MODERN ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE CZECH LANDS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1895–1989

A Comparison of the Main Stages of the Most Influential Parts of Czech Nationalism*

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Abstract: ***This study specifies and characterizes the phases of modern Czech anti-Semitism, which it defines as a range of mutually interdependent anti-Jewish manifestations. In each of these phases (anti-Semitism in Austro-Hungary, in the First Republic, in the Second Republic, during the Protectorate and after World War II) it analyzes not only specific manifestations of escalating Czech nationalism, but especially the social functions of anti-Semitism.***

Key words: ***anti-Semitism, nationalism, anti-Zionism, Jews***

> Motto: *"If Czech history is incomplete without the Semitic element, then it is equally incomplete and deformed without the anti-Semitic element"* (Křen 1997: 161).

What is anti-Semitism? This question implies another one: is there anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands as a certain form of this phenomenon? When German Professor Wolfgang Benz wanted to explain this term, he needed a whole book (Benz 2004) to come to the conclusion that anti-Semitism is, above all, a symptom of problems of the majority society (Benz 2004: 241).[1] Naturally, the term can be defined from many other viewpoints. From the abundance of possible

* This text was elaborated as part of the research plan of Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Humanities *"Anthropology of communication and human adaptation"* (MSM 0021620843).

1 Klaus Holz then attempted to explain the anti-Semitism of individual periods from the standpoint of current sociology (Holz 2001). His central thesis was the conclusion that anti-Semitism in modern society has the character of a view of the world.

definitions I have taken the liberty of choosing one which I regard as especially apt. Felix Weltsch, Doctor of Law and Philosophy, who was a prominent Prague Zionist of the interwar period, characterized anti-Semitism as a hatred towards Jews, which has been part of their destiny for millennia (Weltsch 1931: 4), but at the same time, however, as a national (group) hysteria (Weltsch 1931: 11). A similar definition has recently been used by Leo Pavlát, the Director of the Jewish Museum in Prague. He too emphasized the permanence of the phenomenon in both majority and minority history, while declaring anti-Semitism to be the most persistent hatred in the history of mankind and at the same time, a constant of Jewish history since the time of ancient Greece and Rome (Pavlát 1997; Pavlát 1997a).[2] I work with anti-Semitism as a range of mutually interconnected anti-Jewish manifestations, starting with their verbal form and extending all the way to real acts of civil, professional-economical and physical liquidation,[3] which groups in the majority society use to vent their own problems or achieve their own ambitions. At the current time the range of anti-Jewish prejudice has begun to broaden mainly through the mass-media.[4]

If we consider the relationship of culture in the Czech environment and anti-Semitism, there are without question several levels involved. We must look not only into the specific manifestations of this part of Czech nationalism, but also into the functions which it fulfilled in society. At the same time, however, we must look into the connections a small European nation has with its background and verify the validity of the well-known West-to-East waves of development. And finally, we must keep in mind both the generalities and the specifics of the Czech reception of this international and intercultural phenomenon in the Czech environment, more precisely, just how much the Czechs were involved in creating and spreading anti-Semitism. The topic as stated above, however, also introduces the problem of the whole range of reactions of individual social groups to this phenomenon, depending on how they formed their respective identities. The most influential view is probably that of assimilated

2 On the general level, he characterized anti-Semitism as a *"hatred or prejudice towards Jews and all the sorts of deeds resulting from this conviction," "anti-Jewish manifestations"* (Pavlát 1997: 83). In ancient times, anti-Judaism had the character of slander originating from the incomprehension of monotheistic Judaism while the most widespread was the slander about Jews being infected with leprosy, about Jews being atheists who instigated conflicts and on whom God had imposed the eternal punishment of exile (Pavlát 1997: 83; Pavlát 1997a: 128–129).

3 Some very interesting classifications of anti-Semitism are proposed in Weltsch's book. (Weltsch 1931).

4 Historian Wolfgang Benz named among the tools which helped spread anti-Semitism "language, images, gestures and understanding" (*Einverständnis*) (Benz 2004: 235nn.).

Czech Jews during the 1890s, which was expressed in virtually the same terms in the following century. The notion of a so-called Czech nation that had been and still was uncontaminated by anti-Semitism or one that at most took action on the local level against an actual or supposed usurer of Jewish origin found a certain justification in the contrast with the more extreme anti-Semitic movements in neighboring countries and states;[5] but more importantly, it built on the myth of a tolerant Czech nation (Soukupová 2000: 149; Soukupová 2004: 37–38) and of a nation of reformation, of Jan Hus, and from the time of the First Republic, of T. G. Masaryk. Another influential myth was that of the prudent and circumspect Czech farmer, the exemplary core of the Czech nation in Jungmann's conception, or the myth of the wise Czech village. In this case, modern anti-Semitism in the Czech environment was explained by the destructive influence of the city upon the village (Soukupová 2004: 37–38), an idea which was still very popular in the period between the wars. In the atmosphere of escalating clashes between Czechs and Germans towards the end of the 19th century, modern forms of anti-Jewish hatred were also from the beginning discredited as a Viennese or a German movement (Soukupová 2000: 143, 146; Soukupová 2004: 38). Rather than condemning the insufficient depth of reflection by Czech society, it would be more appropriate to take into consideration the self-preservation strategy of Jewish proponents of assimilation. And a certain role was played by traditional Jewish thinking with its emphasis on examining one's own behavior towards those around oneself.

Although anti-Semitism in its earlier form as anti-Judaism can already be found in ancient civilizations, the modern forms of this hatred deserving this name cannot be found until the last third of the 19th century. Not only did the concept of anti-Semitism spread from Germany into Central and Eastern Europe and thus to Austria; so too did the idea of its exploitation as tool of party politics[6] and as a tool to remove political and economic competition.

5 E.g., after World War I in comparison to the situation in Austria, Poland and Germany, where Jews were blamed for starting the war, for the humiliating peace and for the post-war attempts at coups. A-h. Antisemitismus po válce. *Rozvoj*. 9 January 1920, year III, No. 2, p. 1.

6 Many historians consider the year 1873 to be the beginning of modern anti-Semitism. That is when Marr's *"Der Sieg des Judentums über Germanentum"* was published (Graml 1995: 23). The first attempt to establish an anti-Semitic party took place in Germany as early as 1876 (Düwell 1991: 171). In 1878 Adolf Stoecker's Party of Christian-Socialist Workers was founded in Germany (Wistrich 1992: 15). In autumn 1879, with the help of clerics, Wilhelm Marr founded the Anti-Semitic League (Jochmann 1997: 183). There were not many organized anti-Semites, the Anti-Semitic League having only 600 members. The first anti-Jewish congress in 1882 was attended by between 300 and 400

Anti-Semitic editor Jan Klecanda, creator of the notion of rusty wires in the Jewish ghettos and of outdated forms of protection of Christian society against Jews, suggested a boycott of Jewish-owned firms and shops (Soukupová, 2007, p. 23). An indisputable turning point in the development of anti-Semitism was the founding of anti-Semitic institutions – such groupings as Česká družina (Czech Fellowship), Národní obrana (National Defense), Česká vzájemnost (Czech Togetherness), Nový klub lidový (New People's Club)[7], the anti-Semitic press and the writing of the cult texts of Czech anti-Semitism[8]. A number of associations enforced a so-called Jew-expulsion paragraph (Soukupová 2000: 153–154). Whereas in Germany, one of the centers of modern anti-Semitism in Europe, anti-Semitic efforts developed into a movement in the first half of the 1880s (between 1882 and 1889 that country hosted four international anti-Semitic congresses), the Czech lands opened up fully to anti-Semitism starting only in the mid-1890s. In Czech-German society, its manifestations can be found a little earlier – in the first half of the 1890s.

Anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands experienced its golden age in the decade between 1897 and 1907,[9] with a spectacular culmination in the so called "hilsneriada" (1899),[10] resulting in a boycott movement of unprecedented dimensions.[11] It was not of course the first time that an economic boycott had been officially called for in the Czech lands; that dubious honor goes to a text by the Young-Czech journalist Jan Neruda, *Pro strach židovský (For Fear of the Jews)* from 1869,[12] representing an immediate reaction to the legislative achievement of Jewish emancipation (constitution of December 21, 1867) and

anti-Semites (Benz 2004: 102). The second wave of anti-Semitism hit Germany in the 1890s when simultaneously the Social-Democrat movement was on the rise (Jochmann 1997: 194–195). For anti-Semitism as a tool of political party agitation in the Czech lands, cf. Soukupová 2004: 11.

7 Members of these associations represented the intelligentsia (attorneys, physicians, journalists), business people, the self-employed and artists (Soukupová 2007: 22–23).

8 They were published some fifteen years after the classical text of French anti-Semitism had appeared (E. Drumont, *Požidovštělá Francie*, 1882).

9 In that same year, a Czech translation of one of the cardinal anti-Semitic texts also came out, the book *Jews: Their Origin and the Reasons for their Influence in Europe* (*Židé: jejich původ a příčiny jejich vlivu v Evropě,* transl. Jiří Hora, Prague, published at his own expense), by Houston Stewart-Chamberlain, a native Englishman and a naturalized German. According to Benze, the book greatly impressed both Emperor Wilhelm II and Adolf Hitler (Benz 2003: 23).

10 Best summarized by Kovtun 1994; Šolle 1968.

11 Jews had no opportunity to be employed in state administration, municipalities and associations. In 1902, Young-Czech Václav Březnovský attacked the Shechita. Anti-Semitism also disrupted everyday relationships between neighbors (Soukupová 2004: 40–41).

12 For a detailed analysis, cf. Soukupová 2007: 15–17.

to the inclination of Jews in the Czech lands to support the competing German liberal program. The political and economic rivalry for a time led Neruda to the proclamation of so-called a-Semitic ideas, i.e., emancipation from Jews. Newly established political parties and fellowships could thus connect themselves not only with foreign traditions but also with domestic ones. Václav Šafr, a direct follower of Neruda and author of the brochure *Národní očista* (National Cleansing) of 1898,[13] placed Czech anti-Semitism into an international framework (Křen 1997: 162).[14]. The focus of political-party anti-Semitism of the 1890s shifted to the radical wing of the strongest Czech political party, the Young-Czech party, the party of the National Socialists, of the Christian Socialists[15] and to the periodicals and fellowships related to them,[16] just as to professional associations, especially to those branches with a strong representation of Jews.[17] This political party anti-Semitism was then interconnected by countless links with the anti-Semitism which accompanied popular insurrections (with the anti-Semitism in the streets). If we look at the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the time, we will come across stereotypes from vastly differing ages.[18] The leitmotif was the notion of the Jew as Germanizer, but at the same time as the Moor of the Germans (Soukupová 2007: 19, 20; Soukupová 2004: 9), a stereotype from the last third of the 19th century and one that contrasted with the

13 The text was written on a commission from the Political Club of National Workers (Soukupová 2000: 110).

14 Text byl napsán na objednávku Politického klubu národního dělnictva (Soukupová 2000: 110).

15 The Christian Socialist journalist who expressed most prolifically his anti-Semitism was Rudolf Vrba, the author of the *Czech Christian Socialist Party Platform* (1897) and of *The Murders in Polná*. In 1897 he published an anti-Semitic work *The Future of the Nation: Reflections on Clericalism and our Social and National Program* (*Budoucnost národa: úvahy o klerikalismu a našem sociálním a národnostním programu*, Prague: Cyrillo-Methodějská knihtiskárna a nakladatelství V. Kotrba);and in 1899 the cult work of Czech anti-Semitism, *National Self-Defense: Reflections on the Material and Moral Decline of the Czech Nation* (*Národní sebeochrana: Úvahy o hmotném a mravním úpadku národa Českého*, Prague: R. Vrba as commissioned by the Cyrillo-Methodějské knihkupectví G. Francl); in 1899 he published the book *The Czech Panama: Several Little Images of the Material and Moral Decline of the Czech Nation* (*Česká Panama: několik drobných obrázků o hmotném a mravním úpadku národa českého*, Prague: Vlasť). Vrba was still publishing during the First Republic: in 1923 appeared the anti-Semitic opus *The Mystery of World-Rule* (*Záhada světovlády,* České Budějovice: J. Cibuzar).

16 Anti-Semitism was embraced in particular by university associations of physicians, lawyers and technicians (Soukupová 2004: 16–17).

17 Besides business, those most often involved were law and medicine. The preference for these jobs among Jews was also typical for Germany, Austria, et al. In 1885, Ludwig Börne, an anti-Semite from Frankfurt, suggested that Jewish tradespeople, doctors and attorneys have to wear a badge (Börne 1885: 24).

18 For the stereotypes, cf. Lendvai 1972: 40–51.

fact that more than half of the Jews in the Czech lands at the end of the 19th century used Czech as their main language (Bihl 1980: 906); of the Jew as a foreigner sponging on host nations (Soukupová 2000: 113). Another popular notion was that of the Jew as a trickster, a usurer, the holder of economic monopoly, the parvenu, the swindler, etc. (Soukupová 2000: 113, 135, 140; Soukupová 2007: 27, 29); or alternatively as an instigator of ritual murder; as a lecher (Soukupová 2000: 35). These prejudiced notions contain in concentrated form the blame for all the changes brought about by the modernization of the society. These stereotypes were then topped off by the notion of Jews as a people cemented together with an exclusive faith (Soukupová 2004: 9); a people incapable of assimilation, whose basic integrative element was the Talmud – a work of anti-Christian hatred.[19] In the Czech lands of the 1890s, mainly through the efforts of the National Socialists and then in Vienna at the initiative of the Christian Socialists, the notion of the Jew as leftist took root (Soukupová 2000: 117–118), as did the notion of social democracy as a means to establish world rule by the Jews (Soukupová 2004: 11), i.e., notions which were reactions to the massive waves of middle-class and lower-class Jews who joined the European Social Democrat parties. Political party rivalry found a suitable instrument in the propagation of contemporary popular anti-Semitism (or, on the contrary, in its refusal). The stereotype of Jewish world rule, however, achieved general currency, even before *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was published. The platform of the Christian Socialists, whose official line was already anti-Semitic, also showed racial anti-Semitism.[20]

At the same time, however, an equally vigorous "counter-anti-Semitic" movement was created by a range of political and ideological rivals of the internally heterogeneous political-party anti-Semitic movement, with at its head an activated mass of the exemplarily organized international Social Democrats,[21] supported by realists and by liberal Young-Czechs and Old-Czechs. A similar counter-reaction developed in Germany as early as the summer of 1890, after anti-Semites had won five seats in the nationwide elections in February, and then already in the 1893 elections 16 seats.[22],[23] There too, the "counter-anti-

19 This notion was also shared by realists (Soukupová 2000: 58–59), who moreover worked with the stereotypes of Jewish cunning, affluence and love of money (Soukupová 2000: 61).

20 Czech historiography denied the existence of Czech racial anti-Semitism (Frankl 2007: 7–10).

21 For the manifestations against anti-Semitism, cf. Soukupová 2000: 94–95.

22 Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900: 21.

23 Cf. Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900.

Semitic" movement was used to immunize the grass roots against socialism (Jochmann 1997: 179, 181). And in the case of Germany too, the opponents of anti-Semitism[24] were fighting for national honor: "It is a question of honor for a great civilized people like the Germans to triumph over and end this movement as soon as possible"(Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900: 4).[25]

According to Social-Democrat ideology, political anti-Semitism was the result of clerical impotence in dealing with social matters (Soukupová 2000a: 49). This bipolar world view, the simplistic division of society into capitalist exploiters and exploited proletariat, led them to circumscribe their other enemy: undifferentiated "capital" (Soukupová 2000a: 50–52). Anti-Semitism was rejected as a harmful ideology and blamed on rich and influential Jews (Soukupová, 2000a: 52, 55; Soukupová 2004: 14–16). Reverberations of this ideology can be found even in the later Communist propaganda.

If Prague as the capital of the Czech lands had after 1848 been the battlefield where Czech-German national antagonisms were manifested at their highest intensity, with the completion of the process of industrialization in the 1890s, it now also became also the venue of the most important social clashes and eventually the center of anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands, which exploited all national [26] and social shortcomings. The social-political rise of the lower and lower-middle classes of society, their rapidly increasing ambitions, the decline in importance of traditional dignitaries and the resulting changes in political culture, the unsuccessful attempts to settle matters between Czechs and Germans, the extreme acrimony of the struggle between Czechs and Germans,[27] the general feeling of insecurity in the late 19th century – these were realities that undoubtedly could undoubtedly reinforce the hysteria of certain groups and individuals. Another important circumstance was that virtually simultaneously with the anti-Semitic movement, national-Jewish (Zionist) ideology too, after the Dreyfus affair, spread from Vienna to Moravia as well as to Prague and the Czech lands, with its unequivocal conviction that anti-Semitism –

24 The first General Meeting of the Committee against anti-Semitism took place on November 28, 1893 (Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900: 53; members p. 56).

25 "*Es ist eine Ehrensache für ein großes Kulturvolk wie das deutsche, daß er baldigst siegreich zu Ende geführt wird*". At the same time the opponents of anti-Semitism pointed out that there were 51 million Germans and only half a million Jews in Germany (Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900: 1).

26 Let us remember the pogroms in December 1897 and in autumn 1899 – reactions to the failure of language reforms which would have given equal standing to Czech.

27 For more details about these demonstrations, cf. Krejčová – Míšková 1999: 46–49; Frankl 2007: 254–262.

a range of anti-Jewish manifestations – was a permanent movement. At the same time, however, defense of the Jews spread from Germany; anti-Semitism was to be defeated in an open, scholarly debate. Also, a center point for Zionist intellectual life was created in Prague. But even in the period between the wars, when Czech Zionism, reinforced by foreign impulses, grew into a movement, the main Zionist base remained Moravia and Silesia with their Jewish communities brought up in German culture. In this area, the process whereby Czech society set itself apart from and up against the Germans progressed much more slowly, and as a consequence, there was more opportunity for other national endeavors and movements.

After World War I, in which anti-Semitism again erupted (for Germany Benz 2003: 31–32),[28] anti-Semitism and the Czech environment took on a new character: Central Europe was restructured, monarchies disappeared, and on their ruins national states emerged. The Czech people now lived in a Czech state, and their fundamental aim was to convince the Entente Powers of their ability to form a state. Their dependence on the reorganization of Europe under the Versailles peace settlement was the key question for the further destiny of Czechoslovakia. The pogroms that accompanied the dawn of the new state were therefore unequivocally condemned by the government. Their diminished scale and less serious impact as compared to those in neighboring states can be attributed mainly to the consideration of political alliances in the new-born Czechoslovakia. This change is best illustrated in the speeches of individuals at the turn of the century, of mainstream anti-Semites who became welcoming to Jews as citizens (Prague mayor Karel Baxa, National Socialist politician Václav Jaroslav Klofáč). Another important factor, however, was that postwar Czechoslovakia managed to launch an economic upswing relatively quickly. Nationalist hysteria was then undoubtedly tempered by the joy at the birth of their own independent state and at the fact that Czechoslovakia stood on the side of the victorious powers[29] (Soukupová 2005: 24). Despite that, a great part of Czech society understandably did not escape postwar traumas of both a psychological and economic nature: high prices, loan-sharking, unemployment, begging and inflation.[30] Many people shared the influential European anti-

28 One of his arguments was the pro-Austrian patriotism of Austrian Jews, which contrasted with Czech feelings (Křen 1997: 163). Also cf. Soukupová 2005: 15–22.

29 Unfortunately the historian Kateřina Čapková included these theses of mine in her well-known work of 2003.

30 For post-war poverty, a summary in Kárník 2000: 49–54.

Semitic stereotypes of the time, widespread by the agrarian party that wanted to take attention away from the failures of its policies, especially the notion of Jewish Bolshevism, the treacherous behavior of the Jews during World War I and Jewish world-rule. *"The association of Judaism and Bolshevism is a feature of the regular inventory of an average Czech brain,"* wrote Kamil Kleiner, a prominent Czech-Jewish official, in 1920.[31] In comparison to defeated Germany (Winkler 1997), Austria and Hungary, the prospects for anti-Semitism in Czech society were substantially worse. It is in this light that we must also view the wave of pogroms in the years between 1918 and 1920; the uprising of the so-called "Hussite women" in September 1919 on the Old Town Square in Prague; the anti-Jewish feeling during the election campaign in spring 1920; the anti-German and anti-Jewish upheavals in November 1920; and finally the position of anti-Semitic parties and groups then being founded. Their significance on the Czech political scene was marginal.[32] Anti-Semitism (political and street) re-emerged in September 1930 in the Prague demonstrations against German sound film (Becher 1993); in 1934 (the so-called insigniada); and in 1936 (when the film *The Golem* was shown in Bratislava). Despite all the intricacies of the postwar era, however, of all the states which emerged after the disintegration of the monarchies, Czechoslovakia remained the country most tolerant towards Jews (Lipscher 1983).[33] This fact also became apparent after Adolf Hitler's rise to power (1933) when German changes caused the strengthening of anti-Semitism in the Czech as well as Bohemian-German environments successfully masked by a number of democratic acts. Already in spring 1933, the Czechoslovak public organized a wave of protests against Nazi anti-Semitism

31 KLEINER, K. Jako u nás. *Rozvoj*, 6 February 1920, year III, No. 6, p. 1.

32 The following years witnessed anti-Semitic excesses on the Czech-German side. Their center was the Prague German University (Míšková, 1999, pp. 101104). Late in 1929, however, Czech academics joined German university students in demanding the institution of a *numerus clausus* (Míšková 1999: 104). One of the most famous anti-Semitic journalists in the First Republic was painter Karel Rélink. In 1926 he published his book *Spása světa: [ubozí, pronásledovaní židé]: úvahy z denníku pravého humanisty* (*The Salvation of the World: [Miserable and Persecuted Jews]: Reflections from the Diary of a True Humanist* (Prague: J. P. Schořík). Back in 1919, Ferdinand Zahrádka had published his *Židé ve světové válce a v republice* (*Jews in the World War and in the Republic, Za očistou*, No. 4, Prague).

33 The demonstrations in the late 1920s were condemned by the central Agrarian daily *Venkov* (*The Country*), which up until then had used anti-Semitism as a means of transferring its own party responsibility for the initial social difficulties in the young republic onto a sacrificial lamb: the Jews. *"Only ''Národní listy," 'Národní Demokracie' and 'Čech' are pleased by the recent happenings,"* observed journalist Alfred Fuchs, a famous convert from Judaism to Christianity. FUCHS. A. *Po pražských demonstracích* (After the Prague Demonstrations) *Rozvoj*, 27 November 1920, year III, No. 26, p. 1.

(Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 41–42). On October 9, 1935, a manifestation against the Nuremberg Laws took place under the leadership of the Union of Czech Jews, during which prominent church leaders made an appearance (Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 42–43; Soukupová 2005: 70). Also significant was the aid to refugees from Nazi Germany. The new edition of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, required reading in the schools of Nazi Germany, was discredited as a forgery in Peroutka's *Přítomnost* (The Present Time) (Soukupová 2000b: 57). In spite of all this, however, anti-Semitism (political and folk) was on the rise in society. This fact was also pointed out in May 1938 by metal-worker František Jeřábek (Jeřábek 1938)[34] and rightly so: the Social Democrats remained throughout the whole of the First Republic the most significant "counter-anti-Semitic" force (Soukupová 2005: 23).

Still in the 1920s and 1930s, the unifying element of anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands[35] remained its anti-modernity. This manifested itself in the period between the wars in the rejection of scientific rationalism and the emphasis on the role of emotion. Moreover, "common sense," unspoiled by education, was supposed to celebrate its triumph. Other consequences of modernization were likewise rejected: the emancipation of women; the discussion of abortion; the disruption of the patriarchal model of the family; the secularization of society; the political party and corporate systems that had long been worked out. Anything that was not in accordance with anti-Semitic interests was characterized as a Jewish work of destruction: the Versailles System; parliamentarianism;

34 Jeřábek in his work criticized Ferdinand Peroutka's editorial in *Přítomnost*. For him, Peroutka symbolized the reality that the spokespersons for democracy in democratic states had capitulated to anti-Semitism (Jeřábek 1938: 8). Jeřábek considered his own anti-Semitism to be the result of the economic and political violence of financial capital (Jeřábek 1938: 9). *"Repression of the Jews is only one part of the process whereby all strata of working-class citizens are to be deprived of their rights,"* he said (Jeřábek 1938: 11). Even in 1938, other papers rejecting anti-Semitism were still being published, e.g., a text by school principal Johann Storch (Storch 1938). In it, among other things, he also combated influential anti-Semitic stereotypes.

35 In the 1920s it was primarily the following groups that were active: Všeslovanská jednota (All-Slavic Unity) in Prague; Slovanská strana sociální (Slavic Socialist Party); a group around the periodical Štít republiky československé (The Shield of the Czechoslovak Republic); Slovanská strana protižidovská (The Slavic Anti-Jewish Party) and fascist groups, which after 1926 merged into the Národní obec fašistická (National Fascist Community). In the 1930s, the anti-Semitism of the right-wing intelligentsia gained importance. Vlajka (The Flag) was founded (1930, merging in 1936 with the Movement for New Czechoslovakia), The National Front with NOF (founded 1934), National Unification (founded 1934, from 1935 to 1936 part of National League), The Slavic Fascist Community (after 1937). For details on the ideology of these associations, cf. Soukupová 2005: 46–62, 68–69, 72–76, 82–85. See also Pasák 1999: 61–67, 134–145 et al.

Czechoslovak democracy; the Czechoslovak government; Prague Castle and even T. G. Masaryk himself. The Slavic, Moravian and Slovak cards were played. The stereotype of the Jew as Germanizer was contrasted in some anti-Semitic groupings (especially in Vlajka – The Flag, which promoted racial anti-Semitism, and in Hnutí za nové Československo – The Movement for a New Czechoslovakia) with its admiration for Nazi anti-Jewish and anti-leftist policies. The model for dealing with the Jews relied for the time being on their social isolation, even though it did not actually renounce violence (Soukupová 2004a: 132–136; for stereotypes, also see Soukupová 2005: 17–22, 46–53, 55–63, 68, 72–79, 82–83).

The Munich Agreement launched a new phase in the development of anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands, resulting in the collapse of parliamentary democracy. The frustrated Second Republic,[36] increasingly oppressed by Nazi Germany, yielded up space for professional boycott memoranda; definitions of Jews (Rataj 1997: 111); their expulsion from institutions; the anti-Semitic press, especially the periodicals of the Integral Catholics and of Jiří Stříbrný; leaflets and brochures (Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 63–65; Soukupová 2007: 92–93; Soukupová 2008: 64–69). [37]

Anti-Semitism (political, economic and verbal) became an unmistakable characteristic of a great part of the frustrated Czech society of the Second Republic (Soukupová 2008: 55, 56). The anti-Semitism of the ruling Strana národní jednoty (Party of National Unity), whose only non-anti-Semitic component was the National Socialists, was supplemented by the anti-Semitism of professional institutions, that of Sokol, and of course also by the anti-Semitism in the streets (Soukupová 2008: 57). In most cases it was an attempt to use anti-Semitism as an instrument of competition. Just as in the 1890s, now too the proponents of anti-Semitism were representatives of prestigious

36 For the repercussions of Munich, cf. Rataj 1997: 11–47.

37 The most prolific anti-Semitic writer of 1938 and 1939 was Jan Rys. Among his publications were the study *Judeo-Masonry: the Scourge of Humanity* (*Židozednářství – metla světa,* Prague: Masonic correspondence 1938) and *Hilsneriada and TGM: Towards the Fortieth Anniversary of the Murders in Polná, 1899–1939* (*Hilsneriáda a TGM: ke čtyřicátému výročí vražd polenských 1899–1939*, Prague: Masonic correspondence 1939 – the second edition appeared in March 1939). The second book was mainly an attack on T. G. Masaryk, who in Rys' terminology was a half-Jewish sage, a Great Philosopher. Traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes can be found in both "works," including the medieval superstition about ritual murder. In the second text, the following explanation of Nazi anti-Semitism can be found: *"Germany's struggle today is the struggle of all European nations; it is a struggle to protect European culture against the destructive influences of a race that has always remained totally alien to the European way of feeling and thinking ... It is a struggle to defend Europe against the poison from Judea."* (p. 4; p. 5)

Czech associations and professions (lawyers, physicians, notaries public, engineers). The ruling Party of National Unity was radicalized when it was joined by the Národní obec fašistická (National Fascist Community) and in particular by members of the discontinued, ultra-right Vlajka – Hnutí za nové Československo (The Flag – Movement for a New Czechoslovakia) (Gebhart – Kuklík 2004: 58).[38] But the most ardent proponents of anti-Semitism were, apart from the adherents of the former Vlajka, also the supporters of Jiří Stříbrný and the Integral Catholics (Rataj 1997: 104–107). For politicized Catholicism, which in the Second Republic attempted to improved its positon in the prevailingly secularized society of the Czech Lands the Jew became a symbol of the project of modernism which had corrupted traditional Christian society with its supposedly healthy values. But instead of physical violence, according to militant Catholics, anti-Semitic legislation was to be applied (Soukupová 2008: 57–60; Rataj 1997: 115–117). If in the first weeks of the Second Republic anti-Semitism had primarily targeted the Jews expelled from the Czech border areas[39] and if even in early December 1938, the government had not been willing to introduce the Nuremberg laws (Gebhart – Kuklík 2001: 105),[40] already the following January the situation was different. Anti-Semitic legislation, based on Nazi legislation (Rataj 1997: 113; Kárný 1989: 186n.), started to be put into practice.[41] By accepting a racist notion of nation on the legislative level, the rapidly accelerating anti-Semitism of the Second Republic came to a head (Soukupová 2008: 61–62). The efforts by what remained of democratic society to protect Czech Jews, expressed most controversially in Ferdinand Peroutka's editorial *Češi, Němci a židé* (*Czechs, Germans and Jews, Přítomnost,* February 22, 1939), wherein by resorting to anti-Semitic stereotypes, he explicitly gave up on the fate of Czech Jews, was condemned to failure from the beginning.[42] At this same time there came a decline in the influence on Czech politics from Great Britain, France

38 Even the extremist anti-Semitic organization ANO attempted to join the SNJ (Gebhart – Kuklík 2001: 59). In February 1939, it started putting together lists of the alleged Jewish firms and individuals (Krejčová 1999: 152).

39 For a brief summary of their fate, see Gebhart – Kuklík 2004: 33.

40 The program of the Young National Unity had indeed formulated the racial principle of the nation already in December 1938 (Gebhart – Kuklík 2001: 120; Rataj 1997: 103, 105, 233).

41 Already on January 10, 1939, two government sub-committees for the Jewish question were set up. The evacuation of the Jews began. On January 27, a discriminatory measure against state employees of Jewish origin was passed (Rataj 1997: 115–117). Jews were forced to leave government administration and partly also private professions (Gebhart – Kuklík 2001: 216).

42 For a critical appraisal of the editorial, see Soukupová 2000b: 70–78.

and the United States, whose representatives had shown an interest in the fate of Czech and Slovak Jews (Nižňanský 1999: 213).

On a general level it can be said that Second-Republic anti-Semitism combined anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic stereotypes of different ages (Soukupová 2008: 77–78); it differed, however, from the preceding modern periods by introducing anti-Jewish legislation. And yet the notion of the Jew as a foreigner had become a leitmotif.

The Jewish reaction can also be labeled as traditional: assimilated Czech Jews continued to invoke the Czech nation as the nation of Hus, Comenius and Masaryk and the crowning manifestation of Czechness, which was the democratic First Republic. In the Second Republic, they too identified with the newly constructed model of a national state (Soukupová 2007: 85–92). On the other hand, Zionist organizations strove to win their adherents over to emigration.

The Nazi program aimed at liquidation of the Jews in the Protectorate built on the anti-Semitism of the Second Republic, on the definitions of Jews that it had elaborated and on historical anti-Jewish prejudice. Czech Fascists proceeded to the lynching of the Jewish population and to physical violence although owing to their small numbers, this never achieved the character of a mass movement (Pasák 1999: 280–282). Still it must be said that the Aryanization of the supposedly vast property of Jewish victims was a measure introduced by the Nazi regime, which also took a 70-percent share in the Aryanization of small and medium-sized properties. Medium-sized and small businesses and trades were Aryanized by Czech Germans (Jančík – Kubů – Kuklík ml. 2003: 41–42; Jančík – Kubů 2005). Starkly discriminatory government regulations (Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 11–14) were issued under pressure and under the direct supervision of Third Reich institutions. Official Czech politocal-party anti-Semitism (the anti-Semitism of National Solidarity), even at this time, concentrated primarily on the social isolation of the Jews (Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 70–71; Kural 1994: 74). However, this was a problem facing the Protectorate government too (Krejčová 1999: 155). According to historian Václav Kural, both Beran's and Eliáš's governments were at first authorized and compelled to *"destroy the Jewish element"* by the Third Reich; then they also took their own initiative (Kural 1994: 72), but after June 21, 1939, the active part was taken over by the occupiers (Kural 1994: 73).

Of all the anti-Semitic stereotypes, the most important one was again the notion of the Jew as Bolshevik and the stereotype of Jewish world-rule. This was to be achieved by the Jews with the help of the Freemasons, of the

Bolsheviks or, if need be, of their other tools (the First Republic, Prague Castle, the Czechoslovak government, Parliament, political parties, the National Council, Czech universities, the legionnaires, Sokol and scout organizations). Political anti-Semitism in the Protectorate arose under pressure of Nazi Germany as well as being caused by opportunism and fear and then served most of all to discredit First-Republic traditions as the promised land of the Jews, Jewish works and their top representatives. The greatest attention was focused on Czech ex-president Edvard Beneš, who was labeled a wretched servant of the Jews or as Masaryk's Golem. Masaryk himself was described in this spiteful propaganda as a representative of the Jews, the chosen one of world Judaism, the man who defended the murderer Hilsner. Another aim of official Czech Protectorate anti-Semitism was to discredit the countries in the anti-Nazi coalition, especially the United States and England. And finally, by resorting to anti-Semitism, it was possible to explain many of the economic difficulties in the Protectorate; the harmful Jewish spirit had supposedly survived even the deportation of the Jews.[43] The crowning work of Protectorate anti-Semitism was *The Anti-Jewish Textbook: A Manual for the Jewish Question in the Czech lands* (*Protižidovská čítanka: příručka k židovské otázce v zemích českých,* Hugo Tuskány, Emil Šourek, Karel Rélink and others) of 1944.[44] Here we can find in concentrated form a sample of Protectorate anti-Semitism; another is the essay *Czechs and the Jewish Question* (*Češi a židovská otázka*, Gustav Dörfl, printed in May 1944 in *Přítomnost* (which had been revived in 1942 in a collaborationist spirit). In his conclusion, the writer suggested establishing a Czech institute for research on the Jewish question (up until that time Czechs had been relatively unwilling to accept such pseudo-scholarly institutions that served to promote racism): *"Let no one be deceived: to us, the Jewish question is not a matter that has been settled. Yes, the Jews have disappeared from public life, finance, industry, business and culture. But it is not we Czechs who can take credit for that. For that we owe our thanks to the strong German hands, which pulled up the weeds in all the places where they could be seen. But until everything the Jews have sown and left behind here is found and neutralized, the Jewish question is still open and*

43 These conclusions are based on excerpts from the Czech Protectorate press.

44 The book was edited by Rudolf Novák, with the assistance of the editorial board of the Aryan Struggle. It appeared in Prague in Holinka's printing office. Earlier, in 1941, Karel Jiří Loula published his essay *Jews and Blood: a Contribution to the Study of the Jewish Question Based on Russian and Jewish Sources* (*Židé a krev: příspěvek ke studiu židovské otázky podle ruských a židovských pramenů,* Prague: Vlajka magazine).

current for the Czech nation; its danger, immeasurable because it is poorly understood, will still threaten the normal quiet development and stabilized future of the Czech nation. The Reich's anti-Jewish measures are essentially a rough, general outline. The anti-Jewish laws were actually only the culmination... of a tremendous campaign to educate and enlighten, successfully conducted and actually completed by German National Socialism. The anti-Jewish struggle in the Reich was never based on hatred, but on a scientific mission."[45]

The liberation of Czechoslovakia did not bring an end to anti-Semitism[46] *for the small number of Jews in the Czech lands who had survived,*[47] *even though the pogroms were concentrated mainly in Slovakia (in 1945 in Prešov and Topoľčany, in 1946 and 1948 in Bratislava). As Social Democrat František Kohout puts it: "... all over the world today anti-Semitism as an organized movement and as a publicly proclaimed ideology lies in ruins; anti-Semitism as a psychosis, as whispered propaganda and therefore as a potential new danger has survived both Hitler and Streicher" (*Kohout 1946: 5).[48] In the Czech lands, anti-Semitic rhetoric was used mainly in the restitution of confiscated industrial enterprises, e.g., in the so-called Varnsdorf affair (1947)[49] , and this mainly by trade unions. That is to say that unions and Communists wanted to prevent the restitution of confiscated industrial enterprises (Jančík – Kubů – Kuklík ml. 2003: 64). Folk anti-Semitism also appeared in the form of cynical slander: people spoke about holes in the gas chambers and the peculiar range of fire of enemy weapons (Soukupová 2009: 75).[50] Long traditional stereotypes were reactivated: of the Jew as Hungarianizer and Germanizer; of the Jew as a war-time malingerer who boycotted even the Slovak National Uprising (Soukupová 2008: 56); in the case of Topoľčany, the medieval stereotype of a Jew as a poisoner of Christian society was spread by the majority of former members of Hlinka´s party, by one-time Aryanizers and by clerical circles. (Kamenec 2000). Kohout of course believed that his

45 *Přítomnost*, XVII, 1944, No. 8, 1. 5. p. 127.

46 The growth of postwar anti-Semitism has been treated in a whole series of works (e.g., Rothkirchenová 1992; Nepalová 1999; Svobodová 1998; Krejčová 1993; Soukupová 2008).

47 It was a group of about 15,000 Jews, two-thirds of whom were organized into Jewish religious communities (Pěkný 2001: 348).

48 At the same time, however, Kohout believed that as a result of the nationalization of industry and banking, anti-Semitism would die out. (Kohout 1946: 13). He was one of the first to point out anti-Semitism in the so-called people's democracy.

49 These were essentially efforts by Communists and trade unions to retain industrial enterprises that had been confiscated (Jančík – Kubů – Kuklík ml. 2003: 63–66).

50 For the atmosphere in society, cf. also Nepalová 1999; Krejčová 1993 and others.

party had found a cure for anti-Semitism: socialism. *"Socialists are no quacks trying to cure leprosy by sticking on band-aids; since the beginning of the working-class labor movement, they have always led the fight against anti-Semitism as well as the fight against the very causes of that social evil,"* he wrote (Kohout 1946: 17). He saw the solution "*in a free brotherhood of nations having rid themselves of a false sense of superiority"* (Kohout 1946: 23). Even many Jews succumbed to this illusion about the omnipotence of socialism (Soukupová 2008: 48, 60).

Manifestations of anti-Semitism can be found even after the February coup, on the level of both the state and primitive individual acts[51]. The state's newly created church policy was defined by the triad of control, repression and "benevolence." In the case of this third pillar, the intention was mainly to patch up the clumsy centralized economy with foreign monies obtained with the approval of the state from international Jewish organizations for the victims of the Shoah (Soukupová, manuscript). Communist Czechoslovakia officially condemned anti-Semitism. Offering for sale in a bookshop a work denying the Holocaust would have been inconceivable.[52] The Jewish victims of Nazi racism were exploited in official propaganda: they were presented as combatants against imperialism, for the new socialist order. Even the controversial negotiations of the World Jewish Congress and Israel , which became a capitalist state, with Germany in 1952 were presented in this light.[53] Communist propaganda assessed them as new proof of the allegedly Fascist orientation of the Jewish state. Primary Soviet, and thus Czechoslovak aid to the emerging Jewish state was past. The danger of a statute of limitations on war crimes which was to go into force in 1965 also served as a new reason to condemn West Germany (Soukupová 2010: 35–37).[54]

In the Soviet satellites, however, anti-Semitism took on the shape of anti-Zionism (Holz uses the term "Marxist-Leninist anti-Zionism; Holz 2001:

51 Among the documents of the church department of the Ministry of Schools and Culture, one finds the following *Note on Cases of Hooliganism on Properties of the State Jewish Museum: "...On February 5, 1966 (on a Saturday when it was closed), unknown perpetrators broke into the Jewish cemetery in Josefská Street, turned over about 10 gravestones, and damaged some of them.... On February 7, 1966, three teenagers came to the entrance of the synagogue in Dušní St. (a clothing store). An employee of the Jewish State Museum asked them to pay the entrance fee. She was given the following reply: "You Jewish bitch, you even want us to pay you for that?" It is not impossible that a physical assault might have ensued, had it not been for the fact that another visitor appeared."* NA, MŠK, 47/VIII, 1957–1967, Box no. 56, dated February 10, 1966.

52 A work titled *Nuremberg and the Promised Land* (M. Bardeche) was published in France in 1948.

53 For a summary of the negotiations about Germany's payments to Israel, cf. Sachar 1998: 376–379; also pp. 438–442.

54 For the reactions of Czechoslovak Jews, cf. Soukupová 2010a: 41–42.

431–434, 440–445; Svobodová 1999: 195–202),[55] a supposed struggle against supposed Jewish bourgeois nationalism.[56] François Fejtö called it "the Israel complex" (Fejtö 1967: 129). Official church policy crushed any kind of so-called "Zionist tendencies" (Soukupová, manuscript). The language of church officials abounded with terms like "world Jewish centers," "world Jewish organizations," "world Jewish headquarters." In the heads of church officials, the stereotypes of the Jew as the bourgeois, the Jew as Germanizer, the Jew as the enemy of socialism were still alive. The *Report on Jewish Activities in Czechoslovakia* of July 1958 stated: *"Many Jews belonged to the ...upper bourgeoisi; they could be found in the ranks of all kinds of big businesses. They mostly claimed to be German nationals and had taken part in the Germanization of our people. The Jews thus came into conflict with the national interests of our people... After 1945, when Czechoslovakia became essentially a state of Czechs and Slovaks..., the Jews tried to claim damages for injuries caused by non-Jews; some of them demanded to get back property, in particular various enterprises which the expelled Germans left behind, or the restitution of enterprises which they had owned before 1938. Before 1948 some cases were used in the political struggle against nationalization (e.g., the Jewish factory owner Beer in Varnsdorf). In some areas, e.g., in northern and northwestern Bohemia, the Jews' movement into the industry met with resistance from the workers. There also occurred other unwelcome activities by some Jews, in particular by some emigrants returning from the West about whom it could definitely not be said that they felt any desire for socialism. This became evident after February 1948 when most of those Jews went back to the West or to Israel ... But there are still many Jews left in our country who do not approve of socialism, who have not come to terms with the ban on private enterprise, and who show signs of Zionist tendencies... Certain features are typical for all our Jews: the attempt to claim advantages and concessions in connection with the sufferings caused by Nazi persecution; an excessive sensitivity to any kind of limitation on religious life (or the Jewish community), which they perceive as racial discrimination; the attempt to reach a stronger position than is in today's*

55 The first attacks against Zionism were recorded on March 2, 1948, at a public meeting of the Jewish Religious Community in Prague (Yegar 1997: 119–120). This was followed by *"years of enmity"* between Czechoslovakia and Israel (Yegar 1997: 133–192). The Slánský trial itself, judged in the world literature to be the high point of the anti-Zionist (i.e., anti-Semitic) campaign by the Soviet Union and its satellites after World War II, was actually only a prelude to the anti-Jewish campaign in the Soviet Union (Sachar 1998: 374).

56 In 1995, Lothar Mertens' aptly titled; study of *Antizionismus: Feindschaft gegen Israel als neue Form des Antisemitismus* (Mertens 1995) appeared.

conditions appropriate for their social importance. In this respect, they are striving to maintain as many religious communities as possible; they are endeavoring to establish a school for the education of new clergy; they are overestimating the importance of Jewish historical properties (e.g., Jewish cemeteries) and demanding their upkeep. In the matter of developing international contacts, moreover, they overrate their influence. When their demands are not met, it makes them feel wronged and misunderstood."[57]

In Czechoslovakia, anti-Zionism was evident in the political show trial of Slánský in 1952 (most clearly in Lendvai 1972: 81–82, 221–234; in Czech Brod 1997: 155–166),[58] which, however, was officially not anti-Semitic (Fejtö 1967: 7); in its repercussions (the condemnation of Jewish functionaries for alleged economic machinations in the mid-1950s (Brod 1997: 156); in reactions to the Arab-Israeli War in 1967, which served as a kind of catalyst for the Czechoslovak reform movement (Lendvai 1972: 235), when the ČTK (Czech Press Agency) quoted only pro-Arab sources (Yegar 1997: 177);[59] after the repression of the Prague Spring (Lendvai 1972: 252f.); after 1975, when the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution discrediting Zionism as a racist movement (Pavlát 1997a: 144); and around the origins of Charta in 1977 (Svobodová: 1999: 196). The state's church policy carefully monitored the relations of Jewish institutions with Israel (the Israeli embassy in Prague), which it labeled as an unwelcome influence (Soukupová, manuscript). Anti-Zionism grew more intense after Moscow cut off diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967. *"It is well known that international Jewish centers are drawing increasingly closer in their support of Israel and that they have announced their goal of reinforcing Jewish nationalism in Socialist countries. These endeavors have an anti-Communist mission,"* stated a document issued June 23, 1965, by the church department of the Ministry of Education and Culture titled *"Information about the Introduction of Unsound Political Intentions into the Activities of Jewish Religious Communities*."[60] In 1983, the newly founded Anti-Zionist Committee held a press conference, the aim of which was the struggle against Zionism, which at that time was

57 NA, MŠK 47/VII, 1957–1967, Box no. 56, pp. 4–5.

58 According to the Canadian sociologist Alena Heitlinger, this was the *first open and official anti-Jewish propaganda since the end of World War II* (Heitlingerová 2007: 33). For a summary of the trial, see also Pěkný, 2001, pp. 353–354. Recently, historian Lena Arava Novotná has studied these trials; her study also provides references to the basic literature dealing with the trials (Arava-Novotná 2008), including the fundamental works of K. Kaplan, J. Pernes and J. Foitzik.

59 For the reactions from the USSR, cf. Sachar 1998: 550–551.

60 NA, MŠK, 47/VII, 1957–1967, Box no 56, p. 4.

supposedly being used by American imperialism in its anti-Communist and anti-Soviet activities (Anti-Zionistskij 1983: 5–6, 8). Zionism was condemned just as was anti-Semitism; according to Soviet ideologists, both were inhumane, in ideology as well as in praxis (Anti-Zionistskij 1983: 6, 7).

A textbook example of the character of anti-Semitism during normalization can be found in the doctoral thesis of František J. Kolár, defended in 1974 in the Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the Political University of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This ambitious candidate chose as a motto for his work an extract from the document *"Report on the Activities of the Party and the Development of Society since the 13th Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Further Tasks for the Party*," an address given by Gustáv Husák on 25 May 1971. In it, Husák emphasized the *"expansive and aggressive"* policy of Israel, *"supported by American imperialism,"* and the obligation to support the Arab states. *"In recent years, Zionism and the state of Israel which is controlled by it have become the strike force of international imperialism. This is attested by its aggressive policy towards the national-liberation movements in Arab nations in the Middle East, by its anti-Communist ideological offensive against the USSR and other socialist countries and especially by its active participation in events in Czechoslovakia in 1968–69 and earlier,"* wrote Kolár, who before the war had been a representative of the Communist Student Movement, quoting the party line on Zionism (Kolár 1974: 5). In *Lessons from the Development of the Crisis in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party,* Kolár's second main ideological source, responsibility for the Prague Spring was attributed to so-called Zionists in the service of international imperialism and communism (F. Kriegel, J. Pelikán, A. Lustig, E. Goldstücker, A. J. Liehm, F. Löbl, K. Winter) – and quite explicitly so (Kolár 1974: 4).

However, the text also had its historical-anthropological dimensions. Kolár did not consider the Jews to be a nation. He viewed the religious believers belonging to this minority as a closed religious and economic caste. This exclusiveness supposedly helped provoke the so-called Jewish question (Kolár 1974: 5). The solution was to be found in the late 19th century. Whereas the Jewish proletariat and a part of that minority's intelligentsia were supposedly fighting to establish socialism, the petty bourgeois Zionist movement focused exclusively on the struggle against anti-Semitism, only to become itself eventually a capitalist movement, exploiting the Shoah in its propaganda (Kolár 1974: 6–7, 8). The only healthy power in Israel then remained the Communist Party of Israel, which called for a common struggle of Arabs and Israelis against imperialism (Kolár 1974: 11).

A hatred similar to that for Israel was aimed at the Joint (The American Joint Distribution Committee), which was attacked as an instrument of American imperialism (Yegar 1997: 180). Its activity was even discontinued in Czechoslovakia in the early 1950s (Svobodová 1999: 196). Arab terrorists were trained on Czechoslovak soil (Pěkný 2011: 353).

Another particular form of state anti-Semitism was the close and thorough monitoring of Jewish religious activities to collect evidence which could later be used against individuals (Brod 1997: 160). In the normalization era, a list was drawn up of people of Jewish origin who allegedly sympathized with Zionism (Pěkný 2001: 355). In the course of the 1980s, the Council of Jewish Religious Communities (the highest organ of this minority) took a stand against anti-Semitism at least three times: in 1986, it protested against the showing of the film *Jan Cimbura* on Czechoslovak TV in the series of "films for witnesses"[61] and against Karel Hrůza's anti-Zionist article *Zionism: Racism, Aggression and War* (*Tribuna*, No. 2, 15 January 1986);[62] and a year later against the article *Life with a War Criminal* (*Život s válečným zločincem, Hlas revoluce – The Voice of the Revolution*, No. 51–52), which claimed Reinhard Heydrich was of Jewish origin.[63]

Conclusion

The rise of modern anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands was the negative reaction of a supposed part of the modern Czech nation to rapid social changes which were irreversibly upsetting traditional values and norms (Soukupová 1997: 15). Although liberal circles in Austria did not foster it, new political groupings – mass petty-bourgeois parties with their media – managed to use it pragmatically on their way into the political limelight. A distinctive sign of the time became the discreditation of the social democracy as an allegedly Jewishized party by their political rivals. In Czech society, which was then interwoven with the many other peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

61 NA, MK – SPV, Box no. 231, the letter from the Council. Prague 3 December 1986. The President of the Council Bohumil Heller complained that the character of the Jewish tavern owner was included because of Nazi censorship (!)

62 *Ibid*. The protest letter was written on January 31, 1986, by Rabbi Daniel Mayer to Jaroslav Kojzar, the chief editor of the weekly *Tribuna*. His disapproval primarily concerned Hrůza's thesis that Zionism was based on Old Testament mysticism, national chauvinism and racism. This anti-Semitic article further developed the idea that the book of Deuteronomy predestines Jews to rule over other nations.

63 *Ibid*, letter to Dr. Václav Hájek, the President of the ÚV ČSPB, dated 23 December 1987. In the opinion of the Jewish representation, the essay turned the victims into accomplices.

(Soukupová 2004: 35), the stereotype of the Jew as pioneer and as Moor of the Germans was particularly effective. The second most influential stereotype, that of Jewish economic monopoly, was in general currency and responded to the character of capitalist society, based on competition and pragmatism.

The Jewish policy of the liberal First Czechoslovak Republic, in which anti-Semitism was regarded on the official level as a totally inappropriate phenomenon, revealed how dependent society was on the strength of European democracy and also how dependent Czech anti-Semitism was on influences from abroad and most clearly, on economic (de)stabilization. The state that arose was completely dependent on the Agreement and had to present itself as a stable state without political excesses. The official policy was therefore incompatible with anti-Semitism (Soukupová 2005: 24). At the same time it reflected the permanent basis of anti-Semitic prejudice which could always be reactivated on the level of a political-party battle and on the street level. On the governmental level, it happened. This is just what happened after Munich when the influence of European democracies on the Second Republic gradually faded (Soukupová 2008: 57). Another influence on the escalation of anti-Semitism in the Second-Republic was "popular" culture: journalism, leaflets, posters and brochures. Czech society entered the Protectorate with its old-new anti-Jewish prejudices but also with extraordinarily elaborate anti-Semitic legislation. Further initiatives in liquidating the Jews, like the main advantages derived from Aryanization, were left to the occupiers. The repercussions of the Protectorate and the Slovak State were characterized by both verbal assaults and physical violence.

In Communist propaganda, anti-Semitism was officially rejected, legally banned and condemned on the civil level as a manifestation of hooliganism. On the level of state organs, however, under pressure from the Soviet Union, anti-Zionism was embraced as was an anti-Israeli policy which, worked out in its details, became a new form of anti-Semitism. This remained in force even in the 1980s.

The relationship of Czechoslovak state organs to the Jews was ambiguous: they were respected as victims of Nazi racism; however, at the time of normalization, memories of the Holocaust grew dimmer, and as a specific religious group, on whom the eyes of the capitalist Jewish world were set, they were always at the same time closely watched and monitored. State church policy saw in them – considering their tragic fate during the war – potential defenders of peace; a welcome source of foreign exchange for the sluggish economy; yet at the same time, church policy officials never freed themselves from a number of

anti-Semitic clichés. In spite of all this, it must be said that in contrast to the situation in the Soviet Union, with the exception of the time of political trials, there was no repression or open form of discrimination in matters of education or professional activities of Jews in Czechoslovakia.

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