write any other questions up on the paper with the title "What Do We Still Want An Answer To?" and underline the still unanswered questions.

Naming*

Holocauston is a Greek word and appears in the Greek translation of the Bible with the meaning “burning/completely burning sacrifice”; in other words: “that which is destroyed in fire”. The English form is *Holocaust*, which has been used sparsely since the 1950s and spread across the world as the result of an influential American television series. The meaning of the word in this context is: the programme of the National Socialist (Nazi) Germany to destroy the Jewish people (1933-1945).

Some disapprove of using the word *Holocaust* as a euphemism*, because they think that using it reduces the defamatory power of the term and many prefer the use of the term *Judenmord* or something similar. (* ~ The act or an example of substituting a mild, indirect, or vague term for one considered harsh, blunt, or offensive.)

The quick spread of the word *Holocaust* was also partly due to the phenomenon of the religious Jewry seeing those innocent Jews who were murdered as being martyrs and who had chosen to give their lives rather than deny God. That is why their death and the burning of their bodies in crematoria fits within the category of burning sacrifice.

The Hebrew term *Shoah* is widely used which means “calamity”, “disaster”, “annihilation”/ “destruction”, “catastrophe”.

In Hungary, after the Second World War, survivors chose to use the term “*vészorszak*” (the era of the disaster) which is the Hungarian equivalent of the term *Shoah*.

Source: KOMORÓCZY Géza: *Holocaust. A pernye beleég a bőrünkbe.* (Holocaust. The Fly Ashes Burn into Our Skin.) Osiris, Budapest, 2000. pp. 10-11.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly December 10th, 1948

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly,

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Source: <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1 Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2 No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

- 1 Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
- 2 Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

- 1 Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
- 2 This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

- 1 Everyone has the right to a nationality.
- 2 No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

- 1 Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
- 2 Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
- 3 The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

- 1 Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
- 2 No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

- 1 Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
- 2 No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

- 1 Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
- 2 Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.
- 3 The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

- 1 Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- 2 Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- 3 Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- 4 Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

- 1 Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
- 2 Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

- 1 Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
- 2 Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
- 3 Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

- 1 Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and

to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2 Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1 Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2 In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3 These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide^{*}

Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the U.N. General Assembly on 9 December 1948

The Contracting Parties,

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world,

Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity, and

Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required,

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

Article I: The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article II: In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III: The following acts shall be punishable:

- (e) Complicity in genocide.

(a)

Genocide;

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| (b) | Conspiracy | to | commit | genocide; |
| (c) | Direct and public | incitement | to commit | genocide; |
| (d) | Attempt | to | commit | genocide; |

Article IV: Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article V: The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention, and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Article VI: Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

Article VII: Genocide and the other acts enumerated in article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

Source: <http://www.preventgenocide.org/law/convention/text.htm>

The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

Article VIII: Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in article III.

Article IX: Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfilment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or for any of the other acts enumerated in article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

Article X: The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

Article XI: The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid. Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XII: Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

Article XIII: On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a process-verbal and transmit a copy thereof to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article XI.

The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected, subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

Article XIV: The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XV: If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

Article XVI: A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

Article XVII: The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in article XI of the following:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with article XI;
- (b) Notifications received in accordance with article XII;
- (c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with article XIII;
- (d) Denunciations received in accordance with article XIV;
- (e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with article XV;
- (f) Notifications received in accordance with article XVI.

Article XVIII: The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in article XI.

Article XIX: The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

Raphael Lemkin *

Raphael Lemkin, a Polish-Jewish jurist, was born in 1900 on a small farm near the Polish town of Wolkowysk. As early as 1933, he was working to introduce legal safeguards for ethnic, religious and social groups at international forums, but without success. When the German army invaded Poland, he escaped from Europe, eventually reaching safety in the USA, where he took up a teaching position at Duke University. He moved to Washington DC in summer 1942 to join the War Department as an analyst and went on to document Nazi atrocities in his 1944 book, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. In this text, he introduced the word “genocide”:

“By ‘genocide’ we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group. This new word, coined by the author to denote an old practice in its modern development, is made from the ancient Greek word ‘genos’ (race, tribe) and the Latin ‘cide’ (killing)... Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the

life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group” (80).

He later served with the team of Americans working to prepare the Nuremberg trials, where he was able to get the word “genocide” included in the indictment against Nazi leadership. But “genocide” was not yet a legal crime, and the verdict at Nuremberg did not cover peacetime attacks against groups, only crimes committed in conjunction with an aggressive war. While in Nuremberg, Lemkin also learned of the death of 49 members of his family, including his parents, in concentration camps, the Warsaw ghetto and death marches.

He returned from Europe determined to see “genocide” added to international law and began lobbying for this at early sessions of the United Nations. His tireless efforts to enlist the support of national delegations and influential leaders eventually paid off. On December 9, 1948, the United Nations approved the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. Lemkin did not rest with the UN document, but committed the rest of his life to urging nations to pass legislation supporting the Convention. He died in 1959, impoverished and exhausted by his efforts.

Source: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum:
<http://www.ushmm.org/conscience/history/lemkin/>

II. Jewish History, Tradition and Identity

Time: (6 X 45 minute lesson)

Summary: The Jewry preserved its own identity and traditions for a period of more than two thousand years without its own state and in minority groups all over the world. There are only very vague traces and memories left in post-Holocaust Europe of the once blossoming European Jewish communities. The aim of these lessons is to introduce as much as possible about Jewish history and traditions as well as outlining the process of the emancipation and the decrease of social distance between Jews and non-Jews.

I. Culture and Tradition

1. Culture (45 minute lesson)

Preparation: make copies of the Maugham quote on culture (see “Culture-Cultures” reading material) and give a copy to each group, after cutting it up into sections and putting the pieces into an envelope

- Divide the class into groups of 4-5 and ask them to try to put the sections into some sort of meaningful order -Move around the class during this activity helping any groups who might not be able to get started or who appear to have got stuck at a

certain point. -Wait for all the groups to complete the task before sticking the completed quote onto the board -Discuss what we mean by the term “culture” (see the summary entitled “Culture-Cultures”) and what elements culture contains (it is worth drawing the culture iceberg model on the board). How do cultures influence each other? Collect cultural elements which link us together beyond national borders and others that differentiate us from other groups. When is it easy and when is it difficult to preserve traditions? -What do we know about Jewish culture? Collect all the words that the students come up with (it isn’t important that they be certain of the meanings and if such words do come up, ask them to check the meaning in time for the next lesson). Be careful, this exercise is not about collecting Jewish stereotypes!

Homework for the next lesson: Divide the “Jewish tradition” sheet so that each student gets one title and ask the students to read about these traditions. Each student should come to the next lesson with information on their tradition (max. half a side of typed text).

2. Jewish Tradition (45 minute lesson)

-Watch the first few minutes of *Eyes of the Holocaust* (05.00-08.00) and ask the students to note whether or not the interviewees speak about the traditions that they have looked up. -Ask everyone to quickly describe which story connects to the tradition they have looked up. -Collect the descriptions and put them into groups (Sabbath, festivities, eating habits, other traditions) and stick them on the wall in these groups. (Make sure that you keep these pieces of paper for the “shtetl” activity.)

- Now collect all the traditions that did not appear in the film. -At the end of the lesson, take a few minutes to discuss why it is difficult to preserve traditions when people are living in a minority community.

II. The Jewish Diaspora in Europe up until the Age of Emancipation

1. Life in the Shtetl (45 minute lesson)

Preparation: give each student a copy of the “shtetl” sheet and the “kahal” sheet.

-Divide the class into groups of 4-5 and ask them to collect everything that they have heard or learned about Jewish history before the Holocaust. -Write the three periods of history on the board (Antiquity, Middle Ages, Modern Times) and ask a member of each group to write what they know in the appropriate period. Quickly describe the history of the Jewish Diaspora up until the Emancipation (see “The Formation of the European Diaspora”).

The shtetl

- Divide the class into groups of 5-6 -Read out the following: “Larger and larger groups of Jewish immigrants arrived in Poland, Lithuania and the Ukraine from the 15th and 16th centuries onwards. The Jewish communities settled in separate street and parts of the town and solely Jewish settlements were formed in the provinces which could only be found in Eastern Europe and these were called shtetls. Shtetls were completely independent in the management of their internal affairs with their own rules, their own institutions and with their own elected leaders Just imagine that you have been asked to organise a shtetl. Write a list of all the most important rules (and don’t forget about all the special religious rules), who could come to live in the shtetl, what the most important functions are to serve the various institutions and how would public figures be elected. What would the shtetl look like? Draw the centre of the community and all the buildings

and public spaces. (The activity requires wrapping paper and marker pens and at least 25 minutes for the students to work.) Discuss all the finished plans which the groups have drawn.

-Now give each student a copy of the readings “The Shtetl” and “Who Can Settle in a Shtetl” and a copy of “The Kahal” and ask them to underline the community rules, institutions, public figures, buildings, public spaces that they have included in their own plans. (You can always give this activity as homework if you run out of time.)

It is a good idea to follow this lesson by showing the film *Train of Life* (103 min.). The film is a fictitious story about how an Eastern-European shtetl community, on hearing of the deportation of neighbouring shtetls, try to escape by deporting themselves and outdoing the Nazis.

2. Emancipation (2 X 45 minute lesson, best in a double lesson)

Preparation: Each student will need a copy of “Degrees of Tolerance”, “Restrictions Placed on Jews in Western Europe in the Middle Ages” as each quarter of the group will be given one of the four arguments on the “The Arguments of Jews and Non-Jews Supporting and Opposing Emancipation”.

Degrees of tolerance*

-Write the word “tolerance” on the board and ask the students to give a couple of examples of where we would use the word. -After you have listened to 4-5 examples, give everyone a copy of the “Degrees of Tolerance” sheet and ask the students to fill in the terms next to the appropriate definitions. Go through the answers when all the students have completed the exercise. -Ask the students to order these terms on the intolerance-tolerance scale giving a score of 1 to the least tolerant term and 8 to the most tolerant. Now discuss the scores that the students have given.

- It is a good idea to discuss the following questions to close the activity:
- What is the difference between prejudice and stereotyping?
- What is the difference between respect and appreciation?

- Can someone be both prejudiced and sensitive to other cultures at the same time?
- How is discrimination related to violence?
- What is the difference between acceptance and appreciation?

The emancipation

-Ask the students to tell you anything that they remember about the principles of the French enlightenment. Write the collected terms and names up on the board. -Briefly discuss the situation of Jews in Western Europe in the Middle Ages (see “The Development of the European Jewish Diaspora”), and give everyone a copy of “Restrictions Placed on Jews in Western Europe in the Middle Ages”. Go over how and why emancipation came about (see “The Enlightenment, Tolerance, Emancipation” reading material).

Source: Shoah Foundation: Making Moral Decisions. Visual History in the Classroom.

Use the rest of the lesson to talk about arguments of those who were supporting the emancipation and those who disagreed with it. With the help of the “fish bowl game”* Tell the students how the game works: -The group is divided into four smaller groups: the first group is made up of non-Jews opposing the emancipation, the second group is made up of non-Jews supporting the emancipation, the third group is made up of Jews supporting the emancipation and the fourth group is made up of Jews opposing the emancipation. -The students are given time to study the information they have been given for their group and then one student from each group swims into the fish tank and starts to debate with the fishes

from the other groups. -Place the four chairs in a half-circle in front of the group. These are for the four conversationalists who are in the "fish-bowl". The rest of the group are observers. -Explain that you will begin by inviting four volunteers (from the different groups) to join in a conversation in the "fish bowl". If at any point someone else would like to join then they may do so (but only with the same type of opinion, so all the four groups should be represented all the time), but as there is only room for four fish in the bowl at any one time, someone will have to swap out. Someone who wishes to join the conversation should come forward and gently tap one of the "conversationalists" on the shoulder. These two people exchange seats and the original "conversationalist becomes an observer. -Debate as many principles as possible and close the debate when you sense that interest is starting to drop and ask the fish to swim back out to sea and to discuss the results of the activity.

- how did they feel during the debate?
- were there those who managed to convince their debating partners?
- would anyone have liked to have played another role and why?

III. The Decrease of Social Distance between Jews and Non-Jews Throughout the 19th Century (45 minute lesson)

Preparation: Give each student a copy of "Social Distances" and "The Decrease of Social Distance between Jews and Non-Jews in the 19th Century".

-Divide the groups into smaller groups of 4-5 and read out the following instructions: "While religious, cultural groups and the different estates were separated from one another in a caste-like manner in the Middle Ages, in the 19th century the members of these various groups came into contact with one another in terms of both their social and private lives. The principle of human equality was born with the enlightenment and the bourgeois revolutions which led to various social groups drawing closer together. The contact between individual groups was obviously not always without difficulty but typically the smaller the cultural difference and the lesser the 'traditional' prejudices between two particular groups, the easier it was for the members of the groups to create links with those of the other. The term 'social distance' measures the willingness of a member of a certain social group to accept a member of

* Fish-bowl exercise: http://eycb.coe.int/compass/en/chapter_2/2_24.html

another group and in what social conditions. In most cases, the desired distance is determined by the supposed or real difference of the other group. The more similar we find the members of the other group to ourselves, the more easily we allow them into our more personal groups. Think about what factors play a role in determining social distance. Compare what factors are important in very intimate relationships with those that are important in less intimate relationships. First everyone should fill in the 'Social Distances' sheet and then go on to discuss with one another what it is that you thought was important in each of the different categories and if there were differences, discuss what could be the reason for these differences." -Give everyone a copy of "The Reduction of Social Distance between Jews and Non-Jews in the 19th Century" and discuss what can be determined by looking at the data. (See also "Readiness for Assimilation: The Assimilation Process in Hungary")

Suggestions: It is a good idea to show the film "Sunshine" (director: István Szabó) after this lesson (173 min.). The film tells the story of three generations of a Jewish family in Hungary from its settlement in the 19th century, through assimilation and through the Holocaust right up until the end of the 20th century.

Jewish Tradition

- 1 What is the meaning of the Sabbath in terms of Jewish tradition? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/5fejezet.htm>)
- 2 How should a religious Jewish person prepare for Saturday? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/5fejezet.htm>)
- 3 What are the most important things that a religious Jewish person should do on Friday evening , **on the eve of before** Saturday? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/5fejezet.htm>)
- 4 What should not be done on Saturday? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/5fejezet.htm>)
- 5 What can be done on a Saturday? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/5fejezet.htm>)
- 6 What foods are forbidden for religious Jewish people? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/6fejezet.htm>)
- 7 What does it mean if a food is kosher? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/6fejezet.htm>)
- 8 What are the requirements of kosher slaughter? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/6fejezet.htm>)
- 9 What is the “mezuzah”? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/8fejezet.htm>)
- 10 Why do religious Jewish people need to cover their heads and what do we call the small cap that men wear? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/8fejezet.htm>)
- 11 What event does the festival of Passover commemorate? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/11fejeze.htm>)
- 12 What event does the festival of Shavuot commemorate? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/12fejeze.htm>)
- 13 When is the starting point of Jewish years and what year are we in according to the Jewish calendar? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/13fejeze.htm>)
- 14 What does Rosh Hashanah celebrate and what happens? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/13fejeze.htm>)
- 15 Why does a religious Jewish person have to fast **on** Yom Kippur? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/13fejeze.htm>)
- 16 What event does the festival of Sukkoth commemorate? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/14fejeze.htm>)
- 17 What event does the festival of Hanukkah commemorate? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/15fejeze.htm>)
- 18 What event does the festival of Purim commemorate? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/15fejeze.htm>)
- 19 What doe religious Jews recall as the time of Tisha Be-Av? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/15fejeze.htm>)
- 20 What is a “Bar Mitzvah”? (<http://www.zsido.com/books/donin/18fejeze.htm>)
21. What is the “Torah”? (<http://www.zsido.com/szotar/szotar.htm>)
22. What does “Kiddush” mean and when is it said? (<http://www.zsido.com/szotar/szotar.htm>)
23. What does the “caddish” mean and when is it said? (<http://www.zsido.com/szotar/szotar.htm>)
24. What is “barches” and when is it eaten? (<http://www.zsido.com/szotar/szotar.htm>)
25. What is the “Star of David”? (<http://www.zsido.com/szotar/szotar.htm>)

Miklós György Száraz: The Shtetl*

What is a shtetl?

It is a small Jewish town. A market town. A large village. No such thing exists anywhere else in the world’s Diaspora, only in Eastern Europe, in Poland, in Lithuania and in the Ukraine. (...) It is a whole town with Jewish inhabitants. A lot of Jewish inhabitants. This might be three thousand and it might be thirty thousand.

Reb Sholem Alechem writes the following about an old Jewish settlement at the end of the century, about a shtetl:

“There is a large square in the centre of the town, oval or square, and here are the kiosks, the little shops, the butcheries, the stalls and the Christians gather here every morning, many men and many women, and offer their wares, all manner of foods: fish,

onions, horseradish, parsnips and other vegetables. Here also are the synagogues, the little schules, where the Jewish children study the Torah, pray and learn to read and write. The teachers and their pupils sing and shout so that it is enough to make you deaf...”

The shtetl is like a village and like a town at the same time. Because it plays a mediating role. It offers the produce from the provinces to the large towns and it takes the products of the large towns to the provinces. It mediates between these two requirements. The shtetl is a market place. With livestock fairs, all sizes of markets, stores and inns. And, of course, synagogue, and heders (school rooms). Travelling storytellers were always roaming around the shtetl as well as traditional minstrels who travelled from shtetl to shtetl and who sat around in taverns and inns. In the shtetl there were mills, furriers and there was a Jewish monopoly in wood trade in Poland and large amount of its delivery was also controlled by them in time. The shtetl was the world of the craftsman. There were cobblers, tailors, boot makers, tanners, clock makers, locksmiths, silversmiths, jewellers, barbers, butchers, bakers and confectioners, candle makers, scribes, weaver women, musicians (wandering minstrels) and rag and bone men. There were also plenty of wheelwrights, blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinet makers and even Jewish navvies (...) The shtetl was most definitely (...) the place where small people lived who did physical work. The mumblings of students going to heder and pupils of Talmud school can be heard on the street (...) The spoken language is Yiddish.

The shtetl is the Jewish home. “It was no coincidence that they said that their village was on a par with Jerusalem, the holy city, because there was nothing to indicate exile. At the time of the Tisha Be-Av fast, people went barefoot and no one made fun of them and they would dance and sing in the street during Szimész-Tojre and Purim.

Everything in the shtetl revolves around the market, the shops and the small businesses. Everyone always wants to do trade here because it is at these markets that the produce of the Christian serf is exchanged for the wares of the Jewish craftsman. So, it is self-explanatory that there could never be a market in the shtetl on Saturday and the same was true of other Jewish festivals. The most important place after the market square was the synagogue. What is that? Well, the prayer house, of course! Or temple. But not only that. Much more and much less. School. Assembly hall. A stage for gossips. And this was a market as well. Where large deals are struck. The men take their place on the ground floor while the balcony is for the women.

SZÁRAZ Miklós György: Írd fel házad kapujára ...(Write it on the Door to Your House...) Helikon Kiadó, 2004. 72-75.

The family is one of the gages of the unity of the Jewish people. And close ties are the measure of a strong family. So marriage is very important. This is not a private matter but very much a public one. Unmarried status stands out as an incomprehensible thing and a lot of children are virtually mandatory. Science and study are more important than anything else, worthy of recognition and deserving respect. So if a man is poor but learned then he is a good match for a rich girl. The Jewish family is patriarchal, the man give thanks at Morning Prayer to the one God that he was not born a woman. The woman is subservient in both community and religious life but of equal status in the family and the economy. In the family, if not on paper, she is the master. A girl is under the guardianship of her parents until she is married whereas boys are freer earlier. The woman is also the chief guardian of cleanliness of the body and food.

(...) The boys learn Hebrew at elementary school and they can read the Torah, the Book of Moses. Interpretation takes place in the spoken language and this is Yiddish. The girls mainly read prayers and holy books in the Yiddish language. Roving teachers move from town to town. The talented children go on to study at the Talmudist academy, the yeshiva, and often far from home.

On Friday, at the end of the working week, wherever the head of the family may be, he does his very best to return home in time in order to spend the evening and the Sabbath with his family. A peddler, who wanders from village to village, the travelling tailor, the rag man and the tradesman also plans his routes, speeds his cart and picks his feet up to reach home on Friday evening before sunset. This is a time when the whole of the shtetl prepares for the festivities.

Who Can Settle in the Shtetl?*

The Community's board had to give its approval in order for anyone to settle within the Community, open a workshop there, or marry someone who had come from outside it. The shtetlekh had their own cultural and intellectual elite, who served as local authorities and were not necessarily wealthy individuals. Events like births, marriages and deaths affected the group as a whole. Beggars and the poor were cared for.

Although this provided a sense of security, it also meant that each resident's life was under the community's watchful eye, and a need for privacy was considered to be something suspicious. According to the Krakow Community's statute of 1595, "If someone comes to a [room] and knocks, and people are inside and do not want to open the door, they should be punished." Various punishments were meted out to those who did not want to live according to the community's rules, or who were not able to do so: they were banned from entering the synagogue, the pillory and whipping. The worst of these was *cherem*, which meant exclusion from the community.

The Kahal*

A Hebrew word meaning "assembly" or "community," and applied formerly to the local governments of the Jewish communities in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia. Its organization had, however, been established, in part at least, in western Europe before

http://www.diapozytyw.pl/en/site/slownik_terminow/sztetl/

* Herman Rosenthal: Kahal. In: Jewish Encyclopedia. Vol. 7. 409-411.

the Crusades. The foundations of the kahal organization were laid in the collective responsibility of the community to the government in all matters of taxation. The government preferred to deal with the kahal as a body and not with its individual members, granting it autonomy in matters concerning the component parts of the community (...)

The kahal consisted of a certain number of persons, usually proportionate to the Jewish population. In Cracow it was composed of 40 members; in Wilna of 35; in the medium-sized communities there were from 22 to 35, and in the small communities not less than 8. Every kahal annually selected by lot from among its members five "electors," who in their turn elected the succeeding kahal, also by lot or by vote. These annual elections usually resulted in the mere rearrangement of the administrative functions among the officers of the preceding kahal (...)The administrative officers were divided into four classes. At the head were four elders, who were followed by from three to five "honorary" members. These two classes formed the nucleus of the kahal and adjudged all communal affairs. To the number of at least seven they formed the official council of the kahal. The elders served by turns for a period of one month as treasurers and, in general, as executive officers. (...) From among their number were chosen the candidates who took the places of deceased or retired members of the first two classes. There were also officials assigned to specific duties, such as supervisors and judges. To these should be added the female members in the seventeenth

century, who took part in the charitable affairs of the community and assisted illiterates in their synagogal devotions.

Degrees of Tolerance

acceptance appreciation discrimination prejudiced action respect sensitivity
stereotype violence

	Definition	Term	Scale (1= least 8=most tolerant)
1.	An oversimplified opinion or image about a certain culture or group of people		
2.	Showing recognition of the true value of people from various cultures, religions and customs.		
3.	Unfair treatment of a person or group of people based on religious, ethnic or social background.		
4.	Favourably acknowledging various cultures, religions and customs.		
5.	Awareness of the existence of various cultures, religions and customs.		
6.	Hating a group of people based on cultural, religious and/or ethnic background, with such force so as to cause physical harm or pain.		
7.	Showing esteem for individuals as human beings.		
8.	Action taken as a result of one's oversimplified opinion or image about a certain culture or group.		

Degrees of ToleranceTeacher's Copy

acceptance appreciation discrimination prejudiced action respect sensitivity
stereotype violence

	Definition	Term	Scale (1= least 8=most tolerant)
1.	An oversimplified opinion or image about a certain culture or group of people.	stereotype	4

2.	Showing recognition of the true value of people from various cultures, religions and customs.	appreciation	8
3.	Unfair treatment of a person or group of people based on religious, ethnic or social background.	discrimination	2
4.	Favourably acknowledging various cultures, religions and customs.	acceptance	6
5.	Awareness of the existence of various cultures, religions and customs.	sensitivity	5
6.	Hating a group of people based on cultural, religious and/or ethnic background, with such force so as to cause physical harm or pain.	violence	1
7.	Showing esteem for individuals as human beings.	respect	7
8.	Action taken as a result of one's oversimplified opinion or image about a certain culture or group.	prejudice	3

Restrictions Placed on Jews in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*

Based on extract from Facing History and Ourselves. Holocaust and Human Behavior. Watertown, Massachusetts. Intentional Educations, Inc., 1994. pp. 296.

- 1 Prohibition of intermarriage and sexual intercourse between Christians and Jews (Synod of Elvira, 306)
- 2 Jews and Christians not permitted to eat together. (Synod of Elvira, 306)
- 3 Jews not allowed to hold public office (Synod of Clermont, 535)
- 4 Jews not allowed to employ Christian servants or possess Christian slaves (Third Synod Orleans, 538)
- 5 Jews not permitted in the streets during Passion Week (Third Orleans Synod, 538)
- 6 Burning of the Talmud and other books (12th Synod of Toledo, 691)
- 7 Christians not permitted to patronize Jewish doctors (Trulanic Synod, 692)
- 8 Christians not permitted to live in Jewish homes (Synod of Narbonne, 1050)
- 9 Jews obliged to pay taxes for support of the Church to the same extent as Christians (Synod of Gerona, 1078)
- 10 Jews not permitted to be plaintiffs or witnesses against Christians in the Courts (Third Lateran Council, 1179)
- 11 The marking of Jewish clothes with a badge (Fourth Lateran Council, 1215)
- 12 Construction of new synagogues prohibited (Council of Oxford, 1222)
- 13 Christians not permitted to attend Jewish ceremonies (Synod of Vienna, 1267)
- 14 Compulsory ghetto* (Synod of Breslau, 1267)
- 15 Christians not permitted to sell or rent real estate to Jews (Synod of Ofen, 1279)
- 16 Adoption by a Christian of the Jewish religion or return by a baptized Jew to the Jewish religion defined as a heresy (Synod of Mainz, 1310)
- 17 Jews not permitted to obtain academic degrees (Council of Basel, 1434)

* Ghetto* A ghetto was an isolated city neighbourhood where Jews were once forced to live. European Jews, however, lived in separate neighbourhoods long before the existence of ghettos. In many harbours and trading cities, Jews or other minorities chose to live together in their own groups. Isolated, walled-off ghettos for Jews were created in the Middle Ages. Several popes and many Church Officials encouraged the physical separation of Christians and Jews. The Jewish ghetto of Rome – which existed longer than all the others – was finally torn down in 1870. The word ghetto is derived from the Italian word *gettare*, which means to cast. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Jews of Venice were forced to live in the foundry neighbourhood where the cannons for ships were cast.

* In: Jaap Tanja: Fifty Questions on Antisemitism. Anna Frank House, 2005. pp.54.

The Arguments of Jews and Non-Jews Supporting and Opposing Emancipation

The Arguments of Jews Opposed to Emancipation

Jewish tradition must be preserved in its entirety, not only in content but also in form, way of thinking and linguistic expression. This may only be attained at the price of continued social and cultural isolation.

Secular knowledge may only be tolerated and must not be given any role. Jewish children must not be allowed to attend school as this will distance them from religion.

Jewish society is the descendent of the ancient people of Israel. It is not simply the inheritor of a religion or a cultural legacy but the blood descendent of those who left their values. Jews do not belong to the place where they live but are simply seeking temporary refuge among other nations as they were expelled from their own country. The exile will come to an end with the coming of the Messiah.

Jews may not carry out manual or agricultural work without coming into conflict with their religious doctrines. The same problem arises with their commitments toward the state that would force duties and citizenship onto them. Can a Jew serve in the army when this would mean breaking the Sabbath and breaking eating codes?

The enlightened ones openly question the authority of the rabbis.

The effect of social changes leads to Jews handling religious guidelines more and more loosely or ignoring them altogether. Jewish tradition says that the community is responsible for the behaviour of its members before God.

The Arguments of Jews Supporting Emancipation

As the state and the Church have differing spheres of influence – the state's being action, the Church's being conviction and intent – their separation is both natural and possible. In real terms, the linking of state and religion, in both Christian and Jewish history, has been an assault on intelligence, and this has to be stopped as quickly as possible.

Traditional Jewish education needs to be supplemented with general knowledge, in fact, it may even be postponed for when children are older.

Religion may be reformed in a way which does not create a conflict with traditions.

The Arguments of Non-Jews Opposing Emancipation

It is against normal habits for Jews and non-Jews to mix freely with each other.

The difference which exists between a peasant and a nobleman, a town dweller and a country dweller, a fighter and an unarmed scientist all fade into insignificance compared to the differences between Christians and Jews.

The religion, the morality and the traditions of the Jews separate them from non-Jews and make attempts to integrate them into society an illusory desire.

The strange appearance, clothing, beard, accented speech of a typical Jew is obvious.

Jews have not matured to the status of citizens because their religious laws would hinder them from mixing with other peoples or fulfilling their responsibility to the state as citizens. Their eating rules hinder making friends and mixing and the requirement to keep the Sabbath would prevent Jews from fulfilling their responsibilities as citizens at times of war.

A strict obedience to the law is what preserved the Jewry as a separate people for a period of some 1700 years in contrast with some other groups. This separation will continue to survive and that is why Jews are not appropriate to become the citizens of a non-Jewish state.

The messianic desire to return to Palestine is in direct opposition to the loyalty required by the state. Jews see the country in which they live as nothing more than a temporary refuge.

If the state itself is "Christian" because that is the religion of the majority of its inhabitants or because of an historical link with Christianity or for any other reason, Jews do not belong in it by definition.

The naturalisation of the Jews would see an increase in those competing for a living to the detriment of the Christian population.

The Arguments of Non-Jews Supporting the Emancipation

"Liberty is not something that we are able to give as a reward: it is the birthright of all men that cannot be taken from anyone without them having committed some offence. We can say that, although some may abuse civil rights, it is insufficient reason to exclude a whole social class."(József Eötvös)

Citizenship does not have to be given in recognition of the qualities of Jews but as part of the continuation of the general principle which considers them as equal members of the human race and also helps ensure that Jews master the characteristic qualities of the enlightened person and citizen.

The state has to show complete neutrality to the religion of its citizens.

The state can only act passively that is to say it has to remove the obstacles restricting the free development of its citizens. It is not the responsibility of the state to fight for the gradual perfection of the Jews or to teach their opponents how to respect them. All the state has to do is to put an end to a way of thinking which is inhuman and steeped in prejudice which judges people not on their individual characteristics but on their religion and ethnic origin and which does not see them as individual but, opposing all terms of human respect, sees them as those belonging to a race and in so doing attributes them with certain qualities. How could the state carry out this revolutionary change in people's thinking? If it loudly and credibly announced that it no longer recognises any form of difference between Jews and Christians.

It is only possible to achieve fundamental change in the fate of the Jews if we accept them as citizens of the given country. They have to be given the same rights as any other citizen and, in so doing, they have to be bound to abide by their responsibilities as citizens. Religion and ethnic origin cannot be allowed to play a part in the division of responsibilities and rights serving the interests of the community.

Jews, after they have become citizens, will practice every profession including craftsmanship and agricultural work and their caste-like concentration in trade – which was created as a result of the restrictions placed upon them in the Middle Ages – will come to an end. It is only then that the hidden advantage in the growth of the population will show itself resulting from the acceptance of the immigrants.

The largest proportion of the Jewish denomination will be made up of those who see an improvement in their social status as a result of emancipation completely turning away from their traditions. We have seen endless examples in recent times that the number of Jews has risen who have abandoned their own traditions in favour of the cultural habits of their surroundings.

The change in the social relationships between Jews and Christians came about spontaneously and this can easily spread in an atmosphere of tolerance and wide horizons.

Social Distances

How important do you think the following factors are when accepting a person as a fellow citizen, classmate, neighbour, friend or future husband or wife?

- 1 Should speak the same mother tongue as me.
- 2 Should speak good Hungarian.
- 3 Should have a Hungarian-sounding surname.
- 4 Should have the same religion as me.
- 5 Should celebrate the same festivals as me.
- 6 Should know and love the same books, films and music as me.
- 7 Should have attended the same school as me (e.g. state or religious school)
- 8 Should feel the same about Hungary as I do.

- 9 Should have a similar family history to mine.
 10 Should have the same political opinions as me.

Mark the importance of the factor from 1-10 where 1 means that this factor is not important at all in the given social relationship and where 10 indicates that the factor is very important for you.

	As a citizen	As a classmate	As a neighbour	As a friend	As husband or wife
1. mother tongue	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10
2. knowledge of Hungarian	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10
3. surname	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10
4. religion	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10
5. festivals	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10
6. films, books, music	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10
7. school	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10
8. feelings about Hungary	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10
9. family history	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10
10. political opinions	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10

The Decrease of Social Distance Between Jews and Non-Jews in the 19th Century*

Mother Tongue in Hungary According to Religion in 1910 (Denominational populations in %)

	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Evangelist	Greek Orthodox	Unitarian	Israelite	Total
Population (thousand)	9 010	2 008	2 603	1 306	2 334	68	911	18 259
Hungarian	64.8	15.2	98.4	31.9	1.7	98.5	76.9	54.4
German	14.1	0.1	0.9	31.4	0.1	0.2	21.6	10.4
Slovak	15.5	3.9	0.4	34.6	-	0.1	0.6	10.7
Romanian	0.1	56.4	0.1	0.1	77.1	0.8	0.3	16.1
Serbo-Croatian	3.2	0.1	-	-	19.5			
Ruthenian	-	22	-	-	-	-	0.2	2.5

Hungarianisation of Names in Hungary

Year Applications Percentage of these from Jews
yearly average approx. min. and max.

1848-49 424 7 1867-68 522 27-48 1871-75 146 41-45 1875-80 208
43-53 1881-85 917 52-63 1886-90 722 50-59 1891-1893 797 53-62
1894 867 70.5 1895 973 67.8 1896 1641 56.7 1897 1773 81.5 1898 6434
37.7 1899 2966 54.9

Conversions from Judaism

Year Yearly Average

1896-99 291 1900.4 478 1905.9
477 1910.14 504 1915.17 527 1919
7146 1920 1925 1921 827 1922.27
449 1928.30 587

Source: KARÁDY Viktor: Zsidóság, modernizáció, polgárosodás. Tanulmányok. (Jewry, Modernisation, and the Development of Bourgeois Mentality: Studies.) Cserépfalvi. 1997. 130
131.134.161.

Mixed Marriage Between Jews and Non-Jews

“Marriage between Christian and Jew was first made possible in the act of law which made civil marriage compulsory and was introduced in 1895 (...) another important part was played in the “reception” of the Jewish faith (its “acceptance” as one of the major denominations) by the act introduced in 1895. It is this act which, among other things, made it possible for Christians to join the ranks of the Israelite denomination. Marriage had previously exclusively required the blessing of the Church. This first order now reclassified marriage as a private act and so allowed the legal avoidance of strict Church prohibition, from both parties, for marriage between Christian and Jew. The other law opened the gate to the change of religion of Christian partners in cases where the Jewish partner insisted on the family continuing in their own faith: the religious rights legalisation stipulated that, in the case of mixed marriages, a child should follow the religion of their parents according to gender. Following this, and up until the First World War, the mixed marriage movement was characterised by a gradual but relatively slow development. Still, in nearly two decades, the ratio of such alliances within all marriages by Jews nearly doubled (...) and in the whole country approached (...) 10 %.” (Karády. 146.)

"Men and women are not only themselves; they are also the region in which they were born, the city apartment or the farm where they learnt to walk, the games they played as children, the tales they overheard, the food they ate, the schools they attended, the sports they followed, the poets they read and the God they believed in." (W. Somerset Maugham, *The Razor's Edge*)

Culture-Cultures

We are all born into a culture which we adopt as our own in the early stages of our life and this is the process which is known as socialisation. Broadly speaking, culture is a system of values and behaviours which enables a certain group to interpret and understand the world in which it lives. While we still only know one culture, we are still not fully aware of our own culture and it is only when we are confronted with the traditions of other cultures that we become conscious of our own cultural system.

One of the well-known models of culture is referred to as the “iceberg model” which is based on the idea that the easily visible elements of our culture (the part of the iceberg above the

water) are in fact the expression of those elements which are not visible and which form the basis of a culture. The easily visible parts of the “iceberg” are works of high culture (works of art) and cultural products such as cuisine, folk costume or folk dance. At the same time, the part of the “iceberg” which cannot be seen is much larger and so much less easy to access. This part contains such things as the hierarchy of values (what the culture regards to be the most important values and what tools it offers to reach the goals which are seen to be the most valuable), morality and beauty, the guiding principles for bringing up children, emphasis on competition or on cooperation, the concept of time, etc. This is similarly true for patterns for handling emotion, the concept of cleanliness or courting habits.

Culture represents something which is constant through time and which carries the historical footprints of a group. It is a reference system for the group at the same time as undergoing constant change, adapting to changes in the natural, social or economic environment.

People experience their own cultures in different ways and each individual is a mixture of his or her own culture, personal characteristics and individual experiences. A multicultural society provides the individual with the opportunity of experiencing more than one culture and builds elements of other cultures into his or her own personality.

There are those in every culture who do not fit in with the general norm and adopt the norms of a smaller group and we refer to these groups as subcultures. In tolerant societies, these subcultures are able to exist peacefully in parallel with the culture of the majority but they are exposed to attack from the majority in intolerant societies.

For cutting:

Men and women are not only themselves / they are also the region / in which they were born / the city apartment or the farm / where they learnt to walk / the games / they played as children / the tales / they overheard / the food they ate / the schools they attended / the sports / they followed / the poets / they read / and the God they believed in.

The Development of the European Diaspora

When the Roman Empire was founded, the Jews spread and found their way to every single European country under the control of the Roman Empire. The Diaspora, the “spreading” of the Jewish nation, therefore dates back to a very early time. (...) A large number of Jews ended up and spread in the Roman Empire after the war of 66-70 but mainly after the Bar Kochba (132-135) uprising, as prisoners of war and slaves. (...)

The living conditions of the Jews were no different to that of other peoples within the empire under Roman rule. (...) There were no restrictions on employment and Jews were able to work as anything from blacksmith to beggar and trader to actor. (...) It was a result of the famous order issued by Emperor Caracalla (121) that every free citizen of the empire received Roman civil rights without exception. (...) From this point on, the Jewish people of the empire were regarded as Roman citizens in all aspects and they only differed from other citizens in a few laws (privilegium). They were not burdened with any extra restrictions. (Allerhand, 24-25.)

After Constantine adopted Christianity as the state religion in 4th century C.E. Jews, whose existence was tolerated by the reigning church for theological reasons, were defined outside the “sanctified universe of Obligation” – that circle of people with reciprocal obligations to protect each other, whose bonds arose from their relation to a deity or sacred source of authority. Being outside the universe of obligation implies that the dominant class has no obligation to protect the out-group or minority or to expiate violations against it, thus making it vulnerable to become a victim of collective violence or genocide (...)

Jews were incrementally denied equal rights and their status diminished by fiats of rulers of state and church in order to make Jews inferior to Christians: these included the decrees of Theodosius II (439 C.E.), Justinian (531 C.E.), Lateran Councils (1179 and 1215 C.E.) the Council of Montpellier (1195 C.E. and other medieval councils which stripped Jews of rights to hold office, bear arms, testify in litigation against Christians, employ Christians in a lower status, marry Christians, and finally segregated, labelled, and stigmatized them, compelling them to

wear special badges and clothing. After being visibly stigmatized, Jews were ghettoized from the 13th to the 16th century C.E. in western and central Europe.* (Fein, 13-14.)

It is known that the Jewish presence on the Iberian peninsula was unbroken from the Romans onwards. After a period of difficulty – under the Visigoths – when Jews abandoned their faith in very large numbers, it was with great relief that they received the Muslim rule. (...) The conquerors required a considerable amount of money so they mercilessly over-taxed the Jews but, despite all of this, it was to become a “golden age” for them in which their civilisation achieved an unbelievable level of development. It is no wonder that new waves of immigrants increased the numbers of already existing communities in Andalusia. The life of the communities was controlled by a protective treaty known as the “dhimma”: Jews could live in relative autonomy according to their laws and practices but in exchange they were forced to pay a per capita and various other taxes. (Benbassa-Rodrigue, 30-31).

The Iberian Peninsula which was under Arab rule in the Europe of the Middle Ages, as well as the nations of Western Europe such as England and France, took the largest groups of Jews. (...) The geographical movement of the European Jewish

Fein, Helen (1987). "Explanations of the Origin and Evolution of Anti-Semitism", in H. Fein (ed.), *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Anti-Semitism*, Vol. 1. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 13-14.

population from the West to the East took place from the 11th to the 16th century. A decisive role was played in its initiation by the persecution of Jews in English, French and German territories which normally arose during periods of more serious economic and social crises. (...)

Those serial persecutions which resulted in the disappearance of blossoming communities in the German-Roman Empire at the beginning of the 17th century led to an increase in the numbers of the Jewry in neighbouring Polish territories. Even though many fled to the cities of Greater Poland, as a direct result of the armies of the crusades (...) the Polish rulers happily welcomed the settling Jews and hoped that their presence would lead to an upsurge in trade and credit (...) by the 16th century, Poland became the most populated centre of the European Jewry which, due to its culture and large numbers, became the successor to the Spanish centres which had since been destroyed (...) in the larger cities, the parts of the town inhabited by Jews were usually central, they lived around main squares with their shops and synagogues influencing the overall architectural face of the town centre. (Prepuk, 20-24.)

Those Jews who fled the crusades made Poland into one of the centres of the Jewry and they were more easily accepted as the country was still undeveloped. (...) Here, Jews were not forced to deal in solely money or scrap, as they were in the West, but they were they took part in all aspects of industry as well as in agriculture where they worked as either tenants or owners without anyone interfering. The Polish rulers also entrusted the Jews with minting currency which was not only a highly respected trade but also a profitable one. This was also true for a series of monopolies such as salt and brandy. There were four groups within the Polish feudal system and they were: the nobility, the priesthood, the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. And these all had very different rights and responsibilities. As the Jewry did not belong to any of these groups in Poland, they created their own estate defined mainly by religious-national life. (Allerhand, 180-181.)

The Polish Jewry was not simply a nation of town dwellers but also settled in significant numbers on the lands of the Polish nobility, carrying out important economic roles from the 16th century onwards on the increasing number of commodity-producing estates of the nobility. A particularly spectacular growth took place in the Ukrainian territory (...) this territory was burdened to the largest degree from 1648 (...) by the Kosak Uprising. The Kosak brigades, struggling for the liberation of the Ukraine, also launched an attack against the Jews who were closely economically linked to the Polish nobility. In the Western part of Ukraine (...) several hundred Jewish communities were wiped out. (...) The Kosak Uprising not only saw immeasurable destruction and can be seen as a landmark in the history of the Polish Jewry, it can also be considered as an important turning point in the European migration process. This broke the previous tendency for geographical reorganisation which characterised the Jewish population which, from the 11th century onwards, was defined by migration from the western territories of Europe towards the central and eastern regions. Migration from the eastern territories of the continent towards the West became the dominant trend from the following century onwards.

(Prepuk, 2526.)

Literature:

ALLERBRAND, Jacob: From the Talmud to the Enlightenment BENBASSA, Esther; RODRIGUE, Aron: Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th to 20th Centuries. University of California Press, 2000. PREPUK Anikó: A zsidóság Közép-és Kelet-Európában a 19-20. Században (The Jewry in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19th-20th Century). Csokonai Kiadó, 1997.

Enlightenment, Tolerance and Emancipation

“The beginning of the age of enlightenment can be placed around the last decade of the 17th century and the location was a Europe that was worn and weary from the wars of religion. In the 16th century, the reformation was followed by wars that raged for nearly a century and which led to unimaginable destruction. The opposing armies had destroyed almost entirely the blossoming renaissance culture of cities and towns in Central Europe (...)

It is not at all surprising that the enlightenment favoured religious tolerance instead of religious conflict. Of course, this tolerance suggested a basic understanding that there would be neither Catholic nor Protestant rule in Europe but that both groups would have to accept the existence of the other. This also meant the existence of Protestant and Catholic states living next to one another and that these states accepted the existence of other religious minorities living within their territories (...)

The enlightenment intended to establish tolerance based on reason. Previously it had been considered that a society would lack the necessary moral or political coherence without a common religion. According to enlightened thinkers, this role would be taken over by a “natural religion”.

All those who acknowledged the validity of the three key elements (the existence of God, the immortality of the soul and that God rewards the good and punishes the bad ones in the other world) were able to take a moral entry ticket to society. Therefore, a kind of universal ethical code appeared in the mind’s eye of the thinkers of the era that would be shared for all Christians regardless of their denomination.

The political philosophers of the enlightenment reached the same conclusions. According to what were referred to as “natural laws”, people should be ruled by laws based on reason. The laws should dictate the personal rights and duties and privileges without considering a person’s faith or religion (...)

The intellectual and political landslide represented by the enlightenment also affected Jews by incorporating them into the structure of European society and culture at the same time as having a drastic effect on their lives. Wherever Jews became citizens with equal rights, it was always where the principles of enlightenment – carrying the traces of the age and the place – had become the political norm. This progression in the 19th century, which was called “emancipation”, was far from being a straightforward or automatic process. (Sorokin, 76-77.)

However, the representatives of the enlightenment looked on people as individuals. Their aim was to attain a universal, abstract human identity based on natural laws which made it very difficult to understand historically formed human communities (...) Following ideas such as all human beings are originally equal, it was easy to imagine the end of the dividing wall between the Jewish and the Christian societies. However, the tradition of Christian anti-Judaism had survived and appeared in the secular-political spheres in the form of negative attitudes towards the equal rights of Jewish individuals as well as towards the Jewry as an ethnic-religious community. (Prepuk, 38.)

The Jewish enlightenment, or the movement of Haskala as it is known in Hebrew, began in Berlin, the capital of Prussia in the last third of the 18th century (...) The leader of the movement, Moses Mendelssohn, published his first work during the Seven Year War in which he declared Moses as being the representative of a natural world religion. He emphasised the universal significance of the Jewish faith and considered pure “Judaism” as a religion of reason and part of global wisdom and thus deemed it an appropriate tool to help the Jewry join European societies. Similar to other representatives of the enlightenment, he consistently emphasised that the necessity of separating the state and religion. (Prepuk, 40.)

The principles of the Jewish enlightenment were less able to penetrate into Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. Although students of Mendelssohn’s from Lithuania, the

Ukraine and Galicia returned to their homelands, their influence on isolated religious communities dominated by rabbinism was barely able to scratch the surface. The orthodox rabbis strongly resisted this new spirit and they condemned any attempt to alter education based strictly on providing knowledge of the Talmud as heretic thoughts.(Prepuk, 44.)

Literature:

David Sorokin: A zsidóság emancipációja Közép-és Nyugat-Európában a XVIII-XIX. században. In: David Englander (szerk.): A zsidó rejtély. Egy kitartó nép. The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK, 1992. Prepuk Anikó: A zsidóság Közép-és Kelet-Európában a 19-20. Században (The Jewry in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19th-20th Century) Csokonai Kiadó, 1997.

Viktor Karády: Readiness for Assimilation: the Assimilation Process in Hungary*

The readiness for assimilation depends on the interests of the receiving society, and of those to be assimilated. In Hungary, there was not one religious, national minority for whom assimilation would have been quite as essential in terms of its own collective security as it was for the Jews (...) Even in the early days, the majority of the liberal-noble elite saw the Jewish assimilation to be in the nation's best interest: it creates a stratum of society that can function as the national bourgeoisie at the same time tipping the nationality balance to the advantage of the Hungarian nationality. The assimilation process, according to the social contract mentioned above, began with great intensity in the reform period, and it gained significant political force during the fight for freedom of 1848-49, and had largely concluded by the end of the century as far as the majority of Jews were concerned (...)

This was mainly about the effect mechanism of the relationship which was formed between the Jewry and the receiving society. It was mainly the Hungarian liberal nobility that Hungarianised the immigrant Jewry in terms of both language and culture, usually under two generations, supplied them with strong national sense of Hungarianness and made them feel obliged to show great loyalty to the Hungarian nation state (...)

The liberal religious reform movements emerged all over Europe including Hungary after the reform era. The movement for Hungarianisation and the religious reform came hand in hand in Hungary and managed to take over the majority of the Jewry in the country very quickly. The neolog Jewry gained strength in numbers only after 1919 but demanded considerably social respect before that time. Neology allowed a considerable degree of secularisation within the Jewry for those who insisted on religious identity at the same time strengthening their already developing sense of Hungarianness. By the end of the century, more than 71% of neolog synagogues preached in Hungarian while this number was only 7% in orthodox

Forrás: Karády Viktor: Zsidóság, modernizáció, polgárosodás. Tanulmányok. . (Jewry, Modernisation, and the Development of Bourgeois Mentality: Studies.) Cserépfalvi. 1997. 92-95.119-120.old.

communities. And the ones referred to as status quo ante communities, the number was 52% (...)

Historiography often has the tendency to reduce assimilation and other complex historical process into a simple pattern, in this case into a process of accommodation: the Jews "adjusted themselves" to their surroundings in terms of language, culture and national identity as well as in terms of its collective view of the future, etc. (...) At the same time, there is always an approaching trend from the opposite direction: within the receiving society as well. The external social environment of the Jewry adapted to those adapting. This trend takes place within the dynamics of political, intellectual, denominational and economic modernisation. While the Jews took on the distinguishing marks of national cultural identity (the language, the elements of national culture as well as the cognitive elements of territorial and political-national belonging, etc); the non-Jews reject the national-cultural exclusivity based on ethnic origin in their act of

“acceptance” (including mixed schooling, equal civil rights, religious equality, political socialisation aiming towards shared ideals, even mixed marriages or denominational integration of converts). All of these acts are modernising attempts towards establishing a united bourgeois nation and a modern constitutional state.

The third unavoidable contributing factor to the assimilation process is of a responsive nature. The assimilating Jewry gave some of their cultural goods, intellectual and economical skills, attitudes and experiences in the modernization process to their “receivers” which were brought with it or learnt during its own social-denominational modernisation and in so doing, filled the role of intermediary in the modernisation on the host society. The most obvious, the fastest and most well-known type of such response was in the naturalisation of economic models for free-market behaviour, in an underdeveloped Hungary that was dominated by semi-feudal agricultural production and guild small-scale industry. This was only the most trivial example. One can find similar “responses” – or reciprocate assimilation -in cultural inventions (the establishment of modern Hungarian press, printing, cultural industry), in the introduction of the western avant-garde, and in the spreading of bourgeois educational methods, social lifestyles and mobility strategies.

III. Anti-Semitism Time: 6 X 45

minute lesson

Summary: The aim of these lessons is to analyse the phenomenon of Jew-hatred from a historical, a sociological and a psychological point of view. And to teach the students a way of thinking which will help them to gain a better understanding of their own prejudices and stereotypes and those of others.

I. Own experiences related to discrimination* (2X45 minute lesson)

Preparation: prepare different coloured sticky paper spots for the whole group (e.g. For a group of 20 students, you will need 4 blue, 5 red, 6 black, 4 yellow and 1 white. Prepare a copy of the „From Prejudice to Action” sheet.

1. Odd one out

-Ask the students to form a circle and to close their eyes while you stick one spot on the forehead of each student and tell them that they must not speak until the game is completed, they may only use non verbal communication.

- Tell the players to get into a group with others who have the same colour spot. -After everyone has found their own group (and it had become obvious to everyone that one person has been left on their own), sit around in a circle and discuss the experiences and feelings that people had during the game:

- How did you feel at the moment when you first met someone with the same colour spot as yourself?
- How did the person with the odd spot feel?
- What different groups do you belong to in reality?

- Can anyone join these groups?

- Difference often leads to prejudices. Give everyone a copy of „From Prejudice to Action” and ask everyone to write in one example next to each level. Get everyone back together and, as a group, discuss what people wrote.

2. Discrimination

-Divide the group into smaller groups of 5-6 and everyone to think back to an incident when they felt that they were being discriminated against and one incident when they realised that somebody else was discriminated against. -Each student should quickly tell their group what they thought of and the group collects these incidents on a piece of paper when somebody was a “victim of discrimination” and when he/she was a “witness to discrimination”. They should select one from each list which they would like to discuss in detail later.

Based on the activities „Odd one out” and „Sharing discrimination”:

[http://www.coe.int/T/e/human_rights/ecri/3-](http://www.coe.int/T/e/human_rights/ecri/3-Educational_resources/Education_Pack/Education_Pack_pdf.pdf)

[Educational_resources/Education_Pack/Education_Pack_pdf.pdf](http://www.coe.int/T/e/human_rights/ecri/3-Educational_resources/Education_Pack/Education_Pack_pdf.pdf)

-Ask the individual whose incident has been chosen to describe what happened in detail.

Write the following questions on the board to help in analysing the incidents:

- how the situation arose and what actually happened?
 - how the person who was discriminated against felt?
 - how the person who discriminated felt?
 - how did other people feel (if the incident was witnessed by others)?
- how did those involved react and what happened after that? -Bring the students back into one group and collect what each group has learned. Possible questions for analysis:
- What are the most common reasons people discriminate against others?
 - Why do people discriminate against others who are different?
 - Where do they learn this behaviour?-How important is it to challenge discrimination? If yes then what to do? If not then why not?

II. Anti-Semitism (4 X 45 minute lesson)

1. Anti-Semitism through the Ages (2 X 45 minute lesson)

Preparation: make one copy for each group of students: „The Expression and Functions of Jew-hatred in the Different Periods of History. Worksheets” as well as a copy each of “Jews and Non-Jews in Antiquity: Pagan Anti-Judaism”, “Jews and Non-Jews in the Middle Ages, “Modern Political Anti-Semitism”, “Genocidal Anti-Semitism”, ”The Psychological Roots of Anti-Semitism” and “The Expression and Functions of Jew-hatred in the Different Periods of History. Table” worksheets

-What does the word “anti-Semitism” mean? Collect ideas on the board supplied by the students in connection with this word. (They may have questions which you should also include and should none come forward then finish the session by asking whether they have any questions related to anti-Semitism.) Talk about the origins of the word, about the broader and the narrower definitions and the different kinds of Jew-hatred (see: “The Definition of Anti-Semitism”).

-Break the group up into smaller groups (5 students each) and give each group a copy of „The Expression and Functions of Jew-hatred in the Different Periods of History. Worksheets” as well as a copy each of “Jews and Non-Jews in Antiquity: Pagan Anti-Judaism”, “Jews and Non-Jews in the Middle Ages”, “Modern Political Anti-Semitism”, “Genocidal Anti-Semitism” and ”The Psychological Roots of Anti-Semitism”. Each group should work on its own and fill in the table and discuss their thoughts on each text.

-When all the groups have finished filling in their own tables, give out copies of the „The Expression and Functions of Jew-hatred in the Different Periods of History. Tables” and ask the students to compare this table with their own and discuss the differences. Do not forget that there are several possible solutions as individual prejudices and stereotypes traditionalise from generation to generation; the social and psychological driving forces behind prejudices against Jews might have been similar and discrimination and aggression against them might have taken similar forms in different periods of history (e.g. work and residential segregation appears in the table in the middle ages but this practice also formed part of Nazi anti-Semitic politics which led to acts of genocide). The handing down of stereotypes from one generation to another has been indicated using arrows on the table.

2. Analysis of Reading Material (2X 45 minute lesson, best in a double lesson)

-Divide the group into three smaller groups. Each group has to make a small presentation to the other groups on a specific era in relation to anti-Semitism based on the points of view discussed in the previous lesson. One group needs to look at antiquity and the Middle Ages, the second group needs to look at modern times and the third needs to look at Nazi anti-Semitism. -First give everyone a copy of „Analysis of Anti-Semitic Prejudices and Stereotypes” and ask them to get out their copies of „The Expression and Functions of Jew-hatred in the Different Periods of History. Tables” which they received in the previous lesson and quickly go through the topics that were covered in that lesson. Then give each group the relevant reading material (see “Reading Material for Analysis of Anti-Semitic prejudices) one or two people should work on one piece of reading material. After everyone has read and analysed their own piece, they should tell the group about their findings and the group should make a summary similar to the table that they prepared in the previous lesson on a large piece of wrapping paper to show the other groups (give max. 30 minutes for this preparation). -After each group has prepared a summary, they should take a max. of 15 minutes to show this to the other groups (in the following order: antiquity, the Middle Ages, modern times and Nazism).

Gordon Allport* defines ethnic prejudice in the following manner: Ethnic prejudice is a hostile attitude based on false and rigid overgeneralisations. It can remain on the emotional level but can be expressed in action as well. It may be directed against one particular group or an individual based on the fact that he or she belongs to the group in question.

ALLPORT, W. Gordon: *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley, 1954.

Allport claims that negative attitudes usually motivate action and very few people are able to swallow their antipathy. The stronger the attitude is, the more likely it is to turn into violent, hostile action. Even though most people never step over from verbal attack to avoidance or from avoidance to active discrimination or to a higher level, we have to be aware of the fact that once a level has been reached – by acting out our prejudice – it makes much easier to pass to the next.

Allport describes five levels of the expression of prejudice. Write one example for each of these levels.

- 1 Verbal attack and rejection: most people voice their prejudices. They do this among circles of like-minded friends but sometimes to complete strangers, freely expressing their aversion and hostility.
- 2 Avoidance: in cases of stronger prejudices, the person attempts to avoid members of the group subject to prejudice even if this causes them some discomfort. The prejudiced individual, in this way, does not cause direct damage to the disliked group, but contents himself or herself with drawing back, even at personal cost.
- 3 Discrimination: the prejudiced individual is guilty of damaging behaviour. He or she may exclude members of the particular group from certain forms of employment, prevent them from living or settling in certain areas, reject political rights, educational or recreational opportunities, exclude them from churches and hospitals and deny them other social rights.
- 4 Physical attack: in extreme cases strong emotions can lead to physical violence.
- 5 Extermination: the extreme end of the aggressive manifestation of prejudice.

Jews and Non-Jews in Antiquity: Pagan Anti-Judaism

The *polytheistic* world of ancient times recognised a wide variety of gods, who loved and hated human beings, governed them and occasionally submitted to them, and generally reflected human society. More importantly, perhaps, the gods replicated and legitimated the social inequalities that those societies found appropriate and necessary. Ancient Egypt and Babylonia were based on sharp class distinctions and slavery. The same was true of Greece and Rome. At first, the Israelites also belonged to a polytheistic culture, clear traces of which can be found in the Bible; but they developed a belief in one God, who eventually emerged as the one, only, and universal deity.

The existence of this one God, especially one who was invisible and abstract, implied that all people were His children, and that no fundamental difference marked one person from another. Clearly, such a religious ideology would undermine the polytheistic cultures by challenging their basic assumption of the inequality of people. (...)

Had the Jews, with their unusual social and religious laws, remained in their small, mountainous, relatively inaccessible country, it is possible, that enmity toward them would not have surfaced in the ancient world. Political developments, however, transformed them in stages into a *diaspora* nation. In exile from their homeland, they found temporary and then longer-term homes among the people around them, persisting in their unique ways and standing out almost everywhere they settled. And their uniqueness often served to catalyze – or provide an excuse for – aggression against them in times of political, social, economic, religious, and other forms of crisis.*

The Jewry, as the only people of a monotheistic faith in a polytheistic world, were much more different from the peoples that surrounded them than these peoples were from each other. No other people so stubbornly rejected the acceptance of the gods of their neighbours, participation in their sacrificial rites and presentations at their temples as the Jews did, to say nothing of eating together or mixed marriages. Many of the elements of anti-Jewish sentiments appeared in the Hellenic world and in the Roman era, which later became the constant pillars of the anti-Jewish prejudice systems. Jews were often referred to as superstitious and God-denying people.*

During the Greco-Roman period, there was a wide dispersion of Jews throughout the Mediterranean world in which they occupied a variety of roles as individuals and enjoyed state-recognised group rights – e.g., not working on the Sabbath. Jews were integrated in the Mediterranean world, both adapting to and adding to Mediterranean cultures.

Real and symbolic alliances between Jews and Rome and factionalism within the ruling elite of Rome led to conflicts between Jews and Egyptians in Alexandria resulting in collective violence and defamation (1st century C.E.). Throughout this period anti-Semitism was firmly embedded in the structure of anti-Romanism; both were hallmarks of Alexandrian patriotism.

As the Jewish community was open to converts, Jewish customs and thought gained adherents and influence in Rome. The growing influence of Judaism caused conservative Roman elites to defend Roman traditions by disparaging Judaism and mocking Jews whom they saw as essential un-Roman. At the same time, the Jewish revolts against Rome (66-73 and 115-117 C.E.) led the Roman revision of the earlier policy of toleration. Thus, hostility among some Roman factions to Jews was based on both symbolic and real conflicts involving them.

BAUER Yehuda: In Search of a Definition of Antisemitism. In: Michael Brown (ed.): Approaches to Antisemitism. Context and Curriculum. AJC and The International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization, New York, Jerusalem. 1994. 13-14.

* KOVÁCS András: Az antiszemitizmus mint társadalomtudományos probléma (Anti-Semitism as a Sociological Problem). In: KOVÁCS András (ed.): A modern antiszemitizmus (Modern Anti-Semitism) Új Mandátum, 1999.

□ Fein, Helen (1987). "Explanations of the Origin and Evolution of Anti-Semitism", in H. Fein (ed.), The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Anti-Semitism, Vol.

1. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter. 11-12.

Terms

polytheist: one who believes in more than one god
Diaspora: "dispersion" (from the Greek), the term used to describe the dispersion of the Jewry in various countries and it is the term used to describe the Jewry living in these countries (see map: The Jewish Diaspora in the Roman Empire Circa 300, Roads to the Holocaust... page 15).

Jews and Non-Jews in the Middle Ages

When Christianity emerged from *Judaism*, a feud between the two faiths ensued, almost a family squabble at first. What developed over the years was a struggle for succession to the polytheistic cultures of the ancient world. Had the Jews recognised Jesus of Nazareth as the messiah, they would have desisted from this struggle, given up their unique culture, and become a part of Christendom. Most Jews, however, refused that option. From a Christian point of view their refusal constituted a grievous sin. Christians believed that with the appearance of Jesus, Judaism had been superseded, its prophecies and doctrines fulfilled. Not only was the continued survival of the Jews a historical and religious *anomaly*, they were failing to play the crucial role that had been assigned to them in the redemptive process. Explanations of Jews' behaviour propelled Christian theology in the direction of Jew-hatred. Christians now held Jews responsible for the death of Jesus and condemned them to a life of suffering. That they might serve as witnesses to the truth of Christianity and the falsehood of Judaism. To be sure, murdering Jews was forbidden by St Augustine among others, at least according to law. Conversion was to be preferred.*

*Christians kneel before the image of a Jew, put their hands together in prayer in front of the picture of a Jewish woman and his apostles, religious

festivals and psalms are all of Jewish origin,” wrote the Chief Rabbi of Vienna at the turn of the century – aiming at that identity to which anti-Judaic theology was the response: early Christianity created its own identity based on anti-Judaic theology. Ultimately, this theology aimed to prove that with the rejection of Christ by the Jewry and complicity in his murder it betrayed its original mission from God which then transferred to the Christians. (...)

Anti-Jewish feeling in the Middle Ages not only created patterns of behaviour aimed against Jews -who were seen as *pariahs*, outsiders of the society -, which became traditionalised into later periods, but also created that set of stereotypes which still, to this very day, provide the raw material for anti-Jewish prejudice. The stereotype image of Jews, who are wandering without a home in external exile as punishment for their sins, and the image of the lecherous, materialistic, greedy and revengeful moneylender Jew is the offspring of Christian, anti-Judaic literature, as well as the image the Jew, who poisons wells, who desecrates altar-bread, who drinks the blood of Christian children and struggles to gain global power.

The anti-Jewish myth had a strong influence in the formation of social *cognition*: this made it easier for the man in the street to “understand” complex and threatening social phenomena such as the great epidemics of the Middle Ages and provided an outlet for the tension, insecurity and perplexity that was experienced at such times.*

Christian piety widened and deepened, and the spectacular outbreaks of Jew-hatred during the Crusades were surely nourished by pietistic excess. As mercantile and administrative experience spread through an increasingly literate and urbanized Christian bourgeoisie, the economic need for Jews declined precipitously; it is no

BAUER Yehuda: In Search of a Definition of Antisemitism. In: Michael Brown (ed.): Approaches to Antisemitism. Context and Curriculum. AJC and The International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization, New York, Jerusalem. 1994. 14.

* KOVÁCS András: Az antiszemitizmus mint társadalomtudományos probléma (Anti-Semitism as a Sociological Problem). In: KOVÁCS András (ed.): A modern antiszemitizmus (Modern Anti-Semitism) Új Mandátum, 1999. 13.

accident that in the later Middle Ages Jews were welcome primarily in less-developed regions like thirteenth-century Spain, and even later, Bohemia, Austria, and Poland. To make matters worse, the remaining economic activity in which Jews came to be concentrated was a natural spawning-ground for intense hostility: money-lending may be a necessity, but it does not generate affection. In the political sphere, the high Middle Ages saw the beginnings of a sense of national unity at least in France and England; although this fell short of genuine nationalism in the modern sense, it sharpened the perception of the Jew as the quintessential alien.*

Judaism: the Jewish faith polytheist: one who believes in more than one god anomaly: abnormality Pariah: a wretched person excluded from society cognition: knowledge

BERGER David: Anti-Semitism: an overview. In: David Berger (ed.): History and Hate. The Dimensions of Anti-Semitism. The Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, New York, Jerusalem, 1986. 6.

Modern Political Anti-Semitism

Modern anti-Semitism on the one hand accepted the image of Jews formed by Christian anti-Judaism of the Middle Ages and on the other hand, it used those anti-Jewish *predispositions* which traditional anti-Judaism had formed in the members of Christian society. Rationalism was able to destroy the structure of the ideological principles of the traditional worldview, at the same time as it preserved the basic emotional levels as well as its conceptual structure, although the function of Christianity in Europe did change as a result of the influence of *secularisation*. Certain beliefs faded such as those which supported anti-Judaism, however, at the same time, Christian denominations merged with the nation state in a special way. A privileged relationship between Christian values and those of the nation remained intact and it became generalised that the only possible basis for ethics was in Christianity. This type of Christianity, although thoroughly diluted, preserved the notion of Christian superiority over Judaism, as, according to this view, the Jewry was an alien and a morally lower group as it was outside the Christian community which formed the nation state.(...)

The “Jewish question” of bourgeois society was a question of emancipation and the question itself was: is it possible for the Jews to step into the newly developed societies with equal rights? (...) The emancipation was met with great resistance which was not at all unexpected considering that, in the eyes of the Christian societies, Jews had deservedly been living on the periphery of society as pariahs for many centuries. In most parts of Europe, the emancipation was a long process of nearly one hundred years that had serious consequences: the “Jewish question” had been the subject of passionate public debates, confrontations in parliament and state measures for over three generations. It was in the spotlight of public interest and this had the effect of making it appear to be a timeless issue.

The anti-Jewish clichés of the past were not forgotten but were constantly being given new life. It continued to be the topic of new debates and political consideration whether or not the Jews deserved the emancipation, whether they were taking advantage of their new opportunities, if their rights could be expanded or -on the contrary -should their rights not to be curtailed? This enabled not only the anti-Jewish stereotypes and the anti-Jewish psychological *dispositions* to remain alive but the opportunity to remove their rights remained in the air as well – which opened up the way for many different varieties of political anti-Semitism. (...)

The development of modern anti-Semitism was also affected by another factor which was related to the changes of Jewish society. (...) The Jews entered the new European society but they did not amalgamate with it. Their communities tended to form a new and unique social *entity*, and although the old Jewish community changed for once and for all it still remained recognisable. (...) Instead of becoming a new religious community that was part of the surrounding society, it became a kind of social sub-group. This group was less and less the group of social pariahs: its members lived in towns and areas of the city, worked in professions, moved in circles and often had the kind of business and cultural influence that had been totally unimaginable only a couple of decades earlier.

In fact, the emancipated and assimilated Jewish groups often stood a better chance of obtaining certain business and cultural positions in the modern society than the previous elite groups of the majority society. The main reason for this was that certain individual skills, group strategies and cultural and intellectual “capitals” that were rooted in tradition or were accumulated during the pariah existence due to the pressure of their situation, suddenly gained greater value under these new circumstances. A high level of literacy, multilingualism, geographic mobility, entrepreneurial spirit, an achievement-based work ethic and high level of education were all the kind of skills that ensured good positions for Jewish groups in the developing capitalist economy and in the competition for attaining positions in society. This outcome activated the groups that were behind in the modernisation race and yet still possessed significant political power. (...)

There were many who were outraged by the new social position of the Jews or just simply considered their “territorial advancement” as hurtful in terms of their own interests and they would have preferred the Jews to remain on the periphery of society. These groups had to raise their voices in support of maintaining the subjugated social status of the Jews or push for their re-seclusion with new arguments formed to fit the new circumstances. (...) Anti-Semitism took on a racial perspective in the 19th century: as the Jews became increasingly difficult to differentiate from other members of society, it became necessary to find such criteria to differentiate them from which they would not be able to free themselves even after maximal assimilation.*

Anti-Semitism saw itself as the reaction to the modern “Jewish question”. However, this reference to the “Jewish question” is far from being a satisfactory explanation for the phenomenon. Anti-Semitism is a protesting movement both *sociologically* and ideologically which stands in opposition to the ideals of 1789, the liberal state and social order as well as the capitalist order that it was combined with. The ground was prepared for a movement of this kind following the economic and social crisis that followed the *Gründerkrach* in Germany (...) The anti-Semitic agitation (...) considered Jews as obvious representatives of “modern” advancement and the liberal system. Traditional prejudices aimed at Jews became interlocked with the struggle against liberalism. (...) The German liberal party and its descendents were simply referred to as “the Jewish protection force” in anti-Semitic circles.

But anti-Semitism was not only an anti-liberal movement in its concrete political views but to its very core. (...) Fear and worry for the nation and its traditional culture, for the monarchical constitution, for the traditional social order and the status that it guaranteed are what became determining factors. In contrast, the self explanatory value of equality seemed just as questionable as the values of humanitarianism and enlightenment, and the education promoting these values. Therefore, anti-Semitism is both *symptom* and consequence of the fact that the values of the bourgeois-liberal world started to lose their mandatory nature; it was a symptom of the crisis of the modern society. This is why anti-Semitism was capable of crossing party political lines and functioning as an ideology expressing dissatisfaction with the modern society and refusal its fundamental principles.*

predisposition: state of mind secularisation: the process through which religious thinking, practice, and institutions lose their religious and/or social significance

KOVÁCS András: Az antiszemitizmus mint társadalmatudományos probléma (Anti-Semitism as a Sociological Problem). In: Kovács András (ed.): A modern antiszemitizmus (Modern Anti-Semitism). Új Mandátum, 1999. 13-16.

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RÜRUP Reinhard – NIPPERDEY Thomas: Antisemitismus. Entstehung, Funktion und Geschichte eines Begriffs. In: RÜRUP Reinhard: Emanzipation und Antisemitismus. Studien zur „Judenfrage“ der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Fischer Verlag, 1987. 134-135.

disposition: inclination entity: thing that has real existence pariah: a wretched person excluded from society elite: prestigious, illustrious sociologically: taken into account its social background Gründerkrach: the first economic crisis of capitalism symptom: sign of the existence of something

Genocidal Anti-Semitism

Nazism was a spoken culture. Its language was all speech, with no the literary dimensions, no privacy, no individuality. It was the language of demagogy, of declamations and shouts, with flags flying in the wind and the swastika constantly before one’s eyes. It was a culture in which verbal aggression was not a substitute for action but a preparation for it. (...) Thus, the spoken word too was merely a tool for action, a practical instrument for bringing it about. Hitler’s rhetoric forced a transformation of meaning even upon the substance of anti-Semitism. He may have not had a clear plan for handling the Jews if and when he would seize power in Germany, but his anti-Semitism was, from the very beginning, entirely and consciously, a matter of action. It turned the old written stuff into a new kind of material – explosive, dangerous, leading inexorably to catastrophe.*

Anti-Semitism was the greatest weapon in the battle to win over the masses which Hitler and his henchmen used. Whatever his enemy represented – democracy, moderate parliamentarianism, radical socialism, the fundamental institutions of the republic – it was stamped as being a Jewish invention which was harmful by its very nature. The Jews were seen as being guilty of everything that they could possibly be blamed for and these allegations were continuously hammered in about them, verbally and in writing but especially at Hitler's rallies which were whipped up with emotion until this type of scapegoat-ism became almost a cliché.

It appeared that there was no antidote for a “scientifically justified” anti-Semitic smear-campaign. Strategies used previously – appeal in the courts or the spread of enlightening literature about the Jews and Judaism, as was done by the Jewish protection agencies starting in the pre-war period – now became totally inappropriate and were no longer applicable. The German Jewry (...) placed its hope in the survival of the republic. It seemed unbelievable that the fate of a great nation could be at the mercy of the will of a man like Hitler. When the unimaginable was on the threshold, the Jews still hoped that if he once came into power and became involved in matters of state, Hitler and his party would abandon or at least reduce their anti-Jewish propaganda campaign. This expectation (...) wrongly judged the nature of the Nazi movement and the mentality of its leaders even more so.

Unwertes Leben remained the target all along. For the Nazi designers of the perfect society, the project they pursued and were determined to implement through social engineering split human life into worthy and unworthy; the first to be lovingly cultivated and given *Lebensraum*, the other to be ‘distanced’ or – if the distancing proved unfeasible – exterminated. (...) when millions of Jewish and other victims

VOLKOV Shulamit: „The Written Matter and the Spoken Word”. In: Unanswered Questions: Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews, ed. Francois Furet. Schocken Books, 1989. 52. □ Based on excerpts from KATZ Jakob: Prejudice to Destruction. Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933. Harvard University Press, Cambridge [Mass.], 1980. pondered their own imminent deaths and wondered “why must I die, since I have done nothing to deserve it?” probably the simplest answer would have been that power was totally concentrated in one man, and that man happened to hate their “race”. The man's hatred and the concentrated power did not have to meet (...) But they did. And they may meet again.*

unwertes Leben: unworthy life
Lebensraum: habitat

* BAUMAN Zygmunt: *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Polity Press, 1989. 67-68.77.

The Psychological Roots of Anti-Semitism

The critics of purely historical explanations claim that if anti-Semitism can be primarily traced back to historical-cultural causes then it is impossible to explain that – partly – the tendency towards prejudiced thinking differs in identical historical circumstances and social conditions, and that anti-Jewish prejudice can also be found where there are very few or no Jews at all in the society. This is why anti-Semitism needs to be understood in terms of the anti-Semite and an explanation needs to be found as to why a prejudiced individual has a need for Jew-hatred.

The psychoanalytical theory says that the prejudiced individual projects those urges (sexual desire or uncontrollable craving for power) and those qualities (such as greed and selfishness) onto an out-group that they find unacceptable in themselves. In extreme cases this leads to the “punishment” of the out-group for those urges and qualities that are not really characteristic of the members of the out-group but come from the depths of their own psyche.

Other theories state that prejudiced individuals have a tendency for giving release to the tensions that arise from other causes on the Jews. An individual can be affected by *frustration* for many reasons (for example, the defeat of a country in war, panic caused by an epidemic or difficulties caused by a financial crisis, all can create frustration), but he or she may often not be capable of identifying the real cause of the frustration or not capable of doing anything against it because the cause of the frustration has great power (if, for example, a person is insulted by their superior in the workplace) or because far too many elements cause the difficulty which cannot be controlled (such as might be the case in an economic crisis). In such cases, prejudiced individuals are capable of releasing their frustration on a group which society has traditionally made into a scapegoat and which does not have sufficient power to suppress the aggression enacted against it.

The fear of non-Jews that they would come off worse in the competition with the Jews and that they would lose their status and come down in the social hierarchy, increased prejudice shown against Jews and defensive reactions (...) According to many theorists, the fear of *status mobility* or sliding down is one of the elements of the process of the dynamic of an emerging capitalist society. The social strata which had found themselves to be moving, reacted in various ways to competition and to the challenges of an economy built on competition. As social come-down was not explainable, partly because economic changes were complex and partly because trends were often conflicting, many showed a tendency to personify the sensed problem.

Yet more theories draw our attention to the fact that we tend to falsely determine the cause of a problem: by referring to the inner qualities of people even when the fact that they act according to their social roles should provide sufficient explanation for their actions (for example we surmise that women are more caring although their caring behaviour is predetermined by their traditional family role, and when men find themselves in the same role, they are capable of being just as caring). It can be seen in many cultures around the world that ethnic groups that have become specialised in trade and finance are commonly stereotyped as being cheats, greedy and profiteers.

Finally, groups tend to be ethnocentric which means they value their own group above other groups, as this means that the members of the group can be proud of the fact that they belong to the group. In this way membership of the group increases their self-worth and strengthens their belief that the values, habits and beliefs of their own culture are valid and moral. The ethnocentricity of majority groups is different to that of minority groups in that they are in possession of political and cultural power and can therefore try to force the “superiority” of their own habits, values, and beliefs on the minority groups.

“From other cases of long-standing inter-group enmity, anti-Semitism differs in one important respect; social relations of which the ideas and practices of anti-Semitism can be an

aspect are never relations two territorially established groups that confront each other on an equal footing; they are instead, relations between majority and minority, between a 'host' population and a smaller group that lives in its midst yet retains its separate identity, and for this reason – being the weaker partner – is the marked member of the opposition, the 'they' who are set apart from the native 'we'.”*

frustration: a mental state, which is caused by not getting what one desires, of interference with a wish, or with a gratification status mobility: opportunity to establish a higher (or lower) social status

BAUMAN Zygmunt: Modernity and the Holocaust. Polity Press, 1989. 34.

The Expression and Functions of Jew Hatred in the Different Ages.

Worksheets

The reason and the expressional form of Jew hatred in the different ages has differed from age to age. Based on the reading material, try to complete the table with the help of the expressions

supplied.*

“Communists” / Their life is a “worthless life” / “Capitalists” / They are immoral / They are striving for world domination

They are materialistic, greedy / They are God-deniers, consorts of the devil (myths: blood libel, host desecration) / They are aliens, belonging to another “race” / They are superstitious, God-deniers

Reinforcement of own worldview / “Justification” of robbing Jews / Reinforcement of national identity / “Understanding” of religious and cultural conflicts / Formation of the identity of the Christian religion / Political propaganda / Expression of dissatisfaction with modernity and liberalism / Reinforcement of own world view

Belief in more than one god <-> / <-> Successful, assimilating Jews / <-> Non-assimilating Jews holding on their traditions / <-> All European Jews / <-> Belief in one god / <-> Nazi state / <-> Those, who were of losing their former social status / <-> Jewish religion / Appearance of the Jewry as a minority (Diaspora) / <-> Christian religion / Differing cultural habits / <-> Nationalists

Positive evaluation of own group / Fear, envy / Creating scapegoats / Need for “understanding” of complex and threatening social phenomena / False attribution: drawing conclusion from economic and social roles to inner qualities / Creating scapegoats / Economic competition / Irrational hatred / Need for “understanding” of new social conflicts

Anti-Semitism / Christian anti-Judaism / Genocidal anti-Semitism / Anti-Judaism

Withholding emancipation or the call for its “retraction” / Violence at times of crisis / Appearance of anti-Jewish political movements / Residential and employment restrictions / Political programme of genocide / Violence / “Pariah existence”

Negative prejudices related to the Jews have become part of the cultural-social traditions of non-Jewish society over thousands of years and that is why manifestations of prejudice similarly appear in the different ages and that is why prejudices related to the Jews have been “used” in order to “understand” and to “handle” different social and psychological conflicts and crises. That is why it is often difficult to decide the age of which an individual phenomenon is most characteristic and that is why there is no single correct solution for this exercise and there are some terms that can be written into more than one place while the others are only typical of certain ages.

	Ancient History	Middle Ages	Modern History	20th Century
Type of Jew Hatred				

Behavioural Manifestations of Prejudice				
Stereotypes				
The Function of Stereotypes for Non-Jews				
Types of Social Conflicts				
Psychological Conflicts				

The Expression and Functions of Jew Hatred in the Different Ages. Table

	Antiquity	Middle Ages	Modern History	20th Century
Type of Jew Hatred	Anti-Judaism	Christian anti-Judaism	Anti-Semitism	Genocidal anti-Semitism
Behavioural Manifestations of Prejudice	Violence at times of crisis	Violence Residential and employment restrictions "Pariah existence"	Appearance of anti-Jewish political movements Withholding emancipation or the call for its "retraction"	Political programme of genocide

Stereotypes	They are superstitious, God-deniers	They are God-deniers, consorts of the devil (myths: blood libel, host desecration) They are materialistic, greedy They are immoral	They are aliens, belonging to another "race" "Capitalists" "Communists"	Their life is a "worthless life" They are striving for world domination
The Function of Stereotypes for Non-Jews	"Understanding" of religious and cultural conflicts Reinforcement of own world view	Formation of the identity of the Christian religion Reinforcement of own world view	Expression of dissatisfaction with modernity and liberalism Reinforcement of national identity	Political propaganda "Justification" of robbing Jews
Types of Social Conflicts	Belief in more than one god <-> Belief in one god Differing cultural habits Appearance of the Jewry as a minority (Diaspora)	Christian religion <-> Jewish religion	Those, who were of loosing their former social status <-> Successful, assimilating Jews Nationalists <-> Non-assimilating Jews holding on their traditions	Nazi state <-> All European Jews
Psychological Conflicts	Positive evaluation of own group Creating scapegoats Economic competition	False attribution: drawing conclusion from economic and social roles to inner qualities Need for "understanding" of complex and threatening social phenomena	Fear, envy Need for "understanding" of new social conflicts	Irrational hatred Creating scapegoats

Reading Material for the Analysis of Anti-Semitic Prejudices

(In: Gyula Hosszu: Roads to the Holocaust, Stories about the Holocaust, Budapest, 2002)

Antiquity and the Middle Ages

Page From

Anti-Semitism in Antiquity to Anti-Semitism in Modern Times 13-15
The Politics of the Fathers of the Church and the Early Middle Ages 16-18
The Time of the Crusades 19-21
Anti-Jewish Myths and Legends 21-23
The Economic Sources of Anti-Semitism 23-25
The End of the Middle Ages 25-27
Reformation and Anti-Reformation 27-29

Modern Era and the 20th Century

Modern Anti-Semitism 30-33
Hitler's "Masters" 38-44
The Question Marks of Acceptance 62-63
The First World War and the Revolutions: The Explosion of Anti-Semitism 64-67
The Christian National Thought 68-73

Nazi Anti-Semitism

German Anti-Semitism 76-77 Under the Spell of the Racial Question 96-100 Hitler's Aryan Laws; The Nuremberg Laws 105 The Economic Measures Taken Against the Jews (1938); "Kristalnacht" 108-109 Steps Towards the Final Solution (Endlösung) 115-119
Analysis of Anti-Semitic Prejudices and Stereotypes

Title of reading material:Analysed by (name, names):The type of anti-Semitism:How does prejudice towards Jews manifest itself?

What sorts of stereotypes/prejudices are typical of the era?

The function of the prejudices/stereotypes for non-Jews:

What sort of social conflicts are expressed in anti-Semitism?

What sort of psychological conflicts are expressed in anti-Semitism?

The Definition of Anti-Semitism*

„ In the vernacular, anti-Semitism is generally a synonym for the hatred of Jews. The adjective anti-Semitic is often used to mean anti-Jewish. However, a standard definition of this concept – what is included or for that matter excluded – does not exist. In numerous books, the

concept anti-Semitism is used to define a wide range of negative attitudes toward Jews throughout the ages: from ethnic conflicts in ancient times, to religious rivalry and economic exclusion in the Middle Ages, on to pogroms of the nineteenth century and the far-reaching mass murders of the twentieth century (...)

A three-part breakdown that is regularly used is the distinction between religious anti-Semitism (also referred to as anti-Judaism); social-economic anti-Semitism (the exclusion of Jews from certain professions, particularly in the Middle Ages); and the political anti-Semitism that arose in the nineteenth century primarily based on racial doctrines.

This problem related to usage has existed since the concept anti-Semitism was first introduced. The word was conceived as an alternative or even as the successor to the concept anti-Judaism – an aversion to Judaism as a religion. A strong tradition of anti-Judaism was set in motion in ancient times and continued into the Middle Ages, particularly within the Christian Church. At the end of the nineteenth century, many people considered anti-Semitic ideas “modern”. Anti-Semitism was no longer based on the familiar “old-fashioned” religious prejudices, but on “new”, seemingly scientific, racial doctrines. Both religious and racist anti-Semitic ideas continue to surface today.

The word anti-Semitism became popular around 1880 because of articles and pamphlets written by Wilhelm Marr, a German journalist. Marr coined this new term to express his aversion to Jews and to gain supporters for his League of Anti-Semites. Even though Marr himself was not the originator of the word – who remains a mystery – he has been consigned to posterity as the “father of anti-Semitism”. So, the concept of anti-Semitism was popularized by an anti-Semite. With the introduction of this word, Marr joined the ranks of many contemporary scholars of his time. At the end of the eighteenth century, linguists began looking at ways in which different languages were related to each other. Semitic languages are an example of one of these groups of related languages. Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic all fall under the Semitic language group, as well as a few other languages that were no longer spoken, so-called dead languages. Languages are also distinguished into Indo-European and Turkish language groups. According to race classification of the nineteenth century, those who spoke a Semitic language belonged to the so-called Semitic race.

Anti-Semitism is often called “the oldest form of hatred”. However, the question of just how old is extremely dependent on how the concept is defined. As a relatively new concept, anti-Semitism is often used to describe – in retrospect as well – many rather diverse forms of Jew-hatred and rivalry between Jews and non-Jews. Several overview works on the history of anti-Semitism begin with the period of Greek rule, at the time of the conquest of Alexander the Great (332 B.C.E.). During Grecian times and partly in the Roman period that followed, Jews lived in what was then called Palestine and as a religious minority in a number of areas around the Mediterranean Sea and throughout the Middle East. Diverse anti-Jewish texts from

“Does a standard definition of anti-Semitism exist?” “Where does the word anti-Semitism come from?” “How old is anti-Semitism?” “How are anti-Semitism and the Shoah related?” In: JAAP Tanja: Fifty Questions on Anti-Semitism. Anna Frank House, 2005. 44-47., 50-54, 127-129.

this period do exist and there were even pogroms against Jews. The most notorious pogrom was the murder of the Jews in the Egyptian city of Alexandria (66 C.E.). Other historians prefer to place the emphasis on anti-Semitism in the Middle Ages, for example at the time of the Crusades – a period when Jews were expelled from many European countries – or to emphasise anti-Semitism during the height of the Inquisition, which occurred later on. At that time, religiously inspired anti-Jewish myths and accusations took on grotesque forms. The second half of the Middle Ages was also the time when economic life in many European countries was organized around guilds. Guilds were closed associations of merchants and artisans. In order to practice certain professions, membership in a guild was required. Only Christians could join a guild; Jews were excluded from becoming members. The only

occupations such as trading (often only in second-hand merchandise) and lending money with interest. The Church forbade the latter for Christians. This caused economically tinted stereotypes about Jews to arise. The granting of equal rights and the emancipation of the Jews in Europe began with the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. Almost all the Jewish ghettos in Europe were officially disbanded in the first half of the nineteenth century. Jews were granted equal rights as citizens and the guilds and universities became accessible to them. Despite the emancipation of Jews in European society – and partly due to it – politically and racially motivated anti-Semitism gained in popularity and influence in the second half of the nineteenth century.

There are two schools of thought among World War II historians about the relationship of anti-Semitism and the Shoah: “Intentionalists” versus “Functionalists”. The first group contends that Hitler’s anti-Semitism was the motor behind the persecution of the Jews from the outset and that he was out to destroy the Jews from the very start of his political career. According to them, Hitler’s extremely anti-Semitic book, *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) – written while he was in prison during the 1920s – can be seen as a blueprint for his later political program. This group of historians sees Hitler as both “the” decisive factor and driving force behind the *Endlösung der Judenfrage* (The Final Solution of the Jewish Question). For them, anti-Semitism – especially the persona of Hitler – is the most important factor when explaining the Shoah. Members of the second historical school of thought, Functionalists, do not deny that anti-Semitism in general and Hitler’s anti-Semitism in particular played an important role, but they contend that the relationship between anti-Semitism and the Shoah is not so straightforward. They argue that “the road to Auschwitz” had many curves in it, which could have ended at any number of different destinations. The Nazi program to create a *Judenrein* (cleansed of Jews) Germany and Europe only led to the extermination camps once other “solutions”, such as forced emigration, had failed.

IV. The Stages of the Genocide and the Society of the Holocaust

Time: 5 X 45 minute lesson

Summary: Based on Hilberg’s approach, Nazi genocide is commonly broken into five stages (definition, expropriation, concentration, deportation and murder). In order to understand how the Holocaust could have happened, we have to understand the motivation of the Holocaust society (perpetrators, non-interveners, rescuers, non-Jewish opponents of the Nazis) as well as the vulnerability of the victims.

1. The Stages of the Holocaust* (2 X 45 minute lesson, best in a double lesson)

Preparation: each group will need a copy of the reading material listed. 15-20 photos will be needed from *The Auschwitz Album* for each group (enlarged if possible).

- Break the group up into five smaller groups. The first half of the lesson is spent with each group looking at one of the stages of the Holocaust and reading the selected personal accounts and historical descriptions (see “The Stages of Genocide. The Group Activities”). It does not matter if they do not manage to cover each point. It is important that they look at something they are particularly interested in.
- The second part of the lesson has each group reporting to the class on the stage that it looked at.

II. The Society of the Holocaust (3 X 45 minute lesson)

1. The Society of the Holocaust: model (45 minute lesson)

Preparation: each group will need a copy of “The Society of the Holocaust” sheet.

- Introduce the society of the Holocaust model. Hand “The Society of the Holocaust” sheet out to groups of 4-5 and ask the students, based on what they know and have learnt so far, to name one specific person who belongs to each category. Draw the model on the board and ask the students to give you names to write in each of the categories.
- Discuss Oscar Schindler when his name comes up and ask the students where they would place him in the model. (See the part of “The Society of the Holocaust” reading which talks about him.) If his name does not arise, then ask the students if they have heard his name before and what they know about his life. Then ask one student to sum up what is known in the class about him. If no one knows his story then quickly go through it with the students and then discuss where he should be placed in the model and why.

Based on the teaching ideas of Wolf Kaiser (House of the Wannsee Conference)

Recommendation: it is well worth watching “Schindler’s List” as a follow up to this lesson. Steven Spielberg’s film tells the story of Oscar Schindler and those Jews who were saved by him (187 minutes).

2. Perpetrators, Bystanders and Fellow-Travellers, Rescuers (2 X 45 minute lesson best in a double lesson)

Preparation: make photocopies for the groups.

- Break the group up into four smaller groups and give each group reading material on social psychological issues (Social Production of Moral Indifference, The Problem of Obedience and Responsibility, Conformity and Pluralistic Ignorance). Each group should work through the reading material and collect examples from their everyday lives as well as from films or literature. The groups should then describe to the rest of the class what they have read and which examples occurred to them.
- Now make new groups of four with each person from a different group from the previous session. Give the students the reading material from the list “Perpetrators, Bystanders and Fellow-travellers, Rescuers” as well as the instructions, a pen and a piece of wrapping paper.
- The groups should stick their work on the wall and 10 minutes should be allowed at the end of the lesson for everyone to look at the papers and ask and answer questions.

The Stages of Genocide. The Group Activities

1. Group: Definition.

Imagine that you are correspondents for a newspaper from a neutral country, reporting from Hungary in the period March – May 1944. Your group reported from Berlin in the months of September and October in 1941 and that is why you are fully familiar with the way that the definition of Jews took place in Germany. Do these events remind you of those that took place three years ago? Write a report on what is happening to Jews in Hungary since the German occupation and what aspects of it remind you of what took place in Germany. Is there a

connection between the anti-Jewish laws that were brought earlier (Jewish laws, introduction of forced labour service) and current events? Concentrate on the approach of those affected (perpetrators, victims, bystanders and resisters).

Reading material from Gyula Hosszu: Roads to the Holocaust, Stories about the Vilnius – Marija Rolnikaite 124

Holocaust (Budapest, 2002)

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	Paris – Jorge Semprun	122

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The Anti-Jewish Orders 274 The Yellow Star – Extension of the Order 275 The Hungarian Jewish Council 276 Samu Stern, President of the Jewish Council on the German Occupation 277

2. Group: Expropriation

Some historians believe that the one of the most important motives of the murder of the European Jewry was greed. Based on the source material, debate whether or not you agree with this point of view. Select certain pieces of source material, which you can show to the other groups to demonstrate how the anti-Jewish orders affected the lives of individual people and communities. Prepare presentation material on a large piece of wrapping paper from the selected sources.

Reading material:

page Economic Measures Brought Against the Jews (1938) 108 Kristalnacht – November 9th, 1938 109 The Arrival – Canada Commando 169 The Catch 193

The Number and the Wealth of the Jewry 233 From the Diaries of Imre Ámos 267 The Economic Robbery of the Jewry 283 The Unique Characteristics of the Hungarian Holocaust 350

3. Group: Concentration

Zygmunt Bauman writes the following on the importance of the isolation of the victims in the process of genocide: “In a speech delivered in April 1935, Rabbi Joachim Prinz in Berlin summed up the experience of the ‘sealed-off’ category: ‘The ghetto is the “world”. Outside is the ghetto. On the marketplace, in the street, in the public tavern, everywhere is ghetto. And it has a sign. That sign is: neighbourless...’ By 1935, the future victims of the Holocaust already knew that they were alone. They could not count on the solidarity of others. The suffering they

were living through was theirs alone. People physically so close were spiritually infinitely remote (...) Withdrawal of the outside world cut down the boundaries of the ‘situation’; it had to be defined now solely in terms of the persecutors’ power, from which there was no appeal. (...) In the long run, ghettos were to disclose their role as instruments of concentration – that necessary preliminary stage on the road to deportation and destruction. In the meantime, however, ghettos meant also that one German officer could exercise complete supervision over tens of thousands of Jews – with the help of the Jews themselves, who supplied clerical and manual labour, the communal infrastructure of daily life and the organs responsible for the maintenance of law and order.”*

Demonstrate to the other groups what ghettoisation meant to the Jews (select the parts most characteristic of living conditions and read them out). Look for examples of how Jews packed into ghettos – “neighbourless” – became completely defenceless to the conditions set at the whim of the Nazis and how the Nazis managed to achieve

cooperation from their victims.

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*BAUMAN Zygmunt: *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Polity Press, 1989. 123, 124, 136.

4. Group: Deportation

Everyone is to select a picture from the photographs depicting the arrivals in Auschwitz and write who you see in the picture in as much detail as possible, what aspect the photograph was taken from and what emotions did the person who took the photograph manage to capture. Select one of the recollections – or select one of the interviews from the film *Eyes of the Holocaust* – that somehow seems to match up with the photographs. Show the others which text you chose to go with which picture.

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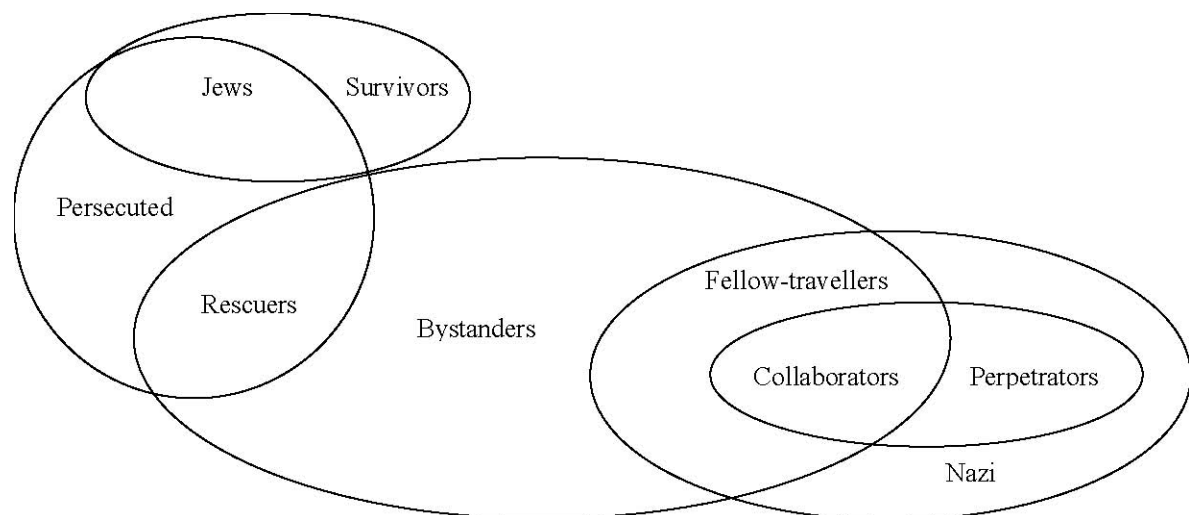
5. Group: Murder

- A. Read the texts on the Auschwitz death camp and the recollections. Write notes on the large wrapping paper of those sentences, words and facts that you see of key importance in order to be able to understand what happened there.

Auschwitz 165 Auschwitz II. – Birkenau 166 Without a Sentence 182 The Days of a Prisoner 183 Camp Pocket Dictionary 191. The Prize 193 The Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz 315 The Unique Characteristics of the Hungarian Holocaust 349

- B. Read the texts describing the behaviour and way of thinking of the two key figures in the murders that were carried out in Auschwitz: Eichmann and Höss. Write notes on the large wrapping paper of those sentences, words and facts that you see of key importance in order to be able to understand what kind of people they were.

The Society of the Holocaust: Model*



Social production of moral indifference *

By conventional clinical criteria no more than 10 per cent of the SS could be considered 'abnormal'. This observation fits the general trend of testimony by survivors indicating that in most of the camps, there was usually one, or at most a few, SS men known for their intense outbursts of sadistic cruelty. The others were not always decent persons, but their behaviour was at least considered comprehensible by the prisoners (...) We know even that when, for instance, members of the *Einsatzgruppen* and other units similarly close to the scene of actual killings were enlisted, special care was taken to weed out – bar or discharge – all particularly keen, emotionally charged, ideologically over-zealous individuals. We know that individual initiatives were discouraged, and much effort was made to keep the whole task in a businesslike and strictly impersonal framework. Personal gains, and personal motives in general, were censured and penalized. Killings induced by desire or pleasure, unlike those following orders and perpetrated in an organized fashion, could lead (at least in principle) to

trial and conviction, like ordinary murder or manslaughter. (...) The SS leaders counted (...) on organizational routine, not on individual zeal; on discipline, not ideological dedication. (...)

And so, how were these ordinary Germans transformed into the German perpetrators of mass crime? (...) Moral inhibitions against violent atrocities tend to be eroded once three conditions are met (...) The violence is *authorized* (by official orders coming from the legally entitled quarters), actions are *routinized* (by rule-

HEYL Matthias: Nevelés Auschwitz után. Az oktatás változzék szociológiává. (Education after Auschwitz. Teaching should become sociology) In: Kovács, M. (ed): Holokausztoktatás és autonómiára nevelés (Holocaust education and promoting autonomy). HAE, 2001. 52.

* BAUMAN Zygmunt: Modernity and the Holocaust. Polity Press, 1989. 19,20,21, 24, 26, 27. governed practices and exact specification of roles), and the victims of the violence are *dehumanized* (by ideological definitions and indoctrinations). (...)

It must be kept in mind that most of the participants [of genocide] did not fire rifles at Jewish children or pour gas into gas chambers ... Most bureaucrats composed memoranda, drew up blueprints, talked on the telephone, and participated in conferences. They could destroy a whole people by sitting at their desk. (...) Little moral opprobrium was attached to the natural human proclivity to avoid worrying more than necessity required – and thus to abstain from examining the whole length of the causal chain up to its furthest links. (...)

At the *Einsatzgruppen* stage, the rounded-up victims were brought in front of machine guns and killed at point-blank range. Though efforts were made to keep the weapons at the longest possible distance from the ditches into which the murdered were to fall, it was exceedingly difficult for the shooters to overlook the connection between shooting and killing. This is why the administrators of genocide found the method primitive and inefficient (...) [that] led to the invention of first the mobile, then the stationary gas chambers; the latter (...) reduced the role of the killer to that of the ‘sanitation officer’ asked to empty a sackful of ‘disinfecting chemicals’ through an aperture in the roof of a building the interior of which he was not prompted to visit. (...)

The ‘universe of obligation’ designates the outer limits of the social territory inside which moral questions may be asked at all with any sense. On the other side of the boundary, moral precepts do not bind, and moral evaluations are meaningless. To render the humanity of victims invisible, one needs merely to evict them from the universe of obligation. (...) To exclude the Jews from the universe of obligation it was only necessary to deprive them of the membership in the German nation and state community. (...) To induce the co-operation (or just inaction or indifference) of non-German Europeans, more was needed (...) The eviction of the Jews from the German nation had to be supplanted by their total dehumanization.

The Problem of Obedience and Responsibility*

In Stanley Milgram’s famous experiment, those participating were told that they were taking part in an experiment in which the aim was to investigate the influence of punishment on learning. In the experiment, the “teacher”, who was really the subject of the experiment, gave an electric shock of increasing magnitude when the “learner” answered incorrectly. (Naturally the “teacher” was not giving a real electric shock but that is what the “teacher” believed” and the “learner” was a trained actor.) The strength of the shock increased and the “teacher” gave a shock of 15V for the first mistake (can hardly be felt), 30V for the second mistake and 45V for the third mistake. The “learner” shouted in pain when the larger shocks

were applied and even pleaded for mercy. Despite this, 62% of “teachers” carried on until 450V, which was marked on the panel as being fatal.

The most frightening news brought about the Holocaust and by what we learned of its perpetrators was not the likelihood that ‘this’ could be done to us, but the idea that we could do it. (...) The person who, with inner conviction, loathes stealing, killing, and assault, may find himself performing these acts with relative ease

BAUMAN Zygmunt: *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Polity Press, 1989. 152, 154, 155, 157-58, 159-61, 163 when commanded by authority. Behaviour that is unthinkable in an individual who is acting on his own may be executed without hesitation when carried out under orders. (...)

Perhaps the most striking among Milgram’s findings is the inverse ratio of readiness to cruelty and proximity to its victim. It is difficult to harm a person we touch. It is somewhat easier to afflict pain upon a person we only hear. It is quite easy to be cruel towards a person we neither see nor hear.

If harming a person involves direct bodily contact, the perpetrator is denied the comfort of unnoticing the causal link between his action and the victim’s suffering. The causal link is bare and obvious, and so is the responsibility for pain. When the subjects of Milgram’s experiments were told force the victims’ hands on the plate through which the electric shock was allegedly administered, only 30 per cent continued to fulfil the command till the end of the experiment. When, instead of grasping the victim’s hand they were asked only to manipulate the levers of the control desk, the proportion of the obedient went up to 40 per cent. When the victims were hidden behind a wall, so that only their anguished screams were audible, the number of subjects ready to ‘see it to the end’ jumped to 62.5 per cent. (...) The greater was the physical and psychical distance from the victim, the easier it was to be cruel. (...)

Milgram listed sequential action among the main ‘binding factors’ (i.e. factors locking the subject in his situation) (...) Subjects enter the experiment recognizing some commitments to cooperate with the experimenter; after all, they have agreed to participate (...) When the learner makes his first error, subjects are asked to shock him. The shock level is 15 volts. A 15-volt shock is entirely harmless, imperceptible. There is no moral issue here. Of course the next shock is more powerful, but only slightly so. Indeed every shock is only slightly more powerful than the last. The quality of the subject’s action changes from something entirely blameless to something unconscionable, but by degrees. (...) If the subject decides that giving the next shock is not permissible, then, since it is (in every case) only slightly more intense than the last one, what was the justification for administering the last shock he just gave? To deny the propriety of the step he is about to take is to undercut the propriety of the step he just took, and this undercuts the subject’s own moral position. The subject is trapped by his gradual commitment to the experiment. (...)

To the expressions of moral anguish, the experimenters kept replying with a bland, routine and insipid formula: ‘No permanent damage to the tissue will be caused’. Most of the participants were only too glad to accept this consolation and preferred not to think through the possibilities which the formula left undiscussed (most conspicuously, the moral virtue of temporary damage to the tissue, or simply of the agony of pain). What mattered to them was the reassurance that someone ‘on high’ had considered what is and what is not ethically acceptable. (...)

What the bureaucratic organization is likely to be once the responsibility shifting is occurring continuously, and at all levels of its hierarchy? We may surmise that the overall effect of such a continuous and ubiquitous responsibility shifting would be a free-floating responsibility, a situation in which each and every member of the organization is convinced, and would say so if asked, that he has been at some else’s beck and call, but the members pointed to by others as the bearers of responsibility would pass the buck to someone else

again. One can say that the organization as a whole is an instrument to obliterate responsibility. The causal links in co-ordinated actions are masked, and the very fact that responsibility is essentially 'unpinnable', while every participant of these acts is convinced that it does reside with some 'proper authority'.

The Social Nature of Evil*

In Zimbardo's experiment (planned for a fortnight, but stopped after one week for fear of irreparable damage to the body and mind of the subjects) volunteers had been divided at random into prisoners and prison guards. Both sides were given the symbolic trappings of their position. Prisoners, for example, wore tight caps which simulated shaven heads, and gowns which made them appear ridiculous. Their guards were put in uniforms and given dark glasses which hid their eyes from being looked into by the prisoners. No side was allowed to address the other by name; strict impersonality was the rule. There was long list of petty regulations invariably humiliating for the prisoners and stripping them of human dignity. (...) The construed superiority of the guards rebounded in the submissiveness of the prisoners, which in its turn tempted the guards into further displays of their powers, which were then duly reflected in more self-humiliation on the part of the prisoners ... The guards forced the prisoners to chant filthy songs, to defecate in buckets which they did not allow them to empty, to clean toilets with bare hands; the more they did it, the more they acted as if they were convinced of the non-human nature of the prisoners, and the less they felt constrained in inventing and administering measure of an ever-more appalling degree of inhumanity.

The sudden transmogrification of likeable and decent American boys into near monsters of the kind allegedly to be found only in places like Auschwitz or Treblinka is horrifying. But it is also baffling. It led some observers to surmise that in most people, if not in all of us, there lives a little SS man waiting to come out (...) the 'latent Eichmann' hidden in ordinary men (...) And yet, clearly and unambiguously, the orgy of cruelty that took Zimbardo and his colleagues by surprise, stemmed from a vicious social arrangement, and not from the viciousness of the participants. Were the subjects of the experiment assigned to the opposite roles, the overall result would not be different. What mattered was the existence of a polarity, and not who was allocated to its respective sides. What did matter was that some people were given a total, exclusive and untempered power over some other people. (...)

The most poignant point, it seems, is the easiness with which most people slip into the role requiring cruelty or at least moral blindness -if only the role has been duly fortified and legitimized by superior authority.

Conformity and the Pluralistic Ignorance

Conformity is when an individual adopts a certain view in order to avoid confronting the other members of a group. The classic experiment in conformity was performed by Asch. He showed a line to all eight members of a group and they were all asked to compare this to three other lines and say which of the other three lines was of the same length. In reality, seven members of the group were working for Asch and the experiment was not really about comparing the length of various lines but rather about whether the experimentee will agree with the others even when the answer supplied by them is obviously incorrect. In 33 % of cases, the experimentee

BAUMAN Zygmunt: *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Polity Press, 1989. 166-168.
did in fact claim to agree with the others rather than to contradict the group's opinion. 75% of

the experimentees gave incorrect answers at least once during the trials – in keeping with the other members of the group – despite the fact that the correct answer to the question was astoundingly obvious. One of the reasons that it is uncomfortable to contradict the opinion of the others is because this appears to be questioning their ability to make a correct decision. This pressure is greater the closer the members of the group are to one another. The group is best able to influence its members if those members are determined to belong to the group. .

Conformity also occurs when an individual finds himself or herself in an uncertain situation and so relies on the opinion of the group. In such cases the individual does not only publicly agree with the view of the group, as it was the case in Asch's experiment, but he or she adopts the view of the group as his or her own. In this case, the view of the others becomes a sort of reference point in times of uncertainty.

The truth of the matter is that individuals do not always realistically measure the views of others, it can happen that an individual assumes – sometimes wrongly – that, except he or she, the whole group holds the same opinion. This means that he or she thinks that all the other members of the group accept the norm without criticism. In such case, the non-conformist does not even attempt to change the norm and in fact support the norm by not voicing their opposition, which is seen by others as approval.

Perpetrators, Bystanders and Fellow-Travellers, Rescuers

The reading material dealt with in previous lessons looked at how moral inhibitions related to aggressive acts disappear in certain circumstances, why it is so easy to be obedient and why it is so difficult to get out of a sequential situation, and with the social nature of evil and conformity. One of the main reasons that the Nazi genocide took place was that a dictatorial leader of a totalitarian state and those around him determined to completely annihilate a people. However, researchers consider the previously mentioned factors very important as well in trying to decipher how the Holocaust was able to come about in Europe in the middle of the 20th century.

These social psychological processes can be vital not only to understand the behaviour of the perpetrators but also of the bystanders. The rescuers confronted the power of these processes as well but listened to their own conscience. How were they able to do this? Is it possible that little steps played as much a role in giving help as they did in perpetration of evil? Psychologists point to exactly this when they examine the motivation of the rescuers. Conformity did not always lead to compliance with the Nazis as certain groups put great pressure on their members to resist the Nazis and to help the victims.

Choose a group which particularly interests you in terms of its behaviour and write all the information that you can on your paper about their personal motivation and the social psychological processes which could have played a part in their behaviour. Write up a few sentences that you think best sum up their motivations.

Reading material from Gyula Hosszu: Roads to the Holocaust, Stories about the Holocaust (Budapest, 2002)

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The Bystander Majority

The Roots of Totalitarianism 93-95 Berlin 121-122 Peasants in Treblinka 164-165 What Did They Know About the Holocaust During the War? 225-226 Evaluation of the First and the Second Jewish Laws 240-241 The System of German Occupation 271-273 Our Responsibility for What Happened 344 Collective Madness 347-348

Rescuers, Non-Jewish Resistance Fighters

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The Society of the Holocaust*

The Israeli historian, Yehuda Bauer, described three lessons to be learned from the Holocaust which Michael Berenbaum referred to as the three human commandments: “Thou shalt not be a victim, thou shalt not be a perpetrator, above all, thou shalt not be a bystander!” And with this, Bauer emphasises the role played by the bystanders in the history of Auschwitz. They were the ones who with their action or lack of action, with their behaviour and passivity, decided on which side they wanted to be, on the side of the perpetrators or that of the persecuted. The perpetrators recruited more perpetrators and accomplices from among the bystanders: as only a small minority of the perpetrators were committed from the very beginning. The large majority of them began as bystanders. A model referred to as the “society of the Holocaust” can be of help to us in examining this process.

The bystanders stand in the centre and they form the centre of the society. Some of them joined the fellow-travellers while others became helpers of the

Based on extracts from HEYL Matthias: Nevelés Auschwitz után. Az oktatás változzék szociológiává. (Education after Auschwitz. Teaching should become sociology) In: Kovács, M. (ed): Holokausztoktatás és autonómiára nevelés (Holocaust education and promoting autonomy). HAE, 2001. 48.52-53.

perpetrators (collaborators) with some of these becoming fully-fledged perpetrators. Others – and these are in the minority – decided to help those persecuted and, in so doing, place themselves at risk of persecution. In this model, the central theme of which is the persecution of Jews, there is only one group to which the Nazis gave no choice, blocked off any possibility of being only bystanders to the events, and that is the Jews or rather those people who were defined as being Jewish. A few of them managed to escape; many of them became victims of the persecution and most of them of murder.

One of the key terms – for the non-Jews – is choice and, in the case of Jews living in ghettos or concentration camps, these were choiceless choices. The decisions of those who decided to save people prove that the decision of one individual counts and that there were many different forms of non-conformist behaviour available both in Germany and in other countries under the control of the Nazi Germany.

Oscar Schindler, for example, at the beginning and like many of his peers, was a

bystander and then he decided to join the Nazi Party, but did this step mean that he was one of the fellow-travellers or a Nazi? He was a profiteer of the Holocaust – as an “Aryaniser”. Did this make him a perpetrator or rather a helper of the Nazis or perpetrators? Finally, when he decided to help his “own Jews”, he became a helper of the victims.

His placement in the model raises many questions. It is only when we try to place him in this model that we run up against its limits. At the same time it gives us an opportunity to become involved with the life of a person, who with the contradictions – brings dynamics into the model. When we – students and teachers -approach Schindler’s personality with thought and understanding it might arouse empathy and the interpretational argument may contain moments of self-reflection because it makes it necessary to examine our own standards.