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Abstract of a PhD. dissertation

**THE JEWS OF KECSKEMÉT BETWEEN 1919 – 1944
WITH THE HORTHY ERA IN VIEW**

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I. Rationale and background of the research topic

The research began at the Bács-Kiskun Archives in 2005 when data were being collected for a thesis, which was later expanded with the help of Kecskemét press materials. In 2005, the research was an attempt to investigate and examine sources that had not been researched and published before. This work is being continued in this dissertation and the unconcealed aim of this paper is to shed light on the events leading to the tragedy of the Jews in Kecskemét by uncovering the content of newly discovered sources. The emphasis is thus placed on the period before the deportations.

The importance of local history research was emphasized by Elemér Mályusz in 1931: *'[...] Nowadays the local historical monographies are – with a few exception – written by either entrepreneurs owning a business, or by well-intentioned but uneducated amateurs.'*¹ Unfortunately, this bitter view of Mályusz is especially true for Kecskemét because the monography of the city has only been processed up until the 1880s, though it was the largest city – if the capital is not taken into consideration - in the Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County.

The national and local history research has been struggling to uncover the more than seventy-year-old history of Holocaust, therefore this dissertation hereby attempts to make up for this deficiency.

The main objective of this research is to reconstruct the life of the Jews living in Kecskemét between 1919 and 1944 and the history of anti-Semitism. The local historical reconstruction of Kecskemét is analyzed in the light of Hungarian national events. In order to gain a more detailed historical understanding, relevant resources and events from Kiskunfélegyháza and Nagykőrös are also included in the investigation. Since, the main aim is to investigate the history of social and political events in Kecskemét, the data from Kiskunfélegyháza and Nagykőrös are not fully dealt with. Another important field of this present investigation is the public opinion regarding the Jewish in Kecskemét.

The developmental stages of Kecskemét and Nagykőrös show similarities, though, Kecskemét was an open city in terms of society, economy and religion in the second half of the 19th century, while Nagykőrös was a closed one. Apart from the similarities, the relationship between the two cities became rather conflicting after the Turkish expulsion. According to a Hungarian saying: *'If Kecskemét is getting bigger, Nagykőrös is getting bitter.'* People from Kecskemét named the inhabitants of Nagykőrös 'cucumber growers' and

¹ Mályusz 1931. 251.

the residents of Kecskemét were mocked as 'peach growers' by the Nagykőrös dwellers.² The conflict had some religious roots as well: people in Kecskemét – and in Kiskunfélegyháza – were Catholic, while the inhabitants of Nagykőrös were Protestant.

The development of Kiskunfélegyháza reflects a different picture compared to these two cities because after the Turkish occupation it could only gain its independence in 1745 and it only became legally part of the Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County in 1876, before that it had been the seat of the Kiskun District.

The Jews of the two cities – Kecskemét and Nagykőrös – appeared around the same time. Initially, the social attitudes expressed by the Nagykőrös people towards the Jews were more open, welcoming, and inclusive than those expressed by the Kecskemét people. This was due to the fact that the Jews did not have any competitors in trade in Nagykőrös, unlike in Kecskemét. The Jews were tolerated in Kiskunfélegyháza – they named them 'blow-ins' – although the local Greek societies saw – quite rightly – some competition in them.

The waves of anti-Semitism reached the two major cities (Kecskemét and Nagykőrös) at the end of the 19th century, but not Kiskunfélegyháza.

The Jewish communities of Kecskemét, Nagykőrös and Kiskunfélegyháza show similarities in their development structure. The majority of them were neologists. In 1930, the number of the Jewish people living in these cities were approximately the same. In 1939, the number of Jewish representatives and industrial licenses owned by Jewish people were nearly the same in both Kecskemét and Nagykőrös. Kiskunfélegyháza was different in this regard.

In spite of the above mentioned similarities, antisemitism was spreading in Nagykőrös between the late 1920s and the early 1930s. The major role in this was played by right-wing organizations and movements, the difficulties caused by the economic crisis, and as well as by the city's proximity to Cegléd. There was an extreme antisemitism in Cegléd, which could be explained by the fact that it belonged to the neighbourhood of Budapest, where the events had a significant negative effect on the community in terms of their attitudes.

Erdei Ferenc's volume, titled *Futóhomok* [Quicksand], deals with the Three Cities – referring to Kecskemét, Nagykőrös and Cegléd – and conceives Erdei's findings about the anti-Semitism in Cegléd as follows: *'Cegléd is anti-Semite. Only the German scales are appropriate to measure the austerity and severity in which the Jews are treated. The number of Jewish is not high (3%) but their presence in trade and loan-offices, as well as their representation among lawyers and doctors is significant. It is rare to see Jews walking*

² Bereznai 1998. 312.

together with non-Jews on the streets. There are continuous claims and speeches against them in the city-council and various anti-Jewish inscriptions appear on the walls of the houses day by day. However: *'The Jews do not have an easy life, the consequences of their 'persecution' are set aright by a good business and a good office.*'³

Kecskemét and Kiskunfélegyháza felt the strengthening of anti-Semitism only in the middle and in the end of 1930s.

Apart from the similarities and differences, the distance of these two cities – Kiskunfélegyháza and Nagykőrös – from Kecskemét, which is approximately the same (Kecskemét-Nagykőrös: 20 km; Kecskemét-Kiskunfélegyháza: 30 km), also plays a part in the decision of including them in this present research.

II. Source material and methodology of the research

The source material can be used primarily to carry out a microanalysis, concentrating on the local history of the cities. Since it is not the intention of this research to keep the events in Kecskemét separate, this dissertation applies a comparative approach for the research methodology, incorporating macro-causal (for investigating the causal relationships) and macro-analytical (in order to shed light on the similarities and differences) methods.⁴ As for the theoretical approach of this research, it concentrates on political anti-Semitism in particular – out of its various typologies – and by doing so it could not ignore György Csepeli's approach – stemming from his own classification of anti-Semitism –, in which ethnocentric and religious manifestations of anti-Semitism are brought into foreground.⁵

In order to explore the primary sources, the main research was conducted in the Archives of the Bács-Kiskun County Council in Kecskemét. However, in 1952 a large-scale culling war carried out here, which obviously reduced the availability and the number of searchable material.

In spite of this, a huge amount of documents was available, which included the notes, journals and records of county municipalities, municipal towns, administrative territorial agencies, educational institutions, guilds, chambers, social clubs, business organizations,

³ Erdei 1937. 89, 128.

⁴ More about the comparative approach can be found in: Gyáni 2003.; Tomka 2005.

⁵ Csepeli 1990.

collections, and the court and public prosecutions, as well as the duplicates of birth and marriage certificates.

Despite the screening of nearly 1,000 boxes of documents, it was felt in many cases that these sources were insufficient for the reconstruction of historical events being examined in this investigation, therefore additional sources were used as well. This research made use of newspapers (*Magyar Alföld [The Great Hungarian Plain]*, *Kecskeméti Közlöny [Journal of Kecskemét]*, *Kecskeméti és vidéke [Kecskemét and its surroundings]*, *Kecskeméti Ellenőr [Kecskemét Inspector]*) and weeklies, (*Kecskemét*, *Kecskeméti Lapok [Kecskemét Papers]*) and two daily newspapers (*Hajnalodik [Dawn]*, *Magyar Róna [Rona Hungary]*) as well. The news items were only used to supplement or refine critical background information if there was a lack of information and they had undergone the source critical method. As another extra source, this paper also relies on the logs of the National Assembly and the House of Parliament, and a number of statistical publications, which are freely available and accessible on the Internet. As a unique source group, the Jewish community in Kecskemét also allowed the author of this dissertation to do research in their bequest and legacy, which supplemented and/or disproved the previous knowledge and findings in many cases.

III. The subject, the logic and the structure of the dissertation

Regarding the Kecskemét Jews and the range and grade of anti-Semitism four periods of time can be isolated between 1919 and 1944, this dissertation attempts to support and verify these with examples:

- I. Initial period (1919 – 1922). (the Council Republic comes into existence – extraordinary elections in Kecskemét)
- II. Transitional period (1923 – 1928). (period after the election of the National Assembly – modification of the Numerus Clausus)
- III. Recovery period (1929 – 1937). (word economic crisis – the Kecskemét Cross Regulation)
- IV. Deprivation period (1938 – 1944). (László Endre is elected deputy-lieutenant – deportations)

This dissertation, while processing the history of the Jews in Kecskemét, aims at presenting and analysing their situation in a certain period of time, which starts at the time of

the settlement of Jews and finishes at the time of deportations. This paper focuses on the cohabitation of Jews with non-Jews, and on the conflicts between these two groups of people.

This dissertation dedicates a larger unit for the economic strengthening of the Jews at the time of civilization, the appearance of political anti-Semitism, and its Jewish demographic changes in Kecskemét.

In order to get to know the changes in the life of the Kecskemét Jewish community and to learn about and understand the manifestations of anti-Semitism, it is vital to present the historical changes and events of the Horthy era, which had a local or regional relevance. A number of events happened in the period covered under this review in Kecskemét and in the surrounding area, which generated national reverberations, such as the Orgovány (Kecskemét) events, the establishment of the racist party, and the conflicts around the person of Iván Héjjas. We aimed at understanding the background and the 'afterlife' of these events thoroughly, and at investigating the effects of the Council Republic and the anti-Jewish laws as related issues.

All in all, it can be concluded that the three cities' public opinion not only showed anti-Semitic notes between the two world wars, but – despite the similarities in their territorial, cultural, and economic relations – they were conspicuously different in their extent of anti-Semitism. This in itself makes the examination of local history and political history of the Jews from Kecskemét between 1919-1944 necessary.

There are further documents available for the research presented in this dissertation apart from the sources used in this thesis. These are going to be presented and published in a publication later.

This dissertation is closed by a bibliography and the list of sources. The documents considered to be important are shown in the Appendix.

IV. The scientific results of the dissertation

The main findings of the time periods presented in this dissertation (I. Initial, II. Transitional, III. Recovery, IV. Deprivation period) can be summarized as follows:

I. The anti-Semitism, which can be observed in the beginning of the Horthy era, is an allusion to the 'Jewish domination' at the time of the Council Republic, therefore it is vital to learn about the primary role of the Jews in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Local historians still owe the city of Kecskemét with this. The local archives revealed that the management

and the directorate of the city did have Jewish members, but by far not as large a percentage as we could have observed nationally. The measures of the Council Republic affected the members of the local Jewish community to the same extent (if not better), like the rest of the city's population. The directorate support was low among the local Jews. The present study supports this with concrete examples. During the Horthy era antipathy against local Jews was strengthened by the fact that *Magyar Alföld* [*the Hungarian Great Plain*], the 'voice-pipe' of the directorate, where a number of Jewish people worked, had a significant financial support from a lot of Jews.

As an expression of antipathy against the dictatorship of the proletariat, there was a counter-revolution near Kecskemét: the so-called Szentkirály counter-revolution. The relationship between the city and Budapest is demonstrated by this event as well because the counter-revolution was an integral part of Dormandy's movements. It is an exaggeration to regard this event as a revolution, as only a few people had a gun and the authorities learned about it in time. Historical sciences ignored this event unfairly, though it had gotten a little nail in the coffin of the Council Republic. Beyond the fact that the revolution was anti-communist, it contained anti-Semitic elements as well. Quite a lot of persons, who had a significant role in Kecskemét in the Horthy era, participated on this rally, so they could have started the acquisition of their anti-Semitism there.

Anti-Semitism was getting stronger and stronger because of the Council Republic and the requisitioning Romanian army. The Jewish merchants did their best to try to prevent the strengthening of anti-Semitism, so they offered their help to the town. When the Roman troops left, the newly created *Kecskeméti Közlöny* [Kecskemét Gazette] announced an anti-Semitic programme from its first appearance. It became the most powerful daily newspaper in the Horthy era. Meanwhile an other newspaper embodying philosemite views, entitled *Kecskemét*, was quite short-lived in this enhanced mood. A contributory factor to this was the fact that the city's leadership classified it as destructive and after this the press, which was in Jewish hands, backed out of the manufacturing operations.

One of the most significant events in the first defined period (I. Initial period) in this dissertation was the 'white terror', which caused national stir. The contemporary writings refer to these events as Orgovány events, even though it would be more fortunate to name them Kecskemét-Orgovány events, because most of the victims were Jewish from Kecskemét. The city's public opinion and politicians accepted the events passively. Later, they rejected all kinds of slander that the city and its leader, Iván Héjjas, received because of the white terror.

By the end of the year 1919, due to the escalation of anti-Semitism, the government took the Numerus Clausus to its agenda, which attracted the interest of the whole population living in Kecskemét. In 1920, far-right organizations started to establish their branches in Kecskemét. Compared to national conditions, and even to the surrounding city of Nagykőrös, these organizations (ÉME [Ébredő Magyarok Egyesülete – Association of the Awakening Hungarians], MOVE [Magyar Országos Véderő Egyesület – Hungarian National Defense Association], Baross Szövetség [Baross Association], Turul Szövetség [Turul Association]) appeared in Kecskemét later. The formation of these organizations was never a local initiative, it was always carried out by delegations from the capital city. This is a point of interest because Iván Héjas, one of the most dominant figures of the extreme right, was from Kecskemét. The year 1922 was important in the history of anti-Semitism because an extraordinary election took place in the National Assembly, during which the politician belonging to the political opposition was under attack.

II. After the National Assembly elections in 1922, the situation seemed to be normalized, but the arrest of Iván Héjas whipped up anti-Semitic voices again. By 1923, the economic problems – which could have been felt earlier too – culminated and led to discontent. Another far-right organizations were created in Kecskemét, most of which could have been linked to the local Turul organization. Despite the economic problems, anti-Semitism was losing ground, which is partly due to the change of the editor at *Közlöny* [Gazette] in 1925. After this the paper published the advertisements and the death notices of the Jewish merchants too. The example of *Közlöny* [Gazette] was followed by *Kecskeméti Lapok* [Kecskemét Papers]. In 1930 *Közlöny* [Gazette] and *Kecskeméti Lapok* [Kecskemét Papers] strongly requested that they could publish the advertisements of the Merchants' Casino, earlier known as Jewish Casino. In addition, national politics had an important role. In 1926, a Senate Act appeared, which affected the legal status of the Jews, and in 1928 the Numerus Clausus was amended, so that its racial clause was abolished. These had an easing effect on the anti-Semitism in the city.

Positive changes can also be observed in economic terms too, especially in 1927. Jews from Nagykőrös founded a company named Benedek, which established a branch company in Kecskemét. In a short time it became a dominant force both in Kecskemét's and in the country's economy, and it developed quickly thanks to its cold storage facilities and its trading of poultry at a European level.

III. Due to the global economic crisis in 1933, the extremes gained ground in the European politics. Adolf Hitler came to power, and the Nuremberg laws were published in

1935. The effects of these could be felt in Kecskemét. New far-right organizations were established in the city, but they proved to be ephemeral. In addition, the city had to deal with economic problems, a number of companies established and run successfully for years by Jewish people became bankrupt. Positive changes can also be observed from 1929. The town council, just like the *Közlöny* [Gazette], turned its back on anti-Semitism and tried to help Jewish artisans.

After the global economic crisis, the city's economic indicator is constantly tilted to the positive direction, which is partly due to the large-scale fruit export (Kecskemét Jewish wholesalers were interested in this sector), and in 1934 the Kecskemét distillery, which was led by the Jewish Isidore Führer, reached a European dimension.

The year 1935 brought a change in the life of Kecskemét. After the highly acclaimed Hírös Hét (Famous Week), the farmers had to face natural disasters several times. This brought the earlier discontentedness to the surface again. The Numerus Clausus regarding the lawyers and attorneys became an everyday subject of speech at the Kecskemét Bar Association (Chamber of Lawyers). There was also a noticeable tendency of the formation of far-right organizations. Numerus Clausus regarding the law and the legal bodies was a national initiative, it was not an issue raised by the Kecskemét lawyers. After a long-standing debate the Chamber eventually voted for the 1938 law numerus clausus, even though they had numerous Jewish members.

IV. The year 1938 brought further changes in the lives of the Jews in Kecskemét. László Endre, the Kiskunfélegyháza born and notoriously anti-Semitic leader took the lead of the Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County. The local Turul Association founded the anti-Semitic paper named *Hajnalodik* [Dawn], and a number of national right-wing organizations such as the local branch of MONE [Magyar Orvosok Nemzeti Egyesülete – Hungarian Doctors' National Association], MÜNE [Magyar Ügyvédek Nemzeti Egyesülete – Hungarian Lawyers' National Association]. The MOVE [Magyar Országos Véderő Egyesület – Hungarian National Defense Association] had to be reshaped, which happened with some help from the capital city. In addition, the first anti-Jewish law was a milestone in the life of the Jews from the country, as it restricted the Jews intellectuals' chances of getting an intellectual job. In 1939, the Baross Association was reformulated in Kecskemét, as the former organization was completely gone. In the upcoming years, this was repeated several times, last in 1942.

In Kecskemét's life the Benedict company's lease by the Hangya [Ant] company was the most striking effect of the first anti-Jewish law. Initially, the Jewish members of the

leadership were left at the head of the company, and then gradually they were removed from there in the next years.

The second anti-Jewish law in 1939 overshadowed the Jews more than the first did. This Act had an impact on the National Assembly elections in 1939. More than 600 Jews lost their right to vote in Kecskemét. Jews could not be members at the representative panel, they were removed from the voting lists. Jewish members were gradually removed from the management of the companies. However, a few large companies did not follow these procedures and they did not change their leaders. These companies were established and run by Jews, or their employees were mostly of Jewish origin. An extraordinary example for this was the first canning factory in Kecskemét. Its director, the Jewish Sándor Lebovits, could remain in his position until the German occupation of the city. The Discounter and Currency Exchange Bank Ltd. is also worth mentioning because it defended the rights and financial existence of its workers to the extent it was capable to. The bank transferred its workers to companies belonging to its own interest in order to preserve their bread-winning opportunities.

Jewish industrialists and traders were gradually pushed into the background. By 1944, there were only 77 Jewish craftsmen left. The distillery was run by the city, the businesses and stores, which were originally established by Jewish people, were run by Christians. According to the second anti-Jewish law, the estates owned by Jews had to be legally reported and registered. There was about 1,600 cadastral morgen land, which was mainly made up of arable land and vineyards.

Intellectuals of the Kecskemét Jews were also affected by the second anti-Jewish law. Restrictions on the number of lawyers began in 1935 and later they continued. Initially, the restriction did not have any spectacular results, but later there were only six lawyers, who possessed documents that could make them exceptions to the provisions of the second Jewish law. On the 5th of April 1944 the Kecskemét Bar Association (Chamber of Lawyers) realized the *numerus nullus* before the national regulations.

On the other hand, the Medical Association defended its Jewish members as far as it could, even though the country's largest medical chamber was in Kecskemét. The local MONE [Magyar Orvosok Nemzeti Egyesülete – Hungarian Doctors' National Association] organization could not exert any influence on them, due to the President, who undertook the specific requests of the Jewish physicians in his post.

By 1942, the Jews had to face further hardships. The third and the fourth anti-Jewish laws were published. The Jews were not allowed to buy pork and (pork) fat – not that they

had wanted to – and they could only buy limited amounts of sugar. They were banned from the Széktó-bath in Kecskemét, which was the mayor's own decision, as the Minister of Interior annulled the deputy-lieutenant's similar decree in 1944.

The extreme right-wing organizations became more active, especially the local Turul Association and its branches as well as the Baross Association.

On the 19th of March 1944 the German occupation completely sealed the fate of the country's Jews. Following the German invasion of Kecskemét, they tried to break down the dome of the synagogue, but they did not succeed. At this time there were 1323 Jews registered in Kecskemét. A Jewish Council was established on May 15, which had five members, and two female helpers. The mayor appointed the ghetto for the Jews, in which each person was allowed to have a 2 m² area. Between the 16th and 20th of June the Jews were taken to a transit camp, then on the 25th and on the 27th of June they were deported to Auschwitz. Only 269 Jewish people from Kecskemét managed to survive the Holocaust.

V. The author's publications related to the topic

Publications

- *A zsidókérdés Kecskeméten 1938-1943 között.* In: Bács-Kiskun megye múltjából. 22. évkönyv. Bács-Kiskun Megye Önkormányzat Levéltára. Kecskemét, 2007. 195-249.
[*The Jewish question in Kecskemét between 1938-1943.* In: From the history of Bács-Kiskun County. 22nd yearbook. Archives of Bács-Kiskun County. Kecskemét. 2007. 195-249.]
- *A kecskeméti zsidóság helyzete a Tanácsköztársaságban, valamint a fehérterror és a numerus clausus hatályba lépésének idején.* In.: Mozaikok a magyar történelemből. Szeged, 2009. 53-74.
[*The situation of the Kecskemét Jews during the Council Republic and at the time when the white terror and the Numerus Clausus took effect.* In: Mosaics of the Hungarian History. Szeged, 2009. 53-74.]
- *A kecskeméti zsidóság helyzete a helyi gazdaságban és kereskedelemben 1938-1943 között.* In.: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok. A Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség. 21. évfolyam. 2009. 1-4. szám. Szeged, 2010. 227-246.
[*The situation of the Kecskemét Jews in the local economy and trade between 1938-1943.* In: Sketches of Hungarian Church History. The Work Community of Hungarian Church History Encyclopedia. Grade 21. 2009. 1-4. number. Szeged, 2010. 227-246.]
- *A kecskeméti zsidók és a helyi antiszemitizmus az 1920-as években.* In.: Rajzolatok a magyar történelemről. Szeged, 2010. 117-131.
[*The Kecskemét Jews and the local anti-Semitism in the 1920s.* In: Concepts of Hungarian History. Szeged, 2010. 117-131.]

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- *A kecskeméti zsidóság helyzete a helyi gazdaságban és kereskedelemben 1938 – 1943 között.* II. Tudományos Kari Nap. SZTE-BTK. Szeged, 2008. április 23.
[*The situation of the Kecskemét Jews in the local economy and trade between 1938-1943.* II. Scientific Day of the Faculty. University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts. Szeged, 23 April 2008.]
- *A kecskeméti zsidóság helyzete a Tanácsköztársaságban, valamint a fehérterror és a numerus clausus idején.* Bolyongások a magyar történelemben – A Szegedi Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kara Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola

Modernkori Programjában részt vevő doktoranduszhallgatók tudományos konferenciája. Szeged, 2009. április 28.

[*The situation of the Kecskemét Jews during the Council Republic and at the time when the white terror and the Numerus Clausus took effect.* Random walks in Hungarian history – scientific conference of PhD students participating in the Modern History Doctoral Programme of the University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts, Doctoral School of Modern History. Szeged, April 2009.]

- *A kecskeméti zsidó értelmiség a Horthy-korszakban.* III. Tudományos Kari Nap. SZTE-BTK. Szeged, 2009. április 29.

[*Jewish intellectuals in Kecskemét in the Horthy era.* III. Scientific Day of the Faculty. University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts. Szeged, 29 April 2009.]

- *A kecskeméti zsidók és a helyi antiszemitizmus az 1920-as években.* Rajzolatok a magyar történelemről. SZTE-BTK. Szeged, 2010. április 30.

[*The Kecskemét Jews and the local anti-Semitism in the 1920s.* In: Concepts of Hungarian History. University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts. Szeged, 30 April 2010.]

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[*The Jews and the anti-Semitism in the Horthy era.* The debut performances by young researchers. Kiskun Museum. Kiskunfélegyháza, 4 November 2011.]

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[*Kiskunfélegyháza in the Horthy era (1919-1944).* Time travelling – 4th local historical presentation. Kiskun Museum. Kiskunfélegyháza, 14 September 2013.]

- *A zsidótörvények hatása és a kecskeméti zsidóság elhurcolása 1944-ben.* 2014. évi Holokauszt emléknap. Tudomány és Technika Háza. Kecskemét, 2014. április 28.

[*The effect of the anti-Jewish laws and the deportation of the Kecskemét Jews in 1944.* Holocaust Memorial Day 2014. House of Science and Technology. Kecskemét, 28 April 2014.]

Scholarships

- *A kecskeméti zsidóság helyzete 1919-1921 között.* New York-i City University Graduate Center keretében létesült Rosenthal Holocaust Institute és a Gábor Várszegi

Endowment által támogatott "J. & O. Winter Fund" alapítvány 2008-2009. évi ösztöndíja keretében.

[*The situation of the Jews in Kecskemét between 1919-1921*. 2008-2009 annual scholarhip by 'J. & O. Winter Fund' supported by Gábor Várszegi Endowment and the Rosenthal Holocaust Institute founded by the New York City Graduate Center.]

- *A kecskeméti zsidóság felemelkedése és pusztulása 1746-1944*. New York-i City University Graduate Center keretében létesült Rosenthal Holocaust Institute és a Gábor Várszegi Endowment által támogatott "J. & O. Winter Fund" 2009-2010. évi ösztöndíja keretében.

[*The rise and the destruction of the Jews in Kecskemét 1746-1944*. 2009-2010 annual scholarhip by 'J. & O. Winter Fund' supported by Gábor Várszegi Endowment and the Rosenthal Holocaust Institute founded by the New York City Graduate Center]