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by

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TRANSFORMATION OF JEWISH IDENTITY IN  
POST-WAR  
CZECH AND LUXEMBOURG GENERATIONS  
(1945-1990)

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## **ABSTRACT**

The PhD project has been supervised under the regulations of the Cotutelle agreement between the University of Luxembourg (C<sup>2</sup>DH) and Charles University (the Faculty of Education). The aim of the thesis is to analyze and compare the development and changes of Jewish identity and Jewishness in post-war Jewish generations in the years 1945–1990 born or living in the Czech lands (Czech, Moravia, Silesia) and Luxembourg. The research focuses only on the territory of the Czech lands (Czech Republic) and Luxembourg; it does not include the current Slovak territory. The author's intention is to compare the development of Judaism and Jewish identity between members of the second and third post-war Jewish generations who were influenced by two different political systems – the Western Liberal Democracy and the Eastern Communist regime. The work aims to find similarities and differences in predetermined aspects that directly and indirectly have influenced life in the Jewish communities in both Luxembourg and the current Czech Republic. Individual aspects and factors were determined as follows: the path to Judaism and its formation in two different political regimes; attitude towards the state of Israel; antisemitism. The work seeks to find different comparative parameters for intergenerational analysis of different attitudes towards Israel, the influence of antisemitism on post-war Jewish generations, and to understand the processes involved in the formation and transmission of Czech and Luxembourg Jewish identities. Forty interviews with Czech and Luxembourg Jews refined and completed the quantitative results of a questionnaire fulfilled by 400 respondents. The approach can be described as interdisciplinary, which combines methods of survey and narrative approaches of oral history. The author deals with the analysis of the reflection of historical facts with an emphasis on historical consciousness. This PhD thesis is accompanied by a sociological and historical context so that the reader can better understand the interpretation of the dataset collected in the research. The intention is to point out the range of differences and intersections in relationship to political developments over the course of 45 years.

**Keywords:** Jewish identity, antisemitism, Israel, Czech lands, Luxembourg,

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I herewith formally declare that I have written the submitted Phd thesis independently. I did not use any outside support except for the quoted literature and other sources mentioned in the paper. I clearly marked and separately listed all of the literature and all of the other sources which I employed when producing this academic work, either literally or in content.

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## List of abbreviations

CCJRC - Council of Czech Jewish Religious Communities

CZSJG - Czechoslovak second Jewish Generation

CZTJG - Czechoslovak third Jewish Generation

IUSY - l'Union Internationale des Jeunesses Socialistes

JCL – Jewish Consistory of Luxembourg

JDC - Joint Distribution Committee

JOINT - American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

LSJG - Luxembourgish second Jewish generation

LTJG - Luxembourgish third Jewish generation

LW - Luxemburger Wort

PJRC - Jewish Religious Community of Prague

StB - State Security

UJGIL - Union des Jeunes Gens Israélites du Luxembourg

UN – United Nations

USSR – Soviet Union

VHA – Video History Archive

WJC - World Jewish Congress

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with external and internal historical and sociological factors and forces which affected the transformation of Jewish identities within the so-called second and third Jewish postwar generations<sup>1</sup> in the Czech lands (current Czech Republic) and Luxembourg. First of all, the motivation for comparing two completely different Jewish minorities in the two different diaspora communities include the following. The initial idea and inspiration for the work came from a meeting with the former president of the Jewish Consistory in Luxembourg, Claude Marx, who pointed out the absence of academic works dealing with the development of Luxembourg Jewish identity.<sup>2</sup> “*We have a large number of books dealing with Jewish migration or integration, but we still miss a publication tackling modern Jewish identity or Jewishness through eyes of Jews. Our history is much richer than the Holocaust, but we do not know what to tell our children about that. It was a huge amount of work done by our ancestors to restore the life here in Luxembourg and we do not understand the impact on our lives.*”<sup>3</sup> Based on Mr. Marx’ insights, it was decided to attempt to address this gap in the research. A comprehensive literature search did not reveal any extensive scientific work dealing with the transformation of post-war Jewish community in Luxembourg.<sup>4</sup> The planned work would thus lack important scientific resources for the creation of hypotheses and the subsequent critical comparison of results and their critical evaluation.

The next inspiration for the PhD project was the historical-sociological publication *In the Shadows of the Holocaust and Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945* written by Alena Heitlinger. She conducted the research for this book in 2006 among members of the second<sup>5</sup> Jewish generation in the former Czechoslovakia.<sup>6</sup> Based on her work, I decided to conduct the research

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<sup>1</sup> The definition of post-war generations and the researched social cohorts are explained below in the section methodology: Social cohorts and definition of terms used in the thesis.

<sup>2</sup> He let me know about the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive where I could find some Jewish testimonies.

<sup>3</sup> C. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 5. 5. 2017. (A halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>4</sup> No scientific papers in Luxembourg deals with Jewish post-war identities or collective memory.

<sup>5</sup> The social cohorts/generations were defined below in the chapter: The researched social cohorts: 2nd and 3rd Jewish post-war generations in Luxembourg and the Czech lands and described in detail in the part Methodology.

<sup>6</sup> Read more about her research topics and the pioneering research in her publication: (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006).

on the principles of historical sociology<sup>7</sup> and oral history comparing four different social cohorts of Jews from Luxembourg and the Czech lands in the period after World War II (1945–1990). These two influences were the inspiration for the idea of creating a research project based on methods of comparative analysis<sup>8</sup> which would reconstruct the development of cultural patterns, norms and customs in Jewish diaspora identities in Luxembourg and the Czech lands after WWII. The primary research concern is the interpretation and determination of factors and intersections affecting social phenomena in the past, especially those that are still enforced in the present through the mechanisms of social heredity.

An important goal of this work is to explain to readers the rationale for comparing the Jewish minority in Luxembourg with the Czech lands. These two different areas were selected, not because they are similar, but because of their differences. The research endeavors to compare four different Jewish generations influenced by two different political regimes (Communism and Western liberal democracies)<sup>9</sup> which represent two different approaches to their Jewish populations.<sup>10</sup> The work aims to discover how these two different diaspora communities developed in terms of the transformation of their identity over the course of the two post-war Jewish generations.<sup>11</sup> The post-war period in Czechoslovakia (Czech lands) was filled with political

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<sup>7</sup> Historical sociology was built on an interdisciplinary approach to research. The interdisciplinarity of the research done for this study combines sociological and historical perspectives and methods for the analysis and interpretation of the past. It places particular emphasis on understanding and transforming society in a historical context. Emphasis is placed on mutual examination of the past and the present. The researcher's aim is to understand how individual historical events affect a certain part of society and to interpret ongoing dilemmas through comparative analysis. Historical sociology does not underestimate historical methods or methodologies; on the contrary, it criticizes the historicism of modern sociology as a discipline that has renounced historical study. This discipline often tries to find similarities and differences in the context of historical events using a comparative method. Thanks to this variability and a certain flexibility, it is the main scientific domain on the basis of which I decided to carry out my thesis. (SMITH, Denis. *The rise of historical sociology*. Cambridge: Polity, 1991.).

<sup>8</sup> The comparative method is one of the methodological directions of historical sociology, although its use is very common in other scientific disciplines. The method of evaluation of the obtained information and the systematics of the outputs can be used either for the description of the investigated phenomena, or for the generalization, classification, typology and for causal and functional connections and sequences. Scholars often use it for hypothesis testing. In my project, it is used to address the research question. The comparative method commonly uses logical operations and statistical procedures primarily developed for the humanities. (ARMER, Michael and Allen Day GRIMSHAW. *Comparative social research: methodological problems and strategies*. New York: Wiley, 1973.).

<sup>9</sup> FRASER, David and Frank CAESTECKER. *Jews or Germans?: Nationality Legislation and the Restoration of Liberal Democracy in Western Europe after the Holocaust*. *Law and History Review*. 2013, 31(2), p. 391-422.

<sup>10</sup> Compare: (KOVÁCS, András, ed. *Communism's Jewish Question: Jewish Issues in Communist Archives*. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019 and HART, Mitchell Bryan. *Social science and the politics of modern Jewish identity*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000 and TARTAKOWSKY, Ewa and Marcelo DIMENTSTEIN. *Juifs d'Europe: identités plurielles et mixité*. Tours: (PUFR), 2017).

<sup>11</sup> The definition Jewish community is described in detail in the chapter territoriality and other terms used in the work.

reversals and controversies which particularly impacted the Jewish population living there after the World War II. In comparison, the Luxembourg did not experience any major political changes or crises. The question remains how or whether this different development was reflected in the lives of Jewish post-war generations.

A further reason for the design of this study is its overall feasibility. A comparative analysis of Jewish minorities in two widely-separated countries is a substantial undertaking. A historical-sociological comparative analysis is a time-consuming task, most often accomplished by teams of researchers with a range of expertise. Such studies generally result in the publication of extensive, often collective, monographs addressing a wide range of research questions and hypotheses in comparative ways.<sup>12</sup> The present study was constrained by having only a single researcher available to accomplish the work which involved the transcription and analysis of dozens of interviews and hundreds of questionnaires, the difficulty of which would be compounded by unpredictable human factors.

The feasibility of the project was largely influenced by the number and religious composition of potential research participants. At present, there are about 3,000 members registered in ten Jewish communities in the Czech Republic, and about 2,000 others in other Jewish associations. Overall it is estimated that 15-20,000 Jews live in the Czech Republic today, but most of them are not registered with any association or community.<sup>13</sup> In Luxembourg, there are about 650 members registered in two Jewish consistories (Luxembourg City and Esch-sur-Alzette), but it has been estimated that the real number could be as high as 1,200. Like in the Czech Republic, there are very few orthodox families and many liberal often non-practicing Jews with different

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<sup>12</sup> The advantage of comparative studies is their versatility and the possibility of using various comparative techniques. A larger number of researchers are able to elaborate in more detail the description, generalization, classification or typology of the studied phenomena. In my opinion, a larger team of experts is able to more easily find causal and functional contexts and then develop future predictions for specific cases. A good example is the collective publications of recent years on the topic of the transformation of post-war identity among the Jewish population in Hungary and Poland, as well as a comparative analysis of the post-war Jewish animal, especially in Central Europe. (GUESNET, François, Howard LUPOVITCH and Antony POLONSKY. *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry Volume 31: Poland and Hungary: Jewish Realities Compared* [online]. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2018 [Accessed 2021-12-03]. Available from: <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cuni/detail.action?docID=6264816> ; *Being Jewish in 21st Century Central Europe* [online]. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020 [Accessed. 2020-12-03]. Available from: doi:doi10.1515/9783110582369).

<sup>13</sup> Statistika. In: *Federace židovských obcí v ČR* [online]. [Accessed 2020-03-05]. Available from: <https://www.fzo.cz/o-nas/statistika/>).

backgrounds in Luxembourg.<sup>14</sup> These numbers suggest that the communities are rather small and open with a clearly defined center in few cities, where a lone researcher could effectively and comprehensively carry out a historical-sociological study such as the one envisioned.

Due to the excessive breadth of the project, it was decided to focus on only certain select factors shaping Jewish identities in the Czech lands and Luxembourg. One objective was to explore the practical and symbolic significance of Israel for Jewish identity based on perceptions of the population, home, politics, and religious heritage in terms of potential migration to Israel (*Aliyah*). This study endeavors to gauge the importance of Israel, both in historical and political terms, and in terms of the perception of Israel as a possible home.

Another factor in the formation and transmission of Jewish identities are the various forms of antisemitism, from open attacks to casual prejudices and stereotypes. The research examined the influence of these forms of racism, new antisemitism and official communist anti-Zionism on the formation of Jewish identity.

Besides above-mentioned factors, another important factor in the transformation of Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish identity after the war is the influence of family, relatives and Jewish authorities on Jewish halachic, non-halachic Jews, including converts. The specification and narrower definition of Jewish identities for this work is outlined in the section called Theoretical concepts applied to Jewish generations in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. The PhD thesis endeavors to present valid conclusions showing how the Jewish community's self-perception has evolved over the 45 years (1945-1990) covered by this study. Due to the staffing limitations and requirement of the study, the research question addressed was limited to the following:

- What influence did the Jewish and non-Jewish environment have on the transformation of Jewish second and third post-war Jewish generations in the Czech lands and Luxembourg?

The thematic duality of this work is grounded in the survey results and the characteristics of semi-structured in-depth interviews with witnesses partially grounded in the principles of oral history. It means that the interviews were structured biographically, but at the same time they focused on the sociological aspects of Jewish identities. They also dealt with the historical and political issue

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<sup>14</sup> Anti-Semitism in the European Union: Luxembourg. In: *Jewish Virtual Library* [online]. AICE, 2003 [Accessed 2021-03-05]. Available from: <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/anti-semitism-in-the-eu-luxembourg>.

of Israel, antisemitism and aspects of home. The work follows an interdisciplinary approach combining methods of historical sociology, and analysis of different attitudes and Jewish microhistory, stressing the subjective views of research participants. In order to include the wide plurality of Jewish identity transformation along with conflicts of individual opinions and memories of post-war events in Jewish society, the research was conducted in a discursive-analytical way combining historical and sociological data together to get the best results for further interpretation.

As mentioned above, due to socio-demographic differences and the impossibility to access to archival materials in Luxembourg (see the chapter: Archival sources: Why did I avoid the archives), it was design to build this thesis on a methodological basis similar to that of Alena Heitlinger's aforementioned publication.<sup>15</sup> This consists of two principal methodologies: an anonymous questionnaire and partially guided interviews. As a complementary source of data, I have investigated Jewish periodicals<sup>16</sup> with the aim of obtaining more complex information regarding official attitudes and stances of Jewish authorities and leaders who directed Jewish communities during the research period.

Therefore, the results of the questionnaire survey in combination with the results obtained through personal interviews play a primary role in this work. The above reasons, along with the publication of an extensive number of professional papers in the last five years, especially in the Czech Republic (see the chapter State of arts), were considerations in the decision to alter the methodology that was originally stated in the former proposal for this PhD project.

It became clear how complicated it would be to analyze and interpret a wide range of subjective empirical data collected from interviews and questionnaires, especially with regard to such a diverse society as the Jewish populations in the Czech lands and in Luxembourg. In response to the criticisms of historians like Petr Sedlák that subjective statements cannot be used to know contemporary objective facts,<sup>17</sup> I respond that the study's objective is a historical-sociological analysis of the form of subjectively framed facts and their form of preservation in the

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<sup>15</sup> Heitlinger combines a questionnaire survey with elements of oral history, analysis of guided discussion in focus groups, and archival research. (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006.).

<sup>16</sup> They are described in detail in the section: Historical contextualization.

<sup>17</sup> SEDLÁK, Petr. *Poté: postoj a přístup k Židům v českých zemích po druhé světové válce (1945-1947/1953)*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, 2009. Dissertation. Masarykova Univerzita. p. 70.



memory of narrators and respondents in relation to their identity. In order to interpret and compare the collected data, I created chapters dedicated to theoretical concepts and historical contextualization mostly based on domestic and international theories.

The issue of the Holocaust has not been emphasized in this work. While the Holocaust is undeniably an integral part of Jewish post-war history, and certainly has had a far-reaching impact on the formation of Jewish post-war identity,<sup>18</sup> given the enormous body of scholarly literature that has been published on this topic,<sup>19</sup> it is felt that the topic has been sufficiently elaborated, especially in relation to Jewish post-war generations. On the other hand, it was felt that other factors influencing post-war Jewish identity, such as the historical role of the family, Israel, antisemitism, and the home, have not yet been completely examined and have been neglected to some extent.

### 1.1. Thematic structure of the PhD thesis

The PhD thesis is divided into six main chapters, which contain both theoretical conceptualization and historical context, as well as qualitative and quantitative data from a questionnaire survey and interviews with participants. The first main chapter – Introduction describes the reasons for implementing the project and the formulation of the research question. It also briefly introduces the basic methodology for the collection of data. It includes a listing of the most important terms, and the geographical extent (the Czech lands and Luxembourg) of the project. It further includes a description of the literature dealing with Jewish issues after the Second World War in both regions. This includes mainly a selection of Czech and Luxembourg authors who deal with Jewish

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<sup>18</sup> Compare: (KASSAI, Susan and Robert MOTTA. An investigation of potential Holocaust-related secondary traumatization in the third generation. *International journal of emergency mental health* [online]. 2006, **8**(1), p. 35–48 [Accessed 2020-09-04]. Available from: <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2006-04177-005>; PATT, Avinoam J. *Finding home and homeland: Jewish youth and Zionism in the aftermath of the Holocaust*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> Compare: (KASSAI, Susan and Robert MOTTA. An investigation of potential Holocaust-related secondary traumatization in the third generation. *International journal of emergency mental health* [online]. Chevron Publishing, 2006, **8**(1), p. 35–48 [Accessed 2020-9-4]. Available from: <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2006-04177-005> ; GILADI, Lotem and Terece BELL. Protective factors for intergenerational transmission of trauma among second and third generation Holocaust survivors. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* [online]. Educational Publishing Foundation, 2013, **5**(4), p. 384–391 [Accessed 2020-9-4]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028455> ; BERGER, Alan. Unclaimed Experience: Trauma and Identity in Third Generation Writing about the Holocaust. *Shofar* [online]. 2010, **28**(3), p. 149–158 [Accessed 2020-9-4]. Available from: [https://www-jstor-org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/10.5703/shofar.28.3.149#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/10.5703/shofar.28.3.149#metadata_info_tab_contents)).

history, and sociological aspects of Jewish minorities in the diaspora. Finally an explanation of why archival sources were not used in the research and the reasons behind the decision not to are provided.

The second main chapter (Historical Contextualization: Jewish Post-War History in Luxembourg and the Czech Lands) deals with the historical context of the Jewish populations in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. It is based primarily on information gleaned from articles in Jewish community magazines and secondary literature. The chapter introduces the historical interpretative grounds that shaped Jewish communities after World War II in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. It also focuses on the attitude of the studied Jewish communities towards Israel, antisemitism, and anti-Zionism. In the case of the Luxembourg Jewish community, this secondary literature is a unique historical source that has not been extensively analyzed or evaluated yet. The information found there and the conclusions drawn served as a basis for the interpretation of the participants' testimonies and questionnaire results. There is also a subsection discussing an official visit of a Luxembourg Jewish delegation to Czechoslovakia. This interesting episode reveals that the Jewish community in Luxembourg was familiar with the situation behind the Iron Curtain at least to some extent.

The third main chapter (Theoretical Concepts Applied to Jewish Generations in Luxembourg and the Czech Lands) deals with theoretical concepts of a sociological nature. It introduces the concepts of selected authors as they pertain to interpretation of the data collected in this study the principal reason for including this is that the interviewees as well as the questionnaire respondents provided a significant amount of information of a sociological and anthropological nature. Besides classical oral historical data, this type of data requires its own interpretive framework grounded in Jewish sociological concepts. The third chapter is divided into three main subchapters, each with a few additional parts dealing with the formation of Jewish post-war identities, the relationship between Israel and the concept of home, and antisemitism. All of the general concepts introduced were applied to the degree possible to the dataset. The international sources used to make such concepts facilitate to interpret a variety of data from different sources (interviewees and respondents).

The fourth section addresses the study methodology. It includes a list and classification of the research participants. A brief discussion of the oral-historical method employed follows. A comparative method in historical sociology, some aspects of which were used for my research, is

also described. Both of these methods critically evaluated in terms of their advantages and disadvantages.

The most extensive chapter is devoted to the interpretation of data obtained from the interviews and the questionnaire. It contains subchapters that synthesize the data from the testimonies of the research participants. The subchapters compare intergenerational similarities and differences within the studied territories (Luxembourg and the Czech lands). The interviews were analyzed first, followed by the questionnaire responses. Finally there is a subsection devoted to an overall comparison between Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish participants seeking to find intersections and similarities between these two communities.

The last part of the work (Conclusion) summarizes the most important findings and in several short subsections addresses the research question. Finally it also discusses the importance of the work for contemporary scholarship and possible directions for further research.

## **1.2. Classification and definitions of the terms used in the thesis and the territorial delimitation of research**

For a proper understanding of specific terms used in this work, the following terms are defined to avoid misinterpretation. First, *Jewish population* involves all Jewish people<sup>20</sup> who live in a particular territory (Czech lands or Luxembourg, always defined in a specific case). *Jewish community/consistory* involves all registered Jewish people in Jewish communities and associations, including orthodox, liberal or reform in the Czech lands and Luxembourg. It also embraces particular Jewish representatives and authorities. The term *Jewish association* means a particular Jewish institution<sup>21</sup> or association assembling Jewish people regardless their religious denomination or origin. There is also an important question of what it means to be Jewish in Luxembourg and in the Czech lands. This issue was elaborated in the chapter Modern Jewish identity.

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<sup>20</sup> Halachic Jews, persons with the Law of Return, and Converts who processed all types of *giyur*. It excludes those who have claimed to be Jewish by themselves without acceptance by the *Bejt din*.

<sup>21</sup> For example: Jewish Consistory of Luxembourg, the Jewish Religious Community of Prague, Jewish consistory in Esch-sur-Alzette etc.

Other terms in this work are as follows. The term *Jewish people* has the same meaning as *Jewish population* and it includes all officially registered and recognized Jews in a particular territory specified in the text. *Judaism* means both the Jewish religion and the cultural-religious-national set of norms, including history, language, country, liturgy, philosophy, art, a set of ethical principles, and religious practices. The term *Jewishness* also has been more developed in the theoretical concepts, but in relation to my PhD thesis it describes culture, ethnicity, and a historical sense of belonging to the Jewish people.

Being aware of the problematic nature of Jewish categories such as *Jewish nation*, *Jewish community*, *Jewish population* and *Jewish society*, an attempt was made to precisely state what group of people are referred to. For example, the term *Jewish community* is used to specify a particular group of people who are officially organized in one of the official Jewish community institutions (municipally/consistory),<sup>22</sup> no matter, whether the group of people is comprised of halachic, non-halachic Jews or converts. *Aliyah* is a Jewish migration from the diaspora to Palestine (Israel).

As for the territorial delimitation of the research, the term “Czech lands” used in this thesis means the current borders of the Czech Republic, but Czechoslovak emigrants living abroad who have their roots in the former Czechoslovakia have also been included. Czech lands<sup>23</sup> always defines the particular area where the respondents were born or lived. It embraces all those who were born there and then moved away as well as those who remained. It also includes Jews born in Slovakia who moved to the Czech lands and stayed there for most of their lives.<sup>24</sup> On the contrary, “Luxembourg country” or simply Luxembourg covers the territory of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Concerning the use of bibliographic references, my work has been governed according to the international bibliographic standard ISO 690 which is applicable to both print and non-print documents, including electronic documents.

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<sup>22</sup> For example: Jewish Religious Community of Prague, *Bejt Simcha*, Jewish Consistory of Luxembourg, Jewish Consistory of Esch-sur-Alzette etc.

<sup>23</sup> For easier understanding, it encompasses the area of the current Czech Republic.

<sup>24</sup> F. ex. Fedor Gál is a Slovak politician, sociologist, forecaster and entrepreneur of Jewish origin living in the Czech Republic.

To clarify the terminology of the word anti(-)Semitism is written as “antisemitism” without a hyphen following the example of other scholars (e.g. Evelien Gans),<sup>25</sup> as the hyphenated version of the word has a sociopolitical context and was coined by those who were against the Jewish nation. The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)<sup>26</sup> also recommends using the unhyphenated spelling of antisemitism.<sup>27</sup>

### 1.3. The researched social cohorts: 2nd and 3rd Jewish post-war generations in Luxembourg and the Czech lands

The chapter describes the characteristics of four social cohorts analyzed in this research. Norman Ryder described the members of social cohorts as people born in the same historical period who have experienced the same historical events. These individuals pass through certain life stages more or less at the same chronological age.<sup>28</sup> The cohort can be understood as a demographic / statistical unit. On the contrary, the generation is defined by means of shared experience - collective identity (generation of '68, generation of '89, generation Z, etc.).

Within the research, the overlapping terms generations and cohorts are used in accordance with the definition given by Jane Pilcher who judges those terminological issues often occur when the research sample is composed of family members, including distant relatives, and in her opinion, these terms (generations and cohorts) can be substituted.<sup>29</sup> “...*individuals are generations in the*

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<sup>26</sup> The IHRA created its own definition of antisemitism which was signed by various countries and international associations in 2016. As a counter-proposal, a group of scholars in the field of Holocaust history developed their own definition of antisemitism with the aim to clearly distinguish between legal criticisms of the Israeli state and manifestations of antisemitism. (Read more: *The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism* [online], 2021 [Accessed 2021-5-14]. Available from: <https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/>).

<sup>27</sup> “*IHRA’s concern is that the hyphenated spelling allows for the possibility of something called ‘Semitism’, which not only legitimizes a form of pseudo-scientific racial classification that was thoroughly discredited by association with Nazi ideology, but also divides the term, stripping it from its meaning of opposition and hatred toward Jews. [...] The unhyphenated spelling is favored by many scholars and institutions in order to dispel the idea that there is an entity ‘Semitism’ which ‘anti-Semitism’ opposes. Antisemitism should be read as a unified term so that the meaning of the generic term for modern Jew-hatred is clear.*” (Spelling of Antisemitism, 1998. In: *IHRA* [online]. Stockholm: IHRA [Accessed 2021-03-16]. Available from: <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/antisemitism/spelling-antisemitism>).

<sup>28</sup> RYDER, Norman. The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change. *American Sociological Review*, [online]. 1965, **30**(6), p. 843 [Accessed 2021-01-19]. Available from: doi:10.2307/2090964.

<sup>29</sup> PILCHER, Jane. Mannheim's sociology of generations: an undervalued legacy. *British Journal of Sociology*. 1994, **45**(3), p. 483.

kinship sense, yet are also generations in the cohort sense. In order that the two dimensions of generations embedded in research designs are not confused, I advocate the use of generation when reference is made to kinship relationships and social generation when reference is made to any cohort related phenomena.”<sup>30</sup> In her opinion it is necessary to find a balance between Mannheim’s terminology and Glenn’s terminology, both using different approaches. According to some scholars, Mannheim used the term “generation” in the sense of cohort and from their point of view, it is a more accurate expression.<sup>31</sup>

Based on Pilcher’s work and the work of Alena Heitlinger,<sup>32</sup> research participants were divided into four social cohorts composed by two generations.<sup>33</sup> The examined generations comprise people born between 1945 and 1960 and between 1961 and 1980<sup>34</sup> who live or used to live in the former Czechoslovakia<sup>35</sup> or Luxembourg. Respondents from the second Jewish post-war generation are aged from 60 to 76 years and the age range of the third Jewish post-war generation is from 40 to 60 years at the time of this study. The research participants did not have to live in the territory of the Czech Republic or Luxembourg, it was sufficient for them to have spent a part of their life there (at least fifteen years).

The contemporary Jewish communities in the research areas cannot be taken as homogeneous groups of people. The four examined generations considered in the current study (Luxembourg and the Czech lands<sup>36</sup>) are composed of Jews with different ethnic, national and

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<sup>30</sup> PILCHER, Jane. Mannheim's sociology of generations: an undervalued legacy. *British Journal of Sociology*. 1994, 45(3), p. 483.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p. 483-484.

<sup>32</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> Here are the list of abbreviations of four social cohorts/generations examined in my research:

CZSJG: Czechoslovak second Jewish generation

CZTJG: Czechoslovak third Jewish generation

LSJG: Luxembourg second Jewish generation

LTJG: Luxembourg third Jewish generation

“While Holocaust survivors are generally referred to as belonging to the first generation, their descendants are regarded as belonging to the second generation. It follows that their own children, i.e., the grandchildren of Holocaust survivors, are defined as belonging to the third generation.” (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 18).

<sup>34</sup> This age limit was, of course, permeable, but it was necessary to set an age limit allowing me to classify research participants.

<sup>35</sup> Regarding to the collected data, I had to narrow my selection only to the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia).

<sup>36</sup> I worked with three nationalities: Czech, Slovak, and Luxembourgish. Czechoslovakia was divided into two independent states on January 1, 1993 that is why I have named some research units “Czechoslovak.” It means they

family backgrounds, who were affected by a variety of currents, movements, and initiatives. Therefore, the analysis could not concentrate solely on Orthodox Ashkenazi Jews.<sup>37</sup> Although these people meet halachic criteria, they are certainly not the only members of the Jewish community.<sup>38</sup> To collect reliable samples it was also decided to include all those who meet the conditions of the Law of Return<sup>39</sup> therefore the social cohorts include halachic and non-halachic Jews and officially accepted converts.<sup>40</sup> All participants were involved in either Jewish consistories or municipalities in Luxembourg or the Czech Republic observing the following forms of Judaism: Liberal, Conservative, Reform, or Orthodox.

#### 1.4. State of Art: the Czech Republic and Luxembourg

At the beginning of the research, a study of the relevant literature on the topic of Jewish community after World War II was undertaken. There is a very limited base of sources for the period 1945–1990 especially in Luxembourg. On the other hand, during the last two decades (2000–2020), Czech and Slovak authors have published a number of complex publications dealing with Jewish post-war history. Graph 1 illustrates that this trend was similar throughout the world, as the number of publications dealing with Jewish identity, collective memory, and antisemitism grew considerably in the last two decades.<sup>41</sup>

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contain Czech and Slovak Jews who have lived a considerable part of their lives in the Czech lands, but still have Slovak nationality.

<sup>37</sup> In Luxembourg, there is a growing number of Sephardi Jews who are also involved in the research. (WAGENER, Renée. *Die jüdische Minderheit in Luxemburg und das Gleichheitsprinzip: Staatsbürgerliche Emanzipation vs. staatliche und gesellschaftliche Praxis vom 19. bis zum Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Hagen, 2017. Dissertation. Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften der FernUniversität in Hagen. p. 870).

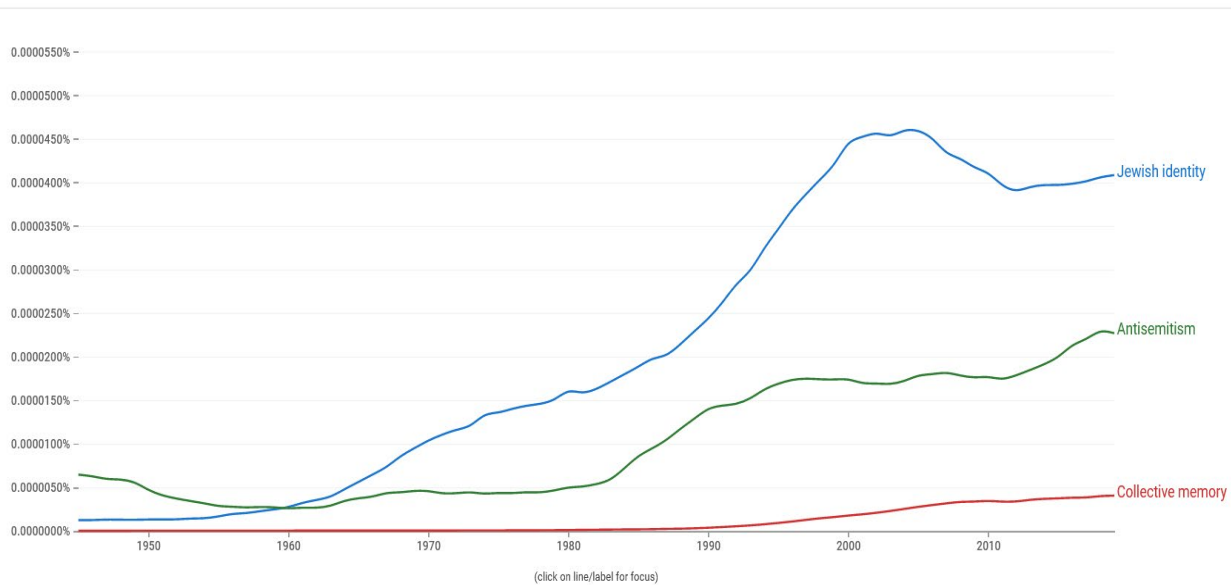
<sup>38</sup> A halachic Jew was born to Jewish parents or at least a Jewish mother.

<sup>39</sup> “*The Law of Return is an Israeli law, passed on July 5, 1950, which gives Jews the right to come and live in Israel and gain Israeli citizenship. The law also enabled those with Jewish ancestry (a Jewish father or grandfather) to convert to Judaism. See the Report on Citizenship Law.*” BRONEC, Jakub. Transmission of Collective Memory and Jewish Identity in Post-War Jewish Generations through War Souvenirs. *Heritage* [online]. 2019, 2(3), p. 1785-1798 [Accessed 2020-03-20]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.3390/heritage2030109>.

<sup>40</sup> Only those who were officially accepted by the Jewish court *Bejt din* – they passed either reform or orthodox *giyur*.

<sup>41</sup> Source: Google Books Ngram Viewer (available online at: <https://books.google.com/ngrams/>). Sociologist Jakub Mlynář inspired me to use this graph.

Graph 1: Annual share of English-language publications from 1945–2010 digitized in Google Books and containing the phrases “Jewish Identity” (blue), “Collective memory”(red) and “Antisemitism” (green).



Although post-war memory studies are booming all over the world, Czech commemorative historiography lag somewhat behind the rest of the Europe. However, the interest in issues of collective memory is undoubtedly growing in Czech historiography,<sup>42</sup> though these are issues of remembrance culture entering the Czech academic environment only very slowly.<sup>43</sup> Luxembourg is in a similar situation and Luxembourg lacks comprehensive work on shaping Jewish pre-war, war, or post-war identities. The following subchapters is going to briefly introduce the state of arts of the researched issue divided by territory – the Czech lands (the modern-day Czech Republic) and Luxembourg.

### 1.4.1. Luxembourg

These days, Luxembourgish scholars also address questions about Jewish history, especially those concerning persecution, integration and migration.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, there is still a lack of in-depth,

<sup>42</sup> TARANT, Zbyněk. *Diaspora paměti: židovská paměť a reflexe holocaustu v Izraeli a Spojených státech*. V Plzni: Západočeská univerzita, Katedra blízkovýchodních studií, 2013.

<sup>43</sup> For example: ŠVARŤÍČKOVÁ-SLABÁKOVÁ, Radmila. Česká generační paměť druhé světové války. *Český časopis historický*. 2019, **117**(3), p. 637-864.

<sup>44</sup> ARTUSO, Vincent. *La Question Juive au Luxembourg: L'État luxembourgeois face aux persécutions antisémites nazies*. Luxembourg: Editions forum Luxembourg, 2015. ; SCUTO, Denis. *La nationalité luxembourgeoise, XIXe-*



synthetic works made by professional historians to describe post-war Jewish history in Luxembourg in a nuanced manner. According to historian Renée Wagener, this is because the history of Luxembourg Jewry is relatively young, and prior to the Second World War, researchers had hardly any publications that dealt with the topic.<sup>45</sup> The result is a lack of academic literature comprehensively dealing with the development of Luxembourg's Jewish identity, forms of antisemitism or the relationship of Jews towards Israel.

In Luxembourg, there is no pioneering work similar to that made by Professor Alena Heitlinger,<sup>46</sup> which would comprehensively cover at least some aspects of modern Jewish identity and Jewishness. However, there is one in-depth work (a PhD thesis) from historian and journalist Renée Wagener, which can be considered the first systematic academic work on the topic of Jewish history. Wagener deals with the Jewish minority in Luxembourg, as well as the principle of equality, in a work spanning more than 900 pages. She has also elaborated the post-war Jewish history from the perspective of a renewal of the relationship between Jews and the government.<sup>47</sup> The topic of Jewish post-war history was also partially elaborated by Paul Cerf<sup>48</sup> Denis Scuto,<sup>49</sup> Laurent Moysé,<sup>50</sup> and Charles Lehrmann,<sup>51</sup> Paul Dostert, Isi Finkelstein,<sup>52</sup> Daniel Thilman,<sup>53</sup> etc. As mentioned above, there is only one book that (at least partially) deals with Jewish post-war

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*XXIe siècles*. Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2012.; FUCHSHUBER, Thorsten. *Emancipation, éclosion, persécution: le développement de la communauté juive luxembourgeoise de la Révolution française à la 2e Guerre mondiale*. Fernelmont: EME & InterCommunications, 2014.

<sup>45</sup> WAGENER, Renée. *Die jüdische Minderheit in Luxemburg und das Gleichheitsprinzip: Staatsbürgerliche Emanzipation vs. staatliche und gesellschaftliche Praxis vom 19. bis zum Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Hagen, 2017. Dissertation. Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften der FernUniversität in Hagen. p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006.

<sup>47</sup> WAGENER, Renée. *Die jüdische Minderheit in Luxemburg und das Gleichheitsprinzip: Staatsbürgerliche Emanzipation vs. staatliche und gesellschaftliche Praxis vom 19. bis zum Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Hagen, 2017. Dissertation. Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften der FernUniversität in Hagen.

<sup>48</sup> CERF, Paul. *Longtemps j'aurai mémoire*. Luxembourg: Éd. du Letzeburger Land, 1974.; CERF, Paul. *L'étoile juive au Luxembourg*. Luxembourg: RTL, 1986.

<sup>49</sup> Denis Scuto and his team were working on the complex Luxembourg State Policy Towards Jews project (1930s to 1950s), which will also reflect on the policy of post-war restitutions, the War Damages Act vs. The German-Luxembourg Treaty and its consequences, the repatriation of deportees and prisoners, etc.

<sup>50</sup> MOYSE, Laurent. *Du Rejet À L'intégration: Histoire Des Juifs Du Luxembourg Des Origines À Nos Jours*, Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011.

<sup>51</sup> LEHRMANN, Charles. *La communauté juive du Luxembourg dans le passé et dans le présent: histoire illustrée*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Impr. Coopérative Luxembourgeoise, 1953.

<sup>52</sup> CERF, Paul and Isi FINKELSTEIN. *Les Juif d'Esch chroniques de la communauté Juive de 1837 à 1999*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Éditions des cahiers luxembourgeois, 1999.

<sup>53</sup> He described the history of Jewish community in Mondorf in his diploma thesis and finished his research in 1953. THILMAN, Daniel. *La Présence Juive à Mondorf-les-Bains Et à Mondorff: Des Origines à 1953*. [s.l.]: Mémoire Univ. Nancy, 2005.

identity;<sup>54</sup> however, the issue of Jewish identity is described very briefly and vaguely. The spoliation of Jewish property was captured in the study *La spoliation des biens Juifs au Luxembourg 1940–1945*.<sup>55</sup> Blandine Landau joined the C<sup>2</sup>DH in 2020 to research the spoliation of Jewish property during World War II, in a Luxemburg-based research project co-financed by the *Fondation Luxembourgeoise pour la Mémoire de la Shoah*.<sup>56</sup>

Luxembourger scholars have recently taken an interest in the important research topic of national memory culture. Several comprehensive studies have been published here, including a study on the *Lieux de Mémoire*<sup>57</sup> in Luxembourg. According to the authors, Elisabeth Boesen and Denis Scuto, current research projects at the university focus more on small and everyday issues of family memory. Family members and close relatives represent important factors for the preservation of collective memory and the formation an intergenerational identity.<sup>58</sup>

On the topic of antisemitism, I can refer to the work of historian Lucien Blau on right-wing extremism in the interwar period which devotes several sub-chapters to Catholic antisemitism, to which he ascribes an important role within “Catholic Integrisim” as well as to social and racial antisemitism. Antisemitism is assigned in his work to the political tendency of right-wing extremism.<sup>59</sup> Arguably, it seems that antisemitism in left and liberal circles, on the other hand, has been inadequately studied so far. Thorsten Fuchshuber examined the case of antisemitic expressions in the context of the 1848 revolution, with recourse to critical theory, as an early

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<sup>54</sup> MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN . *La Présence Juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au Xxe Siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001.

<sup>55</sup> *La spoliation des Biens Juifs au Luxembourg 1940-1945* [online]. Luxembourg, 2009 [Accessed 2021-8-6]. Available from: [https://www.lootedart.com/web\\_images/news/Luxembourg%20Rapport%20final2.pdf](https://www.lootedart.com/web_images/news/Luxembourg%20Rapport%20final2.pdf). RAPPORT FINAL. Commission spéciale pour l'étude des spoliations des biens juifs au Luxembourg pendant les années de guerre 1940-1945. This work was criticized, for example by historian Fabio Spiranelli in his thesis. (SPIRINELLI, Fabio. *Staging the Nation in an Intermediate Space: Cultural Policy in Luxembourg and the State Museums (1918-1974)*. Luxembourg: University of Luxembourg, Esch-sur-Alzette, Luxembourg, 2020. PhD thesis.) p. 18.

<sup>56</sup> After conducting a basic sociological analysis of the Jewish community in Luxemburg and establishing an elementary database of the goods owned by its members before World War II, Landau's research will present the political, legal, administrative, economical and financial mechanisms that lead to their dispossession. This will be followed by a case-study focusing on the art pieces and decorative objects, to shed new light on the German and local actors and the networks in Luxemburg and beyond.

<sup>57</sup> KMEC, Sonja, et al., ed. *Lieux de mémoire au Luxembourg: usages du passé et construction nationale*. Luxembourg: Saint-Paul, 2007.

<sup>58</sup> BOESEN, Elisabeth and Denis SCUTO. Historical Testimony and Social Transformation on Memory Processes in Farmer and Steelworker Families in Luxembourg. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* [online]. 2011, **42**(3), p. 339 [Accessed 2021-3-6]. Available from: doi:DOI:10.3138/jcfs.42.3.339.

<sup>59</sup> BLAU, Lucien. *Histoire de l'extrême-droite au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg au XXe siècle*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Le Phare, 1998.

expression of modern antisemitism. He also developed the critique of antisemitism in a social context in a more general discussion, detached from the Luxembourg context.<sup>60</sup>

An interesting and inspiring project for my research is led by doctoral student Anastasia Badder, who is undertaking an ethnographic project on Jewish culture and education at the University of Luxembourg. Her doctoral thesis is an ethnography of Luxembourg's Liberal Talmud Torah students, their families, and lives. Across the various spaces of their lives, especially Talmud Torah and school, these students encounter multiple meanings of Jewishness that are rooted in different conceptualizations of modernity and its key elements. While all of these spaces and the actors within them figure themselves as progressive and modernist, the aims of these spaces and the conceptual categories underlying them are often in competition, if not contradictory, and the students must learn how to cope with such different, even oppositional, frameworks. This PhD thesis is therefore concerned with understanding the ways Talmud Torah students discover what it means to be and how to be modern, mobile Jews and with better understanding how some of the key elements of modernity are constituted through interaction.

#### ***1.4.2. Czech Republic***

While scholars can work with innumerable autobiographical works of literature of varying quality by surviving Jews,<sup>61</sup> there is significantly less autobiographical information dealing with their descendants. Apart from Alena Heitlinger's academic work, scholars still lack any autobiographical memories of members of the second and third post-war Jewish generations, though my interviews revealed a very interesting space for reflecting on collective memory and adding valuable knowledge to the history of everyday life. Their views of the world through memoirs would be at least partially free of their parents' post-war mental state.

After the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1989, the democratic regime took a great interest in Jewish history and a large number of books and studies (often of varying quality) were published on Jewish topics. The vast majority are publications on Judaism, Jewish traditions and

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<sup>60</sup> FUCHSHUBER, Thorsten and Renée WAGENER. *Émancipation, Écllosion, Persécution: le développement de la communauté juive luxembourgeoise de la Révolution française à la 2e Guerre mondiale*. Luxembourg: EME, 2014.

<sup>61</sup> These memories were published right after the war: (AUŘEDNÍČKOVÁ, Anna. *Tři léta v Terezíně*. Praha: Alois Hynek, 1945).

monuments, as well as several memoirs on the subject of the Holocaust. After November 1989, a blossoming of memoir literature occurred and all sorts of testimonies were published. It is possible to say that witnesses were encouraged as never before to write and publish their memoirs.<sup>62</sup> Witnesses of Jewish descent responded to the demand for knowledge of their destinies. At the same time, it is natural that they adapt to dominant elements and genre tendencies as well as historical narratives. Holocaust survivors, of course, portray their life's destiny through suffering, which is logically dominant in their reasoning. Both their surroundings and themselves observe the victims of racial persecution, which has various effects on them, sometimes of a psychological nature.

Eliševa Baumgarten is one of the first academics to deal with the intergenerational transfer of experiences associated with Judaism and the Holocaust. In her work, she defines several reasons that can lead witnesses to write life statements. Their testimony is meant to serve as a guide for future generations not to go through the same pain. There is also a certain psychotherapeutic necessity – the need to testify from a traumatic experience. Sometimes the motive is to ask family and close relatives for witnesses to share their experiences, etc.<sup>63</sup> Often, multiple motives might be in play concurrently. As for the recorded interviews with witnesses, these are intentionally collected and cataloged in archival databases and collections. In the case of Jewish witnesses, the initiative of the Jewish Museum in Prague is invaluable and priceless. Currently, the collection contains more than 1,750 interviews and is one of the biggest collections of its kind used by researchers in the Czech Republic. Together with the Malach Center<sup>64</sup> providing access to the

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<sup>62</sup> Intimate personal memories can be found in these monographies: (BERNHEIM-FRIEDMAN, Rachel. *Jak jsem přežila*. Praha: G plus G, 2002. ; BROD, Toman. *Ještě že člověk neví, co ho čeká: života běh mezi roky 1929-1989*. Praha: Academia, 2007. ; BONDY, Ruth. *Jakob Edelstein*. Praha: Sefer, 2001. ; STRÁNSKÝ, Oldřich and Teodor MARJANOVIČ. *Není spravedlnosti na zemi*. Středokluky: Zdeněk Susa, 2002).

<sup>63</sup> BAUMGARTEN, Elisheva. As Families Remember: Holocaust Memoirs and their Transmission: Holocaust Memoirs and their Transmission. In: FRANKEL, Jonathan. *Jews and Gender: The Challenge to Hierarchy, Studies in Contemporary Jewry Annual*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 277.

<sup>64</sup> Malach Centre for Visual History in Prague was established provides access to four digital video testimony archives to researchers, educators, students and wide public.

Fortunoff<sup>65</sup> and USC Shoah Foundation databases,<sup>66</sup> the JMP's oral history project is the most important source of historical memory.<sup>67</sup>

Oral history in the Czech lands also has its specialized workplace called COHA (Czech Association of Oral History). This registered association was founded to support and present scientific research and projects led by the method of oral history. It was initiated by oral history researchers at a conference in Sydney in 2006. The aim of the association is to create methodological rules for the use of oral history in scientific research in order to "protect" it from unscientific use. COHA also publishes its own newsletter and maintains its own information web portal.

In my opinion, an important publication analyzing collective memory by using the method of oral history is the publication *Návraty: poválečná rekonstrukce židovských komunit v zemích středovýchodní, jihovýchodní a východní Evropy* (The Returns: The post-war reconstruction of Jewish communities in Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe), which points to a simplistic picture of the end of violence in 1945. The book examines not only the journey of Holocaust survivors, but their surroundings. With the help of more than a hundred interviews in seventeen languages, the authors portray the post-war reality in a natural way.<sup>68</sup>

Moving from sources for oral history to the fundamental publications that have shaped the historical discourse on the Jewish post-war history, it is also necessary to mention several works. Particularly worthy of note is the factual approach to the topic of post-war antisemitism.<sup>69</sup> Moshe Yegar's book introduces the foreign policy between Czechoslovakia and Israel.<sup>70</sup> This work

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<sup>65</sup> Read more: (BRONEC, Jakub. Malach Visual History Center Conference and workshop on the new procedure and the use of the Fortunoff video database. *Marginalia Historica: časopis pro dějiny vzdělanosti a kultury*. 2020, 7(1), p. 164-16).

<sup>66</sup> USC Shoah Foundation. *Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia* [online]. San Francisco (CA): Wikimedia Foundation, 2001 [Accessed 2020-9-19]. Available from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USC\\_Shoah\\_Foundation#cite\\_note-16](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USC_Shoah_Foundation#cite_note-16).

<sup>67</sup> You can read more about the USC Shoah Foundation in the chapter: The concept of IWalk and the use in education.

<sup>68</sup> KRÁLOVÁ, Kateřina and Hana KUBÁTOVÁ, ed. *Návraty: poválečná rekonstrukce židovských komunit v zemích středovýchodní, jihovýchodní a východní Evropy*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2016.

<sup>69</sup> VRZGULOVÁ, Monika and Hana KUBÁTOVÁ. *Podoby antisemitismu v Čechách a na Slovensku ve 20. a 21. století*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2016. ; SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. ; KUBÁTOVÁ, Hana and Jan LÁNÍČEK. *The Jew in Czech and Slovak imagination, 1938-89: antisemitism, the Holocaust, and Zionism*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

<sup>70</sup> YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997.

represents an important source of information, mainly due to the author's extraction of information from lesser-known Israeli archives.

Another fundamental and useful work is an extensive publication by Blanka Soukupová, who released several complex studies on the Jewish community in the Czech lands after the Holocaust.<sup>71</sup> Her latest publication *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti* (Jews in the Czech lands after the Shoah: The identity of injured memory) deals with the complex history of Jews in the post-war Czech lands. Her study links sociology and history, and contains a detailed analysis of the post-war historical periods from the perspective of the Jewish religious community of Prague (PJRC). Her work is considered groundbreaking in terms of a comprehensive elaboration of the Jewish population in Bohemia.<sup>72</sup>

This remarkable book can be complimented by that of Peter Salner, who came to the conclusion that the Jewish community in Slovakia is not in danger of extinction, but of an evolution from Orthodox Judaism to Judaism adapted to Slovak conditions.<sup>73</sup> His work brings to light previously unknown knowledge of the Jewish religious communities in Slovakia after the Second World War. The author used usually-inaccessible archives from the ÚZ ŽNO (Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities in the Slovak Republic) which represent a unique historical source of internal operations and organization. The documents preserve the remnants of Jewish cultural heritage and the Jewish way of life in many places in Slovakia. The author also suggests a new interpretation of the Jewish vision from the internal perspective of the Slovak Jewish community. From foreign literature, I would like to highlight two studies written in the 1980s. Peter Wörster's *Die Juden in den böhmischen Landern nach 1945*,<sup>74</sup> and Kurt Wehle's *The Jews in Bohemia and Moravia: 1945 - 1948*<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. ;SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židovská menšina v Československu: po druhé světové válce: od osvobození k nové totalitě*. Praha: Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2009.

<sup>72</sup> DAMOHORSKÁ, Pavla. Blanka Soukupová: *Židé v českých zemích po šoa*. *Revue církevního práva* [online]. Společnost pro církevní právo, 2017, **23**(67), p. 111-112. [Accessed 2020-02-07]. Available from: <https://www-cccsl-com.ezproxy.js.cuni.cz/search/viewpdf?id=538625>.

<sup>73</sup> SALNER, Peter. *Židia na Slovensku medzi tradíciou a asimiláciou*. Bratislava: Zing Print, 2000.

<sup>74</sup> WÖRSTER, Peter. *Die Juden in den böhmischen Ländern nach 1945: Materialien zu ihrer Geschichte*. Marburg an der Lahn: Johannes-Künzig-Institution, 1982.

<sup>75</sup> WEHLE, Kurt. The Jews in Bohemia and Moravia 1945-1948. In: DAGAN, Avidgor. *The Jews of Czechoslovakia: Historical Studies and Surveys*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America Philadelphia, 1984, **3**, p. 499-530.

Nevertheless, one of the most extensive academic papers is the thesis written by historian Jacob Labendz, *Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia The State And The Jews In Communist Central Europe: The Czech Lands, 1945-1990*. His work introduces the individual phases of the development of the Jewish population in the territory of today's Czech Republic. The work is divided into ten topics elaborating different historical, sociological, and cultural issues, but the entire work holds together very well and, uniquely, it covers the historical development of the Jewish population in Bohemia until 1990.<sup>76</sup>

It is also important to mention the extensive studies on antisemitism in the Czech lands of Kateřina Králová and Jana Svobodová, published in the mid-1990s.<sup>77</sup> In contrast, Historian Kateřina Čapková elaborated the Jewish identity before the Second World War (SWW) in her book *Češi, Němci, Židé?: Národní identita Židů v Čechách 1918 až 1938*,<sup>78</sup> and her latest publication deals with migration policy towards German Jews in the Czech lands after the war.<sup>79</sup>

Meanwhile, Peter Brod captured the main aspects of the post-war development of the Czechoslovak Jewish community. Originally, this was presented as a series of lectures on Jews in Modern History at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in 1996.<sup>80</sup> Petr Bednařík's work<sup>81</sup> provides an excellent analysis of the relationship between Czechs and Jews. In his work, Bednařík analyzed, among other publications, the *Bulletin of Jewish Religious Communities*. His work represents a broad range of opinions from 1945 to 1948 (the author attempted to capture the changes brought about in February 1948, and for this reason the analysis ends in December 1948).

Another important work is a collective monograph *Cizí i blízcí, Židé, literatura, kultura v českých zemích ve 20. století*<sup>82</sup> (Foreigners and loved ones, Jews, literature, culture in the Czech lands in the 20th century) dealing with Jewish cultural traditions in the Czech lands. This extensive

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<sup>76</sup> LABENDZ, Jacob. *Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia the State and the Jews in Communist Central Europe: the Czech Lands, 1945-1990*. St. Louis, Missouri, 2014. Dissertation. Washington University in St. Louis.

<sup>77</sup> SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. ; KRÁLOVÁ, Kateřina and HANA KUBÁTOVÁ, ed. *Návraty: poválečná rekonstrukce židovských komunit v zemích středovýchodní, jihovýchodní a východní Evropy*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2016.

<sup>78</sup> ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina. *Češi, Němci, Židé?: národní identita Židů v Čechách 1918 až 1938*. Praha: Paseka, 2013.

<sup>79</sup> ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina and David RECHTER. *Židé, nebo Němci?* Praha: NLN, 2019.

<sup>80</sup> BROD, Petr. *Židé v poválečném Československu*. In: WEBER, Václav. *Židé v novodobých dějinách: soubor přednášek na FF UK. Seminář východoevropských dějin při Ústavu světových dějin FF UK v Praze*. Praha, 1997. p. 147-162.

<sup>81</sup> BEDNAŘÍK, Petr. *Vztah židů a české společnosti na stránkách českého tisku v letech 1945-1948*. Praha, 2003. Dissertation. Univerzita Karlova, Fakulta sociálních věd.

<sup>82</sup> HOLÝ, Jiří, ed. *Cizí i blízcí: Židé, literatura, kultura v českých zemích ve 20. století*. Praha: Akropolis, 2016.

project edited by Jiří Holý builds on the results of previous research and comprehensively discusses a wide range of views on Jewish cultural topics neglected by scholars before the Velvet Revolution in 1989. The book does not consider cultural memory as a unique source of national culture or ideology, but the authors introduce on more than 1,000 pages a wide range of studies dealing with Jewish cultural history, but there are also several studies dealing with modern anti-Zionism and antisemitism. There are also various publications highlighting Jewish soldiers on the front line of World War II.<sup>83</sup>

Back to the topic of research in the Czech lands, I want to emphasize that I was inspired by the methods of Jan Láníček, who sought to evaluate social phenomena such as nationalism and antisemitism and puts the communist period in a longer historical context to emphasize continuity. It follows from the study of Jan Láníček and Hana Kubatová. The book emphasizes that the Holocaust was excluded from Czech memory after 1945, and my study tries to find out how this fact was perceived by the affected peoples of that time.<sup>84</sup>

An important publication is also a book by historian Petr Halama, who focused on the reflection of the Holocaust in Czech cultural memory. He states that it would be good to supplement his work with interviews of witnesses and compare his archival research with an individual perspective. I made an effort to fill this gap with my PhD thesis.<sup>85</sup>

There is also methodological publication for tutors and teachers *Naši nebo cizí: Židé v českém 20. století* which deals with the alternative perspective of teaching Jewish public history in the Czech Republic.<sup>86</sup> In addition to the book, there is also a website where teachers can find worksheets and workshops for themselves or for students.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> ŠTEFANOVÁ, Alexandra. *Bojovali na všech frontách: vzpomínky židovských vojáků a odbojářů z druhé světové války*. 2. vyd. Praha: Magen, 2011.

<sup>84</sup> KUBÁTOVÁ, Hana and Jan LÁNÍČEK. *The Jew in Czech and Slovak imagination, 1938-89: Antisemitism, the Holocaust, and Zionism*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

<sup>85</sup> HALLAMA, Peter. *Národní hrdinové - židovské oběti: holokaust v české kulturní paměti*. Praha: NLN, 2020. p. 30.

<sup>86</sup> FRANKL, Michal and Julie JENŠOVSKÁ, ed. *Naši nebo cizí?: Židé v českém 20. století*. Praha: Židovské muzeum v Praze - Institut Tereziánské iniciativy, 2013.

<sup>87</sup> *Naši nebo cizí? Židé v českém 20. století*. [online]. Prague: Židovské muzeum v Praze, Institut Tereziánské iniciativy, 2011 [Accessed 2020-9-23]. Available from: <http://www.nasinebocizi.cz/>



## 1.5. Archival sources: Why did I avoid the archives?

During the preparation of the PhD project, I immersed myself in the mapping of archival sources, especially their availability for researchers. In doing so, I found out some important findings. Here are some observations that led me to the decision to use only resources from private archives from individuals who gave me full access to all files. Research in the big archives of the Archive of the Capital City of Prague, the National Archive in Prague, the Ministry of Education and Culture, MŠK 47/VIII, n. folder 58 47 / VIII turned out to be less useful because, in particular, the second archive (department) seems to be historically used up and its historical sources have been used by many professional scholars from many different perspectives.<sup>88</sup>

The regional archives<sup>89</sup> of the Jewish communities in the Czech lands were unavailable to me, because the Jewish authorities responsible for housing the data did not allow me to study confidential and unclassified folders. They appealed to the new GDPR ethical guidelines making work with personal data difficult even if permission to have access to it is granted, I could not investigate archival sources because many regional archives of Jewish communities in the Czech lands have never been processed or indexed, and therefore it was difficult to obtain relevant information from them. Modern history is difficult to trace, and I have not been able to agree with representatives of Jewish communities on more systematic historical research.

In my opinion, the space for researchers is constantly narrowing and I dare say that in some issues it is considerably oversaturated.<sup>90</sup> I therefore limited my processes to oral history, a questionnaire survey, and private archives, which still have the potential to bear interesting testimonies. The situation in Luxembourg is similar. The history of Jews ends here with World

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<sup>88</sup> For example: SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. ; HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. ; LABENDZ, Jacob. *Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia The State and the Jews in Communist Central Europe: The Czech Lands, 1945-1990*. St. Louis, Missouri, 2014. Dissertation. Washington University in St. Louis.

<sup>89</sup> Scholars can find these archives in Liberec, Brno, Ostrava, Ústí nad Labem and Teplice.

<sup>90</sup> Historian Jacob Labendz has also produced very thorough sources from the archives of the Jewish Religious Community of Prague and the Archive of the Jewish Museum in Prague which relate to the life of the Jewish religious community. A number of high-quality works published in recent years on the history of the post-war Jewish community have led me to consider focusing on the subjective perception of the history of the people themselves. Compare: (LABENDZ, Jacob. *Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia The State and the Jews in Communist Central Europe: The Czech Lands, 1945-1990*. St. Louis, Missouri, 2014. ; LABENDZ, Jacob. *Jewish property after 1945 : cultures and economies of ownership, loss, recovery, and transfer*. London: Routledge, 2018).

War II, and although there are a number of publications dealing with post-war history (see The State of Arts) cultural life seems to have disappeared from the archives. The Archives nationales de Luxembourg and its file FD-083 *Consistoire israélite, 1932-1990* (Fonds) contain only a few microfilms relevant to the topic, but these contain predominantly economic information. There are a number of newspaper clippings commenting on the most important cultural and religious changes in the villages. There is also a difficult-to-read component of the personal records of members of the Jewish community and the population of the census and the administration of the property and management of the community.

Inventory Fonds "*Consistoire israélite II*" 1940/1952 contains mainly materials related to the wartime conflict, especially prior to 1943. It deals with emigration and confiscation of property, or financial compensation. This apparent lack of resources sent me to the unprocessed archive of the Jewish consistory in Luxembourg, which is currently in very poor condition and is only available with special permission from the current president of the Jewish consistory, Albert Aflalo. I obtained this permission and received copies of the Bulletin, which are otherwise inaccessible to the public.

The UJGII's (*Union des Jeunes Gens Israélites du Luxembourg*) annual reports are also interesting for further research, but they must undergo a thorough screening before it will be possible to use the information from them for further work. Equally interesting is the modest archive of the synagogue in Esch-sur-Alzette, which also contains all copies of the RMC. This archive is also not available to the public. The information obtained from both closed archives is very sensitive so far, so I finally decided not to use it in my work.

Representatives of Jewish communities urged me to use only anonymized sources, and with the advent of GDPR regulation, this issue became even more complicated; in the end, I decided to use only articles from internal and official community reports that were available to the general Jewish public. However, I want to emphasize that the uncertainty of what I can and cannot use has accompanied me throughout my research. As I worked with witnesses, respondents and archival materials of a personal nature in my research, the entire research had to be approved by the Ethics Committee and a special GDPR Commission at the University of Luxembourg. The commission's decision clearly set out the strict responsibilities for how I must deal with personal materials, questionnaires, interview records and archival sources.

## 2. HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION: JEWISH POST-WAR HISTORY IN LUXEMBOURG AND THE CZECH LANDS

This main chapter introduces the approach of the Luxembourg and Czechoslovak Jewish people to the State of Israel. Subsequent chapters outline matter of antisemitism in post-war Luxembourg and Czechoslovakia along with the unique visit of young Luxembourg Jews to Prague and the Theresienstadt Ghetto.

Luxembourg, for understandable reasons, took an entirely different position on Israel than communist Czechoslovakia did. Luxembourg's Jews had to face completely different issues related to Israel and antisemitism than their Czechoslovak counterparts, it was decided therefore to divide the sections between Luxembourg and the Czech Lands - no effort was made to compare the basically radically different historical development.

Secondary literature and Jewish community bulletins (*Věstník ŽNO* in Czechoslovakia<sup>91</sup> and the *Revue mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (*RMC*),<sup>92</sup> *Kadima*<sup>93</sup> and later the *Bulletin des Communautés Israelites dans Luxembourg*<sup>94</sup>) were used to write the following chapters. Except that, I also used primary sources obtained from private archives in Luxembourg.<sup>95</sup>

The analysis of the periodicals is largely descriptive, no hypotheses or research questions were posed. The results of this effort have a complementary character. In Luxembourg in particular, community magazines have not been widely used in research so far and therefore represent a unique source of historical/sociological information from within the Jewish

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<sup>91</sup> The beginnings of the *Věstník* date back to February 1934, when the first issue was published in the format of a monthly bulletin. As Czechoslovakia was occupied in March 1939, the Nazi regime stopped publication of *Věstník* and introduced the only permitted periodical called the *Židovské Listy*, published by the Jewish Religious Community in Prague and the Zionist Organization. After the war, the magazine was renewed under the title: *Věstníku židovské obce náboženské*. On May 7, 1948, the Bulletin changed its appearance and name, the engraving of the Old-New Synagogue together with the Prague Jewish Town Hall no longer appeared on the title page, and the title was abbreviated to the *ŽNO Bulletin in Prague*. (BRONEC, Jakub. *Analýza měsíčníku Roš chodeš (1990-2015)*. Praha, 2016. Diploma thesis. *Analýza měsíčníku Roš chodeš (1990-2015)*. Praha, 2016. Diploma thesis. Univerzita Karlova. Fakulta sociálních věd. p. 6).

<sup>92</sup> It was irregular non-professional magazine: *Revue mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* published between the years 1951-53.

<sup>93</sup> *Kadima* was non-professional magazine published irregularly by Jewish youth in Luxembourg.

<sup>94</sup> *Bulletin des communautés Israelites du Luxembourg* was an irregular magazine that did not have a professional editorial staff. It was an internal bulletin only for Jewish community members.

<sup>95</sup> At the request of some owners of private archives, I cannot reveal their names.

community. This work was done to compare the findings from the Jewish journals with the data obtained from the survey and interviews. The results facilitate addressing the research question set at the beginning of this project and also serve to help interpret the data from the questionnaire and the interviews<sup>96</sup>

The chapters dedicated to Luxembourg Jewish post-war history demonstrate the efforts of the Luxembourg Jews to establish acceptable relations with the new State of Israel. There is a clear effort not to succumb to pervasive Zionism, but to build mutually beneficial relations for both the Luxembourg diaspora and Israel. There is also a special subchapter highlighting the awareness of young Luxembourg Jews about communist anti-Zionism. An official visit to Czechoslovakia by a group of Luxembourg Jews serves as a unique example of Jewish visitors from Western Europe meeting with their peers in a communist country in the 1980s. The articles indicate that Luxembourg Jews were aware of new modern forms of antisemitism which did not disappear after the war. The purpose of chapters dedicated to Czechoslovak Jewish history is to describe the development of the communist attitudes towards Israel as well as pervasive impact of antisemitism (anti-Zionism).

## **2.1. The Jewish casualties in numbers: Czechoslovakia and Luxembourg**

For many researchers, it is extremely difficult to cover all the victims who were murdered during the war since the available statistics are often imprecise and distorted. According to the data provided by the Council of Jewish Religious Communities and confirmed by Blanka Soukupová in her publication,<sup>97</sup> around 10,000 Jewish people in the Czech lands survived the catastrophe of the war, and approximately 20,000 in Slovak territory. Furthermore, according to what is stated in the text of the Nuremberg Laws, 5,000 Jews survived the genocide in Bohemia and 8,000 in Slovakia. Historical literature states that one-tenth of the Jews from the Czech lands survived the

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<sup>96</sup> The official subjective reflection on Jewish identity, Israel, the home, and antisemitism by the Jewish consistory and / or community was interesting to me to supplement the information from the questionnaire survey and interviews.

<sup>97</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 24-25.

Shoah (after World War II about 15,000 Jews lived in Bohemia and Moravia, including the “optants” of Carpathian Ruthenia).<sup>98</sup>

Regarding this political goal, most of the ethnic Germans and Magyars were deported, and the remaining Jews emigrated. German historian Eva Hahn said that about 40,000 protectorate Jews escaped the final solution of the Jewish question (14,000 people survived in concentration camps, while 26,111 survived in exile). 2,803 people were not deported. In total, 260,000 Czechoslovak Jews were murdered.<sup>99</sup> Slovak ethnologist Peter Salner has said that 11,000 Jews survived in the Slovak Republic – around 9,000 of whom were repatriated. 10,000 people returned from the territory occupied by Hungary. A further 5,000 people left Judaism.<sup>100</sup>

Only a few Jewish communities were completely and fully re-established (the largest in Prague had 2,500-3,000 Jewish members),<sup>101</sup> many of whom were internal migrants from other parts of Czechoslovakia.<sup>102</sup> In the autumn of 1945, there were 27 active communities in Moravia, 23 in Silesia, and 105 in Slovakia.<sup>103</sup> Generally, I can conclude that the number of victims and survivors are considerably imprecise.

The liberation did not ease the suffering of Holocaust survivors. Once the armed conflict had ended, the long-awaited liberation did not miraculously reverse things to where they had been before 1939. The majority of society did not understand the grievance of the ordeal Jews experienced. When they returned home, they often faced hostility, which was occasionally violent (especially in Slovakia).<sup>104</sup> Moreover, over 8,000 Sub Carpathian Jews attempted to find a new home in restored Czechoslovakia, in Bohemia. This process took several years, before the Czech

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<sup>98</sup> PĚKNÝ, Tomáš. *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě*. 2. přeprac. a rozš. vyd. Praha: Sefer, 2001. p. 638.

<sup>99</sup> SCHMIDTOVÁ-HARTMANNOVÁ, Eva. Ztráty československého židovského obyvatelstva 1938–1945. In: *Osud Židů v protektorátu 1939-1945: sborník studií Livie Rothkirchenové, Evy Schmidtové-Hartmannové, Avigdora Dagona*. Praha: Trizonia, 1991, p. 95.

<sup>100</sup> SALNER, Peter. *Židia na Slovensku medzi tradíciou a asimiláciou*. Bratislava: Zing Print, 2000. p.150.

<sup>101</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. Jewish youth activism and institutional response in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s. *East European Jewish Affairs* [online]. 2002, **32**(2), p. 25-42 [Accessed 2020-5-2]. Available from: doi:10.1080/13501670208577973

<sup>102</sup> See also: (WASSERSTEIN, Bernard. *Vanishing diaspora: the Jews in Europe since 1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996; BORSKÝ, Maroš. Bratislavská židovská komunita dnes. In: GÁL, Egon, ed. *Židia dnes: zborník prednášok zo seminára Inštitútu judaistiky FSEV UK v Bratislave, 26. mája 2003*. Bratislava: Inštitút judaistiky Univerzity Komenského, 2003. and PĚKNÝ, Tomáš. *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě*. 2. přeprac. a rozš. vyd. Praha: Sefer, 2001.p. 658).

<sup>103</sup> This number is stated by KÁRNÝ, Miroslav. Lidské ztráty československých židů v letech 1938-1945. *Český časopis historický*. 1991, **89**(3), p. 410-420.

<sup>104</sup> KUBÁTOVÁ, Hana. Teraz alebo nikdy: povojnové protizidovské násilie a väčšinová spoločnosť na Slovensku. *Soudobé dejiny*. 2016, **23**(3), p. 321-346.

authorities approved their residence permits.<sup>105</sup> We must keep in mind that Jews were not considered victims of an exceptional injustice in the immediate aftermath of the war.

Many Jews were not welcomed on their return home. Their homes had been occupied by strangers, looted, or destroyed.<sup>106</sup> They also had to convince the new government of their previous and current loyalty to Czechoslovakia and its people in order to retain their citizenship and avoid deportation, as ‘Hungarians’ or ‘Germans.’<sup>107</sup> For most societies, the Jews were largely an unpleasant reminder of the past, and their presence challenged the newly established status quo.

In the Czech lands, a few Jewish administrative municipalities were reestablished, but their religious authorities had difficulty finding ten adult males to make a minyan. This had a great impact on religious life, which usually involved a rabbi, a *shohet*,<sup>108</sup> a *cantor*,<sup>109</sup> a *heder*,<sup>110</sup> and a *chevra kadisha*.<sup>111</sup><sup>112</sup> The environment of everyday Jewish life was considerably deteriorating in both numbers and religiosity by the late 1950s. The most serious problem that Jewish leaders had to deal with was the sudden prohibition of ritual kosher slaughter by the Slovak Ministry of the Food Industry on July 1, 1954. A similar decision was made three weeks later, on July 20, 1954, in Prague.

The Ministry of Food Industry regulated kosher slaughter based on mutual agreement. In the Czech lands, there was only one *shechita* (ritual butcher) authorized to slaughter animals following strict kosher regulations. The ritual slaughter did not eviscerate animals in Prague and

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<sup>105</sup> ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina, ed. Dilemmas of Minority Politics: Jewish Migrants in Postwar Czechoslovakia and Poland. In: OUZAN, Françoise S. and Manfred GERSTENFELD. *Postwar Jewish Displacement and Rebirth 1945-1967*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, p. 63-75; LÁNÍČEK, Jan. *Arnošt Frischer and the Jewish politics of early 20th-century Europe*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. p. 156-57.

<sup>106</sup> KUBÁTOVÁ, Hana. Teraz alebo nikdy: povojnové protizidovské násilie a väčšinová spoločnosť na Slovensku. *Soudobé dejiny*. 2016, **23**(3), p. 321-346 ; KRÁLOVÁ, Kateřina and Hana KUBÁTOVÁ, ed. *Návraty: poválečná rekonstrukce židovských komunit v zemích středovýchodní, jihovýchodní a východní Evropy*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2016.

<sup>107</sup> LÁNÍČEK, Jan. The Postwar Czech-Jewish Leadership and the Issue of Jewish Emigration from Czechoslovakia (1945-1950). In: OUZAN, Françoise S. and Manfred GERSTENFELD *Postwar Jewish. Displacement and Rebirth 1945-1967*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.p. 80.

<sup>108</sup> A Ritual slaughterer of meat and poultry for human kosher consumption.

<sup>109</sup> Cantors lead worship, officiate at lifecycle events, teach adults and children, run synagogue music programs, and offer pastoral care.

<sup>110</sup> Jewish elementary religious school.

<sup>111</sup> This is a burial organization that involves Jewish men and women who oversee that the bodies of deceased Jews are prepared for burial according to Jewish tradition and are protected from desecration, willful or not, until burial.

<sup>112</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 19.

other cities in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, there were only two ritual canteens in the entire country, in Prague and Košice (Slovak territory).<sup>113</sup>

The situation in Luxembourg was not much better because the Jewish minority in Luxembourg was largely destroyed by Nazi persecution and deportations. While the capital was liberated on September 10, 1944, Jews had little reason to share in the celebrations as many of them had died during deportation and in the camps. Of the 677 people deported from the Grand Duchy, only 50 were among the survivors, forever tormented by dreadful experiences. Entire families disappeared, leaving no relatives behind. To the Jews deported directly from Luxembourg, another 565 victims deported from France or Belgium must be added.<sup>114</sup> Among these, only 25 managed to survive. In total, more than one thousand two hundred people of Jewish faith who had resided in the Grand Duchy in 1940 died during the war.<sup>115</sup>

In the decades following the war, several congregations tried to revive Jewish life in the remaining synagogues, as well as in towns that had previously been home to Jewish communities. However, by the late 1960s, these had all but disappeared, all except for two communities in the most populated areas – Esch-sur-Alzette and Luxembourg City.

According to Renée Wagener, this considerable decline was caused by Jewish believers from Luxembourg staying in other countries, or even other continents, following the end of the war due to the forced deportations or those who fled them.<sup>116</sup> It can be also explained by emigration to Israel, or other countries such as the USA. Some believers also decided to leave the Jewish community because of the Holocaust, while others called for a secularization that was becoming increasingly popular after the war.<sup>117</sup> This decrease in the Jewish population continued until 1960, when it reached only 28.7 percent of its size in 1930, and only 16.5 percent that of 1940. From 1940 to 1960, the number of Luxembourgish Jews decreased by half.

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<sup>113</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 25.

<sup>114</sup> *La spoliation des Biens Juifs au Luxembourg 1940-1945* [online]. Luxembourg, 2009 p. 14. [Accessed 2021-8-6]. Available from: [https://www.lootedart.com/web\\_images/news/Luxembourg%20Rapport%20final2.pdf](https://www.lootedart.com/web_images/news/Luxembourg%20Rapport%20final2.pdf). RAPPORT FINAL. Commission spéciale pour l'étude des spoliations des biens juifs au Luxembourg pendant les années de guerre 1940-1945.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. p. 14.

<sup>116</sup> WAGENER, Renée. *Die jüdische Minderheit in Luxemburg und das Gleichheitsprinzip: Staatsbürgerliche Emanzipation vs. staatliche und gesellschaftliche Praxis vom 19. bis zum Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Hagen, 2017. Dissertation. Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften der FernUniversität in Hagen. p. 801.

<sup>117</sup> The increase of secularization among Jews was also noted for France. (PICHON, Muriel. *Les Français juifs, 1914-1950: récit d'un désenchantement*. Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2009. p. 220-221).

Gradually, the survivors rebuilt their lives after the tragedies of war. However, the Jewish population never reached the same size. In 1947, there were 870 Jews in the Grand Duchy, of whom 487 had Luxembourg citizenship. In 1935, the Jewish population accounted for 1% of the population; 12 years later, Jews accounted for 0.3%. Everything thus had to be rebuilt from scratch.<sup>118</sup>

Since the synagogue in Luxembourg had been destroyed, the first religious services took place in the municipal theater, which served as a temporary place of worship. The first returnees joined the services celebrated by Abraham Joab, a merchant from Lodz, who had mastered the liturgy on his own. The community recovered the rolls of Torah hidden during the war, while a temporary room was set up in the building of the Stock Exchange. Under the presidency of Cerf Israel, the provisional composition of the presbytery was organized.<sup>119</sup> In 1946, the Luxembourg government decided to build a new synagogue to replace the previous one, demolished by order of the Nazis. Charlotte Thyès dedicated her property, which was next to the park on the avenue Monterey, for this purpose. The negotiations resulted in an agreement in 1950 and construction plans were drawn up. The laying of the cornerstone took place on June 12, 1951.

## **2.2. The second Jewish post-war generation and Israel: Friendly reticence and loyalty to Luxembourg**

The Luxembourg government did not promote anti-Zionism or antisemitism – quite the opposite, as Luxembourg was among the 33 countries that voted in favor of the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine on November 29, 1947. De facto recognition followed the Declaration of Independence. De jure, Luxembourg recognized Israel after joining the United Nations (UN) in May 1949. In early 1950, the chairman of the consistory, Edmond Marx, was satisfied that Luxembourg had formally recognized the State of Israel and on January 3<sup>rd</sup> 1950, the first ambassador of Israel was appointed for Belgium and Luxembourg. Since then, Israel has been

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<sup>118</sup> MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011.

<sup>119</sup> LEHRMANN, Charles. *La communauté juive du Luxembourg dans le passé et dans le présent: histoire illustrée*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Impr. Coopérative Luxembourgeoise, 1953. p. 91.



represented by its official ambassador at all official celebrations. Edmond Marx also worked as general consul for Israel in Luxembourg from 1951 until his death.<sup>120</sup>

According to historian Marc Schoentgen, Jews in Luxembourg considered relations with Israel very important and once the State of Israel was established in 1948, the Jewish community closely observed events in the Middle East. At the end of 1947, the Jewish consistory in Luxembourg sent official congratulations by telegram to the Jewish Agency. Since then, the small Luxembourg Jewish community has pursued the struggle for freedom of Israeli Jews in Palestine.<sup>121</sup>

During the period of the so-called Suez crisis, the Luxembourg Jewish consistory sent their representatives to Geneva to participate in the conference on the Israeli political situation. In a November 1956 session, President Edmond Marx gave a speech about Israel's courageous stance against their enemies and expressed his hopes for long-term peace.

Despite their solidarity both with their adherents in Israel and the diaspora, Luxembourg Jews kept a certain internal distance, as there were parishioners within the community who did not share pro-Israeli attitudes and saw the new state with suspicion. Schoentgen submitted reports from various meetings organized in the 1950s that reported on the different attitudes of the consistory officials.<sup>122</sup> For example, in 1953 JCL (Jewish Consistory of Luxembourg) discussed whether to give an official gift in the name of all Jews to the Luxembourg court on the occasion of the Prince's wedding. The lawyer Alex Bonn protested, complaining that Jewish life in Luxembourg was too interwoven with Jewish life in Israel and the community should have kept distance from it. On February 17, 1953, Jewish officials argued over the participation of Jewish representatives in the delegation to Israel. Edmond Marx wished to take part, but a certain number of Jewish representatives were against it and suggested discussing such a political matter with the government first.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 94.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. p. 93.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. p. 94.

<sup>123</sup> MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 95.

Other members of JCL labeled this matter as a “purely Zionist cause” and were against sending official representatives of the consistory.<sup>124</sup> It seems that the Jewish community in Luxembourg struggled with the dilemma of maintaining relations with the State of Israel as religious Jews, without leaning too far politically as Luxembourg Jews. However, based on the archival data, it seems clear that Jewish solidarity, and solidarity with other Jewish adherents in the world, was definitely an accepted norm.

Schoentgen judged that most Jews in the Grand Duchy had much stronger bounds to Luxembourg as a homeland than their religious “homeland” in Israel. However, there was one example of a rabbi who emigrated to Israel and abandoned his office in Luxembourg. Rabbi Joseph Kratzenstein had asked the consistory for permission to take a three-month vacation to collect money for children in Israel on behalf of the Jewish Agricultural Center for Palestine Children, but he was not supported in this and his requested was immediately rejected.<sup>125</sup>

Following this incident, Kratzenstein accused the consistory of “selfishness and hard-heartedness” and officially asked to be dismissed. His proposal was rapidly accepted, as he criticized the leadership of the consistory in an open letter in which he articulated his sacred duty to work and serve in Israel. In this letter, he explicitly stated that he saw himself to be a citizen of the State of Israel and had to obey this call.<sup>126</sup>

This attitude probably was not in line with the views of the majority of Jews living in Luxembourg after the war. Despite having sympathy towards the new country, the Jewish community was firmly rooted in Luxembourg and did not intend to go too far in its commitments to Israel. A very interesting article from Rabbi Charles Lehrmann describes the different attitudes of Luxembourg Jews in the diaspora towards the new state. His argument was unintentionally reflected by members of the Luxembourg Jewish post-war generations.

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<sup>124</sup> When I investigated the files by myself, it is worth mentioning that it is impossible to assess the overall approaches of other Jews in Luxembourg. Schoentgen looked into these archival files: 70 ACI Rapports 1946/60: Sitzung vom 17.4.1947 ; 71 ACI Rapports 1946/60: Sitzung vom 24.3.1948. ; 72 ACI Rapports 1946/60: Sitzung vom 12.2.1953.

<sup>125</sup> MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 94.

<sup>126</sup> MEYER, Alain. *Les Grands rabbins du Luxembourg* [online]. In: Feb 2019, [Accessed 2021-01-22]. Available from: [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwi3htWU36\\_uAhUpBGMBHcKCCbkQFjAAegQIBRAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fsynagogue.lu%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2019%2F02%2FLes-grands-rabbins-Luxembourg.pdf&usg=AOvVaw0rMUozaBNLJMP2x2BxKiQE](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwi3htWU36_uAhUpBGMBHcKCCbkQFjAAegQIBRAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fsynagogue.lu%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2019%2F02%2FLes-grands-rabbins-Luxembourg.pdf&usg=AOvVaw0rMUozaBNLJMP2x2BxKiQE).

*“We must stop thinking negatively about the term "Gola" (i.e. Judaism in the middle of diaspora). Judaism in the world is not simply a "temporary solution" with no intrinsic value. Now, when the Jewish state was finally founded, the word Judaism got a new meaning again. We can regard ourselves as the "colonies" of the mother country of Israel. The colonies always build the mother country and this colonial spirit has to give us inspiration. There is no longer any reason to feel inferior and immature to either the mother country Israel or other countries in Europe or America. This “inferiority” was a product of our being a “minority”. The last generation enhanced its Jewish self-esteem and self-confidence, but some remnants of such weaknesses have remained here and there. We have to overcome it...”<sup>127</sup>*

Charles Lehrmann was also concerned about how threatening extreme nationalism is for both Jews and non-Jews (goyim). He warned against chauvinistic arrogance, and in his opinion Israel should have kept its socialist leadership. *“Despite lasting poverty, there are no beggars, no alcoholism, no lack of education and no prostitution. These precious achievements must not be lost.”<sup>128</sup>* Besides spiritual leadership, he also set goals for Jews in the diaspora who were responsible for enhancing the spiritual interactions between Israel and the diaspora. In the article, Lehrmann also warned against the Americanization of Israel, because he judged that Israel would follow the American political direction. *“European Judaism has an objective to control the balance of spiritual and political powers in Israel.”<sup>129</sup>*

Aside from the article by Charles Lehrmann, the RMC presented interesting proof of the efforts made by the JLC. Its officials attended important meetings of Zionist organizations, addressing questions of emigration to Palestine. During a meeting held in Paris in 1951, representatives of the Zionist Action Committee discussed the critical report on advancement of youth immigration offices in France, Belgium, North Africa and Luxembourg. The reports submitted revealed a serious situation for the religious children in these territories. Representatives of the *Youth Aliyah* made no effort to reduce the number of religious children leaving for Israel. Families are often poorly informed about the rulers, and up-to-date religious regulations related to

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<sup>127</sup> LEHRMANN, Charles. Israel und Diaspora. *Revue mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg (RMC)*. 1952, p. 3.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. p. 4.

the emigration criteria for children.<sup>130</sup> According to the authors of the article, this uncontrolled emigration could easily cause a shortage of religious men in Western Europe. In France, the Central Office of Aliyah for Youth arbitrarily decided to decrease the number of places (from 250 to 150) reserved for Jewish children.<sup>131</sup>

Luxembourg representatives asked the Youth Aliyah not to neglect the traditional spirit and needs of Luxembourg's religious children. All the meeting's participants (including those from Luxembourg) were asked to make a contribution to facilitate the adaptation of thousands of Jewish children that were arriving in the State of Israel.<sup>132</sup> This article shows the uncomfortable task for members of the Luxembourg consistory, which had to allow youngsters to leave Luxembourg, but also had to deal with a decreasing number of young people within community. The fluctuating numbers of Luxembourgish Jewish migration were larger problems than the threats of antizionism from local media. Luxembourg politicians, with only a few exceptions, accepted Israel as a sovereign and fully-fledged partner.

In November 1950, a Dr. Amir, authorized representative of the State of Israel, arrived in Luxembourg to deliver his credentials to Luxembourg's Grand Duchess. He was received with all honors. On this occasion, the chief Rabbi invited him to visit Luxembourg more frequently for the purpose of developing his political and diplomatic activities.<sup>133</sup>

As mentioned above, Luxembourgish Jewish officials attempted to establish closer contacts with the Israeli Jewish community. The aim was to create a firm link between Israel and the Jewish population of Luxembourg. Based on the historical records, the Israeli ambassador accepted all invitations, and in return was offered the possibility of studying at the respected Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the center of spiritual life at that time. He stressed that this should be an imperative duty for every Jew who is aware of the civilizing mission of Jews in the Middle East.<sup>134</sup>

From his point of view, it is important for Jews in the diaspora to allow their children to study, work and live in Israel. He said that only young and eager people could enhance the prestige

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<sup>130</sup> Impression d'un visiteur. *Revue mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg (RMC)*. 1951, p. 4.

<sup>131</sup> These children were travelling to Israel to live unaccompanied by their parents. (Impression d'un visiteur. *Revue mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg (RMC)*. 1951, p. 4.)

<sup>132</sup> Problèmes d'immigration en Israël. (*RMC*). 1951, p. 5.

<sup>133</sup> FISCHER, Eva. Bénédiction d'un bateau. (*RMC*). April 1952, p. 6.

<sup>134</sup> E. J. L. Ambassadeur d'Israël à Luxembourg. (*RMC*). December 1950, p. 6.

of Israel. The entire visit was described in detail in the RMC, in which the author wrote that the speaker's words were warmly applauded. Edmond Marx, President of the Consistory, reacted to the speech by reevaluating the evolution of his attitude towards the Zionist idea. He stressed that this uneasy evolution resulted in a complete adhesion to the State of Israel and a loyal attachment to its great President, Chaim Weizmann.<sup>135</sup> The political environment in Luxembourg was favorable to set up the office of Keren Hayesod<sup>136</sup> or the public collection *Magbit*<sup>137</sup>, chaired by Andre Seligmann. The Jewish Zionist organizations called for "Solidarity with Israel" and attempted to collect as many donations for Israel as possible. Nevertheless, the initial enthusiasm slowly faded and the willingness to financially support the economy of Israel disappeared. Luxembourg Jews faced criticism from the chairmen of NGOs André Seligmann. President of the *Magbit* complained about the tensions between Jews in diaspora and in Israel.

In his opinion, the *Magbit* and other organizations aimed to restore and maintain Zionist spirit among Jewish donors. He also stressed that absurd conflicts could weaken Israel as a whole<sup>138</sup> and agreed that donors have the right to closely control where their money was going to be invested. Seligmann was dissatisfied with the total amount of collected means, saying that Jewish communities of the same size abroad (Liège) were able to collect more money than those from Luxembourg. *"I do not know whether it belongs to the Luxembourg characteristic or whether Zionism has never been embedded in our community, but on the contrary I must say that Israeli mentality got worse a few years ago. It reminds me of the novel "Le chien de Balak" which took place early the 19th century. This history describes the Jewish society as very selfish and harsh."*<sup>139</sup>

Besides analyzing the articles in the RMC, it is also necessary to check a small brochure written by one of the prominent Luxembourg Jews Paul Cerf. His work *Nous vous apportons la paix* (We bring you peace) describes in detail his stay in Israel in the late 1950s. He spent a month and a half in Israel hosted by the international socialist organization called *l'Union Internationale des Jeunesses Socialistes* (IUSY). Cerf described the newly formed state, with all its pros and cons,

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<sup>135</sup> E. J. L. Ambassadeur d'Israel à Luxembourg. (RMC). December 1950, p. 7.

<sup>136</sup> Keren Hayesod – United Israel Appeal is the preeminent worldwide fundraising organization for Israel, which was established in London in 1920 to serve as the fundraising NGO of the Jewish People and the Zionist Movement.

<sup>137</sup> The *Magbit* means "collection" in Hebrew. It is an educational foundation, which funds scholarships in Israel.

<sup>138</sup> He was commenting on the conflict between Teddy Kollek, mayor of Jerusalem, and the chairman of the Jewish Agency concerning the project of the reconstruction of unprivileged districts in Israel. (Interview with André Seligmann. *Kadima*. 1986, (12).

<sup>139</sup> Interview with André Seligmann. *Kadima*. 1986, (12), p. 14.

and also added his political view on the newly established state. He also offered interesting reflections on the Israeli political situation, and was critical of the strong influence of religious political groups on Israeli politics.<sup>140</sup>

*“The influence of the religious party is considerable. And as every time religion gets involved in politics, we experience it! Little good can come from that (religious party) every day. M. Kitron, in an admirable essay devoted to the politico-social panorama of Israel, has outlined this problem very well: “Any ... movement based on spiritual elements is fanatical and aggressive ... In general, the aggressiveness of the religious camp goes far beyond secular militancy and it is only thanks to the coolness and the spirit of compromise of government circles that ... a cultural war has been avoided.”*<sup>141</sup> Based on various sources, he judged that religious leaders turned the economic and social life in the country into a rigid form incompatible with modern life at the time. Cerf also described the role of the Israeli Communist Party, saying that its political power and influence are very low because its main electorate was recruited from the Arab minority, and stated that extremist nationalism had been diverting the party from its former political direction.<sup>142</sup> His political analysis is relatively well-founded and enables a reflection on Israeli-Palestinian relations. The cited work brought a subjective view of the meeting with Israeli political leaders, including the first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion. He also had great admiration for equality in the Israeli army, in which women served together with men, and admired the left-wing and egalitarian sharing of resources in the Kibbutz.<sup>143</sup>

This chapter demonstrates the efforts of the Luxembourg Jews to establish acceptable relations with the new State of Israel. There is a clear effort not to succumb to pervasive Zionism, but to build mutually beneficial relations for both the Luxembourg diaspora and Israel. Articles in community media reveal the Zionist pressure that the Luxembourg community faced in the postwar years. There is also a commendable emphasis on left-wing Israeli politics, from Jewish young people (Paul Cerf) and the rabbinical authorities (Emanuel Bulz and Charles Lehrmann).

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<sup>140</sup> CERF, Paul. *Nous vous apportons la paix : Impressions d'un voyage en Israël*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Imprimerie Coopérative Luxembourgeoise, 1959.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid. p. 8.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid. p. 12-15.

### 2.3. The Luxembourg Jewish third generation: Continuing distance to Israel

Working on this chapter, I have mostly relied on the unique sources produced by the Jewish community itself using primarily the Community journals (*Bulletin de Communautés Juives d'Israelites* and the *Kadima*). I composed this chapter from the authentic accounts of both the Jewish authorities and ordinary members of the Luxembourgish Jewish population.

Young Jews in Luxembourg often struggled personally with their position in terms of Jewish society, the State of Israel, and their belief in God. According to Rabbi Emanuel Bulz, thoughts concerning the independent state may have been the last remaining bond with their Jewishness. To demonstrate what Zionism and the state of Israel mean to young Jews, I quote an extract from an interview with Rabbi Emanuel Bulz.

*“I am convinced that the importance of Israel is well described in the Torah. It is written that Palestine should be taken as a region within the State of Israel. Palestinians should live in this region with no barriers and they should be incorporated into Israeli Jewish society by reeducation. There are strong external pressures and incentives to polarize the relationship. Our youngsters should contribute to this peace by their stable and equal support to both nations.”*<sup>144</sup>

This response to the question of the importance of Israel shows an adamant approach towards the ownership of Palestine's land in the 1970s. Nevertheless, in his opinion, the assimilation has various forms and Jews should not intentionally leave their countries of birth. *“There is good and bad assimilation. Good assimilation is integration. We are emotionally and legitimately bonded to our countries”*<sup>145</sup>. *We want no longer to live in ghettos, but assimilation has to allow us to be different. Different opinion streams of Jewish religion may hinder integration into Israeli society.”* *On the other hand, we must be ready to face difficulties in secularized societies too. But that is what modern life brings to challenge us.”*<sup>146</sup>

After the Six-Day War, Luxembourg's Jewish authorities depicted Israel as a divine law. They perceived Israel as a world center and “a light to other nations” and emphasized the ideological commonalities between the Jews in the world and Jews in Israel. This attitude was reflected by Eric Cohen in his study *The Structure of Attitudes Towards Israel Diaspora Relations*

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<sup>144</sup> KARP Michael. L'entretien avec Emmanuel Bulz. *Kadima*. 1978, (4).

<sup>145</sup> He means countries of birth.

<sup>146</sup> KARP Michael. L'entretien avec Emmanuel Bulz. *Kadima*. 1978, (4).

*Among Diaspora Youth Leaders*. From his point of view, it is worth keeping Jewish religious, cultural and social life within Jewish society in the diaspora; on the other hand, all Jews should keep invaluable bonds with Israel because it shapes their common spiritual values.<sup>147</sup>

Based on other interviews conducted in the *Kadima*, I observed differing opinions on the life of Jews in Luxembourg. Some assumed that it made no sense to live in diaspora, and their bright future lay in Israel. Others concluded that the Aliyah did not liberate Jews from important spiritual problems while they were part of the diaspora.<sup>148</sup>

The articles published in the *Kadima* also bring stories of Jews living in Israeli kibbutzim, and these Jews had an impact on how the youth thought in Luxembourg. Visitors talked about the mission of spiritual leaders who helped them to survive nightmares in the abandoned Israeli desert. These people strengthened the bond between Jews in diaspora and Israeli spiritual leaders who had assisted them by finding their Jewish core. On the contrary, they also raised concerns about young generations, who could have been enchanted by the vision of mysterious Israel and left Luxembourg to go to Palestine. Unlike Czechoslovak Jews, Luxembourg Jews took an opportunity to meet those who left the country for Israel. Those people often repeatedly arrived in Luxembourg to take part in seminars and discussions with youth. Here is a representative example: *“I am a member of the Kibbutz "Lahomei-Haghettaoth" situated 30 km from Haifa. To a certain extent, it is a very special kibbutz, because it has a museum dedicated to J. Katzanelson, one of the greatest poets of extermination. The founders of the kibbutz are all former prisoners of concentration camps. However, we also welcome new families from all over the world. I work mainly for the archives of our museum and I travel a lot. My whole life is devoted to keeping my promise to Katzanelson in the camp. He said to me, "If you stay alive, you have to testify so that no one can deny what happened to us.”*<sup>149</sup>

Kibbutz dwellers also showed their spirit of resistance by keeping their identity in difficult times, and their deeds resounded within Luxembourg’s Jewish community. They often supported their arguments with a good knowledge of the Talmud and Torah. According to them, World War

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<sup>147</sup> COHEN, Erik H. and Gabriel HORENCZYK. The Structure of Attitudes Towards Israel Diaspora Relations Among Diaspora Youth Leaders: An Empirical Analysis. *Journal of Jewish Education* [online]. 21 Aug 2006, **69**(2), p. 83 [Accessed 2020-03-19]. Available from: doi:10.1080/0021624030690208.

<sup>148</sup> KARP, Michael and Serge LASAR. L’entretien avec Miriam Novitch. *Kadima*. 1983, (2).

<sup>149</sup> KARP, Michael and Serge LASAR. L’entretien avec Miriam Novitch. *Kadima*. 1983, (2).



It only served as an accelerator of Zionist ideas. They were convinced that Israel would have been born without the war.<sup>150</sup>

The articles developed a wide range of arguments and some of them seem very peculiar. For example, they reflected the stance of a certain group of Jewish youth who said that the Zionist movement has lost much of its past attraction, and it is necessary to relaunch this process with assured (revolutionary) methods soon. In their opinion, Israel was boring and unattractive place to live.<sup>151</sup> Some even insulted those who, at least hypothetically, considered moving to Israel and criticized the arrogant press releases of Israeli politicians. According to them, all those who wish to visit Israel can buy a one-way flight ticket. If they want to return, they must swim back.<sup>152</sup>

In contrast, these statements can be compared with data collected by an unprofessional questionnaire published in *Kadima* in November 1985. The questionnaire was anonymous and focused on the opinions of Jewish community members on Jewishness and Jewish identity. However, there was no key to identify the social cohorts and the characteristics of the respondents, but it might serve as a guideline for those who are not familiar with the Luxembourgish Jewish society. Based on the date when the research was conducted and the focus of the *Kadima* magazine, I have concluded that the respondents came primarily from the LTJG. Laurent Moysse, one of the former editors conducted the whole questionnaire voluntarily and brought these results.

When the LTJG left Luxembourg, 48 % went to the Promised Land, 33 % did not leave Europe, while 17 % went to the United States. 62 % of respondents were in Israel at least three times, while 18 % have never set foot there. In response to the question regarding what they like most about Luxembourg, 56 % answered that Luxembourg is a safe and politically calm place, 48% felt socially secure, 36 % admired the beauty of the country, and 4% mentioned the factor of Luxembourgish mentality. There is no doubt about their attitude towards Israel. 66 % of the respondents said that they were pro-Israel, 24% were pro-Zionist, and 10 % were neutral.<sup>153</sup>

However, the question of loyalty and Jewish identities did not end with the questionnaire. An important milestone was the pressure to create open and favorable environment in the Jewish

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<sup>150</sup> Le Judaïsme demain..., *Kadima*. 1986, 10.; L'entretien avec M. André Seligmann. *Kadima*. 1986, (12).

<sup>151</sup> The Jewish state lacks street bistros and open restaurants and therefore suffers from an insufficient integration of infrastructure. (Que manque-t-il en Israël? *Kadima*. 1985, (3), p. 4.)

<sup>152</sup> STOLLÉ, Raffi. N'en croyez pas un mot. *Kadima*. 1987, (13 Avril), p. 7.

<sup>153</sup> MOYSE, Laurent. Sondage: Résultats et Commentaires. *Kadima*. 9, 1985, p. 6.

community for young Jews to enable them to freely shape their identity without being oppressed by forced assimilation into Luxembourg society or immigration to Israel.

This might have been why his article “*Renforçons l’unité du peuple juif*” (Reinforce the unity of Jewish people) was published in the *Bulletin des communautés israelites du Luxembourg*. It articulated the need to defend the unity of Jews for maintaining Jewish traditions and religious life. In author’s opinion, older Jews should support the enthusiasm of younger generations to keep their Jewish identity and Jewishness alive. He warned against excessive idealism and universalism, which is tempting for the younger generation, but destructive to the Jewish community as a whole. Jewish parents are obliged to create a framework in which youngsters can realize Jewish religiosity and human needs.<sup>154</sup> He also critically analyzed the question of assimilation and solidarity. “*Another question concerns the relations of the Jewish people with other minorities. Some people judge that after the Holocaust, we should withdraw ourselves into our intellectual ghetto. In my opinion, this would be a disaster, because we have always been universal people. Our prophets and great Jewish revolutionaries always fight for justice, legality and for the rights of minorities. We would betray our fundamental positions and Jewish thoughts over years and our Jewish being itself – the “raison d’être” of Judaism. These tendencies must be suppressed, especially if we want to enable the younger generations to develop their Jewish identity. I hope that young idealism will refuse a Judaism engrossed in itself. Their horizon is wider than ours is and we are obliged to give them a Jewish framework where they can manifest both their Jewishness and humanity.*”<sup>155</sup> This article illustrates the need of unification and motivation for younger Jewish generations in the 1970s, which was urgent enough to get on the pages of the Luxembourg Jewish magazine *Bulletin des communautés israelites du Luxembourg*.

#### **2.4. Antisemitic incidents in Luxembourg between 1945 and the 1990s**

It is not easy to describe the manifestations of antisemitism in post-war Luxembourg because the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg did not pursue an open or covert antisemitic policy. Antisemitism

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<sup>154</sup> Pour l’avenir d’Israël renforçons l’unité du peuple juif. *Bulletin des communautés israelites du Luxembourg*. Luxembourg, 1971, p. 1-2.

<sup>155</sup> Pour l’avenir d’Israël renforçons l’unité du peuple juif. *Bulletin des communautés israelites du Luxembourg*. Luxembourg, 1971, p. 1-2.

often came in the form of local folklore, insulting poems in textbooks and anonymous letters. On the odd occasion, Jewish tombstones were desecrated with swastikas and Nazi slogans. In addition, books and diaries containing elements of aversion towards Jews were also published. The antisemitism of the post-war period in Luxembourg was influenced by several factors: the unimaginable scale of the “industrial” destruction of the Jews by the Nazis; the foundation of the state of Israel; the friendly approach towards Jews from the Catholic Church, especially after the Second Vatican Council; and the ideological struggle between western democracies and Soviet totalitarianism.

Despite these marginal cases of cultural antisemitism,<sup>156</sup> historian Lucien Blau defines Luxembourg post-war antisemitism as the pretext for fighting political liberalism, capitalism and socialism, all of which had been identified as products of Jewish political thoughts in the past. He sees antisemitism as a cheap and powerful weapon for defending cultural hegemony against alien influences. In his opinion, the pre-war Luxembourg generations were raised in an atmosphere of intolerance towards the Jews and Muslims<sup>157</sup>, whereby their ideology was harvested by strengthening social and national cohesion, a ridiculous de-annexationism, and a hateful xenophobia against immigrants, all of which shattered the myth of moderate and good-natured nationalism.

In contrast to Blau’s theory of antisemitism, historian Paul Cerf asserts that practically all forms of open antisemitism disappeared.<sup>158</sup> Contrary to Cerf’s assertion, the Jewish consistory faced several difficulties that involved traces of antisemitism. Shortly after the liberation of Luxembourg, Franz Delvaux published a war diary<sup>159</sup> that he completed writing in September 1944. It was published under the title “*Luxembourg during the Second World War*”. The diary was remarkable in that it openly reflected the author’s anti-Jewish views. Delvaux wrote about, among other things, the implicit need to solve the Jewish question after the war and the need to

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<sup>156</sup> In 1951, the film “*Unsterbliche Geliebte*” was introduced in Esch-sur-Alzette. Harlan's first post-war films led to demonstrations and boycotts in Germany.<sup>156</sup> (MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B’nai Brith, 2001. p. 91.)

<sup>157</sup> BLAU, Lucien. *Histoire de l'extrême-droite au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg au XXe siècle*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Le Phare, 1998. p. 626.

<sup>158</sup> CERF, Paul. De l'antisémitisme au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg. In: *Publications du Centre universitaire de Luxembourg: Séminaire de philosophie*. Luxembourg, 1998, p. 31-42. HARPES, Jean-Paul. *Enquête sur les Droits de l'Homme: La situation au Luxembourg*. Luxembourg: Centre Universitaire de Luxembourg, p. 31-42.

<sup>159</sup> FRANZ, Delvaux. *Luxemburg im Zweiten Weltkriege: (ein Kriegstagebuch) 1940-1944*. Luxembourg: p. Worré-Mertens, 1989.

apply restrictions to Jewish immigrants. He also criticized the “business practices” of the Jews, which were, in his opinion, too avaricious.<sup>160</sup>

Despite the friendly attitude from the side of Luxembourg’s government, extra regulations were imposed on Jews by the administration. The Jewish consistory of Luxembourg observed and noted all obvious anti-Jewish acts and incidents and where necessary protested against all forms of anti-Judaism on behalf of Jews throughout the country. At the beginning of 1947, a legal dispute arose with regards to the tightening of the rules for the slaughtering of animals. These regulations stipulated that “*All animals that are to be slaughtered must be stunned before being bled to death.*”<sup>161</sup> A Jewish delegation protested against two laws, arguing that kosher meat forms one of the most important elements of the Jewish religion. The members of the delegation further argued that religious freedom, as guaranteed under the constitution, would be seriously undermined.

The *Luxemburger Wort* (LW), a leading daily newspaper, also adopted a new attitude and radically cut itself off from its pre-war positions. The newspaper dedicated columns to Judeo-Christian relations and events taking place within the Jewish community in Luxembourg. It also supported the fledgling state of Israel, especially after Stalin’s introduction of an anti-Zionist policy in the Soviet Union in 1953.<sup>162</sup> The LW reported substantively on what was happening in Israel and on the antisemitic actions behind the Iron Curtain. Marc Schoentgen argues that Jews in Luxembourg were informed about the antisemitic trials going on in Czechoslovakia.<sup>163</sup> He also criticized René Urbany.<sup>164</sup> Although Urbany was by no means an antisemite, he, in the opinion of Schoentgen, was guilty of simply reproducing the official narrative from Moscow without analysis

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<sup>160</sup> MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B’nai Brith, 2001. p. 89.

<sup>161</sup> MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B’nai Brith, 2001. p. 90.

<sup>162</sup> CERF, Paul. De l’antisémitisme au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg. In: *Publications du Centre universitaire de Luxembourg: Séminaire de philosophie*. Luxembourg, 1998. ; HARPES, Jean-Paul. *La situation au Luxembourg* Luxembourg: Centre Universitaire de Luxembourg, 1998. p. 40.

<sup>163</sup> In 1952/53 the last Stalinist trials took place in the Soviet Union and the CSSR, in which mainly Jewish functionaries and intellectuals were accused. The communist newspaper vom Letzeburger Vollek castigated the “bourgeois and socialist press” in Luxembourg, rejected the accusation of antisemitism and stressed that it was about Zionist agents who were on trial in Moscow and Prague. (MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B’nai Brith, 2001. p. 92-93).

<sup>164</sup> René Urbany was a Luxembourgian journalist and politician. Since 1946, he worked as an editor at KP-Zentralorgan Zeitung vom Lëtzeburger Vollek and was a director of the printing company COPE (Coopérative Ouvrière de Presse et d’Editions). (KPL gedenkt Dominique und René Urbany. *Kommunistische Partei Luxemburgs Parti Communiste Luxembourgeois* [online]. Luxembourg: Kommunistische Partei Luxemburgs Parti Communiste Luxembourgeois, 2016, [Accessed 2020-8-27]. Available from: <https://herpet.net/spip.php?article247>).

or criticism.<sup>165</sup> This indicates that media in Luxembourg were closely observing developments behind the Iron Curtain. In contrast, the communist daily, *Zeitung vum Letzebuenger Vollék*, completely espoused the Soviet line, faithfully reproducing Moscow's theses.<sup>166</sup> Like Jews in Czechoslovakia, the Jews in Luxembourg also had to face antisemitism in culture such as movies even though this form of antisemitism came mainly from neighboring states rather than being produced by Luxembourg producers.

Journalist and historian Laurent Moyse describes Luxembourg's post-war society as one that was more secular and willing to live in peace with Jews.<sup>167</sup> This was reflected in the fact that only a few marginal incidents occurred. For example, in 1949, the international Jewish community was intimidated by the film *Oliver Twist*<sup>168</sup> directed by David Leans. The fact that movies by the controversial director Veit Harlan could be screened in Luxembourg only a few years after the war is remarkable. Veit Harlan was infamous for his antisemitic defamatory film "*Jud Süß*" made for the Nazi propaganda machine.<sup>169</sup>

Describing manifestations of antisemitism in a country like Luxembourg in the second half of 20th century is not an easy task for any researcher. Scholars have to deal with the lack of secondary and primary resources. Until recently,<sup>170</sup> there were no complex studies mapping the intensity and form of antisemitism in Luxembourg society. The researched period contains only

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<sup>165</sup> ACI 1946/1960: meetings on December 8, 1947 and September 16, 1948. In the minutes of the consistory, Palestine is mentioned for the first time on July 22, 1947. (TREPP, Leo. *Die Juden : Volk, Geschichte, Religion*. Hamburg: Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1998. p. 178-179).

<sup>166</sup> WAGENER, Renée. *Die jüdische Minderheit in Luxemburg und das Gleichheitsprinzip: Staatsbürgerliche Emanzipation vs. staatliche und gesellschaftliche Praxis vom 19. bis zum Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Hagen, 2017. Dissertation. Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften der FernUniversität in Hagen. p. 886.

<sup>167</sup> MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*, Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 237.

<sup>168</sup> The movie caused controversy, especially in the USA and Germany, due to alleged antisemitic tendencies and could therefore only be watched in a censored version. Once the film came to Luxembourg, the Jewish consistory began protesting with the intention of prohibiting its screening, even though some members of the Jewish community did not consider the movie to be offensive. Ultimately, the protests were unsuccessful and the film was screened in Luxembourg without any further restrictions. (MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 91.)

<sup>169</sup> MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 91.

<sup>170</sup> A group of professionals and enthusiasts set up a working group RIAL (Recherche et information sur l'antisémitisme au Luxembourg) in 2017. The aim of this group is to prevent and fight against all forms of antisemitism, including radical anti-Zionism - going far beyond the legitimate criticism of a government's policy - and contemporary forms of antisemitism. The working group also takes action against manifestations of racism and all forms of discrimination. The RIAL regularly publishes reports on antisemitism in Luxembourg (First issued in 2017).

fragments of information concerning antisemitic manifestations and these are mentioned only marginally in published academic works. The whole issue can be summarized by a short conclusion in one of the EUMC<sup>171</sup> reports monitoring manifestations of antisemitism in the EU.

*“Representatives of the Jewish community, politicians, NGOs and experts are unanimous in affirming that since the end of WWII, Luxembourg has been free of antisemitic phenomenon. The absence of right-wing groups and parties, the strong stance of the Government in condemning antisemitism, the absence of an antisemitic press, and the favorable economic situation are factors which may explain this situation, as well as the presence of a number of campaigns providing information and education against racism and antisemitism.”*<sup>172</sup>

However, there is no fundamental study that reflects on antisemitism from the perspective of ordinary Jews. There have only been a few attempts by scholars to partly analyze rare antisemitic incidents in Luxembourg after the war. However, some Jews in Luxembourg soon came to realize that the destiny of the Luxembourgish diaspora was intertwined with the fate of Israel. Based on the articles in *Bulletin*, it is obvious they noticed an imminent danger, in terms of potential antisemitic elements, and began acting quickly to stir up other adherents to stand by Israel. However, it should be noted that all judgements of the political developments in the Middle East were rather subjective. *“Our role includes acting to prevent disasters. The long and harmful way in which the Jews have experienced persecution, pogroms and massacres is not over yet. Once all diplomatic efforts stop and have been suppressed by the blackmail of Arabs, the threat to Israel's existence considerably increases. Anti-Zionism represents a main branch of the old school of antisemitism. Fortunately, nowadays, the Jewish people have a state that protects them, the protection of which antisemitic forces fight tirelessly to destroy. Remember those horrible years when it was easy to kill Jews with sticks in Ukraine, when Jews were made to undress and dig their own graves before being shot in Lithuania, and when it was easy to make rabbis run on all fours and burn their beards.”*<sup>173</sup>

The author of this text, Beate Klarsfeld, warned that Europe would soon become an important battlefield, one in which the fate of Israel would be decided. Her urgent voice was strong

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<sup>171</sup> European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia.

<sup>172</sup> *Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002-2003: Based on Information by the National Focal Points of the EUMC-RAXEN Information Network* [online], 2004. Vienna: Eumc European Monitoring Centre. p. 135.

<sup>173</sup> KLARSFELD, Beata. Vous serez juges sur vos actes, *Bulletin*, 1975.

enough that even *Luxembourg Bulletin des communautés Israelites du Luxembourg* printed her message to inform Luxembourg Jews about the role of the State of Israel.

In her opinion, the Jewish diaspora could not remain impartial and indifferent to the conflict. She radically said to young Jews, “*You will be judged by your deeds, either your children will pay homage to your generation for courageously helping Israel or they will condemn your shameful collective resignation.*”<sup>174</sup> Her text resounded within the community and a few LTJG narrators said that antisemitism posed a collective threat to them. “*We cannot think that antisemitism is just a matter for halachic Jews. It concerns all Jews. Eventually, Jews and non-Jews suffer from the same agony.*”<sup>175</sup>

#### ***2.4.1. Luxembourg's Jewish youth in Czechoslovakia: First meeting with communist antisemitism***

This subchapter briefly describes the visit to Czechoslovakia in May 1985. The visit brought together Jewish youth in Luxembourg and Czechoslovakia. Young Jews from Luxembourg were given the opportunity to travel beyond the Iron Curtain to personally experience the Communists’ true approach towards Jewry. In May 1985, the European Union of Jewish Students organized an excursion for Jewish and non-Jewish students to the internment camps of Mauthausen and Theresienstadt. The trip concluded with a seminar in Strasbourg, where a delegation of five from Luxembourg joined the group to discuss the Holocaust and its consequences. The high point of the week was a joint session with Jewish leaders at the World Jewish Congress. The group also visited Czechoslovakia, which the participants from Luxembourg remembered as not being easy to get to. The quoted article below summarizes this unique excursion in detail.

*“Despite the unprecedented opening of the Czech Embassy in Brussels on Sunday morning to obtain visas, getting through the Czech border proved a long and boring procedure because the authorities did not want the students to go as planned to Theresienstadt. Instead, as far as can be established, they wanted them to go to the State Jewish Museum in Prague, the ghetto and Lidice. Maram Stern, the EUJS president, dug his heels in, however, and the students did go to Theresienstadt, despite the unscheduled presence of a Czech “state guide”, who had a*

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<sup>174</sup> KLARFELD, Beata. Vous serez juges sur vos actes, *Bulletin*, 1975.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

*disconcerting habit of getting the directions wrong hourly and maintaining that we were not going to the camp but to "the little town of Terezin". Theresienstadt was different from Mauthausen for many reasons, not least of which was that it had already been a prison for 200 years before the Nazis. The group was shown the prison cell of Gavrilo Princip, the Serb whose assassination of Arch-Duke Ferdinand began the First World War, proving that misery was well established there before 1940. When it became the largest camp in Czechoslovakia, the Nazis used this "model camp" for the visit in the summer of 1941 of the International Red Cross. Sitting in the former SS cinema, the group was shown a bizarre film made by the Nazis for the Red Cross in which smiling Jews played football or laughed and talked. Theresienstadt is divided into two parts: the "political" camp, and the crematorium and Jewish camp which leads from the Jewish ghetto. In the buildings of the ghetto today, the Czechs have now established their own military barracks. The EUJS group was alone in going to the Jewish side, although there were hundreds of schoolchildren on the political side, and once again, the recitation of the figures of death ceased to have any meaning that one could think about other than to ask why. Another camp, another Caddish, but this time no tears - just anger on the part of some of the Jewish students with the figures that were being quoted. "It's a whitewash," said Linzi Brand and Andy Cook from the National Union of Students. They found it hard to accept that the figures quoted by the Czech guide were high enough in terms of Jewish deaths. And Andy Waxman from the British students, said: "Theresienstadt has been preserved as a historical monument and turned from one barracks into another." "The Czechs seem to want to deny that people died because of antisemitism," said Andy Cook. And then, in Lidice, an object lesson in humility, which did not go unnoticed by the non-Jewish members of the group. It was unfortunate that Lidice was presented to the group solely by the Czech guide, rather than with an explanation by the EUJS organizers. It was too easy for Lidice to be dismissed as Soviet propaganda. But although there was a wreath laying ceremony at Lidice too, not everyone attended. Laila Orvomaa, a Finnish Jewish student said: "How can we expect that people will understand our Holocaust if we don't pay respect to their Holocaust." By far the most pertinent comment came from a Luxembourg student who asked: "Why do we expect young people, non-Jewish people, to react better when our own students do not go to seminars on the Holocaust?" One student explained how she had been told that she "wallowed in the Holocaust" in order "to excuse Israel's atrocities". Another said that racism was presented as being only anti-black, while antisemitism was taboo, or the almost tangible closing of ranks when one of the Christian*



*Democrats asked if what Israel was doing to the Palestinians was not a form of political racism.*<sup>176</sup>”

This excerpt clearly illustrates the state of mind of the Luxembourg young Jews, who, in contrast with their parents, got an opportunity to visit Czechoslovakia and other countries behind the Iron Curtain. Based on the text, it is evident that young Jewish students from Europe had to face typical Communist attitudes and propaganda. When I spoke to Maram Stern,<sup>177</sup> he remembered that every movement of the Jewish group had to be approved by the Communist authorities and that “professional” guides were assigned to the international group to observe their every movement. *“It was like in contemporary North Korea, we were closely surveilled and could not move anywhere without special permission. The excursion to Theresienstadt was just a masquerade and we experienced Communism’s unspoken antisemitism in person.*<sup>178</sup>”

The StB in Czechoslovakia considered the organization of similar "western" visits to be high-risk. Concerns were aroused by visits to various western religious and ethnic minorities, which, according to historian Jacob Labendz, had the potential to exacerbate and inappropriately influence the socialist thinking of Czechoslovak Jewish youth. Suspensions intensified in the late 1980s because the StB assumed that many Jews had close ties to dissident circles both in Czechoslovakia and in the West. The StB’s political assignment was therefore to prevent similar visits as much as possible, and the Church Affairs Department of the Ministry of Education often effectively attacked the WJC and accused it of spreading western propaganda. This resulted in a cooling of the cooperation developed in the 1960s, when tensions had eased.<sup>179</sup>

Based on the articles published in *Kadima*, it is possible to conclude that Luxembourg Jewish youth were deeply engaged in international and local programs fighting so-called new antisemitism. Journalists encouraged their peers to take an interest in international affairs and political acts responsible for forming international policy against Israel.<sup>180</sup> A large number of

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<sup>176</sup> To see to remember, (scanned article), *Kadima*. 1985, (8), non-paged.

<sup>177</sup> Maram Stern was the Executive Vice President of the World Jewish Congress. He also worked as a Deputy CEO for Diplomacy (2013-2019) and Deputy Secretary General (1996-2013). Stern is also responsible for WJC participation in inter-religious dialogue and consultations with the Christian churches and other faiths. (Maram Stern Executive Vice President. *World Jewish Congress* [online]. World Jewish Congress [cit. 2021-8-27]. Available from: <https://www.worldjewishcongress.org/he/bio/maram-stern>).

<sup>178</sup> Interview Maram Stern, Brussel, 5. 5. 2018. (A man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>179</sup> LABENDZ, Jacob. *Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia the State and the Jews in Communist Central Europe: The Czech Lands, 1945-1990*. St. Louis, Missouri. 2014. Dissertation. Washington University in St. Louis. p. 538-539.

<sup>180</sup> WOLF, Bernard. Reflexion sur le judaïsme. *Kadima*. 1985, (8).

Jewish youngsters also took part in official manifestations against Nazism e.g. in Bitburg, showing their bonds with Luxembourg society.<sup>181</sup> The articles analyzed in *Kadima* leave the impression that important Jewish persons viewed the deplorability of antisemitism and anti-Zionism with equal measure and implicitly condemned all kinds of antisemitism from right and left radicals. On the other hand, when reading *Kadima*,<sup>182</sup> it is also easy to find caricatures mocking Arabs or Muslims and nourishing the myth that Palestinians use their children, women and elders as living shields.<sup>183</sup>

In the article, “*Le judaïsme demain*” (Tomorrow’s Judaism), the author describes the Arab-Israeli conflict with all its implications with regards to the double political standards shown towards Israel and double allegiance to Jews living in the diaspora. It is clear evidence that Jewish youngsters in Luxembourg are aware of the hidden antisemitism disguised behind the political criticism of Israel. Within this context, some felt pressure to defend their loyalty, origin and motivations. “*A Jew is always called to answer “Who is he/she?” Every generation has challenged the Jews! “Who are you?” “Why aren’t you like everyone else?” “What do you want?” With the existence of the state of Israel, the issue has become more aggressive. Jews are summoned to “choose” to explain the nature of their solidarity with other Jews around the world, whoever they are. “Why are you a united community?” “If war were to break out between Luxembourg (for example) and Israel, which side would you be on?” “Between the interests of Israel and that of your country, which would you choose?”*”<sup>184</sup>

The purpose of this subchapter is to highlight the awareness of young Luxembourg Jews about communist anti-Zionism. An official visit to Czechoslovakia by a group of Jewish people serves as a unique example of how Jewish visitors from Western Europe reflected on meetings with their peers from the communist countries in the 1980s. The articles also indicate that Luxembourg Jews were aware of emerging forms of antisemitism which did not disappear after the war.

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<sup>181</sup> KARP, Michael. Manifestation in Bitburg. *Kadima*. 1985, (8).

<sup>182</sup> Entretien avec Claude Marx. *Kadima*. 1985, (9), p. 16.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid. p. 21.

<sup>184</sup> Interview with E. Bulz. *Kadima*. 1986, (10), p. 22.

## 2.5. Czech lands: post-war development of relations with Israel and forms of antisemitism in Czechoslovakia

Due to its geographical location, Czechoslovakia served as a kind of transit area in the first post-war years. As part of the famous operation *Bricha* (Escape) carried out by the Jewish underground army in Palestine, many Jews were illegally transported from Eastern Europe to Palestine, which was closed by the British Mandate Offices for Jewish Immigration. In July of 1946, the Czechoslovak government, led by Klement Gottwald<sup>185</sup>, decided to grant the movement legal status as an organization to rescue Shoah survivors.<sup>186</sup> However, even then there was a problem, particularly in regard to administration and property. The Jews did not want to leave the remnants of their families and the property that had been returned to them after the war. Requests for legal travel took months, and frustration among asylum seekers escalated.<sup>187</sup>

Czechoslovak support of the military group *Haganah*,<sup>188</sup> and subsequently of the regular army of the State of Israel, was manifested in political favor towards the new state. The Communists had a vested interest in supporting the Zionist efforts to establish an independent Jewish state in Palestine, as this would guarantee foreign Jews remaining in Czechoslovakia the ability to leave the country. The February communist political cleansings did not affect the domestic Zionist organizations, nor their intense activities. The well-known multilateral military support in favor of Israel did not cease when the Communists got into power.

The *Věstník ŽNO* reflected the influence of the Soviet Union as desirable for all countries in the Middle East. According to the article, Israel should not forget that the CCCP helped to defend their country and the prize was very high. In some articles, there is also a criticism of the Israeli press, which, according to the *Věstník ŽNO* does not pay enough attention and, on the contrary, lies to the system about conditions in the Soviet Union.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Klement Gottwald was a communist politician and prominent leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1929 until his death in 1953. He was appointed to General Secretary and performed his duties until 1945, before becoming the first leader of Communist Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1953.

<sup>186</sup> YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 68-70.

<sup>187</sup> JIRÁSEK, Zdeněk. *Československá poúnorová emigrace a počátky exilu*. Brno: Prius, 1999. p. 25-45.

<sup>188</sup> It was a Zionist military organization gathering most of the Jews in Palestine (1920 to 1948).

<sup>189</sup> FURNBERG, Louis. *Přítel a nepřítel. Věstník Židovské obce náboženské v Praze*. 1948, 10(24).

At this time, however, Zionism is not yet a pejorative term, and therefore the authors of the journal articles could use it to criticize states hostile to Israel. The *Věstník ŽNO* describes the international anti-Zionist policy as inexcusable and describes the neighbors of the Israeli state as Arab reactionaries. Criticism is also directed against the still "dissatisfied" Palestinians, who, according to the authors, are easily subject to anti-Semitic propaganda, which, however, is mainly the fault of the British self-government.<sup>190</sup>

The *Věstník ŽNO* also closely followed the communist government's statements toward political developments in Israel. These often short notices were published almost every week and were intended to inform readers of the communist Party's firm belief in the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

In May 1948, a comprehensive article on the founding of the State of Israel was published in *Věstník ŽNO*. It is pure Communist Party propaganda. There are five photographs on the first page, featuring Soviet communist nobility J. V. Stalin, Andrei Gromyko and V. M. Molotov. They are accompanied by photographs by Vladimir Clementis, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Czechoslovak Government, and Klement Gotwald, Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Government.<sup>191</sup>

And what about post-war antisemitism in the Czech lands? At the very beginning, it did not occur much in first years after the war with the exception of Slovakia.<sup>192</sup> Historian Blanka Soukupová states that the first phase of post-war antisemitism can be characterized as slanderous. The forms of slander were dominated by the stereotype of the indestructible Jew, rumors within Czech society of leaky gas chambers, the strange range of enemy weapons, the higher number of returnees than deportees, as well as allegations of Jewish responsibility for the Munich catastrophe.

Besides the pogroms on Slovak territory, the Jewish minority in Czechoslovakia had to face a lack of tolerance and trust from the side of Czechoslovaks. Once it was clear that the German

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<sup>190</sup>Krise v táboře arabských reakcionářů. *Věstník Židovské obce náboženské v Praze*. 1948, **10**(24). unpagued.

<sup>191</sup> Zasloužili se o židovský stát. *Věstník Židovské obce náboženské v Praze*. 1948, **10**(22). unpagued.

<sup>192</sup> Although the pogroms occurred mainly on Slovak territory, in Topoľčany (1945), Prešov (1945) and Bratislava (1946), they had a major impact on the Jews' feelings and mindset in the Czech lands. The fact that the wave of violence erupted on Slovak soil was not surprising. The impulse for the pogrom in Topoľčany came from Slovak clerical circles and from former members of the Slovak People's Party. No attempts at "denazification" were made in the Slovak part of the restored republic and former members of Hlinka's guards were able to successfully infiltrate the state administration. The regretful incident also stemmed from a lack of food supplies in the Slovak territory, with the Czech lands unable to meet Slovak demand. (KAMENEC, Ivan. Protizidovský pogrom v Topoľčanoch v septembri 1945. *Studia Historica Nitriensia*. 2000, **8**(1), p. 85-99.).

army would lose the war, the theme of the post-war order in Czechoslovakia began to resound among Czechoslovaks. Suddenly, the potential “threat” of the Jews return emerged and became urgent. The anticipated defeat of the Germans led to the conclusion that Jewish property<sup>193</sup> would become again available.<sup>194</sup> The returning Jews not only had to deal with the trauma of the concentration camps, but also had to face persecution by the government and their neighbors, who often refused to return their confiscated property. According to Blanka Soukupová, the Jews again became a dangerous foreign element, which supposedly *Hungarianized* and *Germanized* the Czechoslovak population. She describes the forms popular, slanderous antisemitism took: holes in gas chambers and the peculiar inaccuracy of enemy assaults on Jews.<sup>195</sup>

Historian Helena Krejčová inferred from this relativization that post-war antisemitism in Czechoslovakia was an antisemitism of “bad conscience.” She draws attention to the argumentation used based on the traditional antisemitic stereotypes of the Jewish Germanizer and the Jewish parasite.<sup>196</sup> From the Jewish perspective, the secretary of the CCJRC, Kurt Wehle, characterized Czechoslovak post-war antisemitism as remnants of fascist and reactionary ideology.<sup>197</sup>

### **2.5.1. Changing attitudes to Israel and emerging antisemitism among communist politicians**

The State of Israel, proclaimed on 14 May 1948 in Tel Aviv, was recognized by the Czechoslovak Government on 19<sup>th</sup> May 1948 *per rollam* and its interim government *de jure*. The first Israeli ambassador in Prague, Ehud Avriel, officially applied for permission to move the Czechoslovak Jewish population to Israel on 15 November 1948.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Restitution was only possible on the condition of Czechoslovak citizenship. However, the authorities did not know how to proceed in the case of those people who declared themselves to be of German, Hungarian or Jewish nationality in 1930. The second official Czechoslovak census took place on December 1, 1930 (STANĚK, Tomáš. *Němečtí Židé v Československu 1945–1948. Dějiny a současnost*. 1991, **13**(5), p. 42-46).

<sup>194</sup> Read more: (JANČÍK, Drahomír, Eduard KUBŮ and Jan KUKLÍK. *"Arizace" a restituce židovského majetku v českých zemích (1939-2000)*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2003).

<sup>195</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židovská menšina v Československu: po druhé světové válce od osvobození k nové totalitě*. Praha: Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2009. p. 75.

<sup>196</sup> KREJČOVÁ, Helena. Český a slovenský antisemitismus 1945-1948. In: *Stránkami soudobých dějin*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1993, p. 158-172.

<sup>197</sup> WEHLE, Kurt. „Jednou větou o Topolčanech.“ *Věstník*. 1945, **8**(3), p. 21.

<sup>198</sup> Read more: (BULÍNOVÁ, Marie. *Československo a Izrael v letech 1945-1956: dokumenty*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AVČR, 1993. p. 253-258).

How does *Věstník ŽNO* react to this event? There are mostly articles that celebrate the rise of Israel as a democratic and socialist state. An interesting interpretation from the authors of most articles is that the greatest enemy is not the Palestinians or other Arab countries, but the British and Western capitalism. For example, the visit of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, Mikunis, who arrived on an official visit to Prague, is monitored in detail on the press pages. He emphasized in several speeches that the Anglo-American imperialists were to blame for all the conflicts and religious strife.<sup>199</sup>

However, the support of the Zionist movement from the Czechoslovak government did not last long. Two fundamental things changed: the pragmatic intention allowing Jewish survivors to leave the state ceased, and the political turnaround between the USSR and the USA in the early 50s. At the height of the geopolitical bipolarization of the world, the Jewish state did not end up in Moscow's sphere of power as a Soviet satellite, but rather in Washington's.

After February 1948, a massive emigration wave began before the communists managed to get the borders under control.<sup>200</sup> The emigrants headed to any destination where they might be able to obtain a visa. Transports organized to Israel were the last legal chance to leave the country. Once the borders were definitively shut, mostly irreligious Jewish people who regarded themselves as Czechoslovaks continued to remain in the country. In many cases, these were mostly old and solitary individuals unwanted by other states, religious communists, Stalinists, and those who failed to flee in time. Many families remained divided for long periods of time. Initially, most emigrants hoped to meet their relatives when they settled down in their new homeland.<sup>201</sup>

Historical literature indicates that the communist authorities closely monitored all Israel-related activities among Jews in Prague from the 1950s onwards. For this purpose and with relatively large amount of attention from politicians, the Union of Czechoslovak-Israeli Friendship

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<sup>199</sup> Generální tajemník KS Izraele Mikunis v Praze. *Věstník Židovské obce náboženské v Praze*. 1948, 10(26). unpagued.

<sup>200</sup> The Communist Party established the Action Committees within Jewish municipalities after February 25, 1948. The aim was to deprive unwanted people of power. Jewish officials involved in restitution cases or in blocking the nationalization of Jewish property had to flee the country within a few days. The local leaders of foreign humanitarian organizations (JDC or EZRA) had to do the same. Those who remained were gradually arrested and imprisoned. (Read more: ŠMOK, Martin. Každý žid je sionista a každý sionista je špion! *Paměť a dějiny*. 2011, 5(4), p. 29-39).

<sup>201</sup> Ibid. p. 31-32.

was founded in September 1948.<sup>202</sup> Communist anti-Zionism worked as a consistent explanation of the Jewish question to communist functionaries. During the culmination of the emigration of Czechoslovak Jews in March 1949, journal editors were forced to keep in mind the “official” condemnation of Israel as a state of Western capitalists.

However, the Communists were not the only threat to Israel, there was also a special group the so-called Jewish Communists, who openly criticized Israeli politics from the perspective of Jewish community. Czech historian Jana Svobodová asserts that the Communists, and especially Jewish Communists,<sup>203</sup> were traditionally skeptical about Zionism and their actions and attitudes manifested deep-rooted anti-Jewish prejudices. The inclination to assimilate could have affected the perception of Zionists as those who did not want to divest from Judaism, and continued to act in the spirit of a “*despicable*” Jewish mentality. Scholars find such an attitude to the Zionist at left-wing fractions, essentially based on Marxism that sought to shape the communization of society in the Jewish country in a certain way.<sup>204</sup>

The best way to demonstrate the level of anti-Zionism among high-ranking Czechoslovak politicians is to consider several passages from political speeches made by Klement Gottwald<sup>205</sup> and Václav Kopecký<sup>206</sup>, top representatives of communist power in Czechoslovakia. Both adopted most of their arguments and schemes concerning Zionism during the political trial with Rudolf Slánský and his anti-state conspiracy center.<sup>207</sup> The precise formulation of anti-Zionism and its

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<sup>202</sup> See more: (SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. p. 22-23).

<sup>203</sup> This positive approach may stem from Zionist Marxism in relation to “Borochovism.” Intellectual Ber Borochov based his theory on Labor Zionism, continuing Syrkin’s work. Borochov enhanced the need to combine two competitive theories, Zionism and socialism. He believed in ideals of universal popular safety concentrated into worldwide Socialism. (ZOUPLNA, Jan. *Od jišuvu k Izraeli: formování izraelských mocenských elit 1919-1949*. Praha: Libri, 2007. p. 131.)

<sup>204</sup> SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. p. 24-30.

<sup>205</sup> You can read further information on this politician here: (SKILLING, Gordon. Gottwald and the Bolshevization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1929-1939). *Slavic Review*.1961, **20**(4), p. 641-655.

<sup>206</sup> “Kopecký was a Czechoslovak Communist politician. A high-ranking member of the party since the interwar era, he spent World War II in Moscow and served as minister of culture and information in the postwar government. He was noted for his antisemitic statements, criticizing Jews for Zionism and cosmopolitanism. He also stage-managed the Slánský trial.” Václav Kopecký, 2001-. In: *Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia* [online]. San Francisco (CA): Wikimedia Foundation [Accessed 2021-03-06]. Available from: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki?curid=63375349> ; Read more: (CHURÁŇ, Milan. *Kdo byl kdo v našich dějinách ve 20. století*. 2 vyd. Praha: Libri, 1998. p. 340).

<sup>207</sup> This trial was organized against the Leadership of the Anti-State Conspiracy Centre, and reportedly headed by Rudolf Slánský. This trial is well known because of antisemitic affairs, as 14 Jewish communists were condemned to very severe punishments, including the death penalty. Among those arrested were many high-ranking officials. First Secretary of the KSČ Rudolf Slánský was the alleged leader of the conspirators.

subsequent articulation was developed based on the materials collected. All activities in favor of a Jewish state, such as voluntary military support and Jewish emigration in 1948 and 1949, were officially banned and punished.

It was important for Czechoslovak Communists to distinguish in public between anti-Zionism and antisemitism. The official stance was that Jewish origin does not directly equate to Zionism: Klement Gottwald noted “*Does this mean that a person of Jewish origin is one and the same as a Zionist? It doesn't! The social class is decisive, as well as a relationship to a native country and devotion to work for socialism. Again, only the political past of each person must be taken into account.*”<sup>208</sup> Communist politicians claimed that benefits could have been abused by Zionists because they made Jews into favored victims to gain extra compensation for their families. Communists emphasized the anti-Zionist pressure incited by imaginary press campaigns.<sup>209</sup> These campaigns targeted at Jewish Holocaust survivors who were subjected to political interrogation, as requested by the revolutionary ideology.<sup>210</sup>

Jewish authorities succumbed to the communist pressure and used the Jewish Journal (*Věstník ŽNO*) to dissociate themselves from Zionist ideas. In January 1947, Jewish official Viktor Lederer reviewed the international and domestic successes of the Czech Jewish movement. On this occasion, he stated that Czech Jews recognized the philanthropic character of Zionism, but strongly rejected it as a political program.<sup>211</sup>

The constant communist search for the internal enemy affected those who had contacts in the West because they began to be surveyed by StB after 1948.<sup>212</sup> According to Alena Heitlinger, the fear of antisemitism also played an important role for Jewish families that had some typically Jewish features, or played roles in society that were considered to be of Jewish origin (doctors, lawyers, etc.). Jewish parents therefore hid their Jewish origin from their descendants who may have otherwise learned of their Jewish origins through insults and swearing.<sup>213</sup> This instinct for staying safe and hidden in the diaspora dates back to the Roman times, though the situation became

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<sup>208</sup> KAPLAN, Karel. *Zpráva o zavraždění generálního tajemníka*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1992. p. 242.

<sup>209</sup> KAPLAN, Karel and Pavel KOSATÍK. *Gottwaldovi muži*. Praha: Paseka, 2004. p. 238.

<sup>210</sup> ŠMOK, Martin. Každý žid je sionista a každý sionista je špion! *Paměť a dějiny*. 2011, 5(4), p. 29-30.

<sup>211</sup> LEDERER, Viktor. Jubilejní vzpomínání. *Věstník*. 1947, 9(2), p. 15.

<sup>212</sup> Read more: (ŠMOK, Martin. *Through the labyrinth of normalization: the Jewish community as a mirror for the majority society*. Prague: Jewish Museum, 2017.)

<sup>213</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 84.



aggravated with advent of communist antisemitism in Eastern Europe and “New antisemitism” in the West. This type of behavior seems tightly interwoven with the political situation in the Middle East.

The turning point in the way of informing about Israeli policy is also evident on the pages of the *Věstník ŽNO*, where the issue of Israel lagged behind and almost disappeared during the 1950s. An informational embargo was imposed on Israel and, if any articles came out, they concerned the unhappy political, security or economic situation in Israel. The guilty were always Western capitalist states, which, according to the authors, incited various skirmishes between Israeli and Palestinian factions.<sup>214</sup>

Regardless of communist animosity towards Zionist ideas, the State of Israel consistently sought to make contact with local Jewish communities and synagogue congregations. In the same year, one of the employees of the Israeli embassy was deported for alleged sabotage. The state prevented the eviction of Jews to Israel, and even placed the Israeli embassy under surveillance.<sup>215</sup> Meetings organized by the official Israeli economic delegation in Prague in 1957 resulted in a series of failures. All cultural relations with Israel were also broken. Subsequently, members of municipalities and synagogue corps began to be arrested on suspicion of contact with the embassy.

For example, Rabbi Bernard Farkaš was convicted in 1957 of illegal contact with the Israeli embassy.<sup>216</sup> At the CCJRC meeting in 1957, the Council Committee decided to accept no gifts from the Israeli embassy, as packages of sweets and religious literature had been sent by the embassy as gifts to Jewish religious communities. According to Blanka Soukupová, it is difficult to determine whether this was done to not worsen the position of the community, or out of fear of losing their function.<sup>217</sup>

Based on the research done by Blanka Soukupová and Jacob Labendz, it is evident that Israel tried to distribute at least “intellectual presents” to certain people from the Czechoslovak Jewish community. The Council of Czech Jewish Religious Communities (CCJRC) rejoined the action, while also distancing themselves in an official statement addressed to the Israeli embassy.

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<sup>214</sup> Stát Izrael, malá země velkých problémů. *Věstník ŽNO*, roč. 12. č. 48. upaged.

<sup>215</sup> YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 175.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid. p. 174-175.

<sup>217</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 508.

There is a strong likelihood that they did so by means of the secret services.<sup>218</sup> This uncompromising stance towards Israel remained until the 1960s, when it merely melted away. According to reports, members of the Israeli embassy's office took every opportunity to contact Jewish clergy.<sup>219</sup>

With regard to the then anti-Israel politics, the Israeli embassy raised several complaints. During the Shoah Memorial in Terezín, the *Věstník* called Yehuda Nassie, the Israeli ambassador, “a guest from Israel.” He sharply objected to this designation, stating that he was an official diplomat of the Israeli state. According to Nassie, this humiliating approach offended all Israeli officials.<sup>220</sup>

As previously mentioned, in the 1960s there was a certain warming of international political relations. However, very soon the church's policy towards the State of Israel returned to common socialistic lines. Deterioration of the relationship between Moscow and Israel occurred in June 1967, after the third Arab-Israeli (Six-Day) War<sup>221</sup> and in Czechoslovakia, it resulted in withdrawing stamps with Jewish themes from circulation. All contacts with foreign Jewish organizations were banned and interrupted, and a new wave of vandalism in Jewish cemeteries occurred.<sup>222</sup> On June 10, 1967, President Antonín Novotný gave an anti-Israel speech at the memorial to the victims of Nazism in the obliterated village of Lidice, close to Prague. On the same day, the Czechoslovak government interrupted all diplomatic relations with Israel.<sup>223</sup>

The Czechoslovak authorities subsequently reinforced the anti-Israel campaign, along with other countries in Eastern Europe.<sup>224</sup> This tense environment doomed to failure the idea of getting a rabbi from Israel to work and live in Prague. The communist authorities considered Israel the

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<sup>218</sup> Read more: (SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016; LABENDZ, Jacob. *Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia The State and the Jews in Communist Central Europe: The Czech Lands, 1945-1990*. St. Louis, Missouri. 2014. Dissertation. Washington University in St. Louis.; ŠMOK, Martin. Každý žid je sionista a každý sionista je špion! *Paměť a dějiny*. 2011, 5(4). p. 35-39).

<sup>219</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 508.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid. p. 171.

<sup>221</sup> SACHAR, Howard Morley. *Dějiny státu Izrael*. Praha: Regia, 1999. p. 491.

<sup>222</sup> YEGAR, Moshe, 1997. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 177-178.

<sup>223</sup> SACHAR, Howard Morley. *Dějiny státu Izrael*. Praha: Regia, 1999. p. 550-551.

<sup>224</sup> Antisemitism (anti-Zionism) first afflicted communist Jews not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in the whole of Eastern Europe, and then Jews working in areas of social life. (HAUMANN, Heiko. *Dějiny východních Židů*. Olomouc: Votobia, 1997.p. 193).

world's Jewish headquarters, connecting other Jewish communities in the diaspora where Zionists strengthened Jewish nationalism, especially in socialist countries.

During the Six Day War in the summer of 1967, Czech Jewish consciousness definitively shifted in favor of Israel. There were voices among Jewish representatives, strongly supported by the Czechoslovak intellectual community and ordinary members of Jewish communities that urged Jewish representatives to demonstrate open support of Israel. However, the Czechoslovak press office used only sources that favored Israel's enemies.<sup>225</sup>

In 1968, the ongoing process of democratic revival in Czechoslovakia encouraged Jewish youth, especially (CZSJG), to identify and view Israel as a Jewish country. They saw it primarily as the cradle of Judaism, as a space for Jewish remembrance and a voluntarily chosen homeland for Jews. It was a promised land for all Shoah survivors and anti-fascists who came there after the Shoah, a state to be protected by world powers. The CCJRC announced that they would never agree to the destruction of Israel and its extermination. In an article published in the *Věstník ŽNO*, they wrote that Israel is “the cradle of our religion” and a shelter for all Jewish brothers and sisters who survived the horrors of the Shoah.<sup>226</sup>

## **2.6. Czechoslovak Jews and their relationship towards Israel during the epoch of “anti-Zionist Normalization”<sup>227</sup>”**

The third Jewish generation, born 1969-1989, grew up during a period that is generally called “*Normalization*”. This period was characterized by a strong tightening of bureaucratic screws after the Prague Spring in 1968. Despite protests, the program of political liberalization was gone. On 21<sup>st</sup> August 1968, the army of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact members invaded Czechoslovakia to suppress the liberal reforms made during the so-called Prague Spring in the first half of 1968. Communist officials again launched a strongly anti-Zionist campaign provoked by

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<sup>225</sup> YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 177.

<sup>226</sup> Ústřední organizace židů v Československé republice zaujímají stanovisko k procesu demokratické obrody. *Věstník*. 1968, **30**(4), p. 1.

<sup>227</sup> “*In the history of Czechoslovakia, normalization is a name commonly given to the period following the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and up to the glasnost era of liberalization that began in the Soviet Union and its neighboring nations in 1987. It was characterized by a restoration of the conditions prevailing before the Prague Spring reform period and the subsequent preservation of the new status quo.*” (FAWN, Rick and Jiří HOCHMAN. *Historical Dictionary of the Czech State*. Lanham: Scarecrow, 1998. p. 173-174).

the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1967. Israel's victory in the Six-day War in 1967 caused the growth of anti-Zionism in the Soviet Union and its satellites.

As historian Howard Sachar noted, Soviet foreign policy could not accept its defeat in the Middle East.<sup>228</sup> In 1969, when Chief Rabbi Richard Feder died, the Jewish minority lost a respected and influential member. His successor, Ervin Šalamon, who had studied in London, preferred to leave Czechoslovakia.<sup>229</sup> The defeat of the Prague Spring resulted in a numerical reduction of the community. According to journalist Petr Brod, approximately 6,000 Jews left Czechoslovakia in 1968-1969.<sup>230</sup>

In addition, Communists found support for their anti-Zionist policy in the UN resolution adopted on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1975<sup>231</sup>, which stated that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination. Some authors noted that scorn for Israel exacerbated the great cynicism towards the memory of the Shoah.<sup>232</sup> The deteriorating political relations with Israel caused that Israeli citizens were not allowed to travel to Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak state began providing military assistance to Arab states in the Middle East.

Journalist Peter Brod characterized the anti-Zionism during the Normalization (post Prague Spring period) as an official campaign led by Gustav Husák's<sup>233</sup> regime. In his analysis, several professional historians<sup>234</sup> actively participated in the defamation campaign.<sup>235</sup> At that time, the Shoah's crimes were deliberately suppressed. Some media, for example *The Tribuna* and *Rudé Právo* (the Red Truth), the *Pravda* (the Truth) and the *Život strany* (*The Life of Communist party*),

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<sup>228</sup> SACHAR, Howard Morley. *Dějiny státu Izrael*. Praha: Regia, 1999. p. 551.

<sup>229</sup> BROD, Petr. Židé v poválečném Československu. In: WEBER, Václav. *Židé v novodobých dějinách: soubor přednášek na FF UK*. Praha, 1997, p. 160.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid. 149.

<sup>231</sup> This resolution was revoked in 1991 with UN General Assembly Resolution 46/86. See more: *260 General Assembly Resolution 46-86- Revocation of Resolution 3379- 16, 11-12, 1988-1992* [online] [Accessed 2020-04-11]. Available from: <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/mfadocuments/yearbook8/pages/260%20general%20assembly%20resolution%2046-86-%20revocation.aspx>.

<sup>232</sup> YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 184-185.

<sup>233</sup> "Gustáv Husák was a Slovak communist politician who served as the long-term First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from 1969 to 1987 and the president of Czechoslovakia from 1975 to 1989. His rule is known as the period of the so-called "Normalization" after the Prague Spring." (Gustáv Husák, 2001-. In: *Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia* [online]. San Francisco (CA): Wikimedia Foundation [Accessed 2021-03-06]. Available from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gust%C3%A1v\\_Hus%C3%A1k](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gust%C3%A1v_Hus%C3%A1k).

<sup>234</sup> For example: Václav Král and František J. Kolár.

<sup>235</sup> BROD, Petr: Židé v poválečném Československu. In: WEBER, Václav. *Židé v novodobých dějinách: soubor přednášek na FF UK*. Praha, 1997, p. 156-157.

played a key role in creating an anti-Zionist atmosphere, often concealed as a fight against cosmopolitanism. Zionism was marked as an instrument of counter-revolution.

Jana Svobodová pointed out that Alexei Pludek's novels (*Vabank, The Enemy of Atlantis*) during this period also consist of anti-Zionist insinuations. The propaganda sought to defame Jewish politicians for alleged efforts to undermine communist ideology.<sup>236</sup> At the time, many Jews ceased to attend celebrations organized by Jewish communities and retired from Jewish public life because they did not want to draw attention to themselves.

The text of the Script of the College of the State Security (StB) summarized “permanent and unchanging values”, the rejection of all anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary acts, and the immediate destruction of internal enemies, including Zionists.<sup>237</sup> However, the character of antisemitism changed and the communist regime began to base itself more on a detailed record of persons of Jewish origin. In addition, the ecclesiastical policy of the state observed Jewish institutions to recognize their collaboration with Israel,<sup>238</sup> which, as Soukupová writes, represented an unwelcome foreign influence for her. After Moscow severed diplomatic ties with Israel in 1967, anti-Zionism intensified.<sup>239</sup>

General paranoia and schizophrenia about a lurking enemy negatively affected the minds of the generation. Historian Jana Svobodová highlights the contradiction between the propaganda that severely criticized the destructive influence of Jewish intellectuals (František Kriegel, Eduard Goldstucker or Eugen Löbl) and the great lengths to which Communist officials went to give the impression that Czechoslovakia was struggling with only a handful of Zionist enemies. Only very few Jews left in any leading positions by the late 1970s.<sup>240</sup>

She also defines the Communist regime of the 1970s as officially anti-Zionist and latent antisemitic, but without the extraordinary excesses that would infringe on the Communist anti-humanity ethos. She suggests that the regime, while following the anti-Zionist doctrine, lost its

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236 Read more: (SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. p. 59, 60-61, 200).

237 Security Services Archive, Script of the College of the State Security Service, 1977. coll. Orders, Bulletins, Service Aids - RV, inv. 413 - Fight against Zionism and its agencies.

238 They primarily investigated the Israeli embassy in Prague.

239 SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. 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 nation. *Lidé města*. 2011, **13**(2). p. 252.

240 SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. p. 51.

emotional charge and ability to act from the 1950s onwards, putting forward only phrases and slogans. In summary, the author states that antisemitism during the period of normalization was based on three aspects: 1) there is no Jewish question in Czechoslovakia; 2) there is no antisemitism in Czechoslovakia; 3) the Jews are responsible for everything.<sup>241</sup> These statements can be supplemented by the conclusions of the work of historian Ondřej Koutek, who systematically devoted himself to the development of the activities of a specialized unit of the StB, the so-called Zionist Department. The Prague headquarters gradually began to create a new unit volume called the REGIONAL<sup>242</sup> - Zionist Movement in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.<sup>243</sup>

Svobodová also analyzed two extensive reports issued in the months following the publication of Charter 77, the author deals with the similarities between the Zionist movement and Trotskyism, describing Zionists as the best organized anti-Communist forces. The author continues suggesting that antisemitism is useful and beneficial to the Jews because it frees them from the Zionist shackles.<sup>244</sup>

According to Tomáš Pěkný, the Communist ideology went against human rights and civil rights, including the very elementary right to life of the ideologically demonized Jews. The representatives also saw the elements of antisemitism in other aspects of official Communist propaganda. For example, the closure of the Spanish synagogue due to technical issues, which was only repaired in late 1989.<sup>245</sup> Communist tactics of Jewish oblivion caused a number of Jewish institutions to be closed to the public such as official Jewish cultural and religious centers. The library at the State Jewish Museum in Prague was only opened partially and very rarely to the

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241 SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994, p. 58.

242 This organization was in charge of creating the lists of Czechoslovak citizens corresponding to this definition bore the code name "PAVOUK" (SPIDER). The last data on the scope of "Spider" dates back to 1988. At that time, the central file contained information on 9,300 persons of Jewish faith and origin. A total of 615 persons were included in the secondary register "SPIDER – support". An estimated 20,000 people were processed as part of "Spider" during the period 1972–1989. The StB led two main long-term secret campaigns focused on members of Jewish communities. The first was named "RADA" (COUNCIL), the aim of which was to influence the composition of the supreme body of all Jewish communities in the Czech lands, namely the Council of Jewish Religious Communities (CCJRC). The second was named "GENERACE" (GENERATION), the aim of which was to observe the activities of young Jews and their friends, in particular descendants of Jewish representatives on the CCJRC, right up to the fall of the Communist regime. (KOUTEK, Ondřej. Akce „Pavouk“: evidování židovského obyvatelstva Státní bezpečností za normalizace. *Paměť a dějiny*. 2017, 9(1), p. 40-54).

243 KOUTEK, Ondřej. Akce „Pavouk“: evidování židovského obyvatelstva Státní bezpečností za normalizace. *Paměť a dějiny*. 2017, 9(1), p. 40-54.

244 DOBEŠ, Karel. Sionismus, nástroj kontrarevoluce. *Život strany*. 1970, (6).

245 PĚKNÝ, Tomáš. Jeden z dokumentů : před 30 lety byla vyhlášena Charta 77. *Roš chodeš*. 2011, 69(4), p. 3.

public. The historically significant former archive of the CCJRC had not been cataloged and classified and remained inaccessible until the Velvet Revolution. Some archival collections relating to the Holocaust were available only to specially selected individuals.

The anti-Zionist propaganda during the period of normalization was based on ideological arguments and benefited from existing anti-Jewish prejudices. However, this did not make the whole of Czechoslovak society accept this form of artificial antisemitism introduced on the back of and in the guise of anti-Zionism. The beginning of the 1980s was increasingly affected by the formal acceptance of the suggested phrases, slogans and lessons, as well as the growing distrust and immunity from any propaganda from official sources. The group slowly transformed into a “silent majority”, which passively and with no interest took over the political solutions to domestic and foreign issues. The Communist authorities could not make the Jewish question go away, but could prevent it from being heard audibly and clearly. Thus, Communist propaganda, including its antisemitic elements worked with diminishing returns after 1968.

The Communist regime endeavored to diminish the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia, without the possibility of forming a new generation with a clearly defined Jewish identity. The aim was for it to die out in a natural way. In pursuit of these goals, the normalization regime revived efforts to compile files on all the people in Czechoslovakia identified as Jewish on the basis of Nazi racial laws. In keeping with the practice of the 1950s, the Communists preferred to use the term “person of Jewish descent” to describe those who were persecuted by the Nazis, rather than “non-Aryans”. Unfortunately, this approach has left considerable footprints in all post-Soviet countries, for example, in Poland. According to some scholars, the antisemitism in latent form survives in Polish society and it is deeply rooted among non-Jewish public.<sup>246</sup>

### 3. THEORETICAL CONCEPTS APPLIED TO JEWISH GENERATIONS IN LUXEMBOURG AND THE CZECH LANDS

The following chapters introduce different approaches to create a theoretical framework with concepts for further reflection on the collected empirical researched data. The first chapter seeks

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<sup>246</sup> RESZKE, Katka. *Return of the Jew: Identity Narratives of the Third Post-Holocaust Generation of Jews in Poland* [online]. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2019, p. 175-176 [Accessed 2021-5-23]. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unilu-ebooks/reader.action?docID=3110504>.

to investigate the transformation of modern Jewish identities and Jewishness over the post-war Jewish generations. It contains basic approaches to understanding identity, it also looks at what it means to be a Jew in Luxembourg and in the Czech Lands. The issue of Jewish uprooting after World War II and the question of authenticity are addressed. The subsequent chapter focuses on different perspectives of the concept of “thick” and “thin” Jewish identity according to Liebman.<sup>247</sup> Liebman’s theory depicts Jewish identity as multidimensional, influenced by many factors such as culture and politics. On the issue of plural identities, the concept of collective memory is also briefly introduced, together with the theory of the sustainability of collective memory within the Jewish family.

Subsequent chapters are devoted to the issue of Israel and the home. They are divided according to the concepts later used in the analysis of the results of interviews and questionnaires. For the Czech cohorts there exist several secondary literature sources useful for examining these attitudes, however there is limited literature discussing the attitudes of the Jewish community in Luxembourg regarding Israel. Therefore in examining this issue in Luxembourg the study relies heavily on information published by international (non-Luxembourgian) scholars. This did not preclude a meaningful analysis and comparison of the data from both countries. These same sources were used in writing the subchapters devoted to home and Israel, where different theoretical concepts have the same interpretive framework for both groups of research participants. The chapter deals with the theories investigating relationship between diasporic Jews and the homeland and seeks to define why some of them do not see their home in Israel.

The last chapters are devoted to the issue of antisemitism, prejudice and stereotypes. It includes a number of subsections devoted to the classification of most typical stereotypes and prejudices regarding Jewish people, and to current forms of antisemitism. So-called “new antisemitism” is described and discussed along with the roots of the communist era anti-Zionism which first appeared in the Czech Lands during the era of Stalin.

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<sup>247</sup> His theory has been described in detail in the separate chapter: Multidimensional Jewish identities: Liebman’s “Thick” and “Thin” identities influenced by Jewish family surroundings.



### 3.1. Modern Jewish Identity: Different approaches to authenticity and conversion

To concisely address the question of modern Jewish identity seems almost impossible in an international context. It is therefore essential to choose only a limited range of factors which can be analyzed by one researcher with limited time. Thus, this chapter introduces several international theoretical concepts applicable to Jewish cohorts in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. These primarily deal with the matter of uprooting, self-identity and types of authenticity in terms of liberal and orthodox Jewish communities in Prague and Luxembourg City.

The search for one's own identity is a basic human need dating back to ancient times, and is evoked and motivated by uncertainties and doubts about oneself and the larger unknown world. Doubts about personal identity often emerge when individuals leave their principal group and are confronted with the world outside.<sup>248</sup> In this sense, the search for identity can indicate an effort to belong to a group chosen by oneself. According to sociologist Yael Tamir, individual identity is based not only on the question of “Who am I?”, but also “Where do I come from?” and “Where are my roots?” One problem of contemporary discourse is the term “roots” and its meaning – the question being, what do these “roots” consist of? The state of uncertainty about personal identity differs from not being rooted and being *uprooted*.<sup>249</sup> It also contains many external and internal factors destroying or building the roots over Jewish generations.

Arguably, the absence of roots in the post-war generations of Jews is even stronger than in other religious and ethnic minorities which were not affected by such a horrendous war experience. Not only had the Holocaust destroyed the fragile line of Judaism in most families, but the post-war environment in both Central and Western Europe did not provide an adequate backdrop for the development of minority ethnic or religious identity. This theory is supported by Élénor Hamar who said that one can create a very strong sense of one's own identity due to the apparent absence of roots. The origins of the inconsistency of Jewish identities can be seen both in the form of

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<sup>248</sup> Shaye Cohen elaborates on the development of Jewishness through the history in his work. (COHEN, Shaye. *The beginnings of Jewishness: boundaries, varieties, uncertainties*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

<sup>249</sup> Depending on Jewish population, it means that intergenerational heritage along with collective memory has been broken by the Holocaust and young Jews lost the bond with their Jewish roots. (TAMIR, Yael. Some thoughts regarding the phrase: “A quest for identity”. In: KASHTI, Yitzhak, ed. *A quest for identity: post war biographies*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1996, p. 21-50.)

disputes between individual Jewish communities, which are an example of maintaining integrity at the level of the local community, and in disputes within the community.<sup>250</sup>

Besides the Jewish roots and integrity, it is important to define what “Jewish being” means in the PhD project. Readers should take into account that within the Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish communities, the classification is relatively broad and vaguely limited. Only those who meet certain conditions prescribed by *Halacha* (The collective body of Jewish religious laws derived from the Torah.) can be regarded as “true Jews.” Although, there are many people who practice some form of Judaism without recognition from the Jewish community. It means that the liberal and orthodox environment of Luxembourg and in Prague meant that Czech and Luxembourg Jews were never a homogeneous assembly united by a common religious ideology. Both places allowed a wide range of people of different ethnic backgrounds to practice Judaism.

From a historical point of view, Czech and Luxembourg Jewish “being” can be defined, for example, through the work of Marie Zahradníková. She analyzed the connection between national bonds to particular country (Czech lands) and Judaism and she assessed different tensions between these categories. It means that Jews in the Czech lands and Luxembourg constantly flirted with the question of assimilation and loyalty into society. They tried to find peaceful way to become loyal citizens without merging with the Christian majority.<sup>251</sup>

Being a Czech Jew or feeling that one is a Czech Jew was also a question of accepting Czech and Slovak history. The same was true for some Luxembourg Jews. For some, being a Jew was a historical fact, and for many, being a Czech was an effort to secure a peaceful and non-conflicting life. Similarly, there are Luxembourg Jews who have historically fought foreign influences inside and outside the community. As Luxembourg's Rabbi Emanuel Bulz noted in one of the interviews. *“Being a Jew in Luxembourg means having strong self-discipline and the ability to resist external events. Internal strife is exhausting and influencing younger generations. Some are losing motivation and strength to continue believing in Judaism. That is the biggest danger for our community.”*<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> HAMAR, Eleonóra. *Vyprávěná židovství: o narativní konstrukci druhogeneračních židovských identit*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), 2008. p. 73.

<sup>251</sup> KLUSÁKOVÁ, Luďa. *“We” & “the Others”*: *Modern European Societies in Search of Identity*. Prague: Charles University, 2004. p. 191.

<sup>252</sup> KARP, Michael. L’entretien avec Emmanuel Bulz. *Kadima*. 1978, (4).

Since the two diasporic communities examined do not have the issue of a clear definition of Judaism clearly resolved, the rules of *Halacha* in were not strictly followed in deciding on the “Jewishness” of research participants and therefore their eligibility to be included in the study. Rather it was decided to consider both Jews as defined by the halachas and those who inherited Jewish blood only in the paternal line. Then there are the converts who have gone through one of the widely recognized conversions (orthodox, reformist or liberal *giyur*). The support for the decision to include converts in this study is the functioning of a number of liberal municipalities, groupings and consistories both in the Czech Republic and in Luxembourg. In general, therefore, a Jew in the present work can be classified as a person who professes the Jewish religion - Judaism. This group includes both converts and those who have been Jewish since birth. This includes those who are believers but also individuals who profess Judaism, for example, through family or cultural connections.

However, there is a group of people who feel Jewish and often behave as Jews that cannot be overlooked.<sup>253</sup> They attend services in liberal synagogues, observe kashrut, speak Hebrew, and celebrate Jewish holidays. However, they are not officially recognized by any Jewish organization. These individuals were not included in this research, primarily for methodological reasons. Firstly, data regarding them is poorly classified and categorized, but more importantly it is not possible to examine such individuals in the context of a Jewish family or organization.

It is said that the biggest problem for Jews seeking their identity after the war was the lack of interaction between Jewish communities and individuals, especially due to the politically divided Europe, interrupted by the Iron Curtain. In relation to the Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish communities, the second post-war generation began the process of building their Jewish identity in many cases from scratch. Many members had only one Jewish parent, so their Judaism was automatically relegated to a secondary influence in their identity. In some cases, the third

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<sup>253</sup> According to Ruth Ellen Gruber, whether the absence of ethnic origin or conversion is possible for a person to identify as a Jew. It has shown that identification can be automatically taken from the family environment, or there can be a delay between learning about their Jewish origin and identifying with the Jewish people (that is, the ethnic side of Judaism). She judges that virtual Jews belong to a specific group of people who participate in the same religious and cultural activities as their Jewish peers. “*Some go so far as to wear Stars of David around their necks, assume Jewish-sounding names, attend synagogues, send their children to Jewish schools and follow kosher dietary laws.*” (GRUBER, Ruth Ellen. *Virtually Jewish: reinventing Jewish culture in Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. p. 11).

generation relied on increased migration of Jewish peers (who could help them develop their Jewish identities). There was an absence of grandparents who could have helped reinforce their Jewish identity through sharing their experiences and knowledge.

Sociologist Jakub Mlynář also mentions the need for increased social interaction, especially for young Jews in the severely devastated post-war Jewish communities in their search for identity. He judges that identity is understood as an objective given, an integral part of an individual (or community). In the first case, an identity can be possessed, to some extent, regardless of the knowledge of a particular individual. Mlynář says that people can discover their essential identity, but they can also reject it. In the second case, identity can be understood as a construct, achievement or creation. Individuals or communities sometimes constitute this identity consciously and intentionally in the social interactions during which it is affirmed, accepted, or rejected. According to Mlynář, social interaction within the devastated Jewish population is necessary not only for the families, but also for the Jewish community, authorities, friends and relatives. An individual chooses and shapes his or her identity to a certain extent, but the scope of possibilities is determined (again and again) by cultural customs, social norms and institutions.<sup>254</sup> Sociologist Maykel Verkuyten points out that for an identity to be satisfactory, it must be recognized by others. In his opinion, the individual achieves this by choosing appropriate strategies and all social comparisons must be central in terms of social identity processes. He argues that from a psychological perspective ethnic minorities are dependent upon different social comparisons within a particular ethnic group, within the majority group and other ethnic minorities.<sup>255</sup>

Sociologist Karmela Liebkind developed Verkuyten's concepts and draws attention to the difference between the content of identity (who we are) and the value of identity (the question of whether it is worth being who we are). Anthropologists have also contributed to the study of identity by changing the focus of research. Identity in anthropology is volatile, flexible and to some

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<sup>254</sup> MLYNÁŘ, Jakub. Pluralita identit v autobiografickém vyprávění československých Židů žijících v zahraničí. *Historická Sociologie*. 2016, 8(1), p. 34.

<sup>255</sup> Read more: (VERKUYTEN, Maykel. *The social psychology of ethnic identity*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Routledge, 2018. p. 138-143).

extent abstract, but its manifestations and how it is presented are descriptive – it is visible in language, dress, behavior, and belonging to the community.<sup>256</sup>

The discussion of Jewish identity has been accompanied in recent decades by a strong critical narrative that accuses new Jewish generations of losing religious values, of ignoring traditions and identity anchors, and of adopting excessive liberalism. This self-critical tone intensified, especially in the second half of the 20th century in the United States, and gradually spread to war-devastated Europe. Critical voices were based primarily on nostalgia and spoke of a more authentic and vital form of Jewish life in the past. Criticizing the decline of Judaism and the gradual loss of Jewish identity is, according to some voices, crucial. However, the question remains whether Judaism in the areas examined in this study is truly in such crisis, as some critics claim.<sup>257</sup>

Some orthodox Jews in the diaspora argue that only true, hard-won Judaism can provide adequate protection against the threat of the non-Jewish world, especially from the dangers of assimilation and marriage to non-Jews.<sup>258</sup> However, such an approach is, in my opinion, unrealistic and may have affected the reproductive capacity of the contemporary Jewish community, both in Luxembourg and in the Czech Republic. The weakening of traditional religious values, along with national and ethnic overlaps, has been a gradual process dating back several centuries. Jewish modern civilization began with the Jewish enlightenment transforming traditional values and understanding of former Jewish authorities.<sup>259</sup> In my opinion, liberation of religiosity and free will supported by individual choice has triggered the formation of new ethnic identities typical of the modern world.

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<sup>256</sup> LIEBKIND, Karmela. *New identities in Europe: immigrant ancestry and the ethnic identity of youth*. Hants: Gower, 1989. p. 157.

<sup>257</sup> Several works reflect on the issue of a variety of approaches to Jewishness and Judaism e.g. (HAJI, Reeshma Richard LALONDE, Anna DURBIN and Ilil NAVEH-BENJAMIN. A multidimensional approach to identity: religious and cultural identity in young Jewish Canadians. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* [online]. 2010, **14**(1), p. 3-18 [Accessed 2021-7-31]. Available from: doi:10.1177/1368430210370602.

<sup>258</sup> There are also respected analysis dealing with arguments that younger non-Orthodox Jewish generations are not as attached to Israel as their precedents. (WAXMAN, Chaim I. Beyond Distancing: Jewish Identity, Identification, and America's Young Jews. *Contemporary Jewry* [online]. 2010, **30**(2), 227-232 [Accessed 2021-7-31] Available from: doi:10.1007/s12397-010-9048-1.

<sup>259</sup> CHARMÉ, Stuart and Tali ZELKOWICZ. Jewish Identities: Educating for Multiple and Moving Targets: Educating for Multiple and Moving Targets. *International Handbook of Jewish Education* [online]. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. 2011, p. 163-164 [Accessed 2020-7-31]. Available from: doi:10.1007/978-94-007-0354-4\_10.

The concept of authentic Jewishness has also been developed by sociologist Bernard Anderson, who stated that Jewishness, like other identities, is firmly embedded in our minds and has no empirical, objective and verifiable reality that can be implicitly defined or analyzed by scholars. In his opinion, scholars should primarily focus on the various meanings and forms of being a Jew in the postmodern epoch.<sup>260</sup> Identity itself can be seen from many different angles, but it is necessary to define at least two basic meanings that are realized within the so-called essentialism and constructivist conception of identity.

His concept has been developed by Stuart Charmé who differentiates between the concepts of “*essentialistic* authenticity” and *existential* authenticity. He draws attention to two different features: the essentialist Jewishness and its role in terms of identity, and the quality of people’s life (existence). In other words, existential quality means asking about the authenticity of the Jewish self-understanding, while essentialist reference means asking about one’s own understanding of authenticity.<sup>261</sup> When forming identities, individuals look for elements that can be considered authentically Jewish. Charmé distinguishes between three kinds of references to authenticity: a descriptive statement,<sup>262</sup> a normative statement,<sup>263</sup> and an existential statement.<sup>264</sup>

Yael Tamir, who believes that the concept of authenticity is often used as a political tool in the fight against change or competing groups.<sup>265</sup> She develops the argument of Stuart Charmé, who said that the descriptive perspective of authenticity refers to the Jewish dimension in an individual’s life. In other words, by designating someone as an authentic Jew, they usually refer to a deep knowledge of Judaism, an observance, or commitment. From that perspective, they judge

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<sup>260</sup> COHEN, Shaye. *The beginnings of Jewishness: boundaries, varieties, uncertainties*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. p. 5.

<sup>261</sup> CHARMÉ, Stuart. Varieties of Authenticity in Contemporary Jewish Identity. *Jewish Social Studies* [online]. 2000, 6(2), p. 133-140 [Accessed 2021-7-1]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/4467578>.

<sup>262</sup> Identity is thus understood as unchanging, given and essentialist. The expression of group essence is tradition. The authentic tradition is a religious tradition that is accepted as normative and authoritative. (CHARMÉ, Stuart. Varieties of Authenticity in Contemporary Jewish Identity. *Jewish Social Studies* [online]. 2000, 6(2), p. 136-137 [Accessed 2021-7-1]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/4467578>.

<sup>263</sup> According to this sort of authenticity, the orthodox observance is more Jewish than reform, liberal or conservative observance. The other example suggests that Jewish life in Israel is more authentic than in the diaspora. (Ibid. p. 135).

<sup>264</sup> Existential claims about the values and meaning of the lives of individuals. Charmé argues that the search for Jewish authenticity is part of the modern searching for the meaning of life and forms of self-realization; authenticity can be used as a means of collective agenda, e.g. to protect the survival of a group. Because everyone shapes their identity based on specific experiences, there is no one single authentic identity. Ibid. p. 145.

<sup>265</sup> TAMIR, Yael. Some thoughts regarding the phrase: “A quest for identity.” In: KASHTI, Yitzhak, ed. *A quest for identity: post war biographies*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1996, p. 21-50.

that only Orthodox Jews and orthodox converts are called authentic and they even consider themselves to be authentic. As mentioned above, Orthodox Jews also use authenticity to devalue non-Orthodox denominations and lifestyles.<sup>266</sup>

However, the marriage of halachic Jews to non-Jews represents an interesting enrichment of the discourse on Jewish identities. A survey conducted by Bernard Lazerwitz in the 1990s found that Jews who married a non-Jewish partner became Reform Jews, and less conservative Jews. Over 80% of Jewish marriages remained heterogeneous, encompassing diverse religious traditions. In addition, 38% of people said they were raising their children as Jews.<sup>267</sup> In my opinion, his research demonstrates that Jewish people have been turning into more liberal with benevolent approach to Judaism, but they do not lose their Jewishness, only reshape it. It is similar in both Luxembourg and the Czech lands because Prague and Luxembourg City have a big Jewish communities adhere to the Orthodox rite as well and now they seem to transform into more liberal organizations.

### ***3.1.1. Multidimensional Jewish identities: Liebman's "Thick" and "Thin" identities influenced by Jewish family and other external factors***

The chapter aims to point out some specifics concerning Jewish identity, (in other words mixed Jewish identities), which I researched for my PhD project. I decided to base my theoretical concept on the work of both Czech and foreign experts who have long been specifically involved in studying the development of Jewish ethnic and cultural identities. The first problem I needed to deal with was grasping a characteristic of actors who affected the transformation of Jewish identities in both geographical areas; the Czech lands and Luxembourg. The second issue addresses the form and effect of cultural elements in terms of mixed Jewish identities of the social cohorts in the research.

Based on the concept of Alena Heitlinger, it is important to emphasize that Jewish identities of the post-war Jewish generations are very plural and multidimensional. Heitlinger divides them

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<sup>266</sup> CHARMÉ, Stuart. Varieties of Authenticity in Contemporary Jewish Identity. *Jewish Social Studies* [online]. 2000, **6**(2), p. 135 [Accessed 2021-6-28]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/4467578>.

<sup>267</sup> LAZERWITZ, Bernard. Jewish-Christian marriages and conversions, 1971 and 1990. *Sociology of Religion* [online]. Oxford University Press, 1995, **56**(4), p. 433-443 [Accessed 2021-9-3]. Available from: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.cuni.cz/10.2307/3712199>.

into categories: “thick or thin, weak or strong, virtual, and symbolic. Then, she defines the categories based on family destiny, self-definition Jewishness, Jewish identity imposed from the outside, secular, religious, hybrid and Jewish identity in motion. She also deals with Jewish identities bound to several nations or marked as emigrant, Czechoslovak, Czech or Slovak.<sup>268</sup>

Since, her selection is too broad for my project, I decided to focus mainly on the formation or non-formation of Jewish identities from the perspective of the individual closedness to the person formulating his or her identity (family, partners and religious authorities.). Based on the nomenclature of Heitlinger,<sup>269</sup> I make an effort to address the issue of plural Jewish identities mainly through the concept of intergenerational similarities and differences, between what Liebman calls a “thick” and “thin” identity. A “thick” identity is associated with a rich Jewish life, a rich collective memory, a wide range of associations, living relatives and Jewish childhood memories. Liebman defines a Jew as an individual with a multidimensional and pluralistic identity, in which, for example, Jewish holidays (*seder*) evoke a wide range of associations connected with particular religious activities. There are also childhood memories, each of which has its own layers of meaning. According to Liebman, Judaism is a matter of choice or cultivation rather than one of essential birth or inherited destiny. It is therefore more useful to regard Czechoslovak Jewish identity as an ongoing process having a line where the individual can move from “thick” to “thin” or from “thin” to “thick” Jewish cultural identity.<sup>270</sup> In this research, I examine just how different Jewish generations in different European diaspora communities deal with a lack or, conversely, an adequate amount of a thick or thin Jewish identity.<sup>271</sup>

My expectation is that the Luxembourg community have “thicker” Jewish identities than the Czechoslovak community, as there was no political or little pressure to worry Luxembourg’s Jews about their identity. Jewish consistories functioned in Luxembourg mostly freely and without

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<sup>268</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 200.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.* p. 200.

<sup>270</sup> LIEBMAN, Charles. Jewish identity in transition: transformation or attenuation?: transformation or attenuation?. *New Jewish identities: contemporary Europe and beyond*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2002, p. 341-350. Available from: <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?authtype=shib&custid=s1240919&profile=eds>

<sup>271</sup> LIEBMAN, Charles. Jewish identity in transition: transformation or attenuation?: transformation or attenuation?. *New Jewish identities: contemporary Europe and beyond*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2002, p. 341-350. Available from: <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?authtype=shib&custid=s1240919&profile=eds>



violent intervention by state authorities. Being a Jew did not mean enduring any sanctions regarding work or education. In contrast, there were very few Jews of the second post-war generation in Czechoslovakia who could be classified as having a “thick” Jewish identity.<sup>272</sup> According to Alena Heitlinger, the Jewish second post-war generation had a very small number of sources from which to draw information about their origins. Individuals had to deal with their parents' fears, trying to forget about hatred for their origins.<sup>273</sup>

The concepts of thin and thick cultural identity can be also supplemented by German philosopher Franz Rosenzweig. He states that the reflection of social identity among Jews is a condition for the constitution of the community itself, which is based on the so-called shared mission of individuals. Furthermore, the constitution of the community includes a high degree of self-reflection and self-awareness, which in various socio-historical circumstances influences the forms of identity construction and approach to Judaism. According to Rosenzweig, this concept manifests itself especially in the younger Jewish generations, who, on the basis of both thick and thin Jewish identities, have different motivations to continue a Jewish mission broken by the Holocaust. It means they endeavor to keep Jewish memory and material heritage alive for future generations. They share this mission with other Jewish peers to sharing their memories and knowledge of Judaism.<sup>274</sup>

Another concept that can be linked to the theory of thick and thin identity is that of symbolic ethnicity<sup>275</sup> introduced by Herbert Gans. According to his work, Jewish youngsters are more active than their parents in this regard. They thus form a diverse and often conflicting group, which, thanks to internal tension, constantly produces new conceptions of itself. Young Jews are

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<sup>272</sup> Read more: (GITELMAN, Zvi, Barry Alexander KOSMIN and András KOVÁCS. *New Jewish Identities* [online]. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003 [Accessed 2020-12-20]. Available from: <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xww&AN=103194&site=ehost-live>. P. 346-347.)

<sup>273</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 92-93.

<sup>274</sup> MENDES-FLOHR, Paul. Secular forms of Jewishness. *The Blackwell Companion to Judaism* [online]. Oxford: Wiley Online Library, 2000, p. 461-476 [Accessed 2021-7-1]. Available from: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/book/10.1002/9780470758014#page=470>. p. 462.

<sup>275</sup> In the case of PhD research, it is a Jewish nostalgic devotion and pride in the Jewish intergenerational cultural tradition. It is passed on without having to be a regular part of the behavior of a Jewish individual. (GANS, Herbert. Symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity: towards a comparison of ethnic and religious acculturation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 1994, 17(4), p. 577-592.).

more active in finding their roots and in re-evaluating their identities than are their parents. They are constantly looking for new authorities that could shape and influence them.<sup>276</sup>

Based on the re-evaluation of identities, it is important to address the issue of multidimensional identities of young Jews since it seems that this is still an open question and an unresolved issue. Ben-Rafael describes the internal tensions of Jewish communities laying between parents and their children and religious authorities (Rabbis) and common Jewish believers. He judges that the first issue addressed by Jewish people was how Jewish communities define themselves. Is it rather a religious, social or cultural unit grouping a certain people together? He also judges that a Jewish community is no longer associated with religious matters, but is based on many other factors forming the relations in any particular community<sup>277</sup> Ben-Rafael's ideas were later developed by Marius Gudonis, who characterizes Jewish identity as balancing on the edge of secular tradition, evoking Herbert Gans' symbolic ethnicity and "religious needfulness."<sup>278</sup> He indicates that Polish Jews (like their Czech peers) need to have a wide range of stimuli to form their identities, including political, religious, cultural, ethical and emotional factors.

According to Gudonis, Jewish community is an important but not the only element shaping the identity of post-war Jews in Central Europe. His conclusion is supported by Hungarian social psychologist Ferenc Erős who, with the example of Hungarian Jews in the 1980s, shows that a substantial number of his respondents said that their Judaism did not result from everyday interactions with the Jewish world, but was rather connected and formed by the symbolic identification with Jewish "factors" (religion, education or culture<sup>279</sup>).<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> GANS, Herbert. Symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity: towards a comparison of ethnic and religious acculturation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 1994, **17**(4), p. 577-592.

<sup>277</sup> RAFAEL, Eliezer Ben, Yosef GORNI and Yaacov RO'I, ed. *Contemporary Jewries: convergence and divergence*. Leiden: Brill, 2003. p. 1.

<sup>278</sup> It means that lukewarm Jews need to have a good leadership to learn religious basics in relation with collective memory. (GUDONIS, Marius. Constructing Jewish Identity in Post-Communist Poland: Symbolic Jewishness or Cosmopolitan Polishness. *East European Jewish Affairs* [online]. 2001, **31**(2), p. 47 [Accessed 2019-3-18]. Available from: doi:10.1080/13501670108577949.

<sup>279</sup> The importance of cultural factors for the Jewish identity has been conceived by the narrators in terms of Geertz's conception of "the net of meanings." His concept deals with the net of meanings comprehensible for all actors that entangles individuals to transfer their knowledge between different generations. (GEERTZ, Clifford. *Interpretace kultur: vybrané eseje*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), 2000. p. 69-102.)

<sup>280</sup> EHMANN, Bea and Ferenc EROS. Jewish identity in Hungary: A narrative model. *Replika: társadalomtudományi folyóirat* [online]. 1997, (special issue), p. 110-124 [Accessed 2021-6-24]. Available from: <http://www.replika.hu/replika/si97-09>.

Jonathan Webber supported the aforementioned arguments by claiming that “thick” or “thin” Jewish cultural identities can be assessed by “practicing intensity” of Jewish religion encouraged the rediscovery of Judaism in the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe.<sup>281</sup> In his opinion, people can exist purely without a religious subtext. Judaism can be built on a cultural basis. He said that Jewish culture has substituted for the religious life in synagogues and households, and for a large number of Jews philanthropy became the main factor in their lives identifying them as Jewish.<sup>282</sup> The emergence of a “separate” cultural component of Judaism was made possible due to secularism, and secularism resulted after the transition of traditional Jewish identities to modern Jewish identities through the emancipation of the Jewish population during the *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment).<sup>283</sup>

As for the younger Jewish generation in Western Europe, including Luxembourg, Jennifer Sinclair and David Milner consider a certain number of local Jewish communities to be more ethno-cultural group rather than religious ones. They reported the shift from religious experiences to a tendency of identification with the Jewish ethnic group. Unlike their parents, the third Jewish post-war generations wanted to take an active part in the social and cultural life of the community. This could be the result of their parents not trusting them to be good and active Jews for their communities in the diaspora.<sup>284</sup>

Besides the cultural component of Jewish identity, there is another aspect important for the analysis of “thick” and “thin” Jewish identity in the study cohorts. This is the level of Jewish education of the Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish post-war generations.<sup>285</sup> Here again, it is useful to refer to the work of Heitlinger, who claims that the knowledge of Judaism and Hebrew

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<sup>281</sup> Based on the datasets from the conducted surveys and interviews, I can responsibly extend this assertion to Luxembourgish Jews as well.

<sup>282</sup> WEBBER, Jonathan, ed. *Jewish identities in the new Europe*. Washington: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994. p. 76-78.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid. 318.

<sup>284</sup> SINCLAIR, Jennifer and David MILNER. On being Jewish: a qualitative study of identity among British Jews in emerging adulthood. *Journal of Adolescent Research* [online]. 2005, **20**(1), p. 91-117 [Accessed 2021-7-25]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558404271132>.

<sup>285</sup> Read more: (HEITLINGER, Alena. Jewish youth activism and institutional response in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s. *East European Jewish Affairs* [online]. 2002, **32**(2), p. 25-42 [Accessed 2021-5-2]. Available from: doi:10.1080/13501670208577973; SALNER, Peter. *Židia na Slovensku po roku 1945 : komunita medzi vierou a realitou*. Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV, 2016. ; SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka, Daniel LUTHER and Peter SALNER, ed. *Mýtus - "realita" - identita: socialistické metropole v zápasech o novou prítomnosť a vízi šťastné budúcnosti*. Praha: Fakulta humanitných štúdií Univerzity Karlovy, 2014.

as at a very low level in the second post-war generation.<sup>286</sup> Her argument is supported by Elias Canneti who admired a Jewish unity in the diaspora despite lacking Jewish education and also in many cases Jewish family roots. It still exists despite being banished from their homeland and destroyed during the Holocaust. Until recently, there has been very little geographic or linguistic unification among Jews in the diaspora, and most have forgotten how to speak Hebrew or Yiddish.<sup>287</sup>

To summarize this, I side with Daniel Boyarin, who states that he believes that Jewish culture along with Jewish identities in Jewish communities and Jewish associations in the diaspora are factors that are constantly being reformed and remade. The impossibility of connecting people to particular lands and assigning particular politics to them means that “thick” or “thin” Jewish identity and culture are closed, impermeable and bounded. In his opinion, both are very dynamic and vigorous agents, and they maintain their Jewish uniqueness, which are constantly renewed.<sup>288</sup> Besides Jewish cultural patterns, Jewish people in the diaspora seek to find their places in terms of their identities making them visible or invisible for non-Jewish majority in different countries in the world except Israel. Historian Diana Pinto judges that post-war Jewish generations in Europe got into difficulties in merging their assimilation with Jewish self-integration and self-esteem. In her opinion, this was caused by unliberal regimes in Central or Eastern Europe. However, in Western Europe, the environment has been also largely controlled by non-Jews. If Jewish people want to stand out from the crowd, they have to decide whether to be part of Jewish culture managed by someone else, or remain separate from it. In Pinto’s opinion, this depends on whether Jews try to take advantage of cultural integration and become full-fledged actors, or whether they only turn into passive consumers, as well as active producers.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>286</sup>Young Jews in the Czech lands could have attended only few religious and cultural activities organized by Otto Heitlinger in the 1960s and then followed by Arthur Radwansky together with Michaela Vidláková in the 1970s and 1980s. These people organized Jewish clubs and youth camps to give Jewish youth some fun and education. Another possibility of cultural activities was the Mišpacha, a Theater Association and the Feigele Association and Music Group. (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 70-79.)

<sup>287</sup>CANETTI, Elias. *Masa a moc*. Praha: Academia, 2007. p. 248.

<sup>288</sup>BOYARIN, Daniel and Jonathan BOYARIN. Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity. *Critical Inquiry*. 1993, **19**(4). p. 721.

<sup>289</sup>PINTO, Diana. The Jewish World’s Ambiguous Attitude towards European Integration. In: PADRO, Sharon and Hila ZAHAVI, ed. *The Jewish Contribution to European Integration*. London: Lexington Books, 2020, p. 131-150.

The issue of cultural integration partly corresponds to the conclusions of Stanislaw Krajewski, who points out that it is necessary to look at Jewish cultural assimilation from different angles, not only towards the Jewish community, but also out of the structure of formalized Judaism.<sup>290</sup> Krajewski's concept deals with differences in approaches to Judaism between Jewish individuals in terms of Jewish community or Jewish family. Some currents of unformalized Judaism existing in contemporary Czech and Luxembourg Jewish communities are based on the concept of voluntary de-assimilation from the majority, non-Jewish society. However, de-assimilation has different meanings for both Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish communities because Jewish people had to face two particular conditions in the Czech lands.

First, their de-assimilation from the majority communist society was tightly intertwined with different dimensions of Jewishness, including Jewish ethics, values, wisdom, and forgiveness. These factors – especially the last one, political forgiveness – especially colored relations between communists and non-communist Jews. According to philosopher Jean Cahan, some Jews were convinced that the concept of political forgiveness (regardless of political regime) should allow religious minorities to set up their life and achieve their political goals in a particular country.<sup>291</sup> Beside the concept of political forgiveness, the last paragraph is dedicated to the concept of “identity restoration”. Yael Tamir works with that term, which she understands as a process counteracting the processes of assimilation. In her opinion, Jews should work on restoring their “thick” Jewishness and “thick” Jewish identities and get back their lost position among other minorities in Eastern Europe. For the cohorts researched in this thesis, it is important to mention that the term “restoration” in this case reflects the belief in intergenerational continuity and a continuation of Judaism. Individuals often do not accept their own unique identity, but rather an identity shaped by their ancestors. In other words, there is no attempt to restore or work with a certain dimension of one's own identity, but rather to “squeeze” one's personality into the artificial identity created by family history.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> It means Judaism which fits into a particular framework, for instance, orthodox Judaism, liberal Judaism, conservative Judaism etc. (Ibid. p. 17.)

<sup>291</sup> CAHAN, Jean Axelrad. Reconciliation or reconstruction? Further thoughts on political forgiveness. *Polity* [online]. 2013, **45**(2), p. 174-197 [Accessed 2021-8-2]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1057/pol.2013.5>.

<sup>292</sup> TAMIR, Yael. Some thoughts regarding the phrase: “A quest for identity.” In: KASHTI, Yitzhak, ed. *A quest for identity: post war biographies*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1996, p. 21-50.

### 3.1.2. *Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish collective memory: on the border of two generations*

In order to understand the relationship of the Jewish multifaced identities with the meaning of intergenerational continuity, it is also necessary to briefly introduce the concept of collective memory<sup>293</sup> associated with particular Jewish communities in Luxembourg and Czech lands. Jewish people remember and forget differently within different social groups and their memory is influenced by different socio-political contexts.

Those who have “thick” Jewish identity in the Czech lands became “thinned” by a period of state socialism that viewed the past in a highly politicized way and the rewriting of official history. In contrast, Luxembourg Jews did not have to struggle with an oppressive political regime, but they had to live among a catholic majority population, and Sephardic incomers from abroad<sup>294</sup> and it is well-known fact that Luxembourg has undergone a dynamic transformation integrating a large number of aliens into Luxembourg society. Based on these different circumstances, the Jewish collective memory has been elaborated by Henri Raczymow and Alan Astro who said that especially young Jewish generations see their Jewish memory “shot through with holes”.<sup>295</sup> It means to have many little pieces of memory without context or storyline. They describe their collective memory as follows: “*The memory burst as balloon bursts, but people spend time sewing it back up. Memory sewing is an old tradition among us. In fact, sewing scraps together is a*

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<sup>293</sup> Scholars research the dimensions of human identity by referring to ideas of individuality – traits that distinguish an individual from others. This approach is applicable to Jewish cohorts researched in my project because scientists analyze individual aspects of identity in terms of cultural belonging and shared values among group members, common history, tradition and language. Cultural factors provide resources for constructing a collective identity, which was defined by Alberto Melluci as follows: “*Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place. [...] First, collective identity as a process involves cognitive definitions concerning the ends, means and field of action. These different elements or axes of collective action are defined within a language that is shared by a portion or the whole of a society or that is specific to the group; they are incorporated in given rituals, practices, cultural artifacts; they are framed in ways but they always allow some kind of calculation between ends and means, investments and rewards.*” (MELUCCI, Alberto. The process of collective identity. *Social movements and culture*. [online]. 1995, p. 41-63 [Accessed 2021-7-1]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.cttt0p8.6>).

<sup>294</sup> MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 258.

<sup>295</sup> RACZYMOW, Henri and Alan ASTRO. Memory shot through with holes. *Yale French Studies* [online]. 1994, (85), p. 98-105 [Accessed 2021-6-28]. Available from: [https://www-jstor-org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2930067?sid=primo&origin=crossref&pds=286202114617188495731737242647200&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2930067?sid=primo&origin=crossref&pds=286202114617188495731737242647200&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents).

*hypothetically endless task, an impossible task.*”<sup>296</sup> In contrast to their parents from first or second generation, young Jewish memory needs to get authentic background supported by motivation from live narrators, for instance, witnesses of Shoah and pre-war times.

Geoffrey H. Hartman defines the formation of collective memory as “Witnesses by adoption.” In his opinion, there is a certain assumption that the third-generation descendants attempt to explore what happened to their Jewish nature in the past with the ambition of changing their destiny. Thus, the stories kept secret by their parents could incite a motivation to reveal the truth. He also said that the third-generation seekers are therefore adrift without the anchor of prewar generations – their Jewishness is rather cryptic, limited, and fragmentary, mediated by their parents.<sup>297</sup>

In this theoretical overview, it is important to sort out what content of the stories of the Czechoslovak and Luxembourg interviewees should be investigated and whether it is only necessary to interview the witnesses in person. One of the forms of “Witnesses by adoption” can be fairy tales for children told by grandparents or parents. To a certain extent, they could encourage the interest of young Jews to start investigating their Jewish origins. According to Alexander T. Shelley, Zookeeper in Ulan Bator, reading children bedtime stories with Jewish themes can be an efficient tool to form Jewish religious and cultural identity. In his opinion, children's identities face a postmodernist understanding of family values, which are strongly influenced by diverse societies. Parents are sometimes taken aback and do not know how to pass their values to their children. Postmodern cultural identities can also contain parents' worries and fears,<sup>298</sup> which had

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<sup>296</sup> RACZYMOW, Henri and Alan ASTRO. Memory shot through with holes. *Yale French Studies* [online]. 1994, (85), p. 103 [Accessed 2021-6-28]. Available from: [https://www-jstor-org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2930067?sid=primo&origin=crossref&pds=286202114617188495731737242647200&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2930067?sid=primo&origin=crossref&pds=286202114617188495731737242647200&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents). 103.

<sup>297</sup> HARTMAN, Geoffrey. *The longest shadow: in the aftermath of the Holocaust*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996. p. 8-9.

<sup>298</sup> This concept also partially corresponds to Erikson's psychodynamic work on the development of identity concerning the construction of the individual and symbolic interactionism. Identity includes ancestral heritage and future aspirations for offspring. According to Erikson, the achievement of ethnic identity is at the heart of the developmental process in young adults, but it is possible that there will be some failures and that children will take a different Jewish path than their parents. (BREAKWELL, Glynis M. *Coping with Threatened Identities* [online]. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2015. p. 10-15 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cuni/detail.action?docID=3569628>.)

to confront a large number of different lifestyles, but also self-realization. This is no longer only a matter for parents, but also for community leaders and all those who work with young Jews.<sup>299</sup>

Can these fears somehow intrude into Jewish knowledge and awareness of Judaism? Unlike Czechoslovak Jews, I assume a different degree of knowledge and experience with Judaism among Luxembourg Jews. I also suppose a greater knowledge and relationship to religion as such, because atheist Czechoslovakia, exacerbated by the communist regime, did not create the same conditions as Catholic Luxembourg. Luxembourg belonged to the Catholic sphere of influence, and the Jewish minority had to face the predominance of the Catholic majority,<sup>300</sup> but the predominance of Catholic majority distinguished from the influence of the Catholics in Poland described by sociologist Iwona Irwin-Zarecka<sup>301</sup> in her book about the restoration of Polish society after the war:

*“Yet if the motivation to remain in Poland were constant, the situation had changed: now, both the Jews and the Jewish community were strongly encouraged to become mentally invisible keeping in mind that the majority of Jews who resolved to stay and to participate in the rebuilding of Poland’s economic and cultural life were already highly Polonized.”*<sup>302</sup> The remarkable similarity between the Czech and Polish religious environment is in the pressure from the Communist government, who wanted Jews to assimilate at all costs and especially young Jews had to resort to different ways of self-realization. The conditions of self-realization have also been described in detail by A. Heitlinger who concluded that “hidden Jewry” was very common in the Czechoslovakia, especially for the Czechoslovak second Jewish generation.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> ALEXANDER, Shelley. Children of the Book: Parents, Bedtime, and Jewish Identity. *Journal of Jewish Education* [online]. 2013, 79(3), p. 174 [Accessed 2021-6-15]. Available from: doi:10.1080/15244113.2013.814983.

<sup>300</sup> MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 58.

<sup>301</sup> IRWIN-ZARECKA, Iwona. *Neutralizing memory: the Jew in contemporary Poland*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid. p. 50.

<sup>303</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 84.



### 3.2. Attitudes towards Israeli land: Perspectives for sociological part of my research

The story of the Jewish relationship with Israel begins in the first chapters of Genesis. It permeates the sacred texts of Judaism. The themes that address leaving and returning reappear in the holy texts many times. It is believed that the Land of Israel is associated with certain blessings, as well as with added responsibilities. The Roman Empire defeated and exploited the ancient Israelites, and the destruction of the Temple resulted in a long period in exile. For the subsequent two millennia, the Jews moved, settled, and moved again, across the globe. The Jewish population in Palestine numbered only several thousand, mostly in Jerusalem. Their numbers started to grow late in the 19th century.<sup>304</sup>

The promise of return was preserved in the religious tradition and prayers, but over twenty centuries, Israel played only a symbolic role for virtually all Jews. This can be proved, for example, by a statement in a Passover *seder* which concludes with the declaration “Next Year in Jerusalem”, a daring wish expressed by Jews even when it seemed impossible that such a thing would occur. The entire foundation of this relationship shifted dramatically at the end of the 19th century with the emergence of the modern Zionist movement. Jewish Zionist leaders put forth the idea that Jews should move to Palestine (under first Ottoman, then British control) and ultimately establish an independent Jewish state. Huge waves of *Aliyah* (immigration), especially from Europe and Russia, played a significant role in consolidating Jewish land.<sup>305</sup>

The pioneers, known as the *Yishuv* (settlers), bought land, established communities, organized kibbutz (collective agricultural communities), planted farms and orchards, built cities, set up businesses, schools, and a labor union. In a nutshell, they re-established Jewish life in Israel. The Jews that did not make *Aliyah* could support Israel financially, politically or ideologically.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> DUMPER, Michael. Israeli settlement in the Old City of Jerusalem. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 1992, **21**(4), p. 32-53.

<sup>305</sup> Read more: (GALNOOR, Itzhak. *Partition of Palestine: decision Crossroads in the Zionist Movement*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

<sup>306</sup> COHEN, Erik. *Jewish Youth Around the World, 1990-2010: Social Identity and Values in a Comparative Approach* [online]. Boston: Brill, 2014 [Accessed 2019-03-11]. Available from: [https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202\\_008.xml](https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202_008.xml).

The effort to establish a Jewish state intensified before the World War II. During the years of the Shoah, interest in and connection to Israel grew among Jews around the world. At the end of the war, Shoah survivors fled to British Palestine, trying to evade the British blockade of Jewish immigration. The relationship between Israel and the diaspora has evolved over subsequent decades.<sup>307</sup> It is extremely hard to adequately summarize the pivotal post-WWII era in the limited space available, but it is well known that concerted political, economic, and military efforts ultimately led to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.<sup>308</sup>

### 3.3.1 Czechoslovak Jewish perspectives towards Israel: Affection or distance?

The chapter introduces a list of concepts and theories eligible for the interpretation of results obtained from Czechoslovak research participants. The concepts reflect the role of the communist regime, which influenced the formation of the relationship between Israel and the Czechoslovak diaspora.

First, I want to focus on the possibilities and opportunities of post-war Jews in the Czech lands to form a relationship or bond with Israel. Although Czechoslovak Jews of the second and third post-war Jewish generations did not have as many opportunities to gather it as their Luxembourg counterparts, knowledge of Israel was still conveyed to them in other ways. Trips to Israel were not impossible in communist Czechoslovakia. Alena Heitlinger recounted the international camps for Jewish youth that were offered in Czechoslovakia during the 1960s, namely the camps held in 1965-69 in Yugoslavia, in 67-69 in Austria, as well as summer stays in Israeli kibbutzim in 1968-69, which enabled Jewish youth to get to know international Jewish life.<sup>309</sup> Thanks to these opportunities, as well as to listening to banned radio stations, a certain number of Czechoslovak Jews established a firm bond with Israel.

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<sup>307</sup> There are numerous historical accounts of the Zionist movement and the establishment of the State of Israel. See for example: SACHAR, Howard Morley. *Dějiny státu Izrael*. Praha: Regia, 1999. HERTZBERG, Arthur. *Israel and the diaspora: a relationship reexamined*. *Israel Affairs*. 1996, 2(3-4), p. 169-183.

<sup>308</sup> This is a very interesting book that offers a history of Zionism from the French perspective, and illustrates a long and precipitous development that led to the establishment of Israel. (LAQUEUR, Walter. *A history of Zionism: from the French Revolution to the establishment of the State of Israel*. Westminster: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2009 [Accessed 2019-03-17]. Available from: [https://books.google.cz/books?id=hEt5PWCTMJMC&pg=PR8&hl=cs&source=gbs\\_selected\\_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.cz/books?id=hEt5PWCTMJMC&pg=PR8&hl=cs&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false)).

<sup>309</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 28.

It is worth mentioning that travel was not the only instrument to inspire a sense of belonging among Jews. In contrast to Heitlinger's theory of firm bounds to Israel (Czechoslovak second Jewish generation), historian and ethnologist Blanka Soukupová considers the post-war Jewish community in the Czech lands, to be an isolated with rare possibilities to communicate with the rest of the world. Little awareness of Israel was one reason why the second generation in particular chose a state other than Israel for possible emigration. She said that Jewish post-war generations remained uninterested to settle down in Israel for the rest of their lives. Despite the opportunity to move to Israel, they usually choose different places for emigration, but travelling to Israel became a significant indicator of social and cultural relaxation especially after the Velvet Revolution in 1989.<sup>310</sup>

The new interest in Israel after the revolution was mainly among the younger generation, who initially sought information about the ongoing military conflicts in Israel. On the other hand the older generations, often obtained such information about Israel through contact with their relatives who had moved to the Jewish state.<sup>311</sup> Another of Heitlinger's assertions based on her father's archival records is that a considerable number of young Jews were planning to emigrate as soon as they completed their education. This contradicts Soukup's view that young Jewish generations in the 1960s were ignorant about Israel.

Alena Heitlinger cited her father Otta Heitlinger<sup>312</sup> in her book who reported to his superiors at the religious secretariat in 1965: *“it cannot be any other way. Israel is on the map, it is written about in newspapers, relatives often live there, and it is a Jewish state.... It is a historical fact that a revival of a Jewish nation took place there. It's hard to tell a young Jew: “Don't show any interest in it, you have no business knowing anything about it. There is no difference between Israel and, say, Iceland.”*<sup>313</sup>

Besides the different theories of awareness of Israel, it is also necessary to introduce the relationship of communist Jews to this country. Left-wing Czech Jews had a rather dissenting attitudes towards Israel as a Zionist state – a state that moved away from the socialism of its early

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<sup>310</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka and Miloš POJAR, ed. *Židovská menšina v Československu v letech 1956-1968: od destalinizace k pražskému jaru*. Praha: Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2011. p. 58-62.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid. p. 60.

<sup>312</sup> Who used to work as the secretary-general (executive director) of both the Council of Jewish Religious Communities and the Prague Jewish Religious Community.

<sup>313</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 132.

days to capitalism today. A certain number of communist Jews who hid their Jewish fate behind communism developed anti-Israeli attitudes which they passed on to the younger generations.<sup>314</sup> This attitude has been reflected in several works<sup>315</sup> and it is interesting to compare this attitude with the publication of Jerry Muller who described Jewish radical anticapitalism in his book *Capitalism and the Jews*.<sup>316</sup> Muller asserts that Jewish intellectuals together with educated classes in western and central Europe were disappointed with liberal, bourgeois “society” and they tried to find new sources to create a better community. This effort led many young Jews in Western Europe to search for a collective shared past of inspiration in Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary).<sup>317</sup> On the other hand, there is a need to understand left-wing Jews who sought to find their place in Lenin-Marxist society, and I have tried to deduce from the data collected what kind of relationship these people keep towards Israel.

The communism is only one of the reasons why Jews from the Czech lands in different way than other European countries. Israel is and has been a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multicultural place that has its own specifics in relation to newcomers and new emigrants. Sociologist Vered Kraus concludes that new emigrants with different religious and educational backgrounds had to face tough conditions to integrate into Israel’s nationalistic society. It means they had to copy with different religious rituals and doctrine. Due to the decades-long conflict with the Arabs, the conditions for granting Israeli citizenship have been very specific in comparison to Western states. The basic principle that is applied to gain citizenship is the so-called “*ius sanguinis*,” (The right of Blood), but this cannot be applied unconditionally. The best-known law affecting immigrants is likely the Return Act of July 5, 1950. After the war, in Czechoslovak Jews

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<sup>314</sup> Socialismus a komunismus jako únik před nacionalismem a antisemitismem? *Naši nebo cizí? Židé v českém 20. století* [online]. Prague: Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2014 [Accessed. 2021-8-29]. Available from: <http://www.nasinebocizi.cz/>.

<sup>315</sup> This topic was, for example, elaborated from ethnological and anthropological perspective by Karen Brodtkin. She aims to address the relationships between capitalist political economy and different ethnicities including Jewish one. Using the situations of U.S. Jews and women, she articulates the necessity to think of race as a relationship to the means of production and racial constructions dealing with different categories of race, nationalism, class, gender, Jews, capitalism. (BRODKIN, Karen. Global capitalism: What's race got to do with it? *American Ethnologist*. 2000, **27**(2), p. 237-256).

<sup>316</sup> MULLER, Jerry. *Capitalism and the Jews*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2010.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid. p. 172-185.

had many difficulties in meeting halachic conditions because a lot of parents died in the concentrations camps and their personal documents were lost or destroyed.<sup>318</sup>

Kraus' research correlates with the theory of Eva Taterová, a historian who has described a number of examples of integration of migrants into Israeli society and concluded that reconciling the inconsistency between the religious and the secular conception of Judaism was very tough towards on immigrants.<sup>319</sup> She compared the Israeli approaches to new Czechoslovak Jewish immigrants before and after the new millennium. She mainly illustrates the trouble with isolation and solitude in fundamental districts in Jerusalem and Haifa for those who came there from the diaspora.

These difficult conditions (isolation and solitude) may to some extent have influenced the decision-making of the Czechoslovak Jewish minority not to immigrate to Israel, which had a rather liberal and pluralistic approach to Judaism. As mentioned above, Liebman's "too thin" and multifaced Jewish identities in connection with Israel could be a cause for concern. There is also a fear not only of losing integrity, but also of losing social interaction and being locked into a pre-defined social bubble. Sociologist Hila Zaban, a sociologist reflects upon the experiences of Jewish immigrants who came to Israel and got into certain cultural and religious "bubbles". In her opinion, those who wish to settle down in a new country are more successful whether they join a community of compatriots sharing similar culture, background, ideology, and lifestyle or not. Her study points out the strengths and weaknesses of social "bubbles", which can be too restrictive for many newcomers to Israel even though they help allow immigrants to find support in dealing with immigration difficulties. While migrants entering such bubbles gain a sense of belonging in their new location, their prospects are to some extent negatively affected and burdened by their social bubbles. Zaban concludes that migrants who enter these "bubbles" cannot be considered fully integrated individuals of Israeli society.<sup>320</sup>

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318 KRAUS, Vered and Robert William HODGE . *Promises in the promised land: mobility and inequality in Israel*. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1990. p. 2-48.

319 TATEROVÁ, Eva. Nové trendy v přístupu Státu Izrael vůči imigrantům nežidovského původu po roce 2000: vzestup radikalismu na izraelské politické scéně? *Rexter-časopis pro výzkum radikalismu, extremismu a terorismu*. 2013, **11**(2), p. 90-114.

320 ZABAN, Hila. Living in a bubble: Enclaves of transnational Jewish immigrants from Western countries in Jerusalem. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*. 2015, **16**(4), p. 1017-1018.

The collapse of Czech communism at the end of 1989 enabled forced emigrants to return to Czechoslovakia, creating what Linzi Manicom calls the “dilemma of return.”<sup>321</sup> Considering the Czechoslovak third post-war generation, it is also necessary to reflect on the dilemma that young Jews faced after 1989. Those who had emigrated had to decide whether to return to Czechoslovakia. Those who had stayed in the Czech lands had to deal with external pressure (family, friends, Jewish authorities) the need to move to the holy land. Alena Heitlinger broadened Manicom’s theory to apply to hesitant emigrants who had to face unprecedented challenges. In her opinion, Jewish emigrants had to get used to a new way of life and had to adapt to new intellectual requirements (master a foreign language.) especially in Israel, it could have been very challenging for those who had no international experience with travelling. It is not only about the dilemma of return, but also about the dilemma of leave. They had to deal emotionally with both the hostile policies of country they lived in and the policies of the new state (Israel) in which they wanted to live.<sup>322</sup> Heitlinger described the dilemma as follows “...something enacted bodily in their geographic resettlement back home. For post-exiles, “return” takes the form of an obligatory remaking of self and identity, a process that is both banal and profound, not dramatic as was the entry into exile.”<sup>323</sup>

The theories described above illustrates that Czechoslovak Jews could have made a different relationships towards Israel, but does it exist one definition which would embrace all described concepts? This experiment to describe Czech attitudes to Israel was carried out by ethnologist and sociologist Marcela Zoufalá, who defined the relationship as an ethno-religious distance from the holy land. In her opinion, the history of Czechoslovak post-war Jews in the Czech lands is a matter of careful distance from Israel. This trend is not unique, but I can see it all over the world, including Luxembourg.<sup>324</sup> It is a moving issue that moves on a scale from “complete distance from Israel” to “non-alignment to disloyalty”.

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<sup>321</sup> MANICOM, Linzi. Afastada Apprehensions: The Politics of Post-exile Location and South Africa’s Gendered Transition, *Émigré Feminism. Transnational Perspectives* [online]. 1999, p. 52 [Accessed 2021-01-26]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442674363-005>.

<sup>322</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 136.

<sup>323</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. Émigré Feminism: An Introduction. *Emigre Feminism: Transnational Perspectives* [online]. 1999 [Accessed 2021-01-26]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442674363-003>.

<sup>324</sup> Read the articles in the Jewish journals described above: (For instance: Pour l’avenir d’Israël renforçons l’unité du peuple juif. *Bulletin des communautés israelites du Luxembourg*. Luxembourg. 1971, p. 1-2.).

However, it cannot be said that all Czechoslovak Jews in the Czech lands ever took radical views of Israel as some members of American activist organizations had. Historically, few Czech Jews called for an open boycott of Israel after the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts.<sup>325</sup> Criticism of Israel by post-war generations of Czech Jews is more neutral and broad-based. It never focused solely on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. According to Marcela Zoufalé, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the surrounding Israeli government's policies have been and continue to be a less important factor in Czech Jews' criticism of Israel, and this is correlated with the declining age of the Jewish community. *"In parallel, we argued that our respondents do not necessarily perceive Israel's government official line as problematic. This assumption is in a certain way mirroring, e. g., above-mentioned lower awareness of Israeli-Palestinian conflict in mainstream discourse in Visegrad countries."*<sup>326</sup> This theory is interesting and inspiring and I intend to reflect it on the basis of my own research.

In my opinion, however, the relevant question remains why Jews from Central Europe are so attached to their homeland. According to popular Czech author Milan Kundera, Czech Jews' attachment to the Czech lands is a symbolic legacy created by Jewish intellectuals in Central Europe whose legacy was destroyed by World War II. The territory of the Czech lands thus represents a kind of mythical refuge in the imaginations of Czech Jews, with which they are able to identify. According to Kundera, this Central European nostalgia is to some extent transmitted to Israel and thus to the Israelis.<sup>327</sup>

The question remains how Jews in Central Europe will react to the rise of radical Islamism in the world. It is widely believed that Jews in the Czech lands are very afraid of the perceived Islamist danger that is still absent in the Czech lands. But is it really so? Contrary to warning against radical Islam in Europe, the American Pew Research Center conducted surveys indicating that Islamic communities are starting to be considered less dangerous and more favorable by other European residents, except in Slovakia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Greece

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<sup>325</sup> ROSNER, Shmuel and John RUSKAY. 70 Years of Israel-Diaspora Relations: The Next Generation. In: *The Jewish People Policy Institute's Annual Israel-Diaspora Dialogue* [online]. Jerusalem: Jewish People Policy Institute, 2018, p. 130 [Assessed. 2020-01-07]. Available from: <http://jppi.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Dialogue-at-70-English.pdf>.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid. p. 203.

<sup>327</sup> KUNDERA, Milan. *The tragedy of central Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016. p. 6.

and Italy.<sup>328</sup> The question arises: how do the second and third post-war generations regard Islam, and does their attitude have any effect on their Jewish identity in connection with Israel? This issue will be addressed later in this paper.

### ***3.3.2 Luxembourg attitudes towards Israel from political and sociological perspectives***

There is a paucity of relevant resources regarding the attitude of the Jewish population in Luxembourg towards Israel in either the sociological or historical context. I have therefore decided to compile theoretical inputs for my research on the basis of international literature, which may in some respects reflect the attitudes of the Jewish post-war population in Luxembourg.

As Luxembourg is a multicultural, trade and transit country in which population migration has played and continues to play an important role, I have decided to view the Jewish population's relationship with Israel, partly from a transnational perspective. Due to the fact that Luxembourg Jewish communities have extensive experience with the mobility of their members. It is also important for my research how the mobility has affected the transformation of certainly very variable Jewish identities in Israel.

Sociologist Gabriel Sheffer emphasized a number of important long-term issues (especially the evolving identity of the Jewish people living in different places around the world that needed conceptual clarification.)<sup>329</sup> While Sheffer reflects upon Israeli-diaspora relationships in the context of ethnic-national identity, he does not neglect the political and historical interests of contemporary members of the diaspora. His publications analyze the struggle to sustain a minority ethnic identity, for example among the Jewish population. He reflects upon the needs of minorities to prevent their complete fusion into the host countries. For him, the Jewish diaspora is also a matter of loyalty, divided between the feeling of home searching and the relationship towards host countries.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>328</sup> WIKE, Richard and Jacob POUSHTER. *Minority groups*. *Pew Research Center* [online]. Washington: Pew Research Center, 2019 [Accessed 2021-9-2]. Available from: <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/10/14/minority-groups/>.

<sup>329</sup> Read more: (SHEFFER, Gabriel. *Diaspora politics: at home abroad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

<sup>330</sup> Read more: (SHEFFER, Gabriel. *The European Jewish Diaspora: The Third Pillar of World Jewry?* SCHOEPS, Julius H. and Olaf GLÖCKNER. *A Road to Nowhere?* [online]. Leiden: Brill, 2013, p. 35-44 [Accessed 2021-8-29]. Available from: [doi:https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004201606\\_003](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004201606_003)).



A certain number of historians judge that the hypermobility, modern transnationalism typical of young European Jews living partly in France (Western Europe) and in Israel, along with their diasporic parents, strengthened the ties of identity between Jews and Israelis. They consider modern Zionism an essentially diasporic ideology, enabling the Jewish people in France to partly transfer “Israeli religious and cultural life” to France, capable of facilitating attachment to Jewish identities and thereby strengthening community bonds.<sup>331</sup>

However, religious mobility and transnationalism can also bring an issue in the form of radical Islamism, which is an important issue to Luxembourg’s Jews. Due to its multicultural nature and the international composition of the Jewish post-war population, Luxembourg has had and must face this phenomenon like other Western European countries. So how do post-war generations perceive this phenomenon and who specifically is interested in this issue? Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals are highly divided in their views of this phenomenon. Some of them make the effort to defend Islamic communities in Europe and their way of life,<sup>332</sup> but other scholars and security experts draw attention to the growing risk of radical Islam in Europe.<sup>333</sup> Doron Zimmermann and William Rosenau published a report on the radicalization of diasporas and terrorism. The authors describe the global Jihad movements operating in Europe and the reactions of European and American Jews to it.<sup>334</sup>

Besides the danger of radical Islamism, it is also important to reflect on the Luxembourg attitudes based on the data from Jewish community magazines in Luxembourg. The Jewish community seemed to be quite reluctant to the ideas of Zionism and possible emigration to the Holy Land in the past. Luxembourg Jews often expressed their loyalty to Luxembourg

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<sup>331</sup> SIMON, Patrick, Dimitri NICOLAÏDIS and Gilbert WASSERMAN. Sionisme et diaspora. Les Juifs de France et Israël. *Mouvements* [online]. 2004, **33-34**(3-4), p. 108-24 [Accessed 2020-03-17]. Available from: doi:10.3917/mouv.033.0108.

<sup>332</sup> One of these is Todd Green, who described the growing islamophobia in his publication from a variety of perspectives based on the historical data. (GREEN, Todd H. *The fear of Islam: An introduction to Islamophobia in the West*. Minneapolis: Fortress press, 2019.) Practical examples of islamophobic advertisements have been documented by Tim Semmerling in his article. (SEMMERLING, Tim Jon. Those “Evil” Muslims! Orientalist Fears in the Narratives of the War on Terror. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* [online]. Routledge, 2008, **28**(2), 207-223 [Accessed 2020-9-2]. Available from: doi:10.1080/13602000802303144

<sup>333</sup> POST, Jerrold M. and Gabriel SHEFFER. The Risk of Radicalization and Terrorism in U.S. Muslim Communities. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* [online]. 2007, **13**(2), p. 101 [Accessed. 2020-9-2]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/24590572>.

<sup>334</sup> ZIMMERMANN, Doron and William ROSENAU, ed. *The Radicalization of Diasporas and Terrorism*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2009.

government, considered Israel Zionism as potential danger for Luxembourg youth who could leave Luxembourg for Israel and they could forsake their Jewish parents and authorities.

To assess this relevant distance from Israel, political scientist Yehezkel Dror suggests that the Jewish diaspora understand Israel and Israelis mainly as a civilization; however, his classification involves “internal *Aliyah*” in terms of Israeli land from the perspective of citizens. He also emphasizes the need to deal differently with the social habitus (orientation to life) in Israel and in the Jewish diaspora, in particular analyzing various socio-economic structures, collective agenda, institutional structures, the role of politics, private and public agendas, etc.<sup>335</sup> His next topic deals with the centrality of Jewish political, economic, religious and cultural aspirations.<sup>336</sup> This demonstrates the importance of political and economic issues for the younger Jewish population in the diaspora. As Israel is a developed trade country (country of start-ups), it can be assumed that Luxembourg Jews can take advantage of that.

In addition to economic, political and cultural aspects, there is also external and internal security, which can shape the attitude of Luxembourg Jews (but also Czech Jews) towards Israel. The second and third generations of Luxembourg Jews so far appear to be very similar to their Czechoslovak peers in term of their relationship with Israel - they do not despise it, but maintain a certain distance. Bad wars and internal tensions play a negative role here. People generally do not want to develop relationships with a state that is not safe for them.

However, Yehezkel Dror judges that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been gradually developing over time and no one can predict the subsequent developments in the next 50 years. He asserts that the consequences can be quite paradoxical. If countries in the Middle East achieve a long-lived alliance and peace, Israel would deserve widespread recognition, especially in the

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<sup>335</sup> His theory was subsequently developed by Raphael Vago, a sociologist who considers “*today’s Israel a strong economic, military, high-tech, international power with advanced society.*”<sup>335</sup> In his opinion, contrary to the support needed in 1948, today’s Israel is an important mediator in helping young Jews in the diaspora to overcome a very difficult period of self-finding their own Jewish identity and to resist pressure from surrounding society to assimilate and integrate into the majority demand. (VAGO, Raphael. *Israel-Diaspora Relations: Mutual Images, Expectations, Frustrations. Romanian Journal of Society and Politics* [online]. 2013, 8(1), p. 80. [Accessed 2020-05-05]. Available from: <http://rjssp.politice.ro/june2013>.)

<sup>336</sup> DROR, Yehezkel. *Diaspora-Israel Relations: a Long-Term Perspective. Israel Studies*. [online]. 2012, 17(2), p. 86-91 [Accessed 2018-03-17]. Available from: <http://proxy.bnl.lu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=73540923&site=ehost-live&scope=site SA>.

Jewish diaspora. However, it could be perceived as a less exciting and an undesirable result and might lead to a decline in interest among diasporic Jews.<sup>337</sup>

The question of appeal also can be interwoven with the intensity of Jewish religiosity. Historians and political scientists Chantal Bordes-Benayoun, Dominique Schnapper, and Freddy Raphaël stated in 2009<sup>338</sup> that the extent of identification with the State of Israel increased according to the religiosity of respondents. In other words, they judge that the “thicker” Judaism means more intense intergenerational relationship and perception of Israel. It means that the sacred link to Israel should not become trivialized in the context of globalization.

In any case, it is important to note that my study of the sources so far has led me to believe that the Jewish population, regardless of Jewish origin, gender or religion, has a certain distance from Israel due to fears of loss of self-integrity. This is a fear of the excessive influence of Zionism on young people. As mentioned above, there were fears among the authorities that the young Luxembourgers would abandon the Luxembourg diaspora because of a fascination with the Holy Land and thus bring about its demise. This approach is not only typical in Luxembourg but also in other European countries, including Czechoslovakia.

According to Eric Cohen, the majority of Holocaust survivors demonstrated nation-building in the countries to which they returned after the war. The nation-building enthusiasm contradicted post-war Zionist ideology that anticipated a slow end of the diaspora in Europe.<sup>339</sup> Many descendants of Holocaust victims found Israel to be a fascinating place, especially after the Six-Day War, along with a recognition and acceptance that Jewish life in the diaspora would continue.<sup>340</sup>

Regarding this, David Landy said that a large number of people considered national belonging very significant because it is developed by living in a specific society together with parents and other relatives who shape their habits, traditions and language they speak. This

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<sup>337</sup>DROR, Yehezkel. Diaspora-Israel Relations: A Long-Term Perspective. *Israel Studies*. *Israel Studies* [online]. 2012, 17(2), p. 87 [Accessed 2018-03-17]. Available from:

<http://proxy.bnl.lu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=73540923&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

<sup>338</sup>RAPHAËL, Freddy, Dominique SCHNAPPER and Chantal BORDES-BENAYOUN. *La condition juive en France: La tentation de l'entre-soi*. [s.l.]: Presses Universitaires de France, 2015. p. 27.

<sup>339</sup>COHEN, Erik. *Jewish Youth around the World 1991-2010: Social Identity and Values in a Comparative Approach*. Leiden: Brill, 2014 [Accessed 2019-03-11]. Available from: [https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202\\_008.xml24](https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202_008.xml24). p. 124.

<sup>340</sup>Ibid. 125.

belonging is frequently reinforced through “daily-shared practices,” which unify individuals in a large collective.<sup>341</sup> This daily belonging is quite wide, but limited by a geographical dimension, and often limited by boundaries of a national territory.<sup>342</sup>

### 3.3.3. *The concept of Home in relation to Israel*

To define the Jewish home or homeland in relation to Israeli land from the perspective of Czechoslovak and Luxembourg post-war generations is a difficult task because scholars have created numerous classifications and categorizations of this phenomenon. In the context of my work, the concept of the Jewish home is neatly connected with memory and narration and can be viewed from many different perspectives (sociological, ethical, philosophical, etc.); however, as stated this chapter does not aim to encompass all scientific approaches. It focuses on those pertinent to the Czechoslovak and Luxembourg post-war Jewish generations.

According to the most ancient ideas, the home was a sacred place allowing people to find themselves effortlessly in the “center of the world”, unlike others that required difficulty.<sup>343</sup> German philosopher Johannes Baptist Lotz describes a Jewish home (*bajit*) as a matter of immense continuity, an inalienable legacy of parents and grandparents located in the center of Israel.<sup>344</sup>

The Jewish is the history of “embarking on a journey” and “returning home,” which was often destroyed and annihilated. Jews in the diaspora often had to contend with different feelings of home and its connection with “foreignness” and “distantness.” The Jewish concept of alienation is associated with the Shoah, and is characterized by feelings of otherness from the majority.<sup>345</sup> The portraits of Jewish home in the post-war period have been reflected by representatives of all post-war generations,<sup>346</sup> which span a spectrum of feelings, emotions and arguments and there are a few examples:

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<sup>341</sup> LANDY, David. *Jewish identity and Palestinian rights diaspora Jewish opposition to Israel* [online]. London: Zed Books, 2011. p. 42-43 [Accessed 2020-03-29]. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/natl-ebooks/detail.action?docID=765178>.

<sup>342</sup> See more: BILLIG, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE, 1995.

<sup>343</sup> PRŮKA, Miloslav and Martina PRŮKOVÁ. Dům jako symbol světa. *Paideia: philosophical e-journal of Charles University* [online]. 2010, 7(3), p.2 [Accessed 2020-03-15].

Available from: <http://www.pedf.cuni.cz/paideia>.

<sup>344</sup> PRŮKA, Miloslav. *Péče o oikos: dům v dějinách myšlení*. Brno: L. Marek, 2009. p. 26-27.

<sup>345</sup> LOTZ, Johannes Baptist. *Martin Heidegger a Tomáš Akvinský: člověk, čas, bytí*. Praha: Oikoymenh, 1998. p. 21.

<sup>346</sup> Compare to: (GANGI, Sarah, Alessandra TALAMO and Stefano FERRACUTI. The long-term effects of extreme war-related trauma on the second generation of Holocaust survivors. *Violence and Victims*. 2009, 24(5), p. 687-700.

Blanka Soukupová describes the relationship of post-war Jews to the home as “a sad image” of a murdered family located in occupied or destroyed houses or apartments. In her opinion, Jews in Europe (including Czechoslovakia and Luxembourg) envision their homes associated with new kids, friends, with early marriages, with meaningful Jewish activities (sports, scout) and political work.<sup>347</sup>

As in the previous case, I struggled with a lack of literature analyzing the relationship of Luxembourg Jews to the issue of home, so I relied primarily on international and Czech sources. For this reason, I have specifically addressed in my research to only a limited number of factors important to the post-war generation for home classification. It was a matter of finding out why some respondents considered Israel not to be their home. I included these factors not only in the survey but also in the questions of my oral historical research. Individual factors included, for example: Cultural and intellectual proximity of Israel, local climate, local religious environment, relatives and mentality of most of the population, business opportunities and internal and external security.

As for Zionist concept of homeland, German ethologist and folklorist Hermann Bausinger said the dividing line is between orthodox Zionists and liberal assimilators, who understand the concept of an Israeli homeland from a different perspective through the possibility of salvation and post-mortem redemption. Conscious Zionists found their home in Palestine, which they perceived as their fated country, as a place of Jewish history. However, this did not exclude their profound relationship with Prague and the Czech lands or Luxembourg.<sup>348</sup>

In my opinion, my research participants can be identified as a part of a traveling culture that absorbed certain religious and cultural patterns during successive visits to Israel. Their homes are constantly on the move, although Cohen states that the word “diaspora” cannot be attributed

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; SCHARF, Miri. Long-term effects of trauma: psychosocial functioning of the second and third generation of Holocaust survivors. *Development and psychopathology*. 2007, **19**(2), p. 603-622.; AARONS, Victoria and Alan L. BERGER. *Third-generation Holocaust representation: trauma, history, and memory*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017).

<sup>347</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. Československo a rodné město jako domov?: Čeští Židé a jejich prožitek domova po šoa. *Sociální studia*. 2014, **11**(4), p. 71-95.

<sup>348</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. Československo a rodné město jako domov? Čeští Židé a jejich prožitek domova po šoa. *Sociální studia*. 2014, **11**(4), p. 72.

to the traditional use of the term “nomad.”<sup>349</sup> In my opinion, it is possible to state that Jewish people have strong family ties and that family members are scattered throughout the world. To a certain extent, Luxembourg and Czechoslovak Jewish post-war generations face the need to live and often adopt different cultural patterns and currents in different parts of the world. However, the question remains how they dealt with this issue in the case of Israel.

In contrast to Cohen’s theory, sociologist Zygmunt Bauman judged that the nomad way of living turns Jewish home feelings into “Jewish liquid modernity”, which is revenge for a nomadic way of life and aggressive territoriality. In his opinion, it means that Jews are doomed to recklessly move and cannot restore their homeland anywhere in the diaspora because it is under the constant influence of postmodernist thinking.<sup>350</sup>

As a scientist, I must take into account that a certain part of the reluctance of Jews in the diaspora in Luxembourg and the Czech lands to make Israel their home may also be due to a security factor that is generally important to the Jewish minority. Despite occasional outbreaks of antisemitism, life in the diaspora seems to be sufficiently attractive and safe not to initiate a long-lasting identification with Israel. In order to make immigration to Israel more attractive, Zionists began promoting summer camps,<sup>351</sup> especially during the second half of the 20th century, where “virtual” Aliya can take place in safe conditions of Western Europe and the USA. Participants have engaged in activities useful to the inhabitants of the Middle East (e.g. Hebrew lessons, Jewish religious rituals and physical work at “training” *kibbutzim*).<sup>352</sup> According to sociologist Steven Gold, it is important to experience the tough conditions of life in Israel which might become a home for some participants. The virtual summer camps attempt to evoke the atmosphere of Jewish land, but the experiences should discourage young settlers to move to Israel. However, the

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<sup>349</sup> COHEN, Robin. Solid, Ductile and Liquid: Changing Notions of Homeland and Home in Diaspora Studies. *Caderno CRH* [online]. 2008, **21**(54), p. 10 [Accessed 2020-05-25]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-49792008000300008>.

<sup>350</sup> BAUMAN, Zygmunt. *Liquid modernity* [online]. July 2013 [Accessed 2020-03-18]. Available from: <https://www.wiley.com/en-us/Liquid+Modernity-p-9780745657011> 2013.

<sup>351</sup> Alena Heitlinger describe these summers camps in Yugoslavia in her publication. (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 28.)

<sup>352</sup> COHEN, Robin. Solid, Ductile and Liquid: Changing Notions of Homeland and Home in Diaspora Studies. *Caderno CRH* [online]. 2008, **21**(54), p. 7 [Accessed 2020-05-25]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-49792008000300008>.

experience should be positive and enriching for the camp participants. Sometimes, training experiences initiate occasional visits to relatives and friends who live in Israel.<sup>353</sup>

Besides the opportunity to experience the "Israeli homeland" on their own, do all participants of my PhD project have a clear idea of what their home is and what is its significance for them in terms of diaspora? Cohen explains the current situation in the diaspora as an attempt to reveal the historical meaning of the diasporic home including new forms of mobility and displacement and make it possible to build new identities and subjectivity. He also uses the term "deterrent diaspora", which means a large number of unusual diasporic experiences. In some cases, Cohen considers Jewish ethnic groups as lost, restless units which have a multicultural basis and virtual and unsafe homes.<sup>354</sup>

Cohen's work was also reflected by Avtar Brah, a sociologist who developed the concept of Jewish home. Brah considers the concept of Jewish home to be increasingly vague and incomprehensible. Her interpretation is based on a critique of discourse, which deals with a unified and firm origin and considers the desire that leads individuals to return home, although it is not the same as the desire for a homeland.<sup>355</sup> She raises the question of where home truly is: "*On the one hand, 'home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense, it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of a locality.*"<sup>356</sup>

Her definition illustrates a broad range of components constituting the phenomenon of 'home' for both Jews living in a diaspora and Israel. Her work asserts that scholars should not exclusively concentrate on addressing issues such as nationalism and political agendas, since in her opinion these terms cannot embrace and explain the full spectrum of Jewish experiences. In other words, experts should focus more on the practical and pragmatic functions of the homeland. Such as intercultural understanding, religious tolerance and security, and I intend to do that in my analysis.

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<sup>353</sup> GOLD, Steven J. From nationality to peoplehood: adaptation and identity formation in the Israeli diaspora. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*. 2004, **13**(2), p. 331-358.

<sup>354</sup> This concept can be especially applicable to Luxembourg young Jewish generations, but supposedly, I can that even Czechoslovak young Jews can be in (COHEN, Robin. Solid, Ductile and Liquid: Changing Notions of Homeland and Home in Diaspora Studies. *Caderno CRH* [online]. 2008, **21**(54), p. 529 [Accessed 2020-05-25].) Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-49792008000300008>.

<sup>355</sup> BRAH, Avtar. *Cartographies of diaspora: contesting identities*. London: Routledge, 1996. p. 197.

<sup>356</sup> BRAH, Avtar. *Cartographies of diaspora: contesting identities*. London: Routledge, 1996. p. 192.

Blanka Soukupová said that Jews from the second and third post-war generations often experienced and remembered two aspects of their home: there was the slightly depressing atmosphere of their parents, but there was also a relaxed atmosphere in Jewish youth institutions.<sup>357</sup>

Although with this short chapter I have tried to find theoretical starting points applicable to both post-war generations, it is also necessary to draw attention to several historical differences in the concept of the home between Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jews. The Czechoslovak Jewish concept of home is based on a combination of three basic traditions: the Judaic tradition (homeland is where the graves of previous generations are), the Enlightenment tradition (homeland is a country to which I have a commitment) and the tradition of the Czech national movement (homeland is Bohemia). Luxembourg's Jewish generations, on the other hand, were "more mobile" from the beginning, and migration played a much bigger role in their lives. Therefore, even their ties to their homeland were not so strong.

I would like to end the chapter with a summary of sociologist Csaba Szaló whose wording of home and homeland can, in my opinion, potentially be applied to Luxembourg's Jewish population. Luxembourg's post-war generation was more attached to particularism, universalism and postmodernism than their Czechoslovak counterparts.<sup>358</sup> These traits make them different from other Czechoslovak examined cohorts and the process of inclusion in the "old country" (Luxembourg) is as difficult as being accepted in a new country, for example, Israel.

### **3.3. Theoretical framework of prejudice, stereotypes and antisemitism**

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the issues of stereotyping, prejudice, communist anti-Zionism, modern antisemitism, and especially the phenomenon of New antisemitism.<sup>359</sup> Creating a comprehensive theoretical framework facilitates addressing the research question in relation to

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<sup>357</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. Československo a rodné město jako domov?: čeští Židé a jejich prožitek domova po šoa. *Sociální studia*. 2014, **11**(4), p. 90.

<sup>358</sup> Read more: (SZALÓ, Csaba. Domov a jiná místa/ne-místa formování kulturních identit. *Sociální studia*. 2006, **3**(1), p. 145-160).

<sup>359</sup> Read more: (ENDELMAN, Todd. Antisemitism in Western Europe Today: Contemporary Antisemitism. MARRUS, Michael and Derek PENSLAR. *Contemporary Antisemitism: Canada and the World* [online]. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016, p. 64-79 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: doi:doi:10.3138/9781442673342-007.)



Luxembourg and Czechoslovak antisemitism in the years 1945-1990.<sup>360</sup> I am aware that the scientific discussion on antisemitism is based on many different factors in both Luxembourg and the Czech lands. This discussion includes references to both the past and current situation associated with the symbolism surrounding the collective memory of the Luxembourg and Czechoslovak Jewish populations. Jewish collective memory along with Jewish identity was also affected by different types of antisemitism in the period researched. For this reason, I decided to compare the empirical results with the sociological interpretive framework and with the historical data described in historical contextualization. The intention is not to embrace all existing interpretations of antisemitism, prejudices and stereotypes, nor to present an exact assessment or definition of “common” prejudices and antisemitic manifestations. The purpose is to try to find intergenerational similarities rather than differences between the Jewish generations in Luxembourg and the Czech lands.

### ***3.4.1 Concepts of prejudices and stereotypes applicable to Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish post-war generations***

The aim of this subchapter is to find such interpretive starting points for Jewish stereotypes and prejudices, which can be applied cross-sectionally to all cohorts studied, both in Luxembourg and in the Czech lands. To begin with, it is necessary to define how prejudice can be perceived in the Jewish post-war context. Social psychologist Susan Fiske states that prejudices, as well as stereotypes, are an integral part of the human psyche and can be recognized at different levels of human communities. Prejudices exist between nations and countries, between racial and religious groups, or between ethnic groups within a country. In fact, there is no nation or country in the world that does not have prejudices towards members of other nations or countries, and it is typical for prejudices or biased attitudes to occur between nations or countries neighboring each other.<sup>361</sup>

The most vulnerable group facing prejudice and stereotyping are minorities - racial, religious, linguistic, and sexual, etc. According to journalist Thilo Koch, the problem arises when the “*vox populi*” condemns minorities that are “guilty” through their natural or cultural otherness.

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<sup>360</sup> The data analysis can be found in the section: RESULTS - Antisemitism.

<sup>361</sup> FISKE, Susan, Daniel GILBERT and Gardner LINDZEY. *Handbook of Social Psychology*. New York: John Wiley, 2010. p. 31-32.

To eliminate prejudices, there must be open dialog actively supported by both sides (Jewish and non-Jewish). In my opinion, this may refer to the post-war Jewish sense of alienation felt by a particular part of Jewish population after the war when they tried to get to their countries of birth. Their sense of difference did not depend on a different skin color or a different ethnicity. The different war experiences of Luxembourg and Czechoslovak Jews caused the lack of understanding on the part of the majority society. Regarding this issue, Martin Buber's quote is useful to illustrate the need for dialog to dispose of prejudices. After the war, Buber<sup>362</sup> was asked about the wartime antisemitism and the Holocaust and he answered that it had not been a question for him, but for the Germans. He refused a dialog on purpose and thus did nothing to help reduce prejudices and intersocial tensions.<sup>363</sup>

The occurrence of prejudice against certain social groups, including religious ones, is also related to the need for the Jews to live in a closed community. Sociologists Zygmund Bauman and Tim May speak of the community as a place where Jewish people are satisfied and pleased to live and where they prevent any quarrels and harsh debates, even though things are rather difficult. In their opinion, the community is a group of people whose basic characteristic is a spiritual unity, a sense of belonging that does not have to be particularly justified or explained.<sup>364</sup> It is this sort of "pleasant closedness" that could have had an impact on the post-war integration of Jews into the majority societies of the Czech lands and Luxembourg and possibly led to antisemitism.

Both countries have a common element and that is the relative religious and ethnic homogeneity of their societies. After the post-war expulsion of the Germans and Hungarians, Czechoslovakia was very ethnically homogeneous, and the Roman Catholic Church was a predominant societal force in Luxembourg. This concept was followed by the anthropologist Mary Douglas who developed the theory of spiritual unity, and concluded that prejudices resulted from strong symbolic boundaries between "us" and "them" in terms of religion. In her opinion, people

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<sup>362</sup> Martin Buber was an Austrian Jewish and Israeli philosopher famous for his work on philosophy of dialogue. He also elaborated the philosophy of existentialism dealing with the difference between I and Thou. He took part in the Zionist movement and advocated a settlement with the Palestinian people of Israel. (BUBER, Martin. *Between man and man* [online]. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Routledge, 2002 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://www-taylorfrancis-com.proxy.bnl.lu/books/mono/10.4324/9780203220092/man-man-martin-buber>).

<sup>363</sup> KOCH, Thilo. *Porträts deutsch-jüdischer Geistesgeschichte*. Köln: Du-Mont Schauberg, 1961. p. 12.

<sup>364</sup> BAUMAN, Zygmunt and Tim MAY. *Thinking sociologically*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2019. p. 44.

were obsessed with “contamination”<sup>365</sup> by those who violated these symbolic boundaries. The consequences of these obsessions turned into a variety of myths, including prejudice-based stories surrounding the Jewish desecration of Christian symbols, which justified the use of violence to cleanse society of danger.<sup>366</sup>

Moving from prejudices to stereotypes, it can be theorized that stereotypes have the same psychological essence as prejudices,<sup>367</sup> whereby judgement is partly suppressed, and they also have a strong emotional pitch. Individuals or groups use stereotypes against other individuals, groups, or even against themselves.

Jews in Luxembourg and the Czech lands probably encountered a wide range of stereotypes, as was the case in the rest of the European diaspora. Sociologist Jan Průcha divides stereotypes into separate categories according to their national, ethnic, racial or religious components.<sup>368</sup> He said that traditional Jewish stereotypes are a unique phenomenon for several reasons applicable to the Jewish social cohorts examined in my research. First, they are widespread even where no Jews live, and even among people who have never once met a Jewish person. These openly disseminated stereotypes often result in auto-stereotyping among the Jewish population, who have often heard remarks such as “stealing like a Jew” or that someone is “greedy as a Jew.”

The vast majority of these people have no direct experience of being robbed by a Jew, but only repeat what has been said in their surroundings. Some remarks commonly used by the general public have a similar effect, such as non-Christian money.<sup>369</sup> Stereotypical antisemitism is a

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<sup>365</sup> Her theory was approved by a psychologist John Dovidio and his colleagues, who reported on a variety of studies examining the relationship between religion and prejudice. However their results were somewhat contradictory, as according to the interpretation provided by the publication *On the Nature of Prejudice*, the study conducted among students in the United States suggests that individuals with a religious (institutionalized) background are less likely to have a high level of prejudice against other religious minorities. On the contrary, among those who do have an interiorized religious practice, their level of prejudice has the tendency to slowly grow. However, as the authors stated, these results are not intended to be generalized. (DOVIDIO, John, Peter GLICK, and Laurie RUDMAN. *On the Nature of Prejudice: fifty years after Allport* Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005. p. 413-414).

<sup>366</sup> MCGUIRE, Meredith B. *Lived religion: faith and practice in everyday life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. p. 41-42.

<sup>367</sup> Stereotypes save time and allow people to see the world comfortably and simply. Stereotypes result from schematization and generalization of the world around us, and even though they are natural and we all have them, they are one of the least moral aspects of the human spirit. (JIRÁSKOVÁ, Věra. *Multikulturní výchova: předsudky a stereotypy*. Praha: Epoque, 2006. p. 126-127.).

<sup>368</sup> PRŮCHA, Jan. *Interkulturní psychologie: sociopsychologické zkoumání kultur, etnik, ras a národů*. Praha: Portál, 2010. p. 68.

<sup>369</sup> Tradiční protižidovské předsudky. In: *Holocaust.cz* [online]. [Accessed. 2019-03-16]. Available from: <https://www.holocaust.cz/dejiny/antisemitismus-2/antisemitismus-po-druhe-svetove-valce/tradicni-protizidovske-predsudky-v-soucasnosti/>.

dangerous phenomenon today, mainly because it has served as the basis for other types of antisemitism, such as modern antisemitism or racial antisemitism.

When I look abroad, I have come to the conclusion that the situation regarding Jewish stereotypes is still bad. The Anti-Defamation League in the United States warns that anti-Jewish stereotypes were still present in American society in 2009. Despite the decline of antisemitic propensities<sup>370</sup> among Americans, a large number of Americans believe that Jews still have too much power in business and politics.<sup>371</sup> The results of polls on American attitudes towards Jews in the USA showed that 30% of respondents consider Jews to be more loyal to Israel than their home country (USA) and besides their alleged disloyalty, Americans believe that Jews still excessively emphasize the Holocaust and its consequences on their nation. Lastly, 54% of Americans believe that Jews were responsible for the death of Christ.<sup>372</sup>

The most common Jewish stereotypes include: Greedy Jew, Beautiful Jewess,<sup>373</sup> Jewish lawyer,<sup>374</sup> Jewish doctor, nice Jewish boy and – typical in the USA – Jewish-American princess.<sup>375</sup> There are also physical stereotypes concerning the Jewish appearance – nose, skin, hair etc. All of the research participants' responses, based on the interviews and questionnaires, reflected on the aforementioned prejudices and stereotypes, including the new antisemitism, as is described in the next section.

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<sup>370</sup> I would like to point out one global trend, and that is the overall decline in the perception of antisemitism in the Jewish post-war generations. This claim has been supported by several studies on that matter in the USA. Their results suggest that the majority of Jews (50–80%) in the United States experienced some antisemitism during their lifetime, although most of those surveyed said that this was to a small extent. The studies also point to an intergenerational trend of the perception of antisemitism, which is slowly declining across younger Jewish generations. While the first and second post-war generations dealt mainly with prejudices when admitted to American universities or when starting a job, younger generations could benefit from the ideologically peaceful legacy of the 1960s and the growing emphasis on multiculturalism. (REBHUN, Uzi. Correlates of experiences and perceptions of anti-Semitism among Jews in the United States. *Social science research*. 2014, **47**, p. 45.)

<sup>371</sup> According to their sociological research based on 1,200 respondents, 79% of respondents indicated that Jews control most businesses in the USA.

<sup>372</sup> *American Attitudes toward Jews in America: 1200 Interviews + An oversampling of African Americans and Hispanics* [online]. [Accessed 2019-03-08]. Available from: [https://web.archive.org/web/20140529052141/http://archive.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/poll\\_as\\_2009/anti-semitism%20poll%202009.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20140529052141/http://archive.adl.org/anti_semitism/poll_as_2009/anti-semitism%20poll%202009.pdf).

<sup>373</sup> Beautiful Jewess is a stereotypical motif associated with Jewish female beauty often used in European romantic literature in the 19th century. Beautiful Jewess was commonly portrayed as a lonely, young and beautiful Jewish woman alone in the Christian world. Her appearance is subject to long-term stereotyping - the typical Beautiful Jewess has long, strong, dark hair, large dark eyes, olive skin tone and a dreamy expression. It is often depicted in exotic oriental clothing with countless golden jewelry. This archetypal depiction reveals antisemitism and misogyny on the part of a creator, because she plays the role of an erotic symbol - she is strange, mysterious, seductive and forbidden to an ordinary Christian.

<sup>374</sup> This term shows Jews as greedy, wicked and ungrateful lawyers abusing legal systems to their favor.

<sup>375</sup> This is a pejorative term of a selfish and materialistic woman pampered by a wealthy background.

Nevertheless, it can be stated that Jewish post-war generations consider minor antisemitic prejudices and stereotypes to be insignificant. Nuclear physicist Bernd Marin argues that post-war Jewish generations were exposed to so many manifestations of antisemitism that it had a significant impact on their perception of antisemitism and led some Jews to downplay antisemitic allusions. This lack of reaction in turn means that many antisemites consider themselves as “teasers,” harmlessly testing the limits of stereotypes and prejudices in societies.<sup>376</sup>

### ***3.4.2 Antisemitism and forms of New antisemitism in relation to Luxembourg and Czech lands after the war***

In 1870, journalist Wilhelm Marra defined antisemitism as simply hatred towards Jews, but today this definition is too narrow and insufficient. Marra gave this definition because he wanted to make the meaning of this word more scientific in terms of his research into the radical rejection of Jewish existence, and the former word *Judenhass* was not sufficiently politically correct at the time.<sup>377</sup> Marra's neologism sought to support an anti-Jewish nationalist and racial ideology by means of a pseudo-scientific basis to enhance the author's political acts – namely the establishment of the Antisemitic League “*Antisemitenliga*.”<sup>378</sup>

As for the definition of modern antisemitism that can be applied to the Jewish post-war generations in the Czech lands<sup>379</sup> and Luxembourg, I lean towards the definition of Helen Fein, a historical sociologist who endeavored to make the meaning of antisemitism as broad as possible. She described antisemitism as a set of hostile attitudes towards a certain group of people, especially Jews. Their danger lies in their latency, which is ubiquitous, especially in civilized countries. This hatred can be manifested by both individuals and by certain groups of people who present their resistance through ideology, myths or even local folklore festivals, ways of Jewish depictions and prejudices about behavior. Collective violence either led by the state or only by a

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<sup>376</sup> Read more: MARIN, Bernd. *Antisemitismus ohne Antisemiten: autoritäre Vorurteile und Feindbilder*. Vienna: Campus Verlag, 2000. p. 374-375.

<sup>377</sup> GRAML, Hermann. Zur politisch-kulturellen Tradition des Anti-Semitismus in Deutschland. In: *Antisemitismus in Deutschland: zur Aktualität eines Vorurteils*. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1995, p. 23.

<sup>378</sup> Similar associations were established elsewhere in Europe e.g. in France, Jules Guérin founded the *Ligue antisémitique*. Therefore, I think that part of the then theory of antisemitism can be applied to Luxembourg's post-war antisemitism. (TAGUIEFF, Pierre-André. *La nouvelle judéophobie*. Paris: Mille et une nuits, 2002. p. 26).

<sup>379</sup> As for the Czech lands, anti-Semitism can be even more specified, thanks to the work of Michal Frankl.

certain influential groups of individuals also plays a role here. Violence can take various forms, from physical oppression to confiscation of property and expulsion from society.<sup>380</sup>

As far as the Czech lands are concerned, the definition of antisemitism can be specified even more, thanks to the publications of Michal Frankl and Leo Pavlát. Michal Frankl judges that antisemitism means open and hidden hostility or hatred towards Jews, ranging from verbal attacks to acts of violence and pogroms. According to Frankl, all definitions should emphasize that antisemitism results from the ideological, political and social development of society as a whole, not a reaction to the character, actions and positions of the Jewish minority.<sup>381</sup> Frankl's theory has been developed by Leo Pavlát, the director of the Jewish Museum in Prague who describes antisemitism as the most enduring and abusive historical hatred, and an unmistakable phenomenon in history. In his opinion, this constant antipathy has developed over time, but is omnipresent.<sup>382</sup>

If we move from theoretical definitions of modern antisemitism<sup>383</sup> to specific forms of post-war antisemitism, it is necessary to address the issue of so-called new antisemitism, which emerged from the 1960s in Western Europe and the United States. The first scientists and activists who professionally define the term new antisemitism were Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein.<sup>384</sup> Their critical approach was based on analysis of hate speech against the state of Israel, both in the media and in the political field. In their view, "New antisemitism" was a combination of open hatred, stereotyping of Israeli politics and classical antisemitism. According to historian Arnold Forster, new antisemitism is grounded in the radical left,<sup>385</sup> which defends the people of

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<sup>380</sup> FEIN, Helen. Dimensions of Antisemitism: Attitudes, Collective Accusations and Actions. In: *The Persisting Questions: sociological perspectives and social context of modern antisemitism*. New York: De Gruyter, 1987. p. 67-86.

<sup>381</sup> FRANKL, Michal. "Emancipace od židů": český antisemitismus na konci 19. století. Praha: Paseka, 2007. p. 23.

<sup>382</sup> PAVLÁT, Leo, ed. *Židé - dějiny a kultura*. 4. vyd. Praha: Židovské muzeum, 2007. p. 83.

<sup>383</sup> A definition of classic modern antisemitism appropriate to Luxembourg Jews is Shulamit Volkov's theory. She deals with explicitly anti-Jewish manifestations in the discourses of some social classes, and also describes an international perspective on antisemitic attitudes in other European states at the time. Her theory considers class struggle as a breeding ground for modern antisemitism, and she provides specific examples of antisemitism at the time, such as the exploitation of German Jewish scientists who had to leave scientific institutions to work as schoolteachers. (VOLKOV, Shulamit. *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. p. 89.).

<sup>384</sup> Leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

<sup>385</sup> This issue has been further elaborated and refined by a number of scientists, such as Jack Fishel. He mentioned leftists dedicating a cult to the Palestinian cause, right-wing nationalists who consider Jews to be an inferior race, and fundamentalist Muslims carrying their hatred of Israel and the Jews. "Subsequently, however, when Israel commenced the building of settlements in the conquered territories, it was condemned not only by the Arab world, but also by segments of the Left, both in Europe and in the United States, as a colonial army, whose maltreatment of

the Third World.<sup>386</sup> From his point of view, the Jewish nation in the Middle East is seen by as the enemy of other Arab countries in the Middle East. They consider the State of Israel an international enemy who is supported by American politics.<sup>387</sup> Foster states that, in place of the former solidarity with this endangered nation and defenseless state, European nations (including some politicians in the USA) have forgotten the horrors of the Holocaust and now view conflicts in Israel with misunderstanding and resentment. In his opinion, politicians criticize Israel illegitimate way and Israeli political interests are no longer treated equally with other minorities. Forster and Epstein warned more than forty years ago that global policy was looking for a scapegoat, which they considered a very dangerous matter.<sup>388</sup>

Their definition of the new antisemitism was challenged by sociologist Remco Ensel who opposed Forster and Epstein's use of new antisemitism. He considered their approach destructive for a possible further debate on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and for any other conflicts in the Middle East. In Ensel's view, "new antisemitism" is only an excuse for concealing all of Israel's political transgressions. This argument is relevant to this day and can be seen in the current political discourse. Ensel further protests against the use of the term antisemitism as a definition of contemporary ideological hatred, and he tends to use the terms anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli.<sup>389</sup>

To illustrate the phenomenon of "contemporary new antisemitism" in the literature, potentially relevant to post-war Luxembourg society and Czech society after the Velvet Revolution I decided to choose the publication of Abraham H. Foxman, *The deadliest lies: the Israel lobby*

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*the Palestinians was viewed as no better than the Nazi brutalization of the Jews.*" (FISCHEL, Jack. The new anti-Semitism. *The Virginia Quarterly Review*. Virginia Quarterly Review, 2005, **81**(3), p. 225.)

<sup>386</sup>The expression Third Worldism (*Tiers-mondisme*) designates the concept of ideologies favorable to the Third World. French demographer Alfred Sauvy developed this concept in 1952, drawing a parallel between the poorest countries and the third estate of the Ancien Régime. This leftist doctrine emphasizes the West's solidarity with the Third World because of its responsibility for the period of colonization. According to proponents of this ideological view, colonization is the main cause of today's problems in developing third world countries. The ideas of the Tiers mondists was developed by Frantz Fanon. He investigates the role of colonizer and colonized through the aggressive treatment between colonizer and colonized people. The work advocates the anti-colonialist struggle, including through violence and the emancipation of the Third World. (FANON, Frantz. *Les damnés de la terre* [online]. Paris: A verba futurorum, 2016. [Accessed 2021-5-2]. Available from: <https://books.google.lu/books?id=511CDAAAQBAJ>).

<sup>387</sup>FORSTER Arnold. *The New Anti-Semitism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974. p. 11.

<sup>388</sup>Ibid. p. 18.

<sup>389</sup>See more: (GIVET, Jacques. *La Gauche contre Israël?: Essai sur le néo-antisémitisme*. Paris: FeniXX, 1968.; ECKARDT, Roy. The New Anti-Semitism: by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein. *Theology Today* [online].1975, **31**(4), p. 373-377. [Accessed 2021-6-2]. Available from: doi:10.1177/004057367503100422. ; LEWIS, Bernard. The new antisemitism. *The American Scholar* [online] 2006, **75**(1), p. 25 [Accessed 2021-6-2]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/41222526>).

*and the myth of Jewish control*. Foxman, a former National Director of the ADL (Anti-Defamation League), focuses on the analysis of individual cases of antisemitic attacks, both physical and verbal. At the heart of his work is anti-Zionism, and he considers anti-Zionism a more politically correct form of antisemitism. Focusing on the rise of antisemitism in the Islamic world, he views pro-Palestinian movements in the West critically.

Foxman also points to the constant criticism of Israel in European publications and on university campuses.<sup>390</sup> According to him, Jewish students are afraid of an outbreak of antisemitic violence in universities. Foxman further describes some violent attacks against individual Jews within the supposedly safe space of universities as well as some apparently antisemitic comments by public figures.<sup>391</sup> He analyzes the causes of this rise in antisemitism, including Holocaust denials published by different scholars and harsh criticisms of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, he also argues that analytical criticism of the Israeli government is not necessarily antisemitic, but that it is also unfair when Israeli policy is harshly criticized without political context.<sup>392</sup> An excellent source regarding antisemitic incidents on campus is the 2019 collection of essays *Antisemitism on the Campus: Past & Present*, edited by Eunice Pollak, which analyzes the different forms of antisemitism within a historical context, giving space to a wide range of voices from different academic spheres.<sup>393</sup> Some of the essayists indicate that some academics portray Israel as an imperialist and colonial-settler state in their courses, and the academics in question encourage other students to literally take responsibility for ending "this empire."<sup>394</sup>

Kenneth Marcus described the hostile atmosphere towards Jews at universities in the United States as changing quickly, because after World War II, the American educational environment found favor with Jewish students. "*The United States has in recent years enjoyed a period of almost philo-Semitic tolerance for Jews, in contrast to the experience of Jews elsewhere in the world. Similarly, many college campuses have provided numerous accommodations to*

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390 FOXMAN, Abraham. *The deadliest lies: the Israel lobby and the myth of Jewish control*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. p. 124-126.

391 Ibid. p. 75.

392 FOXMAN, Abraham. *The deadliest lies: the Israel lobby and the myth of Jewish control*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. p. 172.

393 Read more: POLLACK, Eunice. *Anti-Semitism on the Campus: Past and Present* [online]. Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2019 [Accessed 2021-5-26]. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unilu-ebooks/reader.action?docID=3110421>.

394 Ibid. p. 395.



*Jewish students, such as excused absence for religious holidays, kosher dining facilities, chaplaincy services, Hillel, and Jewish studies courses.*”<sup>395</sup>

Nevertheless, this friendly atmosphere rapidly changed after 1956, when so-called “academic antisemitism” emerged. According to political scientist Kenneth Marcus, academic antisemitism has several dimensions and aspects. The first is the traditional and long-standing anti-Jewish prejudices associated with the imaginary idea of Jewish control over the global financial market, governments and the media. The second is the aggressively anti-Israeli resentment that sits somewhere between objective political criticism of Israel and open antisemitism. The third is Muslim antisemitism that emerged among the Muslim students in Europe based on an age-old hatred of Jews, Israel, and American foreign policy.<sup>396</sup>

How can "academic new antisemitism" affect young Jews on university campuses? According to historian Sander Gilman, this aggression may incite the feeling of self-hatred<sup>397</sup> described by Theodor Lessing in 1930. Lessing was followed by Gilman, who argued that Jewish self-hatred has emerged as a consequence of opposition to the existence of the State of Israel. He uses the term “self-hating Jew” against Jews who oppose Israeli politics and the current form of the Jewish state. This terminology was opposed by Antony Lerman, a writer, who said that the whole concept was “utterly false” and served only to marginalize and demonize political opponents. Lerman said that the term has been dominantly used in heated political debates and quarrels on new antisemitism.<sup>398</sup> He states that the years after the war (1950s and 1960s) can be literally called the "the age of self-hatred for Jews" and Jews in the diaspora (USA) unleashed something like the “Jewish Cold War” on forced self-identification and forced assimilation into majority. They stopped keeping Jewish line of their parents and some of them destroyed all pieces of material heritage related to their former Jewish memory.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> MARCUS, Kenneth. Anti-Zionism as Racism: Campus Anti-Semitism and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal*. [online]. 2007, **15**(3), p. 837-892 [Accessed 2021-6-13]. Available from: <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/wmbrts15&i=845>.

<sup>396</sup> MARCUS, Kenneth. Anti-Zionism as Racism: Campus Anti-Semitism and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal*. [online]. 2007, **15**(3), p. 844 [Accessed 2021-6-13]. Available from: <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/wmbrts15&i=845>.

<sup>397</sup> The term “self-hating Jew” appears in debates about Israel's role in terms of Jewish identity and hostility between Jews. (FINLAY, W. M. Pathologizing dissent: identity politics, Zionism and the 'self-hating Jew'. *The British journal of social psychology*. 2005, **44**(2), p. 201-222.)

<sup>398</sup> LERMAN, Antony. Jewish self-hatred: myth or reality? *Jewish Quarterly*. 2008, **55**(2), p. 47-48.

<sup>399</sup> LERMAN, Antony. Jewish self-hatred: myth or reality? *Jewish Quarterly*. 2008, **55**(2), p. 47-48 [Accessed 2021-6-12]. Available from: doi:10.1080/0449010X.2008.10707006.

On the other hand, sociologist Irving Louis Horowitz assigned the label of self-hating Jew to individuals who pose a danger to the Jewish community. In his opinion, Jewish self-haters are those who belong to the category of the so-called “court Jews”, whose goal was to ingratiate themselves with their masters and rulers. They control and provoke other Jewish adherent to demonstrate that Jewishness and Judaism are not worth keeping alive.<sup>400</sup>

In conclusion, it is necessary to evaluate how intensely the current antisemitism is perceived by the ever younger generations of Jews. What is the trend in this regard? According to Uzi Rebhun, who has conducted a number of studies among American Jews, it is clear that the perception of antisemitism is declining with time. Although young Jews do not feel completely safe, their perception of antisemitic invective by the surrounding society is more limited to social networks. Uzi Rebhun concludes that the post-war Jewish generations no longer need to struggle as they have been fully integrated and accepted by society. The distinction between personally experiencing antisemitism and perceiving antisemitism as a significant phenomenon is especially pronounced among elderly Jews.<sup>401</sup>

### ***3.4.3 Communist and European anti-Zionism, where does it have its roots?***

This chapter introduces several concepts mainly related to anti-Zionist experiences of the Czechoslovak and Luxembourg post-war generations. The chapter will briefly introduce Stalinist antisemitism and its transition to subsequent communist anti-Zionism and the anti-Zionism in Western Europe.

The trauma of the war, genocide and experiences with willing Nazi collaborators left their mark on the Jewish psyche. Many survivors decided to leave and start a new life elsewhere. After the war, almost all European countries were confronted by the need to integrate their Jewish inhabitants who slowly returned from prisons and concentration camps.<sup>402</sup> The countries under Communist control had to solve the same problem as their counterparts in the West, and the

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<sup>400</sup> HOROWITZ, Irving Louis. New trends and old hatreds. *Society*. 2005, **43**(1), p. 45.

<sup>401</sup> REBHUN, Uzi. Correlates of experiences and perceptions of anti-Semitism among Jews in the United States. *Social science research*. 2014, **47**, p. 1503).

<sup>402</sup> Compare to: (REMENNICK, Larissa. *Russian Jews on three continents: identity, integration, and conflict*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2012; YABLONKA, Hanna. *Survivors of the Holocaust: Israel after the War*. Houndmills: Macmilian Press, [2016]).

communist regime under Stalin's control considered Jewish minorities to be an imminent danger and an unintegrated element within communist society.

Why and when did communist antisemitism occur? Scholars have in general judged that the focus of Stalin's antisemitism was during the post-war period<sup>403</sup> and was marked by three key milestones: the liquidation of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in 1948, which shifted the focus of Stalin's antisemitism from administrative, bureaucratic and propaganda discrimination to the police-repressive sphere; the campaign against cosmopolitanism in early 1949, in which Stalinist antisemitism first entered the public space; the so-called case of doctors, which culminated in early 1953; and finally the violent death of the chairman<sup>404</sup> of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, Solomon Mikhoels.<sup>405</sup>

These oppressive activities were subsequently adopted by other communist satellite countries, including Czechoslovakia. However, it is noteworthy that Stalin's antisemitism never took the form of an officially declared policy, and its latent nature thus precluded mass anti-Jewish repression.<sup>406</sup> Stalin's antisemitism thus differs considerably from the tsarist Judeophobia based on historically conditioned religious and socio-economic antagonisms towards the Jewish population, as well as from ethnic and racial motivations of Nazi Germany. For the same reasons, it cannot be reduced to a mere psychopathology of Stalin's personality.

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<sup>403</sup> During this time, there was a great shift within international relations: the crisis in the anti-fascist coalition leading to the blockade of West Berlin, the escalation of relations with the United States and the Cold War, the schism in Soviet-Yugoslav relations, and especially the emergence of Israel and the dynamics of Soviet-Israeli relations. This entire complex of events, together with internal factors within the Communist party (power struggles within the highest levels, ideological diversification of the intellectual elite, the growth of Jewish nationalism in the USSR etc.), influenced and co-determined the dynamics of the Soviet state's relationship with Jews. (SNYDER, Timothy. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books, 2010).

<sup>404</sup> MADIEVSKI, Samson. Gennadij V. Kostyrčenko, Tajnaja politika Stalina. *Cahiers du Monde Russe* [online]. 2002, **43**(4), p. 799-804 [Accessed 2021-5-26]. Available from: doi:<https://journals.openedition.org/monderusse/4058?lang=en>.

<sup>405</sup> Solomon Mikhoels (1890–1948) was the director of the State Jewish Theater from 1929 and was known at home and abroad as an important representative of Soviet Jewish culture. He has served as chairman of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee since its inception. He was killed (in a car accident) on the night of January 12-13, 1948 during a business trip to Minsk. (Solomon Mikhoels, 2001). In: *Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia* [online]. San Francisco (CA): Wikimedia Foundation [Accessed 2021-03-16]. Available from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solomon\\_Mikhoels#cite\\_note-1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solomon_Mikhoels#cite_note-1).

<sup>406</sup> HELLER, Mikhail and NEKRICH, Aleksandr. *Utopia in power: the history of the Soviet Union from 1917 to the present*. New York: Summit Books, 1986. p. 507-510.

The theory of Stalin's antisemitism was further reflected upon in a broader context by the historian Robert Wistrich, who describes this historical period as "antisemitism without Jews".<sup>407</sup> According to historian Robert Wistrich, antisemitism in Russia and Czechoslovakia was a latent, but constant threat, which generated permanent uncertainty for the Jewish population. People were afraid to openly confess their Judaism because of their minority identity (ethnic, religious and national) and because it may have jeopardized their position in the supposedly socialist national homogeneous Czechoslovakia.<sup>408</sup>

Soviet policy towards the State of Israel has changed after the first Israeli elections and the defeat of the Israeli Communist Party. It turned into strictly antizionist. According to Israeli historian Binyamin Pinkus and his colleagues, Jewish people were great scapegoats, even though their efforts to assimilate into Soviet society were more than obvious. What raised concerns among communist officials was self-confident identification with Jewish culture and the newly established Jewish state. Like Soviet Jews, Czechoslovak Jewish survivors also wanted to point out that Hitler had failed. Therefore, they could easily become an enemy of communism for many propagandistic (albeit often conflicting) reasons – an internal enemy and an external enemy. On the one side, there was the form of "native cosmopolitans" or "bourgeois nationalists" on the other side they could be considered Zionist spies undermining the regime.<sup>409</sup>

As for assimilation in the Soviet satellites, historian Peter Meyer judged that communist ideologists promised to solve the "Jewish question."<sup>410</sup> This solution for the Jews was based on assimilation, but an assimilation that was based on voluntary adaptation. Jews were promised that they could develop their cultural and communal traditions, albeit to a limited extent. Later, however, the Communists embarked on attempts to starve the Jewish population culturally and religiously and to incorporate the remnants of the Jewish population into the Communist

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<sup>407</sup> WISTRICH, Robert. Once again, antisemitism without Jews. *Commentary* [online]. 1992, **94**(2), p. 45-49 [Accessed 2020-10-29]. Available from: <https://search.proquest.com/openview/5d0811b7f9db0aad47a1222e0ffd2f93/1?cbl=1816616&pq-origsite=gscholar>.

This theory was also developed and published by Paul Lendvai in his book *Anti-Semitism without Jews*. (LENDVAI, Paul. *Anti-Semitism without Jews: Communist Eastern Europe*. New York: Doubleday, 1971).

<sup>408</sup> Read more: (WISTRICH, Robert. Once again, antisemitism without Jews. *Commentary* [online]. 1992, **94**(2), p. 45-49 [Accessed 2020-10-29]. Available from: <https://search.proquest.com/openview/5d0811b7f9db0aad47a1222e0ffd2f93/1?cbl=1816616&pq-origsite=gscholar> ; WISTRICH, Robert. *A*

*lethal obsession: anti-Semitism from antiquity to the global Jihad*. New York: Random House, 2010. p. 21.).

<sup>409</sup> PINKUS, Benjamin. *The Soviet Government and the Jews 1948-1967: a documented study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

<sup>410</sup> MEYER, Peter. *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1953. p. 40.

proletariat. Communist officials began therefore accusing Jews of crimes that were traditionally attributed to them.<sup>411</sup> However, did anti-Zionism occur only in Eastern Europe, or was it also present in the West? Based on the statements of prominent politicians and resolutions of international organizations, it can be seen that anti-Zionism was present to some extent in the democratic states. For example, French president Charles de Gaulle accused Israel after the Six-Day War of conquering ambitions and political imperialism in the Middle East. De Gaulle said this during a meeting of the UN Security Council to adopt Resolution No. 242 of 22 November 1967 relating to the territories of Israel. In his speech, he criticized the “capital of sympathy” of the Western world towards Israel, which had been maintained too long regardless of Israel’s “conquering ambitions.” His characterization of the Jews as a “domineering” and too self-assured nation had a negative impact on Franco-Israeli relations in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>412</sup> In my research, I am going to ask if this statement has been registered in some way by Luxembourg or Czechoslovak Jews.

However, the statements of politicians were not the only source of Western anti-Zionism, the international community also had anti-Zionist policies which had an impact on both Israel's position in the Middle East and its acceptance in the world. According to historian Bernard Lewis, the increased antisemitism and hatred towards Israel in the Arab world can be at least partially attributed to the UN, which by its decisions has shaped world opinion about Israel. Lewis recalls several well-known resolutions, such as the 1947 resolution on the partition of Palestine. Interestingly, these unfortunate resolutions set off a wave of antisemitism and remorse for both Jews in Israel and the diaspora. In the opinion of the LTJG, the UN has adopted unenforceable resolutions that have just caused a protracted political crisis. Lewis supports this view and places it in a historical context. The League of Arab States rejected the 1947 resolution on November 17 of that year, and openly declared preparations for an armed conflict. The UN did not respond to this threat at all, and did not to prevent an armed conflict in any way.<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>411</sup> The Jews were described as the imperialist and bourgeois henchmen of the rotten Western capitalists. From communist perspective, Zionists pushed the state of Israel towards the "bellicose United States" camp, using its influence on Wall Street to do so. (HOLÝ, Jiří, ed. *Cizí i blízcí: Židé, literatura, kultura v českých zemích ve 20. století*. Praha: Akropolis, 2016. p. 763-764.)

<sup>412</sup> DE GAULLE, Charles. *Discours et messages: Vers le terme, janvier 1966-avril 1969*. Paris: Plon, 1982. p. 232-233.

<sup>413</sup> LEWIS, Bernard. The New Anti-Semitism: First religion, then race, then what? *The American Scholar*. [online]. 2006, **75**(1), p. 25 [Accessed 2021-6-2]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu>

## 4. METHODOLOGY

The following chapters introduce the methodological basis used for collecting the data for the PhD project. First chapter deals with methodological advantages of oral history and historical sociology. The second chapter describes different cohorts researched in the thesis. The subsequent chapter deals with the structure of the survey and its distribution and the validity of results. The last chapter introduces the methodological criticism of the conducted interviews along with the advantages and disadvantages of this method.

### 4.1. Interdisciplinary basis of comparative historical sociology and elements of oral history

This chapter elaborates the reasons why I chose the interdisciplinary basis of comparative historical sociology and some elements of oral history along with a sociological interview analysis for this study. Two basic methods of data collection were employed to address the aforementioned research question; (a survey, and a number of semi-structured interviews). Following the popular trend of interdisciplinary approaches of socio-historical projects<sup>414</sup>, I was able to examine a wider range of issues than if I had employed only one method.

Disputes over the use of historical and sociological methods have been going on since the 1970s.<sup>415</sup> This PhD project does not fit into the concept of being purely classic history or historical sociology, but it seeks to take advantage of both methodological concepts. What are the differences between them? According to sociologist Edgar Kiser, generalization, synthesis, and typology of

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/stable/41222526.

<sup>414</sup> Compare: RUNDLE, Christopher. Theories and methodologies of translation history: the value of an interdisciplinary approach. *The Translator* [online]. 2014, **20**(1), p. 2-8 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: doi:10.1080/13556509.2014.899090 ; JONES, Casey. Interdisciplinary approach-advantages, disadvantages, and the future benefits of interdisciplinary studies. *Essai* [online]. 2010, **7**(1), p. 26 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: <http://dc.cod.edu/essai/vol7/iss1/26> ; SPIER, Fred. Big history: the emergence of a novel interdisciplinary approach. *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* [online]. 2008, **33**(2), p. 141-152 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: doi:10.1179/030801808X259754.

<sup>415</sup> Read more: (KISER, Edgar and Michael HECHTER. The Role of General Theory in Comparative-Historical Sociology. *American Journal of Sociology* [online]. University of Chicago Press, 1991, **97**(1), p. 1-30 [Accessed 2020-12-13]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2781636>).

analytical efforts are the best benefits of historical sociology. Historical sociologists are interested in the development of relationships and mechanisms in a particular society or an ethnic minority.

In contrast, the methodology of historians emphasizes the accuracy and descriptive completeness of narration of specific events, because the events that historians try to explain are often unique and complex. According to Kiser, a degree of methodological tolerance and non-rigorous methodology is necessary to analyze subjective views of history along with the transformation of identities. In my research, therefore, I try to apply both inductive reasoning in interpreting the data results and the determination of sequential factors<sup>416</sup> affecting Jewish social phenomena in a certain historical period.<sup>417</sup> In other words, the PhD project seeks to analyze sociological, political and historical principles and occurrences that have influenced and shaped Jewish post-war generations in the Czech lands and in Luxembourg. It means that the thesis does not work only with historical data, but also with sociological and anthropological aspects. This combination of approaches is not new, and many experts argue that there is a convergence of methodology in studies of history and sociology.<sup>418</sup> Anthony Giddens even thinks that the two disciplines should be the same.<sup>419</sup>

Although I do not take Giddens' radical position as a whole. Like Kiser, I am convinced that a good historical interpretation should define both the causal relationships between the variables and the mechanisms responsible for creating these relationships.<sup>420</sup> In other words history works in sociology in two ways: first, it provides the context and framework for sociological research, and second, it gives a critical approach to empirical datasets analyzed and synthesized by scientists. Both of these ways, are closely related, because in order to describe the historical context, it is sometimes needed to analyze the findings of historiography and sociology. Charles

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<sup>416</sup> For instance: Support of Israel, relationship to Aliyah along with different aspects of home for Jewish people.

<sup>417</sup> KISER, Edgar and Michael HECHTER. The Role of General Theory in Comparative-Historical Sociology. *American Journal of Sociology* [online]. University of Chicago Press, 1991, **97**(1), p. 1-30 [Accessed 2020-12-13]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2781636>.

<sup>418</sup> For example, David ZARET argues that "analytical historiography" eliminates ideographic contradictions between history and sociology. (ZARET, David. Sociological Theory and Historical Scholarship. *The American Sociologist* [online]. Springer, 1978, **13**(2), p. 114 [Accessed 2020-12-13]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/27702323>.)

<sup>419</sup> Read more: (GIDDENS, Anthony. *Central Problems in Social Theory*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979.)

<sup>420</sup> KISER, Edgar and Michael HECHTER. The Role of General Theory in Comparative-Historical Sociology. *American Journal of Sociology* [online]. University of Chicago Press, 1991, **97**(1), p. 5 [Accessed 2020-12-13]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2781636>

Wright Mills wrote that every social science should have a historical dimension and use historical material. In his opinion, if sociology wants to analyze and understand the present, it should be based on the past, which fundamentally shaped the contemporaneity.<sup>421</sup>

In relation to the PhD project, it means that the communist regime is likely to have different (positive, negative, neutral) effects on the relationship of Czechoslovak Jews to Israel in the particular historical period. There is also an undefined assumption based on the secondary literature that communist Jews will have a different relationship to Judaism, the home, than their non-communist peers etc.

Besides the comparative method, it is also necessary to introduce the concept of oral history used in the PhD project. The concept of oral history is difficult to define, but researchers agree that it is not a special historical discipline, but rather a method that finds application primarily in the field of social, legal, or cultural history. When understanding oral history in the narrower sense, as interviews, then it is possible to use it in sociology, history, or ethnography.<sup>422</sup>

Oral history as an academic field entered the consciousness of people in the late 1960s. The Oral History Association was formed in the United States in 1967, and the Oral History Society was established in the United States in 1973. The first international conference of oral history experts was held in 1978 in Essex, England, and two years later the now-respected International Journal of Oral History was founded. The establishment of the Department of Oral History at Oxford University in 1988 was a definite and definitive admission to the Hall of Internationally Recognized Methods.<sup>423</sup>

From the very beginning, oral history aroused skepticism in professional circles and among university historians, for whom written sources were the basis of every serious study. These controversies often prevented from making this method officially acknowledged in the academic sphere, especially in the United States. Many supporters of the use of oral history thus found themselves on the fringes of the academic community. The main arguments were the "disciplinary practice" of conceiving of history as a model of science and a historical distance. Charles

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<sup>421</sup> DOUZOU, Laurent. From oral history to a so-called "ideology of testimony": autopsy of a step backwards. *Words & Silences* [online]. 2015, 7(1), p. 1-15 [Accessed 2020-12-16]. Available from: <https://www.ioha.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/98-374-1-PB.pdf>

<sup>422</sup> PFAFF, Eugene. Oral History: A New Challenge for Public Libraries. *Wilson Library Bulletin* [online]. May 1980, 54(9), p. 568-71 [Accessed 2019-03-19]. Available from: <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ224139>.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid. p. 568-71 [Accessed 2019-03-19]. Available from: <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ224139>.



Morrissey summed it up quite aptly: "*The more recent you are, the less professional you are because you're within living memory.*"<sup>424</sup>

Although the attitude towards oral history within the greater academic community has changed considerably, oral historians must deflect attacks on the credibility of data obtained from living witnesses (I describe the shortcomings of oral history below when analyzing my interviews with witnesses). However, oral history made possible to measure the differences between the historical and sociological written facts and their presentation and understanding. The method enabled me to understand the perception of historical events of less influential individuals, and to study the collective memory, and to map the cultural patterns of a Jewish sector of society.

Specifically, the individual elements of oral history helped me to find an intergenerational understanding of external realities (Israel, loyalty to the nation state) or symbolic themes (home, Judaism). Personally, I see the limit of oral history because narrators are able to define the situation from his point of view, but they are no longer able to justify or give reasons why they understand it in that way (See criticism of the conducted interviews below). It is therefore important to work carefully with relativism about certain facts. I would interpret the oral history approach as a preference for interpretations over explanations.<sup>425</sup> There is less effort to analyze objective structures and there is an effort to describe, generalize and classify the studied phenomena, from the position of subjectivity of actors on the social scene of the world. During the PhD project, Jewish people regardless of their religious denomination had an opportunity to share their personal experiences and subjective experiences of history. Oral history leads to the democratization of history<sup>426</sup> because it mainly deals with the lives of ordinary people.<sup>427</sup>

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<sup>424</sup> DOUZOU, Laurent. From oral history to a so-called "ideology of testimony": autopsy of a step backwards. *Words & Silences* [online]. 2015, 7(1), p. 2 [Accessed 2020-12-16]. Available from: <https://www.ioha.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/98-374-1-PB.pdf>

<sup>425</sup> Read more: (HAYNES, Kathryn. Other lives in accounting: Critical reflections on oral history methodology in action. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* [online]. 2010, 21(3), p. 221-231 [Accessed 2021-8-5]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpa.2009.11.002>).

<sup>426</sup> I highly recommend the inspiring work of Katka Reszke, who via in-depth interviews analyzed the development and perspectives of the so-called third Polish Jewish generation. (RESZKE, Katka. *Return of the Jew: Identity Narratives of the Third Post-Holocaust Generation of Jews in Poland* [online]. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2019).

<sup>427</sup> VANĚK, Miroslav. *Orální historie ve výzkumu soudobých dějin*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2004. p. 18-19.

## 4.2. Researched sample of Jewish narrators and respondents

The individuals recruited as participants of this study were mostly university-educated people with adequate financial means. This was not one of the selection criteria, there was no intention of selecting participants according to their education or financial background. In terms of gender representation, the research was well balanced with 49,5 % female and 50,5 % male participants. The majority of survey respondents were married (66%), 12.6% were single, 9% divorced and 11.7% widowed. Regarding the classification according to Jewish origin. I chose the division described above in chapter: The researched social cohorts: 2nd and 3rd Jewish post-war generations in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. A “Halachic Jew” in my research refers to an individual who has a Jewish mother, and a non-Halachic Jew having Jewish ancestry in the paternal line. The designation “convert” has a broader meaning in my thesis since it does not include only purely orthodox converts approved by *Bejt Din* in Israel. Rather it was sufficient for them to be officially accepted by any Jewish association in Luxembourg or the Czech lands. They did not have to be permanent or active members.

### SURVEY: NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS FROM ALL SOCIAL COHORTS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

*Table 2: Czechoslovak second Jewish generation*

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Halachic Jew</i>	<i>Non-halachic Jew</i>	<i>Converts</i>
<i>Male</i>	24	18	9
<i>Female</i>	21	18	10
<i>Prefer not to say</i>	0	0	0

*Table 3: Czechoslovak third Jewish generation*

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Halachic Jew</i>	<i>Non-halachic Jew</i>	<i>Converts</i>
<i>Male</i>	16	20	13

<i>Female</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Prefer not to say</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>

*Table 4: Luxembourg second Jewish generation*

<b><i>Gender</i></b>	<b><i>Halachic Jew</i></b>	<b><i>Non-halachic Jew</i></b>	<b><i>Converts</i></b>
<i>Male</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Female</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Prefer not to say</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>

*Table 5: Luxembourg third Jewish generation*

<b><i>Gender</i></b>	<b><i>Halachic Jew</i></b>	<b><i>Non-halachic Jew</i></b>	<b><i>Converts</i></b>
<i>Male</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Female</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Prefer not to say</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>

I conducted interviews with members of the social cohorts described above. Each cohort (eight men and seven women) consisted of 10 narrators for balanced outputs and subsequent analysis. This division was mainly influenced by the willingness of narrators to give an interview, and therefore the number of women is slightly lower.<sup>428</sup> In total, 32 individuals<sup>429</sup> answered all sets of questions; eight answered the pre-prepared individual questions.<sup>430</sup> The demographic questions, the questions regarding education attainment, and marital status were required to classify individual respondents.<sup>431</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> Even though I asked the same number of men and women, men were more willing to take part in my research.

<sup>429</sup> I have conducted 40 interviews altogether.

<sup>430</sup> The list of questions is in the section Annex at the bottom of this work.

<sup>431</sup> The questions for all narrators are attached at the end of the work.

In terms of religious orientation, 20 halachic Jews, 12 non-halachic Jews and 8 converts took part in the interviews. In the analytical part of the work (Section: RESULTS), I made an effort to publish the edited excerpts of interviews only relevant to the research topic (attitudes towards Israel, antisemitism, Jewish identity,). In other words, I did not always mention the interviews of all fifteen narrators, but only those who provided appropriate data.

### 4.3. Semi-structured survey

As I needed to fill out a relatively comprehensive questionnaire that included a wide variety of issues, it was necessary to carefully write each question to obtain as much information as possible with a limited number of questions.

Nevertheless, the decisive part of the researcher's intervention occurs during the preparation of the research project. Willem Saris and Irmtraud Gallhofer describe several choices which should be made before the beginning of survey distribution. Besides choosing a feasible topic, it is advisable to determine most important variables (different influences on identities), data collection method (interviews, survey), operationalization (online and personal fieldwork), test of the question quality (Completion by the selected Jewish authorities) and definition of fieldwork and research area (Luxembourg and the Czech lands).<sup>432</sup> I made an effort to meet these suggestions to collect the best dataset to make the least distorted data analysis.

When conducting the survey, I tried to collect diverse data for which for I needed to make people comfortable enough to participate. With this in mind I ordered the following questions: First I asked for information strongly associated with experience and self-definition in a certain historical context. Secondly I asked questions regarding the symbolic and practical significance of a particular place (country) with both potential direct and indirect contact and, thirdly I posed questions regarding ideological awareness with legal overlap (antisemitism).

The survey contained 17 questions divided into four categories: basic information, approach to Jewish identity and Jewishness, Israel, *Aliyah*, home, and antisemitism. The dataset obtained provided a picture of the sociology of modern Jewish society in the second half of the

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432 SARIS, Willem and Irmtraud GALLHOFER. *Design, evaluation, and analysis of questionnaires for survey research*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2014.

20th century supplemented by secondary literature and interviews. Both qualitative and quantitative data were obtained from the 400 questionnaires received, which it is felt is a sufficient sample size<sup>433</sup> to permit meaningful analysis. This ambitious sample of the Jewish population necessitated a relatively long period of data collection - from July 2018 to November 2019.

The survey comprised mainly closed-ended questions, meaning that the respondents had to choose from a limited range of responses. There were also a number of yes / no questions, e.g., Have you ever visited Israel? I also decided to include several multiple choice and scaled questions in my questionnaire, so that the respondents could provide a wider variety of answers. Scaled questions indicate the participant's preferences and rank the individual aspects according to importance. I used enquiries with a scale<sup>434</sup> from 1 to 5, where respondents could simply mark their preferences.

Nearly all enquiries allow respondents to write down additional remarks and opinions. Nearly half of the respondents provided additional lengthier comments, memories, remarks, and opinions. Their life-writing reveals important empirical and theoretical insights that broaden and extend the significance of the collected quantitative data. The questionnaire was strictly anonymous, and the data gathered have been used only for private matters related to this research.<sup>435</sup> The questionnaire had three language versions (Czech, French and English). When the project is completed, each participant<sup>436</sup> will be informed about the results of the survey.

#### **4.3.1. Structure of questions and critical assessment**

In this chapter, I intend to introduce the structure of the questionnaire and critically evaluate the data obtained. The first step was the anonymization of the participants. The survey results contain personal information that could, to a certain extent, reveal the participants' identities, political interests and religious affiliation. It was therefore necessary to proceed very cautiously to ensure

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433 ŠLACHTOVÁ, H. et al. Hodnocení návratnosti dotazníkové studie použitím GIS a standardních metod. In: *Vědecko-odborná konference s mezinárodní účastí Životní podmínky a zdraví. Štrbské Pleso*. 2001, **15**(17). p. 2.

434 I decided to employ the Likert scale of satisfaction which has adaptable functions in the Survey Monkey. Read more: (JOSHI, Ankur, et al. Likert scale: Explored and explained. *British Journal of Applied Science & Technology* [online]. 2015, 7(4), 396 [Accessed 2020-9-30]. Available from:

<https://eclass.aspete.gr/modules/document/file.php/EPPAIK269/5a7cc366dd963113c6923ac4a73c3286ab22.pdf>.

435 I also left the survey at liberal (e.g. *Bejt Simcha*) and orthodox communities (*Chabad Lubavitch*) registered in Luxembourg and the Czech Republic.

436 Each respondent who wanted to be appraised of the results and provided me with contact information.

the anonymity of the questionnaire. However, to make dataset valid for the questionnaire, all respondents had to complete the basic questions: vital statistics, place of birth, year of birth, current permanent residence, current marital status, and level of education. I decided not to hide these questions, as it is common at the bottom of the questionnaire, but I preferred to put them on the first page.<sup>437</sup> It was necessary to strictly adhere to ethical rules regarding the handling of personal information in accordance with the regulations of the GDPR. It means that respondents have the opportunity to download their data from the survey at any time. They also have the right to access their submitted information for a limited period of time. Their personal data can also only be stored for a certain period of time.

Apart from the basic personal information section, the first question<sup>438</sup> was focused on Jewish identity and thus to Judaism, specifically to the respondent's Jewish / non-Jewish family background. Thanks to the possibility for the respondents to include additional information, I tried to find out who was the main initiator of Judaism in the respondent's life, whether it was family, friends or the individual himself. The second question<sup>439</sup> focused on external factors influencing the development of Jewish identities. I categorized the questions according to family, religious authorities, and friends. Another subgroup of questions concerned legal, symbolic and cultural issues (antisemitism, visiting Israel, education, and culture).

Another question<sup>440</sup> dealt with the intensity of Jewish religious practice addressing the questions such as regular synagogue attendance, keeping kosher and celebration of Jewish holidays. This survey question seeks to measure "thickness" or "thinness" of Jewish religious identities. It is widely known that this question can arise emotion<sup>441</sup> because a considerable number of respondents from the ranks of Czechoslovak Jews experienced persecution not only from the Nazis but also from the Communists because of their religious practices. It is therefore important to remember the lesson of historian Michal Pullmann that a researcher must be impartial at all costs. Historians should not be a judge deciding on who is morally right and who is morally wrong.

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<sup>437</sup> Questions: vital statistics, place of birth, year of birth, current permanent residence, current marital status, and level of education.

<sup>438</sup> Q: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?

<sup>439</sup> Q: What or who forms your Jewish identity?

<sup>440</sup> Q: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays?

<sup>441</sup> I had to act similarly unilaterally in the case of political-historical questions about Israel, in which some respondents had very strong purely political and demagogic views, oscillating between Israel's boundless support and open hatred of the country.

Pullmann criticizes the approach of some historians who pass judgement on the moral qualities of people involved with the communist regime. The topic of “being an active communist” or a collaborator of the StB is still relatively strongly debated<sup>442</sup> and many members of the Jewish community feel ashamed of their communist relatives, especially in the Czech Republic.<sup>443</sup> During the political crisis at the Jewish Religious community of Prague in 2004, cooperation with the Communist Party and the StB was a frequently-used argument to denigrate political opponents. Alena Heitlinger describes this crisis in her book.<sup>444</sup>

The Luxembourg side, on the other hand, saw strong guidance on the issue of pos-war restitutions which in the eyes of some respondents unjustly accused the Luxembourg state of alleged persecution of Luxembourg Jewish population. The question focused on the collective memory of the parents rather than anything else.

Historian Jan Gruber described ethic contradictions and tensions as a programmatic resignation to drawing moral conclusions. In his opinion, scholars should divest themselves of the role of social critic because they are nothing but “spiritual agents in the forums of political will-making,” which affirms publicly shared self-understanding without the aspiration to correct or change them.<sup>445</sup> Keeping a critical role of historian, I have tried to avoid any moral condemnation in relation to the collected data.

Moving back to the structure of the questionnaire, it is worth of drawing attention that each survey section has been structured differently. Besides the questions related to Jewish identities and traditions, there were also questions related to Israel. Since the interviews were supposed to give me more qualitative data related to symbolic and religious values of Israel, the enquiries in the survey were going to give respondents’ political and sociological insights into this country.

First, I chose a political-sociological question revealing the respondent's current political opinion of Israel. At the same time, however, I wanted to reveal the respondents’ power of

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<sup>442</sup> PULLMANN, Michal. K sociálněhistorickému výzkumu komunistických systémů. *Soudobé dějiny*. 2008, **15**(3-4). p. 709.

<sup>443</sup> Read more: (Socialismus a komunismus jako únik před nacionalismem a antisemitismem? *Naši nebo cizí? Židé v českém 20. století* [online]. Prague: Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2014 [Accessed. 2021-8-29]. Available from: <http://www.nasinebocizi.cz/>).

<sup>444</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 161-180.

<sup>445</sup> GRUBER, Jan. Orální historie mezi aktivismem a akademismem. *Dějiny-Teorie-Kritika* [online]. 2013, (2), p. 275-280 [Accessed 2021-8-5]. Available from: <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=319788>.

belonging to Israel and Israeli citizens, that is why there was also a question targeted how often and whether the respondents ever visited Israel. The next objective was to reveal the respondent's relationship to the diaspora along with the issue of *Aliyah*. The last question was again rather subjective, to find out whether the respondent would be willing to go to Israel permanently and live there. The question was asked only to those who had not, in fact emigrated to Israel, and to reveal the reasons for their decision. The participants' responses helped me shed light on their historical approach to their diasporic homeland and their perception of Israel as a possible homeland.

Since I wanted to make the questionnaire attractive for respondents, I decided to put the question of international and domestic politics at the first place. The correct composition of the questions, which forces the respondent to think about the answers and at the same time motivates him/her to continue, is essential for the successful completion of each questionnaire. Floyd Fowler described significance of question order in his book (*Standardized survey interviewing: minimizing interviewer-related error*). In his opinion, initial questions can easily skew later results such as questions on emotional reactions.<sup>446</sup> In the case of this project, I provided an option for self-expression in 6 of the 17 questions to give respondents an opportunity to expound upon their answers. Their accompanying comments turned out to be an important source of information used in my work.

A separate section of the questionnaire includes questions about antisemitism and its role in the lives of post-war generations. The questions in this case are a bit suggestive<sup>447</sup>, but necessary to divide those who have had experience with antisemitism and those who have not. Other questions sought to identify the places where an individual encountered antisemitism, or what form the antisemitism took. Some of my respondents protested in the attached comments that these questions are too narrow and limited and they appreciated being provided with a space for additional comments. According to them, the list of answers offered below the questions did not encompass all forms of antisemitism experienced by Czechoslovak and Luxembourg respondents.

Timothy Graeff considers the issues of "suggestive questioning" in surveys to be a big issues since with far-reaching consequences. Suggestively asked questions then bring the answers

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<sup>446</sup> FOWLER, Floyd J. and Thomas W. MANGIONE. *Standardized survey interviewing: minimizing interviewer-related error*. Newbury Park: Sage, 1990. p. 136-138.

<sup>447</sup> Questions concerning the intensity of antisemitism and the form of antisemitism.



that are expected and considered desirable.<sup>448</sup> In his opinion, all responses are influenced by many factors such as the current situation, the respondent's hidden intentions such as prestige, the effort to intentionally distort the answer based on feelings of guilt, etc. The formulation of the question plays a primary role among these factors. Unclear and insufficiently defined questions can lead to answers that suffer from the same shortcomings.

#### 4.3.2. *Specifics of questionnaire distribution and validity*

The questionnaire was distributed among the members of the researched cohorts described above. At the beginning of my research, a pertinent question had to be addressed: How can I find enough narrators for my oral-historical project? Many scholars still use the so-called “snowball” technique, which simply asks one or more respondents to find other narrators.<sup>449</sup>

In the case of my survey, the snowball method had very ambivalent results in terms of my research. Trying to distribute as many questionnaires as possible, I also had to rely on “Jewish local opinion-makers”<sup>450</sup> who helped me to distribute the questionnaire among Jewish adherents. In general, the distribution of the questionnaires did not go smoothly in any case, and it turned out the researched participants prefer giving live interviews to filling out the questionnaire. Very few statistics and analyses dealing with the topic of my PhD project have been published up to now,<sup>451</sup> thus I could not rely on the knowledge of the researched issue among the Jewish people. Additionally, I had to come to terms with rejection from those who firmly refused to be involved in any scholarly historic projects.<sup>452</sup>

Thanks to modern technologies, especially the Internet, the distribution and subsequent analysis of the questionnaires was greatly simplified, which additionally led me to implement this

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<sup>448</sup> GRAEFF, Timothy R. Response Bias. *Encyclopedia of Social Measurement* [online]. New York: Elsevier, 2005, p. 415 [Accessed 2020-03-19]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-12-369398-5/00037-2>.

<sup>449</sup> DISMAN, Miroslav. *Jak se vyrábí sociologická znalost*. 4. vyd. Praha: Karolinum, 2011. p. 114-115.

<sup>450</sup> For example: Rabbis, heads of cultural organizations, presidents of communities/consistories.

<sup>451</sup> In the Czech Republic, there are only a few diploma theses (e.g. SKÁLOVÁ, Adéla. *A život šel dál: osudy československých přeživších Židů po druhé světové válce*. Praha, 2011. Diploma thesis. Univerzita Karlova ; PUTNOVÁ, Karolína. *Židovská identita třetí generace po holocaustu*. Praha, 2016. Bachelor. Univerzita Karlova, and the interdisciplinary work by HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews Since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006). In Luxembourg, there have been published no paper on this topic up to now.

<sup>452</sup> The exact number cannot be determined, but it could be up to 50% of all respondents. I did not notice that the refusal to complete the questionnaire differed significantly by religious denomination or gender.

method for data collection.<sup>453</sup> To obtain as many samples as possible, I decided to use various online platforms where I had my survey uploaded. I also had questionnaires in paper form which were more suitable for older research participants.

The sampling of liberal Jews also relied on personal networks, especially in Luxembourg, where presidents of consistories and rabbis helped me to distribute the survey at synagogues or they leave a bunch of copies of the questionnaire in common areas. The situation was also similar in the Czech Republic, where I had to rely on the leaders of the liberal community *Bejt Simcha*. I also used contacts provided by Petr Brod, who helped me to distribute the survey among his friends. I also used the announcements in the *Roš chodeš*<sup>454</sup> and the *Maskil*.<sup>455</sup>

Occasionally I came across notes in the questionnaire that the respondent only wants to speak for himself and does not want to involve his descendants in the research. Sometimes I was given an address to forward a questionnaire to a specific individual. Some respondents also did not want to be responsible for distributing the questionnaires to their friends and acquaintances, so I often only received an email address and forwarded the questionnaire in person with a cover letter.

Since the distribution of the questionnaires took place partly under my control, I tried to at least partially influence which religious denomination will be represented to receive a wide range of replies from different religious denominations. Despite my slight interference in the distribution of the questionnaires, I did not aim to have the balanced representation of men and women, but I wanted to avoid dominant filling the questionnaire by only one gender.

Besides characteristics of distribution, it is also important to emphasize several factors related to the validity of the questionnaire survey. In total, I received a questionnaire from 419 respondents, but I felt compelled to remove some responses after evaluating and verifying their validity. The principal issue of validity was the missing demographic information about gender, permanent residence, religious denomination, year of birth and place of birth and education, and I decided to evaluate a question as valid if it was filled in by at least 100 respondents.

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<sup>453</sup> DILLMAN, Don. Mail and other self-administered surveys in the 21st century: the beginning of a new era. *Retrieved May* [online]. 1998, **30**, p. 17. [Accessed 2021-8-5]. Available from: <https://subsites.sesrc.wsu.edu/dillman/papers/1999/mailandother.pdf>.

<sup>454</sup> Jewish magazine for the Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic published in Prague.

<sup>455</sup> Jewish community journal published by the Liberal community *Bejt Simcha* in Prague.

As the questionnaires were distributed in both electronic and paper form, it is not possible to determine exactly how many people completed the questionnaire. The problem was with the percentage of filling in the questionnaires; the average success rate was approximately 60%. This data set also narrowed the range of questions from which I could draw valid data. It is evident that the respondents only dealt with issues that interested them and that they did not feel violated their privacy, especially the privacy of their children and relatives. The lack of relevant answers narrowed the objectives of my research to three basic aspects: relation to Israel, antisemitism, and Jewish identity. In case of my research, I could not afford to omit the questionnaires only partially completed, as it is generally recommended in other studies using the empirical data even from incomplete surveys.<sup>456</sup>

#### **4.4. Conducted interviews and methodological criticism**

In this chapter, I want to present how I identified willing interviewees and how I subsequently proceeded to evaluate the data obtained during the interviews. For this qualitative part of my research, I decided to conduct 40 in-depth interviews with former and current Jewish representatives<sup>457</sup> but also with regular registered members of the Jewish community. All narrators fit into the defined examined generations. The main motivation for employing oral history methods in my work is the fact that it enables a researcher to acquire access to unpublished information that would be otherwise unavailable. This approach allowed me to find details, clusters, and intersections that usually go unnoticed and are often overlooked in the historical narrative. The testimonies may cause historians to rethink what they thought they knew. An objective is to uncover unexpected discrepancies between written sources and remembered firsthand experience.<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> ŠLACHTOVÁ, H, et al. Hodnocení návratnosti dotazníkové studie použitím GIS a standardních metod. In: *Vědecko-odborná konference s mezinárodní účastí Životní podmínky a zdraví. Štrbské Pleso*. 2001, **15**(17.10). ; DRBOHLAV, Dušan et al. Ruská komunita v České republice (Výsledky dotazníkového šetření). *Výzkumná zpráva pro Ministerstvo vnitra ČR*. 1999.

<sup>457</sup> It embraces Jews who work for the Jewish official administration in Luxembourg and the Czech Republic and I made also interviews with common.

<sup>458</sup> The inspiration for how to conduct interviews came from the work of Alena Heitlinger (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006).

Since the “snowball” technique did not work well for the survey distribution, I took advantage of my contacts collected during services in synagogues. Besides the narrators thus secured, I also contacted other potential witnesses by myself. I organized several events where I introduced my project to other community members, and I gave my contact information to those who wished to participate. To find suitable respondents, I mainly decided to use local Jewish periodicals, however, the recommendations given by witnesses themselves were invaluable to my research.

During the interviews, I chose between primary questions (pre-prepared) and secondary questions that arose spontaneously during the dialogue. An interviewer also needs a set of gestures to express support or understanding. It was also found to be effective to prompt interviewees for further responses by recapitulating what he/she had already said. I tried to avoid leading questions to provide narrators opportunity to make their own comments and remarks.<sup>459</sup> Interviews took between 40 and 90 minutes. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed with the written consent of the narrators. The text of the interviews was partially edited and repetitive words, sentences, long pauses, external sounds, irrelevant communication (phone calls) and emotional colors (e.g. laughing) were removed from the interview in order to make the interviews comprehensible for readers and researchers. The quoted passages from the interviews in a language other than English (French, Czech and Slovak) have been translated into English.

The interviews took place in various locations, especially in cafes and restaurants in accordance with narrators’ wishes. No one else participated in the interviews. Before starting the interview, the narrator was acquainted with the rules of the research and signed the ethical consent on the processing of personal data.

However, the methodology of oral history also raises some inevitable issues regarding subjectivity and power relations in the research process, in particular the interpretation and ownership of research and publicity and reciprocity. The level of publicity in stories can put a participant at risk of revealing his or her identity. This can occur when a narrator’s identity is insufficiently concealed and the narrator becomes recognizable to other members of the

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<sup>459</sup> VANĚK, Miroslav. *Orální historie ve výzkumu soudobých dějin*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2004. p. 104.

community.<sup>460</sup> I encountered this problem quite often during my research, and the vast majority of narrators required anonymizing the data obtained from their narratives.

Due to a certain suspicion on the part of some narrators which is of course understandable, I caught myself several times practicing self-censorship. Narrators were at times suspicious of my research and intent as to why I wanted to use their data in my work. I managed to overcome this mistrust in most cases. But my person was not the only reason for their distrust because some witnesses were not willing to talk to me about their political (communist) family history<sup>461</sup> until I promised them that they would be thoroughly anonymized so that their input would not reach their members of the Jewish community. The research experience partially correlates with Jan Gruber's theory stating that contemporary research focused on life in the socialist dictatorship usually implicitly works with a strongly schematized theory of totalitarianism formulated more than sixty years ago by Carl Joachim Friedrich together with Zbigniew Brzeziński and Hannah Arendt.<sup>462</sup> Pulman suggests that Czechoslovak communist and non-communist citizens shared responsibility for sustaining "an evil regime" and they cannot be only considered an innocent people in controlled society. It makes the communist regime the only collective actor with its own psychology and intentions, against which society stands as an object of control, control, leveling and liquidation.<sup>463</sup>

Due to this fact, I had to make sure the interview would be anonymized, but it complicated the use of information about family, children and relatives. The narrators often did not want to get bogged down in the often controversial family history. This was not only the case for Czechoslovak witnesses, but also for the Jews of Luxembourg, who did not want to comment, for example, on the political situation in Luxembourg after the war, their views on Israel, or their experiences at

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<sup>460</sup> JESSEE, Erin. The Limits of Oral History: Ethics and Methodology Amid Highly Politicized Research Settings. *The Oral History Review* [online]. 2011, **38**(2), p. 287-307 [Accessed 2021-8-5]. Available from: doi:10.1093/ohr/ohr098.

<sup>461</sup> Historian Michal Pullmann believes that such a "burden" can have a major impact on witnesses and their way of perceiving historical facts. The so-called painful places in family history can be a problem for certain groups of people, including the Jewish population in the Czech lands. In relation to my research, it is clear that some narrators do not want to discuss their communist past or the past of their relatives. Being labeled a communist or "leftist" is still considered a very derogatory label, so many narrators do not want to remember their communist past or the communist past of their parents. (Socialismus a komunismus jako únik před nacionalismem a antisemitismem? *Naši nebo cizí? Židé v českém 20. století* [online]. Prague: Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2014, [Accessed 2020-8-29]. Available from: <http://www.nasinebocizi.cz/>).

<sup>462</sup> GRUBER, Jan. Orální historie mezi aktivismem a akademismem. *Dějiny-Teorie-Kritika* [online]. 2013, (2), p. 277. [Accessed 2021-8-5]. Available from: <https://www.cceol.com/search/article-detail?id=319788>.

<sup>463</sup> PULLMANN, Michal. K sociálněhistorickému výzkumu komunistických systémů. *Soudobé dějiny*. 2008, **15**(3-4). p. 703-717.

international universities. Anonymization was a priority for them, and several times during the interviews they made sure that their names would be untraceable.

Since the Jewish population lives in a closed community, and it seems that everyone knows each other, I decided to protect my narrators first. I usually included direct quotations and tried to interpret them so that they could not harm anyone. I performed the analysis through narrators, not together with narrators, and I wrote about them only in general, in spite of reducing the humanizing and democratizing potential of oral history. This applies in particular to the questions about antisemitism and its intensity, both past and present. Narrators often responded that antisemitism was a very insignificant element for them, and when I assured them that other members of the community would learn nothing, they decided to talk about antisemitism and specifically new antisemitism. Verification of data from questionnaires through oral history led me to the fact, led me to the concept “great and little history “described by Milan Otáhal.”<sup>464</sup> In his opinion, the main goal is to obtain proofs of experience in order to verify or gather new facts which enable us to confirm or correct specific interpretations or preliminary research questions.

To compare and classify the impact of Israel on individuals within a specific national or religious minority provides a variety of techniques. First, interviews can discover the political thinking of narrators along with the religious, cultural and economic values in relation to the State of Israel. Since, I had very little written sources on this topic within the PhD project, I had to rely on empirical data to get overall insight into issues of Israel in the diaspora in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. I can support this theory by Alessandro Portelli’s approach, who judged that the method of oral history is irreplaceable when scholars do not have enough other historical sources, but it is often perceived as supplementary analysis of historical facts. It is based on the active participation of the researcher and the narrator; however, it characterizes the researched topics more subjectively.<sup>465</sup>

Asking questions with political background had two reasons. First, narrators should begin describing something what know quite well, because, for example, it is hard to define symbolic values of Israel, but it is not rather difficult to give an opinion on political situation in the Middle

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<sup>464</sup> He defines the Great history as history of powerful people, those who keep power in their hands. (OTÁHAL, Milan and Miroslav VANĚK. *Sto studentských revolucí: studenti v období pádu komunismu- životopisná vyprávění*. Praha: Lidové noviny, 1999. p. 34).

<sup>465</sup> PORTELLI, Alessandro. The peculiarities of oral history. In: *History workshop journal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, 12(1), p. 96-107.

East. I deliberately avoided controversial political topics that could disrupt the flow of the conversation and bring emotions into the interview. Historian Erin Jessee contended that the limits of oral history emerge when you confront highly politicized research settings.<sup>466</sup>

On the other hand, it is necessary to be careful since this method deals with a large amount of individual experiences, opinions, and insights, which might result in scattered fragments. Historians should keep a careful distance to observe history through eyes of narrators. Using oral history as the only source can cause confusion by universalizing historical facts and events. This view removes the dilemma of objectivity versus subjectivity, and these attributes cease to be understood as two distinct poles, but instead as complementary components of a single human history. Scholars who employ oral history have often argued whether oral history allows us to investigate historical truth. It is often reflected upon by many writers and scientists.<sup>467</sup>

In the case of the topic of antisemitism, it was very difficult not to slip into a certain popularization of the conversation, especially whether I know the narrator personally. Different forms of antisemitism and its influence on family living can create a special bond of empathy between narrators and interviewers. This emotional bond can distort data interpretation in pursuit of protecting a narrator's family and work. Antisemitism has a great potential to cause trauma to people who have faced to it in their lives, but scholars are not allowed to withhold information, which she light into a particular incident. Historian Jan Gruber cited the expert Miroslav Vanek who argued that is important for interviewers to find a degree of empathy between academic interviewing and personal interviewing. Vaněk states that there is a significant difference that distinguishes academics from journalists. Academics cannot afford to fabricate and distort the stories to get more readers.<sup>468</sup>

The method of oral history as well as the examination of documents (diaries and correspondence) that were found immediately after the end of the war are certainly valuable sources for understanding the contemporary world. However, both cannot be an absolutely authentic reflection of the authors of the mentioned reality. According to Petr Sedlák, once the

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<sup>466</sup> JESSEE, Erin. The limits of oral history: ethics and methodology amid highly politicized research settings. *The Oral History Review* [online]. 2019, **38**(2). p. 300 [Accessed 2021-8-5]. Available from: doi:10.1093/ohr/ohr098.

<sup>467</sup> O'NEILL, Gilda. *Lost Voices: Memories of a Vanished Way of Life*. London: Random House, 2013. p. 139-156.

<sup>468</sup> GRUBER, Jan. Orální historie mezi aktivismem a akademismem. *Dějiny-Teorie-Kritika* [online]. 2013, (2), p. 275-280 [Accessed 2021-8-5]. Available from: <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=319788>.

document is addressed to another person, the degree of author's binding to social or historical facts increases. It means that author of written sources are always tied to the social control of their stylization. In both cases, interviews and written sources take place within a certain time interval and their credibility is limited in other ways.<sup>469</sup>

However, in my opinion, subjectivity, the lack of a time "gap", and an excess or lack of relevant "traditional" sources are all beginning to be perceived as natural features of the youngest stage of the human past, rather than an insurmountable barrier that prevents professional research.<sup>470</sup> Indeed, I wish to avoid accusations of scientific populism, and am aware that oral history, like other methods, is still an imperfect tool (as are other historical methods) and must be constantly critically reflected.<sup>471</sup>

## 5. RESULTS

The aim of the following chapters is to explain the empirical data in the context of the historical and sociological conditions described above. I will emphasize the various influences that may have impacted the formation of Jewish identities among members of Jewish post-war generations in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. The data primarily come from a sociological questionnaire survey and from semi-structured interviews with members of the study cohorts. The data from the survey have been entered into tables and graphs attached in the annex at the end of the thesis. Edited excerpts of transcribed interviews, and additional comments from the participants have been synthesized and are discussed in terms of sociological theories and historical context described above. The following result chapters are designed in a comparative way, meaning that I first compare the intergenerational development (second vs third Jewish generation) in the Czech lands and in Luxembourg and then try to find a connection between these two geographic areas.

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<sup>469</sup> SEDLÁK, Petr. Svět přeživších Židů - prameny a jejich výklad. *Lidé Města*. 2008, **10**(3), p. 86.

<sup>470</sup> I base this statement on capacities from the field of oral history, such as Florence Descamps (DESCAMPS, Florence. *L'historien, l'archiviste et le magnétophone: De la constitution de la source orale à son exploitation*. Paris: Comité pour l'Histoire économique et financière, 2006).

<sup>471</sup> The detailed defense of oral history has been described, for example, by Laurent Douzou in relation to the development of oral history in France. (DOUZOU, Laurent. From oral history to a so-called "ideology of testimony": autopsy of a step backwards. *Words & Silences* [online]. 2015, **7**(1), p. 1-15 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: <http://www.ioha.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/98-374-1-PB.pdf>).



The first group of subchapters seeks to analyze the features of Jewish groups that have formed individual identities of the Jewish second and third post-war generation. Based on the individual interviews, it is very difficult to embrace all factors of post-war Jewish identity and Jewishness in the social cohorts examined. I have identified significant differences between the types of factors that constitute individual identities which prevented me from constructing generally applicable observations. The data collected is intended to address issues concerning mostly individual cases, rather than generalizing and searching for intersections within the cohorts. However, to make the PhD project relevant to historical sociology and oral history, I tried to find at least some common patterns and intersections relevant to be generalized.<sup>472</sup>

I was interested in the subjective view of the participants within the historical context in order to create starting points, rather than general conclusions. Although many researchers analyze the formation of post-war Jewish identities on the principle of experience with the Holocaust,<sup>473</sup> I have primarily focused my questions on individual perceptions of Judaism, history, family, surroundings and the Jewish community. My research deals with the environment in which the participants grew up and the range of factors that influenced the formation of their Jewish identities. Therefore, the first part of the research deals with the following questions:

- How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?
- What or who help to form your Jewish identity?
- What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays?
- At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism?

I understand the individual identity of an individual in my research as the intersection of personal, social and collective identities. A man's idea of himself is thus, to some extent, derived from his reflected affiliation to other people and society.

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<sup>472</sup> I find inspiration of generalization in the publication of Katka Reszke, who is also trying to connect the distinctions, multiplicities and hybridities in terms of Polish Jewish identities. (RESZKE, Katka, 2019. *Return of the Jew: Identity Narratives of the Third Post-Holocaust Generation of Jews in Poland* [online]. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2019, p. 217 [Accessed 2021-6-12]. Available from: doi:10.1515/9781644690420).

<sup>473</sup> See: (GRÜNBERG, Kurt. *Love after Auschwitz: The Second Generation in Germany*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2006. ; DORON, Daniella. *Jewish Youth and Identity in Postwar France: Rebuilding Family and Nation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. ; LORENZ, Dagmar. Austrian Jewish History and Identity after 1945. *Modern Austrian Literature* [online]. JSTOR, 1994, 27(3/4), p. 1-17. [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24648282>).

The influence of Israel on the formation of Jewish identities of Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jews after the war: Based on intergenerational comparison of changing attitudes towards Israel and home, I can see how Israel has influenced the diverse range of participants in my research. According to respected scholars, the land of Israel has had an undeniable influence on Jewish post-war generations, their Jewish identity and sense of Jewishness.<sup>474</sup> However, it is very difficult to generalize or strictly define Jewish feelings and relationships to Israel, as they are highly diverse and distinctive. The point of view here was not only the political situation in Israel, but also the symbolic and practical significance of Israel for the Jewish post-war generations in Czechoslovakia and Luxembourg. I am also examining the reasons why the participants did not move to Israel like many of their peers. I want to explore their motives in a broad historical context. In order to obtain the best possible data, I decided to ask the following questions in the survey and interviews.

- Have you ever visited Israel?
- What is your real stand towards Israel?
- Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?
- What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?

Following the topic of the significance of Israel to the study participants, the PhD thesis addresses the issue of antisemitism and its perception by the study participants. The narrators and respondents are the same ones as were polled about attitudes towards Israel. Questions asked during the interviews focused on the types of antisemitic incidents in the Czech lands and Luxembourg after the war. In attempting to understand the intensity and types of antisemitism experienced or perceived by the study participants I decided to focus on the following issues: prejudices, stereotypes, restrictions from the government, friends, neighborhood, media and work. Below, there are three questions asked during the research.

- Do you have any personal experience of antisemitism?
- When and where was antisemitism the most intensive?
- What form did you experience antisemitism?

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<sup>474</sup> Read more: (LEVY, Shlomit, Hanna LEVINSOHN and Elihu KATZ. The many faces of Jewishness in Israel. In: *Jews in Israel: Contemporary social and cultural patterns*. Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 2004, p. 265-84).

The findings of the survey and interviews have been synthesized and edited to make a comprehensive example for further interpretation through the theoretical concepts and historical contexts. The graphs and tables based on the figures of the survey are at the end of the work in the chapter Annex.

## **5.1. Czechoslovak second and third Jewish generations: Identity formed by parents and grandparents - Interviews**

This chapter analyzes interviews with members of the social cohorts referred to in this paper as the Czechoslovak second and third Jewish generation. During semi-structured interviews, I asked narrators about their Jewish upbringing, and support from their families to practice Judaism. Questions were designed to elicit information about the behavior and treatment of those who have “thin” and “thick” Jewish identities (defined above). To accomplish this a variety of narrators with different backgrounds (halachic, non-halachic Jews and converts) were selected. The backgrounds of the narrators were very diverse.

When I asked respondents of the CZSJG whether they felt like Czechs, most of my respondents<sup>475</sup> said they had been born in Czechoslovakia, had grown up in Czechoslovakia, and that Czech was their mother tongue. A few interviewees criticized the “typical” Czech or Jewish nature, and the interviews therefore do not show excessive patriotism or pride towards the Czech or Jewish nations, but they also show a remarkable degree of attachment to the Czech nation. A certain admiration for Jewish culture and Czech nation also appears in the stories of the both Czechoslovak generations. For some it was a Jewish romantic partner who inspired an interest in Judaism, for others it was a family member, but very often it was Jewish family background, along with certain unclear secrets which provoked young Jews to search for their roots. The following pages contain edited excerpts of testimonies interpreted by means of theories and historical contexts described in the previous chapters.

A significant factor in the degree to which participants identified themselves with Judaism was the political activities of some family members. Fourteen out of twenty narrators from both Czechoslovak generations confirmed that their fathers especially had played an important role in

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<sup>475</sup> 12 out of 20 respondents.

affecting their religious or cultural direction. *“I grew up in a very harmonious environment and I think it gave me good background for my future life. Dad had Jewish parents who died in a concentration camp. Although my communist father never admitted that the Communists were antisemites, he somehow subconsciously started going to the Jewish community (in Prague) and sometimes to the synagogue as well. He took me with him. [...] We celebrated Christmas, but sometimes my dad celebrated Hanukkah privately. The older he got, the more he became interested in family history, and he let me read letters and postcards from pre-war times, for example. This aroused my interest in Judaism, which I tried to cultivate completely privately. [...] I have never really gone to any other Jewish communities, I am not a right Jew (non-halachic), because I am a Jew from the side of my father, which unfortunately still plays a role.”*<sup>476</sup>

In my opinion, this testimony of a non-halachic Jew demonstrates a few common elements at once. It is clear that the narrator’s family determined his Judaism mostly through “thin” cultural Jewish identity. His parents have a certain religious need, despite their communist beliefs. As Ben-Rafael and Marius Gudonis described regarding Polish Jews, this is a level of religious needfulness that is demonstrated by regular visits to the Jewish community and the synagogue. Despite the risk posed by the communist regime, Jewish post-war generations especially the second one, attempted to find a common way of living in socialist society. In my opinion, this attitude reflects the effort to find a safe environment described by Michael Frankl and his colleagues.<sup>477</sup> According to these historians, the communist party was a place making belief that Jews could find a protection and understanding among comrades. Some were in Nazi camps too.

The narrators also reflected on their parents’ desires to belong somewhere; however, they did not want to keep the wide range of halacha/Jewish regulations.<sup>478</sup> This sentiment was described in a number of interviewees’ statements, such as the following: *“My grandmother told me that they had gone to a synagogue as they wanted to belong somewhere.”*<sup>479</sup> *However, they never observed*

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<sup>476</sup> M. T. Interview, Prague, 3. 9. 2020. (a man, non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>477</sup> FRANKL, Michal, JENŠOVSKÁ, Julie, ed. *Naši nebo cizí?: Židé v českém 20. století*. Praha: Židovské muzeum v Praze - Institut Tereziánské iniciativy, 2013. p. 124-128.

<sup>478</sup> ZOUPĽNA, Jan. *Od jišuvu k Izraeli: formování izraelských mocenských elit 1919-1949*. Praha: Libri, 2007. p. 131.

<sup>479</sup> Being proud of belonging somewhere seems to be a common denominator for a wide range of Jews after the war. The sense of belonging anchored some of the narrators, especially during the era of normalization. This dimension of Jewish identity has been analyzed by respected scholars from many perspectives all over the world. (COOPER, Howard and Paul MORRISON, 1991. *A sense of belonging: dilemmas of British Jewish identity* [online]. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1991 [Accessed. 2021-7-2]. Available from: <https://archive.jpr.org.uk/object-uk71>;

*the kosher rules. They just had a very peculiar approach to keeping Judaism, just something in the middle. They considered themselves Jewish, but they only followed the rules when they wanted.*"<sup>480</sup>

This and similar statements reflect the religiously lukewarm attitude of many families, who to some extent may use ethnicity and religion to gain certain benefits within the Jewish community. In such cases their halachic origins may be more evident to other members of the Jewish community than their internal "thin" religious identity. Another interesting finding was in the testimonies of third-generation halachic interviewees, a number of whom - unlike their parents – describe a desire to extend their own identity from "thin" to "thick". However, in addition to the lack of interest of the family, the political environment of some communities sometimes demotivated them from pursuing a "thicker", "registered" Jewish life.

*"Somehow, they did not share my attitude to Judaism. The turning point came at the age of 15, when a friend took me to lectures in the village. [...] I met my peers and made new relationships there. [...] My children see Judaism through the cultural events organized by Jewish communities and associations. Honestly, the aggressive political fights of the Jewish Religious community of Prague also affected my view of the community. Nowadays, I irregularly attend synagogue and use only the canteen and services of Hagibor.*"<sup>481</sup> <sup>482</sup>

The above statements also partly confirm Jonathan Webber's observation that some Jews actively work within the Jewish community without being officially affiliated with any particular Jewish organization. Those who do so may also have very lukewarm or not-existent relationship with Judaism.<sup>483</sup> Webber's observation is supported by another of this study's narrators, who said following: *"I also think that Czech Jewry and Jewish identity is something more than religion. [...] Czech society was always quite secular, and this had an impact on the Jewish community. People are very Jewish in terms of culture, history, humor, philosophy, but I do not think that people need to belong to a community in any way and express it by going to the synagogue. On the other hand - as everywhere in the world – many people come to the synagogue during holidays. The Spanish*

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MATVEEV, Julia, 2015/07/01. Vladimir Vertlib on "Jewish Identity in particular and identity and belonging in general." *German Life and Letters* [online]. ]. 2015, **68**(3), p. 458-474 [Accessed 2021-6-2]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/glal.12092>).

<sup>480</sup> A. K. Interview, Prague, 14. 2. 2019. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, university degree).

<sup>481</sup> A retirement home for Jewish elders.

<sup>482</sup> T. K. Interview, Prague, 2. 9. 2019 (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing very rarely).

<sup>483</sup> WEBBER, Jonathan, ed. *Jewish identities in the new Europe*. Washington: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994. p. 76-78.

*Synagogue is full on Rosh Hashanah or Yom Kippur. Cultural events and religious holidays are something that unites people.*”<sup>484</sup>

Based on the interviews, a considerable number of Jews, especially non-halachic ones from the second post-war generation, understand their Judaism very pragmatically and turned their Judaism into a practical component of faith closely linked to culture and education. Their statements confirm the findings of Alena Heitlinger<sup>485</sup> and Peter Salner,<sup>486</sup> who argue that a lack of education has aroused a desire for Jewish knowledge among young Jews. These eager people had to face a number of pitfalls, especially from the communist regime and parents' reluctance to expose their children to socially non-polar religious beliefs. This approach also corresponds with Gruber's theory of virtual Jews applicable to those who cannot be officially registered but want to live Jewish life. Her concept can also embrace those do not want to be a part of Jewish society nowadays.<sup>487</sup>

Many interviewees stated that their parents restricted their participation in “Jewish” activities. This restriction took several forms. The first can be called hidden Jewry, wherein the parents try to keep their children away from the Jewish municipality. These parents did not want to stand out and preferred to be concealed. They did not refuse to talk about their Jewish ancestors, but they did not openly tell their stories on request. Here is one example of a family in which the parents preferred to remain “hidden”: *“Well, our people just raised us there (Czechoslovakia) with virtue, Dad tried not to sniff out too much, but we had a very nice childhood, but certainly not Jewish. I realized that there was something strange. In any case, we certainly did not celebrate Jewish holidays. [...] But, I remember well that we had a special way of talking about Jewish community. We always gave Jewish people and things different names and codes. It was fun – stupid but good.”*<sup>488</sup>

This excerpt confirms the conclusions of Heitlinger's work that many Jewish families did not want to stand out from the others and were very lukewarm in their practice of Jewish

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<sup>484</sup> I. K. Interview, Prague, 4. 4. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, university degree).

<sup>485</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 92-93.

<sup>486</sup> SALNER, Peter. *Židia na Slovensku po roku 1945: komunita medzi vierou a realitou*. Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV, 2016.

<sup>487</sup> GRUBER, Ruth Ellen. *Virtually Jewish: reinventing Jewish culture in Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. p. 11

<sup>488</sup> P. D. Interview, Teplice, 12. 6. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, not practicing, high school degree).

religion.<sup>489</sup> The effort remain invisible during different historical periods is a common feature of religious minorities, especially Jews. The interviewees partly confirmed the statement by Diana Pinto, that Jews in the communist countries faced very difficult conditions under which they tried to uphold their Jewishness within the non-Jewish majority regardless of the political hardship of the regime.<sup>490</sup>

However, Heitlinger's theory can be too narrow, and in my opinion it is also necessary to reflect Geertz's concept of an intergenerational "net of meanings" in relation to the transmission of forms of Judaism in terms of family and friends. The net of meanings makes a better understanding of particular information within a limited number of people. Then, certain meanings are hidden for those who are not a part of this group, for example, Jewish authorities – rabbis, directors etc.

The role of the family was important, but not the only factor in leading people to develop a Jewish identity. Although the activities of Jewish communities were controlled and limited, it is evident from the testimonies of this study's participants that they found opportunities to learn about Judaism from local Jewish organizations. This corresponds with the conclusions of Ferenc Erős, who found that while Hungarian Jews in the 1980s also did not interact regularly with Jewish organizations, this did not destroy their symbolic identification with Judaism. Here is one of the examples of halachic Jews with fairly "thin" Jewish identity. *"I think that is the main reason why we started going to the Maisel synagogues to take part in educational seminars, because we wanted to get to the path to Judaism. We went rarely, but we did our best to learn something new about Jewish history."*<sup>491</sup>

The malfunction of the Jewish network manifested itself in various ways. In some extreme cases (especially in second-generation halachic families) there were also involuntary baptisms, which were to ensure the safety and acceptability of the individual for Czechoslovak society. *"My parents wanted to leave our origins far behind us and get rid of the "Jewish stain". It did not help much as Communists were more against Catholics than Jews. She did not talk about Jewishness*

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<sup>489</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 84.

<sup>490</sup> PINTO, Diana. The Jewish World's Ambiguous Attitude towards European Integration. In: PADRO, Sharon and Hila ZAHAVI, ed. *The Jewish Contribution to European Integration*. London: Lexington Books, 2020, p. 131-150.

<sup>491</sup> M. S. Interview, Prague, 5. 4. 2018. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing).

*until I was about eight, when children were calling us names. Only then did she carefully explain some things.*"<sup>492</sup>

When parents did not act as transmitters of Judaism and Jewish values, young Jews, especially the CZTJG, had to look elsewhere for information. Ten of the fifteen narrators confirmed that they learned about their Jewish origins from their relatives or friends. In some cases, it was a somewhat frustrating matter because parents exaggerated the stories heard from their parents with the aim of discouraging their descendants from investigating their past. *"My parents, especially my father, didn't want me to go after what happened to our relatives. He even quarreled with his grandmother several times, who sometimes had a narrative mood and described to us what it was like in the concentration camps. Surprisingly, my grandmother described the suffering of the whole family very soberly, but paradoxically my parents were more afraid. They were afraid it might come back.*"<sup>493</sup>

The role of grandparents is equally common in both the halachic and non-halachic participants, including converts. Among the narrators were both men and women. *"My path to Judaism was quite complicated. I always admired my grandmother, she was a truly remarkable woman who survived many setbacks from all sorts of regimes. Her first husband died in a concentration camp. The Communists then confiscated her restituted property again. Well, horror ... I actually joined Judaism thanks to her. [...] She always showed me photos of our relatives who died in the concentration camps. I then admired how nice and traditionally furnished the household was. She managed to save several religious objects and they had built households and thus differed from our family. My parents were extremely lukewarm in this respect, although my father was a Jew after my grandmother, but he never paid much attention to Judaism. It started after the revolution and my mother is a lifelong agnostic. I belong to the category of people who started to deal with family history themselves. It was very popular, especially after the revolution, but I started with it in the 80's. I wanted to know more than what my grandmother told me during our meetings.*"<sup>494</sup>

The CZTJG also turned to their grandparents to listen to their stories free from previous distortions. When their grandparents told their life stories 30-40 years after the Shoah, they were

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<sup>492</sup> K. W. Interview, Pardubice, 8. 11. 2018. (a man, halachic Jew, lukewarm, high school degree).

<sup>493</sup> T. B. Interview, Prague, 4. 3. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

<sup>494</sup> L. G. Interview, Brno, 2. 4. 2017. (a woman, a convert, practicing, university degree).



also able to better distance themselves from what had happened to them and their family Jewish stories and fairy tales told by grandparents helped to adopted Jewish intergenerational values typical of a particular family. Telling the stories builds an important intergenerational bridge and it is irreplaceable element in the Jewish collective memory.<sup>495</sup> Jewish youngsters together with parents have to face the postmodern world of Bauman's "liquid" nomadic values<sup>496</sup> dismantling Liebman's "Thick" Jewish cultural and religious identity.

In addition, parents and grandparents, it is also necessary to interpret oral historical data on the role of Jewish religious authorities in shaping Jewish post-war identities. However, there is a slight contradiction between the second and third generations. While the CZSJG considers the activities of the Jewish community in the 1960s and 1970s to be educational and sufficiently open to those who were interested in Judaism, their descendants complain about unwelcome culture that prevailed in the greater Jewish Religious Community of Prague after 1989.

Six out of ten narrators from the CZTJG criticized the current approach of the Jewish religious community of Prague to non-halachic people and converts who do not undertake orthodox conversion. Their statements show that they do not understand why 'right' Jewish ancestors allow some people to enter the community while others are denied the opportunity. They believe it is ridiculous how much importance is attached to primordialism and orthodox authenticity. *"Although I do not want to discuss this issue, I feel duty-bound to say something. Of course, it is more complicated, but the current officials of the Jewish Community of Prague complicate newcomers' visits and religious life on purpose. They want more authenticity and respect for halacha, which is understandable, but in my opinion officials are upset that young people are seeking realization elsewhere, often in more liberal organizations such as Bejt Simcha or the progressive Jewish community Ec Chayim."*<sup>497</sup>

The second narrator criticizes the religious program of the Jewish religious community of Prague. *"The Prague community has not done much for me, it is very elitist. If someone wants to work on their own spiritual development, they must overcome several obstacles. On the one hand, there is a family who is worried that you will become an unbearable fundamentalist in Israel, and*

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<sup>495</sup>ALEXANDER, Shelley. Children of the Book: Parents, Bedtime, and Jewish Identity. *Journal of Jewish Education* [online]. 2013, 79(3), p. 174 [Accessed 2021-6-15]. Available from: doi:10.1080/15244113.2013.814983.

<sup>496</sup>BAUMAN, Zygmunt. *Liquid modernity* [online]. July 2013 [Accessed 2020-03-18]. Available from: <https://www.wiley.com/en-us/Liquid+Modernity-p-9780745657011> 2013.

<sup>497</sup>V. G. Interview, Prague, 8.11. 2018. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

*on the other hand is a Jewish community that pretends to be the highest religious and moral judge of your life.*"<sup>498</sup>

These statements reflect the theory described by Yael Tamir, that “authenticity” is often used as a political tool within religious and ethnic minorities. From this point of view, Orthodox Jews consider themselves to be more “authentic” than other Jews. For example, the suspect officially recognized converts of not being good enough Jews, despite their having undergone Jewish education and participation in religious rituals.<sup>499</sup>

As can be seen from the testimonials of the above narrators, the Jewish second and third post-war generations in the Czech lands were subject to strong family influences on their Jewish identity. Although it is not possible to trace when the family pressures were stronger, there is a high probability that parental influence had different effects (positive and negative) on the approach of the cohorts researched to Judaism, especially in halachic individuals from CZTJG. As a result of unbearable pressure, some of the narrators discontinued their Jewish beliefs because they felt negative pressure from family, and therefore stopped caring about Jewishness until the Velvet Revolution in 1989. *“As a young boy, I went to the Jewish Religious community of Prague mainly for holidays such as Purim. [...] Sometimes, I went to synagogue with my half-uncle, who showed me how to celebrate some holidays such as Passover. He was a very kind man giving me a certain freedom to choose the way of Jewish practice, but he was very adamant in a question of religion. I could choose only “being Jewish.” He did not tell me much about Jewish religion. I felt like to be a very lukewarm Jews until the 1990s when I rejected all these things, I only took them as picturesque folklore.*”<sup>500</sup>

There were also halachic Jews who had traditional upbringing and kept the Jewish traditions and religion, regardless of the political atmosphere. *“I always take my Jewishness for granted, something like a matter of course. In my case, it is a combination of the faith of family history and ethnicity, which does not correspond to a nationality at all. Under the Communists, it was to some extent a form of escape. I wanted to be different and everyone around me was uniform*

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<sup>498</sup> T. B. Interview, Prague, 4. 3. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

<sup>499</sup> TAMIR, Yael. Some thoughts regarding the phrase: “A quest for identity.” In: KASHTI, Yitzhak, ed. *A quest for identity: post war biographies*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1996, p. 21-50.

<sup>500</sup> K. Š. Interview, Prague, 6. 7. 2017. (a man, a halachic Jew, atheist: non-practicing, university degree).

*and conformist. Judaism gave me a chance to become someone else, and it helped me overcome difficult life situations. I celebrate high holidays and I pray regularly.”*<sup>501</sup>

Besides these two orientations some members of both generations preferred to participate in different activities rather than sitting with their peers in the Jewish synagogue listening to lectures with Jewish themes. It is difficult to judge whether parental pressure was positive or negative in terms of Jewish identity formation, but it seems that CZSJG were a bit more benevolent to their offspring than their parents. The narrators shed light on why relatives within the same family may have different approaches to Judaism.

Except parental impact, some interviewees were surrounded by Jewish friends, but only a small number had only Jewish friends. According to the interviewees, it was difficult to find Jewish friends as other Jewish people were often well-hidden, but they gave them helpful insight into their self-perception. It means they encouraged not to hide, but be self-confident in public. The relative dearth of fellow Jewish classmates and peers often led to a powerful sense of solidarity when they did connect. *“I had a classmate in a class, and I didn't know she was Jewish. I found it out when we met at the municipality for lectures. Then we started making friends together at school and we had a little secret as such.”*<sup>502</sup>

The conclusion of this chapter can be summarized as follows: When I asked about the post-war formation of Judaism, almost all of the narrators did not answer purely descriptively. Their statements also have an evaluation dimension. This evaluation often concerns the degree of “piety” of the primary family environment, described with words such as benevolent, orthodox, dull, or liberal, even by narrators from observant and orthodox families. None of the narrators defined their environment as religiously strict or rigid. When interviewees talked about communist relatives, it triggered a very personal debate on this topic and it seems that Jewish communist suffered from anti-Zionism twice more than their non-communists peers.

*“I was not allowed to do anything. I was not allowed to publish, I was not allowed to translate, I was not allowed to give lectures, and I was not allowed to travel. I was nothing but a dirty Jew. In a time of deep depression, the shadow of my Jewishness emerged again, and it was*

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<sup>501</sup> T. Z. Interview, Prague, 12. 2. 2018 (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>502</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

*like a stone in my heart. There were many people in similar situations – devoted Communists who did a lot of positive things for the party.*”<sup>503</sup> ..

Unlike the second generation concerned about parent’s way of life, the third generation had to actively go in search of stories from the past and put together fragments of family history provided by their parents. They consider the prevailing emotional approach to Judaism to be something like an inner imperative rather than a rational choice. They actively emphasized their effort to work on “shared mission” defined by Franz Rosenzweig. Finding Jewish roots along with Jewish religious identity can be a real binder.<sup>504</sup>

Out of 40 interviewees, 25 consider themselves “religious observant,” though only ten of them led strict religious lives (mostly halachic men and converts). Other narrators identify themselves as non-Orthodox, secular, but maintaining certain Jewish rituals (lighting candles on the Sabbath), or they only follow *kashrut* (kosher) to a limited extent (not eating pork, for example).

## **5.2. Czechoslovak second and third Jewish generations: lukewarm Jewishness influenced by Jewish relatives - Survey**

The aim of this chapter is to compare and approve the qualitative data obtained from the interviews with quantitative conclusions from the questionnaire. The questions in the survey primarily focus on the relationship of a Jewish individual to the Jewish whole - for example, Jewish families or Jewish communities. The chapter containing the findings (data) from the respondents of the CZSJG and the CZTJG seeks to show similarities or discrepancies with the data collected via interviews. All graphs and Tables are placed in the Annex along with the Jewish origin of respondents.

On the basis of the data collected,<sup>505</sup> presented in Tables 34 and 38 referred to the question: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?

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<sup>503</sup> M. A. Interview, Prague, 31. 8. 2019 (a man, halachic Jew, irregular practice, high school degree).

<sup>504</sup> MENDES-FLOHR, Paul. Secular forms of Jewishness. *The Blackwell Companion to Judaism* [online]. Oxford: Wiley Online Library, 2000, p. 461-476 [Accessed 2021-7-1]. Available from: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/book/10.1002/9780470758014#page=470>. p. 462.

<sup>505</sup> How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?

The respondents can choose from the following options:

- I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism
- I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents, we do not belong to practicing Jewish families (we attended the synagogue very rarely).
- I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances.
- I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records.
- I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew).
- I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert).
- The last option enables respondents to specify differences (Other).

I can infer that most of the questionnaire respondents (123 out of a total of 200) belong to the category of what I refer to as ‘lukewarm Jews’, who know something about their Jewish origins and practice Judaism irregularly and in a liberal way. 77 halachic Jews considered themselves to be lukewarm in comparison to those (79) who considered to be “diligent Jews” – it means they usually practice all Jewish holidays with little exceptions. The number of individuals from orthodox families was negligible. Most of the converts (38 respondents) to Judaism began flirting with the idea of conversion before the Velvet Revolution, but in most cases (25 respondents), their families did not openly support their conversion. Most of the respondents who checked the “Other” option who justified their choice in their additional comments, have been included in the category of “converts”. In total, this includes fourteen respondents.

When I analyzed the additional comments below this question, I noted a few interesting things. Respondents stated that besides their grandparents, their belief was considerably influenced by their fathers (not mothers). Here is an example of one of the comments: *“My view of the world was greatly influenced by my father. He affected both the world and my Jewishness. [...] I think he was a very intelligent man and a very fair man. Before the war, he belonged to the rich class of Jews in Brno, but he had also a very strong social feeling. But the Communists did a lot of bad things to him. My father was not broken by a concentration camp, but he was broken by a subsequent return to his homeland. Judaism was all he kept, maintained and gently transferred to me. He brought me to the Jewish municipality, and there I became friends and began to get to know my Jewish peers.”*<sup>506</sup>

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<sup>506</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, but practicing, high school education).

This example partly pointed out to a problematic coping with the communist political leanings in Jewish families. Both the interviews and the questionnaire showed that Jewish communist families hardly came to terms with the anti-Zionist approach than families who did not have any members of the Communist Party.

Lukewarm approach to Judaism can take several forms. Among the study respondents many attend classical synagogues and practice the Orthodox way of worship. However, their real life is pragmatic and liberal. It means, for example, that they celebrate a few Jewish holidays and do not keep kosher. This has always been the case, regardless of the political situation. There are a number of Jews who are either non-Halachic or converts, who associate either in Jewish liberal communities outside Prague or in special organizations that do not have the status of an organized community (Beit Simcha, Masorti, Ec Chajim). It is more typical of younger Jews who came from the third or fourth Jewish generation.

Here are three examples that illustrate the various nonorthodox orientations of the respondents from CZTJG. *“I was looking for a moral anchor in my life and I tried several religions and Judaism suited me best. I learned Hebrew on my own and speak it quite well. The reason why I go to the Beit Simcha is because it is a young and dynamic organization that wants to open Judaism to all people and does not look at my background or origin. It is silly because my appearance is Jewish, I follow all the traditions and speak Hebrew, but I cannot be officially registered at the ZOP because I do not have the right origin. My parents are not Jewish. The only Jew was my grandfather, but he ceased to practice Judaism soon after the war.”*<sup>507</sup>

*“I decided to convert because of my liberal beliefs. I wanted to be part of a liberal, progressive religious group that accepts everyone, regardless of gender and sexual orientation. I want to be welcomed with my boyfriend and I don't want to hide my sexual orientation.”*<sup>508</sup>

*“For me, liberal Judaism is proof of true religious tolerance. I think that religion should be here for everyone and should not depend on our origin. I raised my children similarly.”*<sup>509</sup>

Besides looking for the moral anchor and the liberal expression of sexual orientation, the survey confirms that both Jewish generations were afraid of showing their Jewishness in public. In this

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<sup>507</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew (convert), practicing, high school education).

<sup>508</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

<sup>509</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

respect, scholars should consider the "hidden Jewry" a transgenerational phenomenon occurring at various intensities and in various forms in the Czech lands. Respondents reported that their parents often secretly celebrated Jewish holidays at home, because the Jewish community (especially in Prague) was full of communist spies and informers. *"We didn't go to the synagogue or the village very often, because my father claimed that the whole Jewish community was riddled with Communists and informers, so we had to watch our tongues. I began attending the lectures at the Jewish Religious Community of Prague. I was meeting people there, together with my adult children, when the communist regime was over."*<sup>510</sup>

The data from the questionnaire also corresponded with the conclusions of other scientists studying Jewish minorities in Eastern Europe. Polish sociologist Iwona Irwin-Zarecka describes the internal uncertainty and fear of uncovering their true identity of Polish Jews as a transgenerational phenomenon, latently embedded in Jewish society in Poland.<sup>511</sup>

Many Czechoslovak Jewish parents (regardless of cohort) concealed their Jewish origins from their children, however, this often encouraged the children to seek information about their Jewish origins from either friends or grandparents. Many respondents (65) emphasized that they learned about their Jewish backgrounds from their acquaintances. *"My case is very interesting. I learned about my Judaism during the holidays with my uncle in Slovakia. He was a practicing Jew, and in Slovakia Judaism was more uprooted than in the Czech Republic. He showed me what it means to eat kosher food and celebrate Shabbat. We did not do anything like that at home, and my parents took part in remembrance ceremonies in Terezin every year, but otherwise they rarely went to the Jewish community."*<sup>512</sup>

This attitude of parents could have resulted in a certain indifference or even resistance to Jewish roots. The indifference can also be considered a form of revolt against parental authority because parents could forbid the practice of Judaism as such, or they could also pressure their children to adopt Jewish identity. This intergenerational struggle for the promotion of Jewish identity is very difficult to capture, both for the research participant and for the researcher. My

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<sup>510</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>511</sup> IRWIN-ZARECKA, Iwona. *Neutralizing memory: the Jew in contemporary Poland*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989. p. 50

<sup>512</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, but practicing, high school education).

sample consists of people who truly sought some form of Jewish identity and had to overcome certain obstacles.

The next question in the survey: What or who forms your Jewish identity? (Tables 36, 41) addresses the degree of influence of different factors on the formation of Jewish identity. Respondents could choose from six options, including family and relatives, religious authorities, a circle of friends and relatives, antisemitism, a visit to Israel, or arts and culture. They could rate the importance of these factors to their identity on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being the least important and 5 being the most important. The most important category was antisemitism (3,26 and 3,92), but respondents also reported that Jewish arts and culture had an above-average influence (2,75 and 3,12) on the formation of their Jewish identities. Then, there was also option of circle of friends and acquaintances (2,78 and 2,92), and finally visit to Israel (2,76 and 4,21). Besides antisemitism, all the other categories affected the formation of the CZSJG's identity in a positive way, including the religious authorities.

It is an interesting aspect because those who were at the community in the 1980s tried to encourage young people to participate in the Jewish program. It means that they encouraged people in their attempts to become active Jews. Those respondents who marked high importance (above 3 points) of arts and culture often mentioned that their circle of friends had a formative impact on their Jewish identity. *“Although my parents were not zealous Jews, they were trying to find me a Jewish partner. They subconsciously wanted to keep a Jewish line and that’s why they introduced me to Jewish peers. [...] I remember my mother sending me to summer camps organized by Arthur Radwaňský and it was interesting for me.”*<sup>513</sup>

Based on the survey data, it appears that Jewish religious and “cultural” authorities were also important in forming the Jewish identities of both Czechoslovak Jewish generations. There are several examples such as the already mentioned Arthur Radwaňský and Michalea Vidláková. In the cultural field, Vida Neuwirth directs the Feigele children's theater ensemble. The respondents also mentioned in the accompanying comments the musical ensemble Mišpacha, founded by Hana Roth and Miki Roth and the Klezmerin, led by their daughter Helena Divecka.<sup>514</sup>

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<sup>513</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, high school education).

<sup>514</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 70-79



The topics of antisemitism and Israel have separate chapters in this paper where more space is devoted to them. Many respondents (especially CZTJG) who belonged to Radwansky's group of youths in the Jewish Religious community of Prague, and who did not emigrate after August 1968, decided to keep learning about Judaism by means of books during the normalization. Many had no connections to Jewish traditions and religion, or the Hebrew language. *"When my friends from Maisel synagogue emigrated, I was left alone with my books. I decided to resist communist slur by education. Learning the Hebrew language and reading Jewish historical literature gave me a sufficient overview of Jewishness. [...] I learned a lot about Jewishness, but not about religion."*<sup>515</sup>

This comment is only one of many similar, and it shows the efforts of halachic and non-halachic members of both generations to improve their awareness of Judaism, despite communist obstructions. These examples do not fully correspond with Alena Heitlinger's conclusions about the lack of education of young Jewish generations in the Czech lands,<sup>516</sup> but they rather reflect what the Hungarian sociologist Ferenc Erős, who does not determine the formation of a "thick" Jewish identity by active interactions between members within the Jewish community.<sup>517</sup>

Besides the cultural aspects of Jewish identities, there is also the issue of attitudes to Jewish religious traditions linked to the lukewarm approach of post-war generations in the Czech lands. Tables 37 and 41 address the question: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays? It shows that several similarities and intersections of Jewish practice. First, 67 respondents indicated they attend synagogues only during the High Holidays. This group largely intersects with those (112 respondents) who indicated that they celebrate only some Jewish holidays. This likely includes Jews who have only a vague sense of religion, such as a belief in God. The group who stated: "I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays" mostly intersects with the groups "I keep kosher" and "I attend the synagogue regularly."

The survey findings correlate with experiences of certain narrators who stated that some of them celebrate Jewish holidays to maintain Jewish cultural traditions, rather than for religious

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<sup>515</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, but practicing, high school education).

<sup>516</sup> Compare: (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 70-79.; HEITLINGER, Alena. Jewish youth activism and institutional response in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s. *East European Jewish Affairs* [online]. 2002, **32**(2), p. 25-42 [Accessed 2019-05-02]. Available from: doi:10.1080/13501670208577973)

<sup>517</sup> EHMANN, Bea and Ferenc EROS. Jewish identity in Hungary: A narrative model. *Replika: társadalomtudományi folyóirat* [online]. 1997, (special issue), p. 110-124 [Accessed 2021-6-24]. Available from: <http://www.replika.hu/replika/si97-09>.

reasons. To support this, I can infer based on my data that only 18 out of 200 respondents admitted regular synagogue attendance. I have to view these figures with caution, since it is important to consider that many began attending a synagogue after the Velvet Revolution (deduced from additional comments).

The additional comments below this question refers to a certain lukewarm approach to keeping *kosher* rules enriching Jewish "thick" identity based on Liebman's definition.<sup>518</sup> Interestingly, the kosher rules are mostly followed by converts. Halachic Jews are more careless in this regard, and only a few of them observe *kosher* rules.

Some respondents kept the *kosher* tradition, but they indicated that it was very challenging to get *kosher* meat, as there were no *Shochet* (kosher butchers),<sup>519</sup> especially in smaller cities. Others did not have appropriate dishes to prepare the food under strictly kosher conditions. The communist regime limited the religious and ritual life of the Jewish community in Czechoslovakia. The apparent lack of interest and lethargy on the part of the Jewish population has been caused, at least partially, by communist officials themselves.<sup>520</sup> *"It was hard to follow kosher rulers in general. It was not a business... I had good wine here, and sometimes I brought plum brandy. Kosher meat was very expensive and you had to wait for a long time. I reckon that even kosher shops in Prague have high prices. It does not matter if it is communism or not. When a meeting took place in the synagogue, there was no pork, and meat and cheese did not go together. But we did not do much for kosher. We did not even have the dishes for it."*<sup>521</sup>

*"It is rather difficult to cook for a six-member-family; kosher food is available, but expensive and my children have a lot of allergies to different sorts of food. Well, I gave up making kosher meals for all my family members. I am keeping the kosher rule with my husband and I do my best to make kosher meal for the others."*<sup>522</sup>

The respondents mentioned time constraints as only one of the reasons why they only celebrate certain Jewish High Holy days. While 43 respondents indicated that they regularly attend

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<sup>518</sup> LIEBMAN, Charles. Jewish identity in transition: transformation or attenuation?: *New Jewish identities: contemporary Europe and beyond*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2002, p. 341-350. Available from: <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?authtype=shib&custid=s1240919&profile=eds>

<sup>519</sup> A Jewish butcher who was in charge of slaughtering certain animals according to kashrut.

<sup>520</sup> ŠMOK, Martin. *Through the labyrinth of normalization: the Jewish community as a mirror for the majority society*. Prague: Jewish Museum, 2017. p. 41.

<sup>521</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, college).

<sup>522</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

synagogue, they also mentioned that lack of time plays an important role in their attendance. Three respondents justified their absence at worship by citing their need to take care of their children. Here is a representative example: *“I grew up in a religiously tolerant family, and although I always had a deep connection to Judaism, my extended family were quite often the ones to bring me up, so I didn't have time to go to the synagogue regularly. My children were sick. It is better now, the older ones are already studying and the rest are more independent.”*<sup>523</sup> Religious life often has to submit to their workload or caring for family. Some female respondents mentioned the low workload of men in raising children resulting in difficulty for them to comply with all the established rules, such as kosher eating.

*“Overall, I would like to be more careful about Jewish traditions and going to the synagogue. My children are adults, so now there is more time. My husband helped me a lot with Judaism and spirituality in general. [...] He also helped me with the household. Some of my friends were very tired of cleaning their households because they were alone at home for everything.”*<sup>524</sup>

Family issues related to the upbringing of offspring are related to the question in the questionnaire dealing with the age at which the respondent became interested in Judaism. The figures in Table 38 and 42 show that 62 respondents indicated they began to be interested in Judaism between the ages of 14-18 years. 40 respondents indicated that they had known about their origins since early childhood; 6-13 years of age. The third most common age range is 18-21 years, which includes those who realized their Jewish origin in adulthood. They often discovered their Jewishness by themselves. The majority of all respondents became aware of their Jewishness while in primary school, and a significant proportion during their early teens. Personal experiences of antisemitism were only occasionally mentioned, but they seem to have left a lasting impact. Only a few respondents (6) were not interested in Judaism at all. The majority of respondents learned about their Jewish descent from their parents, but a significant proportion discovered their Jewishness by chance. The respondents could choose only one option to answer this question.

As shown in Table 42, there is also an important indicator showing that the most of the CZTJG became interested in Judaism in their late twenties. Besides, there is also an interesting

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<sup>523</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>524</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, an orthodox convert, practicing, university degree).

break between those who were interested in Judaism from an early age, 6-13. This suggests that most respondents consider their own initiation as the main tool for shaping their Jewish identity.

In conclusion, the questionnaire supported several conclusions drawn from the interviews with participants. First of them, it is a lukewarm and liberal approach to Jewish religious matters. The second factor is the intergenerational trauma of “Hidden Jewry” confirmed by both Jewish generations. The context of rejected Judaism and the need to return is a very common phenomenon that appears, especially in the questionnaire among CZTJG halachic members. In their comments, the respondents claim that the disruption of religious life caused by the Holocaust and then the communist regime gave their parents and relatives a strong propensity to reject anything Jewish. Respondents actively emphasized their interest in Jewish identity since their parents and close relatives abandoned their Jewish beliefs, but Jewish ethnic and cultural traces were still present and clear.

The third important aspect is a certain dismissiveness of a part of halachic Jews towards converts and non-halachic Jews. I make this observation on the basis of comments on the questionnaires complaining about the dominance of orthodox Jewish authorities in the Jewish Community of Prague.<sup>525</sup>

An interesting observation is that a considerable number of respondents<sup>526</sup> had difficulty in classifying themselves. It means a large number of respondents (23) noted to practice a few religions and the Judaism was the best choice for them. They still do not know if their Jewishness stems from a pure sentiment, or a real sense of ethnic or cultural belonging. Based on the data, many of them “practiced” symbolic ethnic identity. Like narrators in previous chapter, the survey

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<sup>525</sup> Czech Rabbi Karol Sidon appeals to the invalidity of Reform and Conservative *giyur* in the Israeli Supreme Rabbinat, which does not recognize the denominations of these *giyur*. The State of Israel, despite the opposition of the Supreme Israeli Rabbinat, takes the opposite view and grants these guards the right to return. However, the issue of Jewish marriage in Israel, which falls only within the competence of the Orthodox Rabbinat, is problematic. However, the attitude of the state of Israel to Conservative and Reform *giyur* is the subject of repeated debate. The question of authenticity is central to the debate over contemporary Jewish identity. All Jewish groups refer to the notion of authenticity as a fundamental ideal, and a legitimizing element of their positions. The respondents who consider Halacha to be the only authoritative document to recognize an authentic Jew, nonetheless differ on their recognition of the type of conversion. Some of them admit only conversion by orthodox *giyur*, while others are willing to admit other forms of *giyur*, including Liberal *giyur*. A substantial number of respondents specify their opinion by means of accompanying comments - often very contradictory, ranging from strict observance of halacha to a permissive approach to the need to transform Judaism into a culturally religious affair that is easily accessible to all potential candidates, and not just a narrow circle of the elect.

<sup>526</sup> 143 out of 200; those who have provided their comments below the questions.

uncovered a variety of attitudes, ranging from complete repudiation to complete of Judaism identification.

### **5.3. Luxembourg second and third Jewish generations: Jewish identity from the Sephardic and Ashkenazi perspective - Interviews**

The Luxembourg cohorts also struggled to decide the sort of Jewish identity they should pass on to their descendants. They are in a quandary concerning the spiritual life and interfamily relationships. Based on a detailed analysis of the interviews provided, the chapter introduces that both Luxembourg generations addressed several features concerning their identities. First, many halachic newcomers to Sephardic communities are not entirely sure of their identity, though they are practicing Jews. This makes it difficult to assess whether their identities should be characterized as "thick" or "thin". *"I am partly French, a bit Egyptian, I am also Jewish and last but not least Luxembourgish. It is difficult to choose which of these identities I prefer. The ethnic side of my identity is strongly connected with some external influence, such as family or rabbis. On the other hand, my inner Jewish identity is associated with photographs of my parents and grandparents, and especially the reading of holy texts."*<sup>527</sup>

I decided to investigate the issue of the relative "thickness of the Sephardic study participants based on their approach to religious rules and participation in religious services. I was not able to interview the same number of Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews (20 Ashkenazi and 10 Sephardic), however, the interviews showed me that Sephardic Jews are more conscientious and diligent about practicing Judaism than their Ashkenazi counterparts, regardless of whether they are converts or Halachic Jews. Here is one example: The testimony of an Ashkenazi Jew from the LSJG. *"I'm probably not a proper Jew, that's why I prefer to go to the Liberal Synagogue in Esch-sur-Alzette. However, my family lives in Luxembourg and my wife is Jewish, so they go to Esch as well. However, the rules are not so strict here in Luxembourg. [...] Our Jewishness is more based on our contacts with other adherents than on religious authorities, such as a person of rabbi."*

However, both religious approaches (Ashkenazi and Sephardic) have in common a certain degree of tolerance and in the interpretation of the Torah and the Talmud. In contrast to the Chabad

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<sup>527</sup> T. K. Interview, Esch-sur-Alzette, 12. 8. 2020. (a man, halachic Jew, practising, university degree).

Lubavitch Orthodox Group which is active but has a negligible number of followers in Luxembourg, so its influence on religious life is limited.<sup>528</sup> Like their Czechoslovak peers, Luxembourg's Jews are going on the spectrum between “thin” and “thick” identities, and some of them even celebrate Christian holidays. This corresponds to Liebman's concept of ethical and emotional identity associated with an unequal approach to celebration of Jewish holidays as well as keeping Jewish traditions.<sup>529</sup>

The following interview revealed that the common denominator connecting Jewish and Christian families is sometimes symbolism and common ritual aspects. The important link is also the so-called “family respect for non-Jewish traditions. *“I celebrate Christmas with my son, who does not practice Judaism and got married to a catholic woman and then I celebrate Chanukah with my daughter who married into an orthodox Jewish family, I like them both and take part in both celebrations. I am convinced that belief is more important than religion.”*<sup>530</sup>

Another factor pertains to an active presence in the Jewish community, it means that twelve narrators (Ashkenazi and Sephardic halachic Jews and converts) mentioned their membership in different Jewish communities and associations. Some have been members since birth, while others decided to enroll in them as adults in order to consolidate their Jewish identity. *“While exploring my roots, I found out that they had a record of me at the National Committee. I thought, if a Jew, then I would become a real Jew. Not bad, but...I was 57 years old. In fact, I became a member of the Jewish community; I also registered my brother there and he did not protest it.”*<sup>531</sup>

What is the Sephardic “religious conscience”? Based on the interviews with the Sephardic Luxembourg participants, there seems to be an issue of uprooting offset by a higher adherence to religious identity. It is commonly accepted that the frequent migrations of the Sephardic Jews weakened their national and state identities. Judaism thus helped them to compensate for their uprooting, as described by Yael Tamir<sup>532</sup> and Éléonor Hamar in their publications. Hamar

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<sup>528</sup> Chabad-Lubavitch Luxembourg [online]. Luxembourg: Chabad-Lubavitch Luxembourg, 2022 [Accessed. 2022-02-03]. Available from: [https://www.lubavitch.lu/library/article\\_cdo/aid/36226/jewish/About-Chabad-Lubavitch.htm/lang/en](https://www.lubavitch.lu/library/article_cdo/aid/36226/jewish/About-Chabad-Lubavitch.htm/lang/en).

<sup>529</sup> LIEBMAN, Charles. Jewish identity in transition: transformation or attenuation? *New Jewish identities: contemporary Europe and beyond*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2002, p. 341-350. Available from: <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?authtype=shib&custid=s1240919&profile=eds>.

<sup>530</sup> K. D. Interview, Luxembourg, 19. 8. 2018. (a man, halachic Jew, lukewarm practice, university degree).

<sup>531</sup> V. H. Interview, Luxembourg, 9. 6. 2017. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>532</sup> TAMIR, Yael. The quest for identity. *Studies in Philosophy and Education* [online]. 1996, **15**(1), p. 175-191 [Accessed. 2020-09-01]. Available from: doi:10.1007/BF00367527.

maintained that the absence of "local" roots reinforced Jewish self-identity, especially in terms of religion.<sup>533</sup> Tamir prefers to reflect on social interactions between individuals and new Jewish groups (communities, Jewish cultural associations etc.), rather than describing how the Sephardic individuals cope with the legacy: Where he/she came from and where he/she heads. It is relevant because Sephardic Jews are still relatively new in Luxembourg and they aroused their activities in the late 1980s.<sup>534</sup>

If I shift my analysis to the stories of Luxembourg non-halachic narrators with a paternal line, there is no big difference from the stories of halachic Jews. Various patterns appear within them; while the stories vary, a common motif in almost all of the interviews was how they learned of their Jewish origins, and the answer was usually from their grandparents. *“Once I paid visit to my grandma, I took advantage of her absence in the room and opened the big box in her wardrobe. There were a lot of photos of unknown people and when my grandma came back, she was anxious at first, but then she told me the story of her family. While talking, she broke down into tears and I was shocked because my grandma had been a very strict and tough person until I showed her family documents. Her story attracted my attention and I began investigating the history of my relatives. [...] After some time, I recognized that I have a right to register in the Jewish community in Luxembourg, I did so, but then I moved away for a couple of years. Now, I am back, but I sometimes attend the synagogue in Luxembourg City, and sometimes I visit the synagogue in Esch.*<sup>535</sup>

The role of grandparents in teaching the cohort members about their Jewish roots is similar to that of the Czechoslovak participants passing down. Judaism takes place in families often through grandparents who provided their grandchildren with the first clues of their Jewish origin. However, this mechanism does not correspond to what Shelly Alexander defines as family fears of losing religious continuity. In her opinion, Judaism has not been anchored enough in different societies what arouse disproportionate threaten that might have a crushing effect on the transmission of Judaism.<sup>536</sup>

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<sup>533</sup> HAMAR, Eleonóra. *Vyprávěná židovství: o narativní konstrukci druhogeneračních židovských identit*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), 2008. p. 73.

<sup>534</sup> MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 251.

<sup>535</sup> V. D. Interview, Luxembourg, 1. 8. 2020. (a man, status unknown, practicing, university degree).

<sup>536</sup> ALEXANDER, Shelley. Children of the Book: Parents, Bedtime, and Jewish Identity. *Journal of Jewish Education* [online]. 2013, 79(3), p. 174 [Accessed 2021-6-15]. Available from: doi:10.1080/15244113.2013.814983.

In addition to grandparents, the influence of Jewish partners is also important for those who either wanted to convert or to “thicken” their Jewishness. Sixteen out of the 30 narrators who were converts said that their decision to become Jewish had been mostly affected by their Jewish partners, who had nurtured their growing interest in Judaism. In their testimonials, the narrators expressed admiration for the Jewish culture, nation and their Jewish partner, which motivated them to go through the Jewish conversion. *“When my husband told me he was Jewish, I was quite surprised because he did not correspond to my image of Jews. He was quite normal. He and his friends then led me to Judaism, and I began my ‘pilgrimage’. I know my views are probably not entirely correct, but I think that children should be free to decide what they want to be and whether they want to follow any religious rituals. Parents can only direct them.”*<sup>537</sup>

It might be difficult for some lukewarm Ashkenazi Jews to become “adequate” Jews in the eyes of their Sephardic adherents because the current Jewish community is slowly transforming into more a Sephardic nature<sup>538</sup> and many Sephardic Jews have even more diverse ethnic origins accompanied by religious customs different from Luxembourg’s Ashkenazi population.<sup>539</sup>

However, they have never felt any pressure from them to make their own opinion on this issue. *“Unlike my wife and I, my parents were quite conservative and traditional, but they were not orthodox or anything like that. I was not born in Luxembourg, but moved here in the 1960s from a very religious community in France. f...] I see that the Luxembourg Jewish community has been “slowing down” and transforming into a Sephardic nest. It is alright. I have nothing against them. [...] I mean the activities, especially for the youth, are vanishing. I remember quite well what we have done... so many things. We organized balls and sports competitions. It was awesome. But I am an optimistic and believe that the UJGII will renew the program soon.”*<sup>540</sup>

This excerpt partially contradicts the conclusions of Stuart Charmé judging that Orthodox Jews believe that only Orthodox Halachic Jews, cautiously following the Torah, can overcome the

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<sup>537</sup> R. M. Interview, Mondorf, 13. 8. 2020. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>538</sup> MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 252.

<sup>539</sup> You can find internal Jewish conflicts between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews described in the chapter written by ARKIN, Kimberly. Six. Looking Jewish in Paris. *Rhinestones, Religion, and the Republic* [online]. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020, p. 205-236 [Accessed 2021-7-2]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804787901-008>.

<sup>540</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).



postmodern era and escape the dissolution into society.<sup>541</sup> There is a noticeable internal tension of the "true" faith that is typical of contemporary Luxembourg Jewish society, not least between the liberal and orthodox sections of the population. However, the testimonies illustrate the typical role of Halachic practicing Jews in Luxembourg. Most of them have been "liberalized" by their partners and thus their descendants are not under religious pressure and have relatively free choice to live not in accordance with *Halacha*.

Besides Jewish roots and family influences, there are also several other factors that have shaped, and continue to shape the Luxembourg Jewish identity. These might be called material heirloom and religious symbols. Here are two examples of interviews with narrators that speak directly on the subject. The first concerns the importance of the mezuzah given to a narrator by her grandmother.

*"The mezuzah was a gift from my grandma who survived Shoah by chance. I am still debating with myself whether I am a believer or not, but this object is very special for me, and when I touch it, I feel her spirit in myself."*<sup>542</sup>

*"The beginning of my path to Judaism will be interwoven forever with the family mezuzah attached above the door of grandma's apartment. [...] We have never belonged to the orthodox Jewish current, but did our best to attend the synagogue regularly."*<sup>543</sup>

A mezuzah symbolizes a person's or family's Jewish identity, but it also contains a great variety of meanings, which are difficult to quantify. Pious Jews, who kiss and touch the mezuzah while entering a house, attach a different meaning to this symbol than do those who consider the mezuzah a cultural and national symbol. Jewish religious objects bring Jewish adherents a certain emotional burden together with institutional regulations of practices coming from shared cultural intergenerational meanings. These statements also contradict the common critical narrative referring to a decline in respect for family religious heritage on the part of young Jews. Based on the interviews, Luxembourg Jews certainly do not belong to the group of diasporic Jews for whom Jewish artifacts would lose value. Although material heritage plays a logically more important role

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<sup>541</sup> CHARMÉ, Stuart and Tali ZELKOWICZ. Jewish Identities: Educating for Multiple and Moving Targets: Educating for Multiple and Moving Targets. *International Handbook of Jewish Education* [online]. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. 2011, p. 163-164 [Accessed 2020-7-31]. Available from: doi:10.1007/978-94-007-0354-4\_10.

<sup>542</sup> D. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 15.7.2018. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>543</sup> V. K. Interview, Luxembourg, 13. 9. 2018. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

in the transformation of halachic identity, it should be emphasized that many Luxembourg converts found their path to Judaism by means of religious artifacts.<sup>544</sup>

#### **5.4. Luxembourg second and third Jewish generation: Jewish family matters - Survey**

Based on the survey findings, I can infer that a significant number of Luxembourg Jews fall somewhere between two poles of uncertain identities. One pole consist authentic religiosity and the second one deals with Jewish multidimensional cultural background and different educational matters based on the Jewish “thick” or “thin” identity. Most respondents (especially the younger ones) come from a multicultural environment, where not only religious but also ethnic influences were mixed together.

After this introduction, I will move on to analyze the results of each question dedicated to Luxembourg view of Jewish identities. The questions were the same for Luxembourg and Czechoslovak respondents. First, the data presented in Tables 42 and 46 deal with the question: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up? The aims of the following paragraph is to introduce findings which cannot be observed without additional comments and remarks. The figures show that 57 out of 200 respondents marked that their families had practiced very rarely. It means that 46 halachic Jews had a rather secular or “lukewarm” upbringing, and did not belong to practicing Jewish families.

Eighteen non-halachic Jews belonged to the category of traditional families, where their upbringing was largely affected by the dominant role of their fathers. 27 non-halachic Jews became familiar with their Jewish descents by means of their parents. Sixteen out of 36 non-halachic Jews admitted to converting in adulthood. 25 respondents who found their own path to Judaism belong to the third most frequent category, those who have no Jewish ancestry, or only very distant ones. Only a little group<sup>545</sup> of respondents stated that studying family materials had a major impact on their developing Jewish identity. I have to take this indicator with a grain of salt, because according

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<sup>544</sup> HAJI, Reeshma Richard LALONDE, Anna DURBIN and Ilil NAVEH-BENJAMIN. A multidimensional approach to identity: religious and cultural identity in young Jewish Canadians. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* [online]. 2010, **14**(1), p. 3-18 [Accessed 2021-7-31]. Available from: doi:10.1177/1368430210370602.

<sup>545</sup> This group consists of 2 halachic Jews, 1 non-halachic Jew and 1 convert.

to a high number of comments, the influence of family heritage (photos, letters) played a role, but the respondents did not assign much importance to it on the scale (0-5). Those who had to find their own way to Judaism and considered themselves to be halachic Jews overlapped with the group of “lukewarm” Jewish families, which is why only 22 respondents chose the option “I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew)”.

The data (Tables 48, 44) obtained from the question (What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays?) clearly confirm the liberal approach to Judaism already declared by the interviewees. The responses fall into several categories that are typical of the lukewarm, secular, Jewish diaspora. Only a few respondents reported not celebrating any Jewish holidays and declared themselves atheists. Following the results in the questionnaire, there is an obvious line connecting the categories “attending synagogue during the High Holidays,” and “*Celebration only some Jewish holidays.*” Most respondents, regardless of their cohort, indicated that they do not cut down their “food needs” and keep Shabbat rules very poorly. “*I do my best to celebrate Shabbat so-called correctly, but it makes me depressed to stay home and not to use switches in my house.*” It is noteworthy that the Jews living in Luxembourg enjoy living there, whether they are Luxembourgers or foreigners. The respondents reported that Luxembourg’s society was open and tolerant. Life was not complicated there, partly because the standard of living is relatively high. On the other hand, the religiosity of Luxembourg Jews is lukewarm, similar to that of Czechoslovak Jews.

There are another two dominant aspects apparent in the data presented in Tables 44 and 48, which shows the level of strength respondents’ religious observance. The number of respondents in the categories “I celebrate only some Jewish holidays” and “I attend the synagogue only during the High Holidays” broadly overlaps. The 155 respondents who indicated that they attend synagogue only during the High Holidays also marked the option “I celebrate only some Jewish holidays”, and they often stated which ones. The more traditional or orthodox respondents also primarily marked two options (regular synagogue attendance and celebration of all Jewish holidays).

There is also a special group of those who emphasized to keep kosher (40 out of 200), and a large group of respondents who keep Shabbat (65 out of 200). There is also a small group of non-halachic Jews who never go to synagogue, but celebrate Shabbat privately as an exclusive holiday to remember their Jewish roots and people who died during the Holocaust. “*I am not usually a*

*devout Jew, but my family taught me how to celebrate certain holidays. So I do it more in their honor. Most of my great-grandmother's relatives died in concentration camps, so it is a silent memory of them too. I know there are special occasions and holidays and prayers, but I just make my own little Shabbat like that.*"<sup>546</sup>

The category "I do not celebrate any Jewish holidays" was mostly selected by non-halachic Jews (7) and halachic Jews (4). Converts are more often among those who observe at least partial *kosher* and regularly attend the synagogue, even though they do not celebrate all Jewish holidays. Most halachic Jews attend synagogue regularly, together with converts. As in the previous questions, the representation of men and women in the individual answers is very equal, regardless of their Jewish denomination or origin.

In general, the survey results confirm the testimonies stating that identification with grandparents had a significant effect on only a small number of respondents. Respondents said that their grandparents did play a role in direct shaping Jewishness and ethnic identity, and that they usually served as guardians of family memory. Grandparents are often the only slim link connecting abstract relationships with dead relatives and pre-war Judaism and Jewishness. For many members of the LTJG, these people are living symbols of continuity, preserving knowledge of collective memory and values, and are irreplaceable in terms of ritual life in the Jewish community in Luxembourg. *"I have no special relationship with my parents, I have a much stronger relationship with my (Jewish) grandmother on my father's side she has always listened to and supported me. For example, she could sing beautifully. I can do all the songs from her, but I don't have her voice ... I just can't sing like that, I don't have musical talent, but I teach it to my children. [...] I also enjoy the liberty of Jewish confession, we (Jews) can make arguments and fuss about nothing. We do not need anyone else."*<sup>547</sup>

This and many other comments confirm Yael Tamir's assertions about the need for "identity restoration" through the first post-war generation. This dependence seems to be particularly strong in the LTJG cohort.<sup>548</sup>

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<sup>546</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, lukewarm, university degree).

<sup>547</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practice, university degree).

<sup>548</sup> TAMIR, Yael. Some thoughts regarding the phrase: "A quest for identity." In: KASHTI, Yitzhak, ed. *A quest for identity: post war biographies*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1996, p. 21-50.

Besides the identity restoration, the Jews of Luxembourg also make no mention of attempts at violent cultural or religious assimilation, so it is difficult to adopt Iwona Irwin-Zareck's concept of Jewish religious "Polonization" in Poland and their gradual cultural integration. Luxembourg Jews take their identity development as undisturbed and liberal,<sup>549</sup> and perceive their identities from the perspective of the individual or small group (family or grandparents) rather than as a collective consciousness. However, they can show a certain aspect of cultural unification. In my opinion, these conclusions are a partial response to Elias Canetti's surprise of keeping Jewish unity, which emphasizes the Jewish ability of diasporic cultural and religious unification.<sup>550</sup>

The results of the questionnaire reveal some other interesting facts. For example, eight respondents mentioned that their non-Jewish grandparents found it difficult to cope with their inclination towards Judaism, even though they accepted this phenomenon in their children. *"My relatives' views of my faith were different, for example, my grandparents raised me as a Jew, but then changed their minds and began suppressing Judaism in my life. I do not know what was behind it, perhaps fear or pragmatic uncertainty of being a Jew in such business country like Luxembourg."*<sup>551</sup>

Jewish religious traditions were historically a matter of interest to the participants. Based on a previous sociological survey conducted by Laurent Moysse in the 1980s, Jewishness and Jewish identity in Luxembourg show some long-standing trends- First, half of the respondents in that survey considered themselves religious out of solidarity. It means, for example, they had more liberal approach to Judaism than their parents. 32% of halachic respondents said they were religious. As for atheism, it was not very widespread (6%) at the time. 32% of respondents considered the community liberal. 26% identified the community to be traditional. A large part (40%) was worried about the Jewish future in Luxembourg due to the indifference of youngsters and a slow decline in numbers. 23% of respondents criticized the community for not being united enough to be fully functional. 21% blamed the community for being unwelcoming towards

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<sup>549</sup> IRWIN-ZARECKA, Iwona. *Neutralizing memory: the Jew in contemporary Poland*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989. p. 50

<sup>550</sup> CANETTI, Elias. *Masa a moc*. Praha: Academia, 2007. p. 248.

<sup>551</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, lukewarm, university degree).

foreigners. Other criticisms were expressed, such as a lack of dynamism and motivation, lack of value attached to Jewish life, an “idiotic traditionalism”, or even a certain snobbery.<sup>552</sup>

The survey (graphs: 43 and 47) found that arts and culture (theatre and movies) played a significant role in the lives of the respondents. The respondents said that the international documentaries and internationally produced films helped them to build up their Jewishness and form their Jewish identity. This suggests that the ability to travel without severe restrictions enjoyed by young Jews in Luxembourg, in contrast to the Czech lands, where they could watch a variety of movies and meet peers from all over the world was a significant factor in the formation of their Jewish identity, second only to the influence of family and grandparents for the LTJG

The respondents mainly mentioned the UJGIL, the organization of young Jews which organized cultural, educational and sport activities for young Jews. Here are some examples of statements that make reference to the UJGIL: *“My parents decided to abandon Judaism altogether, though they never hindered my Jewish education. They didn't lead me too much to it. Although I am a Halachic Jew, I only started practicing Judaism in college. My parents live in France and their motivation was to merge and not deviate. This was partly aided by fears of violence by other minorities in France in the 1970s, which did not improve much. After my studies, I started working as a lawyer and Luxembourg proved to be a very tolerant country, where I took part in events organized by UJGIL in the early 1990s. We organized balls, lectures and sports activities, for example, table tennis.”*<sup>553</sup>

*“My mother was Jewish, but my father was not Jewish. My mother's origin is also speculative, but in the end I was recognized by the consistory. My father does not participate in the religion because he comes from a Christian family and was quite surprised when I started going to the synagogue and took part in events organized by the UJGIL. My father felt that he was losing me and we had a very conflict relationship, in the end it got better when my children were born. Fortunately, my husband is great and has definitely contributed to our family's well-being.”*<sup>554</sup>

*“People in the Jewish community did not want to talk to me once I turned up, because I am an immigrant.[...] They had rejected me until I started to be culturally involved. Then, "old*

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<sup>552</sup> MOYSE. Laurent. Sondage: Résultats et Commentaires. *Kadima*. 9, 1985, p. 6.

<sup>553</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, lukewarm, university degree).

<sup>554</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew (convert), practicing, university degree).

*Jewish settlers" changed their opinion about me. However, there is still a certain tension within the community classifying the Jews into the "right" and the "wrong." But I do not want to talk about it anymore.*"<sup>555</sup>

These three selected comments stress several factors influencing the identity of Luxembourg Jews. First, some confirm Herbert Gans' thesis that the third (and younger) post-war generations had to more active by searching for Jewish identity than their parents. The UJGIL gave them an opportunity to meet and share their Jewish experiences and family values. Unlike their parents, they have had to overcome various obstacles set by some family members, religious authorities or different places of birth – Egypt, Germany, the USA.<sup>556</sup> The questionnaire also confirmed the presumption of respondents that Luxembourg Jews also faced internal issues of Jewish classification. Certain Jewish authorities are opposed to the way Judaism is practiced by some non-Halachic Jews or converts and they tend to regard these people negatively. However, most Luxembourg Jewish society is more positive about non-halachic Jews, and their views correspond to the findings of Bernard Lazerwitz, who argues that a degree of liberalism is common and necessary in Jewish/non-Jewish marriages and does not threaten the “thick” Jewish identity of partners.<sup>557</sup>

Tables 45 and 49 contains statistics on the age at which respondents became interested in Judaism, or at least their Jewish origins. The dominant influence of Jewish family background is evident here, as most respondents became aware of their origins and their Judaism during childhood. Converts and non-Halachic Jews began to develop their Judaism later. The majority of respondents, regardless of religious denomination or gender, began taking a serious interest in Judaism between the ages of 14 and 21. A majority of converts became interested in Judaism after the age of eighteen, and both respondents who marked the option ‘Other’ are also classified as converts and they indicated their interest in Judaism at after the age of 20.

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<sup>555</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>556</sup> GANS, Herbert. Symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity: towards a comparison of ethnic and religious acculturation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 1994, **17**(4), p. 577-592.

<sup>557</sup> LAZERWITZ, Bernard. Jewish-Christian marriages and conversions, 1971 and 1990. *Sociology of Religion* [online]. Oxford University Press, 1995, **56**(4), p. 433-443 [Accessed 2021-9-3]. Available from: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.is.cuni.cz/10.2307/3712199>.

## **5.5. Czechoslovak and Luxembourg post-war Jewish identity: Hope goes hand in hand with uncertainty.**

While analyzing the dataset, I recognized the following intersections and distinctions: The results of the questionnaire and interviews showed that the examined Jewish cohorts seem very secular and lukewarm in both the territories examined. Thanks to new liberal communities and congregations, more and more people are getting the opportunity to participate in Jewish life. Based on the data obtained from the survey, young people tend to have a more liberal mindset and are usually more liberal than their parents.

However, the testimonies and the survey identified one factor that partly distinguished the Luxembourg Jews from their Czechoslovak peers: family and relatives. The role of the Luxembourg Jewish families is the highest compared to Czechoslovak social cohorts, and outweighed the other factors involved in the question: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays? In contrast to the Czechoslovak cohorts (especially CZSJG), the Luxembourg Jews indicated that their Jewish relatives and friends played a more important role in their lives in Luxembourg. It's important to emphasize the role of grand-parents common in all cohorts. Grandparents, especially grand-mothers brought several research participants to Judaism. Neither should the influence of other family members, especially life partners be overlooked. Family members have different effects (both positive and negative) on the Jewish identity of individuals in the diaspora in both countries

Despite liberalization both in Luxembourg and the Czech Republic and an increasing tolerance among the younger generations, there are still some remaining prejudices among individuals of social cohorts researched in the project. The younger generations are also polarizing; liberal groups are emerging on the one hand and orthodox groups on the other, which, according to some narrators and respondents, often do not have a traditional grounding.

Almost all the narrators, regardless of social cohort or country, mentioned the following in their interviews: the sense of mission, the growing influence of new elements (the influence of new Jews and converts within the Jewish community), and almost everyone critically assessed the leadership of the Jewish community. Almost all the narrators criticized the situation in the Jewish community to varying degrees; the Czech narrators are a bit more critical than their Luxembourg peers, especially the CZTJG. Their criticism mainly involves the following aspects:



- The questioning of the authenticity of converts' Judaism (those without Jewish ancestry).
- The questioning of the authenticity of other peoples' Judaism by young Jews.
- The questioning of the authenticity of other peoples' Judaism by foreign (both secular and pious) Jews.

There is a special category of self-criticism: Third Jewish generations feel to be questioned —the authenticity of Judaism themselves (a lack of self-confidence).

Another common aspect deals with the level of education of halachic, non-halachic Jews and converts in Luxembourg and the Czech Republic. Unlike their halachic peers, it seems that converts and Sephardic Jews (in Luxembourg) are often better educated in religious matters and Jewish culture than Ashkenazi Jews. This does not rule out the possibility that a converted approach to Judaism may overcome a primordial one. The primordial approach is reflected in the work as the irrational and emotional character of Jewish ethnicity.<sup>558</sup>

Both the Luxembourg and Czechoslovak research participants (CZTJG and LTJG) have more experiences with diversity of opinions. They are more tolerant to individual aspects of Judaism, and more frequently encounter new converts who wish to be fully integrated into communities. Both cohorts are more accepting of converts than are their parents. They are also much more open to the issue of Jews who are Jews only in the paternal line. However, my research shows that even in these two social cohorts, there are radicals who pay very strict attention to the observance of Judaism and separate themselves from those who are not religious enough, or who do not have sufficient quality in their eyes.

Another important finding of the research is the degree of uncertainty of authenticity that many respondents face, across all social cohorts. However, respondents also have a problem with defining themselves. It is difficult for them to clearly define the boundaries of their identity, not only in relation to the majority Jewish population, but also within the Jewish community as a whole. This uncertainty was more evident amongst the Luxembourg Jewish participants than the Czech ones.

The survey results indicate that the impact of arts and culture (Tables 43 and 47) was greater among the Luxembourg participants than the Czech participants. The Luxembourg participants indicated that they were more influenced by international documentaries and

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<sup>558</sup> VERKUYTEN, Maykel. *The social psychology of ethnic identity*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Routledge, 2018. p. 108.

internationally produced films which helped them to build up their Jewishness and form their Jewish identity.

The Luxembourg participants' concept of their Jewish identity, like that of their Czech peers, ranges on a spectrum from "thin" to "thick". Both Luxembourg and Czechoslovak participants have attitudes ranging from denying the existence of their Jewish identity<sup>559</sup> to a complete embracing of Judaism according to the orthodox interpretation of the Torah.

The extreme differences in the political situations in Luxembourg and Czech lands since WWII make it difficult to compare the influence that politics has had on the study cohorts. It means that the PhD research did not explore a fundamental impact of external historical events on developments of Jewish identities in often closed Jewish communities.

The role of the Jewish material heritage and its influence especially on the younger Jewish generations is apparently quite influential on the development of Jewish identity. This was evident mainly among the Luxembourgish participants, who discovered or consolidated their Judaism through family documents and religious artifacts. Material heritage, unlike family members, has always had a positive effect on the formation of a thick Jewish identity.

Perhaps surprisingly, younger Jewish respondents and narrators in the Czech lands did not see communism as the main obstacle in their path to developing their Jewish identity, but rather the fear and distrust felt by their parents and the overall mood in society under communism, which discouraged them from accepting their origins. It seems that the impact of living under communism might boil down to the irrational fears and anxieties that were transmitted to the Czech participants through their parents or acquaintances.

The common denominator of fear for the second Jewish post-war generations in both countries is represented by different development of Jewish communities in different areas. However, there is a common "fear factor" in the question: will our community survive in Luxembourg, and in the Czech lands? Answers mainly depend on the political system, experiences of emigration, family background, and the degree of Jewish practice. I therefore decided to approach the issue of the future in the survey. The question was as follows: What is your

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<sup>559</sup> According to Francois Moyses, a lawyer and the head of FLMS, Luxembourgish Jews do not have a distinctive identity. Their Jewishness consists of multifaceted identities closely linked to society. However, some others were trying to make their lives more meaningful. (F. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 28. 4. 2018. (a man, a halachic Jew, university degree).

experience of the restoration of Jewish life in your country after the war? Respondents could choose from the following answers, and could choose more than one:

- 1) I am satisfied with developments after the war;
- 2) I have a higher standard of living;
- 3) My religious and cultural life is richer;
- 4) I can now live more freely as a Jew, and;
- 5) I am dissatisfied with developments after the war.

58 respondents from CZSJG and 67 respondents from CZTJG stated that they are satisfied with the post-war development, especially after the Velvet Revolution. Their peers from Luxembourg achieved similarly positive results, although they had to evaluate for a longer period of time. They were even more positive in their assumptions (LSJG 65 and LTJG 71). Of course, these data do not have a high informative value and, of course, people's feelings can change very quickly. That said, there is a clear intergenerational positive trend, which points to a gradual growing satisfaction within the Jewish community. All the cohorts also positively reflected on the enrichment of their religious life, which has an increasing quality and intensity. They also spoke positively about the growing freedom to live life according to their ideas. Given the skepticism typical of the Jewish population in the diaspora, these results are, in my view, remarkable.

As inaccurate as my estimates may be, I found certain patterns here that may bode well for the future of the Jewish communities in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. Most (62) respondents from the third social cohort are raising or have raised children who have both Jewish training and education, but the question is whether teachers and parents are able to develop their Jewishness and their interest in Jewish history, culture and religion.

A question that arises is what tool to choose for the education of the Jewish population.<sup>560</sup> In my point of view, teachers should encourage a wide range of students to understand the meaning of the Holocaust from slightly different perspectives than only through eyes of victims.

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<sup>560</sup> The intensity of using educational app slowly improves because more and more tutors and teachers are aware of multimedia applications available for Jewish history education. There is, for example, well-known concept of the IWalk and you can use two AudioWalks tours showing users Jewish Chernivtsi and Chişinău allowing them to visit nearly forgotten sites of Jewish life. Users can see unique multimedia maps and the family pictures alongside archival material. Personal stories give a genuine insight into Jewish heritage of less-known European sites. (*The AudioWalks* [online]. Hamburg: Centropa – Zentrum für jüdische Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, 2020 [Accessed 2020-9-4]. Available from: <https://audiowalks.centropa.org/>).

Arland Ussher stated that people can only discover the world and our place in it when something goes wrong, or when something bad happens to us or we are surprised by something.<sup>561</sup> This constant expectation of a hard hit from history is common in the social cohorts I studied. Regardless of their origin, gender, or religious status, Jews have faced two main uncertainties: uncertainty about what the future will bring, and internal uncertainty. In my opinion, this uncertainty is directly linked to the inner Jewish identity and eventually affects almost every individual of Jewish descent. All these uncertainties and challenges must be faced by post-war Jewish generations, and according to Bauman and Giddens, these challenges must be faced with constant dynamic and interactive activity in a socio-historical and cultural context.<sup>562</sup>

## **5.6. Czechoslovak second and third Jewish generations: Different visions of Israel - Interviews**

First, I will focus on the impressions that both generations have about Israel. The results of my research show that most of the interviewees in the CZSJG admitted to having a distorted picture of Israel. This was admitted by ten out of fifteen interviewees, who recalled their idealistic visions. The events of the “Prague Spring” changed the mindset of Czech Jews, many Jews realized they had received incomplete and distorted information until that time. Here are two examples that illustrate the attitude of the CZSJG to the news and information they received about Israel.

*“...Nothing was objectively described. I was five years old when Israel was established, but I began to pay more attention to it after the wars in the 60's and 70's. How they managed to resist was fascinating. So I was lapping up everything about Israel and closely watched the articles in the magazine 100+1. There were a few unbiased reports on the Israeli army forces. For example, how the Israeli air force destroyed the Egyptian aircraft. [...] However today, Israel is too religious and full of orthodox political parties. I would rather see the state of Israel as a secular state.”<sup>563</sup>*

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<sup>561</sup> USSHER, Arland. *Journey through dread: a study of Kierkegaard, Heidegger, and Sartre*. 2.<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Biblo & Tannen Publishers, 1968. p. 17.

<sup>562</sup> Compare: (BAUMAN, Zygmunt. *Identity: conversations with benedetto vecchi*. 2.<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008. ; GIDDENS, Anthony. *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

<sup>563</sup> P. M. Interview, Karlovy Vary. 15. 6. 2018. (a man, non-halachic Jew, not practicing, university degree).

*“We did not want to believe in the stories sent by our relatives who had immigrated there in the late 1940s-50s. It was like a fairytale to hear about common working space (kibbutz) and we were not willing to listen to criticism of lack of privacy in kibbutz, and other vital sources...water, food.... We saw Israel as a winner of an unjustified war. But now, the political situation is different and I did not want to stay for many reasons.”*<sup>564</sup>The first excerpt comes from a Jewish scientist living in Karlovy Vary, who has very uncritical political views of Israel, but during his interview he considered himself as secular, one of those often despised by those who are “religious oriented”. The second excerpt comes from a woman who while living there, radically changed her political opinion on Israel in the past decades and finally returned to the Czech Republic for good 15 years ago.

Based on the interviews, it is possible to conclude that the Six-Day War was a dangerous pastime for the CZSJG. While searching for information about Israel, they often had to overcome not only the resistance of the communist leaders, but they also often faced conflict, with their family members who did not want to get into trouble. At that time listening to banned radio stations and reading Western newspapers was severely punished, including imprisonment or expulsion from school.

I can closely track Jewish opinions in several other statements. *“Once the Six-Day War began, we all experienced every single moment intensely. We were scared and did not know if the war would turn out well. We did not think that Israel could win. We met there (the Jewish Town Hall in Prague) with Pavel Goldreich, who was an employee of the Jewish municipality. Well, we paid for that. Rudé Právo (the Red Truth) took our conversation and wrote a very nasty article, saying that the Jewish youth are reactionaries, and support Israel. They wanted to throw everything at us...”*<sup>565</sup>

These testimonies of some members of the CZSJG confirm the conclusions I can make based on the analysis of Jewish periodicals at the time which indicates that information about Israel had been very sparse since the early 1950s. *Věstník ŽNO* reported very rarely about the holy land and the reports were very ideologically distorted. An exception to this distorted reportage were the

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<sup>564</sup> I. B. Interview, Prague. 26. 8. 2020. (a woman, halachic Jew, partly practicing, high school degree).

<sup>565</sup> M.T. Interview, Prague, ZMP archive, recorded by Kateřina Čapková, rewritten by Anežka Božovská.

accounts published regarding the 1962 trial of Adolf Eichmann, by Erich Kulka, a direct participant in the court proceedings, who was visiting Israel at the time.<sup>566</sup>

In contrast to the CZSJG, the CZTJG initially perceived Israel mainly through the eyes of their parents and close relatives. It seems that they checked Jewish media very rarely. One of the narrators remembered his anxiety about the Israeli-Palestinian wars when he saw how much his parents were affected by the conflict. *“My parents experienced the two Israeli wars very intensely - the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War, but their concern was hidden in shadows. The wars depressed my parents and my grandparents, and I did not know why. My parents were mainly worried about our relatives who fled to Israel in 1970.”*<sup>567</sup>

The desire for more information about Israel was passed on to the next generation by the CZSJG. The CZTJG however, faced an even more complete information embargo than the previous generation. This was also confirmed in six out of ten testimonies from CZTJG participants. The information situation did not improve even in the 1980s, that is why the period is referred to by some as the “great silence.”<sup>568</sup> Even though open support for Israel could be severely punished, Czechoslovak Jews were in a better situation than their counterparts in Poland where the Communist authorities had students arrested during demonstrations in support of Israel after the Six-Day War.<sup>569</sup> All this suggests that Israel has been a living and important topic, at least for some members of the second generation. This observation does not support the conclusions of Miloš Pojar, who consider Israel to have been a topic of little interest among young Czech Jews in the 1960s. It means that young people remained uninterested to settle down in Israel, and they did not much about the Israeli policy and conflicts.<sup>570</sup>

The armed conflict in the Middle East was not the only point of interest that affected Czech Jews, the Israeli embassy in Prague also played an important role. The embassy was aware of

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<sup>566</sup> KULKA, Erich. Jak bojuje izraelský lid proti fašismu, *Věstník XXIV*, 1962, č. 8, p. 8.

<sup>567</sup> K. N. Interview, Liberec, 20. 7. 2018. (a man, unknown denomination, practicing, university degree).

<sup>568</sup> The term “great silence” was coined by the CZTJG who called the period of the “Normalization” in Czechoslovakia. However, this term is reflected by many ways. For instance, CZTJG calls the silence the lack of information about Jewish people and Israel. See more: (ANDĚLOVÁ, Kristina. The Sound of Silence: How Czechs Commemorated the 50th Anniversary of the Prague Spring. In: *Cultures of history forum* [online]. Prague: Cultures of history forum 2018 [Accessed 2021-03-05]. Available from: <https://www.cultures-of-history.uni-jena.de/debates/czech/the-sound-of-silence-how-czechs-commemorated-the-50th-anniversary-of-the-prague-spring/>.

<sup>569</sup> WYSOCKI, Stanisław. *Żydzi w dziejach Polski*. Warszawa: Ojczyzna, 1995. p. 174-177.

<sup>570</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka and Miloš POJAR, ed. *Židovská menšina v Československu v letech 1956-1968: od destalinizace k pražskému jaru*. Praha: Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2011. p. 60.

Jewish interest in Israel in the 1960s and therefore Israeli officials worked to stimulate further interest in Judaism among Prague's young Jews.<sup>571</sup> One of the interviewees acknowledged these data collected by Blanka Soukupová in the archives. *“Two people went here (to Prague), their names were, as usual, David and Sarah. She had a French passport, he had a Dutch passport and they always arrived for just half a day. They always told me: “See you in an hour to Malostranský náměstí and they always gave me something, mostly books or Jewish decorations for children or flags or spinning spinners, etc. Well, I always got some Jewish literature from them.”*<sup>572</sup>

The communist government was adamantly against the Israeli embassy, and particularly against the distribution of the *Bulletin* of the Israeli embassy. At the time, according to some narrators, the *Bulletin* represented a strong informational tie between Jews in Czechoslovakia and Israel:

*“I felt a real connection with Israel through the bulletin distributed by the Israeli embassy in Prague. It was nothing special, but there was undistorted information that I could use and reflect on in some way. Secret seminars in parents' apartments were also very important for us, even though we knew that there might be informants among us. It was a very interesting for us to get more information about Israel and Jewry. Unfortunately, almost all apartments were monitored by the StB, so we did not tell our parents. They would definitely forbid us.”*<sup>573</sup>

These statements also demonstrate how the distribution of cultural bulletins was demanded among the Jewish young people. Therefore, it cannot be stated unequivocally that Israel and its political destiny were not interesting to the two generations of Czech Jews in question. Soukupová mentions her interest in the large number of copies of the *bulletin* distributed by the Israeli embassy, especially among Jewish youth. In 1965, a high number of copies (5000) were published, and Communist administration decided to discontinue its publication because it could threaten political thinking of Jewish youth.<sup>574</sup>

The testimony of P. B. about secret seminars has been elaborated in an article by Alena Heitlinger, who described in detail how the meetings were designed. The situation in Israel was interesting for a group of Jews under the age of 30, who, despite a ban on meetings in the narrator's

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<sup>571</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 508.

<sup>572</sup> K. T. Interview, Prague, 20. 8. 2018. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>573</sup> Petr Brod. Interview, Prague, 18. 7. 2018.

<sup>574</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 172.

village, tried to read samizdat literature, discuss illegal topics at secret seminars and meet with Western visitors who sometimes had interesting information about politics in Israel.<sup>575</sup>

Like the second generation, the third generation were also affected by an official anti-Zionist campaign. The following statements support the assertion of journalist Peter Brod, who accused the academic intelligencia of the time of hatred of Israel. The official anti-Zionism in combination with the ban on discussion of matters concerning Israel within Jewish communities resulted in a degree of ignorance among the CZTJG. *“We learned nothing about Israel at the Jewish Religious Community of Prague in the 1970s. I knew the subject was taboo. My older friends, whom I rarely met in the village in the late 1960s, disappeared and I, as a 14-year-old, remained completely isolated from the Jewish community. I went to Israel in the 1990s to find a husband and underwent an orthodox giyur (conversion)<sup>576</sup>. That is where my Jewishness began, but my approach is far more transnational than that of my parents and grandparents.”<sup>577</sup>*

There was one thing that was common for both Czechoslovak post-war generations; several respondents had relatives or friends in Israel and that was their main connection with the country. During their interviews they referred to the family history of relatives who had moved to Israel in the 1970-80s. *“When I managed to get to Israel with my brother in the early 1980s, he decided to stay there and never came back. He is now an officer in the Israeli army.”<sup>578</sup>*

Some managed to cross the borders with some cultural associations such as sports clubs or choirs and ended up in Israel. Although this woman eventually returned to Czechoslovakia, she had been successful in her illegal performances in Israel. *“I went to Israel with a mixed choir as part of our cultural association. I do know why I was included; because I spoke Hebrew and had Jewish ancestors I was considered an “untrusted person”<sup>579</sup>*

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<sup>575</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. Jewish youth activism and institutional response in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s. *East European Jewish Affairs* [online]. 2002, **32**(2), p. 25-42 [Accessed 2019-05-02]. Available from: doi:10.1080/13501670208577973

<sup>576</sup> “Conversion to Judaism is the process by which non-Jews adopt the Jewish religion and become members of the Jewish ethnoreligious community.” (Jewish religious movements, 2001-. In: *Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia* [online]. San Francisco (CA): Wikimedia Foundation [Accessed 2021-03-05]. Available from: [https://wikimili.com/en/Jewish\\_religious\\_movements](https://wikimili.com/en/Jewish_religious_movements) ; PRENTISS, Craig R. *Religion and the creation of race and ethnicity: an introduction*. New York: New York Press, 2003).

<sup>577</sup> G. B. Interview, Prague, 15.6. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>578</sup> V. N. Interview, Prague, 10. 8. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>579</sup> T. M. Interview, Prague, 12. 9. 2018. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).



Interviewees of both generations also reflected on their impression of Israel in terms of the willingness of the Israeli population to accept Jewish "newcomers" from the Czech diaspora. *"I never got used to the local religion and my initial enthusiasm slowly waned. I finally returned to the Czech Republic five years ago, but my children remained to study in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. I'm constantly worried about them...They can be in danger."*<sup>580</sup> *"I have a very ambivalent relationship with Israel, I go there to see my friends every year, but I have noticed that the place has been slowly deteriorating."*<sup>581</sup>

Both generations also were concerned about security in Israel, and six narrators from the CZSJG still considers it a dangerous country, torn by both internal and external conflicts. On the other hand, examining the testimonies of certain narrators from the CZTJG, I see mostly positive evaluations of the security situation in Israel. *"...I felt confident and safe there, more than anywhere else."*<sup>582</sup> These last examples summarize the special and ambivalent relationship that the participants have with Israel. Most of the narrators from the second generation cohort returned from Israel and decided to live in the Czech Republic.<sup>583</sup> This, of course, affects their overall view of this country, which is probably different from those CZTJG participants who decided to stay in Israel.

While the CZSJG narrators testimonies consider security, cultural and ethnic a predominant narrative, the CZTJG have a disproportionately broader scope in terms of Israel's importance to their identity and historical experience. It is difficult to compare the findings of CZTJG's attitudes to Israel with any academic papers in the Czech Republic that would thoroughly define or investigate this social cohort. Due to this fact, I submitted a part of the interview with Martin Šmok<sup>584</sup> who characterized his generation (from 1965 to the 1980s) of Czech Jews as follows: *"We assembled in the dark while talking about our Jewish identity, and Israel was a distant land hidden in the shadows. We did not know who we were and where we belonged. Jewish traditions were vaguely taught to us by our parents and we did not want to believe in Leninism,*

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<sup>580</sup> M. Š. Interview, Prague, 14. 10. 2019. (a woman, a convert, partly practicing, university degree).

<sup>581</sup> T. K. Interview, Brno, 24. 8. 2018. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>582</sup> M. W. Interview, Plzeň, 11. 10. 2018. (a woman, a convert, practicing, university degree).

<sup>583</sup> The last of them came back to the Czech Republic in 2011.

<sup>584</sup> Jewish historian and documentarist.

*Stalinism, or the blossoming land of the kibbutz. We wanted neither the radical assimilation wished for by the communists and President Edvard Beneš, nor did we want to immigrate to Israel.”*<sup>585</sup>

Šmok’s statement introduced something unspoken – the fear especially felt by parents who were largely disillusioned after August 1968. This atmosphere of ignorance and fear lasted until Arthur Radvaňský and Michaela Vidláková took the lead in the youth movement and began to organize short Jewish camps and trips. Radvaňský took over the leadership of the then Jewish youth group at the Jewish Religious Community of Prague especially the younger children. According to Alena Heitlinger, the children met regularly every fortnight and went on various trips and excursions.<sup>586</sup> Thanks to his enthusiasm and motivation, children from Jewish families became interested in Jewish culture, Judaism and, political events in Israel.

In conclusion, this chapter aims to shed light into the intergenerational understanding of Israel from the perspective of Jewish narrators. Dealing with communist influence and Jewish uncertainty, the text brings different and similar understandings of Israeli country. It also reflects on Israeli security matters and the activities of the Israeli embassy in the Czechoslovakia.

## **5.7. Czechoslovak second and third Jewish generation: Blurred notion of the “promised land”- Survey**

This chapter contains an evaluation of the responses to the questions of the survey focused on Israel. The data are compared with respect to intergenerational intersections and subsequently processed through theoretical changes of sociological basis determined in the first part of my work.

The results of the survey show that only 27 survey respondents of both generations have never visited Israel. However, around 114 out of 173 respondents did regularly visit Israel. The rest have visited Israel at least once. The CZTJG has confirmed that this trend is still growing over time. Only 27 respondents had not visited Israel by the end of 2019. Like the CZSJG, there is no considerable difference between males and females, religious practice, or Jewish origin. I can confirm that liberal or unorthodox Jews visit Israel more often than their orthodox halachic

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<sup>585</sup> ŠMOK Martin. *Bílá místa. Maskil* [online]. 2001, (5762) [Accessed 2020-04-10]. Available from: <https://www.maskil.cz/13/7.htm>.

<sup>586</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 118-119.

counterparts. For both postwar generations, I have not noticed any considerable distinctions between different religious denominations, whether between halachic Jews,<sup>587</sup> non-halachic Jews<sup>588</sup> (The Law of Return) and converts.<sup>589</sup> There are also no clear differences in responses from males and females.

These figures contradict some of the conclusions reached by Marcela Zoufalá, who argues that the distance of Czech Jews from Israel is somewhat comparable to the Jewish diaspora in the United States.<sup>590</sup> These figures clearly show that the intergenerational trend tends to point to more frequent trips to the holy land.

In responses to the question about the participants' "Attitude towards Israel", (see Table 8), only eight respondents chose "*I don't have any special relation with Israel.*" On the other hand, 75 respondents chose the response "*Identify with the fate of people living in Israel*", a similar proportion to that found by the study by Alena Heitlinger.<sup>591</sup> Participants could pick more than one of the eight choices which means that the total number of responses was 589, but the number of actual respondents was 200.<sup>592</sup> In the CZSJG: 75 respondents out of 100 identified with the fate of Israeli inhabitants. The survey data correspond with the figures obtained from the survey of the CZTJG (65 respondents). Additional comments showed that the CZTJG has a greater devotion to Israel than the CZSJG, and its members concentrate far more on particular people than on the state itself. This attitude might be due to multiple visits that have resulted in strong ties with Israelis. The strong identification with the people of Israel also points to the importance of this country for both Czech cohorts, regardless of their religious denomination or form of Jewish identity. The data obtained correspond to the observation of Eric Cohen<sup>593</sup>, who states that fascination with the holy land is still alive among the post-war generations, regardless of their devotion to Judaism. Even the communist regime did not destroy the bond, despite strong isolation.

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<sup>587</sup> 35 halachic respondents visited Israel at least once, 10 have not visited Israel yet.

<sup>588</sup> 30 non-halachic visited Israel, 6 have not visited Israel yet.

<sup>589</sup> 16 converts visited Israel, 3 have not visited Israel.

<sup>590</sup> *Being Jewish in 21st Century Central Europe* [online]. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020 [Accessed 2020-01-13]. Available from: doi:10.1515/9783110582369. p. 187.

<sup>591</sup> The figure is 70% and the number of respondents is 136. (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 132).

<sup>592</sup> This is the same for other cohorts examined, e.g. CZTJG, LSJG, LTJG.

<sup>593</sup> COHEN, Erik. *Jewish Youth around the World 1991-2010: Social Identity and Values in a Comparative Approach*. Leiden: Brill, 2014 [Accessed 2019-03-11]. Available from: [https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202\\_008.xml24](https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202_008.xml24). p. 124-125.

The question addressing Israeli foreign policy towards Palestinians and neighboring countries also shows a distinction between the two post-war generations.<sup>594</sup> The majority of the CZSJG participants<sup>595</sup> support Israeli international policy and policy towards Palestinians. They consider the current political situation as confusing and unsatisfactory and evaluate everything from a long-term historical perspective. As such, contemporary political affairs and war incidents do not have a harmful influence on the attitude of the CZSJG towards Israel.

If any of the questionnaire respondents were critical of Israel's policy towards the Palestinians, it was especially the non-halachic, less practicing women from both generations. One can detect this stance in the supplementary comments, where I found the following statements: *“I agree with Israeli policy entirely, but I realize that is often driven by the utilitarian needs of the country. For example, Israel's official “standstill” policy in regards to the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman Turks. Israeli policy towards Palestinians is usually characterized by rigidity and an inability to find a more differentiated approach, even if it is possible.”*<sup>596</sup>

Thirty-two respondents from the CZSJG<sup>597</sup> would allow the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, but I take this figure cautiously since a few respondents<sup>598</sup> supplemented their answers with contradictory remarks. For example: *“I support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state - yes, but totally disarmed and led by the Jewish government.”*<sup>599</sup> *“The Palestinian state must be established to be destroyed in a regular war.”*<sup>600</sup> Nevertheless, the majority of the respondents used more peaceful language, stressing the need for coexistence. *“I am strongly against the policy of the Palestinians in Gaza and the policy of Hamas, but I support a sensible solution in the West Bank - Fatah. We must make peace in this area.”*<sup>601</sup>

Respondents cited three important conditions that they felt would have to be fulfilled before establishing a Palestinian state. First, Palestinians would have to be satisfied with much smaller territory than was allotted to them in 1948. Second, they would have to relinquish demands on

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<sup>594</sup> Only 29 respondents (CZSJG) have some objections to current Israeli foreign policy.

<sup>595</sup> Some added heartening comments in favor of Netanyahu's cabinet.

<sup>596</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

<sup>597</sup> 15 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 8 converts

<sup>598</sup> All were halachic Jews, practicing men and members of the CZSJG. Their identity was mostly “thick”.

<sup>599</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, college degree).

<sup>600</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. A similar opinion has appeared in the study of A. Heitlinger. (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 133).

<sup>601</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, unknown education).

Jerusalem as a capital city. Third, the Palestinian state would have to be totally disarmed and controlled by international organizations, such as the UN (United Nations).

The CZTJG participants were more critical of Israeli political leadership than the CZSJG. Some have serious objections to the political treatment of the Palestinians. Their responses indicate a higher degree of awareness of the Israeli government. They were better acquainted with the agendas of Israeli political parties and know their representatives. They clearly distinguished between the periods before and after the Velvet Revolution. They did not only comment on politics, but also on ethnic incidents against non-Jewish ethnicities that occurred in the last decades. The CZTJG generally considers Israeli foreign policy acceptable, but they are frustrated with the government's corruption scandals. *"Israeli politicians are as corrupt as Czech politicians. It's even worse there because it is not a secular country."*<sup>602</sup>

A substantial number of the CZTJG respondents lean towards the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, fully secured, and guaranteed by international military alliances. Only eight respondents are strictly against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state, and three respondents stated that they do not have any special relationship with Israel. According to the data from both generations, Israel represents a secure place where Jews can seek refuge in case of a threat. It represents an oasis where all kinds of Jews might hide and ride out all crises.

Based on the figures, women seem more critical towards the political regime<sup>603</sup> in Israel than men and they are also more pro-Palestinian than their male counterparts.<sup>604</sup> However, I have to take into account that the data can overlap since some respondents have objections towards Israeli policy towards its neighboring countries, but at the same time agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. Internal criticism of political conditions and weaker religious and ideological connections were seen mainly in the responses of the non-practicing non-Halachic Jews of the CZTJG. It is important to note here that converts are also critical of Israel as a political body, but their identification with the holy land is in most cases strong. *"There will always be a fight because*

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<sup>602</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, unknown denomination, lukewarm practice, unknown education).

<sup>603</sup> 21 out of 35 responses which disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians was marked by women and 28 out of 38 responses criticizing Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states.

<sup>604</sup> 29 out of 42 responses in favor of the creation of an independent Palestinian state were marked by women.

*real democracy is not compatible with a religious state. I do not think there will ever be real democracy in Israel even if the laws of the country are enshrined in religion.*”<sup>605</sup>

Only a few orthodox believers and those who claimed themselves to be “keen” Zionists stated that all Jews should live in Israel. Only eleven questionnaire respondents marked this option and only two of these actually live there. These respondents came from highly religious families, or they have never visited Israel in their lives. This is thus a very small group of people within my research.

Besides political issues, the Czech participants raised other issues regarding Israel. Several respondents stated that they cannot build stronger relationships with Israel due to the prevalence of chauvinism, xenophobia, racism and strongly orthodox groups. Even halachic and practicing Jews in the Czech lands saw these as big problems. *“I have a big problem with Israeli religious policy, which monopolized religious life there, and the influence of the Haredi groups is just unbearable. Young orthodox Jews refuse to go to the army and defend their country. It is just egotistical madness.”*<sup>606</sup>

So what do the results of the questionnaire mean for the theoretical basis and the research question? Czech Jews, of both generations, are actively following Israeli politics and are not indifferent to them. This fundamentally influences their attitude towards the country. Thus, for each group, Israel represents different things. For halachic Jews and converts, it is a question of forming identities from a symbolic-religious point of view. For non-Halachic Jews, this is more of a political-economic issue. The findings of this study correspond to the assumptions of Yehezkel Dror,<sup>607</sup> who claims that the Jewish diaspora is constantly expanding its perception of Israel and needs new challenges, traits and symbolics to develop their thinking of this country. It is no longer just a symbol and a religious issue. All findings collide with the claim of Marcela Zoufalá, who states in her above-mentioned paper that the Czech Jews are indifferent to Israeli current politics. *“Considering that the JVS represents a very rare if not the only publicly and for media formulated critique on behalf of Czech Jews towards Israeli current politics, it implies that Israeli-Palestinian*

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<sup>605</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practice, high school education).

<sup>606</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>607</sup> DROR, Yehezkel. Diaspora-Israel Relations: A Long-Term Perspective. *Israel Studies* [online]. 2012, 17(2), p. 88 [Accessed 2018-03-17]. Available from: <http://proxy.bnl.lu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=73540923&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

*conflict and surrounding Israeli government policies are not entirely in the focus of the Czech Jewish community mainstream debate.”*<sup>608</sup> Rather, I agree with the conclusions of Alena Heitlinger and Blanka Soukupová, who point out that the Jewish community has a historically long-standing interest in the Holy Land, to which they have many reservations, but it is still a living and important part of their Judaism.

### ***5.7.1. Czechoslovak second and third generations: Aliyah and personal ties divided between Israel and home with relatives – Interviews and Survey***

This chapter is based on the data from the survey and interviews, merged to create a unified picture of the CZSJG’s attitude towards Aliyah and home.

To the survey question – “Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948? – Most of the respondents (122) answered “yes” but only a handful of them have realized this migration. Some the CZTJG were able travel to Israel in the 1980s and the CZSJG in the late 1960s. Both cohorts visit Israel very frequently now and especially the participants from the CZTJG do not have problems communicating in Hebrew. They travelled to Israel after the Velvet Revolution to study or work, but only nine of the participants decided to remain there.

Only ten of 52 respondents reported in the survey, “I made Aliyah” and “I do not plan to return as I found my roots and religious background in Israel.” These statements support the conclusions of Eric Cohen, which I have already reflected in the theoretical part of my work. He considers this type of Aliyah as an ideological act. *“Making Aliyah” is an ideological act. While some of the motivations for Aliyah are similar to those of other international migrants—namely, hope for a better life in the new country— Aliyah has political, spiritual, religious, and cultural implications beyond those of mundane migration.”*<sup>609</sup> Regarding the case of those made Aliyah and left for Israel, it is, therefore, necessary to broaden the meaning of this term. Based on the

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<sup>608</sup> *Being Jewish in 21st Century Central Europe* [online]. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020 [cit. 2022-01-13]. ISBN 9783110582369. Dostupné z: doi:doi:10.1515/9783110582369. p. 189-190.

<sup>609</sup> COHEN, Erik. *Jewish Youth around the World, 1990-2010: Social Identity and Values in a Comparative Approach: Jewish Identities in a Changing World*. Leiden: Brill, 2014. p. 142.

historical period (war or peace), the definition can be the combination of emigration<sup>610</sup> (economic reasons) and ideological aspects (religiosity) of Aliyah.<sup>611</sup>

Visiting Israel feels like an obligation for most of my respondents since some of them (especially members of the CZTJG) spent an important part of their lives there. Those who responded “No” in the question of Aliyah belong to the category of people who are satisfied with their current residence location and some of them consider the thought of Aliyah a bit eccentric. The testimonies of the second-generation interviewees partly reflect the historical research done by Zdeněk Jirásek<sup>612</sup> referring the difficulties with administration that occurred when an entire family wished to leave the country and move abroad.

This issue is illustrated by the next excerpt from an interview with a narrator from Prague. *We tried to escape [from Czechoslovakia] but we ended up like my sister, who got married in Brno. My family and I were rejected four times. My sister had a family in Israel, and yet they did not want to let her go after us. At that time, my son-in-law wrote a letter to the government that the clerks had been treating us like the Nazis had during the war. In the end we got permission, but we didn't travel because of our old parents, although my sister eventually left.*<sup>613</sup>

The information obtained from the interviews and additional comments show several interesting trends in regard to making Aliyah.<sup>614</sup> A relatively large number of respondents (122) announced that their relatives intended to leave the Czech lands for Israel, but also immediately explained why their relatives eventually stayed in Europe. The most common reasons for staying include aging family members who were not able to make the trip, and whose loss would have been unbearable for them. The following excerpts come either from the additional comments on the survey or from the interviews with members of the CZSJJG. *“It's very simple – we had a very old grandmother here<sup>615</sup>. Our family made the decision to leave, but in the end we stayed here (Teplice) because of my grandmother. In addition to my mother my grandfather had two sons, and*

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<sup>610</sup> SHEFFER, Gabriel. The European Jewish Diaspora: The Third Pillar of World Jewry? SCHOEPS, Julius H. and Olaf GLÖCKNER. *A Road to Nowhere?* [online]. Leiden: Brill, 2013, p. 35-44 [Accessed 2021-8-29]. Available from: doi:[https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004201606\\_003](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004201606_003).

<sup>611</sup> The definitions of exile, diaspora and emigration are well explained in the book: (WETTSTEIN, Howard. *Diasporas and exiles: varieties of Jewish identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>612</sup> JIRÁSEK, Zdeněk. *Československá poúnorová emigrace a počátky exilu*. Brno: Prius, 1999. p. 25-45.

<sup>613</sup> T. G. Interview, Olomouc, 25. 3. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>614</sup> The question had only one option to be answered and of course, participants can add some additional comments.

<sup>615</sup> Teplice, a city in the north of the Czech Republic.



*they both emigrated to Israel in 1948. This divided the family. Later, the Communists prevented Czechs from having contact with relatives living in Israel. We were unable to visit each other, and could only write to each other. In 1964, the family decided not to go abroad because of our grandmother. We all stayed here.*<sup>616</sup>

This excerpt illustrates the type of personal reasons that caused many Jews to stay in the Czech lands. Only a handful of respondents (2) indicated in the survey that they stayed due to financial issues. The second reason had been purely economic, thus only two respondents marked the option for “financial issues.” Another consideration that prevented them from migrating to Israel cited by some of the participants were the emotional bonds they had to specific property, such as a farm, factory or business. They said that the main reason for staying was to wait for financial reparations and restitutions, and this delay subsequently prevented them from submitting their immigration documents. *“My father was waiting to get his large farm near Prague back. The farm was his whole life, and he could not admit to himself that this property was lost forever. He had farmed there together with his brothers and other relatives who all died in the concentration camps.”*<sup>617</sup> They did not leave for Israel not because of financial issues, but because they did not want to abandon their confiscated property due to personal reasons.

Some members of the CZSJG also had to cope with communist upbringing and the discouragement on the part of their parents. They were often too exhausted to begin new careers anywhere else and discouraged their children from making Aliyah. *“My father never supported my enthusiasm to emigrate to Israel. I heard from my mother that he had thought he would earn the same amount of money in Czechoslovakia as he had before the war -we did not live badly. Then, in a completely non-heroic way, he bought a special supplementary pension at the Adria insurance company. He argued against leaving that money here. He naively thought he could secure the future for himself but then the monetary reform came unexpectedly and that was a last straw for my father.”*<sup>618</sup> These findings extend the conclusions of Blanka Soukupová’s study, which sees a bond between Jewish returnees from concentration camps and the country of origin through new

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<sup>616</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, college degree).

<sup>617</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing (very lukewarm, university degree).

<sup>618</sup> K. M. Interview, Prague, 12. 8. 2019 (a man, halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

marriages, activities or political activities in the Communist Party.<sup>619</sup> My research also points to the economic aspect of Aliya, namely the sense of obligation to preserve and restore at least what is left. There was some hope of a return to pre-war conditions and people expected to get a chance to renew their businesses.

The additional comments on the completed surveys also show that some research subjects from both generations got into trouble with the Communist regime due to the emigration of their relatives to Israel. Here is a representative example: *“My uncle moved to Israel, where he became a soldier. In 1974, he was allowed to visit Czechoslovakia. That was the first time I remembered him. Until then, he could not come here because he was in the enemy’s army. My dad and I ended up in the presidential office to plead his case, and we finally managed to get permission for him to visit. But having these contacts with Israel did not pay off for me later, because I was watched by the State Security. My parents corresponded with my uncle, and I paid a high price as I could not finish my high school education.”*<sup>620</sup>

On the other hand, some members of the CZTJG emphasize the integration and political tendencies of their parents, which influenced them to such an extent that they eventually decided not to emigrate to Israel. They explained why their parents refused to leave Czechoslovakia before the post 1968 period of Normalization. When asked about emigration<sup>621</sup> in Spring 1968, most of them disagreed with their parents’ opinions of Israel.

*“Dad never wanted to leave Czechoslovakia after the war. He preferred to stay and join the Communist Party. As far as I know; my mother talked to me about it; she wanted to go to Israel after the war, but my dad did not want to, so she gave in. We watched the political situation in Israel with tension, especially the course of the wars. [...] My father also wrote articles in Věstník, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. He was unhappy because, in his opinion, Věstník was completely gutted and he could almost not write about anything except prayers and religious ceremonies. Dad had many friends in Israel, left-leaning people sending him various literature. [...] My parents were always very left-wing and had a very ambivalent relationship with Israel.”*<sup>622</sup>

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<sup>619</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. Československo a rodné město jako domov?: Čeští Židé a jejich prožitek domova po šoa. *Sociální studia*. 2014, **11**(4), p. 71-95.

<sup>620</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, non-halachic (convert), practicing, university degree).

<sup>621</sup> Q: Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?

<sup>622</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, unknown education).

This excerpt shows the turbulent environment of the 1980s which the Jews grew up in. Some parents were terrified of hiding and breaking all connections to Jewry as well as Israel; others struggled with their own identity and their affection for communism.

There were also quite a few respondents in the CZTJG who were ashamed of their decision to stay in Czechoslovakia before moving to Israel. *“When my parents learned that I joined the military service in 1985 as a Czechoslovak soldier, they could not forgive me. They blamed me for staying here instead of going to fight for my Jewish country.”*<sup>623</sup>

My research also shows that the CZTJG does not perceive *Aliyah* in the same way the previous generation did. They see Israel as a life challenge, a religious and cultural place for developing their identities, rather than a hideout or a last resting place. The data both from the survey and from the interviews indicates that the CZTJG does not belong to the category of *Aliyah*-keen Jews born to leave their place of birth and settle down in Israel. They appraise Israel from various angles and cautiously judge all factors concerning the *Aliyah*. This issue has been confirmed by one of the theories of Marcela Zoufalá<sup>624</sup> and Joanna Dyduch<sup>625</sup> who judged that Czechoslovak Jews are concerned about a multi-ethnic background that would have an impact on their way of life and their conception of Judaism. Arguably, both Czech generations are afraid of being limited and ideologically occupied again. This theory has been also confirmed by Howard Wettstein in his book where he states that, *“Jews would no longer be able to draw their moral and psychological energy from the fortress mentality of the besieged. The meaning of ideas such as being chosen and exile would be open to examination. Jewish isolation and insulation would need to be reassessed.”*<sup>626</sup> In his opinion, the new Jewish vision has to be fulfilled with new progressive content acceptable for various Jewish denominations with a new way of living.

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<sup>623</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, lukewarm practice, high school education).

<sup>624</sup> ROSNER, Shmuel and John RUSKAY. 70 Years of Israel-Diaspora Relations: The Next Generation. In: *The Jewish People Policy Institute's Annual Israel-Diaspora Dialogue* [online]. Jerusalem: Jewish People Policy Institute, 2018, p. 130 [Assessed. 2020-01-07]. Available from: <http://jppi.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Dialogue-at-70-English.pdf>.

<sup>625</sup> DYDUCH, Joanna. Die Visegrád-Staaten und Israel Dimensionen und Funktionen einer Sonderbeziehung. *Osteuropa* [online]. 2019, **69**(9-11), 351-367 [cit. 2022-01-14]. Available from: <https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/xmlui/handle/item/149273>.

<sup>626</sup> WETTSTEIN, Howard. *Diasporas and exiles: varieties of Jewish identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. p. 228.

The second part of this subchapter about post war Czech Jews' relationship to Israel as a potential homeland. It considers several earlier studies that dealt with the issue of home and homeland, intentions to migrate to Israel, and the desire to be Israeli.<sup>627</sup>

The weighted average (0-5) shown in Table 10 (Q: What aspects are important to you when considering a home country?) reveals that the CZSJG and the CZTJG ranked the cultural and intellectual proximity of their environment to be highly important (3,32 and 4,17) for their well-being, but they have this feeling primarily for the Czech Republic/Czechoslovakia or in the country where they are now living, not for Israel. The mentality of most of the population plays a significant role in defining home or homeland for both cohorts.

Some participants from this cohort are afraid of people of different nationalities and ethnicities living together in a very small place. This can be seen from the following excerpt: *“Yes, indeed. I realized that Israel is the only place on Earth where I can hide if anything screws up. I can just move there. It is an escape route in my life. I have some relatives [and] family there (son, aunt and their families), I go there regularly, but Islam is a big and neglected problem, poorly addressed both there and in Europe. Many people do not want to recognize that. Politicians are aware of it, but others are not. If politicians do not solve this, it will turn out badly.”*<sup>628</sup>

This comment from a Halachic Jew is just one of a number of similar commentaries on Israel as a potential homeland. In particular, more liberal/less observant participants had concerns about Israel's ethnic composition and religious intolerance of a large proportion of Israel's population. This is partly in line with the findings of Vered Kraus<sup>629</sup> and Eva Tater,<sup>630</sup> who criticize Israeli “nationalist” policies and the doctrinaire rigidity of religious groups in Israel in their studies.

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<sup>627</sup> For example: (COHEN, Erik. *Jewish Youth Around the World, 1990-2010: Social Identity and Values in a Comparative Approach: Jewish Identities in a Changing World*. Leiden: Brill, 2014; HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006.; COHEN, Erik and Gabriel HORENCZYK. The Structure of Attitudes Towards Israel Diaspora Relations Among Diaspora Youth Leaders: An Empirical Analysis. [online]. 21 Aug 2006, **69**(2), p. 78-88 [Accessed 2020-03-19]. Available from: doi:10.1080/0021624030690208.; COHEN, Erik. Images of Israel: a structural comparison along gender, ethnic, denominational and national lines: *Tourist Studies*. [online]. Dec 2003, **3**(3), p. 253-280 [Accessed 2021-01-26]. Available from: doi:10.1177/1468797603049659).

<sup>628</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

<sup>629</sup> KRAUS, Vered and Robert William HODGE. *Promises in the promised land: mobility and inequality in Israel*. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1990. p. 2-48.

<sup>630</sup> TATEROVÁ, Eva. Nové trendy v přístupu Státu Izrael vůči imigrantům nežidovského původu po roce 2000: vzestup radikalismu na izraelské politické scéně? *Rexter-časopis pro výzkum radikalismu, extremismu a terorismu*. 2013, **11**(2), p. 90-114.

Those who lived under the communist regime and during the period of “*Normalization*”<sup>631</sup> were more sensitive about the increasing number of Jewish refugees to Israel from Russia and Ukraine.<sup>632</sup> This was encountered several times in the interviews and additional survey comments in this study. “*I used to have two homes, one here in Prague and the other in Israel. I know people give a lot of money, especially American women, to Israel and it is worth seeing some progress, but I was already a little embarrassed at the time. Israel was still the same Israel. And now I was there about fifteen years ago, at the Dead Sea, and I was completely shocked. There are thousands of Russians. Well, I could not take it at all. They do not even have Jewish roots! They moved there when Israel had open arms. Some agencies were set up in Cyprus and in Prague. Well, they go to Prague for a day, an agent picks them up there, they take pictures at the Prague Castle, on the Charles Bridge, and in the evening they go back to Israel on the night flight, saying that they have just got married. Everywhere (in Israel) the inscriptions are first in Cyrillic and then in Hebrew. The souvenirs – Matryoshka dolls and orthodox icons. When I went to a restaurant, a waiter asked me what I wanted in Russian. So I told him to speak Hebrew or English when we were in the holy land. There are too many of them for me. I could not live there anymore. I can no longer consider this place my home.*”<sup>633</sup>

One can detect in this extract the certain xenophobic and intolerant attitude toward different nationalities which have settled in Israel in the last few decades. This excerpt is included to illustrate that new Israeli citizens are perceived as a problem for some Jews in the diaspora. One cannot of course generalize this example to the entire cohort of CZSJG respondents, but it is clear that the cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment plays a more significant role for some members of the CZSJG than was anticipated.

Table ten contains a weighted average of respondents who indicated the importance of the various factors they were asked about on a scale from 0 to 5. One can see that the CZSJG participants are more sensitive to internal and external security than the other cohorts examined.<sup>634</sup> They are not only scared of terrorism, but some are also afraid of social insecurity. “*I always work*

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<sup>631</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment.

<sup>632</sup> This concerns the new wave of Russian immigrants. (REMENNICK, Larissa. Intergenerational transfer in Russian-Israeli immigrant families: parental social mobility and children's integration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. *Studies* [online]. Aug. 2012, **38**(10), p. 1533-1550 [Accessed 2020-03-26]. Available from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369183X.2012.711040?journalCode=cjms20>.

<sup>633</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment (a woman, halachic Jew, partly practicing, high school degree).

<sup>634</sup> You can compare the figures to other results from Tables 8, 12, 16.

*either as a teacher or journalist, but I cannot imagine doing my profession in Israel. I would have to do some inferior jobs, and this does not make sense. I need to feel respect from others and it would be very difficult to earn it in this country. I would be a stranger forever.*"<sup>635</sup>

Research participants from both cohorts also complained about the strict and hostile religious environment in Israel. They had had either personal or vicarious experiences, but based on the comments there are respondents who had faced criticism from local orthodox communities in Israel. *"Keeping all traditions correctly seems to be a big issue for many Jews willing to settle in Israel. My older brother moved there when it was allowed in 1969, and at the beginning, he sent back desperate letters full of regret. He was completely isolated as he did not follow all the religious regulations."*<sup>636</sup> It corresponds with the concept of Hila Zaban described above who posits a theory of social bubbles threatening newcomer diasporic Jews. The impermeability of these bubbles can have a fatal effect on both family life and career self-realization. The narrator's brother seems to have suffered from this phenomenon.

The same goes for the CZTJG,<sup>637</sup> who also appreciated the cultural and intellectual proximity of their surroundings, although some respondents in this group also indicated that economic aspects of life in Israel were very important to them. They stated that employment and business opportunities are far more important to them than to their parents. *"Israel was a great opportunity for me to set up my business with wine and food. It was perfect since I met a lot of people there who helped me to deliver good kosher food."*<sup>638</sup> The CZTJG participants' responses generally confirm Israel's economic importance to the younger generation. Engaging in business is another way to establish a relationship with Israel and Israelis in a non-religious, non-political way. The inclination to this view cannot be clearly defined through a bold or meager identities, but it is a prevailing view among young Jews (CZTJG) both practicing and non-practicing Jews, regardless of religious denomination. However, study participants seem to understand Israel differently than Karen Brodtkin,<sup>639</sup> whose work was discussed above in the theoretical concept section of this paper. Brodtkin understands economic relationships from the perspective of race,

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<sup>635</sup> P. B. Interview, Prague, 15. 6. 2017. (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

<sup>636</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, college degree).

<sup>637</sup> Table 14 indicates that the most important aspect for the CZTJG was cultural and intellectual proximity, which corresponds with the preceded examined cohort (CZSJG).

<sup>638</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, unknown education).

<sup>639</sup> BRODKIN, Karen. Global capitalism: What's race got to do with it? *American Ethnologist*. 2000, 27(2), p. 237-256).

genders and nationality. While the CZTJG participants perceive economic opportunities more through technical know-how, economic capital and investment capabilities of Israeli investors.

Unlike external and internal security, Israel's climate was not as important to the participants (CZSJG: 2,96, CZTJG: 2,21). There were a few respondents who liked visiting Israel for a while, but could not imagine living there forever due to the hot weather: *"I cannot live there, I hate dust and sand, there is no green grass, only endless desert."*<sup>640</sup>

It is difficult to summarize or generalize the perceptions of the CZTJG cohort, however the following quote appropriately reflects the common perceptions among the respondents. *"Over the years, I have adopted the idea that Israel is a place where I can live temporarily, so this place is not entirely my home. However, I have a moral obligation to defend it. I do not have to use arms or weapons, but I can support Israel politically, financially, or ideologically, but living in Israel was something like living in a bubble. I only had a few friends, and it was very difficult to participate in the activities of other religious groups."*<sup>641</sup>

Alena Heitlinger points out that the post-war generations took the existence of Israel as an indisputable fact that cannot be denied or erased from history. The above quote from a study participant shows that Halachic Jews, and converts in particular, have a sense of responsibility to Israel that accompanies them throughout their lives. Heitlinger describes this sense of responsibility as an important need of the Czechoslovak second Jewish generation.<sup>642</sup> Based on the survey data (the frequency of visits and the level of interest), I consider this to be a transgenerational phenomenon that is transmissible.

## **5.8. Luxembourg second and third Jewish generation: Israel as a multi-layered phenomenon - Interviews**

Focusing again on differences between interviewees and respondents with thick and thin Jewish identities, the aim of the chapter is to introduce Israel from the Jewish point of view in Luxembourg. In some cases in the post-war generations in Luxembourg I encounter an attitude

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<sup>640</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, high school education).

<sup>641</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

<sup>642</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 126.

that regards Israel as an economic and political opportunity for Jews in the diaspora. In some cases, this is a strongly held opinion.

Besides this attitude towards Israel, some practicing Jews who have thick Jewish identity consider Israel by far the safest country and armed protection against antisemitism. *“As for antisemitism in Europe, I could not understand why you all stayed in this little country to suffer, instead of going to Israel. The situation here is far better than described by the world’s hostile press. You can be sure that the next Holocaust will not happen in Israel. I believe in undertaking significant negotiations with Palestinians leading to lasting peace. It is possible. There are dozens of nations surrounded by unfriendly neighbors who respect each other.”*<sup>643</sup>

This statement is not unique and that is why it was included in this research. The speaker completely opposes post-war distances and loyalty to Luxembourg. This is also in direct conflict with some articles published in the Jewish community journals,<sup>644</sup> which are openly anti-Zionist and discourage migration to Israel. Michal Karp linked Zionist ideas to the formation of Jewish identity among Zionist enthusiasts, who often came to Luxembourg to give lectures on life in Israeli kibbutz.<sup>645</sup>

Certain number of respondents (48) from both generations see Israel through the eyes of capitalism, and in some cases their identification with Israel is colored by a left-wing worldview. They criticized neoliberal capitalism which, in their opinion, has defeated political socialism in Israel. Israel lacks the earlier historical combination of collectivism and religious liberal openness. The excerpt below illustrates this. *“Our generation who are now in their sixties and seventies grew up here and abroad, we keep things to ourselves like consumer capitalism. Our consumer capitalism in the 1960s is related to consumer communism in the East. The Six-Day War revealed to me that Israeli capitalism used to be functional at that time because it was closely linked to religion and religious values moderated it. But people who grew up at the time in other places at the time learned to be successful at any rate without ethics. Today, it almost doesn't matter, because neoliberal capitalism has struck Israel and destroyed the world I used to love.”*<sup>646</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> K. T. Interview, Luxembourg. 5. 5. 2019. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>644</sup> STOLLÉ, Raffi. N'en croyez pas un mot. *Kadima*. 1987, (13 Avril), p. 7.; Que manque-t-il en Israël? *Kadima*. 1985, (3), p. 4.

<sup>645</sup> Read more: (KARP, Michael and Serge LASAR. L’entretien avec Miriam Novitch. *Kadima*. 1983, (2). ; KARP, Michel. Débat sous tension. *Kadima* . 1, 1983, p. 5.).

<sup>646</sup> X. X. Interview, Luxembourg, 15. 8. 2018. (a woman, a halachic Jew, non-practicing, university degree).



This statement illustrates the anti-capitalist dismissal of Israel by some described by Jerry Muller in his study *Capitalism and the Jews*. Muller points to the fact that for some Jews in the diaspora, Israel has lost its identity because, according to them, contemporary capitalism slowly destroys Jewish identity.<sup>647</sup>

Some respondents stressed safety above all with less concern about multicultural and multi-ethnic background. *“First of all, it must be said that Luxembourg is a very safe country and it was safe in the 1960s too. We avoided the spontaneous protests that engulfed a lot of European countries and the United States at the time. [...] However, Israel is the only place on Earth that can provide me a haven if anything happens. As a non-halachic Jew, I can always move there. That's a source of security in my life.”*<sup>648</sup>

Halachic and more observant respondents see Israel as protection against a particular enemy, and that is radical Islam. It is something that the second post war generation of Luxembourg Jews has been carrying for decades. It has existed since the establishment of Israel. It became more acute in the 1970s. *“I go to Israel regularly, I have a cousin there. For me, it is a place where most Jews can go to hide and fight. Although I am a pacifist, I support several Israeli Zionist foundations. [...] The big problem is radical Islam – an issue that is poorly addressed in Europe. Of course, not here in Luxembourg but I have a lot of acquaintances in France and they have thought of going to Israel several times. A lot of people do not want to recognize it. Politicians are aware of it, but others are not. If this problem is not solved, it will turn out badly.”*<sup>649</sup> This and similar testimonies show that Luxembourg's post-war generations are concerned about radical Islam, not least in the Middle East. The content of the statement is reflected in the work of David Zimmermann and William Rosenau which points out the influence of radical Islam on the Jewish diaspora. The issue of security is thus closely linked to the question of willingness to identify with a permanently endangered state, whose population is in danger from the radicals.<sup>650</sup>

In contrast, non-halachic and less observant members of the LTJG regard Israel more from the perspective of domestic and international policy. Some had very critical opinions on Zionist political thoughts promoted in Europe. *“Israeli foreign policy is sometimes too opportunistic and*

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<sup>647</sup> MULLER, Jerry. *Capitalism and the Jews*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. p. 192.

<sup>648</sup> D. T. Interview, Luxembourg, 26. 7. 2018 (a man, non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>649</sup> J. H. Interview. Luxembourg, 13. 5. 2018. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>650</sup> ZIMMERMANN, Doron and William ROSENAU, ed. *The Radicalization of Diasporas and Terrorism*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2009.

*often avoids adopting a stance on international issues, for example, the Armenian genocide by the Ottomans or the truth of Kurdish self-determination. A weak attitude to Taiwan or Tibet, etc. Although I understand the need to ensure the security of Israel, I do not see the expansion of Jewish homesteads in Palestinian territory as a good idea since it seems completely counterproductive and it is worsening the entire situation. The culprit is clear - Orthodox Zionist groups. It's always been that way and now it's even worse.*"<sup>651</sup>

However, more moderate and skeptical opinions especially among halachic and religiously practicing peers were also expressed. *"I am an Israelite, and I am aware that Israel is my homeland - no other country. I know we must find an acceptable solution for Palestinians, but I see no solution in the future.*"<sup>652</sup>

In general, most respondents from both cohorts expressed that they appreciate Israel as a country for Jews, but have substantial objections towards the Israeli government and criticize its right-wing and nationalistic policies. In the second half of the 20th century, Israel was seen as a victim of external aggressors by Luxembourg Jews. A change of attitude towards radical hardline Zionism occurred in the 1970s. At that time, Francois Moysse expressed criticism of the Likud party which had ascended to power in Israel in the 1970s in one of his articles for *Kadima*. Some Luxembourg Jews got nervous and together with other Luxembourgers began to support the Israeli peace movement (Peace Now). This was a move by the Luxembourg Jewish community from reluctant support for Israel to an open effort to organize Israeli-Palestinian relations from the outside.<sup>653</sup>

However, according to interviewees from both generations the symbolic and religious level is still important, especially in the context of permanent threat. It means that is a well-protected stronghold with defended by Jews symbolizing resilience and religious self-confidence in the middle of Arab countries. *"Every time I go to Israel with my brother, it's quite an adventure. All those airport checks and soldiers, I have to say, fascinate me. It is something strange and unbelievable. It always completely engulfs me. I always enjoy walking through the gate to Bethlehem or through checkpoints to the West Bank as a tourist. It's unbelievable, but I understand*

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<sup>651</sup> A. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 15. 10. 2018. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, non-practicing, university degree).

<sup>652</sup> D. K. Interview. Luxembourg, 4. 10. 2018. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>653</sup> Read more: (MOYSE, François. Une promotion personnelle et en tant que leader. *Kadima*. 2013, (13), p. 8-9.)

*that it must be quite annoying to the locals.*”<sup>654</sup> This testimony can be qualified as an example of the internal *Aliyah* described by Yehezkel Dror. In his opinion, the interviewee is aware of the freedom that he has to go through closed checkpoints in Israel, and this reinforces his diaspora identity. Dror sees this virtual, temporary *Aliyah* as a satisfactory measure for those who regularly visit Israel. The Zionist connection with Israel is an interesting and inspiring task, but it has only a limited effect on the narrator.<sup>655</sup>

Israel has a fascination for many Jews, and so it does for some of the study participants from both cohorts, especially the LTJG. They perceive Israel as a very interesting country suitable for business. *“It is a perfect place to set up your business. Business opportunities are far better than in the past. My father tried to trade with Israeli merchants in the late 1980s and he bankrupted because the conditions for business were not favorable enough due to wars and conflicts. If you are a Jew and you know how to create the right business model for the local religious climate, you have won.”*<sup>656</sup> This statement by one of the LTJG members is similar to several statements by CZTJG members, who also regard Israel through their economic interests. The narrator supports the thesis that Walter Laquer proposed (mentioned earlier in the theoretical concept section), which emphasizes that Israel itself was created not only on religious and national principles, but that part of the diaspora also invested its economic capital.<sup>657</sup>

## **5.9. Luxembourg second and third Jewish generations: Israel as a place we know...**

Based on the figures derived from the responses from the LSJG, it can be seen that most (89 respondents out of a total of 100) visited Israel at least once and more than 45 out of those 89

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<sup>654</sup> F. G. Interview, Mondorf, 11. 6. 2019 (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

<sup>655</sup> DROR, Yehezkel. Diaspora-Israel Relations: a Long-Term Perspective. *Israel Studies*. [online]. 2012, 17(2), p. 86-91 [Accessed 2018-03-17]. Available from: <http://proxy.bnl.lu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=73540923&site=ehost-live&scope=site SA>.

<sup>656</sup> R. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 19. 10. 2020. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>657</sup> LAQUEUR, Walter. *A history of Zionism: from the French Revolution to the establishment of the State of Israel*. Westminster: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2009 [Accessed 2019-03-17]. Available from: [https://books.google.cz/books?id=hEt5PWCTMJMC&pg=PR8&hl=cs&source=gbs\\_selected\\_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.cz/books?id=hEt5PWCTMJMC&pg=PR8&hl=cs&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false).

respondents travel to Israel frequently. Only a few respondents (11) marked that they have never visited Israel, explaining that this was due to their poor health. No respondents indicated that they were against the idea of the State of Israel and would avoid visiting this country.

The LTJG cohort was similar in regard to travel to Israel. It can be seen in Table 19 that most of them (96 out of a total of 100) have visited Israel at least once, and 52 travel to Israel regularly. Many have made strong bonds with the country. In this regard there is no substantial difference between them and their Czechoslovak counterparts. The high number of visits indicates that the Luxembourg community has historically had many reservations about Israel, but interest in the country has not waned. On the contrary, visiting Israel is increasingly popular with younger people. The data questionnaire survey did not confirm the information obtained during the analysis of community media in regard to travel to Israel. The results of the questionnaire survey correlate better with data obtained in the mid-1980s by journalist Laurent Moysse, whose results I outlined above. Moysse's data also confirm that young Luxembourg Jews like to visit Israel, and for them it is one of the most popular destinations in the world.<sup>658</sup>

As for attitudes towards Israel, no matter how much the LSJG and LTJG identify with the fate of people living in Israel (120), they announced their unwillingness to take roots there. The reason may also be the mobility of Luxembourg Jews most of whom spend a large part of their lives out of Luxembourg. Some came to Luxembourg in the 1960s mostly from Belgium and France,<sup>659</sup> others graduated abroad. An interesting fact revealed by the questionnaire is the importance of foreign universities in the perception of Israel by Lux students. Those who graduated abroad and belong to the non-halachic group have a mostly liberal approach to Judaism continuously absorbed distinct approaches to Israel,<sup>660</sup> This attitude is further elaborated in the section on antisemitism. Here I just want to confirm the partial truth of the theory of the importance of Zionist mobility. This concept, introduced by French historians, made it possible to strengthen

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<sup>658</sup> MOYSSE, Laurent. Sondage: Résultats et Commentaires. *Kadima*. 9, 1985, p. 6.

<sup>659</sup> The share of foreign Jewish immigrants within the Jewish minority was in the postwar year as follows: 1947 (44%), 1960 (35.6%), 1970 (40.3%). (WAGENER, Renée. *Die jüdische Minderheit in Luxemburg und das Gleichheitsprinzip: Staatsbürgerliche Emanzipation vs. staatliche und gesellschaftliche Praxis vom 19. bis zum Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Hagen, 2017. Dissertation. Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften der FernUniversität in Hagen p. 801).

<sup>660</sup> I made this conclusion on the additional comments attached to the survey. University environment largely affected their perception of international policy. Once they returned, their opinions of Israel often differed from their parents. It is clearly shown in tables 16 and 20 because 100 respondents marked 405/360 options which sometimes have opposite connotations and meanings.

the links between the diaspora and Israel, thanks to the great degree of mobility of the Jewish diaspora, who could obtain information about Israel from various sources.<sup>661</sup> The influence of different European cultures affected their attitudes towards Israel especially influencing those who had rather Liebman's "thin" Jewish identities.

Several trends can be identified in the data presented in Table 16. Firstly, some members of the LSJG differentiate between individual conflicts, historical events, and political acts in the context of different attitudes towards Israel. Secondly, they support the creation of an independent Palestinian state because more than half of them commented that the hope present in the 1990s had slowly disappeared. Thirdly, they do not fully identify with the fate of Israel but are rather concerned about the people living there.<sup>662</sup> These concerns were not emphasized as much in the responses of the LSJG.

Many LTJG respondents confirmed that the prevailing liberal Western politics and weak Zionism in Luxembourg allowed them to maintain a critical stance on the contemporary political situation in the Middle East. *"We could freely read everything that we wanted to read and did not have to listen to our parents – I mean our parents did not meddle into our interests and needs. Despite being "practicing Jews" my father never told me what I should think of Israel."*<sup>663</sup>

Some respondents (22) from the LSJG radically changed their opinion on Israel politics (positively/negatively) after the airstrikes in Gaza that were followed by tough security measures and harsh counter strikes. However, this change did not primarily concern Israeli citizens. According to their additional comments, some LSJG members are fearful of the pacifist policies<sup>664</sup> adopted by many democratic countries and international organizations (especially the EU) in the last decades.

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<sup>661</sup> SIMON, Patrick, Dimitri NICOLAÏDIS and Gilbert WASSERMAN. Sionisme et diaspora. Les Juifs de France et Israël. *Mouvements* [online]. 2004, **33-34**(3-4), p. 108-24 [Accessed 2020-03-17]. Available from: doi:10.3917/mouv.033.0108.

<sup>662</sup> They are also worried about non-Jewish people living in Israel.

<sup>663</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>664</sup> Pacifist policy (Appeasement policy) is a policy to avoid open conflict at all costs. Where are you getting this? I think it's wrong. Not "at all costs". In the case of Israel, this controversial approach is criticized by both the Palestinian and Israeli parties. This approach has not been only employed in the Middle East, Tibetan separatists have similar extensive experience in relation to China. (COCA, Nithin. The failed politics of appeasing China. *New internationalist* [online]. 2015, [Accessed 2020-9-2]. Available from: <https://newint.org/blog/2015/07/20/appeasing-china>).

Respondents from both cohorts, regardless of their religious denomination, indicated that they appreciate Israel's multicultural environment. This is most appreciated by the liberal members of the LTJG, who are ambivalent about the practice of Judaism. "Every time I come to Jerusalem, I am fascinated by the cultural and religious diversity. This city is incredible in that it can hold so many nations together. [...] The culture created there motivated me to live in Israel with my children for several years."<sup>665</sup> The appreciation of Israel's multicultural society is common, especially amongst halachic members of the LTJG, who are not afraid to further develop their Jewish identity. This is probably the most important difference between the LTJG and the CZSJG, because the CZSJG does not appreciate the multiculturalism belonging to the least lenient cohort in the research.

The multiculturalism can be viewed both positively and negatively. Zygmund Baumann called this "temporary" way of life the result of Jewish liquid modernity. The Jewish family lives in one place for only a limited time, and before it is fully accepted by the environment, it moves elsewhere. It means they have to be very adaptable and ready to live with different nations and ethnicities.<sup>666</sup> Similarly, Linzi Manicom, who developed the "return dilemma" typical of disappointed Jews returning to the country where they were born, for some time, developed. It means that Jews have difficulties in making the firm bonds when crossing so many countries in the diaspora. They can neither rely on the family nets nor protection of Jewish communities.<sup>667</sup>

When you look at the other data displayed in Tables 16 and 20, the LSJG and the LTJG are the most liberal and indulgent to the conditions under which an independent state should be established. The creation of an independent Palestinian state supported 126 respondents out of 200. A similar trend has also been found in an indicator reporting on the tensions due to Israel's policy towards Palestinians. Both Luxembourg Jewish postwar generations (118 out of 200)<sup>668</sup> strongly disagree with Israel's policy towards Palestinians, but they do not see protest movements

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<sup>665</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, lukewarm, university degree).

<sup>666</sup> BAUMAN, Zygmunt. *Liquid modernity* [online]. July 2013 [Accessed 2020-03-18]. Available from: <https://www.wiley.com/en-us/Liquid+Modernity-p-9780745657011> 2013.

<sup>667</sup> MANICOM, Linzi. Afastada Apprehensions: The Politics of Post-exile Location and South Africa's Gendered Transition, *Émigré Feminism. Transnational Perspectives* [online]. 1999, p. 52 [Accessed 2021-01-26]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442674363-005>.

<sup>668</sup> Halachic practicing Jews predominate among the critics (53 respondents combined). Right behind them are non-Halachic Jews and converts.

such as BDS (The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) as solutions, except for one respondent- a halachic Jew who is a leader of the BDS movement in Luxembourg.

Only six respondents out of 200 chose the answer “*I don’t have any special relationship with Israel.*” Twelve respondents who chose “*I think that all Jews should live in Israel*” in response to the question came mainly from the orthodox community *Chabad Lubavitch* in Luxembourg. Sixty seven of the 200 respondents are against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state, or they have at least objections to the foundation asserting that an uncontrolled country would turn into a den of terrorists threatening all denominations in the world. As mentioned above, 66 out of 200 respondents from both cohorts have objections to Israel’s policies vis-à-vis distant countries, but they agree with Israeli policy towards neighboring states.

The data from the questionnaires confirms the testimonies of interviewees who point out that they are critical of Israel's domestic policy towards Palestinians. This is certainly a long lived trend. As mentioned in the chapters on historical contextualization, *Kadima* articles from the 1970s and 1980s indicated that the younger generation in particular are not big supporters of Likud's right-wing policy. Besides peace initiatives, some former youth leaders from the LTJG wrote informative articles on the political situation in the Middle East. They made efforts to defend Israel’s political decisions and tried to be unbiased.<sup>669</sup> They also opposed the UN’s political stance towards the Middle East. They lightly criticized the occupation of the West Bank using the term “occupation” for Israeli annexation of the territory.<sup>670</sup>

### ***5.9.1. Luxembourg second and third Jewish generation: Aliyah and the concept of home/homeland – “Although we know this place well, it is not our home”.***

Opinions on Aliyah varied remarkably. One can see from the data presented in Tables 17 and 21 that 122 respondents<sup>671</sup> considered making Aliyah, but eventually decided to stay in Europe, mostly because of personal issues. The data also shows that 79 respondents (33 halachic and 14

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<sup>669</sup> See more: (PECZNIK, Marc. Comment soigner l’image de marque d’Israel? *Kadima*. 1989, p. 13-16.; Une histoire de rendez-vous manqué. *Kadima* 1988, p. 15).

<sup>670</sup> Ibid p. 15-16.

<sup>671</sup> 69 halachic and practicing Jews, 42 non-halachic Jews (22 very lukewarm practice) and 11 converts (mostly practicing).

non-halachic Jews and 25 converts) have never thought of moving to Israel. Twenty-five is a relatively high number, but they are more practicing Jews than many halachic Jews.

The family also played an important role in deciding whether respondents decided to stay in Luxembourg or not. Family is an important consideration in this regard for both generations, especially for those who have a stronger Jewish identity. *“That was so simple - we had a grandmother in Belgium, who was very old. She survived all the horrors of the war and she was too old to move somewhere else. My family decided to stay here, but my uncle left for Israel in 1947. [...] I stopped hearing Israel’s enticement, but now I am back in Europe with a passion to renew my Jewish life.”*<sup>672</sup>

Some halachic members of LTJG no longer care about making Aliyah, but they sometimes flirt with thoughts of making Gold’s virtual *Aliyah*<sup>673</sup> (*Aliyah* imitation) together with their peers in other European countries. They often attend Hebrew lessons, religious courses, or participate in reenactments of life on a kibbutz.<sup>674</sup> *“I must do something about my Jewish education as I have a lot of shortcomings in Hebrew. Well, and my knowledge of siddur (book of Jewish liturgies) is very poor. I could not settle in Israel, I would die there as it is much too religious a country.”*<sup>675</sup> This statement from a halachic less observant Jew illustrates not only what Alena Heitlinger says about young Jews’ efforts to get to know the Israeli way of life,<sup>676</sup> at least through specialized camps, but also reflects what Robin Cohen says about young Jews’ interest in actively trying the Israeli way of life.<sup>677</sup> There is some effort to improve their poor knowledge of Judaism and Hebrew among the study participants. Their willingness to participate in a longer stay in Israel remains an issue for Jewish communities in the diaspora because they would miss young members vitally important for community life.

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<sup>672</sup> L. G. Interview, Skype call, 14. 8. 2020. (a halachic Jew, partly practising, university degree).

<sup>673</sup> GOLD, Steven J. From nationality to peoplehood: adaptation and identity formation in the Israeli diaspora. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*. 2004, **13**(2), p. 331-358.

<sup>674</sup> These educational and cultural activities were introduced in detail by Robin Cohen and Steven Gold who described a wide range of activities for young potential immigrants to Israel. (COHEN, Robin. Solid, Ductile and Liquid: Changing Notions of Homeland and Home in Diaspora Studies. *Caderno CRH* [online]. 2008, **21**(54), p. 7 [Accessed 2020-05-25]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-49792008000300008>).

<sup>675</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

<sup>676</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 28.

<sup>677</sup> COHEN, Robin. Solid, Ductile and Liquid: Changing Notions of Homeland and Home in Diaspora Studies. *Caderno CRH* [online]. 2008, **21**(54), p. 7 [Accessed 2020-05-25]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-49792008000300008>.



The LTJG cohort is the least homogeneous group examined in terms of their concept of home and Israel. Their ideas and vision of homeland are very diverse and difficult to generalize, two main different approaches were taken to Israel of respondents. These were cultural approaches and internal security. First, an excerpt that illustrates the reasons why a halachic, religiously practicing woman decided to stay in Luxembourg. *“It is time to say that Luxembourg is a better place to be a Jew than in Jerusalem. Here Jews have flourished, not only in politics and the economy, but in art, culture, and learning. Jews feel safe and secure here in ways that they do not and cannot in the State of Israel. And they have found an authentically Jewish voice – their voice – for their vision of themselves.”*<sup>678</sup> Such a clear statement is quite rare, and it sheds light on LTJG’s opinions. Everything is summarized here, although the definition of home is not clearly defined here. A vague or non-existing definition of home refers to the concept of home portrayed by Avtar Brah,<sup>679</sup> In her opinion, it is necessary to decide whether people consider home to be a symbolic place full of personal memories and values or it is rather “lived experience of locality.” It cannot absorb everything, but only a few elements of personal dimensions such as cultural or artistic. For most Jews, Luxembourg is home not only to the mythical, but also to the living and the realized.<sup>680</sup>

A contrasting statement to the one above was submitted by a Jewish practicing convert who stated that he would not live anywhere but Israel. He moved there in the 1975s and considers Israel his real home with all solid units such as family, religion, security, etc, although he had to return to Luxembourg because of financial issues. *“I don’t want to say that all Jews should live in Israel, but we (Jews) should at least try to do so. [...] I also travel a lot and often come back to Luxembourg where I have my old parents. There is a tough life in Israel, but my belief helps me to overcome everything. I have a great rabbi in our community, and I have met trustworthy people who helped me to create a true sense of home.”*<sup>681</sup>

This is an example of similar testimonies showing that a certain number of converts are changing their home preferences. It also brings back discussion about loyalty, Luxembourg, home and Israel. This matter has been discussed since the 1950s mainly by Rabbis such as Charles Lehrmann and Kratzein who set themselves the goal of defending Israel as the cradle of Judaism

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<sup>678</sup> L. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 11. 2. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>679</sup> His work has been mentioned in the theoretical concept.

<sup>680</sup> BRAH, Avtar. *Cartographies of diaspora: contesting identities*. London: Routledge, 1996. p. 192.

<sup>681</sup> T. K. Interview, Luxembourg, 12. 5. 2019. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

and a true home for all Jews. Lehrmann was convinced that diaspora "colonies" should contribute to the prosperity of the state of Israel, but the Jews should be loyal to Luxembourg government.<sup>682</sup>

Some of the study participants described their relations with their homeland and Israel as ambiguous. They described feelings of being on the run for a considerable part of their lives and finally settling down in the last two decades. “...*I still feel something when I see the Israeli flags at the Olympics. I love my birthplace in Luxembourg although I cannot deny feeling an emotional attachment to Israel. [...] Honestly, I am very conflicted in this case and I cannot choose. I guess France is my home now, but I still have a soft spot for the place where I grew up [Luxembourg], but I will probably never want to move back there.*”<sup>683</sup> Their uncertainties are similar to those of their Czechoslovak counterparts who are afraid of not being accepted. This statement partly reflects on the home vision of Csaba Szaló, who claims that universalism and particularism associated with higher mobility (Luxembourg Jews) had an impact on Jewish thinking of home. Luxembourg Jews have experienced a “higher mobility” which brought them more universal thinking of home. The home can be in more places than one and had a variety of dimensions (emotional, economic, political etc.).

Table 18 (What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?) shows several important and prevalent aspects of the notion of home as perceived by the LSJG. The survey data suggests that family and relatives are important factors forming the concept of “home” for the LSJG participants as well as the mentality of most of the population and cultural and intellectual proximity. The religious environment is also considered by the LSJG to be important. The only negligible factor is Israel’s climate. Compared to the CZSJG, the LSJG gave all listed answer options a higher rating, including the one about business opportunities in Israel.

The survey data suggest that the younger respondents of the LTJG see Israel as either a spiritual or political arena. They use different ways to link their visions of a homeland with their ethnic-communal consciousness and solidarity. In the excerpts from interviews below, there are a few reasons illustrating the participants’ divided attitude towards Israel and Aliyah. “*I have mixed feelings about Israel as my homeland. On the one hand, I do not think that the Israeli government should build settlements on the West Bank and so on...there are plenty of issues... [...] however,*

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<sup>682</sup> LEHRMANN, Charles. Israel und Diaspora. *Revue mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg (RMC)*. 1952, p. 3.

<sup>683</sup> M. F. Interview, Luxembourg, 7. 6. 2018 (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

*they keep saying that Israel is only doing everything wrong and never doing anything right, and that is not good. I am more left-wing and I have nothing against socialism. I have talked about it many times and said, "Look, do you know where the only legal socialist party in the whole of the Middle East is? Where in the Middle East are socialists not afraid of being shot or hanged? Here in Israel!"*<sup>684</sup> This excerpt partly agrees with the conclusions of Erik Cohen, who, based on predominantly sociological findings, found the importance of the ideological-political factor for young post-war Jews worldwide to be growing.<sup>685</sup> They consider this factor important to call a place real and safe home. They do not want to be constantly criticized for their political opinions. Attitudes towards Israel's ideology/politics among the diaspora range from adoration to harshly critical, but it is still growing in importance to them, especially in the LTJG.

From the data shown in Tables 17 and 22, one can observe that the LTJG also considers making Aliyah like members of the other cohorts, yet their motivations are different. Cultural and intellectual proximity and business opportunities are more of a priority for this group. A theory to explain this finding is that in comparison with the second generation cohorts from both countries, the Luxembourg third Jewish generation is less skeptical about Israeli peace initiatives.

Halachic and regularly practicing Jews from both Luxembourg cohorts affiliated with the Jewish community profess a strong emotional connection with Israel and with local Jewry. Many have been to Israel and often envision future visits. At home, they are involved in formal and informal educational activities which encourage a sense of connection to Israel and the Jewish people. Their connection to Israel reinforces their "thick" Jewish identities but their social ties and family bonds are in Luxembourg. Overall, Israel seems to be a very important place for many Jews from both Luxembourg generations but most of them do not regard it as "home".

The conclusion I can draw is that the Luxembourg cohorts perceive Israel as their "last resort." Israel should not only be a Jewish state but should be a home for all people who live there, including including Palestinians and Arab nations). Physical and spiritual survival of Jews in Israel is important, but the country does not constitute home for most Luxembourg Jews.

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<sup>684</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>685</sup> COHEN, Erik. *Jewish Youth Around the World, 1990-2010: Social Identity and Values in a Comparative Approach* [online]. Boston: Brill, 2014 [Accessed 2019-03-11]. Available from: [https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202\\_008.xml](https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202_008.xml).

## **5.10. Czechoslovak and Luxembourg second and third post-war generations.**

### **Israel: a demystified and attractive country that cannot be a real home**

The objective of this chapter is to compare the most important similarities and differences in understanding of the importance of Israel as a factor in the formation of Jewish identities in the two post-war generations in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. Analyzing the data and additional comments concerning different attitudes towards Israel, it can be inferred that a large number of the participants from the CZSJG and CZTJG have changed their political views<sup>686</sup> of Israel over the last 20-30 years. This cohort was the least critical of Israel's political activities, both domestic and foreign. The most critical attitudes towards these policies were seen in both the interviews and the questionnaire results respondents from the LTJG. Within this group, the subgroup most critical of Israeli policies consisted of more liberal-minded women. However within that subgroup there was no marked difference between Halachic Jews, non-Halachic Jews and converts. I also did not notice any radical differences in the perception of Israel among different religious observation.

As shown in the Tables (8, 12, 16, 20) more than half of all respondents regardless of gender, origin or religious subgroup, identify to some extent with the fate of people living in Israel. The weakest identification was found in the LTJG (52 out of 100 respondents said), but their weak identification was often explained in their additional comments below the question.<sup>687</sup> The greatest degree of identification with people living in Israel was seen in the CZSJG, with 75 respondents out of 100 identifying with the fate of the Israeli population.

A special connection between Czech and Luxembourg Jews is the attitude towards Israel by people who consider themselves politically left-leaning. While both Czech cohorts had very conflicting feelings about Israel, influenced mainly by the ideological propaganda of the communist regime. Due to more direct personal experiments with Israel, Luxembourgish

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<sup>686</sup> Some are more skeptical about political and religious development and others still see the possibility to live in peace with Palestinians. It is worth noting that 45 respondents from both generations wrote in the additional comments that they changed their minds about Israel after the 1990s. 28 out of 45 respondents seemed more critical to Israeli politics now; by contrast, the remaining respondents (17) became more closely aligned to Israel. The change of opinion affected both halachic and halachic Jews and converts. What is important to emphasize is that the post-war generations in the Czech lands did not change their attitude towards Israel much. Despite information obtained both from the Jewish Gazette and through relatives, the Israeli embassy and housing seminars, their relationship with Israel was without major fluctuations. However, this does not apply to their Luxembourg peers, who perceived Israel much more contradictory from the beginning.

<sup>687</sup> They usually inclined to different countries than Israel and that is why they identify with different citizens.

participants see the country more miscellaneous although their view may have been distorted by the testimonies of Zionist visitors, who mostly promoted Israel as a "Jewish duty."<sup>688</sup> Based on the articles in *Kadima*, it seems that Zionist organizations such as *Magbit* sought to get funding for their activities in Israel.

The Jewish authorities were different in both research territories. They were either silent on the subject or were very reserved and skeptical. As stated in the historical context, the exceptions on both sides were the authorities Otakar Beck (Czech lands)<sup>689</sup> and Charles Lehrmann (Luxembourg), who tried to define the symbolism of Israel without pretense. They warned against chauvinism and xenophobic thinking who arose among Jews in Czechoslovakia and Lixoubourg against Israeli visitors. Trying to keep social welfare towards Israeli politics, they published articles in Jewish magazines to burn bridges between different Jewish conceptions.<sup>690</sup>

The questionnaire responses regarding attitude towards Israel ranged from uncritical adoration to pure animosity. The CZSJG was the most skeptical cohort of the four studied regarding Israel's peace initiatives. They do not believe in motivation of other nations to find a reasonable solution. Most of this groups members do not believe that these initiatives would be successful during their lives.

Regarding support for the foundation of a Palestinian state the CZSJG is again the most skeptical cohort; its members see no progress in the current peace talks. Seventeen of them say they consider an independent Palestinian state as potentially dangerous for Israel. Eight of a total of 100 members of the CZTJG emphasized in the additional comments to be slightly less skeptical about peace initiatives and two-state system, whereas 61 out of 100 of the LTJG respondents indicated support for an independent Palestine. The overall figures indicate that most of the research participants are in favor of establishing a Palestinian state and a implementing a degree of revision in Israel's policy towards the Palestinians. The average across all cohorts was exactly 50% in support of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. On this point, the least supportive group was males from the CZSJG, regardless of their Jewish origin and religious observation, while the most supportive group was females from the LTJG group.

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<sup>688</sup> Interview with André Seligmann. *Kadima*. 1986, (12), p. 14.

<sup>689</sup> BECK, Otakar. Slovo k diskuzi o Palestině. *Věstník ŽNO*. roč. Č. 23. Unpaged.

<sup>690</sup> LEHRMANN, Charles. Israel und Diaspora. *Revue mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg (RMC)*. 1952, p. 3.

Based on the qualitative findings (testimonies and comments) of this research, there is possibility to propose several conclusions. Firstly, many people from Czechoslovak cohorts wish to get acquainted with the political situation in Israel. It means that the CZTJG especially seems to want to catch up with their peers and get to know more about this “forbidden” country because Israel was inaccessible for most Czechs until the Velvet Revolution, but once the iron curtain fell nearly all Czech Jews born during the era of Husak’s children<sup>691</sup> visited Israel. Forty-three Jews from both countries have studied or worked in Israel at some time, suggesting that both generations should have similar knowledge of Israel as a political and religious state.

Israel as a Jewish country remains an object of great significance for the members of all four cohorts. This significance appears to be increasing over time. Most of the members of cohorts visited Israel at least once, for a variety of reasons (friends, education, family, spirituality, etc.). Twenty-four members of all cohorts admitted going to Israel to engage in the orthodox *giyur*, (the religious conversion of non-halachic Jews).

The oral testimonies and the results of the written survey contradict the findings of Marcela Zoufalá, who states in her case study that past and present Jewish generations from the *Visegrad* countries (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary) do not seem interested in political events in Israel.<sup>692</sup>

Israel does not seem to be losing any of its attractiveness to the study participants, but going there is no longer the only goal for diaspora Jews. Interest in Zionism, which is warned against in a number of articles in the RMC and in *Kadima*, has waned. Moreover, the concerns of the Jewish (Luxembourg and Czechoslovak) authorities about the loss of Jewish loyalty to their communities seem to have been unnecessary in the long run. The participants keep a certain distance against Zionism, especially from an ethnic-religious and security perspective. However, Israel has remained the mythical<sup>693</sup> and legendary country that to some degree shapes Judaism in every Jew, regardless of the “thickness” of their Jewish identity or their gender. According to a considerable number of participants from all cohorts, some Zionist ideals are still alive, and Israel should be

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<sup>691</sup> Husak’s era means the baby boom culminated in 1974 in Czechoslovakia.

<sup>692</sup> *Being Jewish in 21st Century Central Europe* [online]. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020 [Accessed. 2020-01-16]. Available from: doi:doi:10.1515/9783110582369. p. 203.

<sup>693</sup> The term appeared in my research several times and corresponds to the findings of previous research by Heitlinger.<sup>693</sup> This somewhat romanticized perspective occurs mainly within the CZSJG and only exceptionally among members of the CZTJG and LSJG and LTJG.

defended at any cost. Only the youngest research participants (12) from the third generation in Luxembourg have taken a more reserved approach, giving priority to their civic obligations towards Luxembourg over their “spiritual and identity obligations” to Israel.

### **5.10.1. Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jews and the matter of Aliyah and homeland: Why did not Israel become my home?**

The approach to *Aliyah* is also quite different between cohorts. The qualitative data from the survey and the interviews show that more than half of all research participants have considered making *Aliyah* at some point in their lives, but only a few respondents have actually done it. According to both interviewees and survey respondents, the political system in their home countries and in Israel played a secondary role here.

Although Czechoslovak participants did have the opportunity to move to Israel in the late 1960s or 1970s, most of those who emigrated from the Czech lands eventually settled elsewhere than in the Middle East. Fifty eight of 100 CZSJG respondents say they considered immigrating to Israel. Eventually, some immigrated to Western Europe, the USA, or Canada. Why did most respondents (134) stay in the Czech lands in the end? The predominant factors holding them back that appeared repeatedly in the comments are strong family ties and a sense of responsibility for their parents or close relatives. The number increased among members of the CZTJG (75 out of 134), who did not immigrate to Israel mainly due to the change of political regime in Czechoslovakia after 1989. A large number of respondents (62) from the LSJG also wanted to immigrate to Israel, but their reasons for wanting to do so are more diverse than those of their Czech counterparts. The LSJG and the LTJG do not regard Israel as unreachable because they always had the freedom to study or work abroad, so they were less motivated to exchange Luxembourg to Israel. If they wanted to settle there to make feeling of home, they could do so regardless of circumstances. A considerable number of research participants of all cohorts are severe in their criticism of Israeli politics, which is another reason that they did not find the idea of making *Aliyah* as necessary.

However, strong family ties are the main reason for rejecting *Aliyah* in all cohorts. Although many families were severely decimated during the Holocaust, a close family circle is still the most important factor for Jews in both countries. These conclusions do not completely

reconcile with the statement of Blanka Soukupová, who sees the concept of home in post-war generations to be based on the establishment of new relationships because post-war generations did not want to be frustrated by “a sad image” of murdered families located in destroyed homes. On the contrary to her theory, the research participants did not primarily envision new home with new partners, but wished to take care of those who had survived.<sup>694</sup> This was certainly the case for some of the population, but according to the results of this study, ties to family members have played, and continue to play an important role in an individual’s decision of whether to make Aliyah. Attachment to a certain place also played a significant role especially amongst non-Halachic Jews and some converts, especially from the third-generation cohorts in both countries. The greater importance of the family prevailed in those who paradoxically had weaker attachment to Judaism

Based on the Table 22 (What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?), the LTJG mainly identified three factors (score 0-5) important for a place to be “home” for them: Cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment (4,23), relatives (4,16) and religious environment (4,09). Relatives play an important role in forming a sense of home especially for the LSJG (3,75).

Regarding the importance of internal and external security, the attitudes of the research participants varied. While the second post-war generations (CZSJG (3,51) + LSJG (3,41)) placed more importance on security, the third post-war generation (CZTJG (2,73) + LTJG (2,84)) did not consider this aspect as particularly important. However, it cannot be said that members of the CZTJG and the LTJG do not see security as a priority, even though they did not rank it as highly as other factors.

The question referring to business opportunities scored 4,26 out of 5. The results are interesting in that it is at the top of the LTJG’s<sup>695</sup> list of priorities and its importance was rated quite high by the CZTJG (3,97) also. This points to the third post-war generation regarding Israel as a country of business opportunities, and not only as a religious place. The data show at this indicator (Employment and business opportunities) is growing, especially among members of the

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<sup>694</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. Československo a rodné město jako domov?: Čeští Židé a jejich prožití domova po šoa. *Sociální studia*. 2014, **11**(4), p. 71-95.

<sup>695</sup> Luxembourgish Jews in a productive age is a rare group of people who speak at least five languages fluently. They often have a very good economic education and great trading connections as they studied abroad. Israel is most likely a place where they can realize their business transactions, for instance, the trade of kosher wine.



LTJG. By contrast, this factor is the least important for the CZSJG, but even in this group it reached an above-average value of 3,09 out of 5. According to the CZSJG respondents, this is mainly due to the fact that Israel has greater potential for their descendants than for themselves.

These conclusions show that to view Israel only as an ethnic-religious phenomenon is too narrow. It is also necessary to understand Israel as a new cultural and economic opportunity connecting the country and the diaspora. It is no longer possible to look at this issue as Gabriel Shaffer did. He reflects upon Israeli-diaspora relationships in the context of ethnic-national struggles of minorities in a certain historical period, but the approach has become obsolete in the recent years. Jewish minorities wanted to enrich their relations with Israel and they are no longer motivated by the needs of visibility in terms of majority in the diaspora. My PhD thesis agrees on other Shaffer's theories dealing with necessity to abandon the symbolic-religious model. The work implies that Israel is a country of diverse values often unacceptable for the research participants.<sup>696</sup> A small number of research participants (especially those from CZSJG) assert that multiculturalism and multi-religion are dangerous elements preventing them from being more emotionally attached to Israel. Besides cultural and intellectual closeness, they also indicated internal and external security to be an important aspect when considering home country. This is slightly more important for Halachic practicing Jews than for their liberal and lukewarm counterparts. The third generation cohorts consider the internal and external security less important (2,73 ; 2,84) than business and entrepreneurial opportunities (3,97 ; 4,26).

### **5.11. Czechoslovak second Jewish generation: Antisemitism as a key factor in intergenerational understanding**

Based on interviewee's statements, this chapter examines how the relationship of post-war generations to the issue of antisemitism in the Czech lands has changed with time. As mentioned in the chapter focused on the contextualization of antisemitism, it is necessary to deal primarily with the perception of antisemitism from Jewish collective perspective in relation to communist regime.

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<sup>696</sup> COHEN, Erik. *Jewish Youth Around the World, 1990-2010: Social Identity and Values in a Comparative Approach* [online]. Boston: Brill, 2014 [Accessed 2019-03-11]. Available from: [https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202\\_008.xml](https://brill.com/view/book/9789004278202/B9789004278202_008.xml).

Post-war Jewish society consisted mostly of non-Halachic and lukewarm Jews. Some of them, under the influence of left-wing ideas, joined the Communist Party and it influenced understanding of Communist anti-Zionism.<sup>697</sup> However, sympathy for communism<sup>698</sup> on the part of the Jewish population in the Czech lands in the first post-war years was often replaced by disappointment with the communist regime's antisemitism and repressive measures, which affected the Jewish population more than their non-Jewish compatriots. The second post-war generation is very skeptical of or even hostile to their parents' communism. In some cases they attempt to justify why their parents joined the Communist Party.

*“My family was always leftist even before the war [...]. This is the black chapter of my family life, because my parents' devotion to the Communist party was absolutely beyond my comprehension. They never came to their senses, even after the trial of Rudolf Slánský, and I also remember how other relatives and my father defended the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact. I think they would still be convinced that it was justified now. [...] “My parents were also ashamed of being Jewish and suffered from a certain- how to put it? Self-hatred. I think Freud discussed it ... I was kicked out of school because I loudly defended the war in Israel and my father, instead of supporting me, almost kicked me out of the house.”*<sup>699</sup> This testimony shows that narrator's parents, especially his father definitively abandoned their Jewishness and denied their Jewish origin to stay loyal to the communist regime.

Comparing this narrator's statement with the testimonies of the third Jewish generation in the period of Normalization (in the late 1970s) I find a similar pattern. While some of the second and third generation Jews endeavored to integrate into socialist society, the majority stayed aloof and did not trust the communist regime. Some Jewish communists were hostile to other Jewish people. Even staunchly communist families encountered antisemitism on the part of their Communist comrades. *“Our family was pretty left wing and our father was a passionate member of the Communist party. I had a Communist upbringing – first I joined Pioneer<sup>700</sup> and then the*

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<sup>697</sup> FRANKL, Michal, JENŠOVSKÁ, Julie, ed. *Naši nebo cizí?: Židé v českém 20. století*. Praha: Židovské muzeum v Praze - Institut Tereziánské iniciativy, 2013. p. 124-128.

<sup>698</sup> Read more: (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 77-78).

<sup>699</sup> V. R. Interview, Prague, 28. 10. 2017. (a man, a non-Halachic Jew, practicing, high school education).

<sup>700</sup> Soviet-style youth organization for youngsters eight to fifteen years old.

SSSM.<sup>701</sup> [...] I did not encounter antisemitism until my teens, when I went to the “May Day”<sup>702</sup> celebrations as a volunteer. I was wearing a red scarf and carrying a flag and I was proud. I know, dumb but proud, but suddenly an old man jumped out at me, tore my flag away and said that I had no right to carry it because I was a bourgeois Jew. [...] It was horrible for me, and I broke into tears and I hated being a Jew.”<sup>703</sup> The common denominator is a small manifestation of Jewish self-hatred<sup>704</sup> and a sense of betrayal by the Communists, both among Halachic and non-Halachic Jews, including converts. This issue was not commonly found in this study, but nonetheless it did emerge from time to time. While it was not universally mentioned by all participants it also should not be overlooked.

The issue of self-hatred (especially among young non-halachic and lukewarm practicing interviewees) is not linked to Israel and the university environment, as outlined above in Gilman's theoretical treatment<sup>705</sup> of new antisemitism at universities, but it seems to be an issue of self-understanding and low self-confidence. In this case, it is possible to reconsider Taguieff's book *Rising from the muck*, in which he states that Jews had to deal with the stigma of being deemed unreliable nomads and wandering cosmopolitans, and in the eyes of the Communists they became reprehensible nationalists - Zionists. Taguieff posits that the core of modern antisemitism lies in the presence of Jews within the nation itself; on the other hand, radical anti-Zionism, formulated after the establishment of the State of Israel, would deny Jews the right to constitute themselves as a nation. The Jews thus traded their resentful status of “disturbing Asians” for the status of “arrogant Westerners” and, at the same time, became known as a nation which allegedly threatens world peace and national existence.<sup>706</sup>

Apart from Gilman and Taguieff, participants' testimonies confirm Jana Svobodová's above-mentioned theory<sup>707</sup> of Jewish communists and their efforts to integrate into society and to

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<sup>701</sup> Youth organizations in Communist Czechoslovakia.

<sup>702</sup> International Workers' Day.

<sup>703</sup> K. Š. Interview, Prague. 7. 8. 2019. (a woman, halachic Jew, very lukewarm in practicing, high school education).

<sup>704</sup> This aspect is further elaborated in the outcomes addressing Jewish identities, but it is proof that Jewish self-hatred has not disappeared and is still visible in Czech society until now.

<sup>705</sup> FINLAY, W. M. Pathologizing dissent: identity politics, Zionism and the 'self-hating Jew'. *The British journal of social psychology*. 2005, **44**(2), p. 201-222.

<sup>706</sup> Read more: TAGUIEFF, Pierre-André. *Rising from the Muck: The new anti-Semitism in Europe*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004.

<sup>707</sup> SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: Studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994.

be loyal to the communist establishment at all costs, regardless of repression or hostility from the communist regime.<sup>708</sup> Study participants testify that sometimes communist ideology could cause intergenerational tensions and friction over political and religious identity in families. It seems that mainly non-halachic research participants faced this issue because they had mostly fathers in the Communist Party. It means that fathers had a key position in families and they had a grievance against their Jewish origin.

However, antisemitism was not universal among the Communists, some recall that no one cared about their origins during politically escalated times.<sup>709</sup> One of the interviewees is a man who used to work at a factory in Ostrava, who provided a very interesting view of the working class in the Czech lands. *“Working in a factory differs from being employed in an office or a ministry. At the factory, I sometimes heard antisemitic statements, but it was never to the point of feeling like it was directed at me. I have to say that the workers acted fairly. [...] It might have helped that my parents were members of the Communist party, so that improved my “staff profile” a bit. Judaism never prevented me from career advancement, but I was a very lukewarm Jew, so when I heard a good antisemitic joke, I laughed along with the others.”*<sup>710</sup>

Jewish parents wanted their children to choose less visible and frequent specializations and occupations that would conceal their Jewish identity. The narrator referred to this as “autoregulation” on the part of the Jewish parents.<sup>711</sup> These aspects were also reflected in the following testimony. *“To find a suitable job was difficult because I had a different worldview than my parents. My parents told me that first you have to get something to eat and then you can make poems. Well...as my father had requested, I studied metallurgical engineering in Ostrava for a year. It was very popular and wanted by comrades...And then I managed to get into the Philosophy*

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<sup>708</sup> Not only Jana Svobodová but also Petr Salner and partly Alena Heitlinger dealt with this phenomenon. Salner states that Jews who were seen in the media within communist society have mostly publicly renounced their Judaism and subscribed to progressive political atheism. (SALNER, Peter. *Židia na Slovensku medzi tradíciou a asimiláciou*. Bratislava: Zing Print, 2000. p. 159.)

<sup>709</sup> For example, the trials with the Jewish suspects (Šimon Ornstein) or the occupation by the Soviet Union army. (PEJČOCH, Ivo. Politické procesy s Šimonem Ornsteinem a Mordechajem Orenem–antisemitské tendence v komunistickém Československu”[The political trials of Shimon Orenstein and Mordechai Oren–antisemitic tendencies in communist Czechoslovakia]. In: *Tereziánské listy: 978-80-87242-19-3*. Prague: Památník Terežín, 2011, **39**, p. 142-154.)

<sup>710</sup> T. B. Interview, Ostrava, 4. 6. 2018 (a man, a non-halachic Jew, a partly practicing Jew, High school degree).

<sup>711</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 22.

*faculty in Prague and started working at a small publisher.*"<sup>712</sup> These two excerpts show a departure from Jewish and Zionist ideals and the effort of witnesses or their parents to assimilate into society. The statements reflect on how Jews, regardless denomination and the Jewish origin, have tried to acknowledge the words of President Klement Gottwald who said that not every Jew is necessarily an intellectual of bourgeois descent. As mentioned above, he promised to support those who were going to build socialistic society, including minorities.<sup>713</sup>

Besides self-hatred, feelings of inferiority and inconspicuous behavior, both generations contended with monitoring from the StB, which closely monitored the activities of the Jewish community in relation to Israel and Jewish education at the Jewish communities, especially in Prague. The occurrence of such monitoring is confirmed by representatives of both generations. *"Yeah, I have one experience and it's even from investigation. When I got to Israel with the choir, we went there together with a person we knew to be an informer. I could leave because they needed someone who spoke English and at least a little Hebrew. Well, I translated all the time and once I made an interview on the local radio, and the man (informer) was hanging out at the swimming pool all the time, and then in the evening, he probably wrote a message. When we returned to Prague, I was twice summoned to Bartolomějská Street (StB). Classically, there was a good and bad cop and they asked me who I was talking to and why I was talking on the radio in Israel. Then, they also asked if I had spoken to emigrants of the same faith and if I knew that I was classified as extremely unreliable and when I asked why, they said it was because of my background...anticipated Jewish background."*<sup>714</sup>

Surveillance and secret security interrogations have been described many times by scholars and they are an important factor affecting both Jewish generations.<sup>715</sup> Four Jewish interviewees from both generations state that they were invited to the police station for a variety of reasons, regardless of whether they have Halachic or non-Halachic origins. The above statement regarding state surveillance also confirmed the conclusions of academic papers cited in the historical context

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<sup>712</sup> L. P. Interview, Prague, 27.9.2017. (a man, a halachic Jew, university degree).

<sup>713</sup> KAPLAN, Karel. *Zpráva o zavraždění generálního tajemníka*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1992. p. 242.

<sup>714</sup> V. N. Interview, Prague, 1. 6. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>715</sup> For example: (HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 35.)

by Ondřej Koutek<sup>716</sup> and Martin Šmok<sup>717</sup> These authors analyzed the activities of the StB regarding the Jewish community in the Czech lands. Koutek states that the secret police focused primarily on monitoring the Jewish population rather than on their open repression. Their purpose was to assess how religiously and culturally active the Jewish communities were and how many Jewish adherents attend religious services and educational lectures in the observed period.

According to the narrator's statement, state security focused more on so-called active Jews who participated in the cultural and religious program in the narrator's village. Which led to some "self-regulatory" behavior, especially among the older generation. The members of the CZSJG are the ones that actually experienced it but they transferred the self-regulatory behavior to their descendants, who then carried it into the post Velvet Revolution democratic regime.

Self-regulatory behavior caused that some narrators were very surprised to hear about their Jewish origin. *"Once I was recognized as being a Jew, at school I met with rude classmates calling me a Jew. I did not know how they knew...I think that our teacher was responsible for that. [...] I did not cry, because I was surprised when I came home and heard that I was a Jew, but it was not something bad. Honestly, I have never had the opportunity to decide whether I want to be a Jew. Since the age of six, they attacked me in the streets.[...] So I'm saying I was thrust into the Jewish community by most of society, which made it clear to me that I was a Jew."*<sup>718</sup>

This testimony justifies the concerns held by parents regarding telling their children about their Jewish origins, and also confirms the conclusions published by Alena Heitlinger, whose work is cited above in a historical context. Heitlinger said that this type of autoregulation caused parents to hide their Jewish origins from their children, who may have otherwise learned of their Jewish origins through insults and swearing. It was difficult for Jewish parents who realized that they were not able to control the environment outside the confines of the Jewish community. They could not prevent their children from learning of their "exceptional" origins from their teachers or classmates, or random passers-by. So when a child came home surprised, the parents had to explain, at least in part, why he/she was different from their classmates or friends.<sup>719</sup>

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<sup>716</sup> KOUTEK, Ondřej. Akce "Pavouk": Evidování židovského obyvatelstva Státní bezpečností za normalizace. *Paměť a dějiny*. Praha: USTR, 2017, 11(1). p. 40-54.

<sup>717</sup> ŠMOK, Martin. Každý žid je sionista a každý sionista je špion!. *Paměť a dějiny: revue pro studium totalitních režimů*. 2011, 5(4), p. 29-39.

<sup>718</sup> M. L. Interview, Prague, 12. 7. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, a non-practicing family, university degree).

<sup>719</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 84.

The question remains what was the common aspect of post-war antisemitism (anti-Zionism) in the Czech lands? The communist regime played an important role in this matter but both generations view antisemitism during that time more and more soberly. They were not subjected to physical violence or the threat of being arrested. What they mostly experienced was cultural and political antisemitism spread by their neighbors, schoolmates, teachers and friends, in combination with anti-Zionist message from the media, mainly in the press. Here is an illustrative excerpt from the testimony of a member of CZTJG: *“As far as I can remember, one teacher kept saying that we made noise like we were at a Jewish school and he also said that our classroom smelled like a Jewish wedding – no idea why. Of course, first it took me by surprise, but I do not remember exactly where it was. [...] As you know, for example...you can consider antisemitism non-Christian money, but we Jews now quite commonly use it amongst ourselves.”*<sup>720</sup> Like their parents, the CZTJG confirmed that they also faced antisemitic ridicule. But the interviewees added that, in their opinion, there was no real malice in this behavior.

So what kind of impact if any did antisemitism have on the formation of the subjects' Jewish identity? And are there any differences between the second and third generations in the perception of antisemitism? It is not easy to address these questions based on the interviews with witnesses. However a commonality for both generations is that they experienced whatever antisemitism they encountered mostly during their childhood. Children and young Jews were affected by antisemitism spread in the form of ridicule and slanders in schools. In several cases, it resulted in negative attitudes regarding their Jewish origins.

*“I know about antisemitism from stories told by my children, who started going to school after the revolution, and in the early 1990s they were sometimes ridiculed that they might not be able to eat the same foods in the school canteen as their classmates. The teachers did nothing to stop this. But my kids did not seem frustrated as they did not know the meaning of the evil words used by their schoolmates.”*<sup>721</sup>

Both of the above testimonies confirm the continued existence of latent antisemitism among young people and they also confirm the concepts of stereotypes and prejudices held by the

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<sup>720</sup> T. B. Interview, Prague, 4. 3. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

<sup>721</sup> P. W. Interview, Prague, 19. 11. 2019 (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

non-Jewish population. The testimonies show that both generations were subject primarily to verbal attacks and that children are most affected by them.

Unfortunately, both testimonies confirm the deteriorating trend described in the chapter: Concepts of prejudices and stereotypes, which revealed the global nature of verbal attacks and latent antisemitism in the world. Especially in the United States many people still believe in the “greedy Jew,” Jewish political influence on Wall Street, or the power of Jewish Masons.<sup>722</sup> The communist countries were not unique in this matter and this trend has not improved in the last decades.

Besides the communist anti-Zionism dominantly in the form of verbal attacks, it is also important to analyze testimonies about antisemitism of radical Islam and the new antisemitism which also affects Jews in both countries. Several narrators identified new antisemitism as a transnational issue which, although connected to the Czech nation, has worldwide roots. *“My father always told me that antisemitism is something of a cultural phenomenon among Czechs and Slovaks. It is rooted under our skin and always survives in a latent form among us. But my foreign experience tells me that we are definitely no worse than other nations. When I lived in Germany, I quite often came across antisemitism, especially from Turkish immigrants. Like the Germans, they still suffer from guilt now, so they are fair and fine, but Turkish Muslims were troublesome.”*<sup>723</sup>

This is one of the testimonies that worries about international antisemitism and radical Islam are typical of both Czechoslovak generations, slightly more common for halachic men from the CZSJG than any other group. The excerpt supports the conclusions and warnings of some academics who see Islamism as a danger to other religious minorities in Europe.<sup>724</sup> So-called “new antisemitism was reported by nine out of the fifteen interviewees from the CZSJG, mostly by halachic and practicing Jews. Study participants from both Czechoslovak cohorts mainly became

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<sup>722</sup> *American Attitudes toward Jews in America: 1200 Interviews + An oversampling of African Americans and Hispanics* [online]. [Accessed 2019-03-08]. Available from: [https://web.archive.org/web/20140529052141/http://archive.adl.org/anti\\_semitism/poll\\_as\\_2009/anti-semitism%20poll%202009.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20140529052141/http://archive.adl.org/anti_semitism/poll_as_2009/anti-semitism%20poll%202009.pdf).

<sup>723</sup> K. M. Interview, Prague, 4. 12. 2019 (a man, a halachic Jew, agnostic approach, university degree).

<sup>724</sup> As I stated above in the chapter Luxembourg attitudes towards Israel from political and sociological perspectives, my data confirm the conclusions of both Jerrold Post and Dorron Zimmermann. (POST, Jerrold M. and Gabriel SHEFFER. The Risk of Radicalization and Terrorism in U.S. Muslim Communities. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* [online]. 2007, **13**(2), p. 101 [Accessed. 2020-9-2]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/24590572>.; ZIMMERMANN, Doron and William ROSENAU, ed. *The Radicalization of Diasporas and Terrorism*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2009.)



aware of it through newspaper reports and online media, after the Velvet Revolution in 1989. This “New” antisemitism now overshadows both communist antisemitism and classic modern antisemitism. “*The hatred of Israel is insane, and I am glad that our government, and President Zeman in particular, has clearly defined priorities. That's why I voted for him. I have nothing against the Palestinians, I also lived in Israel. It's just unfair. [...] They want to destroy Israel, they don't like it. It is good that Israel does not follow the orders from the EU or the UN. Otherwise, it would no longer exist. The progressive left would destroy it.*”<sup>725</sup>

This testimony is more radical than others, but it clearly shows how the new antisemitism has affected some witnesses' electoral preferences in the last presidential election in the Czech Republic in 2018. There is clear mistrust and criticism of international organizations and associations (UN and EU), which some Jews in the diaspora accuse of failing to solve the Middle East conflict. The above excerpt from one person's testimony is not unique and points to a trend already described by Bernard Lewis,<sup>726</sup> who sees Israel as an unjustly criticized culprit among other states in the Middle East. Similarly, this excerpt can be compared to the findings of Abraham Foxman,<sup>727</sup> who has long criticized antisemitism in pro-Palestinian movement, which are, in his opinion, unfairly funded. His opinion was developed by Arnold Foster,<sup>728</sup> who sees a new antisemitism especially among the left and left-wing intellectuals at universities undermining the political.

In conclusion, the narrators called antisemitism an externality that affected them mainly through family members. Both generations also mentioned the imminent dangers of new antisemitism as a form of new anti-Zionism and radical Islamism. They see them to be a potential danger to Jews in the Czech lands.

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<sup>725</sup> D. M. Interview, Prague 16. 8. 2019 (a man, a halachic Jews, practicing, university degree).

<sup>726</sup> LEWIS, Bernard. The New Anti-Semitism: First religion, then race, then what? *The American Scholar*. [online]. 2006, **75**(1), p. 25 [Accessed 2021-6-2]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/41222526>.

<sup>727</sup> FOXMAN, Abraham. *The deadliest lies: the Israel lobby and the myth of Jewish control*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. p. 124-126.

<sup>728</sup> FORSTER Arnold. *The New Anti-Semitism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974. p. 11.

## **5.12. Czechoslovak second and third Jewish generation: From communist anti-Zionism to new antisemitism**

The results of the questionnaire survey show that the majority of respondents has felt some form of antisemitism. However, it is important to note that this is a subjective feeling and the survey results do not measure the level of receptivity, but rather point to the fact that a large number of research participants consider some manifestations and incidents to be antisemitic. The proportion of participants who expressed this is large; 70 out of 100 respondents from the CZSJG answered that they experienced antisemitism themselves. The added comments indicate that in many cases this was not open antisemitism, but rather allusions and stereotypes. There appears to be a decline in the incidence of antisemitism and/or its intergenerational perception between the second and third generations. 59 out of 100 CZTJG respondents stated that they experienced antisemitism in their lives, in contrast to 70 out of 100 CZSJG respondents. Comparing the data with findings from studies in the rest of the world, it can be said that based on the results of geographer Uzi Rebhun the findings of my study correlate with a widely recognized international theory on perceived antisemitism in the USA.<sup>729</sup> It states that young Jews take manifestation of antisemitism less seriously than their parents because they did not have to uphold their Jewishness by force.

Based on the survey in the PhD research, women seemed to perceive antisemitism a bit differently from men in this study; Out of 200 respondents, 52 females and 77 males out of 129 respondents reported that they had experienced what they consider to be antisemitism. Perceptions of antisemitism were more common in men than in women. Sixty-three halachic Jews, 42 non-halachic Jews and 24 converts reported having experienced antisemitism in their lives. It is evident that halachic and practicing Jews perceive antisemitism more often than their non-Halachic fellows. However, it cannot be inferred from this that Liebman's "thick" and stable Jewish identities were somehow more sensitive to antisemitism. They just view a variety of antisemitic forms and their understanding of antisemitism has transhistorical ubiquity whose roots were changed in the last decades. It means the actual form of antisemitism has been anonymized by the internet and social media.

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<sup>729</sup> REBHUN, Uzi. Correlates of experiences and perceptions of anti-Semitism among Jews in the United States. *Social science research*. 2014, **47**, p. 1503.

It is also important to realize that antisemitism can be manifested in many different ways and the spectrum of incidents is very broad, from a physical act - spitting on the sidewalk to an mental act - open hatred.<sup>730</sup> The additional comments that participants attached to this question also emphasize that family based factors – bourgeois origins, emigration in the family, or political beliefs could have all incited oppression from the Communist regime and fellow citizens.

To explore the intensity of antisemitism, respondents indicated within the sub question where antisemitism was the most intensive.<sup>731</sup> Tables 24 and 27 show that the CZSJG and CZTJG consider antisemitism to be most intense in the media and in the Czechoslovak state administration. Then, both cohorts wrote down that they had unpleasant experiences with antisemitism at school and cultural institutions such as theaters or galleries. Among the comments, it was more common to see remarks such as “the Communists did not want Jews to study” than “the teacher was antisemitic and the principal supported his view”. This may also prove why respondents’ ranking of the settings in which they perceived antisemitism is lower for “school” and “work”, and higher for “politics.”

However, it is interesting to note that some also remark in the comments that the Communist media was not openly antisemitic. In their opinion, open antisemitism did not stem directly from TV broadcasting or mainstream newspapers, but mostly originated from peers and “friends” due to certain dissenting opinions on Israel or international politics. These ideas do not correspond to the conclusions of journalist Petr Brod<sup>732</sup> who claims that communist newspapers in particular played a significant role in shaping anti-Zionist propaganda. They do not correspond either to historian Jana Svobodová, who stated that there is also a noticeable influence of book production, which is also responsible for the anti-Zionist media image.<sup>733</sup> However, none of the respondents did not remember to hear or read antisemitic manifestation in the press or in the books (Alexei Pludek’s novels (*Vabank, The Enemy of Atlantis*)) during this period.

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<sup>730</sup> The incidents considered by respondents to be antisemitic is quite varied regardless of their origin or religious denomination.

<sup>731</sup> Respondents have indicated on a scale of 0-5 where antisemitism was the most intensive.

<sup>732</sup> BROD, Petr: Židé v poválečném Československu. In: WEBER, Václav. *Židé v novodobých dějinách: soubor přednášek na FF UK*. Praha, 1997, p. 156-157.

<sup>733</sup> SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. p. 59, 60-61, 200).

In contrast to the CZSJG, the CZTJG described antisemitism during the period of Normalization as encompassing force endorsed by international political decisions (such as the UN). This force strived for eradicating Jewish culture into oblivion.

After the Velvet revolution, this understanding of anti-Zionism developed in both generations into the so-called new antisemitism associated especially with the state of Israel. However, there are some minor intergenerational differences in perceptions. While the CZSJG considers almost any criticism of Israel by international communities (UN, EU) or NGOs, to be a new kind of antisemitism, the CZTJG is more circumspect and try to analyze the whole issue in more depth. They are interested, for example, in current declarations on antisemitism and the like. On the other hand, the members of the CZSJG are very critical of non-profit organizations and takes attacks on Israel more personally than the third generation.

The questionnaire survey confirms that the data collected from the testimonies displays growing resistance of post-war Jewish generations to the anti-Israel policies of international communities and organizations. This supports the claims of the critics described by Foster and Foxman who defend Israeli rule against unjust and unbalanced political demands and requirements set by the EU and the UN. Czech participants (especially CZSJG) primarily stress the fact that the EU has long been funding some Palestinian activities in a non-transparent way through a number of foundations and funds. In some cases, they also strongly criticized political engagement by the radical left in Middle Eastern policy.<sup>734</sup>

The interesting trend mentioned by interviewees cited in the previous chapter is the antisemitic behavior of left-wing comrades. *“I was hoping that my own comrades, those with whom I stood by in socialist solidarity, would stand up for me, but they demeaned me because I was a Jew, because suddenly the Jews became unreliable. [...] I remember very well how my parents told me about a seditious campaign unleashed by the Red Truth newspaper after the trial of Rudolf Slánský, and it was the same in the 1970s. It hurt me as I had gotten used to having friends around and now my friends started chasing me like a dog.”*<sup>735</sup> The conviction of the

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<sup>734</sup> This publication evaluate and describe the involvement of EU and UN in the Israeli-palestinian conflict. (YACOBI, Haim and David NEWMAN. The EU and the Israel-Palestine conflict. *The European Union and Border Conflicts: The Power of Integration and Association* [online]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 173-202 [Accessed. 2020-01-24]. Available from <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/european-union-and-border-conflicts/A266F908B4C67C91C17F511DD9BB9AF3>)

<sup>735</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, basic education).

Slánský espionage group was perceived by most CZSJG respondents as a turning point in the regime's relationship with the Jewish minority. According to the respondents, it is one of the few incidents that has escalated hostilities in Czechoslovak society. The second incident cautiously watched by respondents from the CZTJG was the terrorist attack on Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics.

*"I remember how Rudé Právo (the Red Truth) wrote about the abduction of the Israeli athletes. This was...I think in Munich...sometime in the early 70's. I do not know exactly what happened there, but it was pretty disgusting. Yeah, and then the plane hijacking was kind of right after that. The Communists could not stand it and they tried to find culprits among imperialists."*<sup>736</sup>

There is another comment describing an interesting aspect of antisemitism. *"Well...our neighbors were keen communists and my grandparents gave them a lot of things to keep them before the war. My grandparents died and when my father wanted things back he did not get anything. They stole it including a little silver ring of my grandma. Our neighbors were gossiping that we do not need anything since we should have been members of imperialist forces paid from the West."*<sup>737</sup> The bitterness in these memories reflects Jewish feelings of betrayal and personal hostility from the members of the Communist Party. These memories fit into the concept of historian Helena Krejčová who elaborated the term: antisemitism of a "Bad conscience."<sup>738</sup> It means that Communists know the truth about the maltreatment with Jewish people, but they did not want admit being a part of the problem. These statements also reflect Wistrich's theory of antisemitism without Jews, which seems to have been more present throughout the communist regime in Czechoslovakia. It was a latent but constantly appearing and generated permanent uncertainty for the Jewish population.<sup>739</sup>

In addition to measuring the intensity of antisemitism, the aim here is to define the most common forms of antisemitism. Tables 25 and 28 contain data addressing the form of antisemitism experienced. Respondents could choose from the following answers: swearing/insults, threats, physical violence, and interrogation. Tables 25 and 28 show that insults and threats were the most

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<sup>736</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, non-halachic Jew, university degree).

<sup>737</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, halachic Jew, university degree).

<sup>738</sup> KREJČOVÁ, Helena. Český a slovenský antisemitismus 1945-1948. In: *Stránkami soudobých dějin*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1993, p. 158-172.

<sup>739</sup> WISTRICH, Robert. Once again, antisemitism without Jews. *Commentary* [online]. 1992, **94**(2), p. 45-49 [Accessed 2020-10-29]. Available from: <https://search.proquest.com/openview/5d0811b7f9db0aad47a1222e0ffd2f93/1?cbl=1816616&pq-origsite=gscholar>.

common manifestations of antisemitism for both generations. Physical violence was very rare, and certainly not officially organized. This happened purely in schools and among teenagers in the streets. The survey did not indicate any particular places in the Czech lands where antisemitism was the strongest, because many respondents now live in Prague, but they often faced antisemitism during their childhood when they lived in villages and small towns. The data also shows that halachic Jews appeared to be more threatened more often by swearing or insults than the other participants. The reason, in their opinion, was their unusual surname or physical characteristics. In their opinion, political beliefs played no role at all.<sup>740</sup>

However, additional comments indicate that threats seem more intensive within their own neighborhoods. Two respondents indicated that they were concerned about disclosing information about their Jewish origins by the postman, as some subscribed to the Jewish monthly magazine, *Věstník*. “I used to go to the Jewish community to pick it (*Věstník ŽNO*) up by myself to keep everything confidential. We had very small mail boxes and it could be visible to put a Jewish journal in it. We did not want to risk it.”<sup>741</sup>

This statement from a halachic and practicing Jewish woman shows that she was afraid to reveal her Jewish origins to the public, even after the Velvet Revolution. This account also partly confirms the theory about the “Hidden Jewry”<sup>742</sup> from Alena Heitlinger and it seems to keep in society until now.

To end the chapter, I would like to sum up the issues of the antisemitism common for both respondents and narrators. First, it is interrogations of Jewish citizens by the Czechoslovak state security forces. Members of the CZSJG and the CZTJG were sometimes subjected to interrogation by the State Security police for various reasons, especially as some had close relatives who were emigrants, or they came from rich families before the war. As such, their Jewish origin was just an aggravating circumstance. However, at least according to the survey results, police interrogations were not primarily motivated by the victims’ Jewish race or ethnicity. “I was not interrogated because my mother was a Jew, but they called me to the stand because of my older

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<sup>740</sup> I draw this conclusion based on the additional comments linked to the identity of the commentators.

<sup>741</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, high school education).

<sup>742</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 84.

*brother who emigrated in 1948. After that we had many troubles with State Security. I also had 'bourgeois origin' written in my personnel report, which negatively affected my social status.*"<sup>743</sup>

Only one respondent recalled a police officer uttering an overtly antisemitic insult such as "dirty Jew or Jewish bastards". A second noted the use of the phrase "You and your kind", which the respondent considered to be a display of antisemitism. None of the respondents recalled being physically assaulted. Only one of the respondents was interrogated because of his profession. He used to work as a journalist and an StB officer told him that if he signed a loyalty oath, he could be promoted in his job, otherwise, he could be fired for being a Zionist reactionary.

Second, it is a phenomenon of self-hatred, which was not common, but not completely rare. It has been confirmed by several narrators and respondents who mentioned antisemitism coming to them through their family or close relatives. *"So honestly, the only antisemitic attack I experienced was from my Jewish brother – of course, not physical, but I think he cannot get along with Judaism, and that is sad. Even his eldest son called me from time to time to see if he could come on holidays with his family. It was still in the late 80's under the communists. So I still have a bond with my nephew and I can learn from him what's going on with my brother. Unfortunately, our relations have not settled yet. My brother just has a block and wants nothing to do with Judaism. He is angry at our parents and angry at me too for taking the path of Judaism and...well, I'm not afraid to talk about it."*<sup>744</sup>

This statement is a consequence of Jewish self-hatred among Jewish relatives, and it confirms the testimonies given in the previous chapter of this paper. The statement reflects the conclusions of Irving Horowitz, who discusses the phenomenon of a "court Jew" in his work. This type of personality is not only overly critical of himself, but he/she is also critical and intolerant of other members of the Jewish community. He especially criticizes the religious and cultural aspects of the Jewish religion.<sup>745</sup>

What was the influence of antisemitism on the second and third Jewish post-war generations in the Czech lands? The Jews were apprehensive and afraid of the communist regime which pursued, curtailed and intimidated them. However, paradoxically, they often experienced

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<sup>743</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, high school education).

<sup>744</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, high school education).

<sup>745</sup> HOROWITZ, Irving Louis. New trends and old hatreds. *Society*. 2005, 43(1), p. 45.

direct antisemitism more from their loved ones (family, friends, neighbors, schoolmates and co-workers) in a verbal form.

It is clear that the perception of antisemitism declined from the CZSJG and the CZTJG, however the CZTJG is still afraid to fully manifest its Jewish identity in front of others. After 1989, young Jews became fully aware of the various forms of so-called new antisemitism, but they perceive it primarily through the media, and they do not experience this in the university environment. However, antisemitism in the form of harassment and prejudice unfortunately affected the Jewish minority. It seems that antisemitism is perceived more intensely by CZSJG participants in particular, especially men.

### **5.13. Luxembourg Second Jewish Generation: Surrounded by “traditional antisemitism”, affected by new antisemitism – Interview**

The chapter primarily concerns the features of antisemitism in Luxembourg society. Twelve out of 20 respondents consider ignorance and illiteracy to be the main sources of antisemitism in Luxembourg. The narrators of both generations responded very similarly to the question of antisemitism. *“In my opinion, antisemitism is absolutely peripheral in Luxembourg, but constantly present and, in my opinion, stems mainly from indifference, illiteracy and ignorance. It is not bad or evil at all. Many people did not notice antisemitism in the past and do not notice it even now. However, I know people who fight against antisemitism if they see it anywhere, especially in the media. They protest tirelessly and try to make amends. This has not changed, we used to be very sensitive to any manifestation of antisemitism.”*<sup>746</sup> This statement is entirely consistent with the report *Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002-2003* on the absence of antisemitism in the second half of the 20th century.<sup>747</sup> Antisemitism seems to come to Luxembourg mainly from the outside through the media, and not, for example, refugees.

Based on the testimonies of the interviewees, the perception of antisemitism in Luxembourg falls into three categories: Antisemitism as a new anti-Zionism, harmful antisemitism in neighboring countries (the fear that it will one day cross Luxembourg's borders) and concerns

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<sup>746</sup> J. G. Interview, Luxembourg, 7. 10. 2018. (a man, halachic Jew, daily practicing, university degree).

<sup>747</sup> *Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002-2003: Based on Information by the National Focal Points of the EUMC-RAXEN Information Network* [online], 2004. Vienna: Eumc European Monitoring Centre. p. 135.



about growing antisemitism at universities. First category can be described by a short excerpt below from a woman (LSJG). *“I can reliably say that antisemitism has much worse forms today. It broke out in the late 1960s after the Six Day War. [...] In my opinion, the war against Israel is a war against the Jews.”*<sup>748</sup> It illustrates that a certain number of Luxembourg Jews consider the war against Israel to be a war against Jews and they equalize it.

Whenever I interview a member of the LSJG or the LTJG, the narrator always mentions Luxembourg only marginally and then diverts to address issues of antisemitism in neighboring countries such as Germany France and Belgium. *“I consider Luxembourg an oasis of calm compared to what my parents and I experienced after the war in France... This is complete well-being. There are no radical groups here, unlike France... because I remember well all the protests and demonstrations against Vietnam and also Israel, especially in Paris. It was the late 1960s. So it was better if you were not a Jew or you at least did not profess Zionism. The government here is relatively decent, in spite of fundamentally supporting the Catholic Church, but this has always been the case.”*<sup>749</sup> The following statement partially corresponds to the Volkov’s theory of cross-border perception of antisemitism. She mentioned the concerns of certain Jews in the diaspora (including Luxembourg) about their relatives who lived in some other part of Europe. It could be caused, for example, by growing nationalism in that country (an example of dismissed Jewish doctors in Germany).<sup>750</sup>

*“I have been living in Luxembourg for almost 50 years now, but part of my family is still in France and some have moved to Israel, and I also have a brother in the USA. Honestly, I think that Luxembourg has only a minor problem with antisemitism... from time to time, but it is nothing in comparison to what other countries are facing now... Like France, it will crash into the wall with its migration policy, and Macron will not save it. A cousin who lives in Lille almost every year thinks about moving either here [Luxembourg] or to Israel. It is relatively quiet here and when I read news from Belgium or maybe from Israel...ouch... I am so happy to be here.”*<sup>751</sup>

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<sup>748</sup> P. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 3. 9. 2019. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

<sup>749</sup> M. F. Interview, Ettelbruck, 5. 10. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm in religious matters, university degree).

<sup>750</sup> VOLKOV, Shulamit. *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. p. 89.

<sup>751</sup> R. H. Interview, Esch-sur-Alzette, 4. 10. 2018. (a man, halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

The results of interviews with Luxembourg participants show that Doron Zimmerman's findings of radical Islamism from 2009 are becoming more and more topical and up to date. International Islamist terrorism is more aggressive in the West, and Jews in Luxembourg perceive it even more intensely than Jews in the Czech lands. Since they often have family members in Western European countries, they are logically worried about their future. However, it is not possible to trace whether their fears have worsened over the years.<sup>752</sup>

The LTJG contends, more than the other cohorts, that contemporary antisemitism is most frequently associated with the State of Israel, and draws comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis. A large number of LTJG members strongly criticized Israel's domestic or international policy, they felt offended by being responsible for Israeli politics. They also said that the Jewish government in Israel faced double standards, in that they had to follow democratic rules and demands not expected of any other democratic state.

Another important issues is the manifestation of antisemitism in universities. This issue was mentioned by members of both generations, especially the LTJG. *"I am more concerned about the growing hatred for Israel, and that concerns me personally. I accept reasonable criticism, but what is going on now, it is too much. Like boycotting food? My son works at the university as a PhD student and now they have set up a small resistance cell there, which is trying to protect Jewish students from psychological pressure."<sup>753</sup> ... it wouldn't have happened 30 years ago, but I also experienced it a bit ... not at school but at work, but it wasn't in Luxembourg."<sup>754</sup>*

According to the LTJG, being abused because of anger at Israel has turned out to be quite common, especially at universities in France and Belgium. *"I encountered open antisemitism while studying in Strasbourg. Despite the fact that is a large and multicultural city with a huge Jewish community, I felt antisemitism there more intensively than in Luxembourg. Actually, I felt uncomfortable enough that it made me go back to my hometown. They did not harm me, but it was rather unpleasant to hear swearing and insults in this place. I was also offended at the campus of the university. Luxembourg is not perfect, but definitely more secure."<sup>755</sup>*

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<sup>752</sup> ZIMMERMANN, Doron and William ROSENAU, ed. *The Radicalization of Diasporas and Terrorism*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2009.

<sup>753</sup> Unfortunately, I did not manage to find out what kind of antisemitic manifestation occurred on campus in his case.

<sup>754</sup> B. G. Interview, Luxembourg, 1. 8. 2019. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>755</sup> M.T. Interview, Luxembourg, 23.7.2019. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

The narrator described a series of antisemitic incidents that occurred in university environments, especially after the armed conflicts in the Middle East, in which Israel became militarily involved. “*When I argued about Israel with my colleagues at work, they used to say that I am also responsible for aggression and violence caused by the Israeli army to Palestinians because I agree with Israeli policy. I tried to defend myself, stating that Israel is a democratic state with many different political parties based on different ideologies and with a great variety of goals. But I cannot say that is antisemitism. It is more about being anti-Israel.*”<sup>756</sup> This response from one Jewish narrator suggests one of the common aspects of international antisemitism; a collective blaming of all Jewish persons for the actions of the state of Israel.

Luxembourg interviewees (especially Halachic and practicing Jews of the LTJG) are concerned about the rise of so-called “intellectual antisemitism” on university campuses. They have either personal or second hand experiences. However, their experience corresponds exactly to the knowledge described in the theoretical concept section of this paper.<sup>757</sup> Jewish students in Luxembourg have to face verbal condemnation about Israeli politics, and as the testimonies show, these incidents also occur at European universities<sup>758</sup> and are causing Jewish students to counteract.

Like their peers in Czechoslovakia, the LSJG and LTJG also experienced light antisemitism in schools from both teachers and students. “*It was quite common that my friends wanted to go down to the pub on Friday night, and they said. ‘Ahh. That’s a pity that Friday nights are bad for you and you can’t join us.’*”<sup>759</sup> Another speaker said: “*I once met a teacher who told me that I should be doing much better at math because of my origin. When I asked her what she meant, she said – ‘well, you are Jewish and they know their way around numbers quite well.’ I do not think that she meant anything harsh by it, but I was shocked...*”<sup>760</sup>

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<sup>756</sup> F. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 24. 8. 2018. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

<sup>757</sup> Read more about the manifestation of antisemitism at universities (POLLACK, Eunice. *Anti-Semitism on the Campus: Past and Present* [online]. Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2019 [Accessed 2021-5-26]. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unilu-ebooks/reader.action?docID=3110421>.

<sup>758</sup> MARCUS, Kenneth. Anti-Zionism as Racism: Campus Anti-Semitism and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal*. [online]. 2007, **15**(3), p. 837-892 [Accessed 2021-6-13]. Available from: <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/wmbrts15&i=845>.

<sup>759</sup> M. T. Interview, Esch-sur-Alzette, 23. 8. 2019. (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

<sup>760</sup> T. P. Interview. Esch-sur-Alzette, 14. 6. 2018. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

Another eyewitness recalled snide remarks from teachers if she wanted to be dismissed early from class because of the Shabbat. “‘*My watch must have stopped if you are leaving already.*’ Well, it sounds like a joke, but it was not, and I hated it, but honestly I can’t say that it was antisemitism.”<sup>761</sup> The LTJG was willing to specifically describe what kind of antisemitism they had experienced. More than the other cohorts, they added detailed comments describing particular antisemitic incidents. They emphasized the need for accuracy, as the history of antisemitism is not one-dimensional.

Both of the above statements point to the fact that, although antisemitism is not terribly significant in Luxembourg, basic schools are still a place where a young Jew may encounter some form of antisemitism, despite the multiethnic nature of most schools in Luxembourg. Minor antisemitism in schools was mentioned by eight out of 30 narrators, and it consists of the widespread stereotypes and prejudices described in the chapter of this paper concerning prejudices and stereotypes in terms of Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish postwar generations. However, it cannot be said that the communities are too inaccessible for the rest of the population. It means the findings of my work do not correspond with theory of Zygmund Bauman, Tim May and Marry Douglas, who argue that petty antisemitism can be provoked by communities themselves due to excessive cultural and spiritual confinement to the outside world.<sup>762</sup> The Luxembourg community is widely-known to be open and liberal especially in the city Esch-sur-Alzette where the only Jewish liberal community in the country is.

#### **5.14. Luxembourg second and third Jewish generation: Luxembourg as a safe haven from surrounding online new antisemitism**

As shown in the Tables 29 and 32, most of the respondents (119 out of 200) had encountered antisemitism in their lives (65 males and 54 females). The LTJG also proved to be the most cautious when reflecting upon antisemitism. It means that only 55 respondents indicated a personal experience of antisemitism.

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<sup>761</sup> M. S. Interview, Luxembourg, 8. 3. 2019. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, high school education) .

<sup>762</sup> BAUMAN, Zygmunt and Tim MAY. *Thinking sociologically*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2019. p. 44.

Similar to the Czechoslovak cohorts, there is also a clear decline in the perception of antisemitism between the earlier and later generations. Many respondents regardless of gender, religion or Jewish origin often add remarks that antisemitic incidents were neither radical nor harmful. In terms of Jewish origin, there is a slight difference between halachic and non-halachic research participants. Halachic and practicing Jews, mostly men (of both generations), perceive antisemitism a bit more intensely than other sub-groups.

The additional remarks below the questions confirmed the findings of previous testimonies stating that antisemitism is negligible, and mostly take a verbal form in Luxembourg. Here is one of the example: *“I never received a hate letter or anything like that. I had a different upbringing, but Luxembourg has always been a center where a lot of people of different nationalities worked and lived. I'm not saying no one would ever yell at me because I'm Jewish, but it wasn't significant, so I don't remember.”*<sup>763</sup>

Another respondent felt like he was regarded as a rarity or peculiarity, rather than a hostile element by the larger Luxembourg society. *“They never looked at me strangely in Luxembourg... then only occasionally in the 60's I didn't go to Religion [class] at school and I think that was obligatory. My classmates asked me why. There was a large enclave of Italians who were very pious, but I have no problem with them and I have quite a few friends among them.”*<sup>764</sup>

The data in Tables 30 and 34 indicate that both Luxembourg Jewish generations very rarely faced physical violence, but the data collected from the survey supported the conclusions that from time to time, an antisemitic incident occurs in Luxembourg, but it is certainly not serious matter. Both testimonies quoted above confirm that Luxembourg was indeed a very tolerant and safe country, especially in the second half of the 20th century. None of the narrators or respondents remembered being influenced by films with an antisemitic subtext (discussed in the chapters on historical contextualization or folklore theater plays in this paper).<sup>765</sup>

Whether the Jews consider physical antisemitism negligible in Luxembourg, then what form does it take? Many of the respondents related the question about the intensity of contemporary antisemitism to the Internet. *“I ticked off the media in your questionnaire, but it is*

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<sup>763</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing , university degree).

<sup>764</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>765</sup> It means, for instance, the film *“Oliver Twist”* and *“Jud Süß”* (MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 91.)

*especially the Internet that is currently spreading antisemitism.*”<sup>766</sup> It is noteworthy that the LTJG perceived antisemitism on social media or podcasts more than the LSJG. The LSJG instead noticed antisemitism in online media (newspapers – mostly in opinion articles and comments). This observation is supported by the findings illustrated on Graphs 27 and 31, where Media and Politics respectively scored 4,4 and 4,8 out of 5 points in terms of the intensity of antisemitism. Based on the data collected, we cannot draw the conclusion that politics and media were antisemitic, but we can infer that both Luxembourgish post-war generations felt that antisemitism has increased considerably in the online world over the years.

According to them the internet caused a new wave of so-called new antisemitism, which is borderless and not specific to one place. Overall, it can be argued that especially converts and halachic respondents consider forms of new antisemitism in the 1960s and 1970s to be slightly less dangerous than the antisemitism over the past 20 years. *“Israel has always been under tight scrutiny, but now various misinformation and hoaxes, such as those claiming Israelis killed and raped Palestinians, may be spreading because of the Internet. I dealt with it a bit and only Twitter is worse than Facebook.”*<sup>767</sup>

A certain number of halachic Jews, especially from the LSJG, even condemn Luxembourg officials for not supporting Israel enough. They believe that the world’s political stance towards Israel can be seen as seriously antisemitic. *“Sometimes there was an article somewhere that showed how well the Jewish elite was doing, but when I moved to Luxembourg, it is quiet... what is more dangerous is how Europe thinks of Israel... I am glad that at least Trump is ready to help Israel. He is a crazy man, but making reasonable decisions.”*<sup>768</sup>

The next is the additional comment, provided a halachic Jewish woman who used to live in Belgium. *“If we are assaulted or harassed, it is mostly because of Israel – any Jew who shows a certain positive interest in Israel is immediately tagged aggressively. Once I got into trouble with the Union des Progressistes Juifs<sup>769</sup> that proclaims that all Jews are Palestinians. They decry Sharon’s and Israel’s political acts as crimes against humanity.”*<sup>770</sup>

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<sup>766</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>767</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

<sup>768</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>769</sup> Union des Progressistes Juifs de Belgique .

<sup>770</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

The other accompanying comments are full of examples of antisemitism towards Israel. According to survey respondents, Israeli Jews constituted perfect scapegoats, as, although they are no longer physically abused, a proportion of the Jews in Luxembourg still feels they are the target of victimization coming from neighboring countries. Apart from the Internet, survey respondents confirmed the experiences of the interviewees that new antisemitism often occurred in schools and on university campuses (not yet in Luxembourg). Luxembourg respondents, especially the LTJG, consider this to be a very dangerous phenomenon especially for their children. *“I experienced antisemitism in high school after the Suez crisis. We had a teacher of Egyptian origin here, who knew that I was a Jew, and she immediately started giving me worse grades. I dealt with it somehow, but then she left the school.”*<sup>771</sup> Another narrator describes his experience as follows: *“Once my classmates drew something in my notebook and it was a Jewish star and a caricature of Israeli flag. It was just silly nonsense, but my father was very upset and went to complain to the school.”*<sup>772</sup>

Data and additional comments from both halachic Jews and converts confirm the interviewees statements about new antisemitism associated with disproportionate criticism of Israel. These comments and data on the intensity of antisemitism refer mainly to political media, but reflecting on the theory of Kenneth Marcus, the new antisemitism had spread gradually in Luxembourg as well as in neighboring countries since 1956. The starting point was the Suez Crisis, and today, in his view, the subject of the new antisemitism is an ever-growing Muslim population in France and Belgium. In his opinion, the philo-Semitic tolerance such typical of international universities has definitely disappeared.<sup>773</sup>

Several members (7) of the LTJG also confirmed the accounts of interviewees of insults and threats that had occurred at universities. Some wrote that their children were intimidated by their schoolmates due to their Jewish origins, although these incidents were likely to have happened in the last few years. *“I have never directly experienced antisemitism, but my son has experienced manifestations of antisemitism during his studies in the USA. My son is like me, more left-wing. In general, students in the United States are more politically engaged than here*

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<sup>771</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, high school education).

<sup>772</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

<sup>773</sup> MARCUS, Kenneth. Anti-Zionism as Racism: Campus Anti-Semitism and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal*. [online]. 2007, **15**(3), p. 837-892 [Accessed 2021-6-13]. Available from: <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/wmbrts15&i=845>.

[Luxembourg]. But it was a shock for him, because in left-wing circles his classmates accused him of not distancing himself sufficiently from Israeli politics and even prevented him from accessing some lectures – no matter that he has never supported Likud or right-wing policies.”<sup>774</sup>

Six mostly non-halachic research participants (LTJG) remarkably argue that some Jewish university intellectuals contribute to contemporary antisemitism since they openly support some Muslim pro-Palestinian groups. “It is sometimes unbelievable, but in my opinion antisemitism is so strong today because of Jewish elitists who have openly supported some groups of Muslim radicals. I never understood it, but I got my hands on the writings of a few of them and it is incredible reading. I am very afraid of being insulted by some radical Islamists, they could come to Luxembourg anytime.”<sup>775</sup> The statement supports warnings from historian Todd Green, who warns of growing Islamophobia among Jewish diaspora, especially young ones in the West. In Luxembourg, these are some exceptional cases of Orthodox Jews who view Israel very uncritically.<sup>776</sup>

In conclusion in Luxembourg, antisemitism has fundamentally changed its form and has moved into the online world. When Luxembourg’s Jews encountered more serious forms of antisemitism anywhere, it was mainly out of Luxembourg. An interesting finding is that their fear of new antisemitism in relation to the state of Israel has been spreading at the university environment in Western Europe and the USA. The second and third Jewish generations consider Luxembourg to be responsive to the demands of religious and ethnic minorities. Some individuals are much more critical of engaging international NGOs organizations and unions (EU, UN) in the Middle East. Being convinced that these organization are too unfair in their condemnations of Israel’s policies towards Palestinians, they insist on having more opportunities to defend their attitudes as Jews in the diaspora.

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<sup>774</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, not- practicing, university degree).

<sup>775</sup> Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, occasionally practicing, high school education).

<sup>776</sup> GREEN, Todd H. *The fear of Islam: An introduction to Islamophobia in the West*. Minneapolis: Fortress press, 2019.)



### 5.15. Czech and Luxembourg Jews: On the road from communist antisemitism to new antisemitism

The aim of this chapter is to compare the influence of antisemitism on Czechoslovak and Luxembourg post-war generations and find intersections and similarities which shaped their identities. The first area of intersection that cut across both generations, in both Luxembourg and the Czech lands, was the underestimation of antisemitism (not decline). All the participants downplayed the issue of antisemitism, regardless of age, origin, place, denomination, or generation. According to the vast majority of respondents (questionnaire and interviews), the participants did not consider slurs from other people as threatening or dangerous antisemitism, but they took a more negative view of antisemitic allusions made by teachers and other educational authorities.<sup>777</sup>

All four cohorts noted a relocation of antisemitism to online media and social networks. This is a trend that is increasing over time and it seems likely that subsequent generations of Jews in the diaspora will need to be on their guard against the dissemination of online antisemitism. This conclusion confirms the above-mentioned thesis of Bernd Marin, who claims that the younger the Jewish generation, the more vaguely they perceive antisemitism around them. In his opinion, however, this poses a certain danger to the younger generations of Jews in the diaspora (especially in the USA), who do not have such a strong awareness of the fate of their ancestors.<sup>778</sup>

As for the presence and form of perception of antisemitism, no research participants in Luxembourg openly criticized the Luxembourg media or the Luxembourg government for being antisemitic in the post-war period. In general, Luxembourg Jews see Luxembourg as an oasis of tranquility where they can live without many difficulties. When asked to confirm the presence of antisemitism in Luxembourg, they often referred instead to experiences of antisemitism either a long time ago or in a different country – never actually in Luxembourg. Their attitude, regardless of the generation, can be summed up by the following observation: “Something occurs from time

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<sup>777</sup> Luxembourg and Czechoslovak narrators and respondents also encountered antisemitism in the workplace, but none confirmed that antisemitism was so intolerable that it made them leave their job.

<sup>778</sup> MARIN, Bernd. *Antisemitismus ohne Antisemiten: autoritäre Vorurteile und Feindbilder*. Vienna: Campus Verlag, 2000. p. 374-375.

to time which seems wrong, but nothing near as bad as what is going on elsewhere.” Another common statement: “I studied abroad and it was much worse there.”

Indicators of self-hatred are more common in the Czech cohorts than in the Luxembourg cohorts. When analyzing the LSJG and LTJG dataset, that issue was encountered very rarely. Some Czechoslovak Jewish narrators and respondents in both generations mentioned feeling an active hatred from their close Jewish compatriots towards their identity and behavior. On no account can this phenomenon of self-hatred be generalized to a larger group. However, it can be stated that self-hatred exists and fundamentally affects certain groups. In this case, it is primarily the CZTJG whose members mentioned this factor several times.

What can be considered the most important link for comparison (Luxembourg and the Czech lands) are the forms of the new antisemitism. The common denominator seems to be Israel, which dominates modern antisemitic discourse everywhere except in Israel itself. While the Czechoslovak view this issue through the lens of communist anti-Zionism, the Luxembourg Jewish generations mainly see it from the perspective of international political antisemitism and anti-Zionism. The Luxembourg research participants distinguished a greater variety of individual antisemitic elements in the contemporary discourse, and they effectively recognized that Israel may have some political responsibility for the increase of antisemitism.<sup>779</sup> This means that the LTJG, for example, clearly perceives a connection between the political conflicts in the Middle East and the activation of antisemitic principles in Europe – mostly in neighboring countries (France, Germany and Belgium). This may have been aggravated by complicated relationships between some of the world's leaders, who, especially in the second half of the 20th century, sharply criticized Israeli politics and Zionism. As mentioned above, one of these was Charles de Gaulle, who blamed Israel for having plans to conquer neighboring states and the Palestinians in the 1950s.<sup>780</sup>

According to the Luxembourg participants, a special place for new antisemitism is in European universities. Pollack traces this type of antisemitism to the international academic

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<sup>779</sup> In their opinion, the shelling of the Gaza Strip has provoked violent antisemitic incidents against Jews in Western Europe.

<sup>780</sup> DE GAULLE, Charles. *Discours et messages: Vers le terme, janvier 1966-avril 1969*. Paris: Plon, 1982. p. 232-233.

environment at European universities in the 1960-70s.<sup>781</sup> Several members of the LSJG and the LTJG described facing antisemitism on university campuses in the United States or Western Europe in the past, while their peers in the Czech lands very rarely perceived antisemitism in universities in Czechoslovakia/ the Czech Republic. I cannot state with certainty that this phenomenon exists, but many of the research participants mentioned this “campus” antisemitism. Another common source of antisemitism mentioned by individuals in all of the cohorts is that on the part of state administration and media. The CZSJG mainly cited the communist press and communist administration, whereas their Luxembourg peers principally blamed the international media for being hypercritical and antisemitic towards Israel and Jews in the diaspora

However, even here there is a difference: while the CZSJG and CZTJG do not link Israeli policy so much with outbreaks of antisemitism in the diaspora, their Luxembourg peers have a partial understanding of why Israel has been so sharply criticized by other states and international organizations. However, Luxembourg participants reject what they see as attempts at antisemitism which accuse them of being too loyal to the Israeli political establishment. They also strongly defend their descendants if they are exposed to antisemitism, for example at school or by neighbors.

In conclusion, a large number of research participants consider that antisemitism is going to definitely move to the internet, but there is another similarity to Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jews already described by Rabbi Emanuel Bulz. The Jews will be challenged to defend their loyalty or disloyalty to Israel, the Czech Republic or Luxembourg. When people do not get the answer, they will suspect Jews of doing something wrong and with the existence of Israel, the issue has become more intimidating.<sup>782</sup>

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<sup>781</sup> Read more: POLLACK, Eunice. *Anti-Semitism on the Campus: Past and Present*. Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2019, p. 256-257 [Accessed 2021-5-26]. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unilu-ebooks/reader.action?docID=3110421>.

<sup>782</sup> Interview with E. Bulz. *Kadima*. 1986, (10), p. 22.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The conclusion is divided into subchapters dealing with the key findings of the thesis and addressing the research question. It also outlines the contribution of the PhD project insofar as it enriches the literature on the topic of post-war Jewish identities influenced by Israel, antisemitism and Jewish relatives and authorities. Finally, several recommendations for the direction of further research in the field of modern Czech and Luxembourg Jewish minority are presented.

The aim of the work was not to verify a predetermined hypothesis but to address the research question on “influences” forming various Jewish identities and social phenomena in a certain historical context. Based on a set of quantitative and qualitative empirically-oriented methods (questionnaire survey and interviews), I analyzed changes over time in the course of certain Jewish social and cultural phenomena.

The work aims to analyze the factors that influenced the two post-war Jewish generations in Luxembourg and the Czech lands (Czech Republic), at different time periods. I was not primarily interested in great historical events, but in individuals’ experiences and the integration of these into the individuals’ development of their Jewish identity. Every research participant provided a micro-historical subjective insight<sup>783</sup> into the broad and elusive issue of Jewish identities.

Using comparative data generalization, I analyzed the impact of certain factors (Israel, antisemitism, family) on the development of study participants’ Jewish identities. I strived to interpret the results using theoretical concepts and sociological theories with the help of a summarized historical context. The combination of these methods provided a framework to address the research question. In the following text, I seek to summarize the most important findings that I gained while researching my thesis. For greater clarity, I have divided the results into three subchapters according to thematic focus to address the submitted research question:

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<sup>783</sup> Micro-historical perspectives are something what E. Domańska calls “pearls of contemporary historiography.” In her opinion, “*small events of everyday history, small worlds of ‘other people,’ who are brought closer to us by the researcher in order to reveal their uniqueness.*”<sup>783</sup> In my opinion, history has several levels, and one of them is the subjective perception of certain historical events that have either a direct or indirect effect on our lives. (GARBULA, Joanna Maria. Towards Micro-History: New Look at the Family History. *The New Educational Review* [online]. 2015, **39**(1), p. 63-73 [Accessed 2021-8-5]. Available from: [https://www.academia.edu/download/37671715/tner\\_1\\_2015.pdf#page=63](https://www.academia.edu/download/37671715/tner_1_2015.pdf#page=63)).

What influence did the Jewish and non-Jewish environment have on the transformation of Jewish second and third post-war Jewish generations in the Czech lands and Luxembourg?

### **6.1. Research question: different human influences on Jewish Identities**

Diasporic identities in Luxembourg and in the Czech lands have many pluralist and multidimensional features. The findings of the questionnaires and interviews infer that a study participant's halachic origins (regardless of time period) did not have a significant effect on his/her knowledge and practice of the Jewish religion. Sephardic Jewish migrants in Luxembourg were an exception to this finding. This group is characterized by arguably the "thickest" degree of Liebman's Jewish identity and their greater knowledge of holy texts, the Hebrew language and observance of traditions. This does not mean that the Sephardic sub-group is rigid, closed or hostile to the surrounding community. A liberal approach to religious doctrine is a common feature of both Ashkenazi and Sephardic groups. The research also confirmed the assertion of Alena Heitlinger that Czechoslovak Jews were very liberal and lukewarm in their religious practice.<sup>784</sup> I can add that the cohorts from Luxembourg also presented similar liberal behavioral inclinations alongside their Czechoslovak peers.

When looking at the key findings regarding individual social cohorts, it is necessary to start with the influence of family members. The basic influence of the family on the formation of Jewish identity in the Czechoslovak post-war generations can be divided into several categories — parents, close relatives and grandparents. They are either Halachic or non-Halachic (converts do not play a significant role in the years after the war or in the 1970s or 1980s, they will gain significance only after the Velvet Revolution.).

The first category of the Czechoslovak social cohorts is based on the parents' membership in the Communist Party or not, and their relationship to the Communist Party vs. their relationship to Judaism, the Jewish community and the faith. The collected data reveal an interesting aspect of the Jewish membership in the Communist Party. It seems that Jewish Communists struggled more to cope with government anti-Zionism than Jews who were not members of the Communist Party. According to the study interviewees, Jewish non-Communists were more reconciled with slanders

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<sup>784</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. P.84.

from the Czechoslovak communists at meetings or workplaces mostly after the political trials (Slánský) and during normalization. It does not mean that Jewish non-communists did not have to face political obstructions or police interrogations, but they did not feel to be betrayed again in their lives.

The Communist regime has also brought concerns and fears of being Jewish. The interviewees' statements and participants' comments in the questionnaire revealed that they made considerable effort to conceal their Jewish origins from others. This fear of exposure is intergenerational and affected a large proportion of the research participants (nine narrators and 26 questionnaire respondents). Based on the data, origin concealment also occurs in Luxembourg for different reasons; for instance, people did not want to show their origin because of the post-war restitutions or business.

Communism acted as a trigger for what I call "private or non-public faith." This tendency to conceal their Judaism occurred in several waves, first in the 1950s and then in the 1970s. Jews of all ages considered official Jewish sites too dangerous to visit and therefore they turned to each other for religious/moral support. They practiced Judaism privately, but did not lose all contact with the Jewish faith and Jewish self-determination in terms of Jewish identity formation. The research reveals the presence of communist repression of Judaism in several forms: interrogations, wiretaps and the pressure of full integration. Communists were supposed to thwart the Jewish plans to show that the Jewish nation had not disappeared from Europe and was an important part of the Czech populations.<sup>785</sup>

Czechoslovak Jews wanted to peacefully develop their culture and religion but had to face accusations of being disloyal imperialists who could have undermined the re-established Czechoslovakia after the war. The effort to starve Jewish culture and religion was not successful, but it had a negative impact on Jewish minds, especially their self-confidence. It also correlates with the theory of Benjamin Pinkus dealing with the communist concerns about a Jewish self-confident nation with its own culture and heritage. In his opinion, a self-confident religious minority is risky for authoritarian regimes. It can easily destabilize a system and undermine a

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<sup>785</sup> Surprisingly, Wistrich's antisemitism without Jews can be applied to some extent to the Luxembourg Jewish minority. (WISTRICH, Robert. Once again, antisemitism without Jews. *Commentary* [online]. 1992, **94**(2), p. 45-49 [Accessed 2020-10-29]. Available from: <https://search.proquest.com/openview/5d0811b7f9db0aad47a1222e0ffd2f93/1?cbl=1816616&pq-origsite=gscholar>.)

political order.<sup>786</sup> Although the younger Jewish generations (CZTJG) decreasingly perceive such oppression, they know quite well what unobtrusive behavior is and they saw how different concerns had an effect on the formation of the Jewish character of their parents. As a result, the participants in the research began to feel much more like Jews than they would have officially acted as Jews.

Focusing specifically on relatives, three kinds of people with a vital influence on the formation of Jewish identities can be emphasized. First, there are the grandparents making bonds with their grandchildren. In many cases, there was a firm connection between these Jewish generations based on storytelling: Jewish fairy tales, songs and stories, which, in some cases, created a transgenerational bond between the first and third generations.

Second, there are the life partners (husbands or wives) who had considerable impact among Luxembourg respondents and narrators, and lastly the presence of a halachic father played a significant role, either positively or negatively in forming the attitudes of all four cohorts.

In any case, it can be concluded that the family and relatives had a significant influence both positive and negative on the development of Jewish identity in Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jewish generations. Some participants felt betrayed by other family members who were offended by their enthusiasm to practice Judaism. Others were lucky enough to be born into an “encouraging family” which motivated them to become good Jews. Many halachic and non-halachic Jews also remained indifferent towards Judaism in both Luxembourg and Czechoslovakia.

As for having an indifferent approach towards Judaism, the CZSJJG had the most difficulty in finding their path to their Jewishness. The survey results and the narrators’ statements indicate that this cohort practices Judaism irregularly compared to their children or their Luxembourgish peers. All the cohorts were rather liberal or religiously lukewarm, but the CZSJJG was the most indifferent towards Judaism. Their unenthusiastic approach affected the transmission of Judaism to their descendants, but this did not throw CZTJG into deep uncertainty or ignorance. The attitudes of CZTJG are in line with the theory of Geoffrey H. Hartman, who argues that mediated

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<sup>786</sup> PINKUS, Benjamin. *The Soviet Government and the Jews 1948-1967: a documented study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

identity and collective memory are highly fragmented, cryptic, and incomplete.<sup>787</sup> However, he does not take into account the motivation of the third generation of diaspora Jews, who are able to supplement their Judaism with a wide range of primary and secondary information (books, letters, diaries, memoirs, study programs, etc.) The collective memory of the Luxembourg and Czechoslovak Jews in this study corresponds in both cases with the Henri Raczymow's concept of stitching fragments of family memory scattered around due to historical incidents. In his opinion, the little pieces have to be put together and to create a continuous memory line for further young Jewish generations.<sup>788</sup>

There is a question if it is possible to thoroughly address the research question from the perspective of family working as a transmitter and preserver of Judaism. Unfortunately, in my opinion, the simple answer is no. Based on the data, it is clear that the family plays a crucial role, but another important aspect is the cultural factor and the possibility of future self-realization for young Jews. Based on the survey, most participants see self-realization in terms of the community in a positive way, but the approach of religious authorities needed to be enhanced in the upcoming years.

A specific group with continuous trouble of being recognized is liberal or reform converts in the Czech Republic and Luxembourg. Being accepted by others is one of the most urgent matters for those people. Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor judges that it is a basic human need to be "recognized" by others, especially by the majority in one's society. In the case of the Jewish minority, however, such "recognition" is primarily a question of recognition by other members of Jewish communities who fulfill strict halachic and orthodox requirements in some cases.<sup>789</sup>

In my opinion, this definition is too narrow and should be complemented by Tamir's thesis, which states that the search for and formation of identity is motivated by uncertainty from the

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<sup>787</sup> HARTMAN, Geoffrey. *The longest shadow: in the aftermath of the Holocaust*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996. p. 8-9.

<sup>788</sup> RACZYMOW, Henri and Alan ASTRO. Memory shot through with holes. *Yale French Studies* [online]. 1994, (85), p. 98-105 [Accessed 2021-6-28]. Available from: [https://www-jstor-org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2930067?sid=primo&origin=crossref&pds=286202114617188495731737242647200&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2930067?sid=primo&origin=crossref&pds=286202114617188495731737242647200&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents).

<sup>789</sup> TAYLOR, Charles. The Politics of Recognition. In: GUTMANN, Amy. *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, **20**(5), p. 25-73.



outside world. I agree with Tamir that individual identity is based not only on the question of Who am I?, but also on the question of Who do I want to be?<sup>790</sup>

Jews in Luxembourg today perceive their identity as culturally rich and religiously thick. There is no problem with a lack of enthusiasm among young people, but as it was written in the *Bulletin* in the 1970s, it is important not to confine Jewish communities into intellectual and religious ghettos.<sup>791</sup> The Jewish community must remain open and universal so that newcomers can integrate safely because (said by Rabbi Emanuel Bulz) Judaism and Jewishness are also matter of strong self-disciplinarity.<sup>792</sup> Luxembourg Jewish authorities have to constantly create a positive atmosphere for newcomers to the Jewish faith in order to increase the numbers of Jewish adherents.

As for religious authorities in the Czech lands, communism did not only affect identity traits, but it primarily damaged human relations and human confidence within Jewish communities. Czech Jews are still struggling with labeling each other in terms of their cooperation with the Communist Secret Service, and the younger generation has retained this even until the present.

## **6.2. Research question: Attitudes towards Israel and notion of home**

Based on the results, it can be judged that Israel as a country still retains a high symbolic value among most participants in my research. This symbolic and political value has developed because of Jewish post-war generations in both countries maintained by intergenerational transmission due to the increasing access to critical information. The Czechoslovak Jewish population observed the transformation of Israel from a mysterious and unknown country full of kibbutzim to a far more objective symbol that has the potential to be for the Jewish diaspora. The country is perceived from many different perspectives (cultural, business, and touristic) and it seems that the religious one is slowly weakening. Luxembourg Jews look at Israel as a thing to which it is important to show a certain loyalty, but as Luxembourg Jewish authorities wrote in the *Kadima*, it is necessary to

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<sup>790</sup> TAMIR, Yael. Some thoughts regarding the phrase: “A quest for identity.” In: KASHTI, Yitzhak, ed. *A quest for identity: post war biographies*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1996, p. 21-50.

<sup>791</sup> Pour l'avenir d'Israël renforçons l'unité du peuple juif. *Bulletin des communautés israéliennes du Luxembourg*. Luxembourg, 1971, p. 1-2.

<sup>792</sup> KARP, Michael. L'entretien avec Emmanuel Bulz. *Kadima*. 1978, (4).

support Israel financially or politically, but not physically, because Luxembourg needs to have a healthy and prosperous Jewish minority.<sup>793</sup>

Besides Israel's symbolic importance, the results of this study confirmed that participants from both countries are not losing interest in Israeli religious and political events. The trend shows that younger Jews visit Israel more often than their parents. Although the CZSJG did not have the same opportunities as their Luxembourgish peers, most of them visited Israel after the fall of the Iron Curtain, and the most loyal advocates of Israeli politics were found in that cohort. Their children visit Israel for various reasons, and religion is not the most important one. They also appreciate the chance to work on their Jewish education and business opportunities.

Political events in Israel are no longer taboo to discuss and are the subject of passionate debate within a Jewish society that seeks to take a concrete stance on Israeli events. The Luxembourg Jewish authorities are trying to place Israel among the values that the Jewish community in Czechoslovakia and Luxembourg could reflect in open debates with the rest of the world. Nevertheless, both communities remain loyal to their home countries and consider them to be provisionally safe. The data show that most participants consider their "home" country to be honored and do not plan to move to Israel permanently in the near future. Some of them are also not convinced that the Israeli religious way of life is suitable for them and their descendants. On the other hand, there is a surprisingly strong bond with the Israeli population.

While Czech Jews justify this support mainly from a political point of view due to the hostile environment that Israel finds itself in — the danger from neighboring states and international organizations — Luxembourg Jews primarily consider Israel to be a multicultural country similar to Luxembourg, with all its strengths and weaknesses. Jews in both Luxembourg and the Czech Republic also see Israel as a symbol of defiance to the "injustice" of international organizations. Although Israel is not without fault in terms of domestic and foreign policy, religious issues, and attitudes toward Jews in the diaspora, it is a place that many consider a shelter for all Jews in the world.

The attitude of left-wing Jews to Israel is interesting. There is a difference between this attitude in Luxembourg and the Czech lands. While some of the left-wing Luxembourgish Jewish authorities

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<sup>793</sup> KARP Michael. L'entretien avec Emmanuel Bulz. *Kadima*. 1978, (4).; LEHRMANN, Charles. Israel und Diaspora. (*RMC*). 1952, p. 3.

considered Israel to be the center of a socially just way of life,<sup>794</sup> their Czechoslovak peers in the Communist Party had a more resistant attitude towards Israel, reinforced by media ideological brainwashing. Jewish media in Czechoslovakia described Israel as a victim of imperialism, whose policies are subject to Western capitalism. They were convinced if Western imperialists had not destroyed left-wing politics, Israel would have become a socialist paradise.<sup>795</sup>

In contrast, Luxembourg Rabbi Charles Lehrmann supports the idea of a strong welfare state, but with democratic intentions. He considers the Luxembourg Jewish community an important “colony” of Israel which should not disappear from the map of Europe.<sup>796</sup> Luxembourg Jewish journalist Paul Cerf also admired Israel for its egalitarian way of life in the 1950s, but he also warned against the excessive influence of orthodox political parties on religious life. He was sure that these religious currents could weaken the position of newcomers from the diaspora.<sup>797</sup>

The relationship with Israel can also be evaluated through the willingness of research participants to move permanently to Israel. Opinions vary quite often here, but most respondents had at least flirted with the idea. However, most respondents eventually stayed in the countries of their parents. Parents and relatives had a major influence on the decisions of the younger generation. Other factors influencing their decision included the family's economic situation, the feeling of the need to rebuild a ruined Jewish life, and ultimately the conflicting experiences of relatives who had traveled to Israel before the war. My research (survey) further confirmed that halachic families along with converts were more interested in moving to Israel because they realized something like a symbolic responsibility to that country. They saw Israel as a country with a potential to find thick and balanced Jewish identities.

The influence of communism and the damaged Jewish identities after the war in Czech lands was considerable, and the possibility of being recognized by the Communist Party was initially attractive to some Jews. Although some experts claim that the Jews had a better

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<sup>794</sup> CERF, Paul. *Nous vous apportons la paix : Impressions d'un voyage en Israël*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Imprimerie Coopérative Luxembourgeoise, 1959. p. 8-9.

<sup>795</sup> For instance: (LEDERER, Viktor. Jubilejní vzpomínání. *Věstník*. 1947, **9**(2), p. 15. ; Stát Izrael, malá země velkých problémů. *Věstník ŽNO*, roč. 12. č. 48. unpag. ; Generální tajemník KS Izraele Mikunis v Praze. *Věstník Židovské obce náboženské v Praze*. 1948, **10**(26). unpag.)

<sup>796</sup> LEHRMANN, Charles. Israel und Diaspora. (*RMC*). 1952, p. 3.

<sup>797</sup> CERF, Paul. *Nous vous apportons la paix : Impressions d'un voyage en Israël*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Imprimerie Coopérative Luxembourgeoise, 1959. p. 8-9.

predisposition to live abroad, this was not the case for all my respondents.<sup>798</sup> Many of them recall the fear of their parents, who could not imagine that they or their children would be able to successfully manage a move to a foreign country. The cultural closeness and remembrance of the dead, along with a degree of rejection of the Jewish "I", led them to a much stronger loyalty to the ruling regime. However, a certain ambivalence and instability after the destruction of their Jewish home forced my respondents to look for their people in other European countries or the USA. However, most of the respondents and narrators changed their place of living after the war, trying to find a home anywhere else.

According to the frequency of answers, the concept of home and its influence on Jewish identity seems fundamental, although it varies between generations. If I were to simply summarize the data obtained to answer the research question, it could be assumed that the second post-war generation especially values cultural and religious closeness along with a certain degree of security. These three essential elements (mentality of the population, cultural proximity, and lastly but importantly, internal and external security) are central to deciding which place to designate as one's homeland. On the other hand, the younger generation sees their homeland as a place where they can realize themselves religiously and career-wise. It is logical that the younger generation is also trying to find a place with opportunities for the healthy development of their offspring. They are more flexible and willing to adapt, for example, to the different religious situation in the country.

### **6.3. *Research question: Antisemitism and its transgenerational influence on Jewish identity***

In order to address the research question in relation to antisemitism, it is necessary to reflect on how Czechoslovak and Luxembourg Jews perceived antisemitism across generations and what influence antisemitism had on the formation and transmission of Jewish identity. While the issues of Israel, home and identity illustrate several inter-diasporic similarities between Luxemburg and Czechoslovak Jews (often predictable and logical), the issue of antisemitism had only one major

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<sup>798</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 84.

similarity in the form of new antisemitism which came to the Czech lands after the Velvet Revolution in 1989. At that time, the hitherto unknown element "new antisemitism" emerged and began shaping the relations of the research cohorts towards Israel and non-Jewish surrounding.

There is a clear intergenerational definition, when the members of the Czechoslovak and Luxembourg second and third generation perceived antisemitism by means of their parents. Czechoslovak research participants see the new antisemitism as continuous hatred of communist anti-Zionism. In contrast, Luxembourg Jews have been facing this sort of antisemitism on university campuses which made them feel threatened, discomfort and disappointment. The research shows that new antisemitism in the academic environment is detrimental and compels Jewish students to defend themselves, such as through the establishment of NGO groups and associations that defend Jewish integrity and the Israeli state.

In the Czech Republic, there are a certain number of Jews who encounter antisemitism regularly on the Internet and on social media. They encounter both classical prejudices and stereotypes against so-called omnipotent Jews controlling all sources of power including the media, the stock market and politics. Two of the Czechoslovak narrators (a convert and a non-Halachic Jew) often met with the accusation that all Jews in Eastern Europe are Soros' henchmen.<sup>799</sup> Nevertheless, the findings from the survey indicate that there is a gradual marginalization of antisemitism among young Jewish generations. The latent form of antisemitism pursuing Jewish people corresponds with Wistrich's theory of "antisemitism without Jews." However, slurs, insults against Israel are often more aggressive than physical violence because they are unpunishable. It has made it so that many of those who experienced the harshest manifestations of antisemitism (prejudices against alleged political and financial power) tend to neglect the new antisemitism of the last two decades, arguing that the treatment pales in comparison to antisemitic occurrences after the war or in the 1960s. There is also an interesting aspect of antisemitism neglect, which means that the "thicker" Jewish identity, the bigger tendency to neglect antisemitism.

More specifically, I suggest that the Czechoslovak Jewish post-war generations suffered from the "etching" effect of Jewish belonging. By this I mean that continuous fear rooted within

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<sup>799</sup> George Soros is a successful businessman and billionaire facing public condemnations of being involved in international politics.

the hidden chamber of Jewishness keeps the phenomenon of self-hatred alive. The strange thing is that this phenomenon did not disappear definitively with the advent of democracy, but became rooted in Jewish families, where it influenced the upbringing of the emerging third and fourth post-war generations. For example, many interviewees said that attempts at Jewish education failed because of the neighborhood's fear of antisemitism, to which the offspring would be exposed if they freely professed the Jewish faith, and it is better not to stand out from the crowd.

This sort of internalized antisemitism was not rare among the respondents and was connected with the phenomenon of Jewish self-hatred, which evidently did not completely disappear from contemporary Czech and Luxembourg Jewish society. These internal family conflicts are more influential and important to many participants than the occasional injuries and allusions they heard in childhood from friends, teachers, or neighbors.

In contrast, the Luxembourgish generation faced what I call cross-border antisemitism. The members of the Luxembourg Jewish communities do not perceive antisemitism in Luxembourg in any way tragically (especially liberals in Esch-sur-Alzette), but rather perceive it as a danger that may come to Luxembourg from neighboring states. This feeling is long-lasting, illustrating the fear of other family members scattered in European states (near Luxembourg), especially France and Belgium.

#### **6.4. Contribution to contemporary academic literature and scientific discourse**

The aim of the work was to enrich Luxembourgish historiography on the history of the Jewish community in this country, with a study of testimonies and surveys of the historical actors themselves. It adds a new perspectives to the studies of the Jewish community in Luxembourg published by other experts such as Renée Wagener.<sup>800</sup> The work also partly deals with the particular issue of assimilation and de-assimilation towards Israel. This topic has been partly elaborated by Laurent Moyse and Marc Schoentgen<sup>801</sup> who analyze the attitudes of Luxembourgish Jews towards the state of Israel and administration right after World War II. Both

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<sup>800</sup> WAGENER, Renée. *Die jüdische Minderheit in Luxemburg und das Gleichheitsprinzip: Staatsbürgerliche Emanzipation vs. staatliche und gesellschaftliche Praxis vom 19. bis zum Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Hagen, 2017. Dissertation. Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften der FernUniversität in Hagen.

<sup>801</sup> MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001.

historical publications are based on fundamental research in the archives in Luxembourg and neighboring countries. In contrast to their work, my PhD thesis fills a knowledge gap in the subjective social and historical views of Luxembourg's Jewish post-war generations dealing with attitudes towards Israel and homeland and Luxembourg.

Besides Israel and the notion of homeland, this thesis also complements an extensive monograph by Lucien Blau, who address the issues of antisemitism only from the point of view of the extreme right. His work did not provide a complex overview of post-war antisemitic incidents, but it illustrates several incidents occurred before and after the war or in the 1950s.

As for the matter of transformation of Jewish identity and Jewish collective, this work is one of the first in the Luxembourg context. Unfortunately, due to the limited amount of literature on this topic, the scope of this project cannot be directly compared to that of similar studies [in neighboring countries?] performed by other scholars.

As for the state of knowledge on the subject in the Czech Republic, a wide range of authors, for instance, Peter Halama,<sup>802</sup> Blanka Soukupová and Alena Heitlinger, dealt with Czech and Slovak Jewish identities in depth. Blanka Soukupová addresses the issue of damaged Jewish post-war identities in her extensive work describing the Jewish post-war community in the Czech lands from various perspectives (political, cultural, and anthropological).

The uniqueness of my work is in the comparative approach, providing empirical data for the historical and sociological generalization and partial Jewish classification. The comparative method cannot draw exact conclusions about the Jewish transformation but rather points to trends that may partially intersect with other Jewish communities in the diaspora. I argue that scientists should not only focus on "historically" similar Jewish communities, for example in Poland<sup>803</sup> and Hungary,<sup>804</sup> but that there is also a possibility to make comparisons within other Western European countries.

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<sup>802</sup> He focused on the reflection of the Holocaust in Czech cultural memory from the perspective of Jewish post-war monuments and memorials. He states that it would be good to supplement his work with interviews of witnesses and compare his archival research with an individual perspective. (HALLAMA, Peter. *Národní hrdinové - židovské oběti: holokaust v české kulturní paměti*. Přeložil Petr DVOŘÁČEK. Praha: NLN, 2020. *Židé - dějiny - paměť*.)

<sup>803</sup> GUDONIS, Marius. *Constructing Jewish Identity in Post-Communist Poland: Symbolic Jewishness or Cosmopolitan Polishness*. *East European Jewish Affairs* [online]. 2001, **31**(2), p. 42-54 [Accessed. 2019-03-18]. Available from: doi:10.1080/13501670108577949.

<sup>804</sup> KOVÁCS, András. *Communism's Jewish Question: Jewish Issues in Communist Archives: European-Jewish Studies. Editions* [online]. München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2017, [Accessed. 2020-02-11]. Available from: <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?authtype=shib&custid=s1240919&profile=eds>.

My project is a continuation of Alena Heitlinger's study,<sup>805</sup> especially the chosen methodology, which enriches the reflection on third Jewish post-war generations trying to find intergenerational trends maintained since the end of the war until the present. Another goal of this project was to bring information about the life of the Luxembourg Jewish community to the Czech scientific discourse. Based on a review of the literature, the Czech scientific community knows relatively little about Luxembourg's Jewish history, and this work has the ambition to acquaint Czech historians and sociologists with the fate of the lesser-known Jewish diaspora communities in Europe.

As for the international perspective of the Jewish community in Luxembourg, it did not have to get along with such danger like their Jewish adherents in Western European countries (France and Belgium). French Jews have been facing growing antisemitism in recent decades since the end of World War II. The situation worsened in the 1950s after the Suez Crisis.<sup>806</sup> Recent sociological surveys show that French society considers the Jewish minority to be a regressive element, rejecting cultural and religious assimilation. This fact confronts French Jews as to what will happen to their Jewish way of life and whether they want to stay in France.<sup>807</sup> In contrast, Luxembourgish Jews do not have to deal with this issue as much, and most of them consider Luxembourg to be a safe and friendly country. However, latent fear has already crossed Luxembourg's borders, and many fear they will have to deal with similar issues as their French peers in the near future.

Besides the publications of Renée Wagener, Blanka Soukupová and Alena Heitlinger described above, another inspiring work was the publication of sociologist Katka Reszke. She undertook fundamental research of the Polish Jewish community with the aim of analyzing individual phases of transformation of Jewish Polish identities. However, her research is based exclusively on personal interviews and it mainly reflects on the conditions of Jewish narrative identity in Poland. Unlike my PhD project, there is no survey dealing with intergenerational comparison as well, as she did not attempt to compare Jewish identities of Polish third generation

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<sup>805</sup> HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006.

<sup>806</sup> MAYER, Nonna. Nouvelle judéophobie ou vieil antisémitisme?. *Raisons politiques* [online]. Paris: Presses de Sciences, 2004, 16(4), p. 91-103 [Accessed. 2020-02-06]. Available from: doi:10.3917/rai.016.0091

<sup>807</sup> GRYNBERG, Anne. Des signes de résurgence de l'antisémitisme dans la France de l'après-guerre (1945-1953) ?. *Les Cahiers de la Shoah* [online]. Paris: Les Belles lettres, 2001, 5(1), p. 171-223 [Accessed 2020-02-06]. Available from: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-les-cahiers-de-la-shoah-2001-1-page-171.htm>



with anything else. Her work primarily seeks to analyze the issues of ethnicity and authenticity and examines the chosen social cohort primarily from a sociological, anthropological and psychological perspective.<sup>808</sup>

This project has been also influenced by several works by Marius Gudonis, who also developed the issue of Jewish identity, Judaism, assimilation and collective memory among Polish Jews. Although his method is based on an intergenerational comparison of interviews with selected Polish witnesses, he lacks any work with historical documents and examines a relatively narrow circle of narrators (12).<sup>809</sup>

The list of relevant literature cannot be definitive for obvious reasons. The issue of Jewish identity is very extensive and has been widely researched in recent years. My conclusions are only a starting point, and there is much potential for future research. As already mentioned, all research participants are in a process of constant transformation, which is relatively dynamic, especially in younger years, and can lead to major reversals. The newly emerging Orthodox<sup>810</sup> or, on the contrary, liberally progressive communities also play a role within Jewish communities in Luxembourg and the Czech Republic, which I argue will determine the direction in which the Jewish community will move in the coming years. The small, often unindexed archives of Jewish communities in the Czech lands also have great potential. However, the researcher encounters ever-expanding caution and distrust on the part of Jewish authorities. Smaller and more precisely targeted professional works can bring more concrete insight into individual issues, both in terms of identity, through the spreading new antisemitism to the role of Israel in Jewish life in the diaspora. It would also be worth noting how future orthodox Jews, together with converts, will influence the religious and cultural life of both the communities studied.

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<sup>808</sup> RESZKE, Katka. *Return of the Jew: Identity Narratives of the Third Post-Holocaust Generation of Jews in Poland* [online]. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2019 [Accessed. 2020-06-12]. Available from: doi:doi:10.1515/9781644690420.

<sup>809</sup>Compare: (GUDONIS, Marius. Constructing Jewish identity in post-communist Poland part 1: deassimilation without depolonization. *East European Jewish Affairs*. [online]. Routledge, 2001, **31**(1), p. 1-14. Available from: doi:10.1080/13501670108577931; GUDONIS, Marius. Constructing Jewish Identity in Post-Communist Poland: Symbolic Jewishness or Cosmopolitan Polishness. *East European Jewish Affairs* [online]. 2001, **31**(2), p. 42-54 [Accessed. 2019-03-18]. ISSN 1350-1674. Available from: doi:10.1080/13501670108577949).

<sup>810</sup>In the Czech Republic and Luxembourg, the most prominent representative of orthodoxy is the Chabad House in Prague and the Chabad Lubavitch in Luxembourg. Nevertheless, there are individuals who separate from these groups.

Another gap in current research is a closer historical analysis of the late 1980s. This period can generally be perceived as largely unexplored from the point of view of Czech and Luxembourg Jews, both culturally and politically. Another interesting topic is the period of the 1990s and especially the religious and political changes in Jewish communities in the Czech lands. Although the Luxembourg Jewish community did not experience as strong a social transformation as the Czech peers after the Velvet Revolution, it did not have to face as much political change as its Czech peers. There is still ample room for further research into modern Jewish history. For example, there is a lack of information on the cultural and religious influence of Eastern Jews from the former Soviet satellites on Jewish elites in Luxembourg. Private archives show that such influences existed and developed in the early 1990s. Furthermore, there remains a lack of at least a case study which, on the basis of archival sources, would more specifically analyze the role of the state of Luxembourg in the renewal of the Luxembourg Jewish community.

As for the fundamental changes in the relationship between the Luxembourgish government and the Jewish Consistory, it is worth drawing attention to the agreement concluded between the two parties. The aim of the agreement was to find a solution to all unresolved issues with Holocaust restitutions. This agreement introduces an interesting opportunity for scientists and experts because the Luxembourg government will grant two million euros for research on Jewish life in Luxembourg in the upcoming two years.<sup>811</sup>

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<sup>811</sup> Luxembourg signs agreement on Outstanding Holocaust Asset Issues. *IHRA* [online]. Berlin: IHRA, 2021 [Accessed 2021-9-4]. Available from: <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/news-archive/luxembourg-signs-agreement-outstanding-holocaust-asset-issues>.

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70 ACI Rappports 1946/60: Sitzung vom 17.4.1947.

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ACI 1946/1960: meetings on December 8, 1947 and September 16, 1948.

Personal Archive Laurent Moyse.



## 8. ANNEXE

1. The tables and graphs
2. The draft of questionnaire (English version)
3. The draft of questions for semi-structured interviews (English version)

Table 6: Have you ever visited Israel? - CZSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	81%	81
No	19%	19
	Answered	100

Table 7: Attitude towards Israel - CZSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I identify with the fate of people living in Israel. <sup>812</sup>	75%	75
I have some objections to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states. <sup>813</sup>	29%	29
I agree with Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states <sup>814</sup>	47%	47
I agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. <sup>815</sup>	32%	32
I disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians <sup>816</sup>	23%	23
I think that all Jews should live in Israel. <sup>817</sup>	4%	4
I support the creation of an independent Palestinian state. <sup>818</sup>	32%	32
I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state. <sup>819</sup>	17%	17
I do not have any special relationship with Israel. <sup>820</sup>	5%	5
Other opinions (respondents who added comments.) <sup>821</sup>	22%	22
	Answered	286 (100)

812 38 halachic r., 30 non-halachic r., 7 converts.

813 11 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

814 31 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 6 converts.

815 16 halachic r., 11 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

816 5 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r. and 8 converts.

817 4 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r. and 0 convert.

818 15 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

819 10 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 2. converts.

820 2 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

821 9 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

Table 8: Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?- CZSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes <sup>822</sup>	26%	26
Yes, some of my relatives have made the return (Aliyah) to Israel. <sup>823</sup>	21%	21
Yes, but in the end we did not complete the return due to financial issues. <sup>824</sup>	1%	1
Yes, but in the end we stayed in Europe due to personal reasons. <sup>825</sup>	11%	11
No <sup>826</sup>	21%	21
No, my family stayed in the same place as before the occupation. <sup>827</sup>	2%	2
No, but we changed our place of residence (country, city). Before the war we used to live elsewhere. <sup>828</sup>	18%	18
Prefer not to say.	0%	0
	Answered	100

Table 9: What aspects are important to you when considering a home country? - CZSJG

Answer Choices	Total	Weighted Average
Cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment	100	3,32
Climate	97	2,96
Religious environment	98	2,78
Relatives	95	3,05
Mentality of most of the population	96	3,12

822 9 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

823 13 halachic r., 7 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

824 1 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

825 7 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

826 8 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

827 0 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

828 7 halachic r., 7 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

Employment and business opportunities	100	3,09
Internal and external security	97	3,51
	Answered	100

Table 10: Have you ever visited Israel? - CZTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	92%	92
No	8%	8
	Answered	100

Table 11: Attitudes towards Israel - CZTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I identify with the fate of people living in Israel. <sup>829</sup>	65%	65
I have some objections to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states. <sup>830</sup>	37%	37
I agree with Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states <sup>831</sup>	55%	55
I agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. <sup>832</sup>	28%	28
I disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians <sup>833</sup>	35%	35
I think that all Jews should live in Israel. <sup>834</sup>	7%	7
I support the creation of an independent Palestinian state. <sup>835</sup>	42%	42
I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state. <sup>836</sup>	8%	8
I do not have any special relationship with Israel. <sup>837</sup>	3%	3

829 30 halachic r., 27 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

830 10 halachic r., 14 non-halachic r., 13 converts.

831 22 halachic r., 20 non-halachic r., 13 converts.

832 15 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

833 12 halachic r., 17 non-halachic r., 6 converts.

834 7 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

835 18 halachic r., 16 non-halachic, 8 converts .

836 6 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

837 1 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

Other opinions (respondents who added some comments.) <sup>838</sup>	23%	23
	Answered	(303)100

Table 12: Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948? - CZTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes <sup>839</sup>	26%	26
Yes, some of my relatives have made the return (Aliyah) to Israel. <sup>840</sup>	23%	23
Yes, but in the end, we did not complete the return due to financial issues. <sup>841</sup>	1%	1
Yes, but in the end, we stayed in Europe due to personal reasons. <sup>842</sup>	13%	13
No <sup>843</sup>	26%	26
No, my family stayed in the same place as before the occupation. <sup>844</sup>	8%	8
No, but we changed our place of residence (country, city). Before the war, we used to live elsewhere. <sup>845</sup>	3%	3
Prefer not to say.	0%	0
	Answered	100

Table 13: What aspects are important to you when considering a home country? - CZTJG

Answer Choices	Total	Weighted Average
Cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment	85	4,17
Climate	87	2,21

838 8 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 11 converts.

839 11 halachic r., 10 non-halachic, 5 converts.

840 6 halachic r., 11 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

841 1 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

842 4 halachic r., 7 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

843 8 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

844 2 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

845 1 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

Religious environment	84	3,84
Relatives	100	3,96
Mentality of most of the population	88	4,23
Employment and business opportunities	100	3,97
Internal and external security	87	2,73
	Answered	100

Table 14: Have you ever visited Israel? - LSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	89%	89
No	11%	11
	Answered	100

Table 15: Attitudes towards Israel - LSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I identify with the fate of people living in Israel. <sup>846</sup>	68%	68
I have some objections to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring state. <sup>847</sup>	65%	65
I agree with Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states. <sup>848</sup>	35%	35
I agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. <sup>849</sup>	48%	48
I disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians <sup>850</sup>	52%	52
I think that all Jews should live in Israel. <sup>851</sup>	8%	8

846 43 halachic r., 16 halachic 9 converts.

847 29 halachic r., 22 non-halachic r., 14 converts .

848 15 halachic r., 13 halachic r., 7 converts.

849 21 halachic r., 15 non-halachic r., 12 converts.

850 25 halachic r., 17 non-halachic r., 10 converts.

851 6 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

I support the creation of an independent Palestinian state. <sup>852</sup>	64%	64
I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state. <sup>853</sup>	36%	36
I do not have any special relationship with Israel. <sup>854</sup>	4%	4
Other (please specify) <sup>855</sup>	25%	25
	Respondents	(405) 100

Table 16: Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948? LSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes <sup>856</sup>	26%	26
Yes, some of my relatives have made the return (Aliyah) to Israel. <sup>857</sup>	12%	12
Yes, but in the end, we did not complete the return due to financial issues. <sup>858</sup>	9%	9
Yes, but in the end, we stayed in Europe due to personal reasons. <sup>859</sup>	15%	15
No <sup>860</sup>	23%	23
No, my family stayed in the same place as before the occupation. <sup>861</sup>	1%	1
No, but we changed our place of residence (country, city). Before the war, we used to live elsewhere. <sup>862</sup>	14%	14
Prefer not to say.	0%	0
	Answered	100

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852 28 halachic r., 22 non-halachic r., 14 converts.

853 10 halachic r., 9 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

854 4 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

855 12 halachic r., 6 non-halachic r., 7 converts.

856 14 halachic r., 11 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

857 8 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

858 4 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

859 7 halachic r., 6 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

860 12 halachic r., 6 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

861 0 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

862 10 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

Table 17: What aspects are important for you to call a country your home? LSJG

Answer choices	Total	Weighted Average
Cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment	100	3,55
Climate	93	2,35
Religious environment	100	3,65
Relatives	94	3,75
Mentality of most of the population	100	3,65
Employment and business opportunities	92	3,39
Internal and external security	92	3,47
	Answered	100

Table 18: Have you ever visited Israel?- LTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	96%	96
No	4%	4
	Answered	100

Table 19: Attitudes towards Israel - LTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I identify with the fate of people living in Israel. <sup>863</sup>	52%	52
I have some objections to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring state. <sup>864</sup>	47%	47
I agree with Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states. <sup>865</sup>	54%	54

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863 40 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 10 converts.

864 21 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

865 36 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 6 converts.



I agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. <sup>866</sup>	35%	35
I disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians <sup>867</sup>	66%	66
I think that all Jews should live in Israel. <sup>868</sup>	12%	12
I support the creation of an independent Palestinian state. <sup>869</sup>	61%	61
I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state. <sup>870</sup>	31%	31
I do not have any special relationship with Israel. <sup>871</sup>	2%	2
	Respondents	(360)100

Table 20: Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?- LTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes <sup>872</sup>	24%	24
Yes, some of my relatives have made the return (Aliyah) to Israel. <sup>873</sup>	15%	15
Yes, but in the end, we did not complete the return due to financial issues. <sup>874</sup>	9%	9
Yes, but in the end, we stayed in Europe due to personal reasons. <sup>875</sup>	12%	12
No <sup>876</sup>	22%	22
No, my family stayed in the same place as before the occupation. (Nazi occupation of Luxembourg)	0%	0
No, but we changed our place of residence (country, city). Before the war, we used to live elsewhere. <sup>877</sup>	19%	19
Prefer not to say. <sup>878</sup>	1%	1

866 15 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 7 converts.

867 28 halachic r., 20 non-halachic r., 18 converts.

868 12 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 non-halachic r.

869 35 halachic r., 14 non-halachic r., 12 converts.

870 25 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

871 0 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

872 15 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

873 9 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

874 4 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

875 8 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

876 7 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 11 converts.

877 7 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 9 converts.

878 0 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

	Answered	100
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Table 21: What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?- LTJG

Answer Choices	Total	Weighted Average
Cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment	96	4,23
Climate	94	1,89
Religious environment	100	4,09
Relatives	96	4,16
Mentality of most of the population	95	2,86
Employment and business opportunities	100	4,26
Internal and external security	96	2,84
	Answered	100

Table 22: Do you have any personal experience with antisemitism?- CZSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes <sup>879</sup>	70%	70
No <sup>880</sup>	30%	30
	Answered	100

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879 37 halachic r., 22 non-halachic r., 11 converts

880 8 halachic r., 16 non-halachic r., 8 converts

Table 23: If so, indicate on the scale where antisemitism was the most intensive. - CZSJG

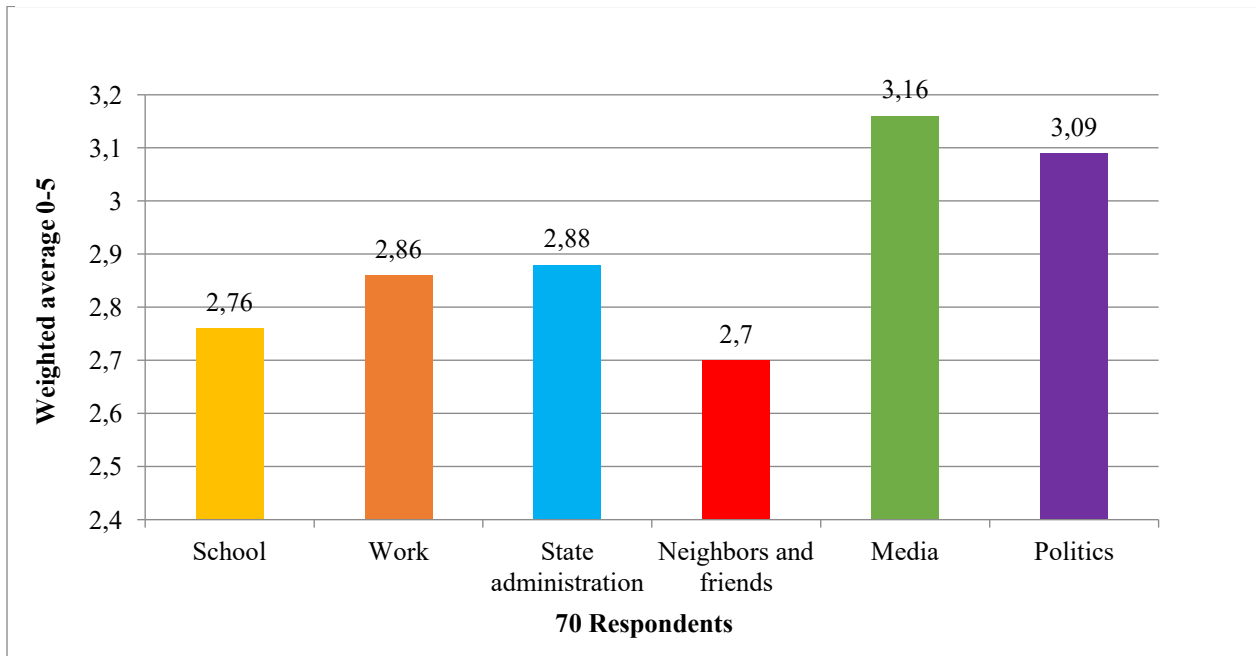


Table 24: What form did you experience antisemitism?- CZSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Swearing/insults <sup>881</sup>	40%	28
Threats <sup>882</sup>	28,6%	20
Physical violence <sup>883</sup>	11,5%	8
Interrogation <sup>884</sup>	3%	2
Other (Please, specify) <sup>885</sup>	10%	12
	Answered	70

Table 25: Do you have any personal experience of antisemitism?- CZTJG

Answer Choices	Responses
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881 15 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

882 11 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

883 4 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

884 1 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

885 8 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

Yes	59%	59
No	41%	41
	Answered	100

Table 26: If so, indicate on the scale where antisemitism was the most intensive. - CZTJG

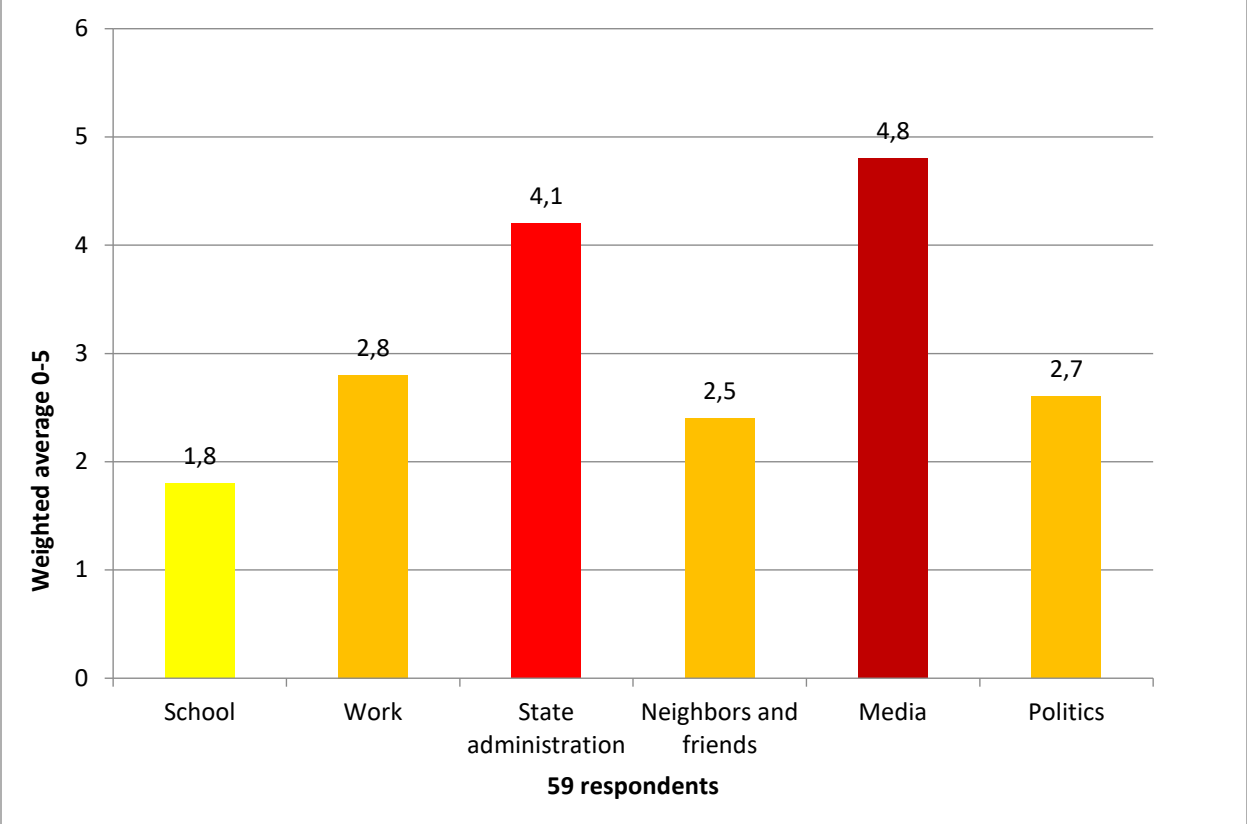


Table 27: What form did you experience antisemitism? - CZTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Swearing/insults <sup>886</sup>	37,2 %	22
Threats <sup>887</sup>	41,7 %	24
Physical violence <sup>888</sup>	6,7 %	4
Investigation <sup>889</sup>	5,1 %	3
Other, please specify <sup>890</sup>	10,2 %	6
	Answered	59

Table 28: Do you have any personal experience of antisemitism? - LSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes <sup>891</sup>	64%	64
No <sup>892</sup>	36%	36
	Answered	100

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886 9 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

887 11 halachic r., 9 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

888 2 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

889 2 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

890 2 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

891 41 halachic r., 17 non-halachic r., 6 converts.

892 14 halachic r., 14 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

Table 29: If so, indicate on the scale where antisemitism was the most intensive?- LSJG

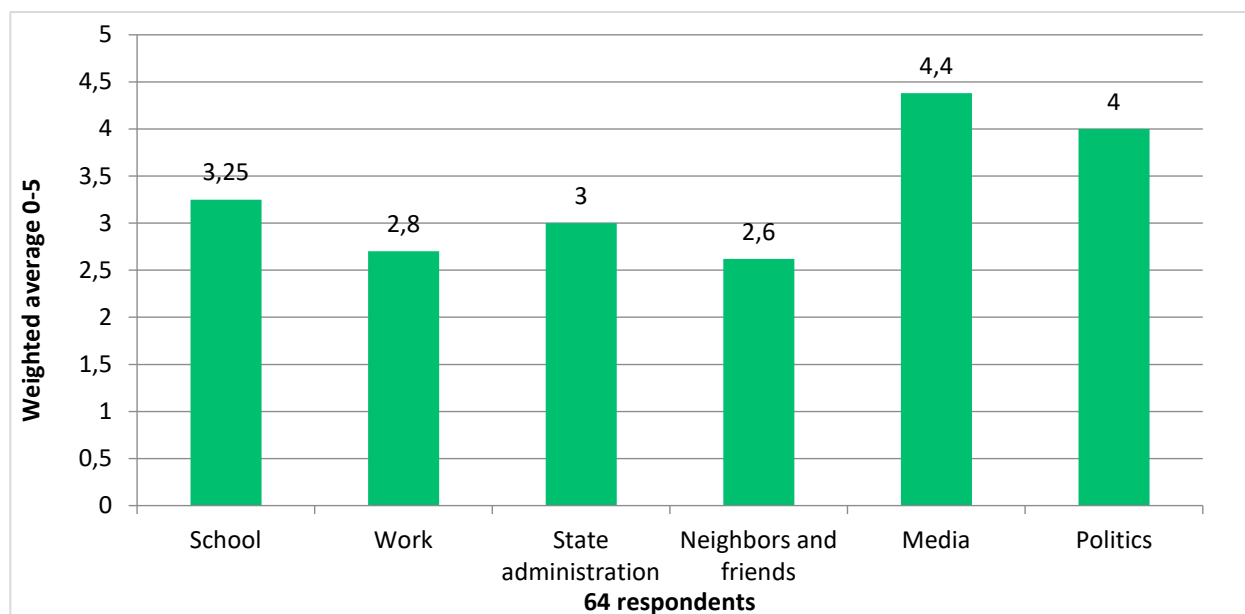


Table 30: What form did you experience antisemitism?- LSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Swearing/insults <sup>893</sup>	43,8 %	28
Threats <sup>894</sup>	34,4 %	22
Physical violence <sup>895</sup>	6,3 %	4
Other, please specify <sup>896</sup>	15,6 %	10
	Answered	64

893 17 halachic r., 6 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

894 15 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

895 3 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

896 6 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

Table 31: Do you have any personal experience of antisemitism?- LTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	55%	55
No	45%	45
	Answered	100

Table 32: If so, indicate on the scale where antisemitism was the most intensive LTJG

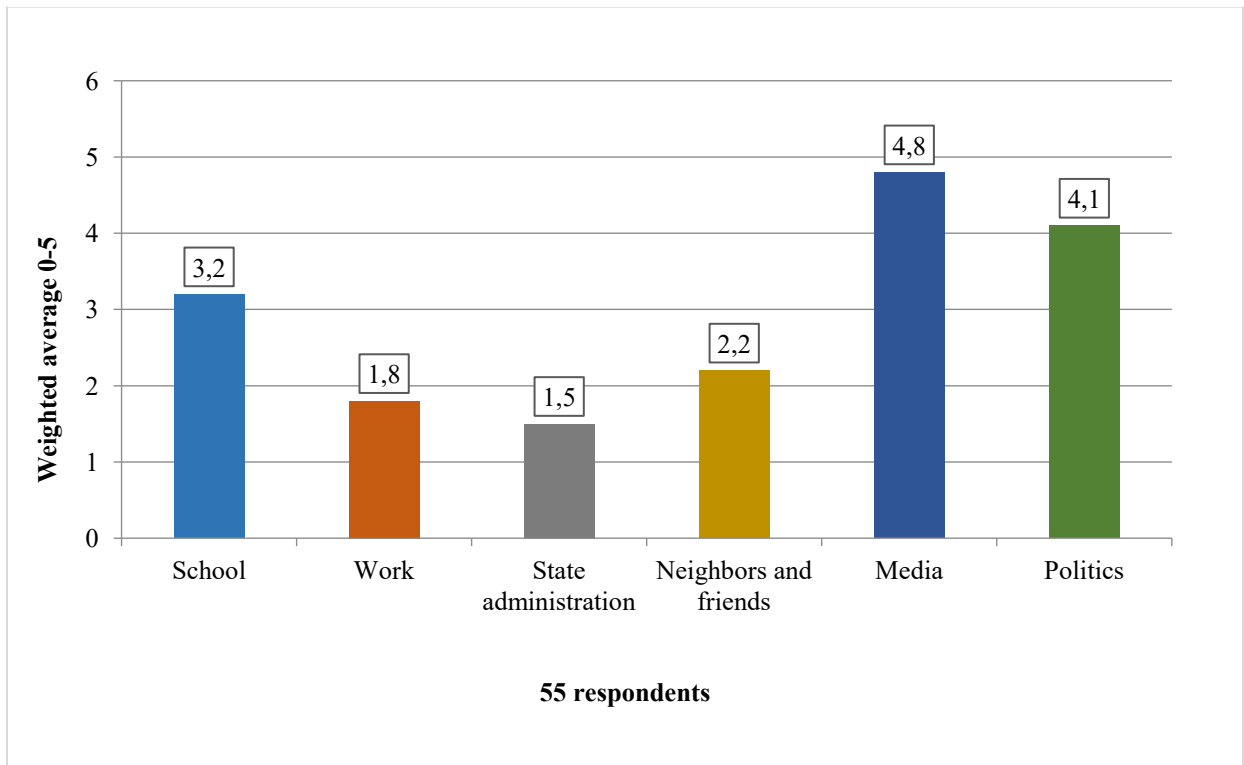


Table 33: What form did you experience antisemitism?- LTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
Swearing/insults <sup>897</sup>	36,4%	20

897 11 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

Threats <sup>898</sup>	43,6%	24
Physical violence <sup>899</sup>	7,3%	4
Other (Please specify) <sup>900</sup>	12,7%	7
	Answered	55

Table 34: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up? - CZSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism. <sup>901</sup>	23%	23
I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents, we belong to lukewarm practicing Jewish families (we attended the synagogue very irregularly). <sup>902</sup>	49%	49
I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances <sup>903</sup>	6%	6
I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records <sup>904</sup>	5%	5
I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew) <sup>905</sup>	5%	5
I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert) <sup>906</sup>	4%	4
Other (please specify) <sup>907</sup>	8%	8
	Answered	100

898 12 halachic r., 7 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

899 2 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

900 4 halachic r., 2 converts 1 convert.

901 16 halachic r., 7 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

902 20 halachic respondents, 19 non-halachic respondents, 10 converts.

903 2 halachic respondents, 4 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

904 2 halachic respondent, 3 non-halachic respondent, 0 convert.

905 5 halachic respondents, 0 non-halachic respondent, 0 convert.

906 0 halachic respondent, 3 non-halachic respondents, 1 converts.

907 0 halachic respondent, 0 non-halachic respondent, 8 converts.



Table 35: What or who forms your Jewish identity? - CZSJG

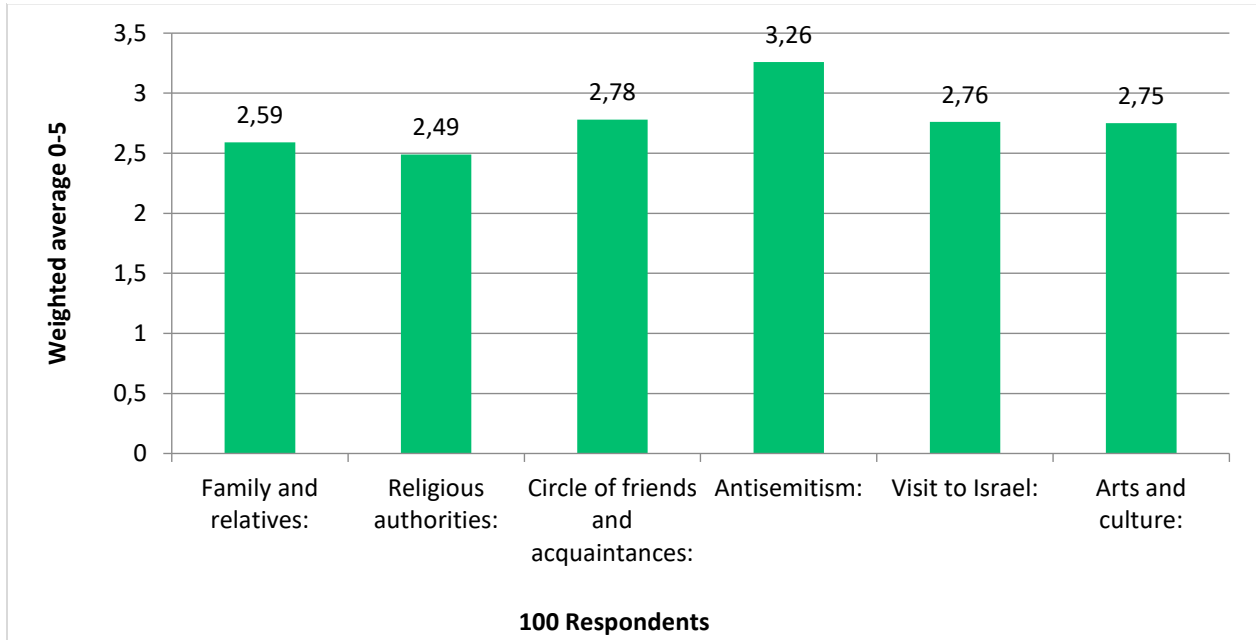


Table 36: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays? - CZSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I attend synagogue regularly <sup>908</sup>	21%	21
I attend synagogue only during the High Holidays <sup>909</sup>	37%	37
I keep kosher <sup>910</sup>	14%	14
I keep Shabbat <sup>911</sup>	13%	13

908 16 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

909 26 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

910 8 halachic r., 2 non-halachic respondents, 4 converts.

911 0 halachic r., 13 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays <sup>912</sup>	8%	8
I do not celebrate any Jewish religious holidays <sup>913</sup>	28%	28
I celebrate only some Jewish holidays (Please, state which ones) <sup>914</sup>	56%	56
	Answered	(177) 100

Table 37: At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism?- CZSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
6-13 years <sup>915</sup>	26%	26
14-18 years <sup>916</sup>	34%	34
18-21 years <sup>917</sup>	15%	15
21> <sup>918</sup>	10%	10
I am not interested in Judaism <sup>919</sup>	5%	5
Other (please specify) <sup>920</sup>	10%	10
	Answered	100

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912 6 halachic Jews, 2 converts, 0 non-halachic Jews.

913 9 halachic r., 19 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

914 29 halachic r., 18 non-halachic r., 9 converts.

915 Marked by 17 halachic respondents, 6 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

916 Marked by 16 halachic respondents, 14 non-halachic respondents, 2 converts.

917 Marked by 2 halachic respondents, 3 non halachic respondents, 3 converts.

918 Marked by 4 halachic respondents, 7 non-halachic respondents, 9 converts .

919 Marked by 1 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

920 Marked by 5 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondents, 5 converts.

Table 38: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up? - CZTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism. <sup>921</sup>	12%	12
I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents, we do not belong to practicing Jewish families (we attended the synagogue very rarely). <sup>922</sup>	23%	23
I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances <sup>923</sup>	15%	15
I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records <sup>924</sup>	11%	11
I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew) <sup>925</sup>	7%	7
I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert) <sup>926</sup>	20%	20
Other (please specify) <sup>927</sup>	6%	6
	Answered	100

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921 8 halachic respondents, 4 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

922 9 halachic Jews, 14 non-halachic Jews, 0 converts.

923 5 halachic respondents, 10 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

924 3 halachic respondents, 4 non-halachic respondents, 4 converts.

925 7 halachic respondents, 0 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

926 0 halachic respondent, 8 non-halachic respondents, 12 converts.

927 2 halachic respondent, 1 non-halachic respondents, 3 converts.

Table 39: What or who forms your Jewish identity? - CZTJG

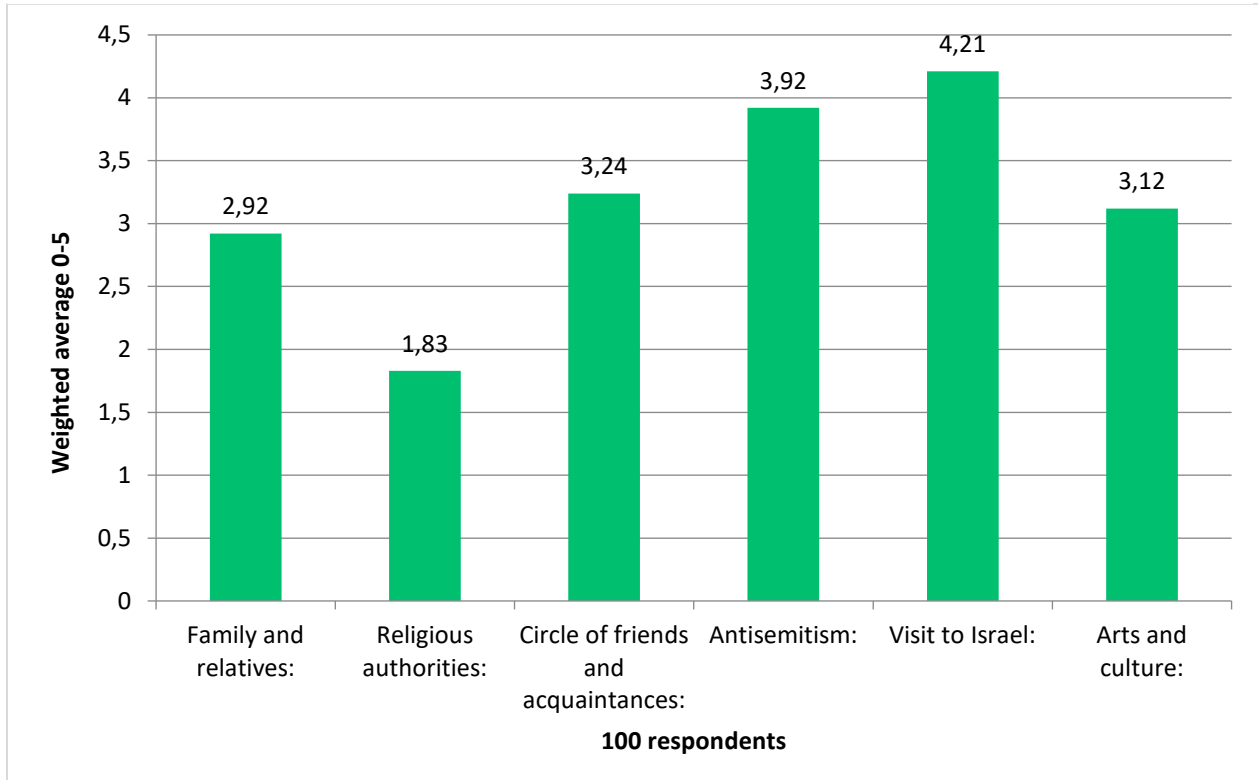


Table 40: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays? - CZTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I attend synagogue regularly <sup>928</sup>	22%	22
I attend synagogue only during the High Holidays <sup>929</sup>	30%	30
I keep kosher <sup>930</sup>	15%	15

928 16 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

929 13 halachic r., 16 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

930 8 halachic r., 1 non-halachic respondents, 6 converts.

I keep Shabbat <sup>931</sup>	38%	38
I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays <sup>932</sup>	10%	10
I do not celebrate any Jewish religious holidays <sup>933</sup>	19%	19
I celebrate only some Jewish holidays (Please, state which ones) <sup>934</sup>	46%	46
	Answered	(180) 100

Table 41: At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism?- CZTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
6-13 years <sup>935</sup>	14%	14
14-18 years <sup>936</sup>	28%	28
18-21 years <sup>937</sup>	22%	22
21> <sup>938</sup>	25%	25
I am not interested in Judaism <sup>939</sup>	1%	1
Other (please specify) <sup>940</sup>	10%	10
	Answered	100

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931 20 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 10 convert.

932 6 halachic Jews, 2 converts, 0 non-halachic Jews.

933 9 halachic r., 19 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

934 29 halachic r., 18 non-halachic r., 9 converts.

935 9 halachic respondents, 5 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

936 18 halachic respondents, 8 non-halachic respondents, 2 converts.

937 2 halachic respondents, 15 non-halachic respondents, 5 converts.

938 1 halachic respondent, 10 non-halachic respondent, 14 converts.

939 1 halachic respondent, 0 non-halachic respondent, 0 convert.

940 3 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondent, 4 converts.

Table 42: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up? - LSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism. <sup>941</sup>	29%	29
I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents, we belong to “liberal” Jewish families (we attended the synagogue irregularly). <sup>942</sup>	32%	32
I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances <sup>943</sup>	4%	4
I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records <sup>944</sup>	3%	3
I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew) <sup>945</sup>	12%	12
I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert) <sup>946</sup>	14%	14
Other (please specify) <sup>947</sup>	6%	6
	Answered	100

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941 24 halachic respondents, 5 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

942 19 halachic respondents, 10 non-halachic respondents, 3 converts.

943 0 halachic respondent, 3 non-halachic respondents, 1 convert.

944 0 halachic respondent, 2 non-halachic respondent, 1 convert.

945 12 halachic respondents, 0 non-halachic respondent, 0 convert.

946 0 halachic respondent, 6 non-halachic respondents, 8 converts.

947 0 halachic respondent, 5 non-halachic respondents, 1 convert.

Table 43: What or who forms your Jewish identity?- LSJG

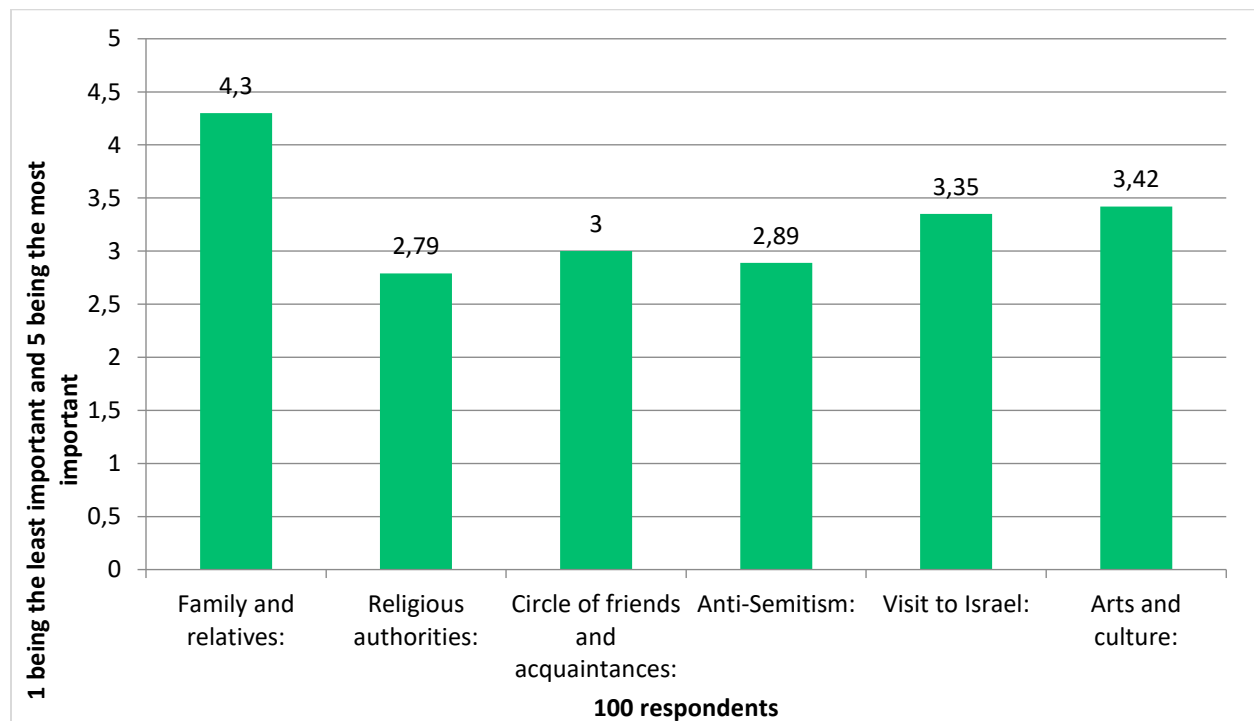


Table 44: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays?- LSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I attend synagogue regularly <sup>948</sup>	26%	26
I only attend synagogue during the High Holidays <sup>949</sup>	32%	32
I keep kosher <sup>950</sup>	21%	21
I keep Shabbat <sup>951</sup>	29%	29
I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays <sup>952</sup>	23%	23

948 17 halachic respondents, 2 non-halachic respondents, 6 converts.

949 12 halachic respondents, 10 non-halachic respondents, 10 converts.

950 13 halachic respondents, 2 non-halachic respondents, 6 converts.

951 15 halachic respondent, 5 non-halachic respondents, 9 convert.

952 15 halachic respondents, 0 non-halachic respondents, 8 converts.

I do not celebrate any Jewish religious holidays <sup>953</sup>	5%	5
I celebrate only some Jewish holidays (please state which ones) <sup>954</sup>	34%	34
	Answered	170 (100)

Table 45: At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism? - LSJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
6-13 years <sup>955</sup>	27%	27
14-18 years <sup>956</sup>	32%	32
18-21 years <sup>957</sup>	15%	15
21+ <sup>958</sup>	12%	12
I am not interested in Judaism <sup>959</sup>	5%	5
Other (please specify) <sup>960</sup>	8%	9
	Answered	100

Table 46: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up? - LTJG

Answer Choices	Responses
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953 2 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

954 18 halachic respondents, 11 non-halachic respondents, 5 converts.

955 22 halachic respondents, 5 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

956 19 halachic respondents, 11 non-halachic respondents, 2 converts.

957 10 halachic Jews, 3 non-halachic respondents, 2 converts.

958 1 halachic respondent, 4 non-halachic respondents, 7 converts.

959 2 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

960 1 halachic respondent, 5 non-halachic respondent, 3 converts.



I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism. <sup>961</sup>	37%	37
I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents, we do not belong to practicing Jewish families (we attended the synagogue very rarely). <sup>962</sup>	25%	25
I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances. <sup>963</sup>	4%	4
I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records. <sup>964</sup>	7%	7
I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew). <sup>965</sup>	10%	10
I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert). <sup>966</sup>	11%	11
Other (please specify) <sup>967</sup>	5%	5
	Answered	100

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961 27 halachic r., 9 non-halachic r., 1 convert.  
962 10 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 3 converts.  
963 2 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 0 convert.  
964 1 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 4 converts.  
965 10 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.  
966 0 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 9 converts.  
967 0 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

Table 47: What or who forms your Jewish identity?- LTJG

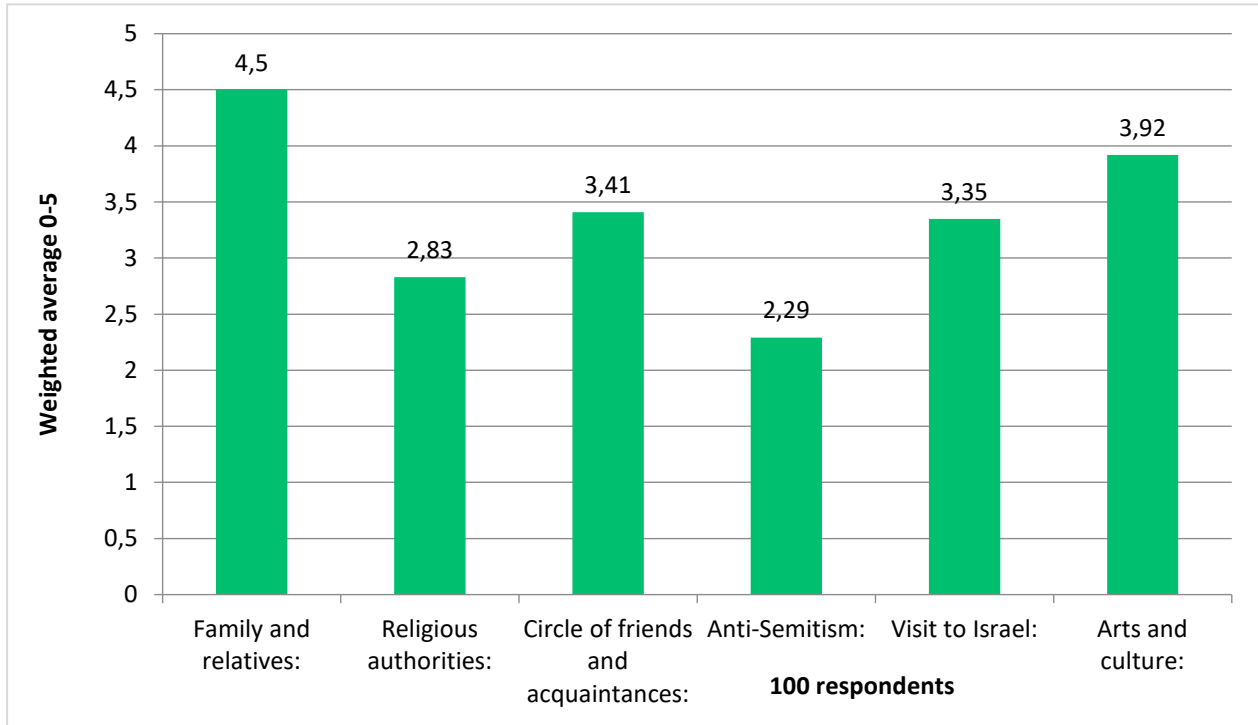


Table 48: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays? - LTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
I attend synagogue regularly	21%	12
I attend synagogue only during the High Holidays	37%	34
I keep kosher	14%	19
I keep Shabbat	36%	36
I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays	8%	11
I do not celebrate any Jewish religious holidays	9%	9
I celebrate only some Jewish holidays (please state which ones)	56%	55

	Answered	(176) 100
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Table 49: At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism? - LTJG

Answer Choices	Responses	
6-13 years	21%	21
14-18 years	26%	26
18-21 years	29%	29
21>	12%	12
I am not interested in Judaism	9%	9
Other (please specify)	2%	3
	Answered	10

STUDY ON LUXEMBOURG JEWISH IDENTITY, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL  
ACTIVITIES AMONG JEWISH POST-WAR GENERATIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
AND LUXEMBOURG (1945-90)

## QUESTIONNAIRE

You may select more than one answer for each question. You may also supplement each of your answers with additional comments and descriptions of your experiences, memories and opinions. The questionnaire is strictly anonymous and all data will be protected and used only for research purposes. The questionnaire is reserved exclusively for Jews born between the years 1945-80.

Contact: +420 603 343 858

[jakub.bronec@uni.lu](mailto:jakub.bronec@uni.lu)

Duration: 15 minutes

### I. BASIC INFORMATION

*(To be completed by everybody)*

1. **Gender:**      Female                       Male                       Prefer not to say

2. **Year of Birth and Place of Birth**

3. **What is your current permanent residence?**

Country:

Town/city:

Since when (year):

4. **What is your current marital status?**

Single

Married

Divorced

Widowed

5. **Please indicate your level of education:**

(sufficient to provide the general level of education e.g. higher education)

STUDY ON LUXEMBOURG JEWISH IDENTITY, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES AMONG JEWISH POST-WAR GENERATIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND LUXEMBOURG (1945-90)

**6. Please indicate your religious classification?**

Halachic Jew

Non-halachic Jew

Convert

**II. JUDAISM AND THE JEWISH IDENTITY**

**7. How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?**

*(You may select more than one answer and supplement your answers with additional comments.)*

I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism

I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents

I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances

I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records

I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew)

I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert)

**Other:**

**8. What or who help to form your Jewish identity?**

*(Please indicate the importance of each of the following, with 1 being the least important and 5 being the most important, 0 - not applicable)*

Family and relatives:

0  1  2  3  4  5

Religious authorities:

0  1  2  3  4  5

Circle of friends and acquaintances:

STUDY ON LUXEMBOURG JEWISH IDENTITY, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES AMONG JEWISH POST-WAR GENERATIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND LUXEMBOURG (1945-90)

0  1  2  3  4  5

Antisemitism:

0  1  2  3  4  5

Visit to Israel:

0  1  2  3  4  5

Arts and culture:

0  1  2  3  4  5

**Other:**

**9. What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays:**

*(Select only those answers with which you agree. You may select more than one answer. You may supplement your answers with additional comments.)*

I attend synagogue regularly

I attend synagogue only during the High Holidays

I keep kosher

I keep Shabbat

I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays

I celebrate only some Jewish holidays (Please, state which ones)

**Other:**

**10. At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism?**

6-10

11-15

16-20

STUDY ON LUXEMBOURG JEWISH IDENTITY, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL  
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21>

I am not interested in Judaism

**Other comments:**

**11. What is your experience of the restoration of the Jewish life in your country?**

*If you are no longer living in Luxembourg, please, write down your opinion on the restoration of the Jewish life in one of these countries.)*

I am satisfied with developments after the year 1989.

I have a higher standard of living.

My religious and cultural life is richer.

I can now live more freely as a Jew.

I am dissatisfied with developments.

**Please state why:**

**III. ISRAEL**

**12. Attitude towards Israel:**

*(Select only those answers with which you agree. You may select more than one answer. You may supplement your answers with additional comments about your experiences and your general opinion.)*

I identify with the fate of people living in Israel

I have some objections to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states

I agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians

I disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians

I think that all Jews should live in Israel

I support the creation of an independent Palestinian state

STUDY ON LUXEMBOURG JEWISH IDENTITY, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES AMONG JEWISH POST-WAR GENERATIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND LUXEMBOURG (1945-90)

I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state

I do not have any special relationship with Israel

**Other:**

**13. Have you ever visited Israel?**

Yes

No

**How often**

**14. Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?**

*(This should only be answered by those who have stayed in Europe. You may select more than one answer and supplement your answer with additional comments.)*

Yes, some of my relatives have made the return (Aliyah) to Israel

Yes, but in the end we did not complete the return due to financial issues

Yes, but in the end we stayed in Europe due to of personal reasons

No, my family stayed in the same place as before the occupation

No, but we changed our place of residence (country, city). Before the war we used to live elsewhere

Prefer not to say

**Other reasons**

**15. What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?**

*(Please indicate the importance of each of the following, with 1 being the least important and 5 being the most important, 0 – non applicable)*



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Cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment

0  1  2  3  4  5

Climate

0  1  2  3  4  5

Religious environment

0  1  2  3  4  5

Relatives

0  1  2  3  4  5

Mentality of most of the population

0  1  2  3  4  5

Employment and business opportunities

0  1  2  3  4  5

Internal and external security

0  1  2  3  4  5

**Other:**

#### IV. ANTISEMITISM

**16. Do you have any personal experience of anti-Semitism?**

Yes

No

**If so, please, indicate on the scale the intensity of anti-Semitism.**

*(1 being the least intensive and 5 being the most important, 0 - not applicable)*

School:

0  1  2  3  4  5

Work:

0  1  2  3  4  5

State administration:

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0  1  2  3  4  5

Neighbors and friends

0  1  2  3  4  5

Media:

0  1  2  3  4  5

**Other:**

**17. If so, in what form did you experience antisemitism?**

Swearing/insults

Threat(s)

Physical violence

**Other (give example(s)):**

Thank you for very much for completing this questionnaire. If you wish to, you may supplement your answers with more extensive comments. If you add any comments, please make sure you indicate the number of the question you are commenting on. Those who want to participate in the study debriefing, please, write down a contact at the bottom of the questionnaire.

Cultural and educational activities of the Jewish minorities in Czechoslovakia and Luxembourg (1945-89)

**Acronym of Research Project: CUDLUX**

Semi - structured interview: English version

Mgr. Jakub Bronec

1. How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?
2. What or who help to form your Jewish identity?
3. Have your parents ever hidden their Jewish origins before other people after the war?
4. What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays?
5. What is your attitude towards Israel?
6. Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?
7. Do you have any personal experience of antisemitism?
8. Do you think that the contemporary Jewish generation is more motivated to participate in religious and cultural life?
9. Could you please compare advantages and disadvantages between the former Jewish life in the 1960s/1970s/1980s with the current situation?
10. What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?
11. What would you improve in your cultural and religious life?