Addressing Antisemitism through Education in the Visegrad Group Countries
A Mapping Report
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Acknowledgements

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Foreword

We established ENCATE in May 2019 based on the view that there is a lack of networking among European educational civil society tackling contemporary antisemitism. We identified two main objectives. First, educators and experts needed a permanent agora for sharing approaches, methods, and resources that are effective on the ground but do not receive the deserved attention at the international level. In this agora, practitioners could share what they find impactful from their toolbox and explore what might be useful to them in the repertoire of their colleagues.

While it is true that educators should tailor their methods to the local context, they still have much to learn from international experiences – especially when tackling a phenomenon as complex and multifaceted as antisemitism.

Over the past two and a half years since its establishment, ENCATE has consistently applied different measures to achieve its goal of becoming a community of practice. Today, we can proudly say that ENCATE has successfully achieved its first objective of creating a safe space for exchange and solidarity through its network meetings, lunch talks, study visits, and educational programs.

The second objective we identified for ENCATE was to be a bridge for education practitioners to extend their learning and needs to international players and decision-makers. Therefore, the network works to leverage the advocacy capacities of its member organizations and improve overall communication between actors seeking to counter antisemitism. We think our stakeholders benefit from the knowledge and experience we have accumulated over the years in the field.

Regarding this second objective, I believe this report you are reading is an important milestone for ENCATE. Our colleague from the Czulent Jewish Association, Anna Makowka-Kwapisiewicz, researched over the summer of 2021 to map educational policies and practices in the Visegrad Group countries. Our purpose was to provide a snapshot of the policies and implementations so that we understand the status quo and coordinate our responses with our stakeholders. Thus, the findings and recommendations in this report will hopefully complement existing measures to address antisemitism in this region and Europe as a whole. We plan to continue similar studies for other regions and with different focuses.

The efforts and practices covered in this report have reminded us that we can only confront hatred and ignorance through coordinated and informed action. This collaboration includes government agencies, European institutions, civil society organizations, universities, museums, memory sites, Jewish communities, and other stakeholders.

Emrah Gürsel
Executive Co-Director
KlgA e.V.
Introduction

Education is a public good available to everyone regardless of their origins and social status. It is a tool that can influence and change attitudes, increase the openness of society and counteract antisemitism. How can education addressing antisemitism function when international human rights are seen as a threat to sovereignty and national values, when antisemitism, Islamophobia and xenophobia are politicized, and minorities are excluded from civil rights? How can education function in the Visegrad Group (V4) countries when antisemitism has been instrumentalized, turned into a political tool and cultural code in the region? Close cooperation of authorities, non-governmental organizations, educational institutions and the Jewish communities to effectively prevent antisemitism, seems to be the only solution.

Therefore, this report’s primary goal is to verify whether such cooperations occur and map the measures taken to counteract antisemitism through education. The research focuses on the V4 countries\(^{1}\) in Central Europe—Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary—and was conducted from March through to the end of September 2021.

This report is based on a variety of sources. First and foremost, this mapping report draws on the latest studies on antisemitism\(^ {2}\) published in the Visegrad countries. Secondly, it examines the policies implemented as a result of the V4 countries’ commitments to fostering remembrance and education about the Holocaust and antisemitism. Finally, governmental and non-governmental initiatives were analyzed as a source of good practice in addressing all forms of antisemitism as well as other forms of intolerance and discrimination.\(^ {3}\)

In addition to desk research, this report is based on 24 interviews with experts, researchers, and pioneers in creating school curricula and textbooks on the Holocaust and antisemitism. The interviewees are chosen from various non-governmental organizations, educational institutions, schools, academies and international institutions to truly represent the educational scene dealing with antisemitism. Interviews were also conducted with members of the Jewish community to depict community involvement and to examine the effectiveness of the actions taken.\(^ {4}\)

This document consists of five main sections. Section 1 is intended to provide the reader with some relevant background information before examining specific educational measures in the region. The section begins by providing important figures on antisemitic attitudes in the region. After this brief problem definition, the section outlines the legal context in addressing the problem. In terms of the legal context, this section will briefly introduce you to relevant EU policies, the implications of the IHRA working definition of antisemitism, and penal measures in the region.

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\(^{1}\) The Visegrad Group (V4) was created on February 15, 1991. Its goal was to increase cooperation in making democratic state structures and a free market economy. Later it participated in the European integration process, exchange of experiences and cultural, scientific, educational cooperation, and youth exchange programs.

\(^{2}\) In this report, we have employed the working definition of antisemitism adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).

\(^{3}\) Further information can be found in the “Methodology” section.

\(^{4}\) The appendix contains a list of the interviewees.
Section 2 of this report examines Holocaust commemoration activities to broaden our understanding of the situation. This is because these activities strongly affect the discourse on antisemitism and measures to prevent it. Section 3 focuses on relevant government policies in different subsections about the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. These subsections concentrate mainly on formal education measures and therefore include some critical details about textbooks, curricula, and teacher training. In addition, we added a further subsection, “Holocaust Distortion Affects Education,” because we believe that it is not only the formal policies that define the impact of education but also the challenges around the remembrance of the Holocaust on the ground. This part, therefore, focuses on the issues arising from Holocaust distortion and trivialization.

It is important to point out that many inspiring projects also take place in the region. For this reason, Section 4 introduces civil society measures and shares plenty of good practices. Finally, in Section 5, we share some recommendations for bettering antisemitism prevention efforts by national and local authorities, civil society, and international organizations. The list of recommendations is open for further discussion and improvement.

We hope that the findings and recommendations of this report will facilitate closer collaboration between authorities, NGOs and other key stakeholders at national and international levels.
Methodology

This publication summarizes the findings of research conducted in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia and subsequent interviews in each country.

Fieldwork Period

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<td>HUNGARY</td>
<td>March–September, 2021</td>
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<td>SLOVAKIA</td>
<td>March–September, 2021</td>
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Type of Interviews

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<td>HUNGARY</td>
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Twenty-four interviews were conducted with professionals from research institutions and other international organizations dealing with antisemitism, as well as teachers and representatives of organizations that train teachers and specialize in creating guidelines and curricula for education about the Holocaust and antisemitism (Please see the Appendix for the list of interviewees.)

The purpose of the interviews was to get to know each environment in order to understand its background and identify developments in its systems of educational policy and prevention of antisemitism.

Study Area

Study was done by analyzing available publications and summary reports regarding public attitudes in the Visegrad countries, including state resolutions, newspaper articles, websites of foreign ministries and other international institutions in the V4.

Resources

A summary of the reports and publications used can be found in the “References” section.
SECTION 1

Antisemitism – Problem Definition and Legal Mechanisms
1. Antisemitism in the V4 countries

The history and circumstances of Jewish life across the V4 countries was similar. Jews influenced history, culture, and heritage, contributing to their region and country’s socio-cultural and economic development. However, coexisting with the majority non-Jewish populations did not eliminate anti-Judaism, or later antizionist attitudes. Antisemitism became a part of the political narrative consolidating the majority population, and nationalism became a building block of national identity.

As a result, representatives of the minority community were viewed as “other” and treated as scapegoats, blamed for any failure. It did not matter whether the community was integrated with the majority population. On the contrary, the more secularized the Jewish community was, the more the societal majority was anxious about it.

The tragic culmination of this situation was the Holocaust, the Jewish genocide. In Poland, out of around 3.5 million Jews, just 300,000 survived (including those who fled to the USSR); in the Czech Republic, out of 118,310 Jews living in the so-called Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, only 30,000 survived; in Hungary, of 760,000–780,000 Hungarian Jews 500,000–530,000 were killed; and out of 88,000 Jews living in the territory of Slovakia, 72,000 were deported to Nazi concentration camps in Poland by the pro-Nazi government.

At first glance, post-war regimes protected the surviving Jewish community; however, communist parties (and others) resurrected antisemitic ideology, using it as a well-known and proven political tool.

Instability and an increase in antisemitism and physical violence against the Jewish community in the decades following the Holocaust resulted in mass emigration from the V4 countries to Israel. The remaining community was almost completely assimilated and acculturated. At present, it is difficult even to determine the number of Jews living in a given country, as the Census does not necessarily reflect the sense of identity of community members. Nevertheless, based on estimated figures, the World Jewish Congress has indicated that approximately 10,000 Jews live in Poland, 3,900 in the Czech Republic, 2,600 in Slovakia, and between 75,000 and 100,000 in Hungary.

On the one hand, Jewish culture and tradition are currently very popular. More and more, young people are involved in educational projects, organize meetings, and discover and revitalize the memory of Jewish inhabitants of their towns. On the other hand, the mere mention of topics related to the Holocaust, and especially to antisemitism, very often evokes deep emotions. For some, Jewish issues are connected to painful feelings, and for others to rage, perpetuating specific topics being described using euphemisms such as “touchy” or “controversial.” Moreover, the continuity of antisemitism is noticeable in public discourse.

The latest research conducted within the project Combat Antisemitism in Central Europe (ComAnCE) shows that Central European societies view antisemitism as a grave problem; however, its manifestations have changed. In addition to perpetuating hatred towards Jews, it excludes and discredits liberal elites that favor pluralism and a multicultural society.

As a result, antisemitism acts as a substitute, a stigma, blaming Jews—most often those who are considered being Jewish—for any failure or political and economic chaos. Researchers claim that it “is a global process which constitutes a rejection of the liberal democratic system. On the other hand, neo-antisemitism is used as a weapon against an open society. Twenty-first Century antisemitism is linked to authoritarian tendencies becoming the cultural code rejecting bourgeois liberalism and modern democratic society.”

5 The official statistics compiled by the Jewish Religious Community in Prague for the Nazi authorities state that 26,110 of the 118,310 Jews living in the Protectorate on March 15, 1939, left the Bohemian Lands. This figure does not account for those who fled illegally over the border to Poland or Slovakia. Between 4,000–6,000 additional individuals fled in this manner. Archiv Židovské muzeum v Praze (hereafter ZMP), Dokumenty perzekuce, file 47/1. These 118,310 individuals were not all Jewish by religion but considered racially Jewish by Nazi racial policies. Laura E. Brade, Networks of Escape: Jewish Flight from the Bohemia Lands, 1938-1941, (Chapel Hill, 2017), p. 1.


9 These numbers are the result of the census, membership in Jewish organizations and participation in Jewish holidays.

10 Combat Antisemitism in Central Europe (ComAnCE), Bratislava Policy Institute (Slovakia) project in cooperation with Civipolis o.p.s. (Czech Republic), Republicon Institute (Hungary) and Villa Decius (Poland). The main objective of ComAnCE project (REC-AG-2018/REC-RRAC-RACI-AG-2018) is to produce and present—to state authorities, the police force, fellow researchers, European institutions and bodies—findings focused on discrimination and hate crime with clear categorization, types and indicators of antisemitic hate speech/hate crime in Central Europe (the V4), as well as a profile of consumers/distributors of such hate speech/crimes. More at: https://www.bpi.sk/project/combat-antisemitism-in-central-europe/

11 Raport ze stanu badań nad antysemityzmem w Środkowej Europie, Combat Antisemitism in Central Europe (ComAnCE), (Villa Decius: Kraków, 2021), pp. 4–7.
Moreover, it binds together all theories based on prejudices and stereotypes. Its universalism and ability to adapt, regardless of the country’s level of democratization, are also striking. We must take into account history, culture and socio-economic factors to fully understand the phenomenon. Without these, we will not be able to understand modern antisemitism in the V4 countries fully. Despite expert analyses and research, we still do not fully understand how contemporary antisemitism is rooted in the region’s cultural and political heritage and/or how it differs from the Western European models (Barna and Felix 2017; Barna et al. 2018).  

The latest Globsec research (2020) on conspiracy theories shows that antisemitic thinking is still quite common in Central Europe. Fifty-one percent of Slovaks agree with the antisemitic statement that: “Jews have power and control over many governments in the world.” Thirty-eight percent of Poles, and 49% (38% in 2018) of Hungarians share this view. In the Czech Republic, “only” 25% agreed with this statement. As a result, Jews are blamed for establishing a new totalitarian order and creating a migration crisis to destroy European culture—e.g., George Soros. Forty-nine percent in Hungary and 56% in the Czech Republic believe that anti-government protests were organized and financed by Soros. Statistical data correlates with media analysis. Among antisemitic conspiracy theories in the media, the most prevalent headline of a news report reading: “Will Trzaskowski fulfill Jewish demands?” As the Media Ethics Council announced: “The state television materials (...) breach, against Poland’s interests, regulations of the Media Ethics Charter, especially during the pre-election periods. The rise of antisemitism, racism and hatred towards minorities is not in the country’s—a member of the European Union and NATO—interest.”

The Warsaw University’s Center for Research on Prejudice experts believe that: “More negative attitudes towards Jews and Roma were shaped to a greater extent by an exceptionally long election campaign, strongly engaging, referring to the lowest instincts (...).” Recent research (…), analyzing reports on bias-motivated crimes, show that when the level of prejudice increases in society, people are relatively more likely to perpetrate hateful attacks (...).  

13 En-It3-modern-Antisemitism-in-the-Visegrad-countries-countering-distortion—hra-briefing-2021-online-version.pdf  
15 The article was illustrated with a picture of the President accentuating the shape of her nose, suggesting her “Jewish appearance.” A similar tactic was also used during the European and presidential elections in Poland. The Confederation of Freedom and Independence (KORWIN Braun Liroy Narodowcy), a far-right and anti-abortion political party, was formed specifically for the European parliamentary elections. The Confederation campaign in the European elections was based on anti-American and antisemitic slogans. Their narrative reference the 447 Act, claiming Poland would have to “pay the Jews 300 million US dollars, and the US Congress is to blame for everything.” Polls showed increased support for the Confederation. According to research, its supporters were mainly young men aged 18–34 with right-wing views. Antisemitism was also present in the 2020 Polish presidential campaign. ODIHR reported: “The campaign was marked by negative rhetoric, harsh mutual accusations, and vilification of the opponents contributing to the perception of the election in zero-sum terms. ODIHR noted instances of intolerant rhetoric of xenophobic, homophobic and antisemitic nature, particularly by the incumbent’s campaign and the public broadcaster.” The primetime news on public television suggested that the opposition presidential candidate, Mr Rafal Trzaskowski, would support Jewish demands for Holocaust restitution, with the headline of a news report reading: “Will Trzaskowski fulfill Jewish demands?” The Media Ethics Council announced: “The state television materials (...) breach, against Poland’s interests, regulations of the Media Ethics Charter, especially during the pre-election periods. The rise of antisemitism, racism and hatred towards minorities is not in the country’s—a member of the European Union and NATO—interest.”

18 A Bill known in the US as the “JUST Act” (Justice for Uncompensated Survivors Today) has five points guiding the US Department of State. It is to include each year in the Report on Human Rights (or in other reports) “estimation of the character and scope of national laws or policies in effect regarding the identification, return, or restitution of property seized during the Holocaust.”

22 The issue of Jewish property restitution has been under the surface of Polish politics for years, and governments of both the left and the right have dodged the issue.  
24 Dr Mikolaj Winiewski, assistant professor at the Center for Research on Prejudice at the Department of Psychology, University of Warsaw, Affiliate assistant professor at Delaware University. More at: https://publicystyka.ngo.pl/skutki-uprzedzen-sa-bardzo-powazne-wywiad
Holocaust and antisemitism clichés were used during the 2021 parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic. After losing elections, “Volný blok,” a right-wing populist party, compared its defeat to the situation of Jews in the Third Reich. In the Czech Republic and Hungary, Jews were also blamed for the “Islamization of Europe” and the destruction of European culture.\textsuperscript{29} In Wrocław, Poland, in 2015, a demonstration orchestrated by nationalist organizations ended with the burning of an effigy of an orthodox Jew.\textsuperscript{26}

These above-mentioned examples complement research conducted in the V4 (Barna and Felix 2018, 331). Therefore it can be concluded that far-right groups in the V4 region base their rhetoric on anti-Zionism, anti-communism, conspiracy theories and attack the memory of the Holocaust.\textsuperscript{27}

According to András Kovács, this form of contemporary antisemitism “came into existence with the modern age and is generally secular, based predominantly on the concept of race rather than religion.”\textsuperscript{28}

The quoted studies conducted in the V4 countries confirm that negative attitudes towards Jews correlate with general attitudes towards other minority groups. The mechanisms of the ethnicization of public space, and the specific historical conditions that led to national unification, excluded others from mainstream society. Therefore, in all the V4 countries, diversity is seen as a negative phenomenon. According to respondents, among ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic diversity, only cultural diversity is perceived rather positively in Poland and Slovakia, and linguistic diversity in the Czech Republic. Negative attitudes towards diversity increase with the age of the respondents. The survey also tested the perception of specific minorities.\textsuperscript{29} The Roma community is perceived negatively in all the V4 countries (Poland, having a smaller Roma community than the other V4 countries, has a less negative perception). A relatively high level of Islamophobia has been observed in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, while at the same time, people in Hungary and the Czech Republic registered as slightly more open to people of color than in Slovakia and Poland. Attitudes towards Jews varied in the V4 countries, with the majority of responses being ambivalent. However, the Czech Republic registered a notably more positive attitude toward Jews—6% declared negative attitudes, and 38% positive.

Nevertheless, experts note that although the Czech Republic is considered a country with a low level of antisemitism, anti-Jewish attitudes have not disappeared from Czech society. While not an immediate threat, the phenomenon persists in particular political and cultural circles. In addition, the Czech Republic faces challenges of more traditional forms of antisemitism, such as belief in “blood libel” and other conspiracy theories. These views are not aligned with the partisan political divisions and often lead to unexpected alliances.\textsuperscript{30}

2. Legal context in addressing antisemitism

2.1 EUROPEAN UNION LEGAL ACTS

Research by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights shows antisemitism permeates social discourse, replicating and perpetuating negative stereotypes about Jews in Europe.\textsuperscript{31} The very fact of belonging to a Jewish community increases likelihood of abuse. Moreover, many people believe antisemitism is an increasingly severe problem in the country of their residence (in comparison to data from 2012).\textsuperscript{32}

In December 2015, as a result of initiatives undertaken by the European Commission at the European Union and at a global level, a Coordinator for Combating Antisemitism was appointed.\textsuperscript{33}

In 2016, a high-level EU group focused on combating racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance was established.\textsuperscript{34} The group developed guidelines and policy recommendations to improve responses to hate crime and hate speech, including antisemitic bias. This year, a code of conduct for combating online hate speech was agreed upon with IT companies.

\textsuperscript{25} Raport ze stanu badań nad antysemityzmem, p. 24.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid. pp. 24–25.
\textsuperscript{27} “Hungary” in Modern Antisemitism in the Visegrad Countries, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid. p.10.
\textsuperscript{29} Four minorities within the Visegrad Group—Roma, Jews, Muslims and black people—perceived with negative connotations were researched.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid. p. 3
\textsuperscript{33} The European Union organized the first high-level forum on global antisemitism in cooperation with Canada, the US and Israel in 2016 to promote the EU’s efforts on combating antisemitism on a global scale.
\textsuperscript{34} More at: https://ec.europa.eu/poland/news/ku-unii-wolnej-od-antysemityzmu_pl
A significant step was the adoption of the 2017 resolution on combating antisemitism by the European Parliament. It calls for increased efforts at the local, national and European levels. A further declaration on countering antisemitism in all policy areas was adopted by the Council in 2020, while a more comprehensive and innovative approach is proposed in the most recent strategy on countering antisemitism, adopted on October 5, 2021. Here the Commission has proposed not only a series of actions to prevent and combat antisemitism, but to protect and nurture Jewish life and support Holocaust education, research and remembrance. As a result, some EU Member States responded by appointing coordinators for combating antisemitism, others adopted or endorsed the Working Definition of Antisemitism of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).

2.2 IHRA WORKING DEFINITION OF ANTISEMITISM

The European Commission sees the Working Definition of Antisemitism of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) as a valuable tool to counter and combat antisemitism. Thirty-one out of fifty-seven OSCE participating states are IHRA members, and 17 participating states have adopted the IHRA’s Working Definition of Antisemitism, including the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary.

IHRA’s working definition of antisemitism is a legally non-binding comprehensive definition of antisemitism, including clear examples of the various forms it can take. For example, traditional tropes, the growing problem of Holocaust denial, and new forms of antisemitism connected to Israel, such as demonizing the Jewish State or holding local Jewish communities responsible for its actions. “The governments were slow to recognize antisemitic incidents. They were frequently dismissed as reactions to the Middle East conflict.”

The Definition was created as a result of the cooperation of the American Jewish Committee, the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) and Jewish communities. The purpose was to help government and civil society as well as law enforcement in their work.

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41 For more on the creation of the Definition see: The working Definition of Antisemitism. What Does It Mean, Why Is It Important, and What Should We Do With It? American Jewish Committee (AJC), https://www.ajc.org/the-working-definition-of-antisemitism

42 Ibid.

The first in the V4 to adopt the Definition was Slovakia. On November 28, 2018, members of the National Council adopted the resolution on the Definition. The initiator of the process was the Chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, Andrej Danko (SNS). Moreover, the Slovak Parliament adopted the June 1, 2017 Resolution of the European Parliament on Combating Antisemitism, stating that hate speech and all forms of violence against European citizens of Jewish origin are contrary to EU values. The resolution recommends governments analyze the legal system and, where necessary, draft legislative acts with relevant provisions to follow the Definition in all actions and decisions of the Slovak Republic authorities.

After Slovakia, the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic adopted a resolution on the Definition of Antisemitism on January 25, 2019, which was approved by the Senate of the Parliament two days later.

The last country from those of the V4 who adopted the Definition was Hungary. The Hungarian government published a resolution on February 18, 2019, in the official newspaper “Magyar Közlöny” [Hungarian Gazette], stating that they consider it a priority task to raise awareness of Jewish history and customs. The Resolution states that the government agrees historical facts on antisemitism should be taught objectively, and supports enhancing the fight against antisemitism. Under this Resolution ministers are tasked with examining the possibility of introducing the Definition into mainstream educational programs, provisions on curriculum approval, teacher training requirements and specialization, and specific courses within the competence of the Minister of Interior. Relevant judicial authorities were asked to assess how to incorporate the Definition into judges’ and prosecutors’ training. A report discussing the definition in the context of Hungarian legislation was drafted to be further addressed by the government. The report concluded that adequate safeguards are in place to combat hate speech and hate crime, but that additional steps can be taken to raise awareness and educate legal practitioners. It also recommends that the National Media and Infocommunications Authority assess the possibility of keeping records of racist, xenophobic, and hatred-generating content and drawing the Media Council’s attention to it.

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The only V4 country that did not adopt the Definition is Poland, which is surprising, given the fact that Poland was a member of IHRA when the Definition was adopted. Furthermore, the adoption of the Definition would result in the unification of understanding antisemitism, which would help institutions and individuals to find tools for combatting antisemitism. The implementation and development of a strategy counteracting antisemitism would also be helpful in education and finally could change Poland’s image.

On October 2021, a statement about IHRA’s Definition was published on the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage website stating that “Poland supported the Alliance’s adoption of a working legally non-binding definition of antisemitism in 2016 (…) This means that Poland’s recognition of IHRA’s legally non-binding working definition of antisemitism is an important and self-evident point to counter this phenomenon. (…) Polish society and state authorities are particularly sensitive to this issue for obvious historical reasons: approximately three million Polish citizens of Jewish origin were murdered due to implementation of the principles of the criminal ideology of German Nazism. In this context, the Minister of Culture, National Heritage and Sport holds high regard for the remembrance of the Holocaust and the educational activities on this subject carried out by Polish museums and memorial institutions, and proudly notes their achievements in this area.”

Attached to the statement was a 56-page document listing initiatives aimed at counteracting antisemitism supported by the Ministry. The document listed Polish-Jewish relations, activities of cultural institutions, care for Jewish cemeteries and protection of monuments, support for Jewish cultural events, publications and archives of Jewish legacy, and projects financed from subsidy programs promoting Polish culture abroad.

2.3. NATIONAL LEGAL MECHANISMS PENALIZING ANTISEMITIC CRIMES AND ATTACKS

Before implementing the Definition, the V4 countries had legal mechanisms penalizing antisemitic crimes and attacks.

a) Czech Republic

The Czech Criminal Code describes various hate crimes and crimes motivated by extremism (including antisemitism). For example, Section 355: Defamation of Nation, Race, Ethnic or Other Group of People, and Section 356: Instigation of Hatred Towards a Group of People or Suppression of Their Rights and Freedoms, which appear in Chapter X of Criminal Offences against Order in Public Matters. Chapter XIII of the Criminal Code on offences against Humanity, Peace and War Crimes covers other criminal acts relating to antisemitism in Sections 400–405, including genocide; crimes against humanity; apartheid and discrimination against a group of people; the establishment, support and promotion of movements aimed at the suppression of human rights and freedoms; the expression of sympathies for movements seeking to suppress human rights and freedoms; and the denial, impugnation, approval and justification of genocide.

However, Czech law does not include provisions against online hate speech, particularly when web pages are registered outside the country. As a result, hateful online content posted on such sites cannot be effectively removed.

Regarding good practice, the Czech Republic, following the example of France, monitored antisemitism from 2013 and conducted analytical research on antisemitism between 1989–2021 to analyze the perceived safety of Jews in the Czech Republic. As a result, a guide addressing modern antisemitism in the Czech Republic was published.

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46 More at: https://www.gov.pl/web/kultura/oswiadczenie-w-sprawie-definicji-ihra
47 Holocaust Memorial Days, Hungary, 2020, pp. 35–38.
48 More at: https://www.gov.pl/web/kultura/oswiadczenie-w-sprawie-definicji-ihra
50 Mikołaj Winiewski Ph.D., Centre for Research on Prejudice: “While in 2014 about half of young Poles encountered Antisemitic, antimuslim or anti-Ukrainian hate speech, today 80% of young people declare that they have seen Islamophobic statements on the Internet, 75% Antisemitic, and 71% anti-Ukrainian.” More: https://bip.bypo.gov.pl/sites/default/files/Raport%2520Mowa%2520Nieaw%2520%255C2%255Bc%2520Mowa%2520Pogardy%2520%252027-02-2017.pdf
51 Raport ze stanu badań nad antysemityzmem, p. 8.
At the same time, Poland published a guide for authorities on how to recognize hate speech. Hate crimes and hate speech are not only monitored in the Czech Republic but also in Hungary. However, especially in Slovakia and Poland, gathered data continues to be incomplete. In these countries only the number of people sentenced for antisemitic hate crimes is reported and the majority of incidents are not reported, resulting in incomplete data. In 2018 the following cases were reported: 7 antisemitic hate crimes in Slovakia; 32 in Hungary; 15 in the Czech Republic. Official or unofficial data from Poland is not available.

b) Hungary

The Hungarian Criminal Code (Act C of 2012) identifies two types of hate crime: violent offenses committed against a member of a group (Section 216 of Chapter XXI on Crimes against Human Dignity and Fundamental Rights) and incitement to hatred against a community (Section 332 of Chapter XXXII on Criminal Offenses against Public Peace). In the case of other types of crime, a racist motivation constitutes an aggravating circumstance. Furthermore, section 333 of the Civil Code penalizes public denial or relativization of National Socialist (and Communist) crimes, as well as distribution, public use or public exhibition of totalitarian symbols (such as the Swastika, the S.S. insignia, the five-pointed red star, and the hammer and sickle), offending the dignity of victims of totalitarian regimes and their right to inviolability, as well as violating public order (Section 335). In addition, in March 2014, a new Civil Code (Act V of 2013) came into effect, penalizing hate speech. Moreover, the Fourth Amendment of the Hungarian Constitution declares that the right to free speech is restricted by the need to protect the dignity of communities, which, when violated, can demand the enforcement of their claims.

The Compensations for the Jewish Community

“...after 1990, the Hungarian Parliament passed several laws regulating individual and collective compensation for those who had suffered persecution. The compensation for the Jewish community was granted by the law regulating the status of confiscated properties formerly owned by religious communities. According to this legislation, religious communities can reclaim confiscated properties if they wish to use them again. Furthermore, the government undertakes to contribute to the maintenance of more than 1,000 abandoned Jewish cemeteries. As prescribed by the law, an organization called MAZSÓK (Jewish Heritage of Hungary Public Endowment) was set up, receiving government grants valued at approximately 0.1% of the formerly Jewish assets without heirs and abandoned after the Holocaust. In addition, MAZSÓK provides annuities for the Jews living in Hungary born before the end of the war (9 May 1945) who applied for the assistance (presently approximately 10,000 people); and subsidizes community projects.”

52 Unofficial data on hate crimes is available on the websites of civic organizations working in this area.
53 Raport ze stanu badań nad antysemityzmem, p. 11.
54 “Hungary” in Modern Antisemitism in the Visegrad Countries, pp. 10., 70–73.
c) Poland

Polish legislation provides legal protection similar to the majority of European countries. Article 13 of the Polish Constitution states that "(...) organizations whose programs are based upon totalitarian methods and the modes of activity of Nazism, fascism and communism (...) shall be prohibited." Article 35 ensures that Polish citizens belonging to national or ethnic minorities (as defined by law) have the freedom to maintain customs and traditions and develop their own culture. Article 32 prohibits discrimination Under Article 119 § 1 of the Polish Penal Code: whoever uses violence or makes an unlawful threat towards a group of people or a particular individual because of their national, ethnic, political or religious affiliation, or because of the lack of religious beliefs, shall be subject to the penalty of deprivation of liberty for a term of between 3 months and 5 years. Under Article 196 of the Polish Penal Code, anyone found guilty of intentionally offending religious feelings by outraging an object or place of worship can be subject to a fine, a restriction of liberty or imprisonment for up to 2 years. Under Article 256, whoever publicly promotes fascist or other totalitarian systems of state or incites hatred based on national, ethnic, race or religious differences, or for the reason of lack of any religious denomination, shall be subject to a fine, the penalty of restriction of liberty or the punishment of deprivation of liberty for up to 2 years. Under Article 257, if found guilty of publicly insulting a group or a person because of their national, ethnic, racial or religious affiliation, or because of the lack of any religious denomination, is liable to a fine, a restriction of liberty or imprisonment for a maximum of 3 years. Although these legal provisions seem sufficient, they are not implemented as reported by representatives of non-governmental organizations or groups of national and ethnic minorities and the LGBT+ community. This also refers to hate speech.

Up until today, groups inciting hatred or referring to the heritage of fascist groups in pre-war Poland have not been banned, despite existing evidence provided by human rights organizations. This matter was addressed by the United Nations who urged Poland to fight discrimination, and called for the dissolution of radical groups like All-Polish Youth, National Movement, National Radical Camp, Falanga, Pride and Modernity Association. In 2021, the Patriotic Fund managed by the Institute for the Heritage of National Thought (headed by Professor Jan Żaryn, former PiS Senator and one of the authors of the historical policies of the party, a supporter of ONR traditions and the Świętokrzyska Brigade) granted the highest amounts to organizations connected with Robert Bąkiewicz. These are the National Guard Association and Independence March. The former will receive 1.7 million Polish zloty for "Security and professionalism preparing and conducting patriotic and religious events—a necessary factor in strengthening cultural identity." The project "Independence March – modernity and tradition" was granted 1.3 million Polish zloty.

57 Krzysztof Bosak, President of the All-Polish Youth (2005–2006)—a Parliament Member (Sejm V i IX). Co-founder and one of the leaders of the Confederation of Freedom and Independence. Former Israeli Ambassador in Poland, Ben Zvi, stated that "Antisemitic views of the Confederation members are a problem" and "such views prevailing in Polish Parliament will be problematic." More at: https://www.polsatnews.pl/wiadomosc/2019-11-23/musimy-myslec-o-przyszlosci-nowy-ambasador-izraela-w-polsce/
59 National Radical Camp (ONR)—Polish right-wing nationalist organization with pre-war traditions. Registered as an association in 2012.
60 The Świętokrzyska Brigade was part of the Polish National Forces. Its program focused on nationalism, rejection of Nazism and Communism, advocating for the creation of a Polish National and Catholic State, with strong attitudes against national minorities, including antisemitism.
61 Independence March: a march organized annually in Warsaw on 11 November. Initiated by nationalist political organizations All-Polish Youth and ONR. During the last March, Robert Bąkiewicz stated, "They don’t react when the Jews want to plunder our homeland. These are today’s elites, who ignore us and disrespect us." After the March, Warsaw’s President, Rafal Trzaskowski, filed a criminal complaint over inciting hatred towards national and ethnic minorities and promoting totalitarian systems. The complaint indicated a list of evidence like flags with the Celtic cross, falange and “gear wheel” (symbol of the German Labor Front), a banner with the “sword and hammer” (symbol of the national-Bolshevik wing in the German Nazi movement). Furthermore, the list included slogans used: “Communists will hang on trees instead of leaves”; “Death to the leftist whore”; “Not rainbow, not secular, but Catholic Poland”; “Here is Poland, not Israel.” More at: https://www.pap.pl/aktualnosci/news%2C973102%2Cprokuratura-umorzyla-sledztwo-w-sprawie-marszu-niepodleglosi-2019-roku
63 More at: https:// warszawa.wyborcza.pl/warszawa/7,54420,27225384, narodowcy-z-publiczna-dotacja-ponad-3-mln-zl-dla-organizacji.html
In June 2021, 160 public figures—including acclaimed film director Agnieszka Holland, literary translator and participant of the Warsaw Uprising Anna Przedpełska-Trzeciakowska and the Chief Rabbi of Poland, Michael Schudrich—signed an open letter to the Minister of Culture. The letter called on the government to stop financing fascism after far-right groups were given over 3 million zloty (€660,000) in grants from a governmental “Patriotic Fund.” Among beneficiaries are the organizers of the Independence March, an annual event founded by three far-right groups and the National Guard, an organization that “stands in the front line of the counter-revolution, fighting against extreme-left activists.” Both organizations are closely linked to the above mentioned Robert Bąkiewicz, until recently the leader of National Radical Camp (ONR), a far-right group which the Supreme Court has recently ruled can be labelled “fascist,” and which seeks an “ethnically homogeneous” Poland.64

These actions have resulted in discussion about consent to antisemitism and existing legal solutions allowing opposition against the extreme right. Experts stress that a legal definition of hate speech is necessary to give law enforcement a clear understanding of punishable incidents. Moreover, the Criminal Code should be amended to include penalization of the incitement to racial hatred and affiliating with organizations promoting it.65 It is clear that implementation of the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism in Poland is vital. According to experts, such actions would actively address the problem of antisemitism, moving beyond symbolic gestures.

d) Slovakia

Slovakian citizens are protected against discrimination by the so-called Anti-Discrimination Act (Act no. 365/2004 Coll. on Equal Treatment in Certain Areas and Protection against Discrimination). Article I, Section 2(2). Since 2002, Holocaust denial has been considered a criminal and punishable offence in Slovakia. Before 2002, supporting and promoting fascism and hate speech (including Holocaust denial) was considered a criminal offence. Since 2002, however, Holocaust denial has become a separate criminal offence. According to Section 422(2) of the Penal Code (Act no. 300/2005 Coll.), “imprisonment from 6 months to 3 years shall be imposed on a person who publicly denies, puts in doubt, approves or tries to justify the Holocaust.” In 2009, penalties for extremist crimes and hate speech became stricter. Under certain circumstances, a Holocaust denier may now be imprisoned for up to 5 years under Section 424a(2) of the Penal Code.66

64 More at: https://notesfrompoland.com/2021/06/30/stop-financing-fascism-polish-public-figures-tell-culture-minister-after-grants-to-far-right-groups
65 More at: https://www.rp.pl/prawo-karne/art1379301-co-ministerstwo-sprawiedliwosci-robi-z-mowa-nienawiści
The research conducted in four countries: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.

The number of recommendations in this report: 15

The number of good practices presented: 13

The number of persons interviewed: 24

The fieldwork was conducted between March and September 2021.
SECTION 2

Holocaust Commemoration
Commemorating the Holocaust correlates with the memory didactics in which symbolic actions influence recognition of the Holocaust and counteract its causes. This section summarizes commemorative measures in the Visegrad region.

## Good Practice

### Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

OSCE participating States have made a commitment to “promote remembrance of and, as appropriate, education about the tragedy of the Holocaust, and the importance of respect for all ethnic and religious groups.” These commitments are a vital part of the OSCE’s mandate to promote tolerance and non-discrimination. For this purpose, participating states proclaimed January 27—the International Holocaust Remembrance Day—as the key date for promoting Holocaust remembrance, research and education.

In November 2014, participating States adopted OSCE Ministerial Council Declaration No. 8/14 on “Enhancing Efforts to Combat Antisemitism.” The Declaration provides a comprehensive set of commitments related to addressing antisemitism and affirms ODHIHR’s mandate.

### 1. Czech Republic

Holocaust Memorial Day—the Czech Republic marks January 27 as the Day of Remembrance for the Victims of the Holocaust and the Prevention of Crimes against Humanity (Den památky obětí holocaustu a předcházení zločinům proti lidskosti), and June 10 as the anniversary of the annihilation of Lidice.

The Senate organizes official commemorative events in cooperation with the Foundation for Holocaust Victims and the Federation of Jewish Communities. Main events are organized annually in Terezín on the third Sunday in May and are attended by Shoah survivors and high-level officials who commemorate victims of the Holocaust. In addition, commemoration and commemorative events are organized in smaller towns. They are usually co-organized by the Jewish community or non-governmental organizations in cooperation with the local administration.

The Czech Republic also commemorates Roma and Sinti genocide on March 7, May 13, August 2 and August 21. Furthermore, victims of National Socialism are remembered on November 17, marking the Day of the Fight for Freedom and Democracy, May 5 commemorates the Czech Uprising of 1945, while May 8 marks Victory Day.

### 2. Hungary

Holocaust Memorial Day—Hungary observes April 16 as Holocaust Memorial Day. The Hungarian government set this date in 2000, in response to the initiative of the Minister of Education. The Decree, regulating the order of the 2000–2001 academic year, noted that students at secondary and vocational schools should commemorate victims of the Holocaust at in-class activities on April 16. The goal was to enhance knowledge of the Shoah and encourage a sense of responsibility.

The main commemorative events are held at the Shoes on the Danube Bank memorial, commemorating the Jewish victims shot there in 1944 and 1945. Commemorative events are co-organized by the government and civil society organizations and are attended by Holocaust survivors, Jewish community members, high ranking officials and local administration. Memorial ceremonies are also held in smaller towns. The March of the Living program organizes peaceful marches that attract thousands of people in Hungary.

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68 Holocaust Memorial Days, Poland, 2020, p. 8.


70 For a complete overview of initiatives related to Roma and Sinti genocide remembrance and education, please see the ODHIHR publication: http://www.osce.org/romasintigenocide

71 Holocaust Memorial Days, Poland, 2015, pp. 34–37.

72 Holocaust Memorial Days, Hungary, 2020, p. 35.
Commemoration of the Roma and Sinti genocide—Roma and Sinti genocide was commemorated in Hungary on August 2.73

3. Poland

The International Holocaust Remembrance Day on January 27 is observed in Poland as the official Holocaust Memorial Day. It was chosen to commemorate the date that the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp was liberated. Therefore, it is the official day of remembrance of all those who perished in the Holocaust, particularly Jews, Roma and Sinti. April 19 is the second symbolic date; it is the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. On that day, proceedings are organized to commemorate Holocaust victims, mainly the heroes and heroines of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

"Daffodils: A social and educational campaign"74

At the initiative of the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, a social and educational campaign called "Daffodils" was organized on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The campaign alluded to the actions of the last leader of the Jewish Combat Organization (Żydowskiej Organizacji Bojowej), Marek Edelman, who survived the Warsaw Ghetto liquidation. Until the end of his life, he cherished the memory of the events of 1943, and on the anniversary of the Uprising he visited the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes to pay tribute to his fallen comrades. Over time, more and more people joined him, bringing yellow daffodils. Thanks to the "Daffodils" campaign, on April 19, every Varsovian is offered a paper daffodil. The paper daffodil, designed by Helena Czernek, is now a permanent element of the anniversary commemorations. On this day, more and more Warsaw residents, including celebrities, journalists, and the highest-ranking politicians, wear the daffodils pinned in a visible place.

The dates of January 27 and April 19 are included in school textbooks, and commemoration ceremonies are held in schools.

In Poland, the main Holocaust Remembrance Day commemorations are held in Oświęcim at the Memorial and Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Former Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp, as well as in Warsaw at the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes. In addition, Holocaust commemoration initiatives are also organized at memorial sites such as the State Museum at Majdanek, the Museum and Memorial in Sobibór, the Treblinka Museum, and the Radek train station in Lodz. Holocaust survivors, members of the Jewish community, the highest-ranking representatives of the Polish government, members of the Polish Parliament, and members of the Polish Association of the Righteous Among the Nations take part in the proceedings.

June 14 in Poland is the National Day of Remembrance for Victims of the German Nazi Concentration Camps and Death Camps—the day commemorating the victims of National Socialism. Commemorative events are held at the Stammlager memorial at Auschwitz I. The Christian Association of Auschwitz Families is the events’ co-organizer.75

Commemoration of the Roma and Sinti genocide: in Poland, Roma and Sinti genocide is officially commemorated on August 2.76

4. Slovakia

In Slovakia, International Holocaust Remembrance Day is observed on January 27. Furthermore, on March 25, the anniversary of the 1942 deportation from Poprad to the Auschwitz concentration camp is commemorated. However, the primary day of remembrance is September 9, established by the Slovak Parliament on October 31, 2000, as the Memorial Day for Victims of the Holocaust and Racial Violence. This date commemorates events of 1941, when the Slovak Government ratified a series of 290 repressive laws and regulations (the so-called ‘Jewish Codex’) that initiated the process of the deportations of Jews, resulting in the killing of over 70,000 Slovak Jews. The ceremonies are attended by representatives of the Jewish community together with representatives of the government. The proceedings are organized under the auspices of the President or the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic. A minute-of-silence commemorates this day in the National Council of the Slovak Republic (Parliament) and Slovak schools. Ceremonies are also held in smaller towns.

73 More at: http://www.osce.org/romasintigenocide
74 More at: https://www.polin.pl/pl/2onkile
75 Holocaust Memorial Days, Poland, 2015, pp. 85–88.
76 More at: http://www.osce.org/romasintigenocide
GOOD PRACTICE, POLAND

Training for professional groups

The POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews has decided to create programs that encourage viewers to reflect critically on the past. The Museum uses the history of Polish Jews to raise key questions related to the coexistence of minority and majority groups. Thanks to the polyphony of the narrative, they present both difficult and positive aspects of the social and cultural history of the Jewish minority, taking into account the multifaceted existence of this group in Poland. By showing mechanisms of coexistence and stereotyping, the Museum’s narrative touches upon topics relevant to contemporary social reality, discrimination, and the emergence of exclusion mechanisms operating on a “us vs. strangers” principle. The Museum also strengthens the social capital of professional groups such as the police or border control by imparting knowledge about the legal aspects related to the protection of minorities, increasing awareness of the activities causing a chain of discrimination, and developing recommendations for measures to promote equality. In doing so, the Museum provides them with the competence and the tools to react to discriminatory behaviors.

On September 8, 2021, the day before Memorial Day for Victims of the Holocaust and Racial Violence, the Slovak government adopted a public apology for the “Jewish Codex.” In the public declaration, it stated: “Today, the Slovak Government feels a moral responsibility to publicly express sorrow over the crimes committed by the government of the day, especially over the fact that on September 9, 1941, it passed a shameful decree restricting the basic human rights and freedoms of citizens of Jewish origin.”

GOOD PRACTICE, SLOVAKIA

Holocaust Educational Course for Youth

PhDr. Martin Chudík, the principal of the Gymnázium Párovská high school in Nitra, introduced an innovative practice in cooperation with the “Sered” Holocaust Memorial Museum.

The Holocaust Memorial Museum “Sered” is the only one of its kind in Slovakia. Located on the site of a former labor and concentration camp, it tells the story of the persecution, exploitation, and murder of Slovak Jews during the war. As part of its activities, the Museum offers training for children and youth, for professional groups such as the police and teachers. In 2020, the Museum organized a Holocaust educational course for youth in cooperation with Nitra schools. The course is an additional subject introduced by the school and is based on interactive teaching methods. However, these activities are not compulsory. Local historians and experts from the Museum conduct the classes. The course is currently in the implementation phase and is receiving widespread attention.

Several annually occurring initiatives in Slovakia commemorate other National Socialism victims’ groups. Proceedings occur in, for example, Ostry Grun, Klak, Kremnicka, Nemecka, Tokajik, Zvolen, and Brezno on a given anniversary date and are linked to Nazi repressions after the Slovak National Uprising in 1944, when Slovak villages were burned and resistance fighters and civilians murdered.

77 More at: https://polin.pl/pl/program-programy-stale/seminaria-dla-grup-zawodowych
79 More on: http://www.osce.org/romasintigenocide
80 Holocaust Memorial Days, Slovak Republic, 2015, pp. 97–99.
82 Holocaust Memorial Days, Slovak Republic, 2015, pp. 82–84.
SECTION 3

Education Addressing Antisemitism
The European Union and its Member States are obligated to do everything in their power to combat antisemitism, teach about the Holocaust, and provide regular assessments of the effectiveness of their actions. To achieve this, Member States should cooperate with Jewish communities and protect Jewish institutions and other places providing funds designated for this purpose. Participating States of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), member states of the Council of Europe and the Organization of American States (OAS) as well as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have committed themselves to promote a culture of democracy and human rights through numerous instruments, including: the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (2011); the first, second and third phases of the United Nations World Program for Human Rights Education (2005–2019); the Council of Europe’s Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (2010); the Inter-American Democratic Charter (2001); the Document of the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE (Moscow, October 3, 1991); the Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Protocol of San Salvador). Furthermore, the 2017 European Parliament’s Resolution “Motion for a resolution on combating anti-Semitism” calls for promoting teaching about the Holocaust in schools and including information on Jewish history and contemporary life in school curricula.

Lack of Holocaust and antisemitism education can lead to repressing and downplaying the memory of the Holocaust, externalizing guilt, including its projection onto survivors, and the distortion of historical facts related to the Holocaust—resulting in its trivialization or relativization. Formal education about antisemitism and Jewish life in the V4 countries focuses primarily on the Holocaust. Antisemitism is taught strictly in relation to the Holocaust (described as its precursor) or as part of human rights education. Antisemitism is not taught as a separate subject; as a result, most of this section focuses on Holocaust education.

Since 1993, the Terezín Memorial has organized students’ and teachers’ educational projects on the Holocaust. Under the 1999 Act, the Ministry and the Terezín Memorial are responsible for creating the Holocaust education system for primary and secondary vocational school teachers through seminars. Seminars employ experts from the Terezín Memorial, the Jewish Museum in Prague and the Museum of Romani Culture in Brno. Seminars focus on the Holocaust and Roma and Sinti genocide, antisemitism, xenophobia, racism, neo-Nazism and increasing nationalism. For this purpose, Terezín Memorial cooperates with Yad Vashem – The World Holocaust Remembrance Center in Israel and the State Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland.

1. Czech Republic

The Ministry of Education has issued the Framework Curriculum for Basic Education, allowing schools to develop their own materials. The topic of the Holocaust is part of the subject area “Man and Society.” Its objective is the prevention of racial, xenophobic and extremist attitudes. The existing curricular documents for various types of secondary education have been developed based on the Standard of Secondary Technical and Vocational Education and the Standard of Education in secondary schools. These Standards focus on understanding the harmful effects of racial, national, and religious prejudices and intolerance and recognizing their consequences and associated dangers.

Jewish history and the Holocaust are also part of secondary vocational education. High school students learn about the situation of Jews and Roma in the 18th and 19th Century, World War II, Nazism, Fascism, war crimes and the Holocaust. In 2013, the Ministry of Education amended its Guidelines on 20th-century education. The guidelines focused on studying living historical memory and testimonies of the current generation and archival material that has not yet been thoroughly researched. Moreover, the guidelines mentioned Holocaust denial and instances of influencing children and youth. The guidelines are being consulted with the Jewish community.

Since 1993, the Terezín Memorial has organized students’ and teachers’ educational projects on the Holocaust. Under the 1999 Act, the Ministry and the Terezín Memorial are responsible for creating the Holocaust education system for primary and secondary vocational school teachers through seminars. Seminars employ experts from the Terezín Memorial, the Jewish Museum in Prague and the Museum of Romani Culture in Brno. Seminars focus on the Holocaust and Roma and Sinti genocide, antisemitism, xenophobia, racism, neo-Nazism and increasing nationalism. For this purpose, Terezín Memorial cooperates with Yad Vashem – The World Holocaust Remembrance Center in Israel and the State Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland.

86 Modern antisemitism in the Visegrad Countries Countering Distortion, p. 10.
88 Holocaust Memorial Days, Czech Republic, 2015, pp. 34–37.
In 2012 the Education and Culture Department of the Jewish Museum in Prague was approved by the Ministry of Education as an institution providing continuing education for teachers. Between 2011–2013 the Museum cooperated with the Terezín Initiative Institute to train teachers and develop educational material on the history of Czech Jews in the 20th Century. Over 500 teachers and 26,000 primary and secondary school students participated in the project. Moreover, the project focused on antisemitism and the Holocaust.89 Presently the Ministry of Education is working with the Jewish community on developing a new core curriculum to reflect current research and ensure close correlation with the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism.

2. Hungary

The government has included Holocaust education in school curricula, in textbooks and other educational materials. The topic is incorporated into history, civics, literature, language, ethics and general activities. It is present in primary and secondary schools, colleges and universities. Secondary schools have commemorated Holocaust Remembrance Day since either 2000 or 2001.90 The National Basic Educational Plan includes topics related to the Holocaust and Roma genocide. Primary school (years 5–8) curricula includes material on discrimination, exclusion, national and ethnic groups and the Holocaust. Gymnasium and higher (years 9–12) teaches material on the Holocaust, Jews, events leading to the Holocaust and the Roma and Sinti genocide. The Holocaust is taught in colleges and at universities only if relevant to the given field. In law schools, the Holocaust is briefly mentioned when discussing crimes against humanity.

The Hungarian government has made the USC Shoah Foundation’s Visual History Archive (VHA) available in 40 academic and public libraries. The curriculum for older children in primary education includes 12 hours of history lessons on World War II, including the Holocaust. The secondary education curriculum includes 15 hours. Teachers can participate in courses on the Holocaust. The Prime Minister’s Office supports civic organizations providing training on the Holocaust.91

Genocide is a subject of academic research. The Holocaust Documentation Center and Memorial, established by the Prime Minister’s Office, and the Public Foundation for Research of Central and Eastern European History and Society (House of Terror), established by the Hungarian government, both conduct Holocaust research. Both institutions are publicly funded.

3. Poland

CURRICULA

In 1999 the Minister of National Education issued a decision to include the Holocaust in the upper secondary schools’ curriculum as a compulsory subject for the humanistic profile (students age 13–19). A year later, a ministerial recommendation introduced the educational program “The Holocaust. Humanities curriculum in upper secondary schools for teaching about the Holocaust” by Robert Szuchta and Piotr Trojański. Based on this project the teachers’ guide “Understanding the Holocaust” by the same authors was published in 2003, aiming to deepen the knowledge on the Holocaust.92 Since 1999, the Holocaust has been taught in various forms and at multiple levels of education, mainly in history lessons and Polish literature lessons, civic education lessons, and during extracurricular activities.93 It is also part of the general curriculum. Discrimination, human rights and life in German-occupied Poland are included in history and civic education lessons.

Before the last educational reform in 2017, the Holocaust was taught in gymnasium high schools in history, civic education and Polish language classes. Presently, on the secondary school level, it is taught in Polish language, civics and history classes.94

Roma and Sinti Genocide research is conducted by the Romano Instituto, financially supported by tenders of the State Secretariat for Social Affairs and Social Integration of the Ministry of Humanity.

90 Holocaust Memorial Days, Hungary, 2015, pp. 53–55.
91 Ibid. pp. 35–38.
92 More at: https://2015.holocaustremembrance.com/member-countries/holocaust-education-remembrance-and-research-poland
93 More at: https://2015.holocaustremembrance.com/member-countries/holocaust-education-remembrance-and-research-poland
94 Holocaust Memorial Days, Poland, 2015, pp. 85–88.
Changes in the core curricula are noticeable. In 2008/2009 and 2014 anti-discrimination education and human rights were included on all educational levels. Topics related to the Holocaust obligatorily presented a spectrum of Polish attitudes towards Jews. Students learned about the heroism of the Righteous Among the Nations, as well as blackmailers, Poles participating in pogroms, and Polish direct and indirect participation in the Holocaust. Educational reform focused on strengthening historical and patriotic education, starting with the 2017–18 school year. The Holocaust and the Roma and Sinti genocide topics were expanded. However, the focus shifted to Polish heroism, including the story of Maximilian Maria Kolbe. Polish attitudes towards Jews during World War II are perceived through the prism of other nations’ viewpoints. As a result, there is a tendency to not answer certain questions directly but with comparisons. The new 2021/2022 curriculum concentrates on building an identity based on Catholicism and patriotism. New readings by John Paul II or about Primate Wyszyński were introduced.

In the 4th grade, children learn about the “Cursed Soldiers,” portrayed as significant figures paramount in creating Polish cultural identity. Holocaust education is juxtaposed with the heroism of Poles saving Jews. The history of post-war Poland “characterizes Polish attitudes towards the new regime with the emphasis on the armed resistance (steadfast soldiers [cursed]).”

**TRAINING FOR TEACHERS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION**

Holocaust research is conducted by the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), Jagiellonian University, Warsaw University, Wrocław University, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and at Memorial Sites. Teachers participate in courses organized by the International Centre for Education about Auschwitz and the Holocaust (Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum), Yad Vashem, Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris, the House of the Wannsee Conference and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Training for teachers is also provided by the Centre for Education Development (ORE), a national public institution for teachers’ training subordinate to the Minister of Science and Higher Education. The Center cooperates with Yad Vashem, which organizes biannual seminars for 18 Polish educators on the Holocaust, Jewish culture, and history. Moreover, networking seminars are organized for Polish and Israeli teachers. The Warsaw Centre for Education Development created a network of 22 Holocaust Education Regional Coordinators in 2006. One of the good practices is ORE’s cooperation with POLIN Museum and Mémorial de la Shoah.

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95 Holocaust Memorial Days, Poland, 2020, pp. 62–71.

96 Thirty years ago, on October 10, 1982, Pope John Paul II canonized Maximilian Maria Kolbe in Rome. The Franciscan was canonized for voluntarily giving his life to save another prisoner in Auschwitz-Birkenau, becoming a symbol of the victims of Nazism. The Polish Senate proclaimed 2011 the Year of St. Maximilian Maria Kolbe. For many people, he is a controversial figure. Before the war, Father Kolbe created a media empire in Niepokalanów. He published, among other works, “Little Diary,” “Knight of the Immaculate,” and “Little Knight of the Immaculate.” He is credited with aggressive Antisemitism. In his works, he referred to the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” and more, quoting: “Hitler takes his rights from papal encyclicals (...) he takes away our trade, industry, crafts and even land” (1938). He is a controversial figure. Before the war, Father Kolbe created a media empire in Niepokalanów. He published, among other works, “Little Diary,” “Knight of the Immaculate,” and “Little Knight of the Immaculate.” He is credited with aggressive Antisemitism. In his works, he referred to the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” and more, quoting: “Hitler takes his rights from papal encyclicals (...) he takes away our trade, industry, crafts and even land” (1938).

97 Żołnierze Wykłęci (Cursed Soldiers) is the name of anti-communist underground activists in Poland who fought against the Sovietization and Stalinization of Poland at the end of and after World War II. These resistance groups included some members of the Polish Underground State and other pro-Polish organizations. March 1, 2011, is the National Day of the Cursed Soldiers. The topic of the Cursed Soldiers is controversial in Poland, as along with glory, they are associated with violence and cruelty. Polish media, depending on their political views, present the Cursed Soldiers as heroes or villains. Historians believe that there were many internal factions of soldiers, and some of the Cursed were nothing more than mere murderers and thieves. The Polish mainstream media tends to focus on the heroism and positive sides, omitting the cruel acts committed. The majority of the Cursed Soldiers operated in the areas of Poland inhabited by various ethnic minorities, such as Jews, Ukrainians and other Slavic nations. However, Poles themselves also became victims. According to the investigators of the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation—a state institution with research powers—researching murders in Podlasie by the Cursed Soldiers: “murders and attempted murder of these people should be considered aimed at destroying a part of the national and religious group, and therefore should be treated as genocide, falling into the category of crimes against humanity (...)”


99 More at: https://2015.holocaustremembrance.com/member-countries/ holocaust-education-remembrance-and-research-poland
Ambassadors of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews

Between 2015 and 2018, the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews and the Centre for Education Development built a network of teachers—“Ambassadors of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews.” The project included comprehensive training on history, culture, and the Shoah. Program participants had an opportunity to participate in various educational activities on a national and international level and co-create educational and information materials to be published by the museum and its partners. The Centre for Education Development cooperates with the Paris-based Mémorial de la Shoah to promote education and memory of the Holocaust and support teaching about the Holocaust in schools, at universities, among local communities, and in other institutions. Mémorial de la Shoah is the host of a four-day seminar organized annually for 20 Polish teachers specializing in teaching the history and culture of Polish Jews. The seminar’s program also covers the topic of discrimination against the Roma. Also, once a year, a five-day seminar is organized to educate about the Holocaust and Jewish history and culture. The seminar is attended by 15 teachers from France and 15 teachers from Poland.

Furthermore, the Ministry of National Education financed an exchange program for Polish and Israeli students to be educated about the history and culture of Polish Jews and to strengthen contacts and cooperation between schools based on the Centre for Education Development program “Preserving Memory: The History and Culture of Two Nations.”

In addition, since 2003, the Centre for Education Development has collaborated with the Polish-based Children of the Holocaust Association to implement the program “Memory for the Future.” The program aims to support schools in organizing educational projects connected with Holocaust Day. Another annual event organized in Poland is the March of the Living, attended by both Polish and Israeli students. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs organizes and co-funds the travel of youths from across Poland to Oświęcim, where they take part in the March.\textsuperscript{100} As a result, approximately 1–1.2 thousand students from schools above primary level have participated in the event. They account for over 10% of all participants who come from all over the world.\textsuperscript{101}

4. Slovakia

Holocaust education is present at all levels of the education system, including universities. In addition, the Holocaust is an integral part of history, social science, and ethics curricula in primary and secondary schools.

The Holocaust is taught in history lessons in grade 9 of primary school and grade 3 of middle school; it is also a component of the secondary school graduation exam for history, which is taken in grade 2 of technical school, and grade 1 of vocational school. The Holocaust is also taught in lessons about the 20th-century history of the world and nations, in social science lessons in grade 7 of primary school, particularly when discussing the topic of “Religions of the world—the need for tolerance among people of different views.” In grade 8, the Holocaust is discussed when teaching about “Minority rights, the threats of racism, antisemitism, and intolerance—the need for national, racial, and religious tolerance.” On levels above primary, subjects like “Religion and Ethics” discuss topics connected with human rights, where students learn about the Holocaust.

Since 1997 Slovakia has organized “The Human Rights Olympics,” a nationwide competition for secondary school students. Entries regularly include projects referring to the Holocaust.

The Roma and Sinti Genocide is part of Holocaust education in primary and secondary schools. The topic is also present in history textbooks, in chapters discussing the genocide of other ethnic groups, particularly in the Auschwitz concentration camp. Teaching consists in working on texts and other historical documents, e.g., photographs, documentary and feature films about the Holocaust, and literature. Teachers have a certain degree of freedom when choosing methods of teaching about the Holocaust.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{100} Holocaust Memorial Days, Poland, 2015, pp. 85–88.
\textsuperscript{101} Holocaust Memorial Days, Poland, 2020, pp. 62–71.
\textsuperscript{102} Holocaust Memorial Days, Slovak Republic, 2020, pp. 82–84.
In 2013 the Ministry of Education signed an agreement with EDAH, a teacher-training non-governmental organization. As a result, in cooperation with expert trainers, educational materials and projects dedicated to education about and remembrance of the Holocaust have been developed.\(^{103}\)

Up until 2012, under commission from the Minister of National Education, the Holocaust Documentation Centre organized seminars and published methodology materials for secondary school teachers, collaborating with Yad Vashem, the Terezin Memorial, the House of the Wannsee Conference, and the Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History. In addition, the Centre prepares seminars for teachers and runs an accredited program on methods of teaching about the Holocaust to be used in Slovakia. Furthermore, in collaboration with the Bratislava Jewish Community Museum, the Centre organizes programs for training students in specific locations.

Since 2003, on the initiative of the Slovak Ministry of Education, primary and secondary schools have celebrated National Holocaust Remembrance Day. Schools are requested to organize events to commemorate the Holocaust, including a minute of silence. Therefore, on that day, students meet Holocaust survivors, visit memorial sites and exhibitions, and participate in debates about the Holocaust, antisemitism, and racism, along with other related topics.\(^{104}\)

According to one expert, an important event in Slovakia, and a rude awakening of sorts, was the formation and election to the National Council of the Slovak Republic (Národná rada Slovenskej Republiky, NR SR) of the Kotleba party – Our Slovakia People’s Party (Kotleba-Ludová Strana Naše Slovensko, ĽSNS). Kotleba’s political program and the statements of its representatives are clear indications of an extremist right-wing orientation (as is the name of the leader, present in the party’s name).\(^{105}\) The election of this party, which openly referred to the tradition of the fascist state, sparked a debate in liberal circles on the role of education and its failings. As good practice, we can point to grassroots initiatives intended to involve young people from regions with the highest percentage of Kotleba supporters. Under an informal educational initiative, youths were invited to participate in debates, lectures, and concerts.

\(^{103}\) More at: https://2015.holocaustremembrance.com/member-countries/holocaust-education-remembrance-and-research-slovakia

\(^{104}\) Holocaust Memorial Days, Slovak Republic, 2015, pp. 97–99.

\(^{105}\) According to the statistics, the party was elected by a considerable number of first-time voters (Gyárfášová, Slosiarik, 2016). One of the segments by which ĽSNS addressed citizens was the resentment toward the wartime Slovak State (1939–45), its President Jozef Tiso, and the Ludak regime that he represented. M. Vrzgulová, “Forgotten Slovakia Civic Initiative: Talking Openly about Extremism. Parallel Monologues or a Discussion on Values?” Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics, 2018, p. 140.

\(^{106}\) More at: http://www.zabudnuteslovensko.sk/sk
5. Holocaust distortion impairing education

When analyzing the formal educational and remembrance efforts, we should consider how the residents of a given region are affected by social and political challenges—especially trivializations and distortions of the Holocaust. The challenges include whether, even if the curriculum includes appropriate Holocaust content, there is sufficient time to prepare such lessons and whether the teachers have the right tools and feel safe enough to do this.

An example can be found in the period of heated debate over the Act on the Polish Institute of National Remembrance. The Act aimed to limit defective memory codes by introducing sanctions: a fine, or imprisonment for up to 3 years, for anybody (including foreigners from outside Poland) who publicly, and contrary to facts, attributes to “the Polish Nation or to Poland” responsibility or co-responsibility for crimes committed by Nazi Germany (art. 55a). Also, those who “blatantly understate the responsibility of the actual perpetrators of these crimes” would be subject to said sanctions. Inadvertent actions would also be punished, while artistic and scientific activity would not be subject to the sanctions. Evidently, according to analysis carried out by the Center for Research on Prejudice on commission of the Commissioner for Human Rights, this was a period of intensified antisemitism in public debate. As a result, antisemitism surfaced in comments by public figures and in the media. An important consequence of the public debate around the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance was the polarization of Poles’ views on the history of Polish–Jewish relations. There was a significant increase in the number of those idealizing Poles’ actions during the occupation (the number of those convinced that all Poles were involved in saving Jews grew twofold), but at the same time, the percentage of Poles ready to talk about acts of cooperation with the German occupier increased as well.

Another example can be found in Hungarian efforts to rehabilitate writers with nationalist, antisemitic, and national socialist views and to integrate them into the Hungarian literary canon. These efforts included the proposition that works by Cécile Tormay, József Nyírő, and Albert Wass should be included in schools’ obligatory reading lists. Since one of the most important goals of Hungarian literary education is to reinforce a sense of Hungarian nationalism, the focus is primarily on authors—who are frequently presented to students as role models—rather than their literary works. However, as the three writers mentioned above openly participated in antisemitic and pro–Nazi activities, it would be unethical to place them in a position where they are supposed to be celebrated as children’s role models. It is also argued that only a small proportion of the three authors’ works can be considered of literary value. At the same time, they all created works with antisemitic elements and elements with no support in historical fact. Thus, both the choice of themes and the literary styles make the three unsuitable as authors of books to be included in schools’ reading lists.

Experts also note that the Hungarian curriculum is increasingly ideological. The NAT (National Core Curriculum) focuses on battles Hungary won while omitting the country’s failures. It mainly presents Hungarians as heroes. It describes the authoritarian rule of Miklós Horthy after World War I as “recovery after the Trianon trauma”—a reference to the 1920 treaty which deprived Hungary of two-thirds of its territory. Also, the curriculum does not include the term ‘critical thinking,’ which has been replaced by a euphemism meaning ‘cognition.’

Another critical question is who creates the curricula and the textbooks. Engaging various experts, including representatives of the Hungarian Jewish community, in developing recommendations for the new curriculum was a good step. Still, no analysis followed to verify which of the recommendations were implemented. Textbook analyses reveal stereotypical, folkloric perceptions of minorities; the content primarily focuses on national and Catholic identity or Christian values.

A similar problem has been noted in Poland. Textbook analyses conducted by the Jewish Association Czulent showed that the textbooks contain echoes of antisemitism and trivialize the Holocaust. At the same time, the first thing that a child learns in history lessons in grade 4 is that Jews killed Christ. The situation is evolving, since 2017 the phrase “policy of glory” has been used in Poland, replacing “policy of shame.”


Yet another question is the people who carry the knowledge. In all four countries, the profession of a teacher is neither valued nor respected. Teachers have to cope with hefty workloads. Usually, there are additional classes on weekends, so they cannot use this time to rest. On top of this, we must not forget that teachers also have views. According to a survey conducted in Slovakia, on average, one-third (34%) of teachers declared having a rightist evaluative orientation. This means that such views are more common among teachers than in the general Slovak population (23%).

According to the latest report “Modern Antisemitism in Visegrad Countries – Countering Distortion” most respondents from the countries covered by the survey described the Holocaust as one of the most tragic events of the 20th Century in their respective countries and/or in Europe. Also, they did not make relativizing comparisons between the Holocaust and other tragic events of the period. But the level of empathy in the context of the Holocaust was considerably diversified. For instance, participants from the Czech Republic spontaneously commented on the horrors of the Holocaust, describing it as one of the most tragic events in the history of the 20th Century. In contrast, Hungarian participants laconically referred to the Holocaust as genocide. None of the groups denied the Holocaust. Slovaks, when describing World War II, classified the Holocaust as the most tragic event. When discussing the Shoah, Hungarians mentioned genocide, the extermination of an entire ethnic group, stigmatizing a whole community, organized genocide, six million victims, and senseless killings. In Poland, there were no antisemitic or offensive comments regarding the Holocaust. However, both Hungarian and Polish participants were relatively unlikely to mention the Jewish community. The survey results correlate with scientific analyses of latency, which emphasize the existence of a strong social and political taboo against open expression of antisemitic sentiments. Participants may therefore have perceived the expression of antisemitic views on the very existence of the Holocaust as particularly unacceptable.

Additionally, they verified that many contemporary aspects connected with the Holocaust—for example remembrance, education, and accountability—may potentially lead to denial and distortion of the Holocaust. In the Slovak and Czech focus groups, these issues did not distort the Holocaust or other manifestations of antisemitism. But such influence was noticeable in the Hungarian and Polish focus groups, and Holocaust remembrance was frequently debated in antisemitic categories. Research results confirm that collective victimization is commonly considered one of the critical factors behind denial and distortions of the Holocaust in the region. Therefore, analysis and research are vital to national responsibility for past cruelties—including the Holocaust—and the narratives of competitive victimhood.

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111 Modern Antisemitism in the Visegrad Countries - Countering Antisemitism, pp. 15–16.
112 Ibid. p. 28
SECTION 4

Nonformal Practices and Pedagogies Tackling Antisemitism
1. Non-governmental organizations

Activities supporting the educational processes of formal education have been taken over by informal groups, non-governmental organizations, museums, memorial sites, and academic organizations. As part of their activity, these entities offer teacher training programs and courses on teaching methods about the Holocaust and antisemitism. They also teach how to use the available educational tools and universalize education about the Holocaust to correspond to a target group’s needs and reality. Moreover, these organizations offer students training on Jewish heritage and culture and elements of multicultural sensitivity and identity-related sensitivity. Finally, they educate about the Holocaust and ways of remembering Holocaust victims, and organize efforts to combat antisemitism and intolerance broadly understood.

They offer education and provide a platform where teachers can meet, share good practices, and learn about solutions and good practices used by their colleagues and other organizations. Frequently, this is the only offer available to teachers living outside large cities. Additionally, the offer is genuinely accessible. Typically, most teachers have to personally cover the expenses connected with professional development and additional training. But the offer of NGOs is available for free; the organizations also pay for teachers’ accommodation and travel.

2. International cooperation

NGO operations in the V4 countries are closely connected with international cooperation. Jointly or as coalitions in various international bodies, NGOs carry out initiatives, adapting them to the reality of the countries where they operate. Organizations specializing in antisemitism and the Holocaust could not only develop their activities but also include teachers in networking with colleagues from abroad thanks to cooperation with organizations such as: Amsterdam’s Anne Frank House; the USC Shoah Foundation (USA); Yad Vashem – The World Holocaust Remembrance Center; Mémoire de la Shoah; American Jewish Committee (USA); Facing History and Ourselves (USA); the American Association of Polish-Jewish Studies (USA); the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (USA); Art and Remembrance (USA); the Contemporary Jewish Museum in San Francisco (USA); European Holocaust Research Infrastructure (Netherlands); the Holocaust Educational Trust (UK); the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies (UK); Memory Project Productions (USA); the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USA).

Interestingly, organizations from Slovakia, Hungary, and the Czech Republic are more likely than organizations from Poland to cooperate with organizations from neighboring countries. Polish organizations collaborate with organizations from Western Europe and the USA rather than others from the V4.

3. Good practices

However, examples of international cooperation on the V4 level also exist. One of these is the initiative of the Zachor Foundation, a partnership of organizations from Poland, Czech Republic, and Slovakia, which provides possibilities for the implementation of good practices for remembrance work at a local level.

GOOD PRACTICE, HUNGARY

Visegrad IWalks: Teaching Democracy through Digital Local History Walks

The Zachor Foundation’s initiative is implemented in partnership with the Czech Republic’s Památník Terezín (Terezín Memorial), Poland’s Auschwitz Jewish Center, and Nadácia Milana Šimečku (Milan Simecka Foundation). Under the project, video walks (IWalks) were organized in the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia, presenting accounts of Holocaust survivors and witnesses from the USC Shoah Foundation’s Visual History Archive (VHA), alongside objects, and local history, and connecting them with the community in which the participants live. Participation in a walk provides a platform for asking difficult questions and fosters the development of critical reasoning. The organizations not only develop the IWalks app but also provide educators and teachers with a content-related background.
Another example of cooperation in the V4 on the local level is a project by the Jewish Museum in Prague: “Neighbors Who Disappeared,” being used by Slovak organizations.

**GOOD PRACTICE, CZECH REPUBLIC**

“Neighbors Who Disappeared”

The project by the Education and Culture Centre was launched in 1999 in the Czech Republic, under the auspices of the President’s Office, and as part of the Holocaust Phenomenon project. It was co-sponsored by the Ministry of Education. “It aims to look for those who disappeared during World War II and encourage students aged 12–18 to ask questions about the fate of people from their immediate neighborhood who disappeared during the war. The project became possible when the political climate changed after 1989, and the archives were opened. Another favorable factor is the present condition of the Jewish monuments.”

Additionally, the Jewish Museum in Prague offers training for teachers and students. The Czech Ministry of Education provides interactive workshops on the Holocaust and antisemitism, among them: Us and Them—Antisemitism and Modern Society; the Lodz Ghetto; Unwelcome Foreigners; Reflections—Perpetrators; Rescuers and the Others; The Holocaust in Documents; Hannah’s Suitcase; Jewish Holidays; Life Cycle and Traditions; The Hebrew Alphabet; The Golem; Noah’s Ark—Help Save Animals from the Flood; The Persecution of Bohemian and Moravian Jews in World War II; Jewish Literary Figures in the Context of Czech Culture; Israel Yesterday and Today; as well as workshops on Jewish holidays (the Sabbath, Purim, Pesach, Hanukkah, Simchat Torah), and celebrations of major life-cycle events (e.g., weddings) upon request.

**GOOD PRACTICE, POLAND**

Meetings that bring together Jewish and non-Jewish Poles

The Forum for Dialogue Among Nations is a non-governmental organization whose mission is to eradicate antisemitism, prejudice, and stereotypes through conducting seminars, workshops, and exchange programs. The Forum addresses difficult questions arising from the Holocaust experience in Poland and promotes understanding and respect among individuals, nations, religions, and cultures. Its activities include inter-ethnic meetings, multicultural education projects for schools, and the publication of educational materials. The Forum believes that inter-group contact is an efficient pedagogical tool that can decrease antisemitism. Therefore, the Forum has organized many youth meetings that bring together Jewish and non-Jewish Poles. During these events, participants form small, mixed groups consisting of 10 students, get to know one another, and complete specific tasks. Such cooperative learning techniques are effective in reducing prejudice. The Forum’s evaluation research showed that the meetings made non-Jewish Polish youths significantly less antisemitic, while Jewish students become more open to dialogue with their non-Jewish peers.

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“Antisemitism is not an opinion”\textsuperscript{116}

It is a project of the Jewish Association Czulent, which analyzed 147 textbooks approved by the Ministry of National Education for the teaching of the following subjects: history, history and the society, social science, cultural science, family life education, Polish, and early school education. The content was analyzed from the perspective of Jewish topics, antisemitic themes, and argumentative schemes. The goal was to identify antisemitic content and, on this basis, process the educational mechanisms reflecting stereotypes and cultural antisemitism in Poland and develop educational materials to counteract antisemitism. Thanks to this, two textbooks were prepared: for those specializing in anti-discrimination education at the university and secondary school level and for primary and early primary school educators. The projects involved 50 people: academics, teachers, psychologists, and sociologists.

There are many organizations in the V4 whose activities support democratic processes and counter xenophobic, racist, and antisemitic attitudes. The list in the Appendix presents some of the organizations most active in the field.

These organizations reach out to schools and teachers and frequently, in cooperation with local administration, offer materials, teaching aids, and teachers’ development programs. However, it is worth considering whether such activities have chances of survival if proposed mainly by NGOs. As they are not regularly funded, most NGOs face a lack of possibilities for development and systemic evaluation of their programs; NGOs’ products, i.e., textbooks and reports, are often available for 2 or 3 years and then disappear from the virtual domain due to websites’ closure. Lack of promotion and limited access to target groups often limit such organizations’ scope of activity. Additionally, absence of regular funding leads to a lack of infrastructure and human capital. People who work for such organizations have no sense of stability as they are employed under so-called ‘junk contracts’ or just for particular projects. Therefore, it is vital to find systemic solutions based on cooperation with the third sector.

\textsuperscript{116} The textbooks are available at: \url{https://czulent.pl/antysenityzm-nie-jest-pogladem}

\textsuperscript{117} More at: \url{https://www.nadaciamilnasimecku.sk/programy/vzdelavanie/e-learningovy-kurz-holokaust-ako-nastroj-vychovy-k-postojom}
The group of organizations vital for education about minorities are the so-called minority organizations. Since they are frequently perceived as folkloric, their activities are left on the margins of NGOs and educational institutions. The Jewish Association Czulent has analyzed the cooperation of such institutions with Polish public administration bodies. The results of this analysis were summarized in a report\textsuperscript{118} which compiled the good practices of activities based on collaboration and proposed a roadmap for coalitions launched by NGOs comprising national and ethnic minorities and local administration. Research shows the importance of actions that support and reinforce such organizations and aim to make them equal partners in decision-making processes and enable them to co-decide how to discuss particular communities and what actions to implement for them.

Another threat to the functioning of such organizations are external factors connected with political trends and political discourse in a given country, e.g., Hungary\textsuperscript{119} and Poland,\textsuperscript{120} where political actions resulted in an increased polarization of the society and lowered social trust in non-governmental organizations. This hinders human rights organizations access to schools. It also compounded the freeze effect leading public schools to avoid cooperation.


\textsuperscript{119} On February 3, 2018, the Hungarian government presented the Parliament with a legislative package consisting of three acts commonly referred to as “Stop Soros.” The proposed regulations would further limit Soros’ Hungarian organization’s ability to work; they required the organizations that “support migration” to obtain national security clearance and governmental permit for their core activities.

\textsuperscript{120} In 2017, the Polish Prime Minister announced a draft act intended to “set in order” the matter of non-governmental organizations, including their financing. The public media: “Wiadomości” TVP1 and “Panorama” TVP2 aired a program about organizations supported by George Soros implying they attack the government. Since that time, the media and governmental discourse have divided these organizations into “good and bad.” More at: https://www.money.pl/gospodarka/wiadomosci/artystka/raport-ngo-o-wspolpracy-z-razdem,1870,2255803.html
ENCATE Member Organizations

- THE ANNE FRANK TRUST
- SOLUTIONS NOT SIDES
- TURKEY
- POLAND
- GERMANY
- FRANCE
- ANNE FRANK ZENTRUM
- HUMANITY IN ACTION GERMANY
- KIGA E.V.
- CEJI
- MAISON D’IZIEU
- CDEC FOUNDATION
- SEHAK
- AUSTRIA
- TERRAFORMING
- IT AL Y
- HAVER FOUNDATION
- ZACHOR FOUNDATION
- CENTROPA
- SHOW RACISM THE RED CARD
- TURKEY
- UNITED KINGDOM
- BELGIUM
- FRANCE
- ITALY
- AUSTRIA
- HUNGARY
- SERBIA
- TURKEY
- CENTROPA
- SEHAK
Development of a strategy for education about anti-semitism in the V4 countries. Such efforts should not be limited to schools but rather constitute a common element of education about society and its rights on all levels of children’s and adult education, particularly groups like teachers, journalists, and police officers. Regarding Holocaust distortion, IHRA’s recent efforts, including its recommendations for policymakers and its toolkit, are essential.

Systemic support for civic education needs to be established that will include the development of critical thinking based on analysis of global events and their relation to the everyday reality of the groups educated.

When antisemitism and the Holocaust were politicized, they started being perceived as threats to national identity in some countries. Therefore, the language should be carefully selected to resonate with and be understandable to young people.

It is essential to change the positivist approach to education. Instead, children should be taught about the most important events that affect the development of humanity in a way that will enable them to use the knowledge in their lives. Only then will we be able to raise open-minded youths.

Reflection on the Holocaust should be a source of education about prejudice, discrimination, xenophobia, racism, and antisemitism, which will help better understand human rights.

Education about antisemitism requires a diversified approach and educational programs taking account of contemporary research, which is why international cooperation and networking groups associating teachers from the V4 countries is recommended.

Decentralization and giving teachers the freedom to choose the materials, sources, and working methods lead to creative solutions and the application of innovative scientific tools.

Systemic solutions support, network, and create development solutions for teachers as tools countering antisemitism. The system should take account of the mechanisms and teachers’ professional development—how their views affect the attitudes of young people; researching the attitudes of teachers and other professional groups to identify problems they face and ways to support them.

Although in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, antisemitism and the Holocaust have been taught for almost two decades, the level of negative emotions towards Roma people remains high, and so does the level of negative sentiments towards the LGBT+ community in all four V4 countries. Therefore, education about genocide mechanisms should not be discussed as a historical phenomenon. Instead, it should contribute to changing attitudes towards groups that are most at risk of discrimination.
Systemic research and evaluation of educational programs aiming to combat antisemitism are fundamental. Long-term verification and assessment of actions may serve to analyze changes in attitude and the adequacy of the tools selected. The Slovak Ministry of Education has conducted thorough research on the system of education. A group of independent experts from different fields has been verifying school textbooks. The research results are to be used to develop a new core curriculum and for educational reform. The activities are carried out in cooperation with teachers. Such a strategic approach should be recommended at the level of international cooperation.

It is essential for the OSCE and other international bodies, including the United Nations, the European Union, and the Council of Europe, to cooperate when establishing NGOs’ development and support strategies. Funding for international, local and regional cooperation will contribute to the organizations’ professionalization, including uniformization and transparency of the funding of NGOs.

Educational activities counteracting antisemitism and commemorating the Holocaust should be part of countries’ historical policies and memory. It is the only way for human rights to become part of mainstream politics. However, pushing the responsibility onto non-governmental organizations results in a situation where the topic is marginalized and does not become part of national, educational, or security policies.

The international concept of human rights in the V4 countries is currently interpreted as a threat to sovereignty and national values. In addition, antisemitism, Islamophobia, and xenophobia have become increasingly politicized. Therefore, the concept of human rights and openness should become local.

Efforts addressing antisemitism should concentrate on the local level. Currently, studies show that local identity is the most important for citizens, including the younger generation. Moreover, those who operate on the local level have a sense of agency. Therefore, strengthening cooperation between minority groups, professional groups, police officers, schools, and municipal authorities on this level will contribute to transforming attitudes and building relations.

The OSCE and other international bodies, including the United Nations, the European Union, and the Council of Europe, should cooperate when creating strategies supporting actions and activities counteracting antisemitism in the member states. This way actions will be uniform and no longer symbolic or declarative.

121 More at: https://www.ndi.org/publications/youth-attitudes-politics-and-democracy-central-europe
Antisemitism and other forms of intolerance remain a serious risk to the security and to the well-being of our people. We believe in working together systematically and persistently to fight this frightening phenomenon not only from the past but also of the present times.

DR. SIMONA KUSTEC
SLOVENIAN MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND SPORT

Combatting racism and antisemitism is an essential task for culture and education at national and international levels.

HEIKO MAAS
FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER OF GERMANY

Education plays a fundamental and irreplaceable role in combatting all forms of antisemitism as well as all forms of radicalization in our democratic, responsible and inclusive society.

TIAGO BRANDÃO RODRIGUES
MINISTER OF EDUCATION OF PORTUGAL

Opening Remarks at ENCATe Stakeholder Meeting, October 2020
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European Parliament Resolution on Combating Anti-Semitism (2017/2692(RSP)


Towards an EU free from Antisemitism. EU Strategy on Combating Antisemitism and Fostering Jewish Life
Appendix

List of Interviewees

We would like to express our gratitude to the people we interviewed for this report:

- **ADAM MUSIAŁ**
  Teacher and educator, awarded the Irena Sendler Prize “For Repairing the World” and the POLIN Prize for activities to preserve the memory of the history of Polish Jews (2019).

- **ALKSANDRA SZYMAŃSKA**
  Office Manager, Platform for Intercultural Dialogue at the Villa Decius Institute of Culture, Poland

- **ANDREÁA SZŐNYI**
  Director of the Zachor Foundation for Social Remembrance, an educational NGO in Hungary, Member of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Educational Working Group, Hungary

- **ANNA ZIELIŃSKA**
  Board Member of the Jewish Association Czulent, member of the Warsaw Jewish Community and former ODIHR's Adviser on Combating Anti-Semitism, Poland

- **GRIGORIJ MESEŽNIKOV**
  Political scientist, President of the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), Slovakia

- **ILDIKÓ BARNA**
  Associate Professor of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences and Head of the Department of Social Research Methodology at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest (ELTE), Hungary

- **JOHANNES BÖRMMANN**
  Policy Officer and Antisemitism Expert at European Commission (Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers)

- **KRISTÍNA GREČKOVÁ**
  Project Manager, Milan Šimečka Foundation, Slovakia

- **LÁSZLÓ MIKLOSI**
  History teacher and leader of the Association of History Teachers, Hungary

- **MARIUSZ JASTRZĄB**
  Chief Education Specialist, Education Department, Museum of the History of Polish Jews, POLIN, Poland

- **MA TEJ BERANEK**
  Director of the education department in Museum of Holocaust in Sereď

- **MICHAŁ BILEWICZ**
  Centre for Research on Prejudice at Warsaw University, Poland

- **MÓNIKA KOVÁCS**
  Associate Professor, ELTE Faculty of Education and Psychology, Institute of Intercultural Psychology and Education. Expert member of the Hungarian delegation at the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) (2004–2007 and 2010–2014), Hungary

- **MÓNICA VRZGULOVÁ**
  Institute of Ethnology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia. Member of the National Delegation at the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) (2005–2013) and Member of the IHRA Educational Academic Working Group of (2005–2013), Slovakia

- **ORSOLYA PLESZ**
  Program Officer for the Jewish Life and Antisemitism Program, Tom Lantos Institute, Hungary
PÉTER SZÁSZ
History teacher and history textbooks author, Hungary

PIOOTR KWAPISIEWICZ
President of the Jewish Association Czulent, Poland

PIOOTR TROJAŃSKI
Prof. UP. Institute of History and Archival Studies, Pedagogical University of Kraków. Academic advisor for the Auschwitz and the Holocaust at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, past member of the Polish delegation to the IHRA, Poland

SEBASTIAN REJAK
Acting Director, American Jewish Committee Central Europe, Poland

TOMÁŠ KRAUS
Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic & American Jewish Committee Representative in Prague, Czech Republic

TOMÁŠ FILIP
teacher at high school in Košice, Holocaust educator, Slovakia

YAELE NEPALOVÁ
Czech Council of Jewish Women, Information Analyst and Expert on Antisemitism, Czech Republic

ZBYNĚK TARANT
Vice-Chairman of the Department of Middle-Eastern Studies, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen, Czech Republic

TOMAS STERN
President of the Jewish Community in Bratislava, Slovakia
Organizations

Civil society organizations addressing antisemitism and related issues in education in the V4 countries:

**Czech Republic**
- Amnesty International Czech Republic
- Bubny Memorial of Silence
- Charles University in Prague
- Czech Helsinki Committee
- DEMAS – Association for Democracy Assistance and Human Rights
- Department of Middle-Eastern Studies – University of West Bohemia in Pilsen
- The Forum 2000 Foundation
- In Iustitia
- IQ Roma servis
- Multicultural Center Prague
- NESEHNUTÍ
- Palacký University Olomouc
- Post Bellum
- Terezín Initiative Institute
- Terezín Memorial
- The Education and Culture Centre of the Jewish Museum in Prague (ECC)
- The Educational Department in Terezín
- The Federation of Jewish Communities
- The Memorial and Education Center in the Former Roma Camp Hodonín.
- The Museum of Romani Culture in Brno
- The Shoah Memorial Prague

**Hungary**
- Carl Lutz Foundation
- Centropa Hungary
- Haver Informal Jewish Education Foundation
- Institute for Minority Studies – Center for Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
- Political Capital Policy Research and Consulting Institute
- Raoul Wallenberg Association
- Romano Instituto Foundation
- Sim Shalom Progressive Jewish Congregation
- The Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (Mazsihisz)
- The Holocaust Memorial Center
- The Public Foundation for the Research of Central Eastern European History and Society (House of Terror)
- Tom Lantos Institute
- USC Shoah Foundation Hungary
- Zachor Foundation for Social Remembrance

**Poland**
- Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań
- Anti-discrimination Education Society (TEA)
- Auschwitz Jewish Center
- Autonomy Foundation
- Center for Holocaust Studies – Jagiellonian University
- "Cukunft" Jewish Association
- Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw
- Grodzka Gate - NN Theatre
Gross-Rosen Museum
HaKoach Association
Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights
Homo Faber Association
Humanity in Action Foundation Poland
Jagiellonian University
JCC Kraków
JCC Warsaw
Jewish Association Czulent
Jewish Motifs Association
Kamera Dawida Foundation WJFF.pl
Memorial and Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau
Never Again Association
“Open Republic” Association Against Antisemitism and Xenophobia
POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews
Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN)
Polistrefa – Foundation for Diversity
Project Poland (Projekt Polska)
Roma Association in Poland
Stefan Batory Foundation
The Center for Citizenship Education
The Center for Study on the History and Culture of Kraków Jews – Institute of Jewish Studies
Jagiellonian University
The Centre for Research on Prejudice at Warsaw University
The Historical Museum of the City of Kraków – Memorial Trail
The Home Army Museum in Kraków
The Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Instytut Badań Literackich, IBL)

The Marek Edelman Dialogue Centre
The Memory of Treblinka Foundation
The Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk
The Polish Center for Holocaust Research
The Polish History Museum in Warsaw
The Ulma Family Museum of Poles Saving Jews in World War II in Markowa
The Warsaw Uprising Museum
Villa Decjusz Association
Wrocław University

Slovakia

Center for the Research of Ethnicity and Culture
Central European Forum
Centre for Community Organizing
EDAH.sk
Forum of the World’s Religions
Milan Simecka Foundation
Post Bellum SL
The Bratislava Policy Institute (BPI)
The Holocaust Documentation Center
The Institute for Public Affairs (IVO)
The Museum of the Slovak National Uprising
The National Memory Institute
The Slovak Academy of Sciences
The Slovak National Museum – Museum of Jewish Culture
Via Iuris
Researcher Biography

ANNA MAKÓWKA-KWAPISIEWICZ is a historian, journalist, and expert with 17-year experience in advocacy, minority rights, antisemitism prevention, and discrimination.

Since 2016 she has been cooperating with the NDI as a project coordinator for Poland, implementing projects strengthening citizen participation, government transparency, and reliability.

At the international level, she supports and develops CSOs that promote an inclusive society and prevent discrimination and hate crimes. She has cooperated among others with the OSCE, European Liberal Forum (ELF), EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), Council of Europe, The Polish Ombudsman, Religions for Peace, Friedrich Naumann Foundation, International Council of Jewish Women (ICJW), and American Jewish Committee (AJC).

In 2010-2020, she was a Chairwoman of the Jewish Association Czulent, where she focused on advocacy and coalition-building projects and used her anti-discrimination training and coaching experience in her educational work. Between 2019 and 2021, she was a member of the steering committee of ENCATÉ. Moreover, She is also the author of the project “Anti-Semitism is not an opinion” and a member of the experts who developed the program “Stories that Move.” Currently, she is doing a Ph.D. on antisemitism in social and political discourse in Poland, and she is a member of the Equal Treatment Council established by the Mayor of Krakow.
**About Partners**

**KIGA**

**KREUZBERG INITIATIVE AGAINST ANTISEMITISM – KIGA E. V.** addresses antisemitism and intolerance by developing innovative educational concepts. Since 2003, KIGA has promoted multi-perspectivity, tolerance of ambiguity, and empathy through educational activities in schools and extra-curricular contexts. KIGA deals with complex, sensitive, and politically controversial issues by connecting various forms of social exclusion to be relevant to young people and other audiences.

KIGA’s work became more widely known in Germany and internationally. KIGA’s team includes experts with a wide range of social and professional backgrounds. KIGA e. V. educates multipliers, organizes high-level conferences, produces exhibitions and media materials, and advises politicians, schools, local authorities, and international organizations.

In 2019, KIGA founded ENCATE and has been the coordinator of this Network since then.

[kiga-berlin.org](http://kiga-berlin.org)

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**JEWSH ASSOCIATION CZULENT** is an independent, nonprofit advocacy organization with the status of a non-governmental organization of national minorities. The Association brings together experts belonging to the Jewish community in Poland and Europe.

As an advocacy organization, the Association works to promote tolerance and shape attitudes of openness towards national, ethnic, and religious minorities, emphasizing counteracting antisemitism and discrimination, including cross-cutting discrimination.

As part of its activities, the Association cooperates with domestic and international institutions, also working on a global scale. Czulent is a member of the International Council of Jewish Women (ICJW), Coalition of Equal Opportunities, and ENCATE.

[czulent.pl](http://czulent.pl)

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**EUROPEAN NETWORK FOR COUNTERING ANTI-SEMITISM THROUGH EDUCATION (ENCATE)** aims to address contemporary antisemitism through education. The members are European nonprofits educating society about/against contemporary and historical aspects of antisemitism.

ENCATE is a vital partner for governments, civic actors, and international organizations because it conveys hands-on experience and everyday needs in the educational work countering antisemitism.

ENCATE acknowledges the relevant past and current work of Jewish organizations and communities as well as international institutions, networks, and NGOs as a frame of reference. Its work strives to be complementary and to add value to the field.

[encate.eu](http://encate.eu)