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Czechoslovakia - A Rabbi's View, 1968.

Czechoslovakia - A Rabbi's View Daniel Jeremy Silver December 15, 1968

Jews have lived in Czechoslovakia, or rather in the lands which now comprise Czechoslovakia, for well over a thousand years. The first records of civilized settlements in the area include records of Jewish settlement. In the year 1906 a commercial traveler, a Jew, a diarist, by the name of Ebraham ibn Joseph, records that on a trek down the Danube into the hinterlands of central Europe, came to the citadel of Prague and found there a number of fellow Jewish traders. This land which we call Czechoslovakia was, as you recall, created out of a number of dismembered territories taken from the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the close of the first World War. In its earliest history this area is the history of a number of separate and distinct kingdoms, Bohemia, Moravia, Sylesia, Slovakia, Withenia. The history of the Jewish communities in these various areas has a distinct and separate chronicle to it. Each history is unique, but it is safe to say that the history of these Jewries until modern times is not unlike the history of most of the Jewries of central and eastern Europe, characterized by separatism, apartheid, having to live apart, by frequent physical attack, and not infrequent exile, by attempts at forced baptism and by constant anti-semitic villification. The Jews in these areas had to live in their own ghetto. They had to wear a distinctive dres They were precluded by law from entering the various crafts or from owning land and, most galling of all, was a rule which stated that only the eldest son in a Jewish family could marry. All other male children were bound to celibacy, a primitive form of population control, one which incredibly still had the force of law well into the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Czechoslovakia then has a long history of Jewish settlement and an equally long history of anti-semitic feeling. The Jews are of the land and, yet, there have always been those, and there are those today, who continue to consider the Jews as aliens, as interlopers. The degree of this was highlighted for

us in June of this year when the rector of Charles University and the President of the Czech Writers' Conference, a Jew by the name of Edmund Goldstuka, published in a quarterly in Czechoslovakia an article in which he tried to show his fellow citizens the degree of anti-semitism which was still the order of conversation and the order of communication and of argument and he simply quoted a number of letters which had been written to him over the last six months or a year in which he had been called Zionist hyena, Jew pig, and far worse. The situation of the Jews has always been one of close to the brink, close to violence, insecure. Perhaps this is no way better illustrated than in the familiar story of the Golan. You remember a talman made of clay into which a sixteenth century rabbi of Prague, Loey of Ben-bed-salel, put the sacred, magical, all-powerful name of God and so brought this clay being to life. He did so this pious rabbi, according to the legend, in order that the befor only one reason, leaguered ghetto might have a tireless and indefatigable guard and champion, one who would never go to sleep, never let his guard down, who would always be vigilant against the continuing attacks of a hating and prejudiced surrounding community.

Now, if you can imagine Czechoslovakia in your minds, and I am sure you can, you know it's a long, narrow, rectangular strip of land which reaches from Russia to Germany. It's a land of many regions and a land of many distinct patterns of life. Further to the west, Bohemia and Moravia, the civilization of western Europe has made great inroads. This is the place of Prague and some of the other big civilized centers, of great grand universities and ancient institutions, and Jewish life in these areas, though it was traditional, maintained through the ages a degree of openness to the larger world which was not characteristic of eastern Europe as a whole. Here you find men of the type of David Ganz, a rabbi and mathematician, an astronomer, a friend of Johan Kepler, a man who was the first to attempt to write in Hebrew a secular world history. And here

in this region you found in the early years of the twentieth century leaders of a movement which was called Das Vischenshaftas Judentun, men like Leopold Zuntz and Zakaras
Frankel, scholars of first rank, who had been trained now in the critical disciplines of
modern scholarship and who sought, out of their love for the tradition, to subject our
tradition to these historical and critical reviews.

In central Czechoslovakia, around Bratislava and the Slovak regions, you have a rather steadfast and stolid traditional community. Far to the east, in the mountains of the Carpathians, you have a small world Jewish community who has tended to be hasidic, and these varying levels of culture and the varying economic levels that went along with it, obviously, made for some tensions between this Jewish community. There were those among the traditionalists who became misrachi, dedicated Zionists. There were those among the hasidic traditionalists who were radical anti-Zionists because Zion could be redeemed only by the coming of the messiah, but, by and large, these inevitable divisions between the Jews of Czechoslovakia were forgotten in the common need to defend one's self against the calumny of the attack and the danger from without.

Czechoslovakia is a land of contrast. You have the large, sweeping Bohemian plain and the tall Carpathian mountains. You have a number of great cities; you have hundreds of villages with hillbillies and backhill, backwoods kinds of people. And the same kind of division is evident throughout Czech history and its relationship with the Jews. You have men like Johan Kepler, a scientist, who befriended the rabbi scientist, David Ganz. You have men like Thomas Mazerick, the founding president of the Republic of Czechoslovakia after the war, who, before the first World War, put his political career on the line in an attempt to defend a Jew, a poor cobbler's assistant, in the late 1890's, who was accused of ritual murder. But there were those who made the

accusation, and there were those like August Rolling, professor of Catholic Theology at the University of Prague, who just before this particular charge had written a book called The Talmud Jew in which he had tried to verify, to claim that the Jews were in fact guilty of ritual murder and that our faith in fact required the blood of a child in order to perform certain sacramental acts.

Czechoslovakia has never been of a mind about its Jewish community. Antisemitism runs deep and it runs close to the surface. It runs in Czechoslovakia particuarly deep because Czechoslovakia is not only a country, but it's a series of nationalities. There are the Sudetan German, the Volksdeutchen; there are the Czech in Bohemian Moravia; there are the Slovaks in the central part of the country; there are the Magyars further to the east. And each of these communities has not only its desires to see Czechoslovakia be a whole, a federation, but its desires to maintain the integrity of an ethnic way of life. Czechoslovakia is always a country coming together and being pulled apart by its own citizens, but the Jews more often than not have been caught in the middle. But when, in the 1850's and 1860's, Jewish life suddenly came of age and the Jew was allowed to enter almost any business, to settle in almost any area, when any Jewish boy could marry, when all the old restrictions were finally thrown away, shattered, many of the Jews rushed to join the larger world outside and the Jews of Czechoslovakia were particularly desirous of joining the German element of the country. This was the most civilized, those who had been most university trained, they had the most degrees. were largely centered in Prague and the Jews rushed in to be assimilated. They threw out their hands and they said, welcome us, only to find as so many Jews in Germany had found that prejudice can exist among the civilized and the cultivated and the degrees quite as virulently and quite as viciously as it can exist among the peasant, the musiks, the serfs and the illiterates. The German university in Prague had throughout these

years a numerous klousa, a very rigid restriction. It was almost impossible for Jews to move into certain of the graduate faculties. It was very difficult for a Jew, if not impossible, to gain an academic appointment. Social life was rigidly delimited and in these years just before the first World War most of the very brightest of the Jews of Czechoslovakia who needed the contact with fellow intellectuals, gentile and Jew, left Prague and Bernow and Bratislava for Vienna or western Europe or other places where they would be more welcome. And so you have the great geniuses of Czechoslovakia, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Gustav Mahler and men of that quality leaving Prague and settline elsewhere. And when the first World War was over, and when the carnage destroyed many of the finest young men of Czechoslovakia had subsided, the Jewish community of Czechoslovakia found itself again in this traditional ambivalence in the outside world. They were now citizens. There was a president who was one of the most humane and considerate men in all of Europe who had not a scintilla of hate in his body, and yet Mazerick was the president of a country which had deliberately so gerrymandered its electoral system, its laws, that no Jew as a Jew could be elected to parliament. Jewish life tended to go on. Jewish life tended to be little more economically advantageous than the other nationality nations which had been created by Versailles, but there were the traditional campaigns, you know, bi-Slovak, bi-Magyar, bi-Czech which means don't buy Jewish. And there was already in 1923 in Slovakia a nacent Fascist, native party, Slovaks, whose main campaign plank was, hate the Jew. And there were already restrictions in many of the unions in the cooperatives against Jewish membership; and the government cancelled many of the innkeepers' licenses and other licenses which had allowed the Jews to enter a number of occupations. And so, although conditions in Czechoslovakia were somewhat better than elsewhere in central and eastern Europe, this was not a secure community and its own self-awareness is perhaps best

illustrated in the writings of its most sensitive author, Franz Kafta, who, half-weeping, half-smiling, comments, as you know, constantly on the inability of men to easily do, simply do, that which they ought to do, whose heroes are always somehow icily alone, surrounded by vaguely familiar places, but unrooted, uprooted, aware that this, wherever they are, is not quite home. The Czech Jew was never, really, quite at home, but there were a lot of them. There were almost 365,000 Jews in Czechoslovakia in 1938.

There were 18,000 Jews left in Czechoslovakia in 1945. There are approximately 14,000 Jews left in Czechoslovakia today.

At the end of the second World War there was a brief period in which Jewish life seemed to be able to find roots again, to gain a certain amount of acceptance. The Jews were no longer a major nationality element in Czechoslovakia. This was a period in which Czechoslovakia became a Russian satellite and the Russians were eager to get Great Britain out of its Palestinian mandate and so the Czechs who had seen the ovens of Teresenstadt burning in their own nation, were able to get rid of some of their sense of guilt by using their work at the Skoda plant to build many of the guns which the Yishu used in 1947 and 1948 to establish its independence. A small number of Jewish schools were allowed to remain, and a small number of Jews advanced quite high in the party apparatus. And then, as the years moved along, Israel was established. The Arab world began to make its appeal to Russia and Russia saw the great advantage of the oil and the sulphur and the markets which the Arab world offered. As the years went along Stalin began to turn the screws on the various party apparatus outside of the Soviet Union, to demand absolute conformity and uniformity. The Jew became the scapegoat for many of the sins of omission and comission by the party rule in Czechoslovakia.

In 1952 there were a series of show trials which had anti-Zionism which

trials was a man by the name of Rudolph Slanski. Slanski had been up till 1950 the first secretary of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, and then he had fallen afoul of Stalin and of others and he had been pushed out of office. Slanski and ten others were accused of what was called Trotskyite-Titoite-Zionist Revisionism which translates simply to mean that they had fallen out of power and that they were Jews and these men were executed, and a number of similar, smaller trials were held, the focus of most of these trials being on Jews, and way out of proportion to the tiny element of the Jewish element in Czechoslovakia. The Communist apparatus had learned, and well learned, what the Nazis had known a generation before, that anti-Jewish witch hunts appeal to the mass, to the mob, and that they are a convenient cover for any kind of change that you want to make in an autocratic party structure.

Well, after these trials the Jewish community in Czechoslovakia was allowed to maintain itself as best it could, there were no overt anti-semitic pacts by the government. They simply allowed the schools to close down, there were very few Jewish youth. They apparently felt that in time the Jewish community would wither away and Czechoslovakia would no longer have a Jewish problem. The three rabbis who were all that were left in Czechoslovakia were allowed to remain, but they were denied the opportunity to preach. They could not write without their writings being censored and the single Jewish gazette which was published was published by a Jewish quizzling whose every word echoed the official party line.

The years passed and Czechoslovakia began to fall on hard times. The Communist economic miracle did not take place. A new generation of artists and writers of Czechs and Slovaks began to demand a greater freedom, but strangely, the Jewish question became bound up in these demands for libertization. In June of 1967 there

was the Arab-Israel war. Coincidentally, in late June of 1967, the Czech Writers' Conference had been planned for many years, the fourth such conference, had taken as its subject The Life and the Works of Franz Kafka. Now many Jewish and non-Jewish writers chose the occasion of this conference, right after the June war and at the height of the pressure which was developing in Czechoslovakia against the Communist apparatus, many writers used the occasion to use Kafka as a tool with which to attack the administration, and so in the name of free criticism, in the name of illucidating the themes which Kafka had developed about man's alienation and man's need to be true to himself, about the danger of autocracy in an establishment, they developed at this conference an attack upon the administration and, more than this, because it came so close to the June war a number of men used the floor of this conference to attack the heavily, anti-Israel party line, the vicious anti-Israel party line, which had begun in Moscow and which had been developed in Poland and in Germany and was being spewed forth in Prague also by the official government agencies. They said that all could not be black and white as the party was claiming. There were certainly some right on the side of the Israeli and the Czechs should have come to that point in their economic development, in their educational development, where they could be presented all sides of the issue. And so, somehow, a Jewish issue became the plank on which these writers fought out their demands for libertization. And the government fought back and did so in a number of petty ways.

In 1966 they had scheduled a small celebration for the one thousandth anniversary of the Jewish community of Prague and the 750th anniversary of the founding of one of the famous synagogues of Prague, the Altnoischul. The government in August shortly after this conference cancelled the plans for that commemoration and they withdrew from circulation four stamps which had been minted to commemorate the event. One stamp was to show Teresenstadt and the martyrs of the camps; another was to be a picture of David Ganz of whom we have spoken; a third was to be a picture of Nicholsburg, a small old Czech Jewish community which had been utterly eradicated by the Nazis much as Lidice; and the fourth was to commemorate Jewish life in Czechoslovakia today. These stamps were summarily withdrawn.

And then, a few weeks later, the senior representative of the American Joint Distribution Committee in eastern Europe, Charles Jordan, was murdered in Prague. His body was found some days later. The Czech government announced that he had committed suicide. The Joint Distribution Committee demanded an autopsy. The Czechs quickly held their own autopsy and again claimed that suicide had been the case. The Joint, through the American ambassador, demanded that the autopsy be performed by someone who was not a party to the dispute. A Swiss doctor was brought in, Hartmeyer, to perform the autopsy. He asked for certain vital organs to be sent back to his laboratories in Switzerland in Zurich and two days after his return to Zurich he was found murdered on a mountain road. The Czechs have always disclaimed responsibility, even the liberal Czech government of Mr. Dubcek claimed that this must have been the work of some Arab agents in Czechoslovakia, but the case seems to be that this was ordered by the secret police in Moscow for reasons which they, perhaps, best under-An anti-semitic campaign was mounted in Czechoslovakia. Zionism became the code word for all the movements to liberalize the country and much of the garbage which was being spewed forth against Jews, especially in Poland in the fall of 1967 and in the spring of 1968, in a Poland which was undergoing a terrible, vicious Jew hunt which drove Jews out of government and out of industry and out of the universities. Much of this was reprinted in Czech newspapers. The protocols of the elders of Zion,

all the old trash and the new trash, again surfaced and was published and there were a number of reported attacks on individual Jews.

And then, lo and behold, in January of 1968 the liberalizing forces in Czechoslovakia began to surface and gained power, and the government of Mr. Dubchek began the incredible, and perhaps impossible, attempt to create a government of freedom under Communism. We all watched the events of the next six months and we saw how all of the repressed anger and frustration and dissent of Czechoslovakia came to the fore and other Czechs began to attack the authority and the censorship and the party line which had been for so long imposed on them. And as one might expect, with this movement of liberalization there came a movement which was of benefit and hope to the Jewish community. A number of the Jews who had been convicted in the minor trials which succeeded the trial of Mr. Slansky were rehabilitated. They were allowed again to come back into office into their professions. Czech writers began not to openly attack anti-semitism in Czechoslovakia or the policies of older former Czech governments, but they began to attack the policies of Mr. Muksar, the head of the secret police in Poland, who was violently anti-semitic and violently anti-Zionist and who had become in eastern Europe the symbol of all Jew haters. They began to make plans to hold the anniversary of the thousand year settlement of the Jews in Czechoslovakia. The Jews looked forward to a new period of libertization and of hope, and the degree of their expectation can be seen in a remarkable document which was published on the 6th of May of this year by the small Jewish communities of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, a document remarkable because it includes a defense of Israel and of Zionism which could only have been written by people who were willing to defend their fellow Jews in Israel, knowing that their own lives were in the balance. Zionism is the arch crime

in the Communist world and here were a group of Jews, weak and relatively powerless, who in a small period of were willing to put their convictions in print and publish them, knowing full well that the liberalization policies that Mr. Dubchek were tentative and that he might not be able to hold the line against the outside Russian pressures.

Let me read you a little bit of this document because it's one of the grand documents of the spirit of our people in modern times:

Jews have lived in this country for a thousand years. Together with the Czech people they have lived through good and bad times, though in bad times their sufferings were much worse than those of others. During the terrible catastrophe of the German occupation 80,000 Jews of Bohemia and Moravia, among them 15,000 children, were murdered. In a single night in March of 1944 the Nazis exterminated some 4,000 Jews from Czechoslovakia at Auschwitz. The memorial meetings which we have held every year in memory of this greatest of mass executions of Czech citizens has never been attended by any representative of the Czech government. This lack of respect for the victims of Hitlerite racial persecution, which also expressed itself in other ways, has been difficult to bear. An example of this is the case of Terazin which we call , where extensive works have been carried out lately. However, the ministry for national defense refuses access to the spot where the ashes of some 20,000 Jewish prisoners who were tortured to death were thrown into the river Ora. Wherever the Czech people fought the Nazis the Jews fought too. In particular they formed an important element in all formations of the Czech army abroad. The

graves of fallen Jewish combatants were spread over three continents. The handful of Czech Jews that survived the Nazi fury rejoiced on the day of liberation. Our best people returned from the concentration camp, from emigration and with the army abroad immediately joined the building of free, just, and truly democratic republic. At the same time they placed all their force, capability, enthusiasm in creative initiative at the disposal of the upbuilding socialism. Every opportunity was offered to Jews to contribute their talents. No difficulty was placed in the way of those Jews who, after the dreadful catastrophe, wished to emigrate to the newly found State of Israel. The Gottwald government was among the first to recognize Israel. Unfortunately, however, soon other voices were to be heard. We had to hear speeches by Minister Kopecky about "the bearded Solomons", and a few years later during the political trials the Jewish origins of those unjustly accused was stressed in a derogatory manner. The security services engaged in anti-semitic insults. The concept of Zionism was so distorted publically that it became "an agency of imperialistic secret service" and this distortion again served to discriminate against The truth, however, is that Zionism Jews and to so distrust. came into existence during the last century as a reaction to militant anti-semitism and bloody pogroms. In the period of political trial some peoples who were identified as Zionists would not only ever declare themselves as such, but were its notorious opponents. When the initiators of these false accusations succeeded in creating an anti-Jewish atmosphere, Jews were excluded from political, economic and cultural life. Many were persecuted and molested, arrested and sent to prison. Compared with the handful of Jews in Czechoslovakia the proportion of Jewish victims was enormous. The authority of Rabbi Emil Dabidovich to carry out his functions was withdrawn and the same happened to Rabbi Dr. Bernard Farkas who was even jailed. In other respects the exercise of religious practices was not hampered. The State even put some financial means at our disposal. The care which the State displayed towards our religious institutions was exemplary. The Jewish community of Czechoslovakia is heir to a great cultural tradition manifested in centuries-old humanistic philosophy and ethics and a rich literature. From these sources spring our natural inclination to fight against anti-semitism and fascism and reactionary tendencies, to strive towards peace, freedom and progress in the world. In this spirit we feel united with our co-religionists abroad whose aims are identical and we reject any attempt to disrupt these ties based upon universal Jewish humanism. In fact, an attempt in this direction was made by trying to restrict the international character of the celebrations of the millenium of the Jewish settlement in Prague and by turning these into an occasion of local and purely religious significance. This attempt evoked a strong reaction, both at home and abroad, because simultaneously the Czech press embarked upon a sharp anti-Israel campaign based upon one-sided, biased reports. Frequently, this could only be considered as tendentiously anti-Jewish.

The style of certain press reports recalled the style of the fifties.

We are glad that Czech opinion did not fully succomb to this propaganda. We particularly appreciate the fearless stand of some writers in their publications. We wish to take this opportunity to declare that we shall never agree to the destruction of the State of Israel and to the murder of its population. It is in that country, the cradle of our religion, that the refugees found a haven. It is there that our brothers and sisters, fellow prisoners from the concentration camps and combatants in the resistance against Naziism live.

Now, that is a remarkable document because unlike so many of the documents which we sign and which appear here in the United States in the public press, there is little more than our need to express ourselves on the line. These people put their lives on the line and their lives remain there now that the liberalization policies of the Dubchek government have been thwarted, now that the Russians have reinvaded Czechoslovakia and again imposed their iron-clad will upon the people. The liberalization of the first six months proved to be of short duration and, as one might expect, once the Russian troops were in the country the old, ugly, dark side of the Czech attitude towards the Jew came to the fore.

A Jewish writer who had fled to Israel in June of '67 rather than repeat the party line returned in January of 1968 was in prison. There was every indication that the Russians were pressuring the Czech to have another Jew show trial. The two important figures in this show trial were to be Dr. Edmund Goldstuker whom I have mentioned, the President of the Czech Writers' Congress, and a man by the name of Kriegel, Fritsig Kriegel, who was Mr. Dubchek's nearest political friend, both Jews. The first government minister to be removed from office was Mr. Zhip, the foreign minister, a Jew. And, little by little, as the days had become weeks and the weeks

had become months of Russian occupation, those Jews who revealed themselves for their liberalism and what our people have always stood for, have been removed from office, and little by little the Russians have begun to play upon the narrow nationalisms of the Czech and of the Slovak, and whenever that happens the Jew is caught in the grinder in between. The Russian policy in Czechoslovakia is not only one of indirect suppression, but it is one in which the federation of Czech and Slovak is being pulled apart and frayed. The attempt is to create two separate nationalities within this confederation. Where does the Jew fit into such a picture? We have only to remember that when another Slovak nationalist group came to the fore in the 1930's, its major plank was bi-clerical Slovak anti-semitism and it could not wait for the Germans to arrive to begin hounding down the Jew, jailing them and even killing them.

What is the future for the Jews of Czechoslovakia? The future for the Jews of Czechoslovakia is, unfortunately, as bleak, I'm afraid, as the future of the liberal Czech movement itself. The Jews are weak and they are few. That they recognize this is indicated by the fact that one thousand of the fourteen thousand have left Czechoslovakia in the last three months. We hope that more who are in danger may succeed in getting out. Liberalization is apparently a tendency which the Soviet government cannot accept, and only because it brings opposition into the air, into the open, that because it undermines the absolute control of military policy which the Russians feel that they need in central Europe. It seems to have been this fear that the Czech army would go its own way and make its own defense arrangements just as the Jugoslav army has done which finally tipped the balance in the direction of intervention.

Heinrich Hiner once said that freedom speaks with a Hebrew accent, and what we have seen in this brief retelling of the history of the Jews of Czechoslovakia certainly underscores this too. Jews do not represent any threat to Czechoslovakia.

They are a small, weak, at this point badly disturbed and badly beaten minority. The Jews have wanted over all the years only to be welcomed as fellow citizens, only the opportunity of sharing the common cause, but whenever there has been a church or an emperor or a Nazi party or a Communist party which has determined to set its will upon the people, to make everyone bend to its authority, it has always singled out and always chosen the Jew as the arch symbol of the liberty and the freedom and the liberalism which it cannot tolerate. And so the Jew of Czechoslovakia bears on his shoulders not only the disadvantages of a small minority, but the advantages and disadvantages of being a living symbol. He represents to the Kremlin and to its henchmen the freedom and the justice and the passion for human righteousness and an open society which begins in our Bible and was sounded by our prophets and which our people have exemplified and fought for over the years. It's a heavy burden. Sometimes it's a crushing burden, but it's a burden that this people, Israel, that we have carried willingly through all the years for ultimately it justifies our very existence, does it not? Ultimately, it makes it worthwhile, it's significant to be a Jew.

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