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DISERTAČNÍ PRÁCE

Transformation of Jewish identity in post-war Czech and Luxembourg generations

Transformace židovské identity v poválečných českých a lucemburských
generacích

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ABSTRACT

The PhD project has been supervised under the regulations of the Cotutelle agreement between the University of Luxembourg (C²DH) 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 the life of both Jewish communities in 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, influence of antisemitism on post-war Jewish generations and understand the processes involved in the formation and transmission of Czech and Luxembourg Jewish identities. Sixty interviews with Czech, Luxembourgish, and Slovak Jews refined and completed the quantitative results of a questionnaire fulfilled by 400 respondents. My 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 interpretation of the dataset collected in my research. The intention is to point out the range of differences and intersections within political development over the course of 45 years.

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

Statutory Declaration

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.

I am aware that the violation of this regulation will lead to failure of the thesis.

Jakub Bronec

Student's name

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List of abbreviations

CCJRC - Council of Czech Jewish Religious Communities

CZSJG - Czechoslovak second Jewish Generation

CZTJG - Czechoslovak third Jewish Generation

ČTK - Czech Press Agency

IUSY - l'Union Internationale des Jeunesses Socialistes

JCL – Jewish Consistoty of Luxembourg

JDC - Joint Distribution Committee

JOINT - American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

LSJG - Luxembourgish second Jewish generation

LTJG - Luxembourgish third Jewish generation

LVL - Letzebuenger Volleks-Legioun

LW - Luxemburger Wort

KKL - Keren Kajemeth Leisrael

NIF - New Israel Fund

PJRC - Jewish Religious Community of Prague

StB - State Security

UJGIL - Union des Jeunes Gens Israélites du Luxembourg

UN – United Nations

USSR – Soviet Union

USHMM - United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

VHA – Video History Archive

WJC - World Jewish Congress

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Introduction to conceptual framework of the study and state of arts.

The aim of the thesis deals with Jewish identity and Jewishness in the second and third post-war Jewish generation¹ in the Czech lands (current Czech Republic) and Luxembourg, including their transmission of Jewish identity and Jewishness, attitudes towards Israel and the role of antisemitism and antisemitic prejudices in the formation of Jewish self-understanding after the Second World War.

Although the scope of this work may seem very broad, it is grounded in empirical data which has been collected by aggregating completed surveys and by conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews. The thematic triad of this work (attitude towards Israel, antisemitism, and Jewish identity) is grounded in the survey results and the characteristics of interviews with witnesses. At the most general level, I seek to examine in detail how participants perceive specific Jewish aspects against the background of historical events. I want to present valid conclusions showing where the Jewish community has moved in self-perception over the last 45 years (1945-1990) covered by this study. Witnesses are an interesting resource for me, which I do not require to build a factual basis, but to map the development of individual and collective memory. I do not try to examine the exact course of historical events, but rather I am interested in reflections within a certain religious minority.

During the research, due to the excessive breadth of the project, I decided to focus on only a few factors shaping the Jewish population in the Czech lands and Luxembourg. These are the attitudes of the examined Jewish generations towards Israel, antisemitism and its influence on the life of post-war generations, and the formation and transmission of Jewish identity itself. The last is examined primarily through selected external factors such as family, relatives, Jewish culture, Israel, antisemitism and the influence of other members of the Jewish community on research participants. Parallel to these topics is a separate project, which crystallized during four years of research. It is a new alternative concept of teaching Jewish history through virtual applications combining in project teaching with teaching through empathy.²

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

2 You can find the theoretical concept and the results of this virtual teaching methods in the section: Sociological theoretical framework (Chapters: How to treat Jewish public history in classrooms: The creation of empathy and potential ethical issues in the Czech Republic and Luxembourg and Jewish public history for Jewish and non-Jewish students: New methods of teaching Jewish war-time and postwar history with IWalk. The practical outcome and

The initial idea and inspiration for my work came from the meeting with the former president of the Jewish Consistory in Luxembourg, Claude Marx, who told me about the absence of the work dealing with the development of Luxembourg Jewish identity.³ *“We have a large amount 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.”*⁴ Further inspiration arose from the sociological research conducted by sociologist Alena Heitlinger among the members of second⁵ Jewish generations in Czechoslovakia in 2006.⁶ Based on her work, I decided to conduct a comparative research with the aim to compare four different social cohorts of Jews from two different territories Luxembourg and the Czech lands in the period after World War II. (1945–1990). The aim of the research is to build on the work of Heitlinger and the second- and third- Jewish generations on the specific topics and to compare the results of the research with similarly obtained data in Luxembourg.

I am familiar with how complicated it is to analyze and interpret empirical data collected from interviews and questionnaires, especially with regard to such a diverse society as the Jewish minority in the Czech lands and in Luxembourg. To the criticism of historian like Petr Sedlák that subjective statements cannot be used to know contemporary objective facts,⁷ I respond that my objective is a historical-sociological analysis of the form of subjectively framed facts and their form of preservation in the memory of narrators and respondents in relation to their identity.

For my research, I chose these two different areas, not because they are similar, but because of their difference. I strive to compare two different Jewish communities⁸ influenced by two

theoretical conclusions are introduced in the section: Methodology (Chapters: The concept of IWalk and its use in education; The aim of the course: To empower students to engage with Jewish public history and digital source criticism; Creating awareness in everyday life. The conclusion and the answer to the research question :

3 He let me know the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive where I could probably find some testimonies of Jewish, which is described in detail in the chapter number four. Read more about these archives here:

4 C. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 5. 5. 2017. (A halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

5 The social cohort and generations are defined and described in the part Methodology.

6 You can 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).

7 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.

8 The individual researched cohorts are described in detail below.

different political regimes (Communist and Western liberal democracy⁹) which represent two different approaches to Jewish population.¹⁰ My work aims to discover how (and if at all) liberal western democracy and the communist regime affected Jewish population.¹¹ The post-war period in Czechoslovakia (Czech lands) was filled with political reversals and controversies and this is doubly true in light of the Jewish population living there after the World War II. In contrast, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was not experiencing any major political changes or crises compared to the region then known as Czechoslovakia.

My research proposes to examine the examples of Jewish minorities using different methods of quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative analysis (semi-structured interviews).¹² The aim of my work was to interdisciplinary combine methods of Oral history with sociological tools analyzing different attitudes and Jewish microhistory stressing subjective views of research participants. In addition, I have used investigations of the former Jewish magazines¹³ with the aim to get more complex information about people widely known as “second and third post-war generations” and their attitudes towards the current perception of the Jewish identity. The basic assumption was more general – a profound examination of oral-historical interviews and empirical data drawn on the distributed survey. Thanks to this selected method, I could learn (at least) something about how people relate to the common and individual past, and about how they interpret this past in a certain context. Therefore, after some consideration, I decided to limit my applied research exclusively to the secondary analysis of transcripts of in-depth semi-structured interviews and the analysis of quantitative data obtained through questionnaires. In this respect, my choice carries clear research and interpretation limitations.

My research, among other goals, seeks to address this set of research questions:

- What is the attitude of Jewish post-war generations towards the state of Israel?

9 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.

10 You can 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).

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

12 See more in the section: Methodology.

13 They are described in detail in the section: Methodology.

- How do Jewish post-war generations reflect on the importance of home?
- How do Jewish post-war generations perceive the antisemitism around them?
- How were Jewish identities and Jewishness shaped and transmitted in the post-war period in Luxembourg and the Czech lands?
- What virtual educational tools can teachers use to strengthen student knowledge of Jewish public history?

THESIS STRUCTURE

The introduction presenting the topic of the thesis is followed by a summary of the current state of research in the field of Jewish post-war history and the formation of Jewish identities. It is immediately followed by a theoretical framework section divided into two basic parts, namely the sociological theoretical concept and the historical introduction. Both are built primarily on hard compilation work and work with secondary literature. The purpose of these theoretical frameworks is to present the scientific background in which the research itself will be carried out. This is described in detail in the methodology chapter. It is immediately followed by the results of applied research. Thus, a qualitative analysis of the interviews conducted with selected Jewish witnesses and, at the same time, empirical data obtained from a questionnaire survey are interpreted here. As mentioned above, the section of results is divided according to individual social cohorts and ends with a concise summary, which tries to answer the research questions. A completely different section is devoted to the project of creating IWalk content by university students at the University of Luxembourg and its use in teaching modern Jewish history. The author of the thesis describes the application of a new alternative method of teaching to non-Jewish students who can become familiar with Jewish history through project teaching.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORETICAL CONCEPT

On a sociological level, the introduction to the thesis contains a number of chapters dealing with the theoretical basis of the trans-national approach to Israel vs. the diasporic. The following chapter tries to define, at least in part, what “home” and “a feeling of home” mean for Jews. We then move on to the issue of antisemitism associated with prejudice and stereotypes. The newly emerging phenomenon of “new antisemitism” is also described here. The last section deals with a wide range of Jewish identity, which is understood here mainly as an ever-changing and evolving entity. Self-

understanding of one's own identity is closely connected with Judaism and the concept of authenticity in the social cohorts studied.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The presentation of the historical framework is to serve as an interpretive framework for applied research. With this framework, I want to outline to the reader the historical development, on the basis of which I want to interpret the empirical data obtained from the analysis of questionnaires and the analysis of interviews. The chapters focus first on the situation in the Czech lands after the Second World War and describe the relationship of the communist regime to the Jewish community of the time. Systemic antisemitism hidden behind official anti-Zionism is also partially reflected here. The section focusing on Luxembourg reflects this period mainly from the position of the relationship of Jews to the state and to the community itself. It also emphasizes the manifestations of the so-called “new antisemitism,” the attitude of Luxembourgish Jews towards Israel and reflections on the attitude of Luxembourgish Jews to post-war developments in Luxembourg.

RESULTS

The section of results is divided into three basic fields, which are then divided into chapters. The first interprets the results of interviews and a questionnaire survey on the Jewish attitude towards Israel and its interpretation in a broader context. Furthermore, data on the development of the studied social cohorts and their relationship to the home are analyzed, and knowledge about the home is interpreted here. The results section further analyzes the data obtained from questions on the topic of antisemitism and its influence on Jewish identity. As with the previous topic, the data obtained from the questionnaire survey and from semi-structured interviews are strictly divided here. The last portion attempts to analyze angles of Jewish identity from the perspective of the researched Jewish generations. This part seeks to shed light on the reflection of Jewish identities and Jewishness in different historical contexts.

IWALK AND PROJECT TEACHING

This supplemental section addresses the need of Jewish public history instruction for non-Jewish students, focusing on new methods of teaching Jewish war and post-war history through the online technology IWalk. This chapter deals with innovations and new issues in the field of teaching

Jewish history, which aim to motivate not only the public and non-Jewish students, but also members of younger Jewish generations. The history of the Holocaust opens up a wide range of topics such as integration, assimilation, prejudice, open antisemitism and memories. The section describes the development of two specific applications on the IWalk platform, which took place during teaching at the University of Luxembourg and Charles University. Furthermore, the limits of this teaching method and its reflection by students and Jewish users are critically elaborated.

The terms used in the thesis and the territorial delimitation of research

For a proper understanding of specific terms used in my work, I would like to define a few terms to avoid misinterpretation. First, *Jewish population* involves all Jewish people¹⁴ who live in a particular territory (Czech lands or the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, always defined in a specific case). *Jewish community* involves all registered Jewish people of some Jewish communities, including orthodox, liberal or reform. It also embraces particular Jewish representatives and authorities. The term *Jewish association* means a particular Jewish institution or association assembling Jewish people regardless their religious denomination or origin. The term *Jewish people* has the same meaning in my work as *Jewish population* and it includes all Jews in a particular territory specified in the text of my work. In my work, *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. *Jewishness* 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*, I have always attempted to precisely state what group of people I refer to. For example, I use the term *Jewish community* to specify a particular group of people who are officially organized in one of the official Jewish community institutions (municipally/consistory),¹⁵ no matter, whether the group of people is comprised of halachic, non-halachic Jews or converts.

¹⁴ Halachic Jews, persons with the Law of Return, and Converts who processed all types of *Gijur*. It excludes those who have claimed to be Jewish by themselves without acceptance by the Bejt din.

¹⁵ For example: Jewish Community of Prague, Bejt Simcha, Jewish Consistory of Luxembourg, Jewish consistory of Esch-sur-Alzette etc.

My work deals with the ambiguity of the English term "Jew," which can designate a person by their cultural background or by their religious beliefs. Many experts, such as Tim Cole, deal with the use of the term Jew. He tackles the issue of the term Jew in his work *Constructing the 'Jew'....* In his opinion, it is important to mention that some scholars have suggested avoiding the term 'Jew' altogether or at least explicitly recognizing different meanings.¹⁶ He describes that the term Jew means any person belonging to the nation or to the Jewish "race" and he applies to those who practiced the Jewish religion or inclined to Jewish religious tradition.

As for the territorial delimitation of research, the term "Czech lands" used in my thesis means the current borders of the Czech Republic, but I have also worked with Czechoslovak emigrants living abroad who have their roots in the former Czechoslovakia. Czech lands¹⁷ always defines the particular area where my 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 involves Jews born in Slovakia who moved to the Czech lands and stayed there for a considerable amount of time.¹⁸ 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.

I must also clarify the terminology of the word anti(-)Semitism. Based on the works of other scholars (e.g. Evelien Gans),¹⁹ I decided to write antisemitism without a hyphen, as the hyphenated version of the word has a sociopolitical context and was coined by those who were

16COLE, Tim J. *Constructing the 'Jew'*, *Writing the Holocaust: Hungary 1920-45. Patterns of prejudice*. 1999, 33(3), p. 19-27.

17 For easier understanding, it encompasses the area of the current Czech Republic.

18 F. ex. Fedor Gál is a Slovak politician, sociologist, forecaster and entrepreneur of Jewish origin living in the Czech Republic.

19 GANS, Evelien. "They Have Forgotten to Gas You" Post-1945 Antisemitism in the Netherlands. *Dutch racism*. [online]. Leiden: Brill, 2015, p. 71-100 [Accessed 2021-5-2]. Available from: <https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789401210096/B9789401210096-s005.xml>.

against the Jewish nation. The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)²⁰ also recommends using the unhyphenated spelling of antisemitism.²¹

State of Arts: the Czech Republic and Luxembourg and source criticism

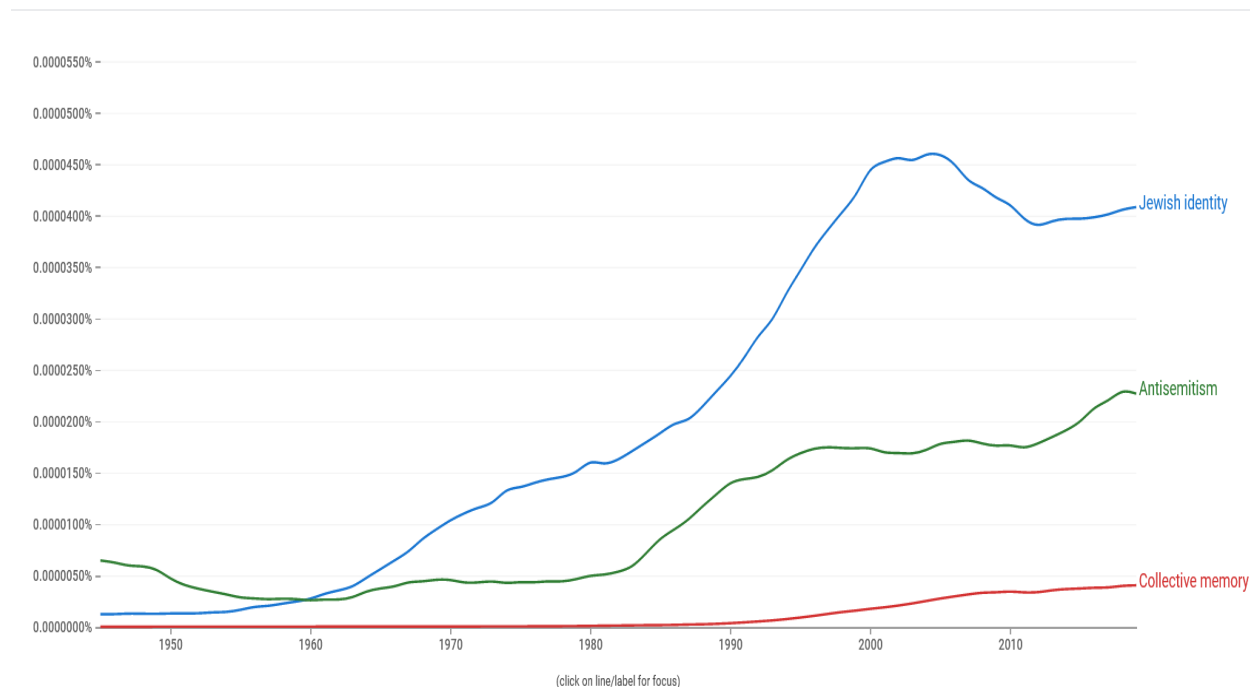
At the beginning of my research, I began a study of the relevant literature on the topic of Jewish community after World War II. The period 1945–1990 has been marked by a very limited base of sources, especially in Luxembourg. On the other hand, during the last two decades (2000–2020), Czech and Slovak authors have published a number of complex publications dealing with the Jewish post-war history. Graph 1 illustrates that this trend was similar throughout the world, as the share of publications dealing with Jewish identity, collective memory, and antisemitism grew considerably in the last two decades.²²

20 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/>).

21 *“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>).

22 Source: Google Books Ngram Viewer (available online at: <https://books.google.com/ngrams/>). Dr. 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,²³ though these are issues of remembrance culture entering the Czech academic environment only very slowly.²⁴ Luxembourg is in a similar situation and Luxembourg lacks comprehensive work on shaping Jewish pre-war, war, or post-war identities. In the following subchapters, I would like to briefly introduce the state of arts of the researched issue divided by territory – the Czech lands (the modern-day Czech Republic) and Luxembourg.

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

24 For example: ŠVARÍČKOVÁ-SLABÁKOVÁ, Radmila. Česká generační paměť druhé světové války. *Český časopis historický*. 2019, **117**(3), p. 637-864.

LUXEMBOURG

These days, Luxembourgish scholars also address questions about Jewish history, especially those concerning persecution, integration and migration.²⁵ Unfortunately, there is still a lack of in-depth, 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.²⁶ 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,²⁷ 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.²⁸

25 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-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.

26 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.

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

28 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.

The topic of Jewish post-war history was also partially elaborated by Paul Cerf²⁹ Denis Scuto,³⁰ Laurent Moysse,³¹ and Charles Lehrmann,³² Paul Dostert, Isi Finkelstein,³³ Daniel Thilman,³⁴ etc. As mentioned above, there is only one book that (at least partially) deals with Jewish post-war identity;³⁵ 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*.³⁶ Blandine Landau joined the C²DH 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.³⁷

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*³⁸ in Luxembourg. According to the authors, Elisabeth Boesen and Denis Scuto, current research projects at the university focus more on small and everyday issues

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

30 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.

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

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

33 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.

34 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.

35 MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La Présence Juive Au Luxembourg Du Moyen Âge Au Xxe Siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001.

36 *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. 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.

37 After conducting a basic sociological analysis of the Jewish community in Luxembourg 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 Luxembourg and beyond.

38 KMEC, Sonja, et al., ed. *Lieux de mémoire au Luxembourg: usages du passé et construction nationale*. Luxembourg: Saint-Paul, 2007.

of family memory. Family members and close relatives represent important factors for the preservation of collective memory and the formation an intergenerational identity.³⁹

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 Integrism” as well as to social and racial antisemitism. Antisemitism is assigned in his work to the political tendency of right-wing extremism.⁴⁰ In my point of view, 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 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.⁴¹

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.

39 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.

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

41 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.

CZECH REPUBLIC

While scholars can work with innumerable autobiographical literature of various qualities on surviving Jews,⁴² the autobiographical information that would deal with their descendants is significantly less. Apart from Alena Heitlinger's academic work, scholars still miss any autobiographical memories of witnesses 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 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 monuments, as well as several memoirs on the subject of the Holocaust. After November 1989, the 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.⁴³ Witnesses of Jewish descent respond 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 view themselves from the perspective of 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

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

43 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).

and close relatives for witnesses to share their experiences, etc.⁴⁴ Often, multiple motives might be in play concurrently. Her work is one of those that encouraged me to realize my project. 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 Center⁴⁵ providing access to the Fortunoff⁴⁶ and USC Shoah Foundation databases,⁴⁷ the JMP's oral history project is the most important source of historical memory.⁴⁸

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 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 17 languages, the authors portray the post-war reality in an organic way.⁴⁹

44 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.

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

46 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).

47USC 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.

48 You can read more about the USC Shoah Foundation in the chapter: The concept of IWalk and the use in education.

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

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.⁵⁰ Moshe Yegar's book introduces the foreign policy between Czechoslovakia and Israel.⁵¹ This work represents an important source of information, mainly due to the author's extraction from lesser-known Israeli archives.

Another fundamental and beneficial work is an extensive publication by Blanka Soukupová, who released several complex studies on the Jewish community in the Czech lands after the Holocaust.⁵² Her latest profound publication deals with the complex history of Jews in the post-war Czech lands. Her study is on the border of sociology and history, and contains a detailed analysis of the post-war historical periods from the perspective of the Jewish community in Prague. I consider this work groundbreaking in terms of a comprehensive elaboration of the Jewish population in Bohemia.

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.⁵³ 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 used 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.

50 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.

51 YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997.

52 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.

53 SALNER, Peter. *Židia na Slovensku medzi tradíciou a asimiláciou*. Bratislava: Zing Print, 2000.

Peter Wörster's *Die Juden in den böhmischen Ländern nach 1945*,⁵⁴ and Kurt Wehle's *The Jews in Bohemia and Moravia: 1945 - 1948*⁵⁵

Nevertheless, in my opinion the most stunning work 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 1990.⁵⁶

It is also important to mention the extensive studies of Kateřina Králová and Jana Svobodová, published in the mid-1990s,⁵⁷ both of which I respect although they used different methodology to gather their data. 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*,⁵⁸ and her latest publication deals with migration policy towards German Jews in the Czech lands after the war.⁵⁹

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 1996.⁶⁰ Petr Bednařík's work⁶¹ provides an excellent analysis of the relationship between Czechs and Jews. In his work, Bednařík

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

55 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.

56 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.

57 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.

58 ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina. *Češi, Němci, Židé?: národní identita Židů v Čechách 1918 až 1938*. Praha: Paseka, 2013.

59 ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina and David RECHTER. *Židé, nebo Němci?* Praha: NLN, 2019.

60 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.

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

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*⁶² (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 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 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.⁶³ In its final section, my PhD thesis will also deal with alternative methods of teaching Jewish history, both pre-war, war and post-war. It is therefore necessary to mention at least a few works that deal with the historiographic turn after 1989 in the Czech lands. Specifically, a number of publications⁶⁴ dealing with the reflection of teaching in schools have been published here. Some analyses of textbooks also focused on the issue of presentations of World War II and the Holocaust.

As I return 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.⁶⁵

62 HOLÝ, Jiří, ed. *Cizí i blízcí: Židé, literatura, kultura v českých zemích ve 20. století*. Praha: Akropolis, 2016.

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

64 FRANKL, Michal. Holocaust education in the Czech Republic, 1989-2002. *Intercultural Education*. 2003, **14**(2), p. 177-189. ; BRAVENÁ, Noemi. Chápání holokaustu ve čtvrté generaci-podněty pro edukaci. *Historie–Otázky–Problémy*. 2017, **9**(2), p. 149-158.

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

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 effort to fill this gap with my PhD thesis.⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ Except the book, there is also a website where teachers can find worksheets and workshops for themselves or for students.⁶⁸

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following chapters introduce sociological approaches to create a theoretical framework for interpretation of the empirical researched data. The first chapter seeks to investigate the sense of Jewish transnational approach with the diasporic approach to Jews living in diaspora and Israel via sociologic perspective. The second chapter deals with development of the concept of home and homeland in terms of diaspora and Israel. The third chapter addresses the issue of prejudices, stereotypes and antisemitism, especially new antisemitism. The fourth section of chapters introduces different approaches to the formation and transmission of modern Jewish identity and Jewishness over the post-war Jewish generations. The last section deals with the approach to Jewish public history and virtual teaching methods based on the application IWalk.

Attitudes towards Israeli land: Transnational approach and diasporic approach

The story of the Jewish relationship with the Land of 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 Diaspora. For the

66 HALLAMA, Peter. *Národní hrdinové - židovské oběti: holokaust v české kulturní paměti*. Praha: NLN, 2020. p. 30.

67 FRANKL, Michal and Julie JENŠOVSKÁ, ed. *Naši nebo cizí?: Židé v českém 20. století*. Praha: Židovské muzeum v Praze - Institut Terežínské iniciativy, 2013.

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

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.⁶⁹

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*⁷⁰, especially from Europe and Russia, played a significant role in consolidating Jewish land.⁷¹

The pioneers, known as the *Yishuv* (settlement), bought land, established communities, organized kibbutzim (collective agricultural communities), planted farms and orchards, built cities, set up businesses, schools, and a labor union. In nutshell, they re-established Jewish life in Israel. The Jews that did not make *Aliyah* could support to Israel financially, politically or ideologically.⁷²

The effort to establish a Jewish state intensified. 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 Diaspora has evolved over the subsequent decades.⁷³ It is extremely hard to adequately summarize this pivotal era in such a limited space, but it is well

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

70 Aliyah is the migration of Jews from diaspora to the Land of Israel.

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

72 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.

73 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.

known that concerted political, economic, and military efforts ultimately led to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.⁷⁴

The establishment of the State of Israel raised several issues, which complicated Diaspora-Israel relations. 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 new conceptual clarifications⁷⁵ While Sheffer reflects Israeli-diaspora relationships in the context of ethnic-national identity, he does not neglect the political and historical interests of contemporary diasporans. His publications analyze the unequal struggle to sustain a minority ethnic identity, for example among the Jewish population. At the same time, he reflects the needs of minorities to prevent their complete fusion into the host countries. For him, the Jewish diaspora is also a matter of loyalty, spread between the home and host countries.⁷⁶

However, some scholars consider his interpretation too narrow and propose to view the Jewish People primarily as a civilization. In their eyes, this involves, among other things, Israel being a civilization state, rather than a nation state.⁷⁷ Jewish communities also had to pay attention to the political role of orthodox religious groups in shaping attitudes towards Israel.⁷⁸ Besides the

74 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=gbv_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false).

75 Read more: (SHEFFER, Gabriel. *Diaspora politics: at home abroad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

76 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).

77 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.

78 "Israeli Jews are far from a homogeneous group. Virtually all Jews in Israel identify with one of four major religious subgroups: Hiloni ("secular"), Masorti ("traditional"), Dati ("religious") and Haredi ("ultra-Orthodox"). Hilonim are the least religious and make up roughly half of Israeli Jews (49%). Overall, Datim (sometimes called Modern Orthodox Jews) generally follow Jewish traditions, but they are more integrated into modern society than Haredim and tend to lean to the right politically, especially on issues pertaining to the conflict with the Palestinians. Masortim occupy the religious middle ground, but they appear to be declining as a share of Israeli Jews, while Haredim make up an increasing share (currently 9%). Jewish groups consistently disagree on a range of specific public policy issues, with more religiously observant Jews saying, for example, that Israel should shut down public transport on the Sabbath (as it mostly does); secular Jews almost universally say public transport should remain running. Jews of varying levels of religious observance also take starkly different positions on some key aspects of the Jewish state. For instance, in a hypothetical conflict between democratic principles and Jewish

role of orthodox groups, political scientist Yehezkel Dror also suggests understanding Jewish people 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 in Israel and in a diaspora, in particular analyzing various socio-economic structures, collective agenda, institutional structures, the role of politics, private and public agendas, etc. His next objection concerns the centrality of Jewish political, religious and cultural aspirations. From his point of view, Israel and especially Jerusalem are too centric in terms of Jewish history. The fact that a majority of Jews worldwide are sure to pay a visit to Israel means its demographic centrality will grow. The high degree of the Hebrew language also increases civilizational significance. In addition, Israel provides the Jewish People with unprecedented political hard power and occupies a central place in the public discourse of most Jewish People forums.⁷⁹

Dror’s 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.*”⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ Raphael Vago, for example, asserts that Israel has sought to create a social structure in which it acts as a country of common Jewish origin and as the guardian of the common historical trauma of the Holocaust.⁸²

The identity and cultural bonds within the social structure of Israel has been elaborated by French sociologist Alain Dickenhoff who describes the Jews in the diaspora that despite staying

law (halakha), ultra-Orthodox Jews overwhelmingly say Jewish law should take precedence (89%), while an equally large share of secular Jews say democratic ideals should take priority.” (LIPKA, Michal. 7 key findings about religion and politics in Israel. In: *Pew Research Centre* [online]. March 8, 2016 [Accessed 2021-03-02]. Available from: <http://pewrsr.ch/1M4ecOf>).

79 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>.

80 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://rjsp.politice.ro/june2013>.

81 Ibid. p. 85.

82 Ibid. p. 83-84.

out of Israel, Jews often feel an affection towards this country and become involved in various ways in its political, economic, social and cultural evolution.⁸³ The pioneers saw themselves as creating not only a new country and society, but also a new type of Jew. The ideal of this “New Jew”⁸⁴ was both physically strong and connected to the land.⁸⁵

Turning now to the notions of transnationalism and diaspora, I would like to begin with the theories developed by Professor William Safran. He judges that the sense of transnational belonging is formed mainly by primordial bonds of common blood. The rhetoric of common origin in the transnational context is associated mainly with the concept of diaspora. The concept is predominantly defined by forced displacement, accompanied by collective trauma. He asserts that this was originally applied to a specific groups of Jews and later to other religious and non-religious minorities in the world.⁸⁶

His work describes the diaspora as “a displaced minority” that has been displaced from its original center, but continues to maintain myths,⁸⁷ memories and ideas about its homeland, which it considers a true home with the possibility to return. Diaspora members often support their homeland – in this case, Israel.⁸⁸

In my opinion, these diaspora sentiments have recently been reinforced by a variety of foreign programs,⁸⁹ and many third-generation respondents have participated in exchange

83 DIECKHOFF, Alain. The Jewish diaspora and Israel: belonging at distance? *Nations and Nationalism*. 2017, 23(2), p. 273.

84 The image of the “New Jew” is developed in the biography (BAR-ON, Mordechai, 2012. *Moshe Dayan: Israel's controversial hero: Israel's controversial hero*. USA: Yale University Press. p. 215-218.) Yitzhak Conforti examines the “New Jew” from various approaches such as the political approach, the organic approach, the radical approach, the socialistic approach and the religious Zionist approach. He also describes this concept from the perspective of the use of power affected by different actors and Zionist movements. (CONFORTI, Yitzhak. "The New Jew" in the Zionist Movement: Ideology and Historiography. *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies* [online]. 2011, 25, p. 87-118 [Accessed 2020-9-28]. Available from: <http://proxy.bnl.lu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=78404519&site=ehost-live&scope=site>).

85 You can read more about this ideal here: (AVIV, Caryn and David SHNEER. *New Jews: the end of the Jewish diaspora*. New York: New York University Press, 2005. p. 1-26).

86 SAFRAN, William. Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return. *Diaspora: a journal of transnational studies*. 1991, 1(1), p. 84.

87 These collective myths are strong, especially among members of CZSJG. See more in the chapter Czechoslovak Second Jewish generation: Blurred notion of “promised land” in relation to the “Prague Spring.”

88 SAFRAN, William. Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return. *Diaspora: a journal of transnational studies*. 1991, 1(1), p. 85.

89 E.g., Taglit-Birthright Israel is the NGO educational organization that organizes free heritage trips to Israel.

programs to reconstruct their Jewish identity. The Law of Return also plays a specific role, because it brings many Jews to the places which enable them to shape their symbolic homeland.

As mentioned above, Safran's definition of diaspora has come to be considered rather narrow in the last few decades, and new postmodern concepts consider it overly simplistic, but in my opinion his theories are still valid and work as a starting point for further research.⁹⁰ His theories have been extended to a range of other contexts and experiences by other scholars. Nowadays, it is used for all those who are away from their own territory, including economic and labor migrants who are also regarded as a part of the diaspora. The return to a symbolic homeland was replaced by actively maintained relationships crossing national borders, which enable diasporans to align their conscious of belonging to a particular territory. The conscious of belonging was also evolved by Rainer Baubock who has said that diasporas, including Jewish diaspora, ceased to be limited by a community, and turned into a hybrid form of intertwining cultural influences, a decentralized transnational space. His thoughts were evolved by Thomas Faist in his inspiring work *Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners*.⁹¹

Other scientists believe the term diaspora has become politicized in recent years. According to them, this term should be used carefully and not considered a merely analytical concept.⁹² Nevertheless, according to Linda Bach and her colleagues, scholars should not merely examine how individual components are shaped and the potential impact on all involved individuals. The question remains whether transnationalism offers a more analytical approach than that of diaspora. The line between the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora is becoming more and more invisible and blurred. According to Bach, the extension of the concept of transnationalism, which has ceased to be used only for a quantitative analysis, is warmly welcomed as scholars have to deal with other social processes that contribute to the designation of social fields that cross geographical, political and cultural boundaries.⁹³

90 BOYARIN, Daniel and Jonathan BOYARIN. Diaspora: generation and the ground of Jewish identity. *Critical inquiry*. 1993, **19**(4), p. 693-725.

91 FAIST, Thomas. Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners. In: *Diaspora and transnationalism: concepts, theories and methods*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, p. 9-34.

92 Compare to: (BRUBAKER, Rogers. The 'diaspora' diaspora. *Ethnic and racial studies* [online]. 2005, **28**(1). p. 1-19. [Accessed 2020-03-17]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000289997> and ISOTALO, Riina. Politicizing the Transnational: On Implications for Migrants, Refugees, and Scholarship. *Social Analysis* [online]. 2009, **53**(3), p. 60-84 [Accessed 2020-9-28]. Available from: doi:[10.3167/sa.2009.530304](https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2009.530304).

93 In my opinion, this extended approach is very much needed within investigations of the relationship of diaspora Jews towards Israel. New Jewish generations bring new dimensions and factors to diaspora-Israel research.

A call for change was also reflected by Victor Roudometof, a sociologist who decided to broaden the concept of transnationalism. In his view, transnationalism involves three levels of activities. First, transnational migrant communities, professional and managerial communities only constitute first part of this complex phenomenon, and are constantly on the move. Two others are transnational social spaces and the transnational social field. Transnational social spaces are created through the recurring international interactions of people around the world, ranging from the most trivial to the most serious. These include routines such as international calls, satellite television, international conferences, international tourism, conventions and negotiations between international and NGOs. Social fields contain more structured and lasting interactions that take place in a transnational social space and relate to the exercise of official authority. By embracing a broad range of actors and institution in the world, social fields do not have to be legally movable.⁹⁴

Following the introduction of migration studies in the early 1990s, transnationalism triggered open debates that were followed by international scientists from many fields. Thomas Faist raised the issue of whether migrants' transnational orientation goes against their social integration into the majority and whether there is some degree of complementarity. As stated in his work, transnationalism and diaspora are two concepts that cannot be meaningfully separated. This can create a lack of definitions, or meanings that constantly overlap. The concept of transnationalism and the concept of diaspora can thus replace each other. Nevertheless, it is not possible to use both terms in the same way. Each has different intellectual genealogies through which they evoke different associations. While the concept of the diaspora is primarily used in literary works, studies and historical literature, transnationalism is primarily used as a concept in social sciences. The diaspora evokes cultural differences, often associated with religious communities and national sentiments, while transnationalism focuses on mobility and international networks.⁹⁵

(BASCH, Linda, Nina Glick SCHILLER and Christina Szanton BLANC. *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*. London: Routledge, 2006. p. 48).

94 ROUDOMETOF, Victor. Transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and glocalization. *Current sociology*. 2005, **53**(1), p. 113-135.

95 FAIST, Thomas. Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners. In: *Diaspora and transnationalism: concepts, theories and methods*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, p. 13.

As mentioned previously, scholars should not only consider diaspora a cultural phenomenon, shaped by cultural practices and subsequently analyzed through popular culture and art. According to Pnina Werbner, an anthropologist, an approach that is primarily focused on cultural representations is reductionist. In her opinion, the imagination of the diaspora is not only constituted by cultural practices, but also by interactions with political institutions and officials. It is anchored in various institutions, such as diaspora philanthropic organizations. These associations provide diaspora with its material features. Werbner also draws attention to the interaction of the political, material and cultural in the process of forming a diasporic imagination.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, sociologist Rogers Brubaker emphasizes the political motivations of the diaspora concept. For instance, the Jewish diaspora can be mobilized for the sake of supporting Israel – the homeland. This homeland (area) does not have to be defined territorially, but can have a purely symbolic meaning. The governments of economic migrants often offer financial support to those who are politically loyal and employed abroad.⁹⁷

In my opinion, Zionist societies in Israel seek to partially mobilize the imaginations of Jewish followers through diasporic rhetoric. In this, Israel has undergone a relatively rapid development from the traditional meaning of defining the diaspora, as defined by Safran, to the transnational experience that is formed through Jewish mobility.⁹⁸

Although Czechoslovak Jews of the second and third post-war Jewish generations did not have as many opportunities as their Luxembourg counterparts, the knowledge of Israel was still conveyed to them in other ways. However, it is not true that trips to Israel did not exist 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

96 WERBNER, Pnina. Introduction: The materiality of diaspora-Between aesthetic and "real" politics. *Diaspora: a Journal of Transnational Studies*. 2000, 9(1), p. 5-20.

97 BRUBAKER, Rogers. The 'diaspora' diaspora. *Ethnic and racial studies* [online]. 2005, 28(1), p. 11. [Accessed 2020-03-17]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000289997>.

98 Compare to: (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>).

enabled Jewish youth to get to know international Jewish life.⁹⁹ Thanks to these opportunities, as well as to listening to banned radio stations, many Czechoslovak Jews established a firm bond with Israel.

It is worth mentioning that mobility is not the only instrument to incite a sense of belonging among Jews. According to Yehezkel Dror, scholars should also reflect the diasporans' approach to the media, politics, culture, climate, and spiritual and social environment. All these forms play an active role in shaping the ideological approach to Israel.¹⁰⁰ In my opinion, it is essential to consider them when investigating Jewish generations in the Czech lands, especially from the perspective of access to undistorted information.

According to several French historians, the hypermobility, modern transnationalism and multi-membership typical of young European Jews living 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 unitarily federate. Jewish community circles have consequently become spaces for "Israeli life" in France, capable of facilitating attachment to Jewish identity and thereby strengthening community bonds.¹⁰¹

Consequently, I have decided to grasp the Jewish relationship with Israel by means of the theory of transnationalism, rather than that of diaspora.¹⁰² There are other advantages to using this concept, because it is not limited by the tradition of using the term diaspora in the abstract and cultural sense, which may obscure political connotations. I thus analyze thoughts, ideologies, opinions and concepts that are constantly in motion, and that cannot be observed as fixed and unchangeable.

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

100 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>.

101 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.

102 However, this approach is also reflected in the part that deals with the empirical data collected.

Perspectives on “Where is My Home?”

At the beginning of this chapter, I would like to emphasize that this is merely a schematic, an incomplete overview of a few concepts of home. The aim is primarily to prepare the ground for further analysis of empirical results drawn from my research focused on the importance of aspects of home to the examined. To define the Jewish home or homeland from the perspective of Israeli land and a diaspora is a difficult task, for 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.

According to the most ancient ideas, the house was a sacred place allowing people to find themselves effortlessly in the “center of the world”, unlike others that required difficulty.¹⁰³ 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. It serves to restore the fellowship between God and his chosen nation, as well as a place of paradoxes.¹⁰⁴ The history of Jewry is the history of “embarking on a journey” and “returning home,” which was often destroyed and annihilated.¹⁰⁵ In history, Jews often had to contend with the home phenomenon and its connection with “foreignness” and “distantness.” The Jewish concept of alienation is associated with the Shoah phenomenon, and is characterized by surprise and otherness. Jan Patočka, a Czech philosopher, has defined home in his book as follows: “*The boundaries of a more distant home extend indefinitely and disappear in the unhumanized, foreign, in the distance.*”¹⁰⁶

Another Czech philosopher Jaroslava Pešková developed the concept of home applicable to the social cohorts research in my PhD project in her essays as follows: “*Home is a ground, a*

103 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>.

104 PRŮKA, Miloslav. *Péče o oikos: dům v dějinách myšlení*. Brno: L. Marek, 2009. p. 26-27.

105 LOTZ, Johannes Baptist. *Martin Heidegger a Tomáš Akvinský: člověk, čas, bytí*. Praha: Oikoymenh, 1998. p. 21.

106 PATOČKA, Jan. *Přirozený svět jako filosofický problém*. 3. vyd. Praha: Československý spisovatel, 1992. p. 86-87.

refuge where I can stay, even if I travel abroad. It is the core of all our understanding, our orientation in the world. Everything we encounter is always our home as the original starting point.“¹⁰⁷ She has framed the definition of home with the journey. In other words, if you want to experience a feeling of home, you need to travel around.

Sociologist Csaba Czaló also associated the concept of home with shaping the identity thorough collective memories: *“Home is a specific place that co-creates the identity of people, because it is a place associated with their memories.”*¹⁰⁸ During the rough post-war period, many Jewish returnees sought to find their positions within a re-emerging Jewish religious community in Prague. This was a difficult return, and many survivors felt that an empty space without their family was no longer their home. Their collective memory was inflicted by trauma of the Holocaust and empty, plundered houses might have nurtured their and trauma and fear.¹⁰⁹

German ethologist and folklorist Hermann Bausinger broadened the interpretation of home in terms of space, materiality and experiences bounded to a historical timeline. According to Bausinger, the pre-modern perception of home was limited to movable property, especially a specific house and home law. The church also played a role here, promising everyone a home in heaven. Conscious Zionists found their home in Palestine, which they perceived as their fated country, as a space of Jewish history. However, this did not exclude their profound relationship with Prague and the Czech lands.¹¹⁰

Sociologist Jana Dufková characterizes home as a nearly complete circle of familiar people connected with the material environment in which one has lived for a long time (including an apartment, home, landscape, etc.), filled with a sense of belonging, background and security. Home is an expression of man's emotional relationship to his immediate world, the acquisition of this world, his humanization and intimation.¹¹¹

Besides humanization, emotions and intimation, Pavel Kladiwa and Aleš Zářický examines urbanization as another component of home in modern times. The relationship to the city as a

107 PEŠKOVÁ, Jaroslava. *Role vědomí v dějinách a jiné eseje*. Praha: Lidové noviny, 1998. p. 58.

108 SZALÓ, Csaba. Domov a jiná místa/ne-místa formování kulturních identit. *Sociální studia*. 2006, 3(1), p. 145-160.

109 Read more: (KRÁLOVÁ, Kateřina and Hana KUBÁTOVÁ. *Návraty: poválečná rekonstrukce židovských komunit v zemích středovýchodní, jihovýchodní a východní Evropy*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2016).

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

111 DUFFKOVÁ, Jana. Domov z pohledu sociologie. *Stavba*. 2008, 15(3), p. 16-19.

potential home for an ever-growing population can be approached from many different perspectives, including religious, ethnical, national, etc.¹¹²

Philosopher Marshall Berman describes home in his book as a constant renewal of relationships in which one needs to find one's personal world and oneself in a state of constant disintegration and renewal. Home lies in contradiction and ambiguity.¹¹³ His theory of endless renewal is important to interpret the results presented in my work. Nevertheless, the most significant concept of home which I used to designate the enquiries in the survey and interviews was the work of Robin Cohen, a sociologist who addressed Jewish questions of modernity and described the relationship between homeland and diaspora. In his opinion, the recent concepts had been too vague and indeterminate, and he therefore designated three vital interpretations of home: “*solid (the unquestioned need for a homeland), ductile (an intermediate, more complex, idea of homeland) and liquid (a post-modernist rendition of virtual home).*”¹¹⁴

Critically, he characterized the Jewish home and homeland as follows: “*In general, the idea of a homeland is imbued with an expressive charge and a sentimental pathos that seem to be almost universal. Motherland, fatherland, native land, natal land, Heimat, the ancestral land, the search for ‘roots’ – all these similar notions imbue homelands with ‘an emotional, almost reverential dimension and is so typical of all Jewish postwar generations.*”¹¹⁵ In his study, he seeks to address the question of whether people need to have homeland to conceive of a diaspora.

Within the theory of *solid* home, Cohen defines home via metaphors containing male and female connotations (drinking from a woman's breast is like drinking from the breast of home or the homeland, for example). There is often a complex interplay between the female and male versions of the homeland. Their blood nourishes the soil, the soil defines their ethnogenesis. These thoughts about what constitutes home have been reinforced in recent years due to a recognition of the importance of diaspora in international politics, as well as its indisputable enhancement of postmodernism. He argued that “*the intermediate category remains important and the solid*

112 KLADIWA, Pavel and Aleš ZÁŘICKÝ. *Město a městská společnost v procesu modernizace 1740-1918*. Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, 2009. p. 13-19.

113 BERMAN, Marshall. *All that is solid melts into air: the experience of modernity*. London: Verso, 1983. p. 345-346.

114 COHEN, Robin. Solid, Ductile and Liquid: Changing Notions of Homeland and Home in Diaspora Studies. *Caderno CRH* [online]. 2008, 21(54), p. 4 [Accessed 2020-05-25].

Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-49792008000300008>.

115 Ibid. p. 5.

versions of homeland are gaining increasing support as diasporas become mobilized to play an enhanced role in homeland and international politics and in the economic and social development of their natal territories.”¹¹⁶

In his opinion, the *ductile* homeland seems to be a concept that stems from the decline of the previous fixed idea of the homeland. William Safran, whose work on the diaspora has already been discussed in the previous chapter, is now ready to accept a more flexible interpretation of home. Safran argues that links and relations between Israeli Jews and European and American Jews have yet to be revealed. In his opinion, Jews in a diaspora have been going through the process of “dezionization,” including those who are described as “*secularists, socialists, potential investors, unorthodox believers, enlightened Western Jews, left-wing ideologues, academics, and others who are disillusioned with Israeli political and religious leadership.*”¹¹⁷

The *liquid* form of home is a frequent combination of religion and diaspora. Cohen states that one way to reduce a certain tension in the current discourse is to allow people to make their own statements, and to define their homes and countries themselves. The second option is to follow the ancient tactic from Greece. There used to live a man Procrustes, who offered his hospitality to passers-by to sleep in his iron bed. To fit them exactly into the bed, he stretched out the small people and cut off the hands and legs of the tall people.¹¹⁸

In my opinion, these definitions can also be applied to the samples of Jewish post-war generations examined here. Research respondents can be identified as a part of a traveling culture that absorbs certain religious and cultural patterns during each successive visit to Israel. Their homes are constantly on the move, although Cohen states that the word “diaspora” cannot be attributed to the traditional use of the term “nomad.”¹¹⁹ In my opinion, it is possible provided the individual in question has strong family ties and his family members are scattered throughout the world. To a certain extent, these individuals face the need to live and often adopt different cultural

116 COHEN, Robin. Solid, Ductile and Liquid: Changing Notions of Homeland and Home in Diaspora Studies. *Caderno CRH* [online]. 2008, **21**(54), p. 14 [Accessed 2020-05-25]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-49792008000300008>.

117 COHEN, Robin. *Global diasporas: An introduction*. London: Routledge, 2008. p. 12.

118 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>.

119 Ibid. p. 10.

patterns and currents in different parts of the world. This judgment is further elaborated in the conclusion of this research (summarization).

Despite occasional outbreaks of antisemitism, life in a diaspora seems to be sufficiently attractive and safe not to initiate a long-lasting identification with Israel. Due to this fact, Zionists began promoting summer camps, especially during the second half of the 20th century, where virtual Aliya can take place in the safe conditions of Western Europe and the USA. Participants have participated in activities useful to the inhabitants of the Middle East (e.x. Hebrew lessons, Jewish religious rituals and physical work at “training” *kibbutz*).¹²⁰ According to sociologist Steven Gold, it is important to try the tough conditions of Israeli land which might become a home for some participants. The virtual summer camps should evoke atmosphere of Jewish land and prevent permanent settlement. However, the experience should be positive and enriching for the camp participants. Sometimes these notions are nurtured by occasional visits to relatives and friends who live in Israel.¹²¹

Cohen explains the current situation 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.¹²²

Cohen’s work was also reflected by Avtar Brah, a sociologist who developed the concept of home and added new dimensions to enrich the concept. Brah considers the concept of 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.¹²³ 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.*

120 Ibid. p. 7.

121 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.

122 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>.

123 BRAH, Avtar. *Cartographies of diaspora: contesting identities*. London: Routledge, 1996. p. 197.

*Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings...*¹²⁴ Her definition illustrates a broad range of components constituting the phenomenon ‘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.

Sociologist Zygmunt Baumann has previously covered the last category, that of *liquid* homes, in his study. According to Baumann, this is a world of “liquid modernity, which is revenge for a nomadic way of life and aggressive territoriality”.¹²⁵ The portraits of Jewish home in the post-war period have been reflected by representatives of all post-war generations,¹²⁶ which span a spectrum of feelings and arguments. All homes were depicted as being a characteristic portrait of the family sitting around the table in an apartment, and the bright image of the city as a free space for children's games and parents’ jobs. However, alongside this was also the frustration and daily allocation of “concentration memories” and the feeling of alienation.¹²⁷

The biographical testimonies of the respondents of the second post-war generation are usually characterized by a greater effort to comprehensively evaluate the home, in particular based on a contemporary context. In Luxembourg, as in the Czech lands, this occurred mostly in the 1960s, the period of the so-called “melting” of authoritarian regimes and the counterculture of 1960s in the West.

Jews from the second post-war generations often experienced and remembered their home with two aspects: there was the slightly depressing atmosphere of their parents, but there was also a relaxed atmosphere in Jewish youth institutions. Sociologist Blanka Soukupová asserts that there is an interesting dimension of the Shoah monuments in relation to perceptions of home by the social cohorts researched. For the Holocaust survivors, these have the function of a “forced home”;

124 Ibid. p. 192.

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

126 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. ; 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).

127 AARONS, Victoria and Alan L. BERGER. *Third-generation Holocaust representation: trauma, history, and memory*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017.p. 41-67.

the second generation often associates the Shoah monuments such as Terezín, among others, with an unpleasant sense of unanswered questions. The third generation, meanwhile, takes these as an opportunity to satisfy their curiosity.¹²⁸

Theoretical framework of prejudice, stereotypes and antisemitism

I am aware that the debate 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 population. 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 put the empirical results into the historical-sociological interpretive framework and here I would like to introduce the sociological part, which concerns prejudices, stereotypes and modern antisemitic manifestations. The historical framework briefly reflects the antisemitism from the historical perspective of the researched Jewish social cohorts.

Jewish prejudices, stereotypes and modern antisemitism

The aim of this theoretical chapter is to briefly outline the issues of stereotyping, prejudice, Stalinist's antisemitism and modern antisemitism, especially the phenomenon of New antisemitism. Creating a comprehensive theoretical framework also facilitate to address all defined research questions concerning antisemitism.¹²⁹ I decided to describe this issue because the social cohorts examined had to deal with at least some features of antisemitism in the past, including Jewish stereotyping and prejudice. In addition, the third Jewish post-war generation had to deal with a new form of antisemitism – the so-called New antisemitism.¹³⁰ The new antisemitism is a partially controversial topic and therefore has no clear definition among experts. New antisemitism is emerging on both poles of the political spectrum in democratic states, and its roots can also be found in the radical conception of Islam, which has long sought to weaken and destroy the state of

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

129 The data analysis can be found in the section: RESULTS - Antisemitism.

130 It is important to emphasize that the New antisemitism affects the second generations as well.

Israel. This anti-Zionism is considered by some to be covert antisemitism.¹³¹ The approaches and definitions used in this part of the text were chosen according to their pertinence to the Jewish population. 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.

PREJUDICES:

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 mainly between nations or countries neighboring each other. However, prejudices are also common to geographically distant nations and countries.¹³²

In my opinion, prejudices arise simply because people are different – they come from different civilizations, historical periods, nations, ethnicities and cultures. Besides speaking different languages, they hold different values and have different skin colors. This means that religious prejudices are also a natural part of life, just as there are different religions in the world. Prejudices have also existed since time immemorial, and it is only a question of how much we are aware of their influence on our behavior and whether we are willing to critically analyze them.¹³³ This type of aversion often has a historical origin and is characterized by a high degree of inertia transmitted in the form of stereotypes across generations; however, it has been proven that these prejudices and attitudes currently have no justification or rational basis.¹³⁴

According to Gordon Allport, an American psychologist, a predisposition to prejudice is contained in human psychology and how we observe our world. Allport argues that prejudice is a

131 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:10.3138/9781442673342-007.

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

133 PREISSOVÁ, Andrea. *Multikulturalismus - ztracené paradigma?*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2014. p. 20-23.

134 NAKONEČNÝ, Milan. *Sociální psychologie organizace*. Praha: Grada, 2005. p. 276.

necessary consequence of ordinary categorization (i.e. the stereotyping process), which is important because it relates to the order of life.¹³⁵ The categorization process is characterized by the following characteristics. First, serves to group large clusters of information, which people follow in everyday life to estimate situations. They necessarily include all new experiences in these groupings. Second, the categorization process only aims to adapt to existing groupings to the extent that it is possible. Third, because of these categories, it is possible to swiftly identify a related object. Fourth, the individual phases of categorization that fit into a specific category acquire a certain *flavor*, which then evokes the same ideas and the same emotions. The last category is less rational, and is that in which “grains of truth” are usually born.¹³⁶

A special conception of prejudice can also be found in the 1960 work “*Wahrheit und Methode*” (Truth and Method) which understands prejudice as a necessary starting point for any cognitive process. According to German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, all individual wishes to understand something, for example a text or a speech, individuals must have certain predispositions. It means that an individual has to know what he/she would like to understand. Making “precipitated” judgments (prejudices) is grounded in traditions inherited from authorities, both in everyday life and in history, of which we are all a part. If any individuals wish to reject prejudices, for example at a certain stage of the cognitive process, it would interrupt the historical continuity.¹³⁷

The German sociologist Georg Simmel emphasized that the sociological concept of prejudices also lies in the idea of foreign element being understood as potential invaders. This arises from a foreign place bringing properties that have no origin in the new space. Its specific feature stands inside the group, but at the same time does not belong to it.¹³⁸ In his opinion, historically, foreign elements were often businessmen who had a brokerage business. This kind of

135 Compare to: (DEVINE, Patricia. Stereotypes and prejudice: their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of personality and social psychology*.1989, **56**(1). p. 5. and ALLPORT, Gordon Willard. *O povaze předsudků*. Praha: Prostor, 2004. p. 56).

136 Ibid. p. 51-53.

137 GADAMER, Hans Georg. *Wahrheit und Methode Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*. 6. durchges. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1990. p. 382.

138 SIMMEL, Georg. *Peníze v moderní kultuře a jiné eseje*. 2. vyd. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství, 2006. p. 26-28.

people (foreigners) are not perceived by the majority of society as individuals, but as foreigners of a certain type.¹³⁹

Based on the thoughts of the Czech educator Jan Průcha, prejudices also have two essential features – they are strong and emotionally accentuated attitudes towards the object of prejudice, but are also very firm, and as such do not change. These preconceived attitudes are subjective judgments which are for the most part strongly emotionally saturated, but are not based on objective knowledge of the people in question. People may believe some facts they learn from other people, even though they may realize these facts are not always true.¹⁴⁰

For example, the difference between prejudices and negative attitudes can be figuratively expressed by a situation in which a person has to walk through a narrow corridor together with an “ethnically identified person.” A person with prejudices might bump into a person against whom he has prejudices, while a person with a negative attitude might merely bypass this “ethnically identified person.”¹⁴¹

The most vulnerable group facing prejudicing are minorities - racial, religious, linguistic, sexual, etc. According to the journalist Thilo Koch, the problem arises when the “*vox populi*” condemns minorities that are “guilty” through their natural or cultural otherness. To eliminate prejudices, there must be dialog supported by both sides. Regarding this issue, Martin Buber’s quote is useful to illustrate the need for dialog to dispose of prejudices. After the war, Buber¹⁴² 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.¹⁴³

The occurrences of prejudices against certain social groups, including religious ones, is also related to the need for human beings to live in a community. Zygmund Bauman and Tim May speak of the community as a place where people are satisfied and pleased to live and where they

139 Ibid. p. 30.

140 PRŮCHA, Jan. *Interkulturní psychologie: sociopsychologické zkoumání kultur, etnik, ras a národů*. 3.vyd. Praha: Portál, 2010. p. 67.

141 VÝROST, Jozef. *Sociální psychologie*. 2. přeprac. vyd. Praha: Grada, 2008. p. 220.

142 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]. 2nd 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>).

143 KOCH, Thilo. *Porträts deutsch-jüdischer Geistesgeschichte*. Köln: Du-Mont Schauberg, 1961. p. 12.

prevent any quarrels and harsh debates, even though things are rather difficult. Communities always seek a solution and individuals can rely on the help of others. 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. The support of the community members stems from their willingness and ability to reach an agreement.¹⁴⁴

Anthropologist Mary Douglas developed the theory of spiritual unity, and judges that prejudices resulted from strong symbolic boundaries between “us” and “them” in the field of religion which occurred from the late Middle Age to Modern age. In her opinion, people were obsessed with “contamination” by those who exceeded these symbolic boundaries. The consequences of these fears turned into a variety of myths, including prejudice-based stories surrounding the Jewish desecration of Christian symbols, whose violence was justified by the need to cleanse society of danger.¹⁴⁵

A combination of religion and prejudices, both of which are important to my research, has been elaborated by the 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.¹⁴⁶ 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.¹⁴⁷

As mentioned, prejudices can also be directed against certain groups among the population, in our case Jewish religious and ethnic groups. In the publication *On the nature of prejudice*, some religions mainly teach compassion for the weak or defenseless, yet history is full of various pogroms, wars, and aggression against religious minorities. In this sense, religious discrimination based on prejudices can be defined as the hostile treatment of individuals or of influencing a

144 BAUMAN, Zygmunt and Tim MAY. *Thinking sociologically*. 3rd ed. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2019. p. 44.

145 MCGUIRE, Meredith B. *Lived religion: faith and practice in everyday life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. p. 41-42.

146 DOVIDIO, John, Peter GLICK, and Laurie RUDMAN. *On the Nature of Prejudice: fifty years after Allport*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005. p. 413.

147 Ibid. p. 414.

particular belief, practice or religious belief. This includes unequal treatment before the law, discrimination in employment or housing, and unequal treatment within government institutions.¹⁴⁸

Laws containing minor restrictions against religious groups that regulate religion in particular states may be considered moderate forms of persecution or religious discrimination in a society where constitutional law regulates freedom of religion. Even in liberal democratic countries, representatives of religious minorities are often concerned with state interference in religious matters.¹⁴⁹

A higher degree of religious discrimination based on prejudice can be defined as religious persecution. This type of discrimination determines the systematic abuse of groups or individuals in relation to their religion. Religious persecution can be provoked in several ways, including accepting the hostile national policies and the initiative of radical anti-religious groups. The communist state system has historically considered religion to be a subversive element and a threat to state interests and the security of the population. Jews have a long experience with this type of persecution, but it is necessary to recognize to what extent established restrictions limited the life of the Jewish population during the second half of the 1960s.

STEREOTYPES:

Stereotypes have the same psychological essence as prejudices, whereby the judgement is partly suppressed, and they also have a strongly emotional pitch. Individuals or groups use these attitudes, opinions and imaginations against other individuals, groups, or even against themselves.

Průcha divides stereotypes into separate categories according to their national, ethnic, racial or religious components. These “standard” ways of assessment reflect individuals, groups, classes or objects on the basis of maintenance by tradition.¹⁵⁰ Besides, Czech psychologist Milan Nakonečný judges that stereotypes can also be defined as implicit theories of personality in terms of a group that an individual belongs to (autostereotypes) or about another group (heterostereotypes).¹⁵¹ This creates an overall picture not only of another individual, but also of

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 413.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 413-414.

¹⁵⁰ PRŮCHA, Jan. *Interkulturní psychologie: sociopsychologické zkoumání kultur, etnik, ras a národů*. Praha: Portál, 2010. p. 68.

¹⁵¹ These can contain large or small groups.

another group, while the picture thus created is a product of belonging to a group and thus becomes a finished product, without it being a product of the individual's own experience. In this sense, Nakonečný considers stereotypes a certain type of prejudice against a certain social category or group, usually ethnic or national minorities, and can stem from xenophobia.¹⁵²

Stereotypes are characterized by their inertia, which means they are passed down across generations, it is difficult to change them, and they tend to simplistically transmit individual experiences to the whole group, often taken either positively or negatively.¹⁵³ 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.¹⁵⁴

According to some experts in social psychology, the difference between prejudices and stereotypes is that prejudices are attitudes and opinions that usually express a hostile or unfavorable relationship with other groups, whereas stereotypes can have negative, neutral or even positive connotations. However, other experts argue that there is essentially no difference between these concepts.¹⁵⁵

Here I would like to focus on a theoretical definition of prejudice to specific categories of prejudice that concern the Jewish population. Traditional Jewish stereotypes are a specific phenomenon for several reasons. 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.¹⁵⁶ Stereotypical antisemitism is a dangerous phenomenon today, mainly

152 NAKONEČNÝ, Milan. *Sociální psychologie organizace*. Praha: Grada, 2005. p. 20-24.

153 PRŮCHA, Jan. *Interkulturní psychologie: sociopsychologické zkoumání kultur, etnik, ras a národů*. Praha: Portál, 2010. p. 68.

154 JIRÁSKOVÁ, Věra. *Multikulturní výchova: předsudky a stereotypy*. Praha: Epoque, 2006. p. 126-127.

155 PRŮCHA, Jan. *Interkulturní psychologie: sociopsychologické zkoumání kultur, etnik, ras a národů*. Praha: Portál, 2010. p. 69.

156 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/>.

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

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, a large number of Americans believe that Jews still have too much power in business, policy and Wall Street.¹⁵⁷ The results of the 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.¹⁵⁸

The most common Jewish stereotypes include: Greedy Jew, Beautiful Jewess,¹⁵⁹ Jewish lawyer,¹⁶⁰ Jewish doctor, nice Jewish boy and – typical in the USA – Jewish-American princess.¹⁶¹ 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.

ANTISEMITISM AND NEW ANTISEMITISM

Antisemitism, i.e. the resentment of Jews for various reasons, has undergone many changes. The very phenomenon of resistance to the Jews is rooted in the Christian doctrine of the theological overcoming of Judaism through the recognition of Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah and Son of

¹⁵⁷ According to their sociological research based on 1,200 respondents, 79% of respondents indicated that Jews control most businesses in the USA.

¹⁵⁸ *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.

¹⁵⁹ 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.

¹⁶⁰ This term shows Jews as greedy, wicked and ungrateful lawyers abusing legal systems to their favor.

¹⁶¹ This is a pejorative term of a selfish and materialistic woman pampered by a wealthy background.

God. Until the Enlightenment, anti-Jewish attitudes were mainly justified religiously (from the Byzantine, Roman Catholic and Protestant parties), but the emergence of the nation state added a nationalist aspect, and later the racist aspect based on the allegedly biological nature of Judaism. The word antisemitism is itself an eloquent proof of this journey full of metamorphoses.

When looking at different definitions of antisemitism, I decided to mention several definitions of antisemitism from a variety of authors.

In 1870, journalist Wilhelm Marr defined antisemitism as simply hatred towards Jews, but today this definition is too narrow and insufficient. Marr 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.¹⁶² Marr'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*.”¹⁶³ The Holocaust and Nazi antisemitism consigned Marr's (admittedly) radical antisemitism to the dustbin of history, but antisemitism and associated stereotypes never completely disappeared. Anti-Jewish rhetoric has only taken on new, less explicit forms. Nowadays, among the most widespread forms of antisemitism are Holocaust deniers together with negation of Israel and Jewish identity – sometimes referred to as “new antisemitism”.

It is often questioned whether antisemitism is a distinct phenomenon, or whether it is possible to classify as part of the more general phenomenon of racism. Michel Wieviorka has addressed this question in three parts:¹⁶⁴ first, antisemitism is not a sociological phenomenon of its own, as scholars use the same methodology to investigate antisemitism as they do to investigate racism. Second, it is historically a special case – it does not always entirely fit within the category of racism or xenophobia. Third, it is either political or not – opinions vary considerably in this case, depending on individual cases of the ideological use of antisemitic arrangements.

162 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.

163 Similar associations were established elsewhere in Europe e.g. in France, Jules Guérin founded the *Ligue antisémitique*. (TAGUIEFF, Pierre-André. *La nouvelle judéophobie*. Paris: Mille et une nuits, 2002. p. 26).

164 WIEVIORKA, Michel. Racism in Europe: unity and diversity. In: *Selected studies in international migration and immigrant incorporation*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, p. 259-274.

However, in my opinion, it is not methodologically or practically beneficial to speak of the relationship between antisemitism and racism. Jews do not constitute a separate race, and the term “racism” does not only refer to racial categories, thus antisemitism is not always racist – however, it can become racist.¹⁶⁵

I mostly 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. The collective violence either led by the state or only by a certain influential groups of individuals also play a role here. Violence can take various forms, from physical oppression to confiscation of property and expulsion from society.¹⁶⁶

For a definition of modern antisemitism in the Czech lands, I rely on the work of historian Michal Frankl, who deals with the origin, development and manifestations of modern antisemitism in Czech society at the end of the 19th century and places it in context of the rise of European antisemitic movements. The common denominator of all these definitions is the statement that it is hostility or hatred towards Jews, ranging from verbal attacks to acts of violence and pogroms. According to his opinion, 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. In his opinion, if people wish to understand modern antisemitism, it is important to analyze conspiracy theories concerning Jewish domination through the global economic influence of the Rothschild family.¹⁶⁷

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

165 For instance, there is the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ("racial hatred"), UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (race differentiation).

166 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.

167 FRANKL, Michal. *"Emancipace od židů": český antisemitismus na konci 19. století*. Praha: Paseka, 2007. p. 23.

unmistakable phenomenon in history. In his opinion, this constant antipathy has developed over time, but is omnipresent.¹⁶⁸

Some theorists of antisemitism, along with many Jewish organizations, argue that the means, purposes and consequences of the Holocaust reserve a special place in history for the Jewish nation, and all comparisons with other genocides are considered offensive and potentially antisemitic. In contrast, American historian Peter Novick asserts that insisting on the uniqueness of the Holocaust leads to intellectual emptiness because, in his opinion, every historical event (including the Holocaust) is unique, different but also akin and analogous to other historical events and therefore can be compared with other genocides. In his opinion, a debate on this topic is necessary. In his publication, Novick describes the post-war period in the United States in which Jews, under the influence of an integrative ethos, sought to become an integral part of American society. In this sense, Novick sought to bring about a new debate among American Jews who were never confronted with the aftermath of the Holocaust.¹⁶⁹

To further elaborate on antisemitism, I am convinced that it is also important to mention sociologist Shulamit Volkov, who considers antisemitism a discursive perspective. Volkov deals with explicitly anti-Jewish manifestations in the discourses of some social classes, and her publication seeks to comprehensively describe and analyze antisemitic incidents in Germany and the development of antisemitism among German societal classes. In addition, Volkov also describes an international perspective on antisemitic attitudes in other European states at the time. She argues that a new view on the nature of antisemitism is needed, and that scholars should try to explain the complexity of modern Jewish life in Germany. 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.¹⁷⁰

Besides Volkov, the entire concept of antisemitism was also covered by Jewish sociologist Zygmund Baumann, who asserts that antisemitism combines two different currents – philosemitism and antisemitism. According to Baumann, this ambivalent approach can be seen as

168 PAVLÁT, Leo, ed. *Židé - dějiny a kultura*. 4. vyd. Praha: Židovské muzeum, 2007. p. 83.

169 NOVICK, Peter. *The Holocaust and collective memory: the American experience*. London: Bloomsbury, 2000.

170 VOLKOV, Shulamit. *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. p. 89.

a form of proteophobia¹⁷¹ and not as heterophobia.¹⁷² Developing his theory on examples of diversity, he concluded that Judeophobia is too diverse to be entirely encompassed by the term antisemitism.¹⁷³

As for the definition of the term modern antisemitism, Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein,¹⁷⁴ who came up with the term new antisemitism, played an important role in this matter. 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. Remco Ensel opposed their definition and considered their approach liquidating for a possible further debate on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which could legally regulate or specify the term in the future. In his view, new antisemitism is only an excuse for concealing all the political transgressions of the state of Israel. 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 term anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli criticism.¹⁷⁵

Arnold Foster and Benjamin R. Epstein asked in the first chapter of their work whether the post-war honeymoon with Jews and Israel had disappeared. The authors suggested that the late 1960s “ethos of compassion” with the Jews had indeed disappeared, and they were no longer seen by the world as victims, but as perpetrators and aggressors who intimidated their Palestinian counterparts.¹⁷⁶

171 Proteophobia is the fear of things that defy clearly defined categories in this concept. It is a reaction to difference that does not comply with the cognitive spacing. (BECKE, Johannes. Beyond Allozionism: Exceptionalizing and De-Exceptionalizing the Zionist Project. *Israel Studies* [online]. 2018, **23**(2), p.172 [Accessed. 2021-5-14]. Available from: doi:10.2979/israelstudies.23.2.08.

172 Heterophobia is the fear of otherness. (Ibid p. 168.)

173 See more: BAUMANN, Zygmund. Allo-Semitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern. In: *Modernity, Culture, and “the Jew”*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

174 Leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith.

175 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>).

176 FORSTER Arnold. *The New Anti-Semitism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974. p. 1.

According to Arnold Foster and his colleague, new antisemitism is grounded in the radical left, which defends the people of the Third world.¹⁷⁷ From their point of view, the Jewish nation in the Middle East is seen as the enemy and the State of Israel is understood to be an international enemy who is supported by American politics.¹⁷⁸ 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 their opinion, Jews are no longer seen as a legitimate object of criticism and their interests are no longer treated equally with other minorities. The authors warned that global policy was looking for a scapegoat, which was considered a very dangerous approach.¹⁷⁹

To illustrate the phenomenon of “contemporary new antisemitism” in the literature, I decided to choose the publication of Abraham H. Foxman, former National Director of the ADL (Anti-Defamation League), who offers a more contemporary and elaborated view of the new antisemitism. He 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.¹⁸⁰ According to him, there is a great fear of an outbreak of antisemitic violence in universities. Foxman further describes some

177 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 were influential, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, along with the work of Frantz Fanon. This analytical essay examines colonialism, the alienation of the colonized and the wars of liberation. It 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=5I1CDAAAQBAJ>).

178 FORSTER Arnold. *The New Anti-Semitism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974. p. 11.

179 Ibid. p. 18.

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

violent attacks against individual Jews, as well as some apparently antisemitic comments by public figures.¹⁸¹ 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.¹⁸² According to him, there may be some ideological bias, myths or injustice,¹⁸³ but this is clearly not antisemitism, even though new antisemitism does exist in the public and political sphere. Foxman also demonstrates with several examples that “the longest hatred” has turned into a malignant and potentially deadly virus.¹⁸⁴ His publication clearly sends the message that a new wave of hatred against Jews has been rising since the Holocaust.¹⁸⁵

One of the hallmarks of the new antisemitism is the lingering notion that Jews, by means of Israel's economic and technological power, seek to gain political domination in the United States – one of the leading powers of the world economy. This idea has been supported by the fact that the position of the Jews overall improved after the war, and that many Jewish families became rich and gained some influence.¹⁸⁶ New generations of antisemites, like their predecessors, focus primarily on the fact that Jews are represented in lucrative industries. They fear Jewish success, which may jeopardize their own position. In particular, people from the middle class have the notion that Jewish business success is undeserved, and that they achieved everything through some sort of conspiracy.¹⁸⁷

This view of new antisemitism was, among others, elaborated by American professor of psychology Phyllis Chesler, who takes a more radical, activist approach to this issue.¹⁸⁸ She

¹⁸¹Ibid. p. 75.

¹⁸²Ibid. p. 172.

¹⁸³ Abraham Foxman writes, among others, about the persistent myth of Jewish political power in the USA. In his opinion, many people in the USA accuse Jews of organizing the invasion to Iraq. (Ibid. p. 79).

¹⁸⁴Ibid. p. 126.

¹⁸⁵ For example, he describes different forms of Jewish money-stereotypes in his book dedicated to various manifestations of anti-Jewish incidents. (FOXMAN, Abraham. *Jews and money: the story of a stereotype*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹⁸⁶ LAQUEUR, Walter. *A history of Zionism: from the French Revolution to the establishment of the State of Israel* [online]. 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. p. 146.

¹⁸⁷ FREDRICKSON, George. *Rasismus-stručná historie*. Prague: BB art, 2003. p. 99.

¹⁸⁸ Phyllis Chesler's publication must be taken with a grain of salt, as it is a manifesto rather than a scientific treatise. Sometimes, her arguments contradict each other; her definition of "new" antisemitism is vague and easily

analyzed the new antisemitism as one of the most dangerous phenomena in the world. In her opinion, it seems that the new antisemitism remains the same in its principal features. According to Chesler, the main political antisemitic force is grounded in the left's political power of the Western "progressive" intelligentsia and the Islamic world, which defend the interests of the Palestinians and their representatives while sharply criticizing Israeli policy.

In her opinion, some leftist proponents demonize Israel and its politics and Israeli politicians face radical condemnation because of their behavior towards Palestinians. Chesler also speaks of a short period of mutual understanding between 1948-1968, arguing that the Suez Crisis and the Six Day War had a major impact on Israel's foreign relations. In the evaluation of the period up to the end of the 1960s, she agrees with her predecessors (Foster), but does not answer the question of what is the core meaning of the new antisemitism. The author also describes the 1970s as "the beginning of modern or also postmodern pogroms," beginning with the resolution of the UN General Assembly in 1975 that concluded Zionism is a form of racism.¹⁸⁹ Besides these statements, she considers the terrorist attack¹⁹⁰ on the USA to be another milestone in the history of the "new" antisemitism. In her opinion, conspiracy theories accuse Jews of preparing the terrorist air-raid attack, combining antisemitism with anti-Americanism.¹⁹¹ I decided to include this view on the issue in order to demonstrate the difficulty of addressing this issue equally and fairly.

Nowadays, it is extremely difficult to find an equal and balanced debate because, as I have tried to demonstrate above, this topic is very heated and emotional for a large number of proponents. In an attempt to find different opinions on the concept of new antisemitism, I submit the work of Josef Joffe, a German publisher and academic, who wrote the article *The Demons of Europe*,¹⁹² in which he defends the concept of new antisemitism that jeopardizes Jews in Israel and

questionable, and reviewers from feminist media have accused her of quoting facts that are either inaccurate or manifestly untrue. (COHEN, Tamara. Phyllis Chesler. *The Jewish Women's Archive documents Jewish women's stories, elevates their voices, and inspires them to be agents of change*. [online]. Harvard: Jewish Women's Archive, 1998, 2021 [Accessed 2020-8-26]. Available from: <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/chesler-phyllis#pid-18767>)
189 CHESLER, Phyllis. *The new anti-Semitism: the current crisis and what we must do about it*. San Francisco :Jossey-Bass, 2003. p. 53.

190 I mean the terrorist air raid on September 11, 2001.

191 CHESLER, Phyllis. *The new anti-Semitism: the current crisis and what we must do about it*. San Francisco :Jossey-Bass, 2003. p. 27.

192 JOFFE, Josef. *The Demons of Europe*. In: *Commentary* [online]. 2004 [Accessed 2021-3-11]. Available from: <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/josef-joffe/the-demons-of-europe/>.

in diaspora. *“In polite Western society, it is infra dig to say: “Yes, I hate the Jews.” Not so, “I hate Sharon” or “Israelis behave like Nazis.” At this juncture, one begins to muse on displacement, about the human habit to pummel one object while actually targeting another, the other being usually protected by fearsome power, whether symbolic or real. Lashing out at an Israeli leader does not risk the raised eyebrows that demonizing his people, let alone Jews, would do in a post-racist age.”*¹⁹³

By contrast, Oxford academic Brian Klug addressed the question of the new antisemitism in the article published in the left-oriented journal *the Nation*.¹⁹⁴ In his opinion, the biggest mistake is to conflate antisemitism with anti-Zionism. Klug legitimizes disagreeing with Sharon's policy, and according to him, anti-Zionism is a completely legitimate disagreement with the idea of the state based on the principles of Jewish nationalism.

*“...the young Muslim immigrants who carried out these attacks¹⁹⁵ are anti-Semites. For it's not the Jews of France who are occupying the territories, it's the State of Israel. [...] Israel does not regard itself as a state that just happens to be Jewish (like the medieval kingdom of the Khazars). It sees itself as (in Prime Minister Sharon's phrase) “the Jewish collective,” the sovereign state of the Jewish people as a whole. In his speech at the Herzliya Conference in December, Sharon called the state “a national and spiritual center for all Jews of the world,” and added, “Aliyah [Jewish immigration] is the central goal of the State of Israel. [...] The concept of “new antisemitism,” to the extent that it is based on mainstream Zionist ideology, is just the other side of the coin, the obverse of this new idea of a Jew, the national Jew”*¹⁹⁶

Based on another article published by Klug in December 2003, he is clearly persistent in his effort to keep this issue alive in public space.¹⁹⁷ He contends with anti-Zionist and antisemitic perspectives as follows: *“From the beginning, political Zionism was a controversial movement even among Jews. So strong was the opposition of German orthodox and reform rabbis to the Zionist idea in the name of Judaism that Theodor Herzl changed the venue of the First Zionist Congress in 1897 from Munich to Basle in Switzerland. [...] The creation of the state of Israel in*

193 Ibid.

194 KLUG, Brian. The myth of the new anti-Semitism. *The Nation*. 2004, 2. p. 23-29.

195 He means the anti-Jewish attacks in France.

196 Ibid. p. 23-29.

197 KLUG, Brian. No, anti-Zionism is not anti-semitism. In: *Guardian* [online]. 2003 [Accessed 2021-3-11]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/dec/03/comment>.

*1948 has not put an end to the debate, though the issue has changed. Today, the question is about Israel's future. Should it become a "post-Zionist" state, one that defines itself in terms of the sum of its citizens, rather than seeing itself as belonging to the entire Jewish people? This is a perfectly legitimate question and not antisemitic in the least."*¹⁹⁸ In his opinion, it is acceptable and legitimate to define Israel as a state for all its inhabitants, rather than a Jewish state. People are not antisemites whether they reject the current concept of the Jewish national state in the modern sense of this expression.

Brian Klug is not the only one who points out the misuse of the term new antisemitism, as former professor Norman Finkelstein radically contradicts the concept of new antisemitism in his book *Beyond Chutzpah*.¹⁹⁹ *"The main purpose behind these periodic, meticulously orchestrated media extravaganzas is not to fight antisemitism but rather to exploit the historical suffering of Jews in order to immunize Israel against criticism. Each campaign to combat the "new antisemitism" has coincided with renewed international pressure on Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab territory in exchange for recognition from neighboring Arab states."*²⁰⁰

Another scholar who is currently addressing the issue of contemporary anti-Zionism is Nathan Sharansky, who created a series of criteria of legitimate criticism towards Israel in order to distinguish deliberate antisemitism from legitimate criticism. He personally called this test 3D, and the purpose is to counteract antisemitism on these indicators – Delegitimization, Demonization, and Double standards²⁰¹ – namely political pressure to impose different standards on the Israeli government compared to other democracies. In other words, the test essentially analyzes the legitimate criticism of the state of Israel and seeks to find a boundary for illegitimate criticism that moves the issue or debate to the antisemitic level.²⁰²

Besides distinguishing legitimate criticism from antisemitism, Earl Raab, the co-founder of JPAC,²⁰³ believes there has been a rise of antisemitism in the world associated with prejudices

198 Ibid.

199 FINKELSTEIN, Norman G. *Beyond chutzpah: on the misuse of anti-semitism and the abuse of history*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

200 Ibid. p. 21-22.

201 *"Double standards are a form of what Zygmunt Bauman calls 'allosemitism', the singling out of Jews and Judaism as so special, different, unique and exemplary that they merit different standards of normative assessment."* (JUDAKEN, Jonathan. So what's new? rethinking the 'new antisemitism' in a global age. *Patterns of Prejudice*. 2008, 42(4-5), p. 554.

202 Ibid. p. 553-554.

203 Jewish Public Affairs Committee of California.

against Israel. In his opinion, there are often various political trials motivated by antisemitism; he also believes that antisemitism and anti-Zionism are interlinked, but cannot be substituted. The wrong direction is whether people believe that disposal of antisemitism results in disposal of anti-Zionism. He also believes, in opposition to Hillel Halkin, that the new anti-Israeli antisemitism is hidden behind old antisemitism, as in his opinion *“these formulations do not recognize the existence of prejudice against Israel except as a function of prejudice against all Jews.”*²⁰⁴ However, in his opinion, people should be able to identify prejudices against Israel even though they are well-hidden within the context, but have recognizable universal symptoms. *“...a systematic prejudice against Israel is identifiable as a discrete phenomenon, dangerous in its own terms, whether it is or is not caused by antisemitism. It can be identified in its own sphere and with its own particulars, by the universal symptoms, the Four Horsemen of all prejudice: prejudgment, stereotype, double standard, scapegoat. These symptoms are also the tools of all prejudice, and have some similar consequences.”*²⁰⁵ Similar to other scholars he also warns against antisemitism on university campuses and media in Europe and the USA. *“In America and Europe, the telltale evidence of prejudice against Israel abounds in the media, on university campuses, and in general among significant sectors of public intellectuals and political activists.”*²⁰⁶

STALIN’S ANTISEMITISM:

The trauma of the war, a genocide and the experiences with willing collaborators left their mark in the Jewish psyche. Many survivors thus went to 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.²⁰⁷ The countries under Communist control had to solve the same problem as their counterparts in the West, and the communist regime under

204 RAAB, Earl. Antisemitism, anti-Israelism, anti-Americanism. *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought*. 2002, **51**(4), p. 387.

205 Ibid. p. 387.

206 Ibid. p. 388.

207 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]).

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

Why and when did this kind of antisemitism occur? Scholars have in general judged that the focus of Stalin's antisemitism was during the post-war period.²⁰⁸ 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.

The three key milestones of Stalin's antisemitism were: 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 chairman²⁰⁹ of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, Solomon Mikhoels.²¹⁰

In effect, Mikhoels' death initiated the peak period of Stalin's antisemitism. While previous purges with an antisemitic subtext mostly focused on administrative-bureaucratic measures (dismissal, expulsion, etc.), from 1952 onwards, state security authorities gradually began playing a more important role within the so-called show trials and repressions that considerably afflicted both active Jewish elites and the assimilated Jewish population. Extensive personnel purges also took place, mainly in the state administration and in the area of ideological and propaganda

208 The book by historian Timothy Snyder deals with prewar and post-war antisemitism. (SNYDER, Timothy. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books, 2010).

209 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>.

210 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).

activities such as journalism, art, science, universities and education. These oppressive methods 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.²¹¹

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 as in the case of Nazi Germany. For the same reasons, it cannot be reduced to a mere psychopathology of Stalin's personality.

According to Hannah Arendt, politically motivated Stalinist antisemitism was skillfully used for propaganda purposes, especially to build up the image of the Jewish enemy. The ideological background of totalitarian regimes and their principal dynamic elements served primarily to justify the internal and external policies of the regime, as well as to justify domestic and foreign problems.²¹²

According to Israeli historian Binyamin Pinkus and his colleagues, Jewish people were great scapegoats, even though their efforts to assimilate into Russian society were more than obvious. What raised concerns among communist officials was self-confident identification with Jewish culture. Those who survived the horrors of organized extermination during the war wanted to point out that Hitler had failed. Therefore, they could easily become an enemy 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.²¹³

These facts shed light on why Stalin's antisemitism also had a significant propaganda dimension. For example, Soviet authorities suppressed all attempts to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust in literature or by erecting monuments. There was no chance to talk about Jewish victims of Nazism, only Soviet victims of Nazism. Jewish cultural activity was suppressed as part

211 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.

212 ARENDT, Hannah. *Původ totalitarismu I-III*. 2. vyd. Praha: OIKOYMENH, 2013. p. 574-575.

213 PINKUS, Benjamin. *The Soviet Government and the Jews 1948-1967: a documented study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

of an openly antisemitic campaign. Members of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee were arrested, and in most cases executed. There were no rehabilitations until Stalin's death.²¹⁴

Contrary to clear anti-Zionist and antisemitic incidents, it is important to state that some members of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union and in the “controlled countries did not solely react to the communist (Stalinist) regime negatively. Historian Alca Oltean asserts that during Soviet rule in Eastern and Central Europe, many Jews from satellite countries sought to integrate into communist societies rather than flee to Israel. They often became members of the Communist Party, or even representatives of the Communist upper classes. The Jewish focus on left-wing ideas dates back to ancient times, and Jewish participation in the October Revolution and their early engagement in Russian communism, is undeniable.²¹⁵ 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.²¹⁶

The impact of communist ideology on the Jews was, among others, elaborated by historian Peter Meyer, who described Soviet methods applied to Jewish integration, saying that communist ideologists promised to solve the "Jewish question" to provoke antagonism between Jews and Gentiles.²¹⁷ 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. However, from an early stage Communist officials began accusing Jews of crimes that were traditionally attributed to them. A new accusation came from imperialist tendencies by means of reinforced Zionist movement. From the communist perspective, Zionists pushed the state of Israel towards the "bellicose United States" camp, using its influence on Wall Street to do so.²¹⁸ During the war, Stalin conducted less antisemitic politics

214 ŠIMOVÁ, Kateřina. Nejnebezpečnější pozůstatek kanibalismu : Stalinský antisemitismus v letech 1948 až 1953. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Studia Territoria*. 2013, **13**(4), p. 33-55.

215 OLTEAN, Anca. The situation of the Jews in Soviet Union and its satellite countries after the Second World War. *Analele Universității din Oradea. Relații Internationale și Studii Europene (RISE)*. 2009, (1), p. 24-31.

216 ZOUPĽNA, Jan. *Od jišuvu k Izraeli: formování izraelských mocenských elit 1919-1949*. Praha: Libri, 2007. p. 131.

217 MEYER, Peter. *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1953. p. 40.

218 HOLÝ, Jiří, ed. *Cizí i blízcí: Židé, literatura, kultura v českých zemích ve 20. století*. Praha: Akropolis, 2016. p. 763-764.

towards the Jews in the Soviet Union, allowing them to establish an anti-fascist Jewish committee. After the establishment of the state of Israel, he even briefly supported Zionism.²¹⁹

Nevertheless, it must be considered on the other side that the Soviet Union actively supported the establishment of an independent Israel and it was among the first countries which recognized Israel de jure and provided military assistance via its satellites, including Czechoslovakia. These activities in favor of Israel were not motivated by moral reasons or in order to bring Israel into the orbit of its influence. The Soviet Union intended to weaken Britain's influence in the Middle East to ensure the security of the Soviet borders by creating an area of permanent conflict between Arabs and Jews.²²⁰ The establishment of an independent Jewish state considerably enhanced the level of national self-identification of the Jewish minority. This enthusiasm escalated in the autumn of 1948 during the visit of the first Israeli ambassador, Golda Meir, to Moscow. Her stay was accompanied by demonstrations where people demonstrated their Jewish identity and solidarity with Israel.²²¹ This policy also greatly affected the relations between Israel and Czechoslovakia which was one of the Soviet satellites.

Modern Jewish Identity: Different approaches to constant ongoing formation

*Our identity is changing too fast that nobody can find out who we really are. (Hannah Arendt)*²²²

This chapter deals with the categorization of Jewishness in terms of Czech/Slovak and Luxembourgish Jewish identities among members of the second and third post-war generations, including various perceptions of Jewish identity. To concisely address the question of modern Jewish identity or Jewishness seems almost impossible in an international context. It is therefore essential to choose only a limited range of denominators which can be analyzed by one researcher with limited time, so this chapter will thus primarily deal with some dimensions of narrative identity, issues of hybrid identity, and the issues of authenticity and cultural identity.

219 JOHNSON, Paul. *History of the Jews*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1988. p. 21.

220 Ibid p. 45.

221 TATEROVÁ, Eva. *Československá zahraniční politika vůči Státu Izrael v letech 1948-1967*. Brno: Mendelova univerzita, 2017. p. 31.

222 ARENDT, Hannah. *We Refugees. Altogether elsewhere: writers on exile*. Winchester: Faber and Faber, 1994. p. 116.

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 world around us. Doubts about personal identity always appear when individuals leave their principal group and are confronted with the world outside.²²³ 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?” The problem of contemporary discourse is the term roots and its meaning – the question being, what do these roots consist of? There are countless definitions suggested both by Jews and non-Jews to characterize the question of roots. The state of uncertainty about personal identity differs from not being rooted and being *uprooted*. Eleonóra Hamar states that one can create a very strong sense of one's own identity due to the apparent absence of roots. The seed of the inconsistency of Jewish identities can be seen both in the form of 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.²²⁴

In another definition, I chose a definition by sociologist Jakub Mlynář who judges that identity derives from individual self-being, social positions and roles, or group affiliation. Precisely defined terms of identity (personal identity, social identity and collective identity) allow researchers to clearly define the various subcategories and dimensions of identities. In his view, personal identity can be defined as a group of certain characteristics and features that are linked to the perception and depiction of certain human beings. It is important to analyze people through their uniqueness in a certain environment, which significantly distinguish them from all other human beings (their place and date of birth). It is also important for an individual or group of individuals to know their social role in society. As society is hierarchically structured, professional social identity plays an important role here. By contrast, collective identity is a set of certain conditions that determine people's behavior based on their relationship to society as a functioning

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

224 HAMAR, Eleonóra. *Výprávěná židovství: o narativní konstrukci druhogeneračních židovských identit*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), 2008. p. 73.

whole. Groups of people form complicated units in society, which to some extent determine their behavior and relationships with other people being outside a particular unit.²²⁵

Individual aspects of Jewish collective identity and collective consciousness are not taken from holistic perspective, but rather as an individual-reflected group affiliation. I side the view of Jan Assmann, who asserts that the boundaries between the collective and individual dimensions of identity can often be vague, permeable and ambiguous within a social reality.²²⁶

Jakub Mlynář also judges that identity is understood as an objective given, an integral part of an individual (or community). An identity can be possessed, to some extent, regardless of the knowledge of a particular individual. Mlynář says that we can discover the essential identity, but 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. However, its validity or relevance cannot be attributed to one approach or the other. Rather, these two aspects combined capture the essence of the problem. One chooses and shapes one's identity to a certain extent, but the limits of possibilities are (again and again) drawn by cultural customs, social norms and institutions.²²⁷

The issues reflecting contemporary modern Jewish identity are closely linked to the transformation of modern European societies. However, the issue of Jewish identity and Judaism cannot only be linked to the onset of modernity. Efforts to understand it permeate a number of scientific disciplines, including psychology, theology, anthropology, sociology, etc. Psychologists often use the term “identity” to describe personal identity - the elements that distinguish one person from another. Psychologist Rebecca Erikson emphasized the role of the social aspect of individual psychology. She described identity as “*a subjective feeling of wholeness, stimulating equality and continuity. These aspects require a harmonious state of self-balance, rationality and stability, as guarantors of psychological happiness.*”²²⁸

225 MLYNÁŘ, Jakub. Pluralita identit v autobiografickém vyprávění československých Židů žijících v zahraničí. *Historická Sociologie*. 2016, 8(1), p. 33-51.

226 According to Assmann, scholars should realize that the testimonies provided are subjective.

227 Ibid. p. 34.

228 ERICKSON, Rebecca. The importance of authenticity for self and society. *Symbolic interaction* [online]. 1995, 18(2), p. 121-144 [Accessed 2021-8-1]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1525/si.1995.18.2.121>.

Sociologists refer to social identity, a group membership that defines individuals. Maykel Verkuyten points out that for an identity to work, 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 ethnic minorities from psychological perspective are dependent upon different social comparisons within a particular ethnic group, within majority group and other ethnic minorities.²²⁹

Anthropologists research the dimensions of human identity by referring to ideas of individuality – traits that distinguish an individual from others. They 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.*”²³⁰

Contrary to Melluci’s definition, Karmela Liebkind 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 extent abstract, but its manifestations and how it is presented are descriptive – it is visible in language, dress, behavior, and belonging to the community.²³¹

Philosophical concepts of identity enable us to focus on the center, “I” as the subject of objective metaphysics and “I” as a socially established subject. Identity is clearly linked to

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

230 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>.

231 LIEBKIND, Karmela. *New identities in Europe: immigrant ancestry and the ethnic identity of youth*. Hants: Gower, 1989. p. 157.

questions of ethics, dealing with what it means to have a culture, to be a member of a culture, to identify with it and to be identified as a member of it. Culture equips people with an identity, promotes their identity and more generally provides the grounds for the existence of identity among people.²³² Philosophical concepts of identity together with cultural and ethical dimensions of identity define socially established entity "I" to make it ethically comfortable way of life. In my research, a Jewish individual follows certain rules and religious rules of the community. In short: each "I" entity follows a community-based ethical "guide" to perform itself.

German philosopher Franz Rosenzweig, for example, also dealt with the pre-modern question of Jewish identity. 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, it 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. In his opinion, people have lost their innocence, and are thus now weakening, but also that Jews have the remarkable factor by the name of Israel, which serves as a schematizing aspect for all Jews, regardless of the generation.²³³

A number of well-known scholars²³⁴ have highlighted the ambiguity of modern Jewish identities, and their work points to the ambivalent nature and multiplicity of Jewish post-war population. According to Elias Canetti, it is important to admire Jews because they still exist despite being banished from their homeland thousands of years ago. Until recently, there has not been territoriality and linguistic unification among them, and most have forgotten how to speak Hebrew or Yiddish. Canetti also asserts that Jewish religiosity has largely lost its importance for many Jews in the diaspora, and that many Jews have converted to Christianity.²³⁵ Analyzing the diversity and multiplicity of Jewish identities does not only mean referring to diversification that

232 KRAUSZ, Michael. *Is There a Single Right Interpretation?* [online]. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2021 [Accessed 2021-7-1]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780271032344>. p. 26-76.

233 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.

234 According to Hannah Arendt, Jewish identities and identifications are so different that even Jews themselves are not able say who they are. (ARENDR, Hannah and Robert COOPER. *The Jew as Pariah: Jewish Identity and Politics in the Modern Age*. New York: Grove Press, 1978.) Elias Canetti, in his complex essay on crowd psychology, considered Jews to be so diversified that is difficult to find any unity, even by themselves. (CANETTI, Elias. *Masa a moc*. Praha: Academia, 2007. p. 248).

235 CANETTI, Elias. *Masa a moc*. Praha: Academia, 2007. p. 248.

has arisen historically, but also inevitably works with a synchronous dimension that allows us to conceive a plurality of Jewish identities in contemporary Judaism.

Ernest Krausz outlines two concepts of Jewish identity. Human nature is an important factor in understanding its position as a human being. The concept of essential Jewish identity deals with the primordial dimension of identity – a stable essence that is historical and social, whereby people are either Jewish or not. Judaism does not depend on the opinions and attitudes of the individual. One never ceases to be a Jew. In other words, those who consider Jewish are deeply convinced that is their inevitable destiny, impossible to change it. He defines this kind of Jewish identity “Judaism by birth”, includes a sense of primordialism, and develops the theories of fixed identities. “Judaism by birth” is in contrast to its other pole, namely “Judaism by conviction.” The concept of “Judaism out of conviction” is a socially constructivist position, and states that there is no essence common to all Jews. There are only Jewish people with their characteristics and Judaism as whole representing a group of features in which certain people perform or are ascribed to them - by themselves and by others.²³⁶

As well as Krausz’s types of Jewish identity, Ben-Rafael describes the internal dilemmas of Jewish communities. The first issue addressed by Jewish people was how to define Jewish communities. Is it rather a religious, social or cultural unit grouping a certain people together. He judges that a Jewish community is no longer associated with religious matters. Another issue was how to maintain the relationship between the God and Jewish adherents. Whether Jews understand reality as secular, what will happen to the idea of the uniqueness of the Jews? He seeks to address the question whether Jewish identity would be more cultural, historical or related to common destiny? His third dilemma concerns with Israel related to Israeli eternity and potentiality to become home for all Jewish people.²³⁷

Jews in the diaspora, especially in Europe, including the Czech lands and Luxembourg, are perceived as Jews in certain contexts of their lives. The second and third generations of European Jews have never been just Jews, but are also French, Hungarians, Spaniards, Luxembourgers,

236 Read more: (KRAUSZ, Ernest and Gita TULEA. *Jewish Survival: The Identity Problem at the Close of the 20th Century*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1998).

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

Czechs, Slovaks, Czechoslovaks, etc.²³⁸ In other words, the Jewish identity of Jews is only part of who they are - Jewish identity must coexist with their other national, regional, or local identities.²³⁹

To summarize this part, I side with Daniel Boyarin's thesis, who believes that Jewish culture and the Jewish identity of Jews in the diaspora are factors that are constantly being reformed and remade. The impossibility of connecting people to particular lands and assigning them to particular politics defines Jewish identity and culture as closed, impermeable and bounded. In his opinion, both are very dynamic and vigorous agents, and they maintain their ubiquity and uniqueness, which are constantly renewed.²⁴⁰

This short introduction aims to swiftly introduce a few general concepts of identity, with a gradual overlap to modern post-war Jewish identity.

My PhD thesis does not seek to answer the questions about whether an individual's identity is more determined by culture, environment, or biology, but instead aims to show the different perspectives of the individual cohorts examined in the context of intergenerational Judaism and international comparison. With regard to the limited space of my thesis, I decided to track only several most conspicuous changes in Jewish identity and Jewishness to emphasize the great diversity of this unique phenomenon linked to the generations examined in my research.

Hybrid Identity: (difficulties in defining Jewish identity and Jewishness)

The previous chapter briefly outlines that Jewish identity has become something vague, barely defined, unnatural and unclear. In this chapter, I will be mainly interested in the shift and development of discourse in terms of the hybrid identity. From the question of what a Jew is through to asking what it means to be a Jew for an individual or a certain group, to the question of how someone becomes a Jew in terms of a certain group.

Hybrid or variable identity is closely linked to the phenomenon of globalization. Historical and cultural globalization tends to produce one of three results: differentiation, assimilation, or hybridization. There are several sociological and historical layers of the phenomenon of hybrid

238 Ibid. p. 249.

239 COHEN, Steven and Gabriel HORENCZYK, ed. *National variations in Jewish identity: implications for Jewish education*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1999. p. 37.

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

identity, which according to the sociologist Pieters, cover different periods.²⁴¹ According to many scientists,²⁴² the hybridization of cultures and identities is necessary for a deeper understanding of globalization. The relationship, based on reflections between the local and the global, produces certain forms of hybrid identity. Identities are not assimilated or changed independently, but instead cultural elements are incorporated to create a new hybrid culture. According to sociologist Roland Robertson, the constitution of hybrid identity is a two-phase process involving the interweaving of particularism while specifying universal causes.²⁴³ On the other hand, postcolonial theorist Robert Young defines hybridity as a crucial actor without notions of essentialism. In his opinion, hybridity represents an inevitable and powerful factor in everyday life that entangles a large number of people.

According to Laurence Silberstein, the question of “what is a Jew” is characteristic to both pre-modern and post-emancipatory discourse of hybrid identity. The modern crisis of Judaism is often blamed for the ever-expanding Zionism which, as a secular ideology, poses a danger to the Orthodox and traditional understanding of Jewish identity. According to Silberstein, one of the basic aspects of Zionism is the emphasis on self-understanding and self-interpretive patterns of Jewish identity²⁴⁴ and Mostly Ashkenazi Jews of European origin have reflected on the effects of Zionism.²⁴⁵

The current situation in the field of hybrid identity theories is relatively complicated in the social sciences and humanities.²⁴⁶ Sociologists Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper offer several ways to bridge and overcome an unclear concept of “identity.” They suggest focusing on the dynamic process of identification and categorization.²⁴⁷ Their concept also partly embraces my own research perspective, but it is important to emphasize that the object of my research is not to

241 NEDERVEEN, Jan. *Global futures: shaping globalization*. London: Zed Books, 2000. p. 1-19.

242 Compare: (ANG, Ien. Together-in-difference: beyond diaspora, into hybridity. *Asian studies review*. 2003, 27(2), p. 141-154.; HANNERZ, Ulf. *Transnational connections: culture, people, places*. London: Routledge, 1998).

243 ROBERTSON, Roland. *Globalization: social theory and global culture*. repr. London: Sage, 1992. p. 100.

244 SILBERSTEIN, Laurence and Robert COHN. *The other in Jewish thought and history: constructions of Jewish culture and identity*. New York: NYU Press, 1994. p. 1-10.

245 Ibid. p. 27.

246 Read and compare the concept of Karen Cerulo and her approach to anti-essentialism identity and the influence of postmodernism deconstructing categories. (CERULO, Karen A. Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions. *Annual Review of Sociology*. [online]. 1997, 23(1), p. 385-409 [Accessed 2021-7-1]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2952557>.

247 BRUBAKER, Rogers and Frederick COOPER. Beyond "identity." *Theory and society* [online]. 2000, 29(1), p. 1-47 [Accessed 2021-8-4]. Available from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3108478>.

analyze the true authenticity or verity of the stories provided. For the purposes of my research, the general concept of identity is sufficient, despite the controversies that it may bring in a variety of social science and political discourses.

Henry Taifel's theory of social categorization in terms of hybridity states that exaggerating and minimizing differences within the groups of people is essential to constructing a hybrid identity. This leads to the emergence of hybrid and multiple identities. Based on his experiment, Tajfel stated that the key idea for people is their group, i.e. the category to which they belong. According to him, this is a necessary mechanism, because people cannot perceive each other as unique individuals, although, according to his opinion, “grouping” carries the risk of creating stereotypes and prejudices. Less categorization has other consequences, especially for important group members. The differences among members of one group or the other are maximized (members of group A are significantly different from members of group B), while at the same time the differences between members of one group are minimized (members of group A have a lot in common).²⁴⁸

Besides the categorization described by Henry Taifel, Jewish hybrid identity can also be observed from the perspective of cultural negligence. Vincent Cheng argues that any given group of people (not necessarily an ethnic minority) will tend to believe that other people have a culture while theirs seem invisible or overlooked. Cheng also coined and developed the terms such as “heritage industry” and “root mania” in relation to ethnic minorities asking whether people are able to become really authentic again and overcome a lack of interest in one's own culture and identity. It is questionable whether the change in identity was brought about by anxiety over culture or identity that initiates a search for one's roots, or whether the discovery is changed by the discovery of roots. In any event, a number of individuals did not discover their nationality until their aptitude for the minority in question had been examined.²⁴⁹

248 HOGG, Michael A. and Cecilia L. RIDGEWAY. Social Identity: Sociological and Social Psychological Perspectives. *Social Psychology Quarterly* [online]. 2003, **66**(2), p. 97 [Accessed 2021-8-4]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/1519841>.

249 CHENG Vincent. *Inauthentic: the anxiety over culture and identity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004. p. 84-111.

The cultural aspects of hybrid identity were also partially elaborated by Jonathan Webber, who concluded that the transformation of Judaism has also transformed synagogues²⁵⁰ into cultural and community centers, rather than centers for worship and the study of the Talmud. With the emergence of modernity and the development of secularism, a new concept of Jewish culture was established. “Cultural Jew”²⁵¹ defines cultural Judaism, or rather Jewish cultural identity, as focusing especially on Jewish history, language, and tradition.

Apart from cultural Judaism classified through Jewish history and traditions, researchers also find a notion of hybridity within a colonized culture that is traditionally associated with the Jewish population in the diaspora. The concept of the diasporic experience has been developed by well-known sociologist Stuart Hall, who judged that diasporic experiences often became a part of diasporic identity and the influence of others, and that the leadership of other communities in particular greatly influences the identity of the individual, especially whether they are part of a national minority.

As for the development of hybrid identity, I partially agree with the views of scientists such as Garcia Canclini and Ulf Hannerz, who have stated that if we want to understand the changes in cultural globalization towards minorities (e.g. Jews), it is necessary to focus on the individual processes shaping hybridization.²⁵² As Garcia Canclini noted, hybridity enables us to extricate Jewish hybrid identity from the fundamentalist tendencies and fatalism of the doctrines of the wars of civilization. There is, of course, the possibility of taking hybrid processes as a field for energy and socio-cultural innovation, which is a common narrative of cultural studies. Today's ubiquitous hybridity has major consequences, not only for different nations, but also for cultural, religious and ethnic minorities.²⁵³ According to Canclini, hybridization consists of exchanges, permeation, and intertwining, which necessarily erodes the boundaries between ethnicities and nations: conflicts between them become constitutive. However, this does not mean that encounters have to keep relationships harmonious or be conciliatory at all costs. Extremely violent clashes are also common – see the history of colonialism.

250 In the Czech lands, synagogues were turned into museums or educational classes. In Luxembourg, synagogues were already restored with a space for cultural events.

251 WEBBER, Jonathan. Notes Towards the Definition of Jewish Culture in the New Europe. In: *New Jewish identities: contemporary Europe and beyond*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003, p. 317-340.

252 CANCLINI, Néstor Garcia. State of Hybridization. In: *Without Guarantees: In Honour of Stuart Hall*. London: Verso, 2000.p. 48.

253 Ibid. p. 49.

However, even in the most acute intercultural confrontations (both violent and compromise), the “Contact history” results in a deeply hybridized world with permeable borders, often only artificially maintained. Canclini argues that it is not possible to determine exactly where the colonies end and where the colonizers begin, where the majority nationality begins and where the minority begins. Based on his research, none of the groups today have reached their original and historical limits.²⁵⁴

Hybridity theories enable to categorize the social cohorts examined in my research in a conceptual and comprehensible framework. Such theories operate by mixing and fusing meanings and reject the idea of a homogeneous concept of identities. According to Maykel Verkuyten, a very important concept of hybridity embraces “ethnically ambiguous” people. For the cohorts examined, hybridity can be introduced as an external space and this “third space” built on mutual dialogue in order to challenge dominant discourses and categorizations. The term “hybrid identity” can therefore be applied to Czechoslovak Jews in the sense of constructing a network between the categories of Czech, Slovak, Israeli, international, Jewish, etc. According to Ien Ang, a professor of cultural studies, the critical concept of hybridity often goes beyond binary thinking, which allows for a policy of reconciliation and negotiation between Judaism, Jewish identity, and any other cultural religious or national identity without a hint of permanent and unchanging hegemony.²⁵⁵

This cultural mix has influenced the minds of both minorities and representatives of the majority. Jews often serve as a catalyst for racial and religious prejudice; however, according to Melissa F. Weiner and Bedelia Nicola Richards, some of them are highly reluctant to fully assimilate into society. Standing on the edge of two cultures and two societies enables them not to fully dissolve.²⁵⁶

Nevertheless, according to Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, a hybrid identity also brings together benefits, including linguistic, cultural, spiritual, racial, or physical. The local and global

254 CANCLINI, Néstor Garcia. State of Hybridization. In: *Without Guarantees: In Honour of Stuart Hall*. London: Verso, 2000. p. 49.

255 Based on the thoughts and concepts of (ANG, Ien. Together in difference: beyond diaspora, into hybridity. *Asian studies review*. 2003, 27(2), p. 141-154.; VERKUYTEN, Maykel. *The social psychology of ethnic identity*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2018.)

256 WEINER, Melissa F and Bedelia Nicola RICHARDS. Bridging the theoretical gap: the diasporized hybrid in sociological theory: *Hybrid Identities* [online]. London: Brill, 2008. p. 101-116 [Accessed 2021-8-1]. Available from: https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789047443179/Bej.9789004170391.i-411_007.xml.

mix is inherently unique to Jews. Those who benefit from their hybrid identity are often more open to both local customs and global cosmopolitanism.²⁵⁷ They argue that Jews have a better chance of succeeding in a world of amorphous borders precisely because of their hybrid identity.²⁵⁸

Following the previous contradiction, Jewish diasporic groups often acknowledge that a new nation can never fully accept and incorporate them, because they wish to preserve the memories, customs, and traditions of their original homeland. Jews often cross the borders of different cultures, both in Europe and in the United States. Like most minorities, they accept a new diasporic culture; however, some of them try to adhere to their old-world cultural standards at the same time.²⁵⁹

The hybridization of identity of the social cohorts examined in my work has been previously elaborated by the work of Sociologist Alena Heitlinger, who divides Jewish identity into categories: thick or thin, weak or strong, virtual, symbolic, based on destiny, based on its own definition, imposed from the outside, secular, religious, hybrid, in motion, bound to several nations or marked as emigrant, Czechoslovak, Czech or Slovak.²⁶⁰

Who is a Jew? - Theoretical background of valid Jewishness and authenticity

First, it is important to ask the question, "What is Judaism?" According to Genesis, Jacob spent 20 years in exile in the desert. One night he met a stranger (an angel) alone on the riverbank, who he wrestled with until dawn. Because Jacob did not give up, the stranger broke Jacob's hip and left him lying helpless. Before he left, the angel renamed Jacob and called him "Isra-el" - the one who struggles with God. This story is therefore a fundamental story for Israel and for the Jew as a person who opposes God (Elohim). The story shows that Jews belong to the category of people who endlessly wrestle with God. They are highly individual and skeptical, inclined to follow their own path, and often view prevailing thoughts critically while trying to find their own path. The Jewish population deliberately distinguishes itself from others, and Jacob's story is what truly sets

257 HALL, Stuart and Paul DU GAY, ed. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage, 1996. p. 91-92.

258 Ibid. p. 58.

259 E.g. Orthodoxy.

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

them apart. According to Rabbi Alfred Wolf, Jews want to be marked as different.²⁶¹ Judaism in the modern and postmodern era is also linked to a number of questions about identity and self-perception, such as: Do I have to accept the role of world wanderer? Should I try to assimilate to prove my loyalty? Is my different way of living something that others should accept? Can I be proud of my exceptional origin? What does it mean to be authentic Jew - Is it a matter of race, ethnicity, religious observance? Is it associated with a particular history, culture or collective memory? Is it an issue of nation?

The concept of authenticity has its roots in many scientific disciplines - philosophy, psychology, sociology and anthropology. The term authenticity is mostly understood as a question of “being true to oneself”. Each of the disciplines illuminates different aspects of the concept and the complexity of what the “I” means. Over the past thirty years, the term authenticity has become virtually immanent to the debate over identity, especially in discussions of the idea of constructing the modern “I”.²⁶² The perspective of my analysis deals with the sociological dimensions of authenticity, and at the same time I am interested in the potential and importance of authenticity in identity narratives.

The question of valid authenticity of Jewish identity²⁶³ can be also addressed in many different ways, i.e. from the perspective of Israeli legislation,²⁶⁴ the approach to ethnicity²⁶⁵, and in terms of conversion.²⁶⁶ To define a human identity, it is important to understand that a large number of different factors play a considerable role: culture, community, genes, geographical

261 CHENG, Vincent John. *Inauthentic: the anxiety over culture and identity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004. p. 85-86.

262 Read more: (CHARMÉ, Stuart. Alterity, Authenticity, and Jewish Identity. *Shofar: a quarterly interdisciplinary journal of Jewish studies* [online]. 1998, **16**(3), p. 42-62 [Accessed 2021-8-1]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/42943945>.

263 Read more: (WERCZBERGER, Rachel. *Jews in the age of authenticity: Jewish spiritual renewal in Israel*. New York: Peter Lang, 2017; CHARMÉ, Stuart. Varieties of authenticity in contemporary Jewish identity. *Jewish Social Studies*. [online]. 2000, **6**(2), p. 133-155 [Accessed 2021-7-1]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/4467578>.

264 Read more: (COHEN, Asher. *Israel and the politics of Jewish identity: the secular-religious impasse*. Baltimore: JHU Press, 2000).

265 Read more: (DILLER, Jerry Victor. *Freud's Jewish identity: a case study in the impact of ethnicity*. New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1991; TONKIN, Elizabeth, Maryon MCDONALD and Malcolm K. CHAPMAN. *History and ethnicity*. London: Routledge, 2016).

266 Read more: (ELLENSON, David and Daniel GORDIS. Introduction. Who is a Jew? What is a Jew? Jewish Identity, Jewish Status, and the Challenge of Conversion. *Pledges of Jewish Allegiance* [online]. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020, p. 1-12 [Accessed 2020-6-7]. Available from: <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9780804781039-002/html.p.1-12> ; INBARI, Motti. *The making of modern Jewish identity: ideological change and religious conversion*. London: Routledge, 2019).

location, etc.²⁶⁷ Many scholar and laics have attempted to find an appropriate definition to encompass all conceivable aspects, but this seems to be a very difficult task. For this reason, I submit to Burke and Stets definition of identity. They examine identities through different professional roles in societies. In their opinion, a certain set of traits classify individuals to be unique persons with their own unmistakable history.²⁶⁸

The debate on 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, identity anchors, and excessive liberalism. This self-critical tone has 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 studied is truly in such crisis, as some critics claim.²⁶⁹

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.²⁷⁰ 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, reflects on a gradual process dating back several centuries. Jewish modern civilization began with the Jewish enlightenment transforming traditional values and understanding of former Jewish authorities.²⁷¹ In my opinion, liberation of religiosity and free will

267 TAMIR, Yael. The quest for identity. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. [online]. 1996, **15**(1), p. 175-191 [Accessed 2020-9-1]. Available from: doi:10.1007/BF00367527.

268 BURKE, Peter and Jan STETS. *Identity theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. p. 3.

269 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.

270 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.

271 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.

supported by individual choice triggered new formation of ethnic identities such typical of modern world.

The concept of authentic Jewishness has been also 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 various meanings and forms of being a Jew in the postmodern epoch.²⁷² 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.

According to Katka Reszke, the third generation of Polish Jews (which can, to a certain extent, be compared to the third generation of Jews living in Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic), raised entirely new questions concerning Jewish identity and especially conversion, which plays a crucial role, especially in terms of authenticity. In her study of narrative identity, Reszke provides a very vivid perception of the periphery and borders within the third post-war Jewish generation in Poland. She argues that it is one of the first generations to call into question the putative truths about authentic Jewishness. It is a broad group of people, consisting of a polyphonic group with ambiguous cultural and religious background, which dynamically theorizes the essence of their Jewishness. They reject the only paradigm of their identity, and cast doubt on their future. Their behavior and thinking unconsciously mirror the Jewish majority. Stuart Charmé has found the difference 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.²⁷³ When forming identities, individuals look for elements that can be considered authentically Jewish. Charmé distinguishes between three kinds of

272 COHEN, Shaye. *The beginnings of Jewishness: boundaries, varieties, uncertainties*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. p. 5.

273 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>.

references to authenticity: a descriptive statement,²⁷⁴ a normative statement,²⁷⁵ and an existential statement.²⁷⁶

Jonathan Webber refers to the issue of authenticity in defining contemporary post-modern Jewish ethnicity. His efforts to reconstruct the authentic tradition for post-war Jewish generations correlate with the identification of “authentic Jewish content.” The main feature of his research is the idea of the idealized past, which creates a nostalgic type of identity. Webber argues that many post-war generations consider traditional Jewish rituals to be authentically Jewish. He asserts that the reference to authenticity serves as a tool to justify certain current controversial practices of orthodox Jews in the diaspora.²⁷⁷

While post-war generations of Jews in Eastern Europe suffered from a lack of information and education, Jews in democratic Western Europe faced strong challenges from the Jewish authorities themselves. Jews in Luxembourg had to deal far more with the issue of Judaism as a traumatized and wounded identity. Luxembourgers, like French Jews, no longer had to fear open antisemitism in the streets. No government power directly discriminated against them. Most of the surviving Jews perceived Luxembourg as a strongly Catholic yet very liberal country, and the Jews very easily adopted the local culture and customs. However, they were faced with the question of to what extent they were expected to assimilate from the outside, and to what extent they wished to assimilate themselves. The post-war generations had to decide to what extent they wanted to emphasize their Judaism over others.

According to some experts, the idea of shaping Judaism through a traumatized and wounded identity is outdated. French conservative philosopher Alain Finkielkraut complains that those who rely on the ruined lives of their relatives cannot build a healthy and confident Jewish

274 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>.

275 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).

276 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 search 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.

277 GITELMAN, Zvi, Barry KOSMIN and Andras KOVACS. *New Jewish Identities: contemporary Europe and beyond* [online]. New York: Central European University Press, 2002 [Accessed 2021-6-28] Available from: <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unilu-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3137239>.

identity, and are no better than the ‘invisible’ Jews of Sartre's time who tried to hide their Judaism from the outside world. In his view, the suffering of previous generations cannot be taken for granted and the situation of someone else cannot be reflected upon oneself.²⁷⁸

However, a change took place in the 1960s and 1970s, whereby Judaism was no longer just the private core of identity, especially in the diaspora in Western Europe. Even in Czechoslovakia, there was a certain easing of tense conditions, and Jews were given the opportunity to gather and learn centrally. Finkelkraut predominantly accused French Jews of inauthenticity and public masquerade, which uses Judaism as a mask in public. He argues that the dilemma of post-war ‘imaginary Jews’ lies not with the fear of antisemitism, but rather with the emptiness of their own social identity. Finkelkraut does, however, clearly exaggerate his claims about post-war Jewish generations and critically characterizes the formation of identity and Judaism as a constant uprooting associated with a critical renewal of assumptions in a permanent revolution.

Despite his criticism of the Shoah-based Jewish identity, he speaks of his Judaism as an "acute awareness of scarcity." An essential feature of Jewish identity was not passed on to him by his parents, due to concerns about his safety. For Finkelkraut, Judaism is an existential mystery and unfinished story that refuses to be a stable, accepted concept. The authentic Jewish identity cannot be built upon the lost culture of defeated European Jews,²⁷⁹ nor on the preoccupation with this loss. He does, however, refrain from defining Judaism and giving it any precise content, and from other nationalist forms of identity.²⁸⁰ However, other experts on Jewish issues also oppose this statement. Leo Pavlát, director of the Jewish Museum in Prague, a representative of the second post-war generation, claims that any ethnographer can analyze Jewish customs and religious traditions, but what he received from his secular parents was an authentic awareness of fate and the notion of belonging to a certain community which motivated him to develop this belonging during the era of the Normalization. *“It is evident that the 1970s was spiritually parched. I was after university, 25 years old and I knew the regime was bad. I despised those who joined the Communist Party after the year 68. My interest in Judaism rose because of the effort to find*

278 FINKIELKRAUT, Alain. *The Imaginary Jew*. repr. Lincoln: Nebraska Press, 1997. p. 28.

279 Some other scholars judge that the selective technique of “past reading” deliberately ignores the fact that much of the past has been forgotten, and that every interpretation of the past is highly subjective and distinguished from metanarration. (HALLAMA, Peter. *Národní hrdinové - židovské oběti: holokaust v české kulturní paměti*. Praha: NLN, 2020. p. 21).

280 FINKIELKRAUT, Alain. *The Imaginary Jew*. repr. Lincoln: Nebraska Press, 1997. p. 166-169.

something authentically spiritual. But I did not attain religion by any enlightenment, it was rather a rational choice."²⁸¹

The question of authenticity is not easy to define re-define, and in my opinion, it is necessary to accept the fact that the post-war Jewish generations are constantly proving how uncertain their Judaism is. Representatives of these generations face constant inquiries about their identity, and especially their origin, not only from the outside but also particularly from other members of the Jewish community. Their inner doubts, which shape the inner world of every Jewish individual, also contribute to a critical perception of themselves. I also base my claim on the conclusions of Małgorzata Golik, who emphasizes that Jews at home and abroad, and even Poles themselves, are losing information about family history, while at the same time they are expected to provide strong evidence of their Judaism. The situation of the third post-war Jewish generation is best summed up by the term 'paradoxical'. Young Jews try to find their past in the ruined documents of their grandparents so that they can prove what their grandparents and parents tried to hide from the world.²⁸² Their peers in the United States or Israel live in a different reality, having grown up in a culture that remembers the Holocaust – teaching about it, and spreading the stories of survivors from generation to generation. Many organizations in the West regularly offer educational programs to support young people's identity building. In Israel, the descendants of second- and third-generation survivors consider it their duty to remember and cultivate the memory of the Holocaust. This is gradually changing in the Czech Republic and Luxembourg.

Narrative identity in the stories of Jewish second and third post-war generations: A high degree of indecision

The theoretical concept of narrative identity assumes that individuals create identities by integrating their life experiences into an internalized and evolving story of themselves that provides a sense of unity and meaning to life.

281 BURIAN, Václav. Přít se, kdo lépe věří, nemá smysl: Listům odpovídá Leo Pavlát, ředitel Židovského muzea v Praze. In: *Listy* [online] 2005 [Accessed 2021-8-2]. Available from: <http://www.listy.cz/archiv.php?cislo=051&clanek=010504>.

282 GOLIK, Małgorzata. Genealogia utraty. Pamięć Holocaustu w twórczości Piotra Pazińskiego i trzeciego pokolenia polskich Żydów. *Konteksty Kultury* [online]. 2019, 16(1), p. 52-72 [Accessed 2021-7-25]. Available from: <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=894479>.

Richard Jenkins understands self-identity as a distinctive part of contemporary modern concepts of identity, within which people can unintentionally build a personal narrative that helps them to understand and control their missions and life goals.²⁸³ In his later work, he elaborated on another dimension of narrative identity arising from an awareness of similarity and difference and the mutual tensions between both diachronic and synchronic aspects.²⁸⁴ From a diachronic point of view, personal narrative identity can be seen as “historical self-consciousness”, resulting from the application of history to oneself and the formulation of one's own life story. Historian Frank Ankersmith pointed out the fleeting nature of self-identity in the 1980s, emphasizing that the narrative subject of my experience is not part of this world, but of a narrative universe.²⁸⁵

Eleonóra Hamar views narrative identity through questions of who I am, which is explained at the research level by a coherent story. She further claims that the question “Who am I?” consists of an individual's life experience within a specific story. The role of the plot is important here, which ensures the meaningfulness of the given story. Because of this, a story connection is created, which connects individual events and events to a continuous chain of moments of events. The plot is a narrative innovation uniting identities and differences, permanence and change. Her work is partly grounded in Ricoeur's concept of narrative identity. Summarizing his concept, researchers obtain a simplified paradigm that personal identity cannot be conceived without a narrative.²⁸⁶ The difference between Hannah Arendt and Ricoeur's position on the construction of identity is that Arendt privileges the stories that others tell about us, while Ricoeur emphasizes the existential moment of the subject's self-understanding.²⁸⁷ *“Action and speech are so closely related because the primordial and specifically human must at the same time contain the answer to the question asked of every newcomer: “Who are you?” [...] the affinity between action and beginning is closer than that between speech and beginning, although many and even most acts are performed in the manner of speech.”*²⁸⁸ To concisely summarize this statement, I can use the definition by Elinor

283 JENKINS, Richard. *Social identity*. 4th ed. London: Routledge, 2014. p. 34.

284 JENKINS, Richard. *Rethinking ethnicity*. Los Angeles: Sage, 2008. p. 16-27.

285 ANKERSMIT, Frank. *Narrative logic: a semantic analysis of the historian's language*. Hague: Nijhoff, 1983. p. 169.

286 HAMAR, Eleonóra. *Vyprávěná židovství: o narativní konstrukci druhogeneračních židovských identit*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), 2008. p. 43-45.

287 ARENDT, Hannah and Margaret CANOVAN. *The human condition*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. p. 175-181.

288 ARENDT, Hannah and Margaret CANOVAN. *The human condition*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. p. 178.

Ochs and Lisa Capps, who state that each process of narration shows an opportunity for both narrators and listeners to self-understand.²⁸⁹

American psychologist Jerome Bruner noted in the 1980s that there was no other way to describe the time spent than in the narrative. He said that life storytelling is an age-old and universal affair. What is different is the cultural and linguistic form of expression. In his opinion, all stories are told and all self-understanding is realized in a certain narrative framework, which makes culture available to its members. These frameworks of intelligibility determine and limit the power of a personal story. The explanation that an individual gives about his life is inevitably shaped by the prevailing rules of expression in which they operate. Institutions have tremendous power over people's behavior and lives. Social influence affects not only public expression but also private self-understanding. Because all stories are told by the narrator's paradigm of culture, the stories can be seen as a concretization of the norms of speech. The formal elements of the narrative do not change easily. Their foundations are from the family and last for generations.²⁹⁰

The collected testimonies of Jewish witnesses also reveal a high degree of indecision by the research participants, who have difficulty deciding which form of identity to take for granted. It is also a problem for them to clearly define Judaism as their own. Fulfilling one's own Judaism with clear content is often a lifelong process. Due to the large selection of categories, it is not easy to decide which category to accept and which to reject. The harmonization component also plays an important role in this respect. According to Stuart Hall, it is also necessary to deal with external and internal demands for the harmonization of constitutive components of personal identity. He argues that personal identity is constructed from a multitude of the subject's discursive positions.²⁹¹

Sociologist Jakub Mlynář states that if researchers wish to capture this aspect of identity, the terms 'proper' and 'improper' can be used. In the first case of narrative identity (one's own identity) he means the identity of an individual or community, which has a specific factor or factors within a given society. It is therefore possible to speak of a reflexive and "subjective" self-concept or opinion of oneself. The second case operates with a non-proprietary identity - an identity

289 OCHS, Elinor and Lisa CAPPS. Narrating the Self. *Annual Review of Anthropology* [online]. 1996, **25**(1), p. 19 [Accessed 2021-6-13]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/2155816>.

290 BRUNER, Jerome. Life as Narrative. *Social Research* [online]. 1987, **54**(1), p. 11 [Accessed 2021-6-13]. Available from: <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.bnl.lu/stable/40970444>.

291 HALL, Stuart. Who needs identity. *Questions of cultural identity* [online]. London: Sage, 1996, p. 1-17 [Accessed 2021-6-13]. Available from: https://www.academia.edu/2215683/Who_needs_identity?auto=citations&from=cover_page.

attributed from “outside” by other people to a particular individual or community (i.e. collectively to persons considered members of a given social unit) based on attributes, traits and characteristics perceived as “objectively” authoritative.²⁹²

To conclude this brief detour, I use one of Ricoeur’s theories of narrative identity. In his opinion, a meaningful human life is filled with plots that contains a clear beginning, middle and end. According to Ricoeur, man makes his life a coherent and meaningful whole in the form of a story. Ricoeur also draws attention to the link between the assessment of conduct and the assessment of who acts. The values that are attributed to a certain action are extended to the actor who, thanks to the transferred values, also becomes good or bad, better or worse. Ricoeur’s idea can also be extended. From the point of view of examining narrative identity, it is not only the moral evaluation of the subject based on his activities and actions in the real world that is important.²⁹³

According to Hamar, within the first level of integration of narrative dimensions, the elements of the past are selected and arranged in chronological order based on the order of their actions - it is a process of creating a chronicle. This is followed by the transformation of the chronicle into a story, in which the elements of the past are viewed from a certain point of view and a certain hierarchy of significance is established between them.²⁹⁴

How to treat Jewish public history in classrooms: The creation of empathy and potential ethical issues in the Czech Republic and Luxembourg

In this part of the work, I want to focus on the relatively unexplored topic of the application of digital teaching methods to Jewish history. I have identified this topic as one of those that aim to enrich the current discourse and bring new knowledge to the methodology of education about modern Jewish history. One way to inform students about the suffering of Jews living together in one country is to try to develop their empathy. According to experts, in order for students to be able to reflect on historical changes in the development of the Jewish population, it is important

292 MLYNÁŘ, Jakub. Pluralita identit v autobiografickém vyprávění československých Židů žijících v zahraničí. *Historická sociologie*. 2016, 8(1), p. 36.

293 RICŒUR, Paul. *Čas a vyprávění*. Praha: Oikymenh, 2007. p. 88-113.

294 HAMAR, Eleonóra. *Vyprávěná židovství: o narativní konstrukci druhogeneračních židovských identit*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), 2008. p. 58.

that teachers use means other than just teaching facts.²⁹⁵ While the previous parts of this PhD thesis focused on Judaism (and the associated relationship to Israel, antisemitism and identity) from the perspective of members of the Jewish community, the following chapter will consider the teaching of Jewish history through the use of specific digital tools, thereby drawing attention to ethical issues related to this type of education.

From my point of view, it is important to engage students in discussions on controversial topics such as the Holocaust or in other projects concerning the issue of civil rights. However, professors and teachers also need to be properly trained in digital skills to be able to advance the younger generations.²⁹⁶ Effective digital pedagogy that embraces online work on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter has the potential to reinforce students' understanding of unclear and ethical issues. Developing their own micro-applications provides students with an empirical learning approach. However, the online environment is also very dangerous for users who want to learn about sensitive topics from virtual sources. It is easy to unreasonably romanticize or downplay a topic. This could happen, for example, in the case of the Holocaust and its aftermath. In its report on the Holocaust, the Anti-Defamation League emphasizes that the structure of a lesson should not include activities that run counter to ethical principles that violate the memory of genocide victims. Some authors do not recommend that teachers include, for example, thematic crossword puzzles, role play of life in concentration camps, or creating a digital ghetto with the help of programming. The following warning is in an article published by the Holocaust Education Council *"Some of these simulations have gone so far as to have selected students wear a yellow star for a day and be subjected to enforced rules ranging from forcing them to stand at the back of the class or the end of long lunch lines to barring them from using some bathrooms and preventing them from using school drinking fountains."*²⁹⁷

295 BALODIMAS-BARTOLOMEI, Angelyn. Political and pedagogical dimensions in holocaust education: teacher seminars and staff development in Greece. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education* [online]. 2016, **10**(4), p. 242-254. [Accessed 2020-10-18]. Available from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15595692.2016.1219847?journalCode=hdim20>.

296 Read more: (KIVUNJA, Charles. Embedding digital pedagogy in pre-service higher education to better prepare teachers for the digital generation. *International Journal of Higher Education*. [online]. 2013, **2**(4), p. 131-142 [Accessed 2021-8-3]. Available from: [doi:https://doi.org/10.5430/ijhe.v2n4p131](https://doi.org/10.5430/ijhe.v2n4p131)).

297 Search Results: Why Simulation Activities Should Not Be Used. *Holocaust Education Resource Council* [online]. 2018 [Accessed 2020-7-27]. Available from: <https://holocaustresources.org/?s=Why+Simulation+Activities+Should+Not+Be+Used&x=0&y=0>.

However, teaching in schools about the history of the Holocaust is not the only place where such trivialization occurs. Social video media such as YouTube, or the relatively newly created online platform TikTok, also represent really risky environments. Jason Hansen analyzes and criticizes these phenomena in one of his publications. He examines a number of scenes mentioned, including a short scene from the film *Downfall*, which has often been reshaped and edited in recent years by various amateur as well as professional YouTubers. The display of Hitler's anger and his German diction of anger went viral, with extreme anger and rage becoming incredibly popular. Viewers, especially younger audiences, may perceive the video as a general example of the stupidity of the German leadership, resulting in them not necessarily seeing the war and the murder associated with it as a serious topic.²⁹⁸

These examples provide a critical view of the use of online media and virtual platforms as a counterbalance to the idea that they provide only positive educational possibilities. It is clear that the digital age has provided adolescents with access to a wealth of information, but that a critical approach remains essential. Online users now have to deal with more inaccuracies, hoaxes and misinformation. All of these aspects fundamentally spoil the efforts of those who seek to learn about Jewish history, not just the Holocaust. Scott Darnell claims that ordinary users can easily end up on Holocaust denial websites when looking for answers to controversial topics.²⁹⁹

When you look into the individual territories examined (Czech lands and Luxembourg), it is clear that both countries lag behind in the application of digital technologies when it comes to teaching about Jewish history. However, the same cannot be said with regards to the countries building awareness of ethnic or religious minorities, especially Jewish ones.

After the war, Luxembourg immediately set up a program to support the construction of monuments and statues associated with the Nazi occupation. Although the focus of the monuments is diverse and varied, they primarily commemorate the victims of the crimes the Nazis committed, the soldiers who were forcibly deported and deployed by the German army, and the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. Trials are held regularly and the names of the victims are read. Luxembourg also

298 HANSEN, Jason. Auschwitz is made of lego and Hitler hates Beckham: YouTube and the Future of Holocaust Remembrance. In: *Future of Holocaust Studies Conference: Conference will take place 29 - 31 July 2013 at the University of Southampton and the University of Winchester*. 2013, p. 29-31.

299 DARNELL, Scott. *Measuring Holocaust Denial in the United States: policy analysis exercise*. [Cambridge]. [S. Darnell], 2010. p. 33.

has several military and historical museums, etc. In 2003, Luxembourg joined the IHRA (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) aimed at commemorating the victims of the Holocaust and developing workshops on this topic. In terms of teaching, a major milestone was a special workshop organized by the Israeli Museum and the Yad Vashem Memorial. Unfortunately, the development of longer-term cooperation was interrupted by the war. However, in recent years, the University of Luxembourg has taught a number of courses focusing on Jewish issues in Luxembourg. The topic of collective memory and Jewish history associated with the Holocaust is often taught in a multidisciplinary way in Luxembourg schools, which means that it covers several subjects at the same time, but above all is devoted to giving space to the teaching of history. Marginal topics related to the Holocaust can also be found in the teaching of French, German, English, and the humanities. The pedagogical approach differs depending on the subject taught and, of course, the personality of the teacher. Luxembourg is also one of the countries that refers to the Holocaust directly in the curriculum. In teaching, terms such as "Holocaust" or "Shoah" are used to classify the Holocaust, including alternative terminology such as "genocide against Jews" or "Nazi persecution of minorities".³⁰⁰

Since 2000, the *Témoins de la Deuxième Génération* organizes excursions for students to Auschwitz. In addition to trips to the former camp, excursions to other concentration, labor or extermination camps are also organized.³⁰¹ The organization tries to find one of the surviving witnesses for each expedition, who describes the life in these facilities to the students. The Ministry of Education strives to develop a program for students of all categories and therefore in 2009 created a workshop and seminar in cooperation with the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam.³⁰² While attending a variety of trainings, the participants learned about the atrocities and suffering

300 CARRIER, Peter, Eckhardt FUCHS and Torben MESSINGER. *The international status of education about the Holocaust: A global mapping of textbooks and curricula*. Paris: UNESCO, 2015. p. 35.

301 Participants can visit the former camps in Natzweiler, Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen and Bergen-Belsen. You can read further information on the Facebook webpage. (Témoins de la 2ème Génération. www.temoins.lu [online]. Luxembourg: 2001 [Accessed 2021-8-26]. Available from : <https://www.facebook.com/temoinsdela2emegeneration>).

302 Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research in Luxembourg. *INTERNATIONAL HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE ALLIANCE* [online]. [Accessed 2021-1-14]. Available from: <https://2015.holocaustremembrance.com/member-countries/holocaust-education-remembrance-and-research-luxembourg>

302 Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research in Luxembourg. *INTERNATIONAL HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE ALLIANCE* [online]. [Accessed 2021-1-14]. Available from: <https://2015.holocaustremembrance.com/member-countries/holocaust-education-remembrance-and-research-luxembourg>

caused by the war and what damage the lack of interest associated with hatred can do. Based on past events, the activities, structure and program "*Journée de la Mémoire 2009*"³⁰³ were published in a special booklet.

I would now like to shift my attention to the Czech environment. The Velvet Revolution changed the communist-centrist view of history, which of course was also reflected in Czech education. According to Michal Frank, the topic of the Holocaust was marginalized in Czech history textbooks in the early 1990s. A gradual change only occurred with the publication of newer textbooks post revolution. Behind these emerging initiatives, special training was provided for teachers and tutors at all levels. The Holocaust is no longer a marginal topic, but teachers need to find enough time in their teaching programs to include it in their courses. This is sometimes very complicated because the history of the 20th century is full of important historical events. Frank argues that raising awareness of the Holocaust any further will depend not only on teachers' willingness to learn, but also on the motivation of their students and parents.³⁰⁴

Changing the applied teaching methods is a fundamental but incomplete solution to the burning problem. It is also about motivating students and youth in general to take an interest in the Holocaust from a new perspective. Today, students can choose from a wide range of interactive online programs such as a virtual tour in the Anne Frank House, which is one of the most famous Shoah monuments in Amsterdam. The visualization takes about 25 minutes. During it, tourists see the same spaces as they would on a real tour. According to organizer Tina Tranová from Oculus, it is a unique experience because visitors can feel what she felt when she was in hiding and experience her hopes and fears.³⁰⁵ However, this way of familiarizing the public with the issue of the Holocaust is subject to ongoing debate not only among educators, but also historians. Scholars

303 Read more : (BRITZ, Joseph. *Journée de la Mémoire de l'Holocauste et de la prévention des crimes contre l'humanité 2009*. Luxembourg: MENFP, 2009).

304 Read more: (FRANKL, Michal. Holocaust education in the Czech Republic, 1989-2002. *Intercultural Education*. 2003, **14**(2), p. 177-189.)

305 read more about this exhibition: (HARTMANN, Rudi. The Anne Frank house in Amsterdam: a museum and literary landscape goes virtual reality. *Journalism and Mass Communication* [online]. 2013, **3**(10), p. 625-644. 644 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: <https://www.researchgate.net>).306 Some depictions can be too violent to startle audience: (GRAY, Michael. *Contemporary debates in Holocaust education*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. p. 111-118).

suggest that virtual educational programs consisting of first-hand experiences of the Holocaust can scare youngsters and may not have a positive effect.³⁰⁶

Once more, this history is not viewed from the totalitarian perspective required for the grand narratives of history, but from the subjective perspective of particular characters who represent a particular category of the Jewish population. IWalk tours in the Czech Republic, under the supervision of Martin Šmok, set out to group particular testimonies with a common theme such as identity, Judaism, forced emigration, etc. Other testimonies look into Jewish relationships with particular locations – the Jewish synagogue in Plzeň, or a marshalling yard for Jews. However, there are also testimonies dealing with Jewish life after the genocide, Jewish orphanages, and the American liberators.

The USC Shoah Foundation and its affiliates in Europe are working to harness the potential of social networking and virtual applications to improve students' motivation to learn about what are very often emotional topics. In my opinion, the use of commonly available technologies such as mobile phones is very promising for increasing interest among students. In combination with social networks, this method of alternative education has great potential. On the other hand, there are legitimate concerns that the social networking environment may very easily be misused to spread extremist views. Pfanzelter, for example, states that the use of social networks such as Facebook can have a very negative effect on individuals without critical thinking, and an individual can easily be influenced by, for example, Holocaust deniers.³⁰⁷ Many illegal radical groups try to publish their opinions beyond social networks on the so-called Dark Net. Scott Darnell documented 31 radical groups whose participants convinced each other that the Holocaust never occurred on the basis of pseudo-scientific theories.³⁰⁸

The structure of IWalk tours in the Czech Republic and in Luxembourg have many things in common, such as undefined Holocaust memories after the war. Both minorities were regarded

306 Some depictions can be too violent to startle audience: (GRAY, Michael. *Contemporary debates in Holocaust education*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. p. 111-118).

307 PFANZELTER, Eva. At the crossroads with public history: mediating the Holocaust on the Internet. *Holocaust Studies*. 2015, **21**(4), p. 263-265 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2015.1066066>.

308 The number of groups and members can be different nowadays, but it can serve as a suitable illustration of antisemitic activity on the Social Media. (DARNELL, Scott. *Measuring Holocaust Denial in the United States*. [Cambridge]. [S. Darnell], 2010. p. 33). 309 NAWIJN, Jeroen et al. "Holocaust Concentration Camp Memorial Sites: An Exploratory Study Into Expected Emotional Response." *Current Issues In Tourism* [online]. 2018, **21**(2), p. 175-190 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2015.1058343>.

as homogenous victim groups that had merged with the majority population. Unfortunately, experts have no bright ideas about the direction educational technologies will take in the future and whether it will still be possible to utilize them and at affordable prices. In my opinion, however, it is more important to examine how technology will affect education, in our case Jewish public history related to the Holocaust. In light of the ongoing education and training of practitioners, I believe this represents a great opportunity to make confident choices and adopt new approaches to educational technologies. Unfortunately, scholars still miss specific goals and are not fully aware of the great variety of virtual technologies that exist. This is well described in a study by Jeroen Nawijn, who analyzed the emotions of students that had visited places of remembrance such as concentration camps.³⁰⁹

Jewish public history for Jewish and non-Jewish students: New methods of teaching Jewish war-time and postwar history with IWalk

This chapter focuses and sheds light on new methods of teaching Jewish history in everyday life, with the aim of modernizing existing approaches to teaching history.

According to Cemalettin Ayas, the role of teachers is evolving and changing very quickly, and it is not easy for everyone to keep up with advanced technologies. The range of applications is constantly expanding, and teachers can choose from a number of methodological online programs. However, a problem arises when it is not clear which program needs to be chosen to suit a particular group of students. Ayas argues that educators and tutors must be constantly trained in the use of pedagogical techniques in the coming digital era of education. It is important not only to understand digital technologies in teaching, but it is also necessary to be familiar with the ethical dimensions of digital teaching.³¹⁰ The question is, are all innovations in the field of technology useful and effective? The following chapters will attempt to answer this, while also

309 NAWIJN, Jeroen et al. "Holocaust Concentration Camp Memorial Sites: An Exploratory Study Into Expected Emotional Response." *Current Issues In Tourism* [online]. 2018, **21**(2), p. 175-190 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2015.1058343>.

310 AYAS, Cemalettin. An Examination of the Relationship between the Integration of Technology into Social Studies and Constructivist Pedagogies. *The Turkish Online Journal of Educational Technology*. USA, 2006, **5**(1), p.14-24.311 See more: BALODIMAS-BARTOLOMEI, Angelyn. Political and pedagogical dimensions in holocaust education: teacher seminars and staff development in Greece. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education* [online]. 2016, **10**(4), p. 242-254 [Accessed 2020-10-18]. Available from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15595692.2016.1219847?journalCode=hdim20>.; BOTHE, Alina. *Die Geschichte der Shoah im virtuellen Raum: Eine Quellenkritik* [online]. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019 [Accessed 2020-10-18]. Available from: doi:10.1515/9783110558036.

taking the opportunity to present the unique educational project IWalk and its application to the teaching of Jewish public history, as well as what new teaching challenges have arisen in terms of Jewish post-Holocaust history in the past decade, especially in the field of digital storytelling and oral history. Angelyn Balodimas-Bartolomei judged that students of all ages need new educational methods and a new level of involvement in learning modern Jewish history, including developing empathy and engaging multiculturalist values for all individuals.³¹¹ It is generally accepted that teachers can no longer satisfy students' desires by mere stand-and-deliver teaching. Nowadays, teachers should actively involve students in teaching activities to give them space for developing a wide range of communication skills.³¹²

One of the various ways to motivate students is to use real-time educational applications that stimulate their imagination and involve not only memory but also other aspects of the mind, such as empathy and critical thinking. Keith Barton and Alan McCully state in their study that students prefer courses that emphasize interactive and cooperative projects, and that the history classroom seems a natural venue for such projects. In their opinion, it is also important for the teacher to create awareness for historical debates among students since current policy debates are invariably rooted in history.³¹³

I organized such a course as part of my research for my PhD. The course was based on the cultural and educational history of the Jewish postwar populations in Luxembourg and Czechoslovakia. I will critically analyze the practical outputs of this course together with the collected data acquired through the aforementioned applications.

311 See more: BALODIMAS-BARTOLOMEI, Angelyn. Political and pedagogical dimensions in holocaust education: teacher seminars and staff development in Greece. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education* [online]. 2016, **10**(4), p. 242-254 [Accessed 2020-10-18]. Available from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15595692.2016.1219847?journalCode=hdim20>; BOTHE, Alina. *Die Geschichte der Shoah im virtuellen Raum: Eine Quellenkritik* [online]. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019 [Accessed 2020-10-18]. Available from: doi:10.1515/9783110558036.

312 Frontal teaching is still predominant, even though this traditional form of teaching is not adequate and do not incite intellectual and emotional involvement of students. (MOČINIĆ, Snježana Nevia. Active teaching strategies in higher education. *Metodicki obzori* [online]. 2012, **7**(2), p. 97-105, [Accessed 2020-10-18]. Available from: doi:10.32728/mo.07.2.2012.08).

313 BARTON, Keith and Alan MCCULY. Teaching controversial issues...where controversial issues really matter. *Teaching History*. 2007, **1**(127), p. 13-19.

HISTORY: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following chapters outline concise historical approaches to interpreting the empirically researched outcomes. The aim of these parts is to allow readers to understand different political and historical backgrounds in two research areas. First 10 chapters deal with historical context from the perspective of Czechoslovak Jews, the remaining 8 chapters introduce the historical context from Luxembourg Jewish perspective. In order to properly reflect the empirical data, it is necessary to concisely outline several historical periods that describe the relationship between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia towards Israel. Without an understanding of historical contexts, it would be difficult to interpret the answers received in the questionnaires, but especially also in the interviews conducted.

The post-war political situation and the aftermath of the Holocaust in the Czech lands

The post-war Czechoslovak Republic was restored on the legal continuity of the First Czechoslovak Republic, although this legal continuity was rather formal. A reflection on the problems of post-war society was necessary, and the only possible solution was to implement reforms and re-evaluate the position of Slovakia within the state system. Theoretically, Czechoslovakia was a parliamentary democracy until 1948, but it had many flaws. The first was the restriction of political competition, because some parties from the First Republic were not allowed to resume after the war (the Republican Party of Farmers and Peasants³¹⁴), while others could only operate within the “National³¹⁵ Front”.³¹⁶

The Jewish casualties in numbers

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

314 The biggest and the most influential political party before the war in Czechoslovakia.

315 The main tasks of the National Assembly were the preparation of regular parliamentary elections in 1946, the approval of the Presidential Decrees, the preparation of the state budget, the election of the President, and the common legislative work.

316 HLEDÍKOVÁ, Zdeňka, Jan JANÁK and Jan DOBEŠ. *Dějiny správy v českých zemích: od počátků státu po současnost*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2005. p. 421.

in her publication,³¹⁷ 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 Shoah (after World War II about 15,000 Jews lived in Bohemia and Moravia, including the “optants” of Carpathian Ruthenia).³¹⁸

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.³¹⁹ 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.³²⁰

Only a few Jewish communities were completely and fully re-established (the largest in Prague had 2,500-3,000 Jewish members),³²¹ many of whom were internal migrants from other parts of Czechoslovakia.³²² In the autumn of 1945, there were 27 active communities in Moravia, 23 in Silesia, and 105 in Slovakia.³²³ Generally, we 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

317 SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 24-25.

318 PĚKNÝ, Tomáš. *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě*. 2. přeprac. a rozš. vyd. Praha: Sefer, 2001. p. 638.

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

320 SALNER, Peter. *Židia na Slovensku medzi tradíciou a asimiláciou*. Bratislava: Zing Print, 2000. p.150.

321 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

322 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).

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

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).³²⁴ 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 authorities approved their residence permits.³²⁵ 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.³²⁶ 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.’³²⁷ For most societies, the Jews were largely an unpleasant reminder of the past, and their presence challenged the newly established status quo.

Jewish post-war institutions

During the Nazi occupation, the structure of Jewish communities underwent significant changes. The Center for Jewish Emigration was founded to relocate Jews from the Protectorate with the help of the Prague Jewish community. It also set up special departments for this purpose. The first steps of the returnees led to the repatriation authorities, or directly to the Jewish Religious Community of Prague (PJRC), which at that time also took care of those who were not members of the community before the war.

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

324 KUBÁTOVÁ, Hana. Teraz alebo nikdy: povojnové protižidovské násilie a väčšinová spoločnosť na Slovensku. *Soudobé dejiny*. 2016, **23**(3), p. 321-346.

325 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; LÁNIČEK, Jan. *Arnošt Frischer and the Jewish politics of early 20th-century Europe*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. p. 156-57.

326 KUBÁTOVÁ, Hana. Teraz alebo nikdy: povojnové protižidovské 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.

327 LÁNIČEK, 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.

impact on religious life, which usually involved a rabbi, a shohet,³²⁸ a cantor,³²⁹ a heder,³³⁰ and a chevra kadisha.³³¹³³² 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 other cities in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, there were only two ritual canteens in the entire country, in Prague and Košice (Slovak territory). Besides serving kosher cuisine, the canteens were also used as meeting places for community members. The chief rabbi Gustav Sicher threatened the communist officials that if he did not succeed with the religious secretariat, he would go to the country's president. The religious secretariat accepted the chief rabbi's requirements and approved Sicher's contributions to the socialist regime.³³³

The Council of Jewish Religious Communities (CJRC) was established as the highest organizational unit at the congress of Jewish delegates in September 1945. The council prepared and approved the first statutes and had them enforced. Institutes for elders, youth, and orphans were also founded in Prague.

The CJRC was headed by chairman Arnošt Frischer, a vice-chairman, and a chief secretary, whose term of office lasted three years. A congress was convened every three years and members either elected new representatives or the former officials were confirmed in their positions.³³⁴ The restored Jewish Council set a number of goals, primarily on the liquidation of the ghetto in Terezin

328 A Ritual slaughterer of meat and poultry for human kosher consumption.

329 Cantors lead worship, officiate at lifecycle events, teach adults and children, run synagogue music programs, and offer pastoral care.

330 Jewish elementary religious school.

331 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.

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

333 Ibid. 25.

334 ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina. *Češi, Němci, Židé?: národní identita Židů v Čechách 1918 až 1938*. 2. přeprac. vyd. Praha: Paseka, 2013.

and the transfer of recovered properties. It also sought to restore the religious function of Jewish communities, and their economic rehabilitation in pursuit of the commencement of the restitution process.³³⁵ Arnošt Frischer was responsible for establishing the cooperation of prominent people in Czechoslovakia, and managed to establish a functional office for helping people returning from concentration camps in a very short space of time.

The Third Republic lasted from 1945 to 1948, and Czechoslovakia became a parliamentary democracy, albeit with some limitations. As of February 1948, the plurality of political parties was broken down. Non-Communists had to resign from important positions and were substituted by “reliable communist comrades”. When the controversial political trials began in 1950, the "class struggles" escalated sharply.

National policy in the post-war Czechoslovakia

Arnošt Frischer also contributed to the repatriation of Jews. According to Frischer, Jews deserved special treatment because their situation was unique. He insisted on the repatriation of elders and children back to recently liberated Czechoslovakia. Frischer also demanded the full restitution of confiscated Jewish properties and sought to indemnify those for whom restitutions were impossible.³³⁶

In this respect, Frischer was attempting to bring to light topics that were sensitive to the Czechoslovak leadership. He endeavored to allow Jews without Czechoslovak citizenship but who were born in Czechoslovakia to return. His colleagues estimated their numbers to be approximately 30-40,000. Many Jews went abroad after Munich or tried to hide in the occupied parts of Slovakia. “*Nobody was deprived as dreadfully as Jews. The number of victims was about six million people - one-third of all the Jewish population disappeared at once. Only 1.5 million survived in Western and Eastern Europe*”³³⁷ Arnošt Frischer claimed at the session of the Jewish delegates.

335 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, p. 499-530.

336 LÁNÍČEK, Jan. *Arnošt Frischer and the Jewish politics of early 20th-century Europe*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. p. 91-111.

337 Z tribuny sjezdu. *Věstník*. 1945, 7(2), p. 10.

In November 1945, representatives of RŽNO came to meet with President Edvard Beneš.³³⁸ This meeting aimed to reassure the president that Jewish loyalty to Czechoslovakia was unshakable. Edvard Beneš commended Jewish soldiers for their persistence and their active role in the allied army. He also rejected forms of antisemitism, such as President Masaryk. On the other hand, Benes was not in favor of the concept of national minorities accepted by a state, and instead stood by the concept of a national unified state without minorities. He told Jewish representatives that the only possible coexistence of Jews within Czechoslovakia was their assimilation.³³⁹

Regardless of this dissatisfying proclamation, the newly restored Jewish communities had to cope with the wave of Jewish immigrants from Sub Carpathian Ruthenia, which was annexed to the Soviet Union in 1945. These Jews seized the opportunity to “opt” for Czech or Slovak nationality in the 1930 census.³⁴⁰ They had the best prerequisites to keep Jewish traditions alive. The vast majority of Subcarpathian Jews, especially veterans of the Czechoslovak army, settled down in the former Sudetenland. They found empty houses left by deported ethnic Germans.³⁴¹

Czech lands (Czechoslovakia): post-war development of relations with Israel.

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 Gottwald³⁴², decided to grant the movement legal status as an organization to rescue Shoah survivors.³⁴³

338BROD, 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. 149.

339ROTHKIRCHENOVÁ, Livie. Československé Židovstvo: vzestup a úpadek (1918- 1989). In: *Na křižovatce kultur: dějiny Židů v Československu* Praha: Ministerstvo kultury České republiky, 1992, p. 161.

340 This issue is also revealed in the new book from historian Kateřina Čapková (ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina and David RECHTER. *Židé, nebo Němci?* Praha: NLN, 2019).

341 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. 155-156.

342 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.

343 YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 68-70.

Czechoslovak support to the military group *Haganah*,³⁴⁴ and subsequently to the regular army of the State of Israel, was manifested in political favor towards the new state. The Czechoslovak government sent large supplies of weapons to the Israeli front, as well as providing the much-needed training of Israeli pilots. These acts, however, are at odds with the resolutions of the UN General Assembly approved in November 1947, which prohibited member countries from exporting military supplies to Palestine.

In terms of these political acts, I would describe the Communist political relationship towards the Zionist movement as forthcoming and favorable. This attitude stemmed from pragmatic concerns and reasons. 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 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.

After February 1948, a massive emigration wave began before communists managed to get the borders under control together with all the Jewish organizations.³⁴⁵ The emigrants headed to any destination where they might be able to obtain a visa. The transports organized to Israel were the last legal chance to leave the country. Once the borders were definitively shut, mostly irreligious 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.³⁴⁶

These often-distant relatives, who managed to survive the war and genocide, often earned their living in the old country from minimal pensions; some even had no income at all, due to unclear citizenship. Since the end of World War II, the Social Department of the Council of Czech

344 It was a Zionist military organization gathering most of the Jews in Palestine (1920 to 1948).

345 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).

346 Ibid. p. 31-32.

Jewish Religious Communities (CCJRC) took care of the needs of the Jewish people, along with the American humanitarian organization Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), which funded a large number of charitable activities all over the world.

As in the Soviet Union, Jewish ideological Communists initiated a revision of Zionism, launched from within the Jewish Communist associations that were competent in Jewish affairs, such as the "Jewish Commission", and the leadership of CCJRC. These people demanded ideological changes towards Zionism, since they were firmly convinced of the truth of Marxist-Leninist ideas.³⁴⁷

In other words, Communist Jews, more than other Communists, sought to follow Marxist-Leninist principles to avoid being associated with an inappropriate national and social-political origin.³⁴⁸ Thus, these party members strove to have nothing to do with the Jewish mentality and Jewish ideas. They were afraid of behaving suspiciously or too capitalistically, which could harm their profiles.

The Czechoslovak Communist government naturally supported the establishment of the State of Israel as a means of realizing Soviet interests to infiltrate the Middle East. Jewish communists attempted to gain control over the organizations that facilitated the eviction of the Jewish population from Czechoslovakia, in order to partially control immigration to Israel and limit travel permissions for only those who were politically reliable. Moreover, control helped them gain power over other immigrants.³⁴⁹ Jewish communists also took a negative stance towards the illegal emigration of Jews³⁵⁰ from the eastern countries before February 1948.³⁵¹

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

347 Compare the conclusions (YUVAL-DAVIS, Nira. *Marxism and Jewish nationalism. History Workshop*. 1987, (24), p. 82-110).

348 The publication from Robert Wistrich deals with Jewish participation in revolutions, addressing questions about Jewish communist origins and heritage. It seeks to investigate what attitudes Jews adopt, as socialists and as Jews, to the growth of antisemitism and the emergence of Zionism in various European societies. (WISTRICH, Robert. *Revolutionary Jews from Marx to Trotsky*. London: Harrap, 1976).

349 DUFEK, Jiří, Karel KAPLAN and Vladimír ŠLOSAR. *Československo a Izrael v letech 1947-1953*. Brno: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AVČR, 1993. p. 28-30.

350 They were mainly against those who crossed the Czechoslovak borders and went through this country.

351 DUFEK, Jiří, Karel KAPLAN and Vladimír ŠLOSAR. *Československo a Izrael v letech 1947-1953*. Brno: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AVČR, 1993. p. 31.

relatively large amount of attention from politicians, the Union of Czechoslovak-Israeli Friendship was founded in September 1948.³⁵²

Czech historian Jana Svobodová asserts that the communists, and especially Jewish communists, 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.³⁵³

Brief summary of 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 19th 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 Jewish population to Israel on 15 November 1948.³⁵⁴ The Socialist-Oriented Political Representation of the State of Israel expressed its gratitude for this move and used it as a proof of the Czechoslovak tradition of accommodating the interests of the Jewish minority, while also expressing its conviction that it shared similar political-social values.

Avriel commented on the government’s approach that: “*It is a special distinction to me that, as the first diplomatic representative of the State of Israel, I can work in a country that the government and people of Israel and all Judaism warmly respect for its sincere and faithful friendship with a nation fighting for its freedom and independence.*”³⁵⁵

According to Devorah Hakohen, who dedicated her work to Jewish mass immigration after the war, approximately 300,000 Jews from Eastern Europe came to Israel from 15th May 1948 to

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

353 Ibid p. 24-30.

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

355 SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židovská menšina v Československu: po druhé světové válce*. Praha: Židovské muzeum, 2009. p. 8-9.

the end of 1951 “(Romania: 117,950; Poland: 106,414; Bulgaria: 37,260; Czechoslovakia: 18,788; Hungary: 14,324; Yugoslavia: 7,661).”³⁵⁶ In the case of Czechoslovakia, in many cases Jews did not have Czech or Slovak nationality, thus were not Czechoslovak citizens. Many also left immediately after February 1948. The Czechoslovak security and administrative authorities were indulgent towards their political development in Czechoslovakia, with reference to their national and social “unreliability.” The Czechoslovak security and military authorities also released Jews due to their national and social unwillingness to integrate.³⁵⁷

The post-February support of the Zionist movement from the Czechoslovak government did not last long. Two fundamental reasons changed: the pragmatic intention allowing Jewish survivors to leave the state ceased, and the political turnaround in the early 50s. At the height of the geopolitical bipolarization of the world, the Jewish state did not end up in the Moscow sphere of power as a Soviet satellite, but rather was captured by Washington policy. To call anyone a Zionist became highly dangerous and would jeopardize your career, no matter what position you held.³⁵⁸

The alleged Jewish conspiracy enabled Communist opponents to unify and consolidate allegations into a logical and closed argumentative system that sealed the deal. 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. The first parliamentary elections in January 1949 were another turning point, in which the Communist Party of Israel obtained only 3.5% of votes and was overwhelmingly defeated. This evident failure was the last straw, resulting in the Soviet Union placing Israel on a blacklist.³⁵⁹

356 HAKOHEH, Deborah. *Immigrants in turmoil: mass immigration to Israel and its repercussions in the 1950s and after*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003. p. 267.

357 Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, Folder 425-369-4, 72, informace o vystěhovalectví z Československa pro ministra sociální péče, duben 1948. [Information about emigration from Czechoslovakia for the Minister of Social Welfare, April 1948]

358 ŠMOK, Martin. Každý žid je sionista a každý sionista je špion! *Paměť a dějiny*. 2011, 5(4), p. 29-39.

359 Read more: DUFEK, Jiří, Karel KAPLAN and Vladimír ŠLOSAR. *Československo a Izrael v letech 1947-1953*. Brno: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AVČR, 1993. p. 81.; YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 119-122.

The best way to demonstrate the level of anti-Zionism among high-ranking Czechoslovak politicians is to consider several passages of political speeches made by Klement Gottwald³⁶⁰ and Václav Kopecký³⁶¹, top representatives of communist power in Czechoslovakia.

“At first glance, you can recognize people with a strange mentality - just strangers. People who mask their international radicalism behind cosmopolitanism. I am glad that no one can avoid the question that cosmopolitans can settle in many places and they are uprooted and do not feel at home in our country. [...] These people also grew up in very rich families and got a bourgeois upbringing. In addition, very intense religious education rooted in their minds develops their Zionist ideas. And comrades, Zionism, as Comrade Lenin said, is the opposite of antisemitism.”³⁶²

“It concerns Israel itself. Today it is closely bounded to the American-British imperialists who maintain and arm the current Israeli regime, using it as an armed fist against Arabian nations. Arabs are rising to fight for independence and freedom [...] To endorse today’s emigration to Israel is likely to send Jewish mercenaries onto the front of the forthcoming war - Imperialists against the Soviet Union.”³⁶³

Kopecký and Gottwald adopted most of their arguments and schemes concerning Zionism during the political trial with Rudolf Slansky and his anti-state conspiracy center.³⁶⁴ The precise formulation of Anti-Zionism and its subsequent articulation was developed based on the materials collected. The official procedures were primarily drawn from the aforementioned speeches, as well as the report issued by the Archives and Study Institute of the Ministry of National Security (MNB) in March 1952. 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.

360 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.

361 “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 z:

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki?curid=63375349> ; Read more: (CHURAN, Milan. *Kdo byl kdo v našich dějinách ve 20. století*. 2 vyd. Praha: Libri, 1998. p. 340).

362 BULÍNOVÁ, Marie. *Československo a Izrael v letech 1945-1956: dokumenty*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AVČR, 1993. p. 245-246.

363 Ibid. p. 248-249.

364 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.

It was important for Czechoslovak Communists to distinguish between antizionism 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.*”³⁶⁵ 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 irrelevant pressure incited by imaginary press campaigns.³⁶⁶

According to communist officials, Jewish Holocaust survivors who earned their respect were subjected to political interrogation, as requested by the revolutionary ideology. However, ceasing the investigation of surviving Jews was regarded as a mistake, because there was a strong presumption of negative nationalism. The conspiracy theory of antizionism was nurtured by prejudices that Jews used mighty foreign powers, as well as the Catholic clergy. Israel was seen in a similar light to the Vatican council. Zionism represented an ideal tool to infiltrate national communist parties by Zionist spies.³⁶⁷

It is likely that Communist authorities turned the Marxist-Leninist concept of the Jewish question into an anti-Zionist weapon tailored to public opinion. The populists often sought support for their political interests among working class people, who were willing to fulfill the Communist political will. The architects of anti-Zionism knew of the presence of anti-Jewish tendencies from confidential reports issued in the protectorate during the war.³⁶⁸

The best-known identification of anti-Zionism was made by prominent Czech literary theoretician Václav Černý, who said that the possibility to leave Czechoslovakia in the late 1940s belongs to an unprecedented Jewish privilege. In his opinion, Jews managed to export a great deal of their property abroad. Václav Černý also believed that Rudolf Slánský deliberately preferred communists of Jewish origin, giving them privileged positions in the administration.³⁶⁹ On the one hand, he refused a conspiratorial theory concerning a Jewish militant group, but on the other, he

365 KAPLAN, Karel. *Zpráva o zavraždění generálního tajemníka*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1992. p. 242.

366 KAPLAN, Karel and Pavel KOSATÍK. *Gottwaldovi muži*. Praha: Paseka, 2004. p. 238.

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

368 ROTHKIRCHEN, Livia and Eva HAHNOVÁ. *Osud Židů v protektorátu 1939-1945: sborník studií Livie Rothkirchenové, Evy Schmidtové-Hartmannové, Avigdora Dagana*. Praha: Trizonia, 1991. p. 118.

369 GOLDSTÜCKER, Eduard. *Vzpomínky (1945-1968)*. Praha: G plus G, 2005. p. 72.

stressed that it cannot be a coincidence that eleven out of fourteen members had Jewish ancestors, and this attitude was again repeated during the subsequent trials.³⁷⁰

Jewish authorities succumbed to the pressure and used the Jewish Journal (*Věstník*)³⁷¹ to dissociate themselves from Zionist ideas. In January 1947, Viktor Lederer reviewed the 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.³⁷²

Regardless of animosity towards Zionist ideas, the State of Israel consistently sought to make contact with local communities and synagogue congregations. The CCJRC was forced to comply with the instructions of the Church department in 1957. 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 had the Israeli embassy under surveillance.³⁷³ The meetings organized by the official Israeli economic delegations 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 contacts with the Israeli embassy.³⁷⁴

At the CCJRC meeting, 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. In any case, the ministry did not want the packages. Communist officials considered these interventions undesirable, aimed at influencing the Jewish clergy and officials granted to perform

370 ČERNÝ, Václav. *Paměti III: 1945-1972*. Brno: Atlantis, 1992. p. 365-368.

371 The beginnings of the *Věstník* dates 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 publishing the *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).

372 LEDERER, Viktor. Jubilejní vzpomínání. *Věstník*. 1947, 9(2), p. 15.

373 YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 175.

374 Ibid. p. 174-175.

clerical functions. In practice, these encroachments of the Israeli embassy bore the consequences.³⁷⁵ Relations with Israel in the 1960s

The relationship with Israel became the strongest evidence of the disruption of unity between the official state and minority representation. The Jewish state kept its value both for the minority elite and for ordinary Jews, especially on an emotional level. The Jewish representation loyal to communists never joined or supported any anti-Israel campaigns; contrary to expectations, young people in particular wanted to get as much information as possible about the State of Israel and its culture.

This uncompromising stance towards Israel remained until the 1960s, when it merely melted. According to reports, members of the Israeli embassy's office took every opportunity to contact Jewish clergy. In 1960, communist officials announced the establishment of the Coordination Committee for the Czech lands and for Slovakia. This committee was in charge of managing all contact with foreigners. The secretariat chose and elected only proven communists, including František Ehrmann and Rudolf Iltis for the Czech side.³⁷⁶

With regard to the then anti-Israel politics, the Israeli embassy raised several complaints. During the ordeal 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.³⁷⁷

In 1965, Israel decided to rescue some Jewish national sights and monuments from the Czech lands. The Chief Rabbinate in Jerusalem repeatedly showed interest in purchasing the *Torah* from the State Jewish Museum in Prague. The State of Israel also showed an interest in obtaining valuable tombstones from destroyed Jewish cemeteries. It offered its own cultural monuments in return, or financial support for publishing books and documents on the history of Czech Jews.³⁷⁸

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. The deterioration of the relationship between Moscow and the Jewish

375 SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 508.

376 Ibid. p. 508.

377 Ibid. p. 171.

378 Ibid. p. 173.

state occurred in June 1967, after the Third Arab-Israeli (Six-Day) War.³⁷⁹ The crisis was aggravated by withdrawing Czechoslovak 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 reappeared.³⁸⁰ On June 10, 1967, President Antonín Novotný gave a new anti-Israel speech at the memorial in Lidice. At the same date, the Czechoslovak government also interrupted all diplomatic relations with Israel.³⁸¹

The culmination of the anti-Israeli stance was the assassination of Charles H. Jordan, who was a Vice-Chairman of the JOINT. He was assassinated in Prague on August 16, 1967 under suspicious circumstances.³⁸² Jordan was director of the JDC emigration department in Paris from 1948-1951. In a world divided by the Iron Curtain, he continued with the strategy of his superior, M. Beckelmann, who used all means (including bribery and blackmail) to save endangered Jewish people during World War II. In Czechoslovakia, Jordan negotiated the transit of refugees from other countries, and later directed the redemption of imprisoned Jewish activists. Jordan initiated the foundation of a humanitarian organization (*Société de Secours et d'Entreaide*) through which the JDC could legally supply humanitarian aid behind the Iron Curtain. Jordan was under constant surveillance by counterintelligence and the StB (State Security Service). The investigation was boycotted by all intelligence services, which is why his murder has never been solved.³⁸³

The Czechoslovak authorities subsequently reinforced the anti-Israel campaign, along with other countries in the Eastern Europe.³⁸⁴ This tense environment doomed to failure the idea of getting a rabbi from Israel. The communist authorities considered Israel the world's Jewish headquarters, connecting other Jewish communities in Diaspora where Zionists strengthened Jewish nationalism, especially in socialist countries.

Another political affair that damaged international perceptions of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (ČSR) was the visit of Nahum Goldmann, the president of the World Jewish

379 SACHAR, Howard Morley. *Dějiny státu Izrael*. Praha: Regia, 1999. p. 491.

380 YEGAR, Moshe, 1997. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 177-178.

381 SACHAR, Howard Morley. *Dějiny státu Izrael*. Praha: Regia, 1999. p. 550-551.

382 ŠMOK, Martin. Každý žid je sionista a každý sionista je špion! *Paměť a dějiny*. 2011, 5(4), p. 31.

383 ŠMOK, Martin. Kdo vlastně byl ten Jordan? *Lidové noviny*. [online]. 25.8. 2007 [Accessed 2020-03-20] Available from: https://www.lidovky.cz/domov/kdo-vlastne-byl-ten-jordan.A070825_000105_ln_noviny_sko.

384 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).

Congress. Despite the considerable diplomatic efforts of Czechoslovak Jewish representatives, the preparation of the visit turned into a foreign political faux pas. The WJC enlisted the CCJRC (Council of Czech Jewish Religious Communities) to hold a gala dinner with the Minister of Culture and Information and the Israeli *Chargé d'Affaires*, but communist authorities insisted on meeting only with the head of the Religious Secretariat at the Ministry of Education and Culture. The visit would thus have to be only for religious purposes, without any potential political debates. The administration did not allow Goldmann to make a speech on television and radio. This was unacceptable and humiliating for Jewish representatives, as the top representatives of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) were welcomed all over the world with greater honors than the Israeli president.³⁸⁵

This was unacceptable and humiliating for Jewish representatives, as the top representatives of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) were welcomed all over the world with greater honors than the Israeli president. These and similar scandals certainly did not contribute to the mutual settlement of relations, and directly affected the second and third Jewish post-war generation, which matured within the 1960s and the period of normalization.

In the era of “*Destalinization*”, the leadership of the Jewish community somewhat changed its hostile attitude to Israel. In January of 1960, the *Věstník* published a report on the death of Akiba Schreiber, a Bratislava rabbi in the pre-war and interwar period, the great-grandson of the famous ultra-Orthodox rabbi Chatam Šofér.³⁸⁶ The commemoration of his memory was the first positive mention of the State of Israel for a long time.

During the Six Day War in the summer of 1967, 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 open support to the Jewish country. However, the Czechoslovak press office used only sources that favored Israel’s enemies.³⁸⁷

In 1968, the ongoing process of democratic revival encouraged Jewish youth, especially (CZSJG), to identify and view Israel as a Jewish country. They saw it primarily as the cradle of

385 SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 495.

386 Zemřel rabín Akiba Schreiber. *Věstník*. 1960, 22(1), p. 9.

387 YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 177.

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. In an obvious move, the CCJRC announced that they would never agree to the destruction of Israel and its extermination. In the article published in the *Věstník*, they wrote that Israel is “a cradle of our religion” and the shelter for all Jewish brothers and sisters who survived the horrors of the Shoah.³⁸⁸

Czechoslovak Jews and their relationship towards Israel during the epoch of “Normalization”³⁸⁹

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. Despite mass protests, the program of political liberalization was gone. On 21st August 1968, the army of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact members invaded Czechoslovakia to suppress the liberal reforms. Communist officials again launched a strongly anti-Zionist campaign provoked by the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1967. Israel’s victory in the Six-day War (1967) caused the growth of Antizionism in the Soviet Union and its satellites. As Howard Sachar noted, Soviet foreign policy could not accept its defeat in the Middle East.³⁹⁰ In 1969, when Chief Rabbi Richard Feder died, the council lost a respected and influential member. His successor, Ervin Šalamon, who had studied in London, preferred to leave Czechoslovakia.³⁹¹ The defeat of the Prague Spring resulted in a numerical weakening of the community. According to journalist Petr Brod, approximately 6,000 Jews left Czechoslovakia in 1968-1969.³⁹²

388Ústřední organizace židů v Československé republice zaujímají stanovisko k procesu demokratické obrody. *Věstník*. 1968, 30(4), p. 1.

389 “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).

390 SACHAR, Howard Morley. *Dějiny státu Izrael*. Praha: Regia, 1999. p. 551.

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

392 Ibid. 149.

In addition, Communists found support for their anti-Zionist policy in the UN resolution adopted on 10th November 1975³⁹³, 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.³⁹⁴ The deteriorating political relations with Israel, such as Israeli citizens not being allowed to travel to Czechoslovakia, only continued as a result of military assistance to Arab states.

Journalist Peter Brod characterized the antizionism during the Normalization as an official campaign led by Gustav Husák's³⁹⁵ regime. In his analysis, several professional historians³⁹⁶ actively participated in the defaming campaign.³⁹⁷ 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*), 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.

On this aspect, Jana Svobodová also pointed out that Alexei Pludek's novels (*Vabank*, *The Enemy of Atlantis*) also consist of anti-Zionist insinuations. The propaganda sought to defame Jewish politicians for alleged efforts to undermine communist ideology.³⁹⁸ 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.

393 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>.

394 YEGAR, Moshe. *Československo, sionismus, Izrael: historie vzájemných vztahů*. Praha: Victoria Publishing, 1997. p. 184-185.

395 "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).

396 For example: Václav Král and František J. Kolár.

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

398 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).

Czech lands: Antisemitism in the 1950s and 1960s

The following two chapters briefly outline the development of official communist anti-Zionism, which, according to the general professional public, disguised latent antisemitism. The first chapter deals with the post-war period and briefly introduces the so-called Czechoslovak concept of Stalinist antisemitism and its political manifestations, and the second chapter introduces the specifics of anti-Zionism during the period of Normalization. This part does not aim to encompass all historical aspects concerning Czechoslovak post-war antisemitism, but it endeavors to introduce a concise historical context for those who are not familiar with Czechoslovak Jewish history after the war.

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. In September 1945, these press-spirited moods resulted in a tragic pogrom in Topolčany.³⁹⁹ Although the pogroms occurred mainly on Slovak territory, in Prešov (1945) and Bratislava (1946), they had a major impact on the Jews' feelings and mindset in the Czech lands.⁴⁰⁰ The fact that the wave of violence erupted on Slovak soil was not surprising. The impulse for the pogrom in Topolčany 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.⁴⁰¹

The pogroms were condemned across the political spectrum by leading government officials, with Viliam Široký, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,

399 The Topolčany riot took place in Topolčany in Slovak territory on 24 September 1945. It is a well-known incident of post-war violence against Jews in Slovakia. The underlying motive was the return of Holocaust survivors to Slovakia. The returnees demanded their stolen property back from Slovaks, who did not want to share the confiscated estates.

400 SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. Židé na Moravě. Od Pražského jara k normalizaci (do roku 1977). In: *Židé a Morava: sborník z konference konané v Muzeu Kroměřížska dne 5. listopadu 2008*. Kroměříž: Muzeum Kroměřížska, 2009, p. 270-271.

401 KAMENEC, Ivan. Protižidovský pogrom v Topolčanech v septembri 1945. *Studia Historica Nitriensia*. 2000, 8(1), p. 85-99.

subsequently being put in charge of investigating the incident. Jan Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that antisemitism is an ideology incompatible with democracy and dangerous for Czechoslovak foreign diplomacy. The anti-pogrom policy was also fully supported by Klement Gottwald, who called the pogrom a “blatant scandal”. Gottwald suggested purging the party and state apparatus and organizing a people's court for pogrom participants. At the same time, he strongly opposed the placement of former partisans in the State Security Service. Minister of Agriculture, Julius Ďuriš, also came up with his own interpretation of the pogrom: “*Today, we have attacks against the Jews, tomorrow against the Communists. Subsequently, there will be attacks against the government and the republic, and finally against the Soviet Union.*”⁴⁰²

Václav Kopecký set out the official Marxist approach towards the Jewish bourgeoisie in his war paper *Antisemitismus, poslední zbraní nacismu* (Antisemitism, the last weapon of Nazism). He pointed out that the defeat of antisemitism should not mean rich Jews should be allowed to get back their property in Czechoslovakia in order to continue exploiting their employees.⁴⁰³ “*Fighting against antisemitism does not mean securing the return to the liberated republic of Jewish grandchildren such as Petschek, Rothschild, Guttman, etc. so that they can take over their former possessions and continue sucking. (...) Every citizen of Jewish descent will be equally and rigorously investigated with regards to their behavior nationally in the past and (...) as they treated their own fellow believers.*”⁴⁰⁴

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 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 would become again available.⁴⁰⁵ The propaganda presented at the time put the Jews returning with the allied armies in a very bad light. These developments help to explain the problematic restitution

402 VRZGULOVÁ, Monika and Hana KUBÁTOVÁ. *Podoby antisemitismu v Čechách a na Slovensku ve 20. a 21. století*. Praha: Karolinum, 2016. p. 125.

403 KOPECKÝ, Václav. *Antisemitismus poslední zbraní nacismu*. Praha: Svoboda, 1945. p. 14-15.

404 Ibid. p. 14.

405 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).

and rehabilitation of the Jews after the war.⁴⁰⁶ 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.

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 1930.⁴⁰⁷ Those who declared themselves to be of Jewish nationality had to undergo a special investigation proving their “state reliability”. National committees made it difficult for Jewish applicants to maintain their citizenship. The Czechoslovak administration managed to approve only 3,000 out of 16,000 applications for restitution by the end of 1947.⁴⁰⁸ The restitution process was also criticized abroad. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) published a report on the restoration of Jewish property in Prague and Bratislava. *“The problem of restoration of Jewish property is gradually being solved in Prague, but it is causing great difficulties in Slovakia. This is due to the fact that while in Bohemia-Moravia all Jewish property was confiscated by Germans who have now lost their rights and are in the process of being expelled from the country, in Slovakia the Jewish property was taken over by Slovaks who now, with the exception of pro-Nazi collaborators remain citizens and refuse to part with the property. Two political parties in Slovakia are both dodging the issue of enforcing the restoration of confiscated Jewish property to the rightful owners. Out of opportunism, neither of these two groups dares to approach the problem vigorously before the forthcoming elections. Formally, the anti-Jewish laws have been repealed in Slovakia, but the Jews there complain that the repeal is “only on paper” and the only benefit that Jews have derived so far is that they can move about freely.”*⁴⁰⁹

406 Read more: (KUKLÍK, Jan. *Znárodněné Československo: od znárodnění k privatizaci - státní zásahy do vlastnických a dalších majetkových práv v Československu a jinde v Evropě*. Praha: Auditorium, 2010.; ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina and David RECHTER. *Židé, nebo Němci?: německy mluvící Židé v poválečném Československu, Polsku a Německu*. Praha: NLN, 2019).

407 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).

408 NEPALOVÁ, Šárka. *Židovská menšina v Čechách a na Moravě*. In: KÁRNÝ, Miroslav and Eva LORENCOVÁ. *Terezínské studie a dokumenty*. Praha: Academia, 1999, p. 31.

409 Prague Jews Revive Their Community, All Synagogues Remained Intact, Few Survivors Left. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*: archive [online] 1945 [Accessed 04/09/20]. Available from: <https://www.jta.org/1945/06/10/archive/prague-jews-revive-their-community-all-synagogues-remained-intact-few-survivors-left>.

Besides the problems described above, the post-war restitution of confiscated Jewish businesses led to the fanning of antisemitic passions as the Communist government sought to keep larger industrial complexes and unions under state control. The Jews had to face aggressive insults and slander, which only intensified after the Communist coup in February 1948. 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.⁴¹⁰

One example of the eruption of antisemitism within this context is the so-called Varnsdorf affair. Emil Beer, a Jewish emigrant and businessman requested the return of his weaving factory, which was unfavorably sold to the Germans. However, his request was rejected because he had been found to be “not state reliable”.⁴¹¹

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.⁴¹² From the Jewish perspective, the secretary of the CCJRC, Kurt Wehle, characterized Czechoslovak post-war antisemitism as remnants of fascist and reactionary ideology.⁴¹³

Although the Communist regime initially condemned all manifestations of antisemitism after February 1948, it also ensured that an organ of communist power would be established in the CCJRC. This act showed the paternalistic approach towards the Jewish population, which was completed with the takeover of the Jewish press – *Věstník*. The Communists were also suspicious of other organizations and associations mostly consisting of Jews. This structure of power was evident especially in relation to the Union of Czechoslovak-Israeli Friendship. The extent of this “understanding” was curbed by ideological limits, with the Communists introducing and implementing their own plans for the Union’s structure. According to their regulations, the Union

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

411 See more: PĚKNÝ, Tomáš. *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě*. 2. vyd. Praha: Sefer, 2001. p. 372-374.

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

413 WEHLE, Kurt. „Jednou větou o Topolčanech.“ *Věstník*. 1945, 8(3), p. 21.

turned into an exclusive organization that was only permitted to accept members who passed a political thought examination associated with socialist personal qualities. The Union therefore became not exclusively Jewish and an internally controlled association observed by people loyal to the regime.⁴¹⁴

According to historian Jana Svobodová, it is very difficult to call these manifestations of antipathy antisemitic. The truly open antisemitic incidents came with the speeches of Václav Kopecký in September 1951, which incited and escalated a wave of political trials in the autumn of 1952.

The show trials against Slánský and fourteen members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ) were a warning to Czechoslovak communist politicians to not deviate from official Soviet policy. Stalin wanted to prevent the alienation of other people's democracies, as Tito had succeeded to do in Yugoslavia. The position of Rudolf Slánský⁴¹⁵ seemed unshakable and safe for a long time. In July 1951, the Communist Party even celebrated his 50th birthday with great pomp and the bestowal of official honors. However, within a short period of time, Slánský began being insulted by the party's highest leadership for lack of vigilance and inconsistent progress in the fight against the internal enemy. President Klement Gottwald, under the Soviet threat of being involved in the conspiracy, agreed to the arrest of his friend Slánský, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Soviet advisers, with the help of the State Security Service (StB), included a range of personalities in the "conspiracy": from Rudolf Slánský and Bedřich Reicin to non-engaging professional experts such as Rudolf Margolius and Jiří Frejka – all with Jewish backgrounds. After months of physical pressure and endless interrogations, the defendants met for the first time at the trial in Prague. The chief prosecutor, Josef Urválek, accused Slánský and the collective of Trotskyism, Titoism, conspiracy against the republic, and sabotage. Urválek described the accused as enemies of the Czechoslovak people, Zionists, and nationalist traitors. The anti-Zionist concept of the process subsequently had an impact on the selection of scapegoats. Eleven of the fourteen convicts stated in the lawsuit that

414 BULÍNOVÁ, Marie. *Československo a Izrael v letech 1945-1956: dokumenty*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AVČR, 1993. p. 25.

415 First Secretary of the KSČ Rudolf Slánský belonged to the most powerful leaders of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s. He was also responsible for a wave of "purges" of the respective Communist Party leaderships.

they were of “Jewish descent”. The Soviet advisers even tried to enforce the wording of “Jewish nationality”, but failed.

All the defendants had to memorize their testimonies, as written by the investigators, and were examined several times before the main trial. The trial was well received in Czechoslovakia and 8,500 petitions demanding the toughest punishment supported the rendered verdicts. Eleven defendants were sentenced to death, three were sentenced to life imprisonment. Gottwald refused to pardon the convicts, with the executions taking place in the middle of the night on December 3, 1952 in the Pankrác Prison. The ashes of the convicts were scattered by the StB somewhere outside Prague.

One of the convicted was Bedřich Geminder, a leading figure in the fight against the Zionist movement. He was subsequently indicted for being a Zionist conspirator by prosecutors. One of the factors that explains the strong interest of the communist leadership in Geminder was his origin – he was a German Jew. This aroused distrust and suspicion in those countries under the influence of the Soviet Union in the post-war years. His ties to German nationality may have given the powers that be an additional source of legitimacy for the accusations made against him and his subsequent death sentence.⁴¹⁶

The course of the trial has been studied by many historians, including historian Pavlína Kourová. She addressed the issue of whether, at that time, the media and journalists conveying the process were openly antisemitic. The conclusions she drew were negative, but she emphasized that the court records and the official propaganda pointed out that 11 out of 14 defendants were addressed as persons of Jewish origin.⁴¹⁷ The antisemitic dimension of the propaganda campaign was more likely hidden and served through anti-Zionist attacks. These attacks were focused on the state of Israel, which was condemned as being “representative of American imperialism in the Middle East”. Zionism was subsequently referred to as “bourgeois nationalism” and compared to fascism.

According to Pavlína Kourová, although the term “Jewish origin” appeared with negative connotations in the Communist propaganda, the campaign did arouse very negative attitudes

416 See more: KAPLAN, Karel. *Zpráva o zavraždění generálního tajemníka*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1992. p. 136.

417 KOUROVÁ, Pavlína. *Propagandistické kampaně v Československu v letech 1948–1953*. Praha, 2013. Dissertation. Univerzita Karlova. Pedagogická fakulta, p. 297.

towards Jews in society.⁴¹⁸ These antisemitic prejudices were usually articulated by labeling the defendants as “cosmopolitans,” “traitors without a homeland and a home”, or “people of bourgeois-Jewish descent.” Kourová states that the organizers of the anti-Zionist campaign were ordered to purposefully avoid open antisemitic formulations in the texts of resolutions.⁴¹⁹

Despite all the alleged efforts of communist representatives to separate the terms “Jewish” and “Zionist”, these terms were interchanged and misused and as such were clearly antisemitic. The Communist regime did not hesitate to automatically label the Jewish population as bourgeois, capitalist and parvenu. The population in Czechoslovakia, frustrated by the poor economic situation, was able to read between the lines. For many citizens the main culprits were Jews. This narrow thinking was certainly supported by the radio broadcasts from the courtroom.⁴²⁰

In the official Communist newsletters, of which Gottwald and Zápotocký were aware, they reported on the numerous anti-Jewish statements noted in many places. Almost every report contained general information on the growing anti-Jewish sentiment immediately after the beginning of the trial. Historian Tomáš Haber describes these antisemitic occurrences in his thesis and introduces a wide range of colorful antisemitic resentments in the former communist society. Based on the reports in the Communist journal *Věstník*⁴²¹ (Bulletin), he deduced the growing tendency for antisemitic manifestations due to the continuation of the trials. In his opinion, citizens’ opinions on the Jewish population became radicalized. Within this context, some texts in the Bulletin clearly illustrate the real discrimination Jews faced in the workplace.⁴²² In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize that all cited historians consider the trials to be clearly antisemitic.⁴²³ In 1963, all defendants were secretly rehabilitated in memoriam.⁴²⁴

The main objective of the political trials can be described as being the search for external or internal enemies. Trials usually served to stifle diplomatic relations with hostile states, in this case Israel. At the end of 1951, two Israeli citizens and diplomats - Simon Ornstein and Mordechai

418 Ibid. p. 258-259.

419 Ibid. p. 308.

420 VRZGULOVÁ, Monika and Hana KUBÁTOVÁ. *Podoby antisemitismu v Čechách a na Slovensku ve 20. a 21. století*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2016. p. 135.

421 Do not confuse with ŽNO Bulletin (Jewish religious communities).

422 HABERMANN, Tomáš. *Cesta Československa od podpory sionismu k antisionismu (1947-1957)*. Praha, 2017. Dissertation. Univerzita Karlova. p. 191.

423 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.

424 KAPLAN, Karel. *Zpráva o zavraždění generálního tajemníka*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1992. p. 245.

Oren - were arrested. The aim of arrests neither sought to undermine diplomatic relations, nor to suppress Jewish cultural and association activities. According to the indictment, they were allegedly the head of a secret group of conspirators who disrupted the economic base of Czechoslovakia's democracy and carried out espionage in favor of Israel and the United States.⁴²⁵ Historian Tomáš Haberman further emphasizes in his work, that on the basis of historical research, it is obvious that the processes were faked from the very beginning. He quotes Mordechai Oren's statement in the preface: *"I learned an important thing from the prosecutor at the time. It was not about me, they wanted to judge Zionism in myself."*⁴²⁶

Anti-Israel rhetoric based on anti-Zionism also made it possible to search for an internal enemy within the Jewish population, which subsequently did not need to be referred to as Jews, but Zionist members of Israel's political conspiracy. It came primarily from the Communist authorities, not the Jewish community or individual Jews. At the same time, it was possible to continue the purge of officials of Jewish origin in communist structures. Additional legitimacy was given to the claim that the Communist regime could not be antisemitic through its active efforts to reopen the Pinkas synagogue, which was to be perceived as a strong expression of solidarity with the Jews who went through the horrors of the Holocaust. It can be stated that the developments in Czechoslovakia in the period 1945-1953 are a very good example of the complicated relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism in political discourse within authoritarian regimes.

Czech lands: Antisemitism in the 1970s and 1980s

Communist ideologues called the period after the military invasion to Czechoslovakia in August 1968, the period of "Normalization". Society should have returned to "normal", i.e. rigid ideological socialism politically controlled by the Soviet occupation forces under the command of Moscow. The objective to build real socialism was confirmed at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party in May 1971. Once again, Soviet and Czechoslovak propaganda included the Zionist conspiracy among those dangerous anti-Communist elements that supported the political liberation between 1967 and 1968. In his publication, Petr Halama confirms that in the 1970s, the

425 HABERMANN, Tomáš. Souzen bude sionismus: procesy se Šimonem Ornsteinem a spol. a s Mordechajem Orenem. *Paměť a dějiny*. 2017, 9(3), p. 42-57.

426 Ibid. p. 42.

idea of Zionism as the core of all evil continued to survive. For example, in the official document "Lessons from the crisis-ridden development", the Communist authorities considered Zionism one of the causes of the counter-revolution.⁴²⁷

*"The simplistic view prevailed that Nazi racial persecutions, as well as deportations and imprisonment in Nazi concentration camps, brought these sons and daughters of Jewish manufacturers, bankers, wholesalers and bourgeois intelligentsia closer to the Czech and Slovak working class and socialism. However, it turned out that many of these workers remained loyal supporters of capitalist orders, supporters of Zionist views, and enemies of socialism. [...] This literature concealed the treacherous role of world Zionism during the Nazi occupation, and the Jews were considered a united and suffering nation."*⁴²⁸ The text of the Script of the College of the State Security Service summarized "permanent and unchanging values", the rejection of all anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary acts, and the immediate destruction of internal enemies, including Zionists. 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,⁴²⁹ which, as Soukupová writes, represented an unwelcome foreign influence for her. After Moscow severed diplomatic ties with Israel in 1967, anti-Zionism intensified.⁴³⁰

However, the roots of official antisemitism did not lie only in the strengthening of the Communist regime after August 1968, but also in the dissenting response to the Arab-Israeli war in 1967. When ČTK quoted mainly pro-Arab sources, Jewish youth began to look for unbiased information elsewhere. In Czechoslovakia, cultural policy, education, upbringing and teaching took place in the spirit of scientific Marxism-Leninism and in close cooperation with the proletariat.

A classic example of antisemitism in literature during the period of normalization can be found in the work of František J. Kolár. He wrote that the Zionists had turned into a strike force for international imperialists who were threatening national liberation movements in the Middle

427 HALLAMA, Peter. *Národní hrdinové - židovské oběti: holokaust v české kulturní paměti*. Praha: NLN, 2020. Židé - dějiny - paměť. p. 221.

428 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.

429 They primarily investigated the Israeli embassy in Prague.

430 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.

East. Kolár further asserted that Zionist politics had supported antagonism towards the communist ideology and that this therefore posed a danger to other socialist countries. The author also mentions the supposed evidence of Israel's active participation in the events in Czechoslovakia between 1968 and 1969, as well as earlier.⁴³¹

Kolár also published several brochures that incorporated typical forms of anti-Jewish propaganda. These represent an extensive collection of slanderous antisemitic prejudices and superstitions. For example, Kolár describes the literature describing the Holocaust and its aftermath as “the well-known Jewish exaggeration and pain and Zionist pseudo-humanism”. In his view, the Jews supported capitalism because the liquidation of capitalism would mean the end of Judaism, and that Zionism arose as a substitute for the exceptional position of the Jewish ghetto. Furthermore, the author disputes the position and proof of the Jews as an independent nation, referring to it as the Jews sentimental memory of religious education. According to the author, Jews are a united race, so they cannot even be a separate nation. Kolár's work also reflects the concept of a new anti-Israel antisemitism that resonated in Western Europe at the same time. According to Kolár, the liquidation of Israel was desirable because the country was considered an advanced base of imperialism in the Middle East.⁴³² Blanka Soukupová believes that the text did not have the potential to affect broader public opinion, but that it does have a historical-anthropological dimension. It is clear that Kolár does not consider the Jews an independent entity, or an independent nation, but rather understands them as a closed religious caste of people. She judges that by granting a certain exclusivity, Kolár tried to raise the so-called Jewish question to provoke hate against Jews.⁴³³

Besides latent antisemitism in literature, communist regime also kept Jewish people under surveillance.⁴³⁴ The StB began to compile lists of persons of Jewish origin again for "operational use" in the fight against Zionism. Citizens revealed by the regime as Zionists faced difficulties at work or in school regardless of admitting their Jewish origin. Jewish communities, operating under

431 KUBÁTOVÁ, Hana and Jan LÁNÍČEK. *The Jew in Czech and Slovak imagination, 1938-89: Antisemitism, the Holocaust, and Zionism*. Leiden: Brill, 2018. p. 170-171.

432 KOLÁR, František J. *Sionismus a antisemitismus*. Praha : Svoboda, 1970. p. 16-74.

433 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. 253.

434 Widespread surveillance of Jews was suspended in 1962, because it was regarded as a manifestation of antisemitism in counterintelligence work. (KOUTEK, Ondřej. Akce "Pavouk": evidování židovského obyvatelstva Státní bezpečností za normalizace. *Paměť a dějiny*. 2017, **11**(1), p. 42.

the supervision of state authorities, like other churches, came under enormous pressure and, as in society as a whole, radical checks and purges took place among their officials in the early to mid-1970s.⁴³⁵

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.⁴³⁶

Historian Jana Svobodová 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 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.⁴³⁷ 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 - Zionist Movement in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.⁴³⁸

This theory was further reflected upon in a broader context by the historian Robert Wistrich, who describes this historical period as “antisemitism without Jews”.⁴³⁹ According to Wistrich, antisemitism in Czechoslovakia was a latent, but constant threat, which generated

435 KOUTEK, Ondřej. Akce "Pavouk": evidování židovského obyvatelstva Státní bezpečností za normalizace. *Paměť a dějiny*. 2017, **11**(1), p. 40-54.

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

437 Ibid. p. 58.

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

439 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).

permanent uncertainty for all concerned. 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 socialist national homogeneous Czechoslovak space.⁴⁴⁰

The next important act against antisemitism during the period of normalization was the civic initiative Charter 77, signed in January 1977. Once this document was distributed, *Rudé Právo* (The Red Truth) published the article "Ztroskotanci a Samozvanci" (Losers and Self-Proceeders) which claimed this document to be illegal and criminal offense and spreading was assigned to "bankrupt organizers of the 1968," counter revolutionaries and Zionist headquarters.⁴⁴¹ Among the signatories of the Declaration were several people of Jewish origin such as František Krigel.

The party-state imposed leadership of the official Jewish community responded to the publication of Charter 77 via an article published in the January edition of the monthly *Věstník ŽNO*. The article strongly denounced Charter 77 on behalf of the Jews in Czechoslovakia. According to the article, those who drafted the Charter did not realize that their initiative gave backing to the imperialist and Nazi forces that had destroyed the world in the past and that these forces were against the noble principle of peace.⁴⁴² This statement is widely seen as conformist and seeking to prove the loyalty of the CCJRC towards the Communist administration.⁴⁴³

It should be noted that this statement is unjust to those who drafted the Charter because they devoted several extensive texts to the Jewish community, texts in which they sharply criticized the Communist administration's unequal and subordinated relationship with the Jewish community, especially in relation to the community's religious and cultural heritage. These statements should not imply that the official party-state backed leadership had a lot of choice in the matter. It is important to point out that the general public, along with the Communist

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

441 Ztroskotanci a samozvanci. *Rudé Právo*. 1977, **80**(2), p. 2.

442 *Věstník Židovských náboženských obcí v Československu*. Praha: Rada Židovských náboženských obcí, 1977, č. 1.

443 This statement can be supported by the statement of Rudolf Iltis, who in 1962 mentioned in the article "Thus was Auschwitz" that the Jewish community was already saturated with memories of the Holocaust and in his opinion most Jews want to displace these memories from their memory. This observation was correctly recorded by the historian Jacob Labendz and used in his work. (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. 165).

authorities, did not consider Charter 77 to be a Jewish (Zionist) initiative, even though some signatories were sympathetic to the plight of the Jews. The drafters of Charter 77 made efforts to include a wide range of social groups, including actors, religious representatives, manual workers, intellectuals, etc.

One of the documents that makes up Charter 77 defends the Jewish minority, pointing out some fundamental problems with regards to Jewish monuments. The journalist and historian Tomáš Pěkný evaluated and highlighted the contribution of Charter 77 to the discussion of Jewish culture during the period of normalization on the pages of the monthly *Roš chodeš (Beginning of the Month)*. In his view, thanks to the Chartists, Jewish cultural issues were not completely overlooked and forgotten during the 1970s and 1980s. He in particular references the document entitled *Kritika devastace židovských kulturních památek a zamlčování úlohy Židů v čs dějinách* (Criticism of the Devastation of Jewish Cultural Monuments and the Concealment of the Jewish Role in Czechoslovak history) published in 1989.⁴⁴⁴ Besides hundreds of statements on current issues, Charter 77 included several important analytical documents such as *Svoboda cestování do ciziny* (Freedom to travel abroad, 1978), *K problematice důchodců* (On the issue of pensioners, 1980), *Právo na dějiny, právo na informace* (The right to history, the right to information, 1984), *O československém zdravotnictví* (Czechoslovak healthcare, 1984), etc.⁴⁴⁵

The aforementioned document recalls, among other things, that the memorial to Jewish victims of the genocide committed by the Nazis, which can be found in the Pinkas synagogue, was closed in 1968 because of potential damage to the masonry caused by groundwater, but that after 20 years of reconstruction, the building was still closed to the public. The signatories of Charter 77 emphasized that the whole generation reaching adulthood during the period of normalization were not allowed to visit the memorial.

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

444 The fact that Charter 77 commented on the Jewish question and latent antisemitism so late points to the fact that this issue remained on the fringes of the attention of the then intellectual elite. Svobodová attributes this to a certain shyness that prevailed among intellectuals in relation to the phenomenon of Judaism. The author refers to Milan Šimečka, who pointed out the reluctance of people to address the position of Jews in the then socialist society. (SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. p. 66-67).

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

propaganda. For example, the closure of the Spanish synagogue due to technical issues, which was only repaired in late 1989.⁴⁴⁶

A similar fate befell the Maisel synagogue in 1986. This sacred building hosted a unique collection of synagogue silver. Its permanent closure made it impossible for visitors to access this unique exhibition. Many of the precious objects were sent as a travelling exhibit of the Prague Jewish Museum abroad in the 1980s. It was called The Precious Legacy. Judaic Treasure from the Czechoslovak state collections.⁴⁴⁷ While the Communist Party did allow the promotion of Jewish culture even behind the Iron Curtain, the devastation of cemeteries and Jewish monuments continued with official approval

In addition to the closure of official Jewish cultural and religious centers, the library at the State Jewish Museum in Prague was only opened partially and very rarely to the 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. As part of the exhibitions and activities organized by the Terezín Memorial, only a little part was dedicated to the ghetto, which did not correspond to the number of Jewish victims and the general interests of the vast majority of visitors. The exhibition in the Small fortress in Terezín included only a handful of drawings from Terezín's artists and a wholly inadequate exhibition in the former crematorium devoted to the victims of the ghetto.⁴⁴⁸ Despite great efforts during the early 1960s, the indifference of Czechoslovak citizens to the Holocaust from the perspective of Jewish suffering has not changed. Thus, at the end of the 1960s, communist politics had little difficulty in enforcing the old-new view of Terezín (and the Second World War in general) in the sense of anti-fascist universalism.⁴⁴⁹

Besides the inappropriate ways of remembering the Jewish tragedy, the most alarming aspect was the devastation of Jewish estates (cemeteries, synagogues, sacred places, etc.) during the 20 years before the Velvet Revolution. Some of the official destruction was undertaken with

446 Ibid p. 3.

447 ABENDZ, 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. 320-321.

448 Ibid. p. 3.

449 Peter Halama asserts that among the visible manifestations of ideological shifts was the return to the old interpretive models at the permanent exhibition of the Terezín Memorial, just as the Communists and the role of the Red Army were interrogated in 1971. (HALLAMA, Peter. *Národní hrdinové - židovské oběti: holokaust v české kulturní paměti*. Praha: NLN, 2020. Židé - dějiny - paměť. p. 114).

the direct participation of local authorities and the forced consent of Jewish communities.⁴⁵⁰ For example, in Prague, many Jewish cemeteries, including those in rural areas, were arbitrarily destroyed. As for historical synagogues, except *Holešov* and *Mikulov*, there was no effort to maintain them. Communists did not want to take care of historic ghettos encompassing unique Jewish monuments of European importance. The communists also paid special attention to the liquidation of newer parts of numerous rural Jewish cemeteries with granite tombstones.⁴⁵¹

Besides the destruction of Jewish monuments, Tomáš Pěkný mentions that the Jewish community in Czechoslovakia was suppressed by several waves of emigration (after 1948 and after 1968), resulting in the dramatic reduction in the size of the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia (from 44,000 in 1945 to only 9,000 in 1980). Pěkný also describes the intentional antisemitic stance towards the destruction of religious and cultural life based on the fact that the Jewish community did not have a rabbi in 1970–1984. Despite several attempts to find a Czech-speaking rabbi, there were no suitable candidates except one who emerged at the end of the Communist era.⁴⁵²

In the months following the publication of Charter 77, two extensive reports devoted to Zionism were published in the party press. In an article entitled “*Sionismus – Nástroj kontrarevoluce*” (Zionism - an Instrument of the Counter-Revolution), 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.⁴⁵³ Historian Jana Svobodová also presents articles by Jiří Bohatka, who described antisemitism on the pages of the Communist newspaper *Tribuna* as the mere imaginations and a weapon of Zionists.⁴⁵⁴ She also mentions in her work a novel published by Alexej Pludek, who repeatedly used antisemitic motifs in his works. In his novel “*Nepřítel z Atlantidy*” (The Enemy from Atlantis), the enemies become wealthy merchants who can be distinguished from the native inhabitants of Atlantis by their appearance and clothing. Pludek’s novels were more dangerous than the official anti-Zionist propaganda spread through the

450 DANÍČEK, Jiří. Kameny náhrobní a dlažební. *Roš chodeš*. 2020, **82**(6), p. 3.

451 PREČAN, Vilém ed. *Charta 77: 1977-1989 : od morální k demokratické revoluci: dokumentace*. Bratislava: Archa, 1990. p. 363-370.

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

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

454 SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. p. 59.

Communist Party's brochures. Uninformed readers were at risk of reading his novels without any substantial and deep understanding of the context and disguised anti-Jewish xenophobic analogies, thereby affecting their minds, making them paranoid and intolerant.⁴⁵⁵

The events of 1968 also affected the StB, which began to conduct inspections and purges after the Soviet invasion. Due to this fact, a larger number of spies and scouts emigrated or fled to western countries. The declared focus of the StB became internal enemies and emigrant headquarters. New political cadres and StB officers mistakenly interpreted the political easing and the end of Stalinist anti-Zionist politics in the 1960s. On the contrary, the StB created new special manuals for a new generation of secret police, explaining the crucial importance of the fight against Zionism, with instructions on how to obtain agents to work among the Zionists and successfully manage them.⁴⁵⁶

*“If we want to compromise a hostile Zionist person in front of their social group, we must use all available knowledge about their real characteristics and mistakes and supplement and modify these characteristics appropriately. [...] So its essence lies in the fact that the StB gives the corporate headquarters of Zionist authorities defamatory or false information in order to create contradictions and distrust between agents.”*⁴⁵⁷

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.

455 PLUDEK, Alexej. *Nepřítel z Atlantidy*. 2. vyd. Praha: Československý spisovatel, 1984.

456 State Security Service Archive, Script of the College of the State Security Service, 1977. Collection of orders, bulletins, service aids, coll. 413 - Fight against Zionism and its agencies.

457 State Security Service Archive, Script of the College of the State Security Service, 1977. Collection of orders, bulletins, service aids, coll. 413 - Fight against Zionism and its agencies. unpag.

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”. The compilation of lists of Czechoslovak citizens corresponding to this definition bore the code name “PAVOUK” (SPIDER).⁴⁵⁸ 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 1972–1989.⁴⁵⁹

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. The implementation of both campaigns was coordinated with other state bodies responsible for the supervision of churches and minorities, in particular the Secretariat for Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Ministry of Culture of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Introduction to Jewish history in Luxembourg (1945-1990): historical circumstances as building blocks for Jewish identity.

The following two chapters briefly introduce the post-war Jewish history in the researched area of the Czech lands and Luxembourg. I would like to emphasize that this part of my work does not aim to perform a detailed investigation of Jewish post-war history. The purpose is to briefly

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

459 Ibid. p.54.

introduce certain historical events from the perspective of Jewish history. A detailed focus on selected phenomena is then performed in the chapters that deal with the research results.

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.⁴⁶⁰ 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.⁴⁶¹

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.⁴⁶² 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.⁴⁶³ 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. However, it must be taken into consideration that there were also naturalizations, especially between the years 1947 and 1968.

460 *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.

RAPPORT FINAL. Commission spéciale pour l'étude des spoliations des biens juifs au Luxembourg pendant les années de guerre 1940-1945.

461 Ibid.

462 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.

463 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).

Historian Denis Scuto has counted up to 8,240 naturalizations, which corresponds to an average of 375 per year.⁴⁶⁴ This probably included a number of Jews.

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.⁴⁶⁵

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.⁴⁶⁶ 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.

Jewish communities in Luxembourg after the war.

Once some families had returned back to Esch-sur-Alzette, they reopened their businesses in the autumn of 1945. Since the synagogue had been destroyed, the first religious services were held in a windowless room in the Grand-Rue. Lazard Cerf took over the presidency of the community and succeeded his father Léon, who had abandoned the position five years ago. Luxembourg and Esch were the only two communities that were sustainably reborn.⁴⁶⁷

464 SCUTO, Denis. *La nationalité luxembourgeoise, XIXe-XXIe siècles*. Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2012. p. 286-289.

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

466 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

467 CERF, Paul and Isi FINKELSTEIN. *Les Juifs d'Esch chroniques de la communauté Juive de 1837 à 1999*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Éditions des cahiers luxembourgeois, 1999. p. 63.

The others did not recover successfully, due to the heavy losses they sustained. Some families chose to settle down in Ettelbruck, where the local synagogue was vandalized and desecrated, but the building was still usable. Jacques Kann, a shopkeeper from Ettelbruck, took over the presidency of this small community until he died in 1958, whereby his son Julien assumed the presidency until he died in 1988.⁴⁶⁸ In Medernach, the small pre-war community vanished and none of the 27 Jews deported had survived. The oratory was no longer used and the house that sheltered it fell into disrepair, and the Consistory Israelite ceded the property in 1960.⁴⁶⁹

In Mondorf-Les-Bains, the synagogue had been burned down, although not destroyed, but its furniture had been wrecked or looted. The refurbishment of the synagogue was completed in 1953. A few families returned to Mondorf after the war, where Paul Marx ensured religious services until he died in 1949. The city of baths had two hotels – Bristol and Hemmendinger – both of which had served kosher cuisine for guests before the war. These hotels also continued preparing kosher cuisine after the war, and a prayer room was installed during the spa season prior to the complete renovation of the synagogue. Due to the lack of a local community, the synagogue finally closed in 1974⁴⁷⁰ and its property was transferred to the commune Grevenmacher, where a dozen Jewish families were listed at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Under the presidency of Edmond Marx, a new consistory was restored in Luxembourg city. Marx was a merchant who had managed to emigrate to Brazil in 1940 and was a respected man in Luxembourg society, especially within the very selective Rotary Club.

Rabbi Robert Serebrenik wanted to stay in the United States, where he had rebuilt his life. He submitted his resignation to the Grand Duchess and the government in August 1946. He spent many good days at the Jewish Community in New York, until he died in 1965. As his replacement, the Consistory commissioned Joseph Kratzenstein, an assistant rabbi in Zurich, born in 1904, who had served for seventeen years as a professor of Hebrew. Joseph Kratzenstein did not stay long in Luxembourg; he was preoccupied with his philanthropic activities for war orphans and found a

468 DONDELINGER, Will and Arthur MULLER. Jüdische Bevölkerung in Ettelbruck. *De Reider*. 1998, **25**, p. 35.

469 MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 219.

470 THILMAN, Daniel. *La Présence Juive à Mondorf-les-Bains Et à Mondorff: Des Origines à 1953*. [s.l.]: Mémoire Univ. Nancy, 2005. p. 156-160.

new home in Israel. He submitted his resignation in December 1948. It was not until the 1950s that the life of the Jews in the Grand Duchy became normal once again.

Slow restoration of the Jewish community in Luxembourg

President Edmond Marx played an important role in reviving the Jewish life in Luxembourg after the war. He managed to convince the Luxembourgish government to provide the finances to build a new synagogue in Luxembourg.

The president of the Consistory, Edmond Marx, enforced his will to appoint Charles Lehrmann as the new Grand Rabbi of Luxembourg. He assumed office in January 1950. The new spiritual guide joined a community still terrified by the aftermath of the war, despite the Consistory's efforts to normalize community life. Charitable and cultural associations had slowly resumed their activities. The EZRA was gradually becoming independent of the tutelage of the American organization Joint Distribution Committee, whose material and financial assistance had been invaluable after the war. The Union of Young Israelites took charge of organizing recreational evenings, while new associations sprang up in the wake of the creation of the State of Israel. Rose Salomon, who chaired the Society of Israelite Ladies, took charge of the Luxembourg branch of the WIZO (Women International Zionist Organization): this association organized charity events several times a year to support projects for needy children in Israel. The association also organized cultural events supported by the United Fund for Israel.⁴⁷¹

Returning from exile, the members of the government had to come to terms with the resistance movements, who claimed to be different from traditional parties and demanded participation in power. Specific groups, such as political prisoners or forced conscripts, wanted special recognition. The law on war damages adopted on February 25, 1950, did not stipulate racial persecution, and Luxembourg Jews were included with the victims who were “imprisoned or interned in concentration camps for political reasons.”⁴⁷²

In the article written by Marc Schoentgen, he mentions that foreign Jews or stateless persons, who formed a large majority in 1940, were excluded from this process. In general, the

471 LEHRMANN, Charles. *La communauté juive du Luxembourg dans le passé et dans le présent: histoire illustrée*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Impr. Coopérative Luxembourgeoise, 1953. p. 96-97.

472 MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 75-104.

Jews who returned to Luxembourg did not face problems re-integrating into society; however, there were still uncertainties and a level of mistrust. The traces of anti-Judaism had not completely disappeared. Thus, in a book published around 1948 that reproduced the war diaries of a man named Franz Delvaux, there was a notable passage – written in 1940 – which suggested limiting the number of Jews residing in the country.⁴⁷³

While the government in exile campaigned for Jewish refugees of Luxembourg nationality, it took no further concrete steps on the issue of foreign Jewish deportees from Luxembourg, regardless of nationality. The attitude of the first post-war governments was characterized by neglecting the victims of persecution, including Jews. The characteristics of the “*epurations*” policy that dealt with those in need of Jewish aid also show that Jewish persecution was not a criterion for special treatment. There was no change in this until the mid-1950s. Government officials gradually became more aware of the Nazi policies on persecution and the murder of the Jews. Pierre Frieden, who was interested in Christian-Jewish reconciliation, replacing the reluctant Minister of State Bech, may have also played a role in this change of heart. There was also a change in the issue of the nationality of Jewish victims, which was initially an exclusion criterion for receiving state compensation, although this was later reflected in the law from 1967.⁴⁷⁴

In the parliamentary debate on the War Damage Act at the end of the 1940s, the Christian social and liberal members of the government and members of parliament ignored the issue of the persecution of the Jews, while attempts by individual members of the opposition parties to address Jewish persecution failed.⁴⁷⁵

It is believed that in their fundamental attitude towards Jews, both sides had a strategic agenda. The CSV and DP wanted to prevent further compensation for the forced recruits – perhaps for financial reasons – and therefore blocked a discussion about the victim groups. The LSAP and the KP campaigned for the persecuted because they targeted the group of voters that included the forced recruits, but also their own politically persecuted members.⁴⁷⁶ The position of the Jewish

473 Ibid p.100.

474 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. 863-864.

475 Ibid.

476 The debate on the inclusion of foreigners in the workers' committee elections, chamber report of meeting from December 5, 1945. (*The Luxemburger Wort*, 12.1945, p. 2).

minority remained precarious and was perceived as a migrant group. Their integration into the nation was at first difficult due to the lack of naturalization laws.⁴⁷⁷

The Law on Measures for War Victims, adopted in 1967, recognized racial and religious persecution during World War II,⁴⁷⁸ marking a clear change in the state and social majority in dealing with the Shoah. This came into force a few years after the Eichmann Trial, and the Second Vatican Council. The public debates on the Shoah in neighboring countries aroused interest in the Jewish faith and the Jewish community in Luxembourg, with all its rites and traditions.⁴⁷⁹

477 This issue is described in detail by Renée Wagener (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. 867.

478 Law of 25 adopted in February 1967 in favor of people who were the victims of illegal acts by occupiers, (Mémorial - Journal Officiel Du Grand-Duché De Luxembourg. 1967, p.111-116).

479 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. 868.

Historical excursion to the period of 1960s-90s: The Eichmann trial

Charles Lehrmann's successor took up his post as Chief Rabbi of Luxembourg at the end of 1958. Emmanuel Bulz was appointed alongside the new *ministry official*, Eugène Fettmann from Bratislava. Fettmann was engaged in Luxembourg on December 1, 1958, and officially inducted on December 19. From the beginning, Jewish community was dissatisfied with religious services organized by the new rabbi. However, he did renew and successfully maintain the tradition of La Chaux-de-Fonds by introducing a family service on Friday evening, at the start of Shabbat. The Consistory also decided to establish a recruitment commission, whose mission was to inform and influence unregistered co-religionists in Luxembourg. Together with President Edmond Israel and his Christian counterparts, they founded the Interfaith Association.⁴⁸⁰ Since January 14, 1960, the Consistory was chaired by Maurice Lévy, a merchant who owned the clothing store “A la Bourse.” He succeeded Edmond Marx, who had died two weeks earlier.⁴⁸¹

The Eichmann trial caused valorization and a change in perception of Jewish suffering and the Jewish survivors. Pieter Lagrou described how the Eichmann trial changed the mood in the Netherlands. “Up until 1962, only the rabbi of the liberal Jewish community of Amsterdam had agreed to support the Auschwitz Committee, but in 1962, that is after the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, the four main rabbis of the Netherlands adhered to the Committee and Jewish organizations participated in the distribution of invitations for the commemorative events organized by the Committee.”⁴⁸² This contributed to a greater commemoration of Auschwitz and a growth in membership of the “International Auschwitz Committee.”

Historian Anette Wiewiorka has concluded that the Eichmann trial caused great commotion in France and was also a turning point in the Holocaust memory for Jews in the diaspora.⁴⁸³

480 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.

481 MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 235.

482 LAGROU, Pieter. Victims of genocide and national memory: Belgium, France and the Netherlands 1945-1965. *Past & present: a journal of historical studies*. 1997, (154), p. 217.

483 « C'est le procès Eichmann qui marque un véritable tournant dans l'émergence de la mémoire du génocide » parce que le témoignage est alors instrumentalisé. L'A. le montre dans son second chapitre, « L'avènement du témoin : le procès Eichmann, à la différence des procès antérieurs (dont celui de Nuremberg), a été voulu par ses promoteurs pour « faire l'histoire » (WIEVIORKA, Annette. *L'ère du témoin*. Paris: Plon, 1998. p. 2).

According to Wiewiorka, history entered the “the Age of the Witness”, resulting in the systematic collection of audiovisual testimonies to give voice to women and men.⁴⁸⁴

The Eichmann trial may have been reflected in Luxembourg via international press, literature, and films. However, very few people in the Grand Duchy were aware that the Eichmann trial also affected Luxembourg. During the Eichmann trial preparation, the Luxembourg police security service received the order to interrogate people who could report on the process of the deportation of Jews in Luxembourg.⁴⁸⁵

Jews who had witnessed the National Socialist Jewish policy in Luxembourg as representatives of the religious community wrote an affidavit in the Eichmann trial. The former Grand Rabbi Robert Serebrenik, in his declaration written in New York, described how he was summoned to Eichmann in Berlin at the end of March 1941.⁴⁸⁶ Serebrenik stated in his report that he had known through secret channels in 1941 that the Jewish deportees in the east would be killed. Unlike Serebrenik, the former Jewish elder Alfred Oppenheimer traveled to Jerusalem and personally took part in the trial.⁴⁸⁷

In 1970, according to the last national census in which religious affiliation was mentioned, the number of people declaring themselves as Jews grew slightly during the decade, rising to 710 people, 60% of whom had Luxembourg nationality.⁴⁸⁸

A sociological and economic development accompanied the transformation of the economy. During the 1970s, trade was still the dominant sector for Jews living in the Grand Duchy. They were mostly established in the field of clothing, in particular through department store brands such as "Au nouveau Paris", "Rosenstiel", "A la Bourse", "Au Progrès", "Sternberg" and "A la Renommée" in the district next to the station. Laurent Moyse states that Jewish merchants specialized in many different fields, and worked with clothes, shoes, leather goods, perfume, rugs,

484 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. 854.

485 Ibid.

486 MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 184.

487 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. 854.

488 STATEC, *Annuaire statistique du Luxembourg*, 1990, p. 440.

haberdashery, meat (as butchers), catering and confectionery.⁴⁸⁹ There was also a tailor, a tire seller and even a billiards seller, and a dry-cleaning business and a handful of cattle dealers. In total, more than seventy businesses in Luxembourg, and around forty in Esch-sur-Alzette, contributed to the prosperity of this economic branch after the Second World War. The presence of Jewish businessmen in Luxembourg industry was less numerous, numbering a dozen companies after the war, most of them small.⁴⁹⁰

Beginning in the late 1980s, the community in Luxembourg city absorbed a growing number of Sephardi emigrants from France with family backgrounds in Morocco or Algeria. These newcomers had a significant impact on community life, and the languages, traditions, ideas, and histories they brought with them have ignited debates about the shape and goals of the Luxembourgish Jewish community, as well as what it means to be Jewish in Luxembourg.⁴⁹¹

In 1983, Guy Aach became the new president of the Jewish Consistory in Luxembourg and set out two goals: first, to strengthen the financial base of the Jewish community; and second, to do something with the relentless sociological and demographic reality affected by religious disaffection and demographic decline. There was also the issue that one-third of community members married non-Jewish partners during the period of 1959-1976.

Laurent Moyse and Alan Meyer told me during our discussion that the Jewish community faced an exodus of youth abroad, since Luxembourg did not have a “respected” university.⁴⁹² A reversal (albeit slow) did not occur until the arrival of Bernard Wolf, who set out to encourage young members of the community to become more active. Bernard Wolf managed to recruit a few active members, who revived the *Union des Jeunes Gens Israélites du Luxembourg* (UJGIL).⁴⁹³

489 MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 243.

490 The announcements of Jewish postwar shops and businesses were regularly published on the last page of the *Revue mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*.

491 MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 240.

492 L.M. et A.M. Interview, Luxembourg, 15. 6. 2018. You can also read further information about the student mobility in Luxembourg (ROHSTOCK, Anne and Catherina SCHREIBER. The Grand Duchy on the Grand Tour: a historical study of student migration in Luxembourg. *Paedagogica Historica*. 2013, **49**(2), p. 192).

493 Ibid.

Luxembourg Jews also reflected the dismal situation of Jews behind the Iron Curtain. The fate of refugees escaping the Soviet Union aroused a wave of sympathy in Luxembourg, which resulted in the foundation of the Luxembourg branch of the “Group of 35.”⁴⁹⁴

Relationship to Israel through the eyes of the Jewish Community in Luxembourg (JCL)

This chapter aims to briefly introduce Luxembourg’s approach to the newly established State of Israel, especially from the perspective of its Jewish minority. The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, for understandable reasons, took an entirely different position on Israel than communist Czechoslovakia. 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 in May 1949.

In early 1950, the chairman of the consistory, Edmond Marx, was satisfied that the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg had formally recognized the State of Israel and on January 3rd 1950, the first ambassador of Israel was appointed for Belgium and Luxembourg. Since then, Israel has been 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.⁴⁹⁵

According to 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 their adherents in Palestine.⁴⁹⁶

Their interest in contact with representatives from the State of Israel was clear. In September 1948, a Special representative for Israel, Dr. Weissmann, was appointed by the Jewish community in Luxembourg. An audience with Foreign Minister Dupong was also organized.⁴⁹⁷

494 This was established by Lindsay Wittenberg. (Private archive of Laurent Moyse).

495 MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B’nai Brith, 2001. p. 94.

496 Ibid. p. 93.

497 Ibid. p. 93.

The JCL has always shown great sympathy and helpfulness towards Israel. For instance, in 1951 the Israeli children's aid association was supported by a donation of 5,000 francs and food packages were sent directly to Israel, which was short of food. The Luxembourg consistory has also organized film evenings to inform children and young people about Israel. Schoentgen also mentioned that Knesset members were invited to give lectures in Luxembourg.⁴⁹⁸

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 observed the new state with visible suspicion. Schoentgen submitted the reports from various meetings organized in the 1950s that reported on the different attitudes of the consistory officials.⁴⁹⁹

For example, in 1953 JCL 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. 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 Ferdinand Brahms was against it and suggested discussing such a political matter with the government first.⁵⁰⁰

Other members labeled this matter as a "purely Zionist cause" and were against sending official representatives of the consistory.⁵⁰¹ 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, it seems clear that Jewish

498 Ibid. p. 94.

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

500 Ibid. p. 95.

501 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.

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 made an Aliyah and abandoned his office in Luxembourg. Rabbi Joseph Kratzenstein had asked the consistory 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 request was immediately rejected.⁵⁰²

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.⁵⁰³

As mentioned, this attitude probably went against 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 diaspora towards a new state. This argument was unintentionally reflected by members of the Luxembourg Jewish post-war generations.

“We must stop thinking negatively about the term "Gola" (e.g. 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

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

503 MEYER, Alain. *Les Grands rabbins du Luxembourg* [online]. In: Feb 2019, [Accessed 2021-01-22].

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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.

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...”⁵⁰⁴

Charles Lehrmann was also concerned about how threatening extreme nationalism is for both Jews and pagans. 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.”*⁵⁰⁵ Besides spiritual leadership, he also set goals for Jews in diasporas who were responsible for enhancing the spiritual interactions between Israel and diaspora. In the article, he also warned against the Americanization of Israel, because Lehrmann judges that Israel would follow the American political direction. *“European Judaism has an objective to control the balance of spiritual and political powers in Israel.”*⁵⁰⁶

Aside from the article by Charles Lehrmann, the *Revue Mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites*⁵⁰⁷ 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 the emigration criteria for children.⁵⁰⁸

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

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

505 Ibid. p. 3.

506 Ibid. p. 4.

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

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

arbitrarily decided to decrease the number of places reserved for religious children to 150 individuals, from a previous limit for non-halachic children of up to 250.⁵⁰⁹

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.⁵¹⁰ 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 media. Luxembourg politicians, with only a few exceptions, accepted Israel as a sovereign and fully-fledged partner.

In November 1950, 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.⁵¹¹

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.⁵¹²

From his point of view, it is important for Jews in diaspora to allow their children to study, work and live in Israel. He said that only young and eager people could enhance the prestige of Israel. The entire visit was described in detail in the *Revue Mensuelle*, 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

⁵⁰⁹Ibid. p. 4.

⁵¹⁰ Problèmes d'immigration en Israël. (RMC). 1951, p. 5.

⁵¹¹ FISCHER, Eva. Bénédiction d'un bateau. (RMC). April 1952. p. 6.

⁵¹² E. J. L. Ambassadeur d'Israel à Luxembourg. (RMC). December 1950, p. 6.

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.⁵¹³

It is important to emphasize that Reparations Agreement between Israel and West Germany was signed in Luxembourg in 1952. West Germany was one of the countries willing to meet Israeli welfare claims. At that time, Israel was dependable on the political and strategic interests of the United States.⁵¹⁴ Eventually, Ben Gurion accepted Germany's offer of reparations, but Jewish society had to contend with inner dissent. Some Jews sharply protested the total amount of reparations, as they did not simply want to exchange Jewish lives for money.

These conflicting views also resonated among Jews in Luxembourg, but it was clear that the German gift was more than welcome since the Israeli economy was in deep trouble at the time. The political environment in Luxembourg was favorable to set up the office of Keren Hayesod⁵¹⁵ or the public collection *Magbit*, chaired by Andre Seligmann⁵¹⁶.

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 whole⁵¹⁷ 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*

513 E. J. L. Ambassadeur d'Israel à Luxembourg. (RMC). December 1950, p. 7.

514 See more: (SAGI, Nana. *German reparations: a history of the negotiations*. New York: St. Martin's Pr., 1986).

515 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.

516 The Magbit means "collection" in Hebrew. It is an educational foundation, which funds scholarships in Israel.

517 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).

place early the 19th century. This history describes the Jewish society as very selfish and harsh.” [...] Similarly, Golda Meir’s book gives an example of the “Israel leaving phenomena.” She has described the Israeli immigrants: “Well, now, we are here... When are we going to leave?”⁵¹⁸

An interesting testimony can be found in the brochure *Nous vous apportons la paix* (We bring you peace) written by Paul Cerf, which 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, 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.⁵¹⁹

*“The influence of the religious party is considerable. And as every time religion gets involved in politics, we experience it Halas! 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.”*⁵²⁰ 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 electoral was recruited from the Arab minority, and stated that extremist nationalism had been exploiting the party from its former political direction.⁵²¹ 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 had also great admiration for equality in the Israeli army, in which women served together with men, and admired the left-wing and egalitarian sharing of natural resources in the Kibbutz.⁵²²

518 Interview with André Seligmann. *Kadima*. 1986, (12), p. 14.

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

520 Ibid. p. 8.

521 Ibid. p. 9.

522 Ibid. p. 12-15.

LUXEMBOURG MEDIA:

Luxembourg media, especially newspapers such as the *Luxemburger Wort*, symbolized the new wind that was blowing at the time. Pre-war positions had to change. The newspaper dedicated a number of articles to Judeo-Christian issues. It also sympathized with the young state of Israel, especially when the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin took on anti-Zionist policy that culminated in 1953 with the sinister farce of the Doctors' plot.⁵²³ In contrast, the leftist daily *Zeitung vum Letzebuenger Vollék* fully espoused the Soviet line, faithfully reproducing Moscow's attitude.⁵²⁴

The Arab-Israeli conflict, especially the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation, had a pernicious impact on Jewish well-being in Luxembourg. While the Israelite Consistory attempted to impartially apprise the Jewish community of war incidents in the Middle East, the virulence against Zionism and antisemitism increased considerably in Europe. According to Laurent Moyse, newspapers such as the *Zeitung vum Lëtzebuenger Vollék* or the *Tageblatt* adopted a largely anti-Zionist stance.⁵²⁵ According to the research conducted by Laurent Moyse, the *Tageblatt* continued spreading anti-Jewish and antizionist comments from the 1990s onwards and did not hesitate to stigmatize the Jewish origin of those who critically observed incidents in the Middle East.⁵²⁶ Since the 2000s, this newspaper has become a favorite platform of militants attempting to bring the Israeli-Palestinian conflict into Luxembourg territory. Some of their sympathizers have carried out outrageous propaganda with disturbing forms.⁵²⁷

Based on my research in the media, however, I have not noticed any significant manifestations of antisemitism or antizionism.

523 "The Doctor's plot was an antisemitic campaign in the Soviet Union organized by Joseph Stalin in 1951–1953, involving a group of predominantly Jewish doctors from Moscow that were accused of a conspiracy to assassinate Soviet leaders. This was later accompanied by publications of anti-Semitic character in the media, which talked about the threats of Zionism and condemned people with Jewish names." (See more: Doctors' plot, 2001-. In: *Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia* [online]. San Francisco (CA): Wikimedia Foundation [Accessed 2021-03-05]. Available from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doctors%27_plot; Read more: CLARFIELD, A. Mark. The Soviet "Doctors' Plot"—50 years on. *British Medical Journal* [online]. 2002, 21 Dec 2001, **325**(7378), p. 1487-1489 [Accessed 2021-01-19]. Available from: doi:10.1136/bmj.325.7378.1487.

524 MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 236.

525 Ibid. p. 237.

526 (Personal Archive Laurent Moyse, Paper clip) Laurent Moyse, Incitation à la haine, *Luxemburger Wort et La Voix du Luxembourg*. 2002.

527 (Personal Archive Laurent Moyse, Paper clip) Laurent Moyse, «Une mise en perspective» et «Les miroirs de l'Orient», *La Voix du Luxembourg*, supplément spécial sur le Proche-Orient, 10 mai 2007.

From the beginning of the State of Israel, there were articles expressing critical opinions on the State of Israel, although these primarily focus on Israel's geopolitical role, rather than the Jewish nation. The authors warn against the abuse of the new state as a toy by world powers (the United States and the Soviet Union).⁵²⁸ The articles mostly reflect the attitudes of the Western world at the time. For example, they are critical of Golda Maier's visit to Moscow in 1951, and warn against Israel's excessive military inclination toward the Eastern Bloc and the construction of Soviet military bases on its territory.⁵²⁹

As for the War of independence, most articles remain sober and do not rely on either of the warring parties. The articles mostly deal with religious as well as economic aspects of the conflict and its possible effects on future coexistence in the region. Some articles deal explicitly with the economic benefits of industrial Israel for other mostly agrarian Arab countries.⁵³⁰ Another article praises the Israeli perseverance of the Jewish settlers, who are building a new state on a green field in miserable conditions.⁵³¹

Before the Suez Crisis, the *d'Letzeburger Land* published an article warning against the poor condition of Israeli military technology, which is insufficient to succeed against modern weapons supplied to the Middle East by the Soviet Union in the upcoming conflict. “*And everyone could see that: there is a good army in Israel, perhaps the best in the Middle East. But it has bad weapons, with the exception of several pieces. Not enough to withstand Soviet tanks and silence Czech mortars.*”⁵³² Jews in Luxembourg were allowed to publish their opinions in the press without worry of being defamed or maligned. They could raise awareness of antisemitic incidents abroad, for example, in Austria. “*...however, it was different in Austria, where we were often insulted by hotel staff. After my return to Israel, a friend to whom I had a postcard from Austria showed me*

528 Der Staat Israel. *Escher Tageblatt* [online]. 1948, (136), p. 3 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/wpm487/articles/DTL66>.

529 Russische Stützpunkte in Israel ? *Escher Tageblatt* [online]. 1948, (190), p. 1 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/6td70k/pages/1/articles/DTL59>.

530 Le Liban et l'Etat d'Israël. *Escher Tageblatt* [online]. 1949, (4), p. 3 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/bc6xt3/pages/3/articles/DTL68>.

531 Israel, eine neue Wirtschaftsmacht. *Escher Tageblatt* [online]. 1949, (204), p. 5 [Accessed 2021-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/3btxkz/pages/5/articles/DTL75>.

532 Krieg oder Tod: die Parole in Israel Eine gute Armee mit schlechten Waffen—Verfahrenene Situation. *D'Letzeburger Land* [online]. 1956, 3(19), p. 5 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/t6vjc4/pages/5/articles/DTL173>

my postcard sent from a post office in Austria with the word "Saujude" which had been added to this card!"⁵³³ After the capture of Adolf Eichmann, Alfons Putz wrote an article partly defending Eichmann's abduction. He sought to find a way out of the political affair that was acceptable for all the parties involved.⁵³⁴

The course of The Six Day War was described from a broad political perspective, rather than the regional or local perspective, such as an impact on the citizens. Journalists also assessed the consequences of the war on European foreign trade, and on the population in the Middle East. The role of the two most powerful hegemonies (the United States and the Soviet Union) was also analyzed in the articles from different angles.⁵³⁵ The articles are generally in favor of UN policy and NATO's approach, and are clearly critical of Soviet policy.⁵³⁶ Most articles are written without emotion, conveying opinions of both sides of the conflict.⁵³⁷

Attitudes towards Israel through the eyes of Luxembourg Jews in the 1970-80s

Collecting a reasonable amount of primary and secondary sources is more challenging than in the case of Jews living in the Czech lands at the same time. I could barely find any evidence of open or hidden antizionism in Luxembourgish media, including newspapers, radio or TV broadcasting. The Jewish population did not have to face official government antizionism, and they could choose between the Zionist program for *HeHalutz* and integration into Luxembourgish society.

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*), as well as articles in Luxembourgish newspapers. I composed this

⁵³³Antisemitische Staatsbeamten? *D'Letzeburger Land* [online]. 1961, 8(48), p. 4 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/mtrth8/pages/4/articles/DTL137>.

⁵³⁴PUTZ, Alfons. Formales Redit und höhere Gerechtigkeit. *D'Letzeburger Land* [online]. 1960, 7(25) [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/d4j62g/pages/1/articles/DTL79>.

⁵³⁵In der Schwebe. *D'Letzeburger Land* [online]. 1967, 14(25), p. 1 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/kt5g34/pages/1/articles/DTL77>.

⁵³⁶Compare: (Was nun? *D'Letzeburger Land* [online]. 1967, 14(24), p. 1 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/5kcxv7/pages/1/articles/DTL57>. ; 100 Milliarden für die Katz! *D'Letzeburger Land* [online]. 1967, 14(42), p. 12 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/ark:70795/rzdmhf/pages/12/articles/DTL392>.

⁵³⁷You can compare and check, for instance: Geburt im Schlachtenlärm. *Escher Tageblatt* [online]. 1948, (125), p. 3 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/...L57>. ; Die Wasser des Jordans. *D'Letzeburger Land* [online]. 1959, 6(52), p. 4 [Accessed 2020-9-6]. Available from: <https://persist.lu/...138>.

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 and their belief in God. According to the 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 the former 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.”*⁵³⁸

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”*⁵³⁹. *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.”*⁵⁴⁰ After the Six-Day War, Jewish Luxembourg 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. From his point of view, it is worth keeping Jewish religious, cultural and social life within Jewish society in diaspora; on the other hand, all Jews should keep invaluable bonds with Israel because it shapes their common spiritual values.⁵⁴¹

538 KARP Michael. L’entretien avec Emmanuel Bulz. *Kadima*. 1978, (4).

539 He means countries of birth.

540 KARP Michael. L’entretien avec Emmanuel Bulz. *Kadima*. 1978, (4).

541 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.

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.⁵⁴²

According to the articles published in the Kadima, the Jews living in Luxembourg often held meetings with people living in Israeli *kibbutz*, and these Jews had an impact on how the youth thought. 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.

The Jews in Luxembourg (unlike Czechoslovak Jews) had an opportunity to meet those who left the country for Israel. They 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.""*⁵⁴³

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 II only served as an accelerator of Zionist ideas. They were convinced that Israel would have been born without the war.⁵⁴⁴

Antisemitic incidents in Luxembourg between 1945 and the 1960s

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

⁵⁴² KARP, Michael and Serge LASAR. L'entretien avec Miriam Novitch. *Kadima*. 1983, (2).

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Le Judaïsme demain..., *Kadima*. 1986, 10.; L'entretien avec M. André Seligmann. *Kadima*. 1986, (12).

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.

Historian Paul Cerf asserts that practically all forms of open antisemitism disappeared.⁵⁴⁵ 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 diary⁵⁴⁶ 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 apply restrictions to Jewish immigrants. He also criticized the “business practices” of the Jews, which were, in his opinion, too avaricious.⁵⁴⁷ Surprisingly, Delvaux's publications have never been critically reflected upon and are still available to this day.

He was not alone in saying such things. During the occupation, there were voices within the Luxembourg resistance, especially from within the LVL (*Letzebuurger Volleks-Legioun*), which were openly xenophobic and anti-Jewish.⁵⁴⁸ Like in other countries, the resistance against the Nazis in Luxembourg was a heterogeneous movement, both from a socio-economic and geographical composition and from the political-ideological point of view. Lucian Blau gave an

545 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.

546 FRANZ, Delvaux. *Luxembourg im Zweiten Weltkriege: (ein Kriegstagebuch) 1940-1944*. Luxembourg: P. Worré-Mertens, 1989.

547 MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 89.

548 BLAU, Lucien. *Histoire de l'extrême-droite au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg au XXe siècle*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Le Phare, 1998. p. 492.

example of an interview held in 1941 with a resistant fighter who said that the Jews, who had left Luxembourg before the war, were not called back.⁵⁴⁹

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.*"⁵⁵⁰ 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.

This conflict with the state authorities did not totally disappear and reemerged in May 1948, when additional regulations⁵⁵¹ sought to precisely define the conditions for the slaughtering of animals. Under the proposed regulations, ritual slaughter could only take place in a reserved, locked room. According to Article 3, only Jews in Luxembourg were allowed to buy this meat.⁵⁵² The indignation within the Jewish community was palpable because banning the ritual slaughtering of animals was one of the first antisemitic measures introduced by the Nazis in occupied Luxembourg.⁵⁵³

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

549 Ibid. p. 493.

550 MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 90.

551 According to Moyse's research, the Luxembourg government established even stricter measures for ritual slaughter in 1983. In his opinion, it incited even more controversy than the former regulations. (MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 229).

552 Ibid. p. 229.

553 Read more: (TREPP, Leo. *Die Juden : Volk, Geschichte, Religion*. Hamburk: Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1998. p. 109).

policy in the Soviet Union in 1953.⁵⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵⁵ He also criticized René Urbany.⁵⁵⁶ 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 or criticism.⁵⁵⁷ This indicates that media in Luxembourg were closely observing developments behind the Iron Curtain. In contrast, the communist daily, *Zeitung vum Letzebuerger Vollék*, completely espoused the Soviet line, faithfully reproducing Moscow's theses.⁵⁵⁸

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.⁵⁵⁹ 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*⁵⁶⁰ directed by David Leans. 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

554 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.

555 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).

556 René Urbany was a Luxembourgian journalist and politician. Since 1946, he worked as an editor at KP-Zentralorgan Zeitung vum Lëtzeburger Vollek and was a director of the printing company COPE (Coopérative Ouvrière de Presse et d'Éditions). (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>).

557 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*. Hamburk: Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1998. p. 178-179).

558 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.

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

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

protests were unsuccessful and the film was screened in Luxembourg without any further restrictions.

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. 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.⁵⁶¹ In 1951, the mayor of Esch protested against the film “*Escher Amicale des Jeunes Gens Israélites*”, however, he lacked the legal instruments to forestall the film’s distribution. Despite this, the municipality prohibited the matinee performance requested by the director of the local cinema.⁵⁶²

In December 1957, the Jewish consistory also protested against an anti-Jewish play entitled “*Zwé Juden als Schmoggler or: Et gong fir d'Liéwen*”. The plot takes place somewhere in Luxembourg during the war in 1918. The main characters in this piece are two “usury Jews”, who are villains, and a good farmer.⁵⁶³ In 1955, the Catholic organization “*Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique*” performed a controversial play in Kayl. At that time, Edmond Marx intervened at the highest level and lodged a protest with the secretary of the diocese. As witnesses recalled, he did not want to make a big deal out of it. As a result, the Catholic association took into account his objections and similar plays disappeared from stages.⁵⁶⁴

Historian Renée Wagener describes in detail in her thesis the changes within the Catholic church towards Jewish population after the war. The Second Vatican Council issued the declaration *Nostra aetate* on 28 October 1965. It was an important instrument for improving Jewish relations with the Catholic Church.⁵⁶⁵ Despite some inappropriate publications, the Catholic Church decided to take a few steps towards reconciling both religions. It rejected the notion of persistent guilt attributed to the Jews, condemned antisemitism, and underlined the

561 WEISS, Hermann. *Biographisches Lexikon zum Dritten Reich*. Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002. p. 11.

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

563 CERF, Paul. *L'étoile juive au Luxembourg*. Luxembourg: RTL, 1986. p. 257.

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

565 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 850.

spiritual bonds that united both religions. This development opened up new perspectives in the dialogue between the creeds. In addition, the Interfaith Association was created in Luxembourg in 1965. This association brought together Catholics, Protestants and Jews, with a view to exchanging religious experiences.⁵⁶⁶ Witnesses, as well as Jewish journals in Luxembourg, indicate that rabbi Emanuel Bulz was an important person in this process of inter-religious reconciliation, with him becoming actively involved in the Judeo-Christian dialogue. Besides other things, he initiated the establishment of the interfaith organization (a branch) “World Brotherhood” set up in Luxembourg in 1950.⁵⁶⁷ Within this context, it is clear that relations with the Catholic Church had clearly evolved after the war.

Historian Lucian Blau defines Luxembourg’s 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. He sees antisemitism as a cheap and powerful weapon for defending cultural hegemony against alien influences. In his opinion, the pre-war generations were raised in an atmosphere of intolerance towards the Jews and Muslims⁵⁶⁸, 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.

Luxembourg: Antisemitism (1960-1990)

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,⁵⁶⁹ there were no complex studies mapping the intensity and form of antisemitism in Luxembourg society. The researched period contains only fragments of

⁵⁶⁶Ibid. p. 850.

⁵⁶⁷ MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. p. 229.

⁵⁶⁸ BLAU, Lucien. *Histoire de l'extrême-droite au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg au XXe siècle*. Esch-sur-Alzette: Le Phare, 1998. p. 626.

⁵⁶⁹ 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).

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 EUMC⁵⁷⁰ 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.”*⁵⁷¹

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.

In his work, historian Fabio Spirinelli describes the antisemitic letters the Jewish consistory in Luxembourg received from the 1970s onwards. Some of them contained remorse for the consistory's lack of interest in the conflict in the Middle East. With exception to these letters, no further serious incidents were reported. However, Spirinelli goes on to say that terms and colloquialisms within the language used in Luxembourg make it easier for prejudices and insults to remain in the public domain. According to Spirinelli, Jews are also not spared in literature, which contains unflattering accents and malicious rhymes.⁵⁷²

In 1981, a department responsible for the security of the Jewish community in Luxembourg was established by the Jewish consistory. This happened after antisemitic attacks took place in Paris on rue Copernic (1980) and rue Marbeuf (1982). In Luxembourg, Robert Kriepps, the former Minister of Justice (LSAP), asked the Jewish consistory to contact and closely work with the police. Apart from anonymous letters, the community was never significantly threatened in the research period. Spirinelli writes that most of the letters were anonymous and no threats were ever realized. Radical ultra-right groups did not threaten the Jewish consistory, with exception to the destruction of tombstones in the Jewish cemetery in Grevenmacher in the early 1980s. In the first

⁵⁷⁰ European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia.

⁵⁷¹ *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.

⁵⁷² SPIRINELLI, Fabio. *Die Geschichte des Rassismus und des Antirassismus in Luxemburg seit den 1970er Jahren*. Luxembourg, 2012. Bachelor thesis. University of Luxembourg. p. 16.

half of the 1990s, the cemetery in Esch-Lallingen was also desecrated; swastikas were emblazoned on gravestones. In the 1990s, a Luxembourg textbook was repeatedly published that contained antisemitic content.⁵⁷³ In addition, the Luxembourg dictionary of everyday language, first published in 1950, repeatedly caused displeasure and criticism from the side of the Jewish consistory because of its anti-Jewish and antisemitic content (terms, idioms, proverbs), which alluded to the physiognomy, religion and character traits of Jews.⁵⁷⁴

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 en masse in Lithuania, and when it was easy to make rabbis run on all fours and burn their beards.”*⁵⁷⁵

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 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.”*⁵⁷⁶ Her text resounded within the community and a few LTJG

⁵⁷³ Ibid. p. 25-26.

⁵⁷⁴ SPIRANELLI, Fabio. *Die Geschichte des Rassismus und des Antirassismus in Luxemburg seit den 1970er Jahren*. Luxembourg, 2012. Bachelor thesis. University of Luxembourg. p. 7.

⁵⁷⁵ KLARSFELD, Beate. Vous serez juges sur vos actes, *Bulletin*, 1975.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

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."*⁵⁷⁷

Besides several articles published in the magazines ⁵⁷⁸ and *Kadima*,⁵⁷⁹ which critically reflect on antisemitism and radical anti-Zionism, an event that took place in the 1980s is worthy of mention. The event 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 the official 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 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

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ Bulletin des communautés Israélites du Luxembourg was an irregular magazine that did not have a professional editorial staff. It was an internal bulletin only for Jewish community members.

⁵⁷⁹ Kadima was non-professional magazine published irregularly by Jewish youth at the organization UJGIL (Union of Jewish Young People).

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.⁵⁸⁰”

This excerpt clearly illustrates the state of mind of the LTJG, who, in contrast with their parents, got an opportunity to visit Czechoslovakia and other countries behind the Iron Curtain.

580 To see to remember, (scanned article), *Kadima*. 1985, (8), non-paged.

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,⁵⁸¹ 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.”*⁵⁸²

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.⁵⁸³

The visit of the young Jews from Luxembourg also articulated former topics of discussion, including the important role the state of Israel played in the discussions about antisemitism and anti-Zionism. It is within this context that in the second part of this, I would like to focus on the student statement: *“wallowed in the Holocaust”* in order *“to excuse Israel’s atrocities”*. This statement can be taken as a classic example of antisemitism as defined by the IHRA in relation to Israel as a country.⁵⁸⁴ Eliezer Ben-Rafael described this phenomenon in the chapter *“A Sinuous History”*, stating that other nations customarily expect Jews to behave differently towards

581 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>).

582 Interview Maram Stern, Brussel, 5. 5. 2018. (A man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

583 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.

584 Read more: (About the IHRA non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism, 2008. In: *IHRA* [online]. Berlin: IHRA [Accessed 2021-6-1]. Available from: <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism>).

Palestinians because of their past suffering. She judges, as many others do, that anti-Israeli animosity considerably strengthened among youngsters in Western Europe in the 1980s, whereby Israel became a fundamental pretext for a wide spectrum of prejudices, stereotypes and/or anti-Jewish animosity.⁵⁸⁵ She judges that the term ‘colonial and Zionist occupier’ was adopted by international propaganda against Zionism. This interpretation was partially adopted by the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, as well as by some radicals in Western Europe.⁵⁸⁶

Based on the articles published in *Kadima*, it is possible to conclude that Jewish youth were deeply engaged in international and local programs fighting antisemitism. Journalists encouraged their peers to take an interest in international affairs and political acts responsible for forming international policy against Israel.⁵⁸⁷ A large number of Jewish youngsters also took part in official manifestations against Nazism e.g. in Bitburg, showing their bonds with Luxembourg society.⁵⁸⁸ 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*,⁵⁸⁹ 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.⁵⁹⁰

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*

585 BEN-RAFAEL, Eliezer. *Confronting Allo-Semitism in Europe: the case of Belgian Jews* [online]. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unilu-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1688671>. Boston: Brill, 2014, p. 1-17 [Accessed. 2021-8-11]. Available from: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unilu-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1688671>.

586 Ibid. p. 15.

587 WOLF, Bernard. Reflexion sur le judaïsme. *Kadima*. 1985, (8).

588 KARP, Michael. Manifestation in Bitburg. *Kadima*. 1985, (8).

589 Entretien avec Claude Marx. *Kadima*. 1985, (9), p. 16.

590 Ibid. p. 21.

“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?”⁵⁹¹

METHODOLOGY

This chapter concisely describes two main methods used in my work. First, there is the description of the applied methods (Survey and semi structured interviews) dealing with the critical approach to questionnaire structure and oral history. Then, there is a description of the examined social cohorts with whom I am working in my research. Last but not least, there is also a methodological criticism along with source criticism employed in my research. At the beginning, it is necessary to repeat the research questions that I want to answer through the questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews. What is the attitude of post-war generations towards the state of Israel? How do Jewish post-war generations reflect on the importance of home? How was Jewish identities and Jewishness transmitted in the post-war period in Luxembourg and in the Czech lands? What are the factors shaping the formation of Jewish identity and Judaism in the studied social cohorts? How do Jewish post-war generations perceive the surrounding antisemitism in Luxembourg and the Czech lands? In order to answer the submitted questions, I opted for two complementary methodologies a case survey method⁵⁹² and semi-structured interviews. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of my Socio-historical project, I was able to capture and analyze a wider range of aspects than if I focused on only one of the selected methods. Following the popular trend of interdisciplinary approaches for the study of the humanities in recent years,⁵⁹³ I decided to

591 Interview with E. Bulz. *Kadima*. 1986, (10), p. 22.

592 Read more: (YIN, Robert K and Karen A. HEALD. Using the case survey method to analyze policy studies. *Administrative science quarterly* [online]. 1975, **20**(3), p. 371-381 [Accessed 2020-08-05]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.2307/2391997>).

593 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.

combine the historical methodology of oral history, drawing on pre-prepared semi-structured interviews along with the sociological method of a questionnaire survey. The aim of the interviews was to obtain qualitative empirical data, which would be supported and refined by quantitative empirical results obtained by means of the distributed questionnaire. The questions in the questionnaire partially overlap with the questions in the semi-structured interviews.⁵⁹⁴

My work deals primarily with the formation of post-war Jewish identity, which was exposed to countless external influences in the post-war years. However, according to previous research, it is obvious that the effects of historical events can also be examined from a micro-historical perspective through the testimony of direct historical stakeholders.⁵⁹⁵ The changing political situation and its impact on a particular social group can be examined by the researcher through official archived documents,⁵⁹⁶ or the pluralistic views of narrators⁵⁹⁷ can be critically analyzed, together with quantitative data obtained through the questionnaires. The widespread survey method is used to analyze the attitudes and moods of a particular social cohort⁵⁹⁸ to a specific place or population.⁵⁹⁹

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 method for data collection.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁴ See the sample of the questionnaire attached at the end of the work.

⁵⁹⁵ For example: (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 2021-6-12]. Available from: doi:10.1515/9781644690420. ; HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006).

⁵⁹⁶ See more: (KOVÁCS, András, ed. *Communism's Jewish Question: Jewish Issues in Communist Archives*. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019).

⁵⁹⁷ 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).

⁵⁹⁸ See more: (DRBOHLAV, Dušan et al. *Ruská komunita v České republice: výsledky dotazníkového šetření. Výzkumná zpráva pro Ministerstvo vnitra ČR*. 1999 [Accessed 2021-9-5]. Available from:

https://www.cizinci.cz/documents/551336/568661/ruska_komunita.pdf/443a6764-1899-e4ff-031a-b94d182f107f).

⁵⁹⁹ It is useful to draw attention to the empirical analysis of Erik H. Cohen and his colleague. (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]. 2006, **69**(2), p. 78-88 2006 [Accessed 2020-03-19]. Available from: doi:10.1080/0021624030690208).

⁶⁰⁰ 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>.

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

The chapter describes the social cohorts analyzed in my research and their characteristics, and describes the sample analyzed in the 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.⁶⁰¹ 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 my research, I use the overlapping terms generations and cohorts in accordance with the definition of Jane Pilcher who judges that 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.⁶⁰² “...individuals are generations in the 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.”⁶⁰³ 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 has used the term “generation” in the sense of cohort and from their point of view, it more accurate expression.⁶⁰⁴

Based on Pilcher’s work and the work of Alena Heitlinger,⁶⁰⁵ I decided to divide research participants into four social cohorts composed by two generations.⁶⁰⁶ The examined generations

601 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.

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

603 Ibid. p. 483.

604 Ibid. p. 483-484.

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

606 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

comprise people born between 1945 and 1960 and between 1961 and 1980⁶⁰⁷ who live or used to live in the former Czechoslovakia⁶⁰⁸ or Luxembourg. Respondents from the second Jewish post-war generation aged from 60 to 76 years and the age range of the third Jewish post-war generation is from 40 to 60 years. The research participants do not have to currently live in the territory of the Czech Republic or Luxembourg, it was sufficient to have spent a part of their life there (at least 15 years).

In the examined generations, they are mainly university-educated people with adequate financial means. This was not one of the selection criteria, it is only a side effect of the research participants because 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 % of women and 50,5 % of men who participated in the survey. The majority of survey respondents were married (66%), 12.6% were single, 9% divorced and 11.7% widowed.

I conducted interviews with members of social cohorts described above. Each cohort (8 men and 7 women) consisted of 15 narrators for balanced outputs for 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.⁶⁰⁹ In total, 52 individuals answered all sets of questions; 8 answered the pre-prepared individual questions.⁶¹⁰ The demographic questions, the questions dedicated to education attainment, and marital status were required to classify individual respondents.⁶¹¹ In terms of religious orientation, 26 halachic Jews, 19 non-halachic Jews and 15 converts took part in the interviews. In the analytical part of the work (Section: RESULTS), I made effort to solely publish the excerpts of interviews relevant to the research topic (attitudes towards

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).

607 This age limit was, of course, permeable, but it was necessary to set an age limit allowing me to classify research participants.

608 Regarding to the collected data, I had to narrow my selection only to the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia).

609 See more: Chapter: Conducted interviews: Main aspects of practical research. Even though I asked the same number of men and women, men were more willing to take part in my research.

610 I have conducted 60 interviews altogether.

611 The questions for all narrators are attached at the end of the work.

Israel, antisemitism, Jewish identity,). In other words, I did not always mention the interviews of all 15 narrators, but only those who provided appropriate data.

I cannot take the contemporary Jewish community in the research areas as a homogeneous group of people. Four examined generations considered in my thesis (Luxembourg and the Czech lands⁶¹²) are composed of Jews with different ethnic, national and family backgrounds, and were affected by various currents, movements, and initiatives. Therefore, my analysis could not concentrate solely on Orthodox Ashkenazi Jews.⁶¹³ Although these people meet halachic criteria, they are certainly not the only members of the Jewish community.⁶¹⁴ To collect reliable samples of dataset, I also decided to involve those who meet the conditions of the Law of Return⁶¹⁵ therefore the social cohorts include halachic and non-halachic Jews and officially accepted converts.⁶¹⁶ 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.

SURVEY: NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS FROM ALL SOCIAL COHORTS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

Table 2: Czechoslovak second Jewish generation

Gender	Halachic Jew	Non-halachic Jew	Converts
<i>Male</i>	24	18	9

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

613 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).

614 A halachic Jew was born to Jewish parents or at least a Jewish mother.

615 “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>.

616 Only those who were officially accepted by the Jewish court *Bejt din* – they passed either reform or orthodox *gijur*.

<i>Female</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Prefer not to say</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>

Table 3: Czechoslovak third Jewish generation

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Halachic Jew</i>	<i>Non-halachic Jew</i>	<i>Converts</i>
<i>Male</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>13</i>
<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

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Halachic Jew</i>	<i>Non-halachic Jew</i>	<i>Converts</i>
<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

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Halachic Jew</i>	<i>Non-halachic Jew</i>	<i>Converts</i>
<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>

Objectives of the selected method and the course of the semi-structured survey distributed among second and third Jewish post-war generations

The questionnaire was distributed among the members of the researched cohorts described above. It contained 31 questions divided into six categories: approach to Jewish identity and Jewishness, antisemitism, Israeli state, family heritage, children, childhood, and Jewish organizations and associations. The gained datasets provide the sociology of the Jewish modern society in the second half of the 20th century supplemented by secondary literature and interviews. Both qualitative and quantitative data draw on the 400 questionnaires, which is a sufficient sample⁶¹⁷ to come to reliable outcomes.⁶¹⁸ This ambitious sample of the Jewish population resulted in a relatively long period of data collection from July 2018 to November 2019.

Here, however, it is 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.⁶¹⁹ 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. 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. Unfortunately, too low a level of participation in filling in the questions number 15 (How much did personal war experiences affect your relatives' post-war behavior?), 20 (While growing up, did you have a feeling that you were different from your friends and surroundings?) 24, (How many Jewish friends did you have as a

617 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). p. 2.

618 At present, there are about 3,000 members registered in 10 Jewish communities in the Czech Republic, and about 2,000 others in other Jewish associations. It is estimated that 15-20,000 Jews live in the Czech Republic today, but most of them are not registered. (Statistika. In: *Federace židovských obcí v ČR* [online]. [Accessed 2021-03-05]. Available from: <https://www.fzo.cz/o-nas/statistika/>) In Luxembourg, there are about 650 members registered in two Jewish consistories (Luxembourg city and Esch-sur-Alzette), but estimated number can reach 1,200. There are very few orthodox families and a many non-practicing Jews with different background. (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>).

619 I decided to evaluate a question as valid if it was filled in by at least 100 respondents.

child/adolescent?) and all of section V,⁶²⁰ which is focused on children and descendants. Respondents only validly answered two questions (29 and 31) in the part VII – Jewish organizations. 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.⁶²¹

My survey mainly included closed-ended questions, which means that a respondent has to choose from a limited range of options. As an exception, I used 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 respondent could provide a wider variant of answers. Scaled questions indicate the participant's preferences and rank the individual aspects according to importance. I used enquiries with a scale⁶²² from 1 to 5, where respondents could simply mark their preferences.

Some open-ended 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 collected quantitative data. All respondents had to complete the following criteria: vital statistics, place of birth, year of birth, current permanent residence, current marital status, and level of education.

The questionnaire is strictly anonymous, and the data gathered have been used only for private matters related to the research.⁶²³ In the end, each participant⁶²⁴ will be informed about the

620 Please, see the section V in the questionnaire attached in the annex at the end of my work.

621 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.

622 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>).

623 I also left the survey at liberal (e.g. Bejt Simcha) and orthodox communities (Chabad Lubavitch) registered in Luxembourg and the Czech Republic.

624 Each respondent who wanted to be appraised of the results and provided me with contact information.

results of the survey and the questionnaire has three language versions (Czech, French and English).

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.⁶²⁵

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”⁶²⁶ 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,⁶²⁷ 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.⁶²⁸ 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 chodes*⁶²⁹ and the *Maskil*.⁶³⁰

625 DISMAN, Miroslav. *Jak se vyrábí sociologická znalost*. 4. vyd. Praha: Karolinum, 2011. p. 114-115.

626 For example: Rabbis, heads of cultural organizations, presidents of communities/consistories.

627 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.

628 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.

629 Jewish magazine for the Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic published in Prague.

630 Jewish community journal published by the Liberal community Bejt Simcha in Prague.

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.

Conducted interviews: Main aspects of practical research

For the qualitative part of my research, I decided to conduct 60 in-depth interviews with former and current Jewish representatives⁶³¹ but also with common registered members of the Jewish society. All narrators fit into the defined examined generations.

Since the “snowball” technique did not work properly for the survey distribution, I took advantage of my contacts collected during services in synagogues. Besides these narrators, 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 decided to use literature, archival materials, or periodicals, however, the recommendations given by witnesses themselves were priceless for my research. Miroslav Vaněk emphasizes the interviewer-narrator relationship and concluded that two persons can conduct a good and effective interview unless there are significant differences in age, social status, or education. In a situation where the interviewer is significantly younger, which was my case, there is a danger of a mentoring tone on the part of the narrator. I can confirm this thesis, but it never went so far that I needed to stop the interview.⁶³² From my point of view, researchers have

631 It embraces Jews who work for the Jewish official administration in Luxembourg and the Czech Republic and I made also interviews with common.

632 VANĚK, Miroslav. *Orální historie: metodické a "technické" postupy*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2003. p. 24-25.

to handle these obstacles in conducting research (e.g. the age difference), because interviewers face such an issue in most cases.

The main motivation to involve one of the methods of oral history in my work is the fact that it enables historians to acquire unlimited access to unpublished information that would be otherwise unavailable. This approach allows me to find details, clusters, and intersections that usually go unnoticed and often overlooked in the historical narrative. The testimonies should force historians to rethink what they thought they knew. The point is to show unexpected discrepancies between the written and oral sources.⁶³³

During an interview, I chose between primary questions (these are pre-prepared) and secondary questions that arise spontaneously from the actual dialogue. An interviewer also has a set of gestures to express support or understanding. It was also effective to prompt an interviewee for further responses by recapitulating what he/she had already said. I tried to avoid suggestive questions to provide narrators enough space for their own comments and remarks.⁶³⁴ Standard talk time was between 40 and 90 minutes. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed with the written consent of the narrator concerned. 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 interviews comprehensible for readers and understandable for 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.

633 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).

634 VANĚK, Miroslav. *Orální historie ve výzkumu soudobých dějin*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2004. p. 104.

The concept of IWalk and its use in education

In this chapter, the IWalk interactive educational platform is introduced. I used this application during the *Video Content Analysis* course for Bachelor degree students at the University of Luxembourg. The IWalk application was launched as part of an educational program created by experts from the USC Shoah Foundation, who within the interactive educational platform IWitness took note of a request for a mobile application that would connect memorable places in Jewish history with the memories of witnesses reflecting upon events in their lives. The individual routes are created quite irregularly and can be found especially in Eastern Europe and the USA. The USC Shoah Foundation is not a scientific institution or cultural foundation in the usual sense. Defining its institutional form is made all the more complicated due to the wide range of educational programs it encompasses. Currently, it has several branch offices and contract holders scattered all over the world, which create numerous educational programs for a global audience.

After testing the beta version of the original application, USC Shoah Foundation launched the new IWalk app, which offers 30 IWalks in eight countries. Users can also choose one of 10 language versions and discover curated IWalk tours that connect specific historical sites and locations with testimonies from survivors and witnesses of genocides, violence and mass atrocities.

IWalk contextualizes and gives history and memories a human dimension by sharing short video clips, photographs, diaries and maps. This evaluation is supported by the findings of James K. Bidwell, who asserts that virtual applications enable users to literally experience the past in their own skin and move closer to the goal of breaking free from prejudice.⁶³⁵

The aim of the application is to create an environment that combines education with an interactive experience. Through personalized learning, the user learns authentic information from the microhistory of a particular family related to a broader topic such as integration. The application is user-friendly and some of the routes are available in multiple languages. For example, the routes in Luxembourg are in French and English, to which Luxembourgish will soon be added. Users have the opportunity to watch almost live testimonies of witnesses describing their daily lives on the brink of great change.

635 Read more: BIDWELL, James K. Humanize Your Classroom with the History of Mathematics. *Mathematics Teacher* [online]. 1993, **86**(6), p. 461-464 [Accessed 2020-10-18]. Available from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27968440>.

Students created the clips on an online educational platform called IWitness using a free and intuitive video editor. To make meaningful video tracks, they often use full-length video testimonies from USC Shoah Foundation's visual history archive. The unique records of the witnesses are supplemented by a number of accompanying materials. By combining live oral history with archival sources such as photographs, diaries and maps, the desired effect of developing users' empathic subconscious can be achieved. The harsh reality and deeds that people had to face not only during the war show the joys and problems of the daily life of Luxembourg Jews. It is an important part of the broader collective memory of the Luxembourg population, which should not be forgotten or neglected.

The aim of the course: To empower students to engage with Jewish public history and digital source criticism

Creating a distinct division of responsibilities between teachers and students is a relatively difficult task. According to Ian Davies, it is difficult for many tutors to clearly define the goals, content, and teaching methods required to teach about the Holocaust, as well as other controversial subjects. Educational goals and their clear definition within systematic educational plans are sometimes complex in terms of time and methodology.⁶³⁶

In addition, Totten and Feinberg argue that teachers must approach the subject with caution and avoid certain historical abbreviations, and that compliance with ethical regulations may become increasingly difficult, especially if it concerns descendants of surviving witnesses. Teachers are also influenced by the current digital smog, whereby the large number of graphic representations can lead to the intensification and overuse of such images or overly emotional stories, with all the pitfalls this brings.⁶³⁷ In my opinion, a fundamental solution that can remedy the aforementioned shortcomings in the teaching methodology is the teacher's ability to introduce a partially moderated discussion in the classroom, one that motivates students to debate specific historical events.

636 DAVIES, Ian, ed. *Teaching the Holocaust: educational dimensions, principles and practice*. London: Continuum, 2000. p. 5.

637 TOTTEN, Samuel and Stephne FEINBERG. Teaching about the Holocaust: issues of rationale, content, methodology, and resources. *Social Education*. 1995, **59**(6), p. 323-333. 638 BARTON, Keith and Alan MCCULY. Teaching controversial issues...where controversial issues really matter. *Teaching History*. 2007, **1**(127), p. 13-19.

Keith Barton considers discourse to be one of the most complex, but effective pedagogical techniques for analyzing convoluted issues in the classroom. The purpose is to evoke a critical and analytical approach in students, on the one hand to look for alternative ways to understand a particular topic, but on the other hand, to follow a clearly defined methodological approach to solving a problem. Sufficient time and space is needed to consider all the evidence and critically assess it.⁶³⁸ The idea of moderated discourse within the class was later supplemented by Huei-Tse Hou and Sheng-Yi Wu who deal with the format of discussions (asynchronous / synchronous) and the application thereof for a specific group of people (class). Asynchronous teaching (distance) is the most widely used form of teaching, especially in recent years due to the coronavirus pandemic. With teachers not having direct supervision over their students, students are given more space to prepare an appropriate response to an issue, which develops a deeper level of thinking. In contrast, synchronous courses allow participants, including students and instructors, to engage together from different locations.⁶³⁹ Whichever format is used, this issue has several layers that need to be taken into consideration. In addition to the teaching methods, teachers must also be prepared to face an increase of intolerance among young people.

Timothy Peace has proven through recent sociological statistics that hatred and animosity towards many minorities have dramatically increased, especially among young people. He argues that it is necessary to actively counter antisemitism, xenophobia and homophobia, and that teachers must address this issue in their classes.⁶⁴⁰ Based on the conclusions of his work, it is important to ask: How can we foster an awareness of history among young people? The aim of the IWalk project in Luxembourg is to create two interactive and educational online tours that provide rich content for online applications, which would involve (primarily) university students, but also secondary school pupils, based on the principles of open science. It aims to motivate students to become

638 BARTON, Keith and Alan MCCULY. Teaching controversial issues...where controversial issues really matter. *Teaching History*. 2007, **1**(127), p. 13-19.

639 HOU, Huei-Tse and Sheng-Yi WU. Analyzing the social knowledge construction behavioral patterns of an online synchronous collaborative discussion instructional activity using an instant messaging tool: a case study. *Computers & Education*. [online] 2011, **57**(2), p. 1459-1468. [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2011.02.012>.

640 PEACE, Timothy. Un antisémitisme nouveau? :the debate about a 'new antisemitism' in France. *Patterns of Prejudice* [online] 2009, **43**(2), p. 103-121 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: [doi:10.1080/00313220902793773](https://doi.org/10.1080/00313220902793773). 641 Read more: (KNELLESSEN, Dagi and Ralf POSSEKEL, ed. *From Testimony to Story. Video Interviews about Nazi Crimes. Perspectives and Experiences in four Countries*. Berlin: EVZ Foundation Remembrance Responsibility Future, 2015.)

active content producers and not merely consumers, while the teacher assumes the role of mediator by helping students interact with the materials and derive their own conclusions. It is also important to create deep and meaningful structures, as well as foster abilities, skills and approaches based on content-specific critical enquiry. How can a teacher do this?

David Pace advises teachers to divide the concept of project teaching into several levels. From the beginning, it must be clear that it is only appropriate to start working on a project after you have collected enough relevant information about the issue, especially when the issue is controversial. To achieve this the teacher must offer several pathways, with the students selecting which method to follow and which model to choose in order to deal with the issue.⁶⁴¹ In particular, the teacher should provide additional critical context for working with oral history to enable students to understand the whole historical context. Finally, it is necessary to allow enough time for students to discuss a controversial topic and for students to determine the basic principles of the whole project.⁶⁴²

Following this advice, I introduced the course Video Content Analysis for Bachelor degree students at the University of Luxembourg in the 2019/2020 winter semester. The aim of the course was to test virtual educational practices in the study of Jewish history in everyday life in Luxembourg. In my opinion, the content of the application, its structure and the use of archival resources are a good example of how archival materials can be used in the digital age while actively involving a wide range of students. The video editor enables students to intuitively edit videos without the need for in-depth knowledge in the field. The course also included training on how to create the most relevant presentation of historical photographs of a certain place with regards to a certain issue.

In order to obtain relevant information on how to properly organize the course (Video Content Analysis), I undertook a special workshop at the Zachor Institute of Social Remembrance in Budapest. This course taught participants how to create inspirational environments to make an impactful virtual IWalk application. In order to further improve my own expertise in this field, I

641 Read more: (KNELLESEN, Dagi and Ralf POSSEKEL, ed. *From Testimony to Story. Video Interviews about Nazi Crimes. Perspectives and Experiences in four Countries*. Berlin: EVZ Foundation Remembrance Responsibility Future, 2015.)

642 PACE, David. Controlled Fission: Teaching Supercharged Subjects. *College Teaching* [online]. 2003, **51**(2), p. 42-45 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: doi:10.1080/87567550309596410.

completed a number of in-depth training sessions on how to effectively use IWalk together with other resources.

These insightful training sessions instilled in me knowledge of the educational methodology called the Four Cs – Consider, Collect, Construct, Communicate,⁶⁴³ which I then applied to my students. Three experts from the Zachor Foundation for Social Remembrance in Budapest and the Malach Centre for Visual History in Prague came to Luxembourg to help me integrate and implement IWalk methodologies into my course.

Under the auspices of the same organizations, I also participated in several workshops on maintaining ethical standards while working with interviewees. Before conducting any interviews, we were familiarized with the pre-interview questionnaire completed by narrators. This enabled us to find, among other things, relevant metadata relating to locations, the biographies of the narrators, political thinking and religious classification. Due to the detailed nature of qualitative research, Michael Q. Patton recommends analyzing smaller datasets (testimonies) with a focus on selecting information-rich cases. These information-rich cases should then be studied in-depth so users can discover a large number of issues, thereby giving relevant purpose to the inquiry.⁶⁴⁴ The course sought to revive pre-war, war and post-war Jewish public history. As part of this effort, it featured a tour of sites in Esch-sur-Alzette and Luxembourg City, places which were relevant to the German occupation of Luxembourg and the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime towards local communities.⁶⁴⁵

The course was divided into practical and theoretical parts. For the practical part, students were divided into two groups. Each of the groups collected content for a specific route (Luxembourg City and Esch-sur-Alzette, the city with the second largest Jewish minority in the

643 Consider: Background information that draws on previous knowledge .

Collect information from testimonies, bios, and physical locations.

Construct – analyze and evaluate information and their own reflection.

Communicate – discuss reflection.

(SZONYI, Andrea and Kori STREET. Videotaped Testimonies of Victims of National Socialism in Educational Programs: the Example of USC Shoah Foundation's Online Platform IWitness. DREIER, Werner, Angelika LAUMER and Moritz WEIN. *Interactions: Explorations of Good Practice in Educational Work with Video Testimonies of Victims of National Socialism*. Berlin: EVZ, 2018. p. 266-280).

644 See more: (PATTON, Michael Quinn . *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*. 4th ed. Los Angeles: SAGE. 2015).

645 ARTUSO, Vincent. *La Question Juive au Luxembourg: L'État luxembourgeois face aux persécutions antisémites nazies*. Luxembourg: Editions forum Luxembourg, 2015. ; MOYSE, Laurent. *Du rejet à l'intégration: histoire des Juifs du Luxembourg des origines à nos jours*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2011. 646 Not only antisemitism; they had to reflect and compare other forms of hater in history against stigmatize minorities.

Grand Duchy). With the use of photographs and graphics showing clearly visible contrasts, students could analyze the changes in individual places not only on the basis of functionality, but also significance for the inhabitants.

With the topic of each IWalk tour focused on achieving particular learning outcomes, the content of the IWalks in Luxembourg and Esch-sur-Alzette took on rather different forms. The students could choose from a wide range of themes such as civil resistance (topical), multiculturalism and void (chronological), memorials (spatial), and Jewish traditions (historical). The video testimonies relating to the theme of each IWalk did not exceed three minutes in order to maintain a clear focus.

To successfully complete the course, students needed to consider different examples of perceived conflict⁶⁴⁶ throughout history, different definitions of intolerance, and select clips of testimonies related to a specific type of resentment (e.g. religious, political, etc.), as well as construct a video essay about a specific incident. Last but not least, the students communicated their reflections via video essays to their peers. They were then given an opportunity to use technology to become more active learners while encountering eyewitnesses talking about their experiences in different historical periods.⁶⁴⁷

Nigel King and his associates advise that students should choose different interviewees to highlight different perspectives and create a short biography for each clip relating the interviewee's life before, during and after the Second World War. To give a practical example, the students sought to find out more about the meaning of the word antisemitism and its different forms of expression through time. They started listening to testimonies about contemporary antisemitism and examined it through the lens of the past. They did so by connecting modern antisemitism in Luxembourg society with its manifestations in the past by creating a video essay using clips of testimonies from Holocaust survivors and witnesses.⁶⁴⁸

When working with testimonies, I ensured that the clips were not too graphic, emotional, or lengthy and adhered to the learning outcomes and the diverse audience. My role as a tutor was

646 Not only antisemitism; they had to reflect and compare other forms of hater in history against stigmatize minorities.

647BARTON, Keith and Alan MCCULY. Teaching controversial issues...where controversial issues really matter. *Teaching History*. 2007, 1(127), p. 13-19.

648 See more: (KING, Nigel, Christine HORROCKS and Joanna BROOKS. *Interviews in Qualitative Research*. 2.nd ed. London: SAGE, 2019).

to identify those clips that would support students' learning of the topic being studied. I was also responsible for providing the broader historical background for the clips, thereby taking into consideration the context of the conducted interview. In addition to this role, I also needed to take into account that sound source criticism for this immense collection does not exist and that a part of the academic community is very critical of these methods of collating and maintaining testimony.⁶⁴⁹

It was also assumed that future users of the IWalk application would undoubtedly come from different backgrounds and may not have thorough knowledge of civic history. The students therefore adapted the individual tour stops to make them comprehensible for the general public. To identify relevant locations for a specific theme, students chose the clips first. It was important to make a connection between the chosen stops and the clip. It was advisable, but not necessary, to have a clip at each point on the walk, and that each stop should be within easy walking distance of the last. After long discussions, students eventually created six stops dealing with issues of pre-war antisemitism, forced emigration, restitution, active resistance and Jewish traditions in Luxembourg.

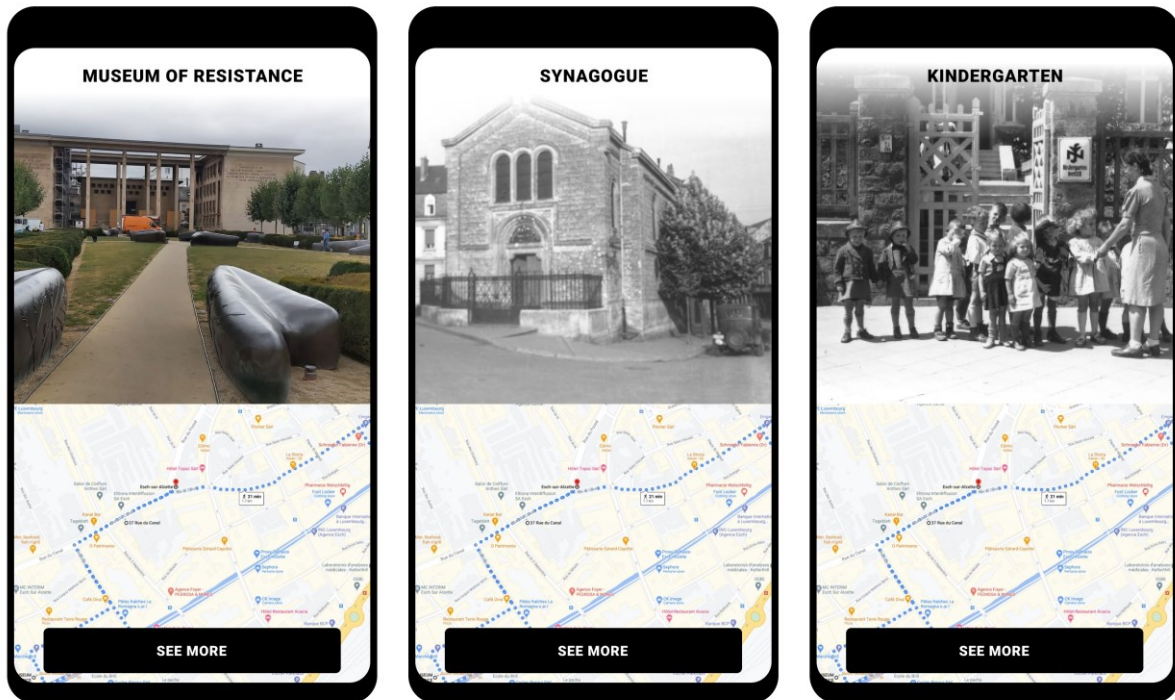
Theoretical structure of IWalk tours: Each stop has its own spirit

This subchapter is based on my notes and experiences gained during the methodological training sessions on the IWalk application and the use of a virtual application in education. Instructors showed us how to work with students to create content for individual routes for the IWalk. First, it is necessary to choose one main topic, which will delimit either a certain historical period or will have a more sociological or psychological content. The topic of the IWalk should be specific enough to be clear to all course participants right away for the course to fulfill its purpose. Topics can be diverse from historical to current. They can be arranged either chronologically, spatially, or on the basis of a common subject. For example, Civic Resistance is a theme from the category of current events; multiculturalism and mental emptiness can be processed chronologically for example, Jewish monuments conceptually fit into the tour dealing with collective memory. Last

⁶⁴⁹One of the vocal critics is Aline Bothe, who is very critical of the VHA USC Shoah Foundation in terms of the validity of the interviews provided. She published her critical observations in the book *Die Geschichte der Shoah im virtuellen Raum*. (BOTHE, Alina. *Die Geschichte der Shoah im virtuellen Raum* [online]. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019. p. 103 [Accessed 2020-10-18]. Available from: doi:10.1515/9783110558036).

but not least, it is possible to process, for example, the development of the Jewish historical tradition from different time periods. The name IWalk can be generic to refer to a specific location, but the topic should be as specific as possible. Deliberately, the descriptive processing of the Holocaust is slowly receding and the content of the routes focuses on its effects.

Image 6: The idea of IWalk interface showing on your phone



The identification of stops can be done in any order depending on the specified topic of the route. For example, if you focus on a historical perspective, it makes sense to first identify the individual stops and their number depending on the specific location and its inhabitants. However, if you are taking a thematic perspective, it is better to first choose individual narrators or topics that the narrators deal with: integration, uprooting, antisemitism, etc. It is important that you create a connection between the stop and its corresponding clip.

When designing individual stops, students create content with historical photos, texts about historical sites and video clips associated with a particular theme. All these segments are connected by educational questions, including pre-questions. The purpose of a pre-question is to make IWalk users think about the content of the clip. Pre-questions should incite and motivate users to think

more about the topic of each tour. This tool also reflects their awareness of historical sites and events.

Users can respond to these questions to think of broader context: “Why is it significant that the Nazi flags were hung where they were? Consider what they depict, what they represent, what the building represents, and who hung them.” These questions help a user to connect the individual segments of a particular stop together and critically analyze them. The purpose of a post-question was to get users to reflect on the clip and think about how it relates to the theme of the walk, the location and their own lives and experiences. “Think about what you have learned so far about Jewish and non-Jewish relationships in Luxembourg before the war. Why do you think Rachelle says that this incident left her confused?”

This is a great opportunity to make participants think critically. It is essential to make pre- and post-questions relate to one another. For example, paired with a clip about Jewish identity, the pre-question may be: “What are some important aspects of your identity?” The post-question might continue: “What were some identities that were important to the interviewee?” At the end of the tour in Luxembourg City, users were asked to answer the question “What was the most important thing you learned during this IWalk?” Tutors can make use of the answers given for future projects on Jewish public history.

Methodological and Source criticism

This section will present chapters that briefly deal with the methodological critique of the use of the questionnaire survey, the oral history used and, finally, there is a critique of the sources used in the PhD thesis.

Survey: risk of skewing the results and verification of the reliability of survey data in terms of this project

Research by means of a questionnaire is one of the methods of collecting information in the fields of historical and sociological research in which respondents provide information in writing via printed or online questions. In general, a survey is characterized by the following features: it can indirectly collect and interpret data through subjective testimonies of the examined individuals. Usually, there is no direct interaction between the researcher and the respondent and the method is highly formalized and standardized, but in the case of my project, I helped distribute my survey

among potential respondents because I felt that face-to-face meetings were the best means to make people comfortable enough to take part in the research. 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, data collection method, operationalization, test of the question quality, sample of respondents and lastly but importantly, it is necessary to define the fieldwork.⁶⁵⁰ I made effort to meet their requested standards to collect the least distorted dataset for my further analysis.

To design a functional and understandable questionnaire survey, I considered how the research results would be used in terms of the research. I decided to define the reference framework and research objectives in advance, including the context of time, social cohorts, budget, distribution method, workforce, and ethical standards. John Shaughnessy and Eugene Zechmeister assert that the types of questions should correspond to methods of data collection, methods of analysis, and survey objectives set by a researcher. The focus of the selection of respondents and location (selection framework) will determine whether the findings will be applicable to a larger population.⁶⁵¹

The issue of questioning is an important area of sociological methodology not only for its distinctive specifics, but also for the practical consequences that inappropriately composed questions may have.⁶⁵² The answer is 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. Suggestively asked questions then bring the answers that are expected and considered desirable.⁶⁵³

650 SARIS, Willem and Irmtraud GALLHOFER. *Design, evaluation, and analysis of questionnaires for survey research*. 2nd ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2014.

651 SHAUGHNESSY, John, Eugene ZECHMEISTER, and Jeanne ZECHMEISTER. *Research methods in psychology*. 9th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011. p. 161-170.

652 PETERSON, Robert Allen. *Constructing effective questionnaires* [online]. Thousands Oaks: Sage, 2000 [Accessed 2020-8-30]. Available from: <https://dx-doi-org.proxy.bnl.lu/10.4135/9781483349022.n2>.

653 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](https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-12-369398-5/00037-2).

The level of question measurement, generally known as a scale, index, or typological value, determines what can be derived from the data collected. In my case, this means that closed yes / no questions usually provide quantitative data without the possibility of determining the so-called average statement applicable to a wider range of respondents.

A popular method for verifying the validity of the compiled questionnaire is the so-called "back-testing". By repeating the necessary questions, the necessary metrics for the survey are achieved.⁶⁵⁴ One weakness of my questionnaire is the inability to verify and re-examine the questions on any twice-completed questionnaire.⁶⁵⁵ Unnecessary questions should be avoided because they are worthless for researchers and an unwelcome coercion for the respondents. I tried to make the topic of my questionnaire correspond to the experience of the studied social cohort, as the form of the questions can subsequently influence the subsequent interpretation of the answers. Therefore, I tried to conduct my questionnaire research clearly, concisely and clearly without excessive demands on the knowledge and skills of the participants.⁶⁵⁶

With regard to these facts, I endeavored to keep questions as simple as possible without too many technical or professional terms because ambiguous words or unclear sentence structures can cause misunderstandings and possibly invalidate or distort the results. If a question seeks to address more than one issue, the researcher may have a difficulty in distinguishing the meaning of the submitted responses. Since, it is necessary to keep the number of questions at a reasonable level in order not to overload your research participants and despite the possibility of error, I decided to get more than one piece of information from one given question. For instance, the question number 12 - Attitude towards Israel. Respondents can mark the replies dealing with Israeli foreign policy, Israeli policy towards Palestinians, creation of independent Palestinian state, and Jewish essentiality of living in Israel. The questions of multiple choice are as neutral as possible not to get any intended outcome because preconceived questions can induce respondents to provide

654 Ibid. p. 415.

655 The questionnaires are sent to the selected respondents repeatedly and, based on the comparison with the previous results, their validity and reliability of both the questionnaire and the respondents are evaluated. (PŮLPÁN, Zdeněk. *Jak ohodnotit relevantní informaci z dotazníkového šetření*. Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice. Dopravní fakulta Jana Pernera, 2018. p. 114-115.)

656 GREENBERG, Bernard G., et al. The unrelated question randomized response model: theoretical framework. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. 1969, 64(326), p. 520-539.

biased answers. Floyd Fowler judges that even questions without obvious bias can affect the respondent's final answer, or at least his/her expectations.⁶⁵⁷

The method of questionnaire research with the help of closed questions focused on the creation of general statements and parameters may not pay sufficient attention to the unique characteristics of certain respondents. According to Robert K. Yin and Karen A. Heald, the trade-off here is similar to the trade-off in behavioral and clinical research, and even so, the researcher cannot fully rely on the data obtained and a certain distance needs to be maintained. The correct order of questions is also significant because initial questions can skew later results such as questions on emotional reactions. The list of options and choices should be collectively exhaustive, but an open possibility to express one's own opinion can be used: (Other, please specify). Possible answers should also be mutually exclusive without overlapping.⁶⁵⁸ In case of this project, I used the possibility of self-expression in 25 questions out of 31 to give respondents the space to expound upon their answers. Their accompanying comments turned out to be an important source of information used in my work. However, my survey also faced a similar problem as oral history interviews. According to historian Michal Pullmann, a historian should not be a judge deciding on who is morally right and who is morally wrong. Pullmann criticizes the approach of some historians who evaluate the moral qualities of people involved with the communist regime. This topic is still relatively strongly accentuated⁶⁵⁹ and many members of the Jewish community feel ashamed, especially in the Czech Republic.⁶⁶⁰ During the so-called crisis in the Jewish community 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.⁶⁶¹

According to Jan Gruber, historians must resign programmatically to the role they should play in society. They get rid of the role of social critic and becomes a normalized intellectual. In his opinion, they are nothing but "spiritual agents in the forums of political will-making," which

657 Ibid. p. 520–539.

658 FOWLER, Floyd J. and Thomas W. MANGIONE. *Standardized survey interviewing: minimizing interviewer-related error*. Newbury Park: Sage, 1990. p. 136-138.

659 PULLMANN, Michal. K sociálněhistorickému výzkumu komunistických systémů. *Soudobé dějiny*. 2008, **15**(3-4). p. 709.

660 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/>.

661 HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 161-180.

affirms publicly shared self-understanding without the aspiration to correct or change them.⁶⁶² Keeping a critical role of historian, I have tried to avoid any moral condemnation in this project, and I fully understand that my respondents can belong to different categories for example as both a Halachic Jew and a convert. In such cases, it is helpful to develop separate categories in terms of the questionnaire. For this reason, etc., are usually placed at the end of the survey,⁶⁶³ As for my survey, I placed questions regarding age, marital status and education at the front page of my questionnaire because nowadays, it is necessary to strictly adhere to ethical rules regarding the handling of personal information in accordance with the regulations of the GDPR. Questionnaires are therefore anonymous, or their results are later anonymized by the researchers.

662 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.cceol.com/search/article-detail?id=319788>.

663 Ibid. p. 140.

Contemporary history is like an "era of witnesses" (Annette Wievorka)

The concept of oral history is very difficult to define, but researchers agree that it is not a special historical discipline, but rather a method that finds its application primarily in the field of social, legal, or cultural history. If we understand oral history in the narrower sense, as interviews, then it is possible to use in sociology, history, or ethnography.⁶⁶⁴ In my case, people have an opportunity to share their personal experiences and subjective experiences of history. The individual stands in the center of this method. Oral history leads to the democratization of history because it mainly deals with the life of an ordinary human, but at the same time, it opens a new space.⁶⁶⁵

The methodology of oral history allowed me to view different dimensions of the life of narrators. The lives of individuals are not technically fixed in any context. Jewish identity and the problems associated with it are not separated from other identities such as partners, parents, colleagues and citizens. According to Kathryn Haynes, oral history reveals numerous interactions within group members. Oral history puts domestic and outdoor events into a public and professional context, and that was exactly the reason why I chose this method.⁶⁶⁶ A qualitative analysis of interviews with selected narrators outlined to me the connections between different social groups and roles that allow subjective oral histories of subjective citizenship to understand both human experience and the social, cultural and political context of that experience.

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 publication and reciprocity. The level of publication in stories can put a participant at risk of revealing his or her identity. This can occur when a narrator is insufficiently

⁶⁶⁴ 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>.

⁶⁶⁵ VANĚK, Miroslav. *Orální historie ve výzkumu soudobých dějin*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2004. p. 18-19.

⁶⁶⁶ 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>.

concealed and the narrator becomes recognizable to other members of the community.⁶⁶⁷ 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 during 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 family history until I promised them that they would be thoroughly anonymized so that they would not reach their members of the Jewish community for their views. Since the Jewish population lives a very 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 everyday life reflects what scholars can call by Milan Otáhal as a “great history.”⁶⁶⁸ 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 hypotheses. 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.⁶⁶⁹

Here it is necessary to argue the concept of history in relation to Otáhal's conception because the very question of democratizing history for the less powerful is much more complex in the case of post-communist countries. According to Jan Gruber, contemporary research focused on life in the socialist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia usually implicitly works with a strongly

667 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.

668 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).

669 PORTELLI, Alessandro. The peculiarities of oral history. In: *History workshop journal*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, 12(1), p. 96-107.

schematized theory of totalitarianism formulated more than sixty years ago by Carl Joachim Friedrich together with Zbigniew Brzeziński and Hannah Arendt.⁶⁷⁰ Otáhal's "great narrative" is built in opposition to an evil regime and an innocent, 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.⁶⁷¹

Historian Michal Pullmann believes that such a discourse 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.⁶⁷²

Scholars should take into account that the matter of subjectivity distinguishes oral history from other historical sources, which are often products of administration. In contrast to quantitative research, which relies on statistical data and uses "generalization" techniques, oral history seeks to find the individual features of individual statements.⁶⁷³ This ability of the oral-historical method was very useful to me in the search for generalizing features that would at least somewhat connect the experience of individual narrators. In-depth interviews and their interpretations, of course, carry the danger of distortion, which I have tried to avoid with a clearly defined range of questions, to which I have requested at least brief answers.⁶⁷⁴ I also deliberately avoided controversial political topics that could disrupt the flow of the conversation and bring emotions into the

670 GRUBER, Jan. Orální historie mezi aktivismem a akademismem. *Dějiny-Teorie-Kritika* [online]. 2013, (2), p. 277. [Accessed 2021-8-5]. Available from: <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=319788>.

671 PULLMANN, Michal. K sociálněhistorickému výzkumu komunistických systémů. *Soudobé dějiny*. 2008, **15**(3-4), p. 703-717.

672 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 2020-8-29]. Available from: <http://www.nasinebocizi.cz/>).

673 OTÁHAL, Milan and Miroslav VANĚK. *Sto studentských revolucí: studenti v období pádu komunismu: životopisná vyprávění*. Praha: Lidové noviny, 1999. p. 35.

674 SHOPEL, Linda. Oral history. In: *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. London: Sage Thousand Oaks, CA, 2011, p. 451-465.

interview. Erin Jessee judged that the limits of oral history emerge when you confront highly politicized research settings.⁶⁷⁵

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 profit from oral history have often argue whether oral history allows to investigate historical truth. It is often reflected by many writers and scientists.⁶⁷⁶

In the case of my research, it is very difficult not to slip into a certain popularization of the conversation, especially whether I know the narrator personally. 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.⁶⁷⁷

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 document is addressed to another person, the degree of binding of the author's subjective introspection to social or historical facts increases. Their reflections are paradoxically tied to the social control of their stylization. In both cases, interviews take place within a certain time interval and their credibility is limited in other ways. However, the qualitative advantages are obvious.⁶⁷⁸

675 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.

676 O'NEILL, Gilda. *Lost Voices: Memories of a Vanished Way of Life*. London: Random House, 2013.p. 139-156.

677 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.cceol.com/search/article-detail?id=319788>.

678 SEDLÁK, Petr. Svět přeživších Židů - prameny a jejich výklad. *Lidé Města*. 2008, **10**(3), p. 86.

Jan Gruber further criticizes the fact that many oral historians recall the importance of memory in the research of contemporary history, but usually do nothing but merely state that importance. According to him, it is necessary to involve various theories of memory and verify the so-called collective memory from multiple sources. There is a need to create new tools for deciphering narrator speeches and thus improve oral history. That is why I decided to use other sources in addition to narrators, especially internal magazines published by the Jewish community (*Věstník ŽNO*,⁶⁷⁹ *Maskil*,⁶⁸⁰ *Roš Chodeš*, *Kadima*,⁶⁸¹ *RMC*⁶⁸² and *Bulletin*⁶⁸³) together with private archives.⁶⁸⁴ Contrary to these statements, Donald Ritchie argues that as a professional historian you must be skeptical of all sources, including written sources. Newspapers distort stories, many written sources that come into our hands have different informative value; diaries and letters are very subjective, for example. In his opinion, it is nonsense to be skeptical only of the OH, and it is necessary to compare historical sources with each other. If the written and oral sources do not match, you should not automatically believe that the written sources are true. He argues that sometimes oral sources can even tell you more than written sources, or can contradict written sources that could have originated from or been supervised by dictatorial and authoritarian regimes.⁶⁸⁵

Contrary to this statement, Elisheva Baumgarten judges that contemporary Jewish witnesses who turned seventy years old tend to recapitulate their lives as a whole⁶⁸⁶, and therefore their presentation of the past may seem more intense, emotional and distorted especially when they

679 The beginnings of the *Věstník* dates 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 publishing the *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. Univerzita Karlova. Fakulta sociálních věd. p. 6).

680 Jewish community journal published by the Liberal community Bejt Simcha in Prague.

681 *Kadima* was non-professional magazine published irregularly by Jewish youth at the organization UJGIL (Union of Jewish Young People of Luxembourg).

682 *Revue mensuelle pour les Communautés Israélites dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*.

683 *Bulletin des communautés Israélites du Luxembourg* was an irregular magazine that did not have a professional editorial staff. It was an internal bulletin only for Jewish community members.

684 At the request of some owners of private archives, I cannot reveal their names.

685 VANĚK, Miroslav and Pavel MÜCKE. *Třetí strana trojúhelníku: teorie a praxe orální historie*. 2. vyd. Praha: Karolinum, 2015. p. 17.

686 This issue was described in detail in the dissertation of Susanne Wagner: (WAGNER, Susanne. *Gender in English pronouns : myth and reality*. Freiburg im Breisgau. Dissert. Albert-Ludwigs-Universität).

speak about traumatic moments. In this respect, witnesses also find it less important to recapitulate historical facts and demonstrate their political affiliation; they bring personal balance and reflection.⁶⁸⁷

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.⁶⁸⁸ 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.⁶⁸⁹

Source criticism

In order to include the wide plurality and conflict of individual opinions and memories of post-war events in Jewish society, I sought to realize my research in a discursive-analytical way. I strove for selecting a wide range of personal statements and sources of related to Jewish life after the Holocaust. As mentioned above, due to socio-demographic differences and access options dealing with archival materials in Luxembourg (see below), I decided to build my thesis on a similar methodological basis as Alena Heitlinger's professional publication. Therefore, the results of the questionnaire survey in combination with the results obtained through the method of oral history play a prime role in my work. These reasons, along with the high number of professional publications, especially in the Czech Republic published in the last five years (see , is the reason for choosing a different methodology than the one stated in the former thesis of my PhD project.

Like Michel Foucault, I did not try to analyze all the statements in detail,⁶⁹⁰ but in a wide range of 60 interviews containing around 580 transcribed pages, I searched for regularities and irregularities, continuities and discontinuities, in order to reconstruct the discourse on the post-war

687 BAUMGARTEN, Elisheva. In: FRANKEL, Jonathan. *Jews and Gender: The Challenge to Hierarchy, Studies in Contemporary Jewry Annual*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, **16**, p. 265.

688 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).

689 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>).

690 FOUCAULT, Michel. *Archeologie věděni*. 2. vyd. V Praze: Herrmann, 2016. p. 119-134.

life of the Jewish minority in the Czech lands and Luxembourg. My objective was to supplement Jewish post-war history with a Jewish reflection on the history of the second half of the 20th century in a broad political and social sense.

Besides employing the survey and the analysis of interviews, I also dealt with the analysis of community periodicals published after the war. In the Czech lands these were primarily comprised of the *Věstník ŽNO* and the *Jewish Yearbook*,⁶⁹¹ and in Luxembourg it was the *RMC*,⁶⁹² *Kadima*⁶⁹³ and later the *Bulletin des Communautés Israelites dans Luxembourg*.⁶⁹⁴ All these sources have brought me internal information about the life of Jewish religious communities, which has not been processed yet, although currently the interest in the post-war history of the Jewish population is very much on the rise.⁶⁹⁵

On the other hand, research in the 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 worthless. 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.⁶⁹⁶ The regional archives of the Jewish communities in the Czech lands were unavailable to me. During my research, the archives of individual Jewish communities in the Czech lands were not processed and 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. The analysis of archives in the Czech territory is performed below in the subchapter.

Historian Jacob Labendz has also produced very thorough sources from the archives of the Jewish Community in Prague and the Archive of the Jewish Museum in Prague which relate to the

691 Besides *Věstník ŽNO*, the Jewish Yearbook was the only medium published by the CCJRC.

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

693 *Kadima* was non-professional magazine published irregularly by Jewish youth in Luxembourg.

694 *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.

695 See the chapter: State of Arts: The Czech Republic and Luxembourg.

696 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.

life of the Jewish religious community.⁶⁹⁷ 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.

A large number of studies focus on literary and film representations of the Shoah. The Terezín Memorial has also become the subject of interest several times.⁶⁹⁸ Besides the growth of academic works on the history of Czechoslovak Jews after 1945,⁶⁹⁹ the question of Jewish collective memory has emerged too.⁷⁰⁰ In my opinion, the space for researchers is constantly narrowing and I dare say that in some issues it is considerably oversaturated. 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 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

697 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).

698 HALLAMA, Peter. *Národní hrdinové - židovské oběti: holokaust v české kulturní paměti*. Praha: NLN, 2020. Židé - dějiny - paměť.

699 SEDLÁK, Petr. Konečné rozřešení židovské otázky? *Paměť a dějiny* [online]. 2017, 11(2), p. 57-67 [Accessed 2019-8-30]. Available from: <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=600687>.

700 Read more: (KRATOCHVIL, Alexander, ed. *Paměť a trauma pohledem humanitních věd: komentovaná antologie teoretických textů*. Praha: Ústav pro českou literaturu AV ČR, 2015).

Jewish consistory, Albert Aflalo. I obtained this permission and received copies of the Bulletin, which are otherwise inaccessible to the public.

The UJGIL's 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 responsibilities for how I must deal with personal materials, questionnaires, interview records and archival sources.

Archives of Jewish organizations and municipalities and the National Archive in Prague

It should be noted, however, that the analysis of the topics I have identified (Jewish identity, antisemitism and Israel) and the interpretation of secondary materials can only be used to identify certain sub-topics and is methodologically demanding. The coverage of these topics can be severely limited. Many relevant documents are simply lost. In the end, it may seem that the post-war period is harder to prove by primary sources than the war and times after February 1948. This may be due to the knowledge of the frequency and diversity of sources related to Jewish affairs created after this important date. The number of sources reflects the more intense post-February reduction of the Jewish community. After February, many competencies over the Jewish community were also centralized and transferred to the State Church Office.

This does not mean that archives have no potential, quite the contrary. My research attention focused on an important archival source for the post-war history of Czech Jews, probably to the key fund 425, the "Jewish Organization" stored in the Archives of the Ministry of the Interior in Prague. The collection contains a total of 11,988 volumes in 467 boxes. Many important items

can be found in the fund and it is fairly well-inventoried. It is possible to discover the originals of many various writings and publications created by Czechoslovak and foreign Jewish and Zionist organizations. Unfortunately, as I described above, I did not have sufficient resources for archival research from the other side ---the Luxembourg archives -- which gave me no basis for comparison. Probably the most useful sources for learning about the contemporary world are diaries and personal correspondences. However, both types of sources cannot be absolutely credible (authentic) reflections of the mentioned contemporary reality. Their usefulness is thus paradoxically more bound by social control and linguistic stylization.

RESULTS

This section contains the empirical part deals with the data collected, and based on the theoretical background it interprets the dataset collected to allow readers to grasp the entire concept.

The results of the survey and the interview in terms of attitudes towards Israel

The research question that is primarily addressed in this part of my thesis deals with changing attitudes towards Israel and changing concepts of home. According to respected scholars, the land of Israel has had an undeniable influence on the Jewish post-war generations, their Jewish identity and sense of Jewishness.⁷⁰¹ However, it is very difficult to unify or strictly define Jewish feelings and relations to this land, as they are highly diverse and distinctive. My goal is to find at least some behavioral patterns and correlations, based on the theoretical framework described above. I have added the following questions to my survey and interviews, among others. *“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?”* and finally, *“What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?”* The survey was distributed among members of the aforementioned social cohorts. The object was to find distinctions and correlations between four different social cohorts that come from different Jewish communities allocated in two different research areas (Luxembourg and the Czech lands). The aim of the following chapters is to give an

⁷⁰¹ 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).

explanation of empirical data into the broader historical and sociological context in order to emphasize the various influences that may have impacted on the formation of the relationship with Israel and home. The empirical data primarily come from the sociological survey and the semi-structured interviews. The figures from the survey were put to the tables and the transcribed interviews were cited to the text.

Czechoslovak Second Jewish generation (CZSJG): Attitudes towards Israel - Blurred notion of the “promised land”

INTERVIEWS

The state of Israel represented a new ideological bond for the (CZSJG) and a new value that internally connected various different Jewish peoples to each other. This new relationship with Israel was not significantly reflected in the status of the newcomers, who decided to leave for Israel in the 1960s.⁷⁰² In late 1963, a new inducement appeared to create a new wave of emigration to Israel. During this period, it was possible to legally move to Israel within the program – “Family Reunification Policy.”⁷⁰³

Some of my narrators reflected their situation as follows: *“I left with my mom, but it was a lengthy process. Although we got official permission in 1963, it was not easy to get it. We probably obtained all the documents quickly as we were two independent women. There was no serious problem with that. However, we had no idea what we were doing and had to find the courage to do it. We only had an uncle in Israel who irregularly corresponded with us. We did not speak Hebrew or any other languages and we envisioned Israel as a mythical land that Moses discovered.”*⁷⁰⁴ This witness comes from one of the respondents of the CZSJG from Plzeň, and reflects the data published by Zdeněk Jirásek,⁷⁰⁵ which refers to difficulties with administration

702 AMZV, folder TO - ordinary 1960–1969 Israel, card. 1 - An explanatory memorandum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 22 May 1965 stated: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has repeatedly pointed out the increasing number of citizens moving to Israel. ... According to the Passport and Visa Administration, the number of emigrants to Israel was as follows: 1962-112, 1963-157, 1964-599.

703 TATEROVÁ, Eva. Československá zahraniční politika vůči Izraeli v první polovině padesátých let 20. století. *Mezinárodní vztahy* [online]. 2016, 51(3), p. 52-72 [Accessed 2021-07-30]. Available from: <https://www-ccc-ol-com.ezproxy.is.cuni.cz/search/viewpdf?id=470449>.

704 Z. K. Interview, Plzeň, 15. 7. 2018. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

705 JIRÁSEK, Zdeněk. *Československá poúnorová emigrace a počátky exilu*. Brno: Prius, 1999. p. 25-45.

that occurred when the entire family wished to leave the country and move abroad. This issue suitably illustrates the next excerpt of the 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 clerks had been treating us like the Nazis during the war. In the end we got permission, but we didn't travel because of our old parents, although my sister eventually left.”*⁷⁰⁶

Blanka Soukupová said that despite the opportunity to move to Israel, the interest of this destination remained rather marginal compared to other places, although traveling to Israel became a significant indicator of social and cultural relaxation. This new impulse of interest in Israel was mainly initiated by the younger generation, who initially sought information about the military conflicts that were ongoing in Israel. Older generations, meanwhile, often obtained such information through contact with their relatives who had moved to the Jewish state in previous years.⁷⁰⁷

Nevertheless, as the results of my research show, most of the interviewees (CZSJG) admitted to having distorted imaginations of Israel. This was admitted by 10 out of 15 interviewees, who recalled their idealistic visions. As mentioned in the historical framework, the Prague Spring severely affected the mindset of Jews, as there are various ways of conceptualizing Israel among the CZSJG. Many Jews realized they received incomplete and distorted information at that time. Here are two examples that illustrate the attitude of the CZSJG to the news and information about Israel.

*“...Nothing was objectively described. I was five years old when Israel was born, 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 aircrafts. [...] Otherwise, I would rather see the state of Israel as a secular state.”*⁷⁰⁸

706 T. G. Interview, Olomouc, 25. 3. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

707 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.

708 P. M. Interview, Karlovy Vary. 15. 6. 2018. (a man, non-halachic Jew, not practicing, university degree).

*“We did not want to believe in yarns sent by our family relatives who had emigrated there in the late 1940s-50s. It was like a fairytale to hear about common working space 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 the war which was unjustified.”*⁷⁰⁹

The first excerpt comes from a Jewish scientist, Karlovy Vary who has very uncritical views of Israel from a political perspective, but during our interview considered himself as secular, one of those often despised those who are “religious oriented”. The second excerpt comes from a woman who radically changed her political opinion on Israel in the past decades, finally returning to the Czech Republic for good 15 years ago. This extract corresponds with certain outcomes from the research conducted by Vered Kraus and his team, who concludes that new emigrants with different religious and educational backgrounds had to face tough conditions to integrate into Israel’s nationalistic society. Due to peculiar circumstances with the establishment of the State of Israel and 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, 1950.⁷¹⁰

Kraus’ research correlates with the theory of Eva Taterová, a historian who has described a number of examples of integration into Israeli society and judged that the inconsistency between religion and the secular conception of Judaism was very tough towards new immigrants.⁷¹¹ She has compared the approaches to new Jewish immigrants before and after the new millennium, and confirms the experiences and concerns of my respondents.

After this digression, I would like to return to an analysis of the other interviews. As acknowledged, some members of the CZSJG saw Israel as an “attractive and tempting place to live or at least visit.” Their incomplete view of this country may have been caused by a lack of information, as they could not gain access to official declarations made by Israeli politicians or

709 I. B. Interview, Prague. 26. 8. 2020. (a woman, halachic Jew, partly practicing, high school degree).

710 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.

711 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.

common Israeli citizens concerning the Six-Day war. They observed Israel as a mighty leader with a bright future which destroyed Arab enemies.

However, Israeli general Moshe Dajan commented on the conflict in 1967 that: *“We are doomed to live in a constant state of war with the Arabs and there is no escape from sacrifice and bloodshed. This is perhaps an undesirable situation, but it is a fact. If we are to proceed with our work against the wishes of the Arabs, we shall have to expect such sacrifices.”*⁷¹² 8 out of 15 interviewees confirmed that they would have seen Israel in a different way if they had known then what they know now.

As mentioned in the historical context, Communist officials at the Ministry of the Interior were concerned about the promising relations of the younger generations to Israel, and warned in their reports that a considerable number of young Jews were planning to emigrate as soon as they completed their education. Alena Heitlinger cited her father Otta Heitlinger⁷¹³ 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.”*⁷¹⁴

Based on the data collected from interviews, I can conclude that the Six-Day War was something like a dangerous hobby for the CZSJG. While searching for information about Israel, young Jews often had to overcome not only the resistance of communist leaders, but they also often faced conflict, even within families that did not want to get into trouble. Listening to banned stations and reading Western newspapers was severely punished, including imprisonment or expulsion from school.

We 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 it would turn out well. We did not even think that Israel could win. We met there (the Jewish*

712 CHAPMAN, Colin. *Whose promised land: The continuing conflict over Israel and Palestine*. Chicago: Lion Books, 2015. p. 56.

713 Who used to work as the secretary-general (executive director) of both the Council of Jewish Religious Communities and the Prague Jewish Religious Community.

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

municipality) together with Pavel Goldreich, who was an employee of the Jewish municipality. He was then a relatively young man, around 40 years old, and was something like our patron. Well, we paid for that. *Rudé Právo* (the Red Truth) took our conversation and wrote a very nasty article, that the Jewish youth are reactionaries, and support Israel. They wanted to throw everything at us, together with the murder of Charles Jornado. However, something good came from it. My future husband read this article and went to Prague to visit the Jewish Municipality. Afterward, he said to me that it was the only place where you could find a courageous woman.”⁷¹⁵

Even though open support for Israel could be severely punished, Czechoslovak Jews were in a better situation than their counterparts in Poland, because Polish Communist authorities had students arrested during demonstrations in support of Israel after the Six-Day War.⁷¹⁶

Alena Heitlinger (member of the CZSJG) said in one of the interviews for the Czechoslovak monthly journal *Roš chodeš*. “To have anything to do with Israel or Jewry meant becoming a part of the opposition in the 1960s, because the government was antizionist. We felt ourselves like a conspiratorial group, but without much risk. It gave us confidence and sometimes non-Jewish classmates envied us because Gott⁷¹⁷ or Matuška⁷¹⁸ came to the municipality to make a performance. Handling the stigma was not so difficult for us.”⁷¹⁹

As mentioned in the historical context, the Israeli embassy was aware of Jewish interest of Israel in the 1960s and therefore Israeli officials did not miss a chance to provoke interest in Judaism among young Jews in Prague. One of the interviewees acknowledged the historical data collected by scholars 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. When I got to Israel in 1971, they were there and we met at a big cultural evening organized by Czech-Slovak cooperation. They already had a little daughter, so I was moved, but when I asked them how they

715 M.T. Interview, Prague, ZMP archive, recorded by Kateřina Čapková, rewritten by Anežka Božovská.

716 WYSOCKI, Stanisław. *Żydzi w dziejach Polski*. Warszawa: Ojczyzna, 1995. p. 174-177.

717 Karel Gott was a popular Czech singer.

718 Waldemar Matuška was a popular Czech singer.

719 MARXOVÁ, Alice. Ve stínu holocaustu a komunismu: rozhovor s kanadskou socioložkou Alenou Heitlingerovou. *Roš chodeš*. 2006, 68(5), p. 6-7.

had managed to cross the border into Czechoslovakia so easily, they told me to keep quiet about it.”⁷²⁰

Based on the research done by Blanka Soukupová and Jacob Labendz, it is evident that Israel tried to give “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.⁷²¹ There is a strong likelihood that they did so by means of the secret services.⁷²²

On this aspect, the communist regime remained adamant in its stance 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 a 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.*”⁷²³ In 1965, only 5000 copies of this bulletin were published, and thus it was decided to scrap this medium.⁷²⁴

SURVEY

The survey⁷²⁵ was primarily distributed among the CZSJG who stayed in Europe and did not move elsewhere. However, their minds were affected by their parents’ frequent attempts to hide their Jewish origin. Therefore, some of the CZSJG did not have the opportunity to build any special relationship to Israel during their childhood, since their parents never talked to them about the country.⁷²⁶

720 K. T. Interview, Prague, 20. 8. 2018. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

721 NA, folder MŠK, 47/VII. ŽNO: Styky s velvyslanectvím Izraele 1959–1966, kart. 58. [Information about undesirable activities of the Israeli embassy in Prague, October 27, 1960.] Informace o nežádoucí činnosti izraelského vyslanectví v Praze, 27. října 1960.

722 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).

723 P. B. Interview, Prague, 18. 7. 2018.

724 SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 172.

725 You can find the detailed description of the respondents sample in the chapter: The researched social cohorts.

726 See more: (Heitlinger, Alena. *In The Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews Since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 132-135).

Nevertheless, the results of the survey show that only 18.45% (19 survey respondents) of the CZSJG have never visited Israel. However, around 53 out of 81 respondents did regularly visit Israel. The rest has visited Israel at least once. Based on the additional comments below the question in the survey, 35 respondents considered Israel a place that helped them to shape their Jewishness or Jewish identity. This is a relatively high number, yet it corresponds to the data published in a book edited by Judith Gerson and Diane Wolf, which covers the growing number of Jewish visitors in Israel during the past few decades.⁷²⁷ It is worth mentioning that most of the CZSJG visited Israel for the first time after the Velvet revolution in 1989.

I have not noticed any considerable distinctions between different religious denominations, whether between halachic Jews,⁷²⁸ non-halachic Jews⁷²⁹ (The Law of Return) and converts.⁷³⁰ There are also no clear differences in responses from males and females.

Table 7: Have you ever visited Israel?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	81,55%	81
No	18,45%	19
	Answered	100

Based on the data from the question on “Attitude towards Israel”, (see table 8), I can confirm that only a small minority (5 respondents) marked the answer “*I don’t have any special relation with Israel.*” On the other hand, 75 respondents identified with the fate of people living in Israel, a similar figure to that collected in the study by Alena Heitlinger.⁷³¹ Participants could pick more than one answer (it was multiple choice), which means that the total number of responses was 286, but the number of actual respondents was 100.⁷³²

727 GERSON, Judith and DIANE WOLF. *Sociology confronts the Holocaust: Memories and identities in Jewish diasporas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007. p. 215.

728 35 halachic respondents visited Israel at least once, 10 have not visited Israel yet.

729 30 non-halachic visited Israel, 6 have not visited Israel yet.

730 16 converts visited Israel, 3 have not visited Israel.

731 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).

732 This is the same for other cohorts examined, e.g. CZTJG, LSJG, LTJG.

Table 8: Attitude towards Israel

Answer Choices	Responses	
I identify with the fate of people living in Israel. ⁷³³	75%	75
I have some objections to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states. ⁷³⁴	29%	29
I agree with Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states ⁷³⁵	47%	47
I agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. ⁷³⁶	32%	32
I disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians ⁷³⁷	23%	23
I think that all Jews should live in Israel. ⁷³⁸	4%	4
I support the creation of an independent Palestinian state. ⁷³⁹	32%	32
I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state. ⁷⁴⁰	17%	17
I do not have any special relationship with Israel. ⁷⁴¹	5%	5
Other opinions (respondents who added comments.) ⁷⁴²	22%	22
	Answered	286 (100)

The CZSJG seems likely uncritical to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighbors; 29 respondents have some objections to current Israeli foreign policy. On the contrary, many added heartening comments in favor of Netanyahu's cabinet. *"I fully agree on Israeli foreign policy. Unlike our politicians, the Likud knows what to do to protect our people."*⁷⁴³

More critical is the CZSJG' approach to Israeli policy towards Palestinians, especially in the supplementary comments, where I can read following statements: *"I agree with Israeli policy entirely, but I realize that is often driven by utilitarian needs of the country. For example, Israel's official "standstill" to the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman Turks. Israeli policy towards Palestinians is usually reinforced by rigidity and an inability to find a more differentiated approach, even if it is possible."*⁷⁴⁴

733 38 halachic r., 30 non-halachic r., 7 converts.

734 11 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

735 31 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 6 converts.

736 16 halachic r., 11 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

737 5 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r. and 8 converts.

738 4 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r. and 0 convert.

739 15 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

740 10 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 2. converts.

741 2 halachic r. 3 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

742 9 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

743 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, unknown education).

744 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

Several respondents also reported that this question was too complicated for a simple reply and in their opinion, everyone who does not live in Israel gives distorted information. It is worth noting that 32 respondents wrote in the additional comments that they changed their minds about Israel after the 1990s. 18 out of 32 respondents seemed more critical to Israeli politics now; by contrast, the remaining respondents (14) became more closely aligned to Israel.

Only a few orthodox believers and those who claimed themselves to be classical Zionists stated that all Jews should live in Israel. Within my questionnaire, only four respondents marked this option and only two of these actually live there. Very few of the respondents from the CZSJG are convinced that all Jews should live in Israel. Either these respondents came from highly religious families, or they have never visited Israel in their lives. This is thus a marginal group of people within my research.

32 respondents would allow the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, but I take this figure cautiously since a few respondents 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."*⁷⁴⁵ *"The Palestinian state must be established to be destroyed in a regular war."*⁷⁴⁶ 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."*⁷⁴⁷

Within the analysis of the survey, I encountered three important conditions that respondents said 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 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).

According to my respondents, ethnic and national issues do not seem to be the only issues needs to be addressed. Several respondents also stated that they do not want to live in Israel due to

745 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, college degree).

746 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).

747 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, unknown education).

the strong influence of chauvinism, xenophobia, racism and strongly orthodox groups. *“I have a big problem with Israeli religious policy, which monopolized religious life and the influence of the Haredi groups is just unbearable. Young orthodox Jews refused to go to the army and defend their country. It is just egotistical madness.”*⁷⁴⁸

Another respondent articulates the need for full integration into her surroundings. She used to live in Israel for more than 25 years, but then decided to return to the Czech Republic. She did so because she could not get along with the new Russian neighbors who had come to dominate her neighborhood.⁷⁴⁹ Others said they cut their ties with Israel due to excessive nationalism and radical self-centrism.⁷⁵⁰

I also investigated the answers that commented that none of the fixed options adequately expressed their feelings and attitudes. *“I have marked almost all options, although they seem to exclude each other. I see a part of the truth in each statement. I apologize for such inconvenience in interpreting my attitude.”*⁷⁵¹ This comment proves that the social cohort examined (CZSJG) cannot be taken as homogenous group of people with a unanimous opinion on Israel, but rather as an independent human network indicating certain correlations and opinion clusters.

A variety of answers in the survey showed that Israel is perceived differently, on a scale from uncritical adoration to pure animosity. Here are two examples from different ends of the opinion spectrum. *“Israel should be something like a second home for the Jews. We should support Israel to keep it safe being the last hideout for us. If you have money, you can support Israel financially. Today, Jews can travel to Israel and enjoy the holy land in many different ways. It is both a spiritual and a cultural place, and an important business world center.”*⁷⁵²

Another respondent offered a very tough criticism of Israeli political ambitions. *“Israel was and is just a toy in the hands of the colonial powers. Unfortunately, there was nothing left of the original left-wing state, and Israel took over the imperialist thinking of its breadwinners. Jews in Europe should stay as far away from this state as possible.”*⁷⁵³

748 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

749 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

750 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

751 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

752 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

753 Anonymous respondent, additional comment, (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practice, high school education).

I can conclude that (CZSJG) respondents belong to the most sceptic social cohort I have investigated in my research. Most of them do not believe that peace initiatives would be successful during their lives. As noted previously, the State of Israel is for the CZSJG something like a gleaming jewel or shining lighthouse, which is leading them to their “patria” in spite of living in diaspora.

The Second Czechoslovak Jewish Generation: Aliyah and personal ties and bonds divided between Israel and their relatives

The ambivalent relationship to Israel as a homeland was already elaborated in the theoretical chapters dealing with transnationalism, diasporic feelings and home/homelands. Various approaches towards the question “What aspects are important for you to call a country your home” had caused many respondents to hesitate as to whether to mark either “aspects of Aliyah” and “aspects of home”. This chapter was designated based on the data from the survey and interviews, merged together to create one unified picture of the CZSJG’s attitude towards Aliyah and home. It was divided into two parts because this social cohort (CZSJG) has provided the widest range of responses out of all examined social cohorts.

The relationship between Israel and a diaspora has evolved in a number of phases over the decades. According to Eric Cohen, the majority of Holocaust survivors manifested nation-building in the countries to which they returned after the war. This attitude contradicted post-war Zionist ideology that anticipated a slow end to diasporas in Europe.⁷⁵⁴ 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.⁷⁵⁵

Table 9: Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes ⁷⁵⁶	26%	26
Yes, some of my relatives have made the return (Aliyah) to Israel. ⁷⁵⁷	21%	21

754 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. p. 124.

755 Ibid. 125.

756 9 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

757 13 halachic r., 7 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

Yes, but in the end we did not complete the return due to financial issues. ⁷⁵⁸	1%	1
Yes, but in the end we stayed in Europe due to personal reasons. ⁷⁵⁹	11%	11
No ⁷⁶⁰	21%	21
No, my family stayed in the same place as before the occupation. ⁷⁶¹	2%	2
No, but we changed our place of residence (country, city). Before the war we used to live elsewhere. ⁷⁶²	18%	18
Prefer not to say.	0%	0
	Answered	100

The question concerning *Aliyah* did not apply directly to the CZSJG but to their relatives, and especially their parents.⁷⁶³ This means that the question did not address the first category of Zionists, classified as the so-called “forty-five” and “forty-eight.” Based on the name, it is clear that the main criteria was the factor of emigration.⁷⁶⁴ The wave of emigration after 1945 was mainly led by ideological or existential reasons (which prevailed).

The empirical data gained from the survey show several interesting trends in enacting Aliyah by moving to Israel.⁷⁶⁵ 59 respondents 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 include aging family members who were not able to follow their younger descendants, and whose loss would have been unbearable for them. These extracts come from the additional comments to the survey.

“My parents wanted to leave Czechoslovakia for Israel or the USA, but we had a seriously sick aunt who wouldn’t have survived another loss. She lost almost all her family in the concentration camps and on death marches and we were the only remaining members...”⁷⁶⁶

758 1 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

759 7 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

760 8 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

761 0 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

762 7 halachic r., 7 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

763 I also used the same form of this question in the other social cohorts examined, e.g. CZTJG, LSJG, LTJG.

764 Ideological emigration involves those who wanted to participate in the building of a "national Jewish homeland" in Palestine. (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, 153-154).

765 The question had only one option to be answered and of course, participants can add some additional comments.

766 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a complicated profile, practicing, university degree).

*"I wanted to leave Czechoslovakia as I saw no future for me and my younger brother, but my father had lost more than 30 relatives during the war and he would not have survived another loss."*⁷⁶⁷

*"It's very simple - we had a very old grandmother here"*⁷⁶⁸. *Our family made the decision to leave, but in the end we stayed here (Teplice) because of my grandmother. Grandpa had two sons besides my mum, and they both emigrated to Israel in 1948. This divided the family. Later, the Communists prevented contact with relatives living in Israel. We were unable to visit each other, only writing. In 1964, the family decided not to go abroad because of our grandmother. We all stayed here.*⁷⁶⁹

Despite strong motivations, these short excerpts articulate the highly personal reasons why many Jews stayed in Czechoslovakia. Only a handful of respondents indicated in the survey that they stayed due to financial issues. The second reason had not been purely economic, thus only one respondent marked the option for "financial issues." This concerned the emotional bonds to specific property, such as a farm, factory or business. These people said that the main reason to stay was to wait for financial reparations and restitutions, and this delay subsequently prevented them from settling their immigration documents in time. *"My father was waiting to get back his large farm near Prague. It was his whole life, and he could not admit to himself that this property was lost forever. He was farming there together with his brothers and other relatives who all died in the concentration camps."*⁷⁷⁰ They did not leave for Israel due to 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 "practical" upbringing. Their parents were often exhausted to begin working anywhere else and they often discourage their children from making Aliyah. *"My father never supported my enthusiasm to leave for Israel. I heard from my mother that he had thought to earn the same amount of money in Czechoslovakia as before the war -we did not live badly. Then, in a completely non-heroic way, he paid a special supplementary*

767 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, college degree).

768 Teplice, a city in the north of the Czech Republic.

769 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, college degree).

770 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing (very lukewarm, university degree)).

pension at the Adria insurance company. He argued not to leave such money here. He naively thought to secure himself for the future, and then the monetary reform came unexpectedly and it was a last straw for my father. At the time, he said to lose his homeland forever."⁷⁷¹

Only 13 out of 26 respondents immigrated to Israel together with their parents in the 1960s, and stayed there even after the change of political regime in 1989. There are also those who emigrated and ended up in other parts of the world, but originally grew up in the Czech lands.

The survey also shows that 11 out of 21 respondents got into trouble with the Communist regime due to the emigration of their relatives. 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, and we finally managed to get permission for him. But these contacts with Israel did not pay off for me later, because I was surveyed by the State Security. My parents corresponded with my uncle, and I paid a high price as I could not finish my education in high school. These difficulties, and a certain ruthlessness on the part of my parents, have made Israel turn a little against me."*⁷⁷² This is not the only example, but it does reflect the stance on Aliyah from a different perspective.

The results of my survey also show newly appeared issues of the CZSJG concerning the current international and multicultural background of the Israeli nation. I noticed in the replies that many respondents had changed their opinion on Israel during the years after the Velvet Revolution. Those who experienced the communist regime and the period of "*Normalization*"⁷⁷³ were more sensitive to see the increasing number of Jews from Russia and Ukraine in the country.⁷⁷⁴ I have encountered this phenomenon several times within the interviews or additional comments in the survey.

"I used to have two homes, one here in Prague and the other in Israel. I know they give a lot of money, especially American women, to Israel and it is worth seeing some progress, but I was

771 K. M. Interview, Prague, 12. 8. 2019 (a man, halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

772 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, non-halachic (convert), practicing, university degree).

773 Anonymous respondent, additional comment.

774 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>.

already a little embarrassed at the time. Israel was still the same Israel. And now I was there about 15 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 belong to the generation who enjoyed them – we went through history together. I can no longer consider this place my home. Russians are just different from other nations; they turn all countries into Russia. I cannot stand it at all. When we were there, old Jerusalem is where it used to be and still had a great power. However, other places, even the guesthouse at the Dead Sea where we were, belonged to Ukrainians or Russians. Everyone was crammed in Israel and now you are completely afraid to sit in someone's chair, because it is all dirty and you have to put your towel to cover it.”⁷⁷⁵

You can observe in this extract the certain xenophobic and intolerant attitude toward different nations which settled in Israel in the last few decades. I have decided to include this excerpt to illustrate that new Israeli citizens can be a problem for some of the Jews in diaspora. I cannot of course apply this example to the entire sample of the 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 I was previously willing to admit.

The Second Czechoslovak Jewish Generation “What is my home?” Reflections on the ambivalent relationship towards various places of living

The question in my survey: “What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?” reflected several preceding studies that dealt with the issue of home and homeland, intentions to return, and the desire to be Israeli.⁷⁷⁶ Based on the data collected from the survey and interviews,

⁷⁷⁵ Anonymous respondent, additional comment (a woman, halachic Jew, partly practicing, high school degree).

⁷⁷⁶ 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*

I have concluded that the children of Holocaust survivors (CZSJG) consider Israel to be a symbolic certainty rather than a warmly welcoming homeland. Simon Herman, in his older, but in my opinion still valid work, judges that *“the accuracy and sophistication of their impressions are affected by familiarity with the place—whether they are coming for the first time or are repeat visitors, whether they stay in tourist havens or venture into religious places. They often ask a hypothetical situation: if they could be ‘born again’ would they choose to be Israeli?”*⁷⁷⁷

In the case of CZSJG, it is rather difficult to answer, as there were a lot of emigrants in the social cohort I examined, but generally I can judge that the bonds to Czechoslovakia as a country of birth are relatively strong, in most cases.

The weighted average in table 10 shows that the CZSJG ranked the cultural and intellectual proximity of their environment to be highly important 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. Some of them are afraid of different nationalities and ethnicities living together in a very small place. This can be seen from the excerpt below: *“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. That 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 realize that. Politicians are aware of this, but others are not. If politicians do not solve this, it will turn out badly.”*⁷⁷⁸

Table 10: What aspects are important to you when considering a home country?

Answer Choices	Total	Weighted Average

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.

⁷⁷⁷ Simon Herman asked respondents in his work as follows: *“If you were to be born all over again, would you wish to be a Jew?”* Another question was *“If you were to be born all over again, would you wish to be an Israeli?”* Respondents could answer ‘yes’, ‘it makes no difference to me’, or ‘no’ (HERMAN, Simon. American Jewish students in Israel: A social psychological study in cross-cultural education. *Jewish Social Studies*. [online]. 1962, **24**(1), p. 15 [Accessed 2021-01-06]. Available from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4465896>).

⁷⁷⁸ Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

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
Employment and business opportunities	100	3,09
Internal and external security	97	3,51
	Answered	100

Different aspects in table 10 show a weighted average of respondents who indicated the importance on a scale from 0 to 5. As you can see, the CZSJG are highly sensitive to internal and external security out of all the social cohorts examined.⁷⁷⁹ They are not only scared of terrorism, but some Jews are also afraid of social insecurity. *“I always work 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.”*⁷⁸⁰

Moreover, the CZSJG also appreciated the cultural and intellectual proximity of their surroundings, although some respondents also indicated the economic aspects of life in Israel. *“I can compare it to other places in Europe. I have relatives in various European and overseas countries. Not in Israel, but I go there and I know how people live there. How economically crazy it is, and as for other things, like various cultural events, so I would not get used to it there. I would miss our traditional Czech humor. Jewish humor is not bad, but ours is far more timeless and there are people here in Plzeň that I could not be without.”*⁷⁸¹

Some respondents also complained about the strict and hostile religious environment in Israel. They had either personal or vicarious experiences, but based on the comments there are respondents who had had to face criticism from local orthodox communities. *“Keeping all traditions in the correct way seems 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*

⁷⁷⁹ You can compare the figures to other results from tables 8, 12, 16.

⁷⁸⁰ P. B. Interview, Prague, 15. 6. 2017. (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

⁷⁸¹ Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

letters full of regret. He was completely isolated as he did not follow all the religious regulations.”⁷⁸²

The climate in Israel was not as important as external or internal security. There were a few respondents who liked visiting Israel for a while, but could not imagine living there forever due to hot weather: *“I cannot live there, I hate dust and sand, there is no green grass, only endless desert.*”⁷⁸³

Based on the comments in the survey and interviews, the data shows that the responses were quite diverse. The collapse of communism at the end of 1989 enabled forced emigrants to go back to Czechoslovakia, but this creates what Linzi Manicom calls the “dilemma of return.”⁷⁸⁴ Alena Heitlinger broadened her theory to apply to exiles and emigrants who had to face unprecedented challenges. People had to get used to a new way of life and had to adapt to new intellectual requirements (master a foreign language.). They had to deal emotionally with both the hostile policies of their home country and the policies of the new state in which they wanted to live. This newly formed relationship was undergoing constant change, especially after the Velvet Revolution, which before emigration faced the need to deal with the democratic project after the Velvet Revolution.⁷⁸⁵

Heitlinger described the dilemma of returnees 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.*”⁷⁸⁶

Czechoslovak Third Jewish Generation: Attitude towards Israel

This chapter presents several extracts from interviews with the CZTJG and the results of the survey. A questionnaire was distributed among respondents living in the Czech lands and I

782 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, college degree).

783 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, high school education).

784 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>.

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

786 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>.

received 18 questionnaires from people who are currently living abroad. The results were generated based on data collected from 104 survey participants and 15 interview respondents. I used the same research procedure as the previous social cohort.

INTERVIEWS

The CTJG is very difficult to elucidate due to the lack of research in the Czech Republic and Luxembourg that would thoroughly define or investigate this social cohort. I think that the documentarist Martin Šmok came up with a good summary when he characterized his generation from 1965 to the 1980s as follows: “*We assembled in the dark while talking about our Jewish identity, and Israel was a distant land hidden in the shadows. As the first post-war generation we were confused as well fascinated by the emergence of orthodox converts. 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, Stalinism, or the blossoming land of the kibbutz. We wanted neither radical assimilation wished by communists and President Edvard Beneš, nor emigration to Israel. We were either ashamed of our Jewishness or we showed our uniqueness ostentatiously.*”⁷⁸⁷ His statement introduced something unspoken – fear especially felt by parents who were largely disillusioned after August “68”. This atmosphere of ignorance lasted until the Arthur Radvaňský and Michaela Vidláková took the lead in the youth movement and began to organize short Jewish camps and trips. The change did not occur until the arrival of Artur Radvaňský and his election to the PJRC. After joining, he took over the leadership of the then Jewish youth, especially younger children.

According to Alena Heitlinger, the children met regularly every fortnight and went on various trips and excursions.⁷⁸⁸ Thanks to his enthusiasm and motivation, children from Jewish families became interested again in Jewish culture, Judaism and, last but not least, political events in Israel. The situation around Israel was also interesting for a small circle of young Jews under the age of 30, who, despite the ban on meeting in the village, tried to read samizdat literature,

787 ŠMOK Martin. Bílá místa. *Maskil* [online]. 2001, (5762) [Accessed 2020-04-10]. Available from: <https://www.maskil.cz/13/7.htm>.

788 HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 118-119.

discuss housing seminars and meet Western visitors⁷⁸⁹ who sometimes had interesting information about politics in Israel. As some narrators recall, information about the war in the Middle East was important to their parents, who also tried to keep up to date.

One of the narrators remembered his anxiety for Israeli-Palestinian wars when he saw how much his parents were struck by the conflict. *“My parents experienced two Israeli wars very intensely - the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War, but it 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. My uncle and aunt were in the army, and that was something fascinating to know that even women are in military service.”*⁷⁹⁰

On the other hand, another narrator talked about unintentional ignorance among the CZTJG. *“We learned nothing about Israel at the Jewish Religious Community of Prague in the 1970s. I knew it was taboo. My older friends, whom I rarely met in the village at the end of the ‘60s, 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”*⁷⁹¹. *That is where my Judaism began, but my approach is far more transnational my parents’ and grandparents’. I speak several languages and my six children live all over the world and I do not have one house...”*

There was one thing that was common for most of my respondents (CZTJG), most respondents had relatives or friends in Israel and that was their main connection with this land. During our conversation, 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.”*⁷⁹² Some managed to cross the borders with some cultural associations such as sports clubs or choirs and ended up in

789 HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the shadows of the Holocaust & communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 119-120.

790 K. N. Interview, Liberec, 20. 7. 2018. (a man, unknown denomination, practicing, university degree).

791 “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 ; PRENTISS, Craig R. *Religion and the creation of race and ethnicity: an introduction*. New York: New York Press, 2003).

792 V. N. Interview, Prague, 10. 8. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

Israel. Although this woman eventually returned to Czechoslovakia, she had been successful in her illegal performances in Israel.

*"I got to Israel with a mixed choir as part of our cultural association. I do know why I was picked up; it was because I was an "untrusted person" as I spoke Hebrew and had Jewish ancestors. Well, I have no idea how it happened, but in the end, I stayed in Israel until the revolution."*⁷⁹³

This narrator managed to retain her way of living and religion, but three other witnesses were not content with the way the Israeli society accepted them. This is not an issue affecting only Czechoslovak Jews but also other Jewish groups from other parts of the world which have faced the expanding Israeli nationalism and orthodoxy since the 1970s.⁷⁹⁴ David Taras, a sociologist described this phenomenon in detail in his comparative study in which he compared Canadian and American Jews and their attitudes and ethnic group lobbying towards Israel. He concluded that Canadian Jews had higher prospects to get integrated into Israel since they feel to be more Jewish than Canadians, but American Jews struggled with the same issue as Czech and Slovak Jews who came to Israel because they felt more American than Jewish.⁷⁹⁵

The Israeli atmosphere was not convenient for a few respondents who reflected on the situation as follows: *"I never got used to the local religion and my initial enthusiasm slowly waned. I finally returned five years ago, but my children remained to study in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. I'm constantly worried about them."*⁷⁹⁶ *"I have a very ambivalent relationship with Israel, I go there to see my friends every year, but I have noticed how the place has been slowly deteriorating."*⁷⁹⁷

On the other hand, four witnesses positively described Israel. *"...I have felt confident and safe there, more than anywhere else. I grew up in difficult times of "Normalization" and when I managed to travel to visit my aunt in Israel in the early 1980s, well, I was happy to stay there."*⁷⁹⁸

793 T. M. Interview, Prague, 12. 9. 2018. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

794 Read more: (VAGO, Raphael. Israel-Diaspora Relations: Mutual Images, Expectations, Frustrations. *Romanian Journal of Society and Politics* [online]. 2013, 8(1), p.79-90 [Accessed. 2020-05-05]. Available from: <http://rjsp.politice.ro/june2013>. ; TARAS, David and Morton WEINFELD, 1990. Continuity and Criticism: North American Jews and Israel. *International Journal*. 1990, 45(3), p. 661-684.

795 TARAS, David and Morton WEINFELD. Continuity and Criticism: North American Jews and Israel. *International Journal*. 1990, 45(3), p. 661-684.

796 M. Š. Interview, Prague, 14. 10. 2019. (a woman, a convert, partly practicing, university degree).

797 T. K. Interview, Brno, 24. 8. 2018. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

798 M. W. Interview, Plzeň, 11. 10. 2018. (a woman, a convert, practicing, university degree).

One of my narrators also had conflicting and painful memories of Israel. *“Israel is a great place to live, but when the missiles fell on us and I had to hide in a bunker next door, I got a heart attack in the end. Unfortunately, I lost a family member who was a soldier in Israel. My son died on patrol, he was hit by a stone. For incomprehensible reasons, I decided to move to Prague to try and piece together what had happened. [...] However, I still do not know why.”*⁷⁹⁹

The last example summarizes in some way the special and ambivalent relationship of the CZTJG to Israel. It is important to mention that most narrators returned from Israel and decided to live in the Czech Republic.⁸⁰⁰ This, of course, affects the overall view of this country, which is probably different from the CZTJG who decided to stay in Israel.

SURVEY

Based on the survey’s results I can deduce several conclusions. Firstly, many Jews from the CZTJG were curious, and some craved knowledge of their history. They wanted to learn more about the “forbidden” country but did not know how to. Secondly, Israel was an inaccessible land for most Jews until the Velvet Revolution, but once the iron curtain fell nearly all Jews born during Husak’s era visited this country. Only 8 respondents had not visited Israel by the end of the year 2019. Many Jews also got an opportunity to study or work in Israel for some time.

The open borders gave them and their parents a great variety of reasons to visit the country. Some went there to engage in the orthodox giyur, the religious conversion of non-halachic Jews. Thirdly, the majority of CZTJG have visited Israel but rarely met with relatives and friends who had emigrated there in the 1948s even though most of the information about the country came from them.

As shown in table 11, it is clear that nearly all research participants have visited Israel at least once. Like the CZSJG, there is no considerable gap 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 counterparts.

Table 11: Have you ever visited Israel?

Answer Choices	Responses

799 L. G. Interview, Prague, 26. 8. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

800 The last of them came back to the Czech Republic in 2011.

Yes	92%	92
No	8%	8
	Answered	100

As for the attitude towards Israel, 65 respondents out of 100 identified with the fate of Israeli inhabitants. The survey data correspond with the figures obtained from the CZSJG (75 respondents). In other words, we can interpret these figures in many ways, and one possible interpretation is that CZTJG is affected by the ongoing conflicts in the Middle East and terrorist attacks, but they do not completely agree with Israeli politics. Additional comments showed that the CZTJG has deeper roots within Israel than CZSJG, and its adherents concentrate far more on particular people than on the state itself. This attitude might be due to multiple visits that have created strong ties with locals.

Table 12: Attitude towards Israel

Answer Choices	Responses	
I identify with the fate of people living in Israel. ⁸⁰¹	65%	65
I have some objections to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states. ⁸⁰²	37%	37
I agree with Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states ⁸⁰³	55%	55
I agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. ⁸⁰⁴	28%	28
I disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians ⁸⁰⁵	35%	35
I think that all Jews should live in Israel. ⁸⁰⁶	7%	7
I support the creation of an independent Palestinian state. ⁸⁰⁷	42%	42
I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state. ⁸⁰⁸	8%	8
I do not have any special relationship with Israel. ⁸⁰⁹	3%	3
Other opinions (respondents who added some comments.) ⁸¹⁰		23
	Answered	(303)100

801 30 halachic r., 27 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

802 10 halachic r., 14 non-halachic r., 13 converts.

803 22 halachic r., 20 non-halachic r., 13 converts.

804 15 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

805 12 halachic r., 17 non-halachic r., 6 converts.

806 7 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

807 18 halachic r., 16 non-halachic, 8 converts .

808 6 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

809 1 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

810 8 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 11 converts.

The question addressing Israeli foreign policy towards Palestinians and neighboring countries also shows a distinction between the two post-war generations (CZSJG and CZTJG). The majority of the CZSJG supports the 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 relationship between CZSJG and Israel.

On the contrary, the CZTJG is more critical of Israeli political leadership than the preceding generation. Some have serious objections to the political acts toward Palestinians. Their discourse indicates a higher degree of awareness of the Israeli government. They are better acquainted with the agendas of Israeli political parties and know their representatives. They clearly distinguish the period before the Velvet Revolution and after 1990. They did not only comment on politics, but also on ethnic incidents that occurred in the last decades. The CZTJG generally considers Israeli foreign policy acceptable, but they are frustrated with the government's corruption scandals. In the survey, the statement "I agree with the Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states." had many additional remarks, expanding on issues and objections against Israel's relationship with neighboring countries. *"Israeli politicians are corrupted as well as politicians in the Czech Republic. There is even worse because it is not a secular country."*⁸¹¹

A substantial number of respondents lean towards the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, fully secured, and guaranteed by international military alliances. Only a handful of respondents (8) are strictly against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state, and a few respondents (3) do not have any special relationship with Israel. According to the accumulated datasets from both post-war 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.

In terms of the State of Israel, it can be seen that 51 respondents explained their choice by additional comments ranging from very critical to very positive. Overall, women tend to slightly outnumber men, with an average of 63 % and 47 % for men. Based on the figures, women seem

811 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, unknown denomination, lukewarm practice, unknown education).

more critical towards the political regime⁸¹² in Israel than men and they are also more pro-Palestinian than their male counterparts.⁸¹³ However, I have to take into account that the accumulated datasets can overlap since some respondents have some little objections towards the Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring countries, but they also agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. *“I think that the real democracy of Israel as a religious state are incompatible. There will always be a fight because 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.”*⁸¹⁴

There were no women in the group of eight respondents which was strictly against the foundation of the independent Palestinian country. It is also important to mention that the perception of Israel was largely shaped by the Velvet Revolution in the 1990s. Like the previous generation, the CZTJG began to perceive Israel in different contexts, both positively and negatively.

Czechoslovak Third Jewish Generation and their sense of home

This chapter also reflects on two questions regarding the approach towards home and Aliyah often undergone by relatives. To the question - “Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948? - most of the CZTJG answered “yes” but only a handful of them have truly realized this movement.

Table 13: Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes ⁸¹⁵	26%	26
Yes, some of my relatives have made the return (Aliyah) to Israel. ⁸¹⁶	23%	23
Yes, but in the end, we did not complete the return due to financial issues. ⁸¹⁷	1%	1

812 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.

813 29 out of 42 responses in favor of the creation of an independent Palestinian state were marked by women.

814 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practice, high school education).

815 11 halachic r., 10 non-halachic, 5 converts.

816 6 halachic r., 11 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

817 1 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

Yes, but in the end, we stayed in Europe due to personal reasons. ⁸¹⁸	13%	13
No ⁸¹⁹	26%	26
No, my family stayed in the same place as before the occupation. ⁸²⁰	8%	8
No, but we changed our place of residence (country, city). Before the war, we used to live elsewhere. ⁸²¹	3%	3
Prefer not to say.	0%	0
	Answered	100

Only 7 out of 26 respondents reported “I made Aliyah” and “I do not plan to return as I found my roots and religious background in Israel.” Eric Cohen 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.*”⁸²² The issue of this interpretation is that has not been implied on the CZTJG. Regarding this case, it is, therefore, necessary to broaden the meaning of this term. Based on the period, the definition can be the combination of emigration (economic reasons) and ideological aspects of Aliyah.⁸²³

My research also shows that the CZTJG does not perceive *Aliyah* in the same way their predecessors did. They see Israel as a life challenge, a religious and cultural place developing their identities, rather than a hideout or a last resting place. The dataset from the survey proves 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 attitude is 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*

818 4 halachic r., 7 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

819 8 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

820 2 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

821 1 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

822 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.

823 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).

examination. Jewish isolation and insulation would need to be reassessed.”⁸²⁴ In his opinion, the new Jewish vision has to be fulfilled with new progressive content.

Some of the CZTJG were able travel to Israel in the 1980s. They travelled to Israel after the Velvet revolution to study or work, but only a handful (9) of research participants decided to remain in Israel. This social cohort visits Israel very frequently and in many cases, research participants do not have problems communicating in Hebrew. Visiting Israel feels like an obligation for most of my respondents since some of them spent an important part of their lives there. Those who marked the option “No” in the survey 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.

Nevertheless, some added stories of their first visit to Israel; others gave explanations on why their parents refused to leave Czechoslovakia before the period of Normalization. When asking about the emigration 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 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 wars. Dad had many friends in Israel, left-leaning people sending him various literature. [...] Eventually, he went to Israel by himself to see his grandfather and never came back. He got married, had two children there, and became a widow sometime in the late 1970s. He went to Switzerland in the early 1980s to meet a widow from England, and when they both retired, they got married and moved to England, where he is currently living with this lady. My parents were always very left-wing and had a very disparate relationship with Israel.”⁸²⁵ This excerpt shows the turbulent and stirred 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.

824 WETTSTEIN, Howard. *Diasporas and exiles: varieties of Jewish identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. p. 228.

825 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, unknown education).

There were also quite a few 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.”*⁸²⁶

However, there were a lot of Jewish parents who tried not to provoke the vicious communist authorities. *“Of course, the development after the occupation in 1968 was different for all of us. My parents, though communists, were very afraid of the Russians that were coming into the country. After 1948, they mainly wanted to adapt and did not stand out. They have always been loyal to this state that tolerated them and allowed them to live and set up families, and make a living for which they have always been grateful. All in all, they consciously accepted schizophrenic antizionist propaganda against Israel.”*⁸²⁷ This excerpt is a piece of clear evidence demonstrating the riven attitudes within Jewish families and their indelible influence on their descendants.

Respondents also stated that employment and business opportunities are far more important to them as compared 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 kashrut.”*⁸²⁸

Table 14 indicates that the most important aspect for the CZTJG was cultural and intellectual proximity, which corresponds with the preceded examined cohort (CZSJG). It is worth noting that the mentality of most of the population also plays a significant role within factors defining home or homeland for the CZTJG. This option was critically discussed during the interviews with narrators who articulated their fear of being culturally accepted. An interesting trend is that internal and external security is losing its importance.

Table 14: What aspects are important to you when considering a home country?

Answer Choices	Total	Weighted Average
Cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment	85	4,17
Climate	87	2,21

826 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, lukewarm practice, high school education).

827 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, lukewarm practice, high school education).

828 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, unknown education).

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

It is difficult to summarize or unify the perceptions of this cohort, but I will try to use the following example which appropriately reflects the common perceptions among the respondents.

*“...Over the years, I have adopted the ideology 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 programs of other religious groups. I slowly began feeling unwelcome. Besides, I did not want to approve of everything that came from the Israeli government since I realized that Jews are not the only nation in the State of Israel.”*⁸²⁹ As aforementioned over the years, Israel has attracted several Jews from the diaspora searching for a new home. Hila Zaban, a sociologist reflects 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 anchor in a community of compatriots sharing similar culture, background, ideology, and lifestyle or not. Her study also shows the strengths and weaknesses of social bubbles, which are too restrictive for many Jewish settlers in Israel even though these allow immigrants to find support in tackling immigration difficulties. While migrants gain a sense of belonging in their new location, their prospects are still affected and burdened by their social bubbles, and Zaban concludes that they cannot be considered fully integrated individuals of Israeli society.⁸³⁰

829 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

830 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.

Luxembourg Second Jewish Generation: Attitude towards Israel

Based on several repetitive examples we can conclude that the LSJG took an ambiguous stance to the State of Israel and their sympathies were more capricious than in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovak Jews perceived Israel as forbidden fruit and the forbidden fruit tastes the sweetest. The official approach was hostile, and for many young people Israel represented a forbidden and mysterious paradise. They might have been able to think of Israel more critically, but they did not have access to verified information. They could only read and rely on redacted information as the censorship did not let allow any objective reports. Communists among the Jewish officials had to strictly follow communist discipline and parents were too afraid to tell their descendants about the emigration of their relatives. Luxembourgish Jews could pay a visit to their friends and relatives in Israel and they had access to Israeli newspapers which allowed them to critically compare and examine the actual situation. Like their parents, LSJG kept a certain internal distance, as there were parishioners within the community who did not share pro-Israeli attitudes and observed the new state with visible suspicion.

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15 witnessed (6 males and 9 females) from LSJG were asked the same questions as to their Czechoslovak counterparts. The questions were focused on Israel and how the LSJG relates to this country. Four of my respondents (LSJG) remembered the national and patriotic speeches given by their relatives who made Aliya and successfully settled down in Israel. *“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 be happening in Israel. I believe in making significant negotiations with Palestinians leading to lasting peace. It is possible, there are dozens of nations surrounded by unfriendly neighbors who respect each other.”*⁸³¹

According to Yotam Hotam a historian, similar opinions might build barriers of misunderstanding between the European diaspora and Israeli Jews. He described in his work the influential philosophical form developed by Avraham Yitshak Ha-Cohen Kook. *“Kook’s*

831 K. T. Interview, Luxembourg. 5. 5. 2019. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

motivations were purely based on Jewish law and Biblical prophecy. He used the intellectual foundation of modern thoughts referring to the 'rupture' of the 'I' that stands at the center of the cultural crisis. Kook's involvement with this pattern of thought appears in the composite relationship between two elements: 'will' and 'mind.'"⁸³² The concept of rejecting Jews in the diaspora is a very old but fast-transforming entity as the whole Zionism. According to Kook's interpretation, the diasporic Jew becomes an imperfect entity because of the disconnection from the Israeli territorial framework. Based on this interpretation of Zionism, Jews in the diaspora have already completed their past obligations and therefore the diaspora concept can now be rejected to facilitate their return to the Middle East.⁸³³

In addition to what I call "patriotic pressure," 3 out of 15 respondents also emphasized the role of capitalism in forming their relationship with Israel. They criticized neoliberal capitalism which, in their opinion, defeated political socialism in Israel. The excerpt below illustrates this. *"Our generation of today's 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 the time because it was closely linked to religion and religious values dampened it. But people who grew up at the time in other places 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."*⁸³⁴

This attitude has been reflected in several works⁸³⁵ and in my opinion, it is interesting to compare this stigma with the publication of Jerry Muller who described Jewish radical anticapitalism in his book *Capitalism and the Jews*.⁸³⁶ Muller asserts that Jewish intellectuals together with high educated classes in western and central Europe were disappointed with the

832 HOTAM, Yotam. *Modern Gnosis and Zionism : The Crisis of Culture, Life Philosophy and Jewish National Thought*. London: Routledge , 2013. p. 184.

833 Ibid. p. 184-185.

834 X. X. Interview. Luxembourg, 15. 8. 2018. (a woman, a halachic Jew, non-practicing, university degree).

835 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).

836 MULLER, Jerry. *Capitalism and the Jews*. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2010.

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).⁸³⁷

Regardless of these statements, the witnesses of the LSJG similarly reflected Israel as their Czechoslovak counterparts as shown in the following abstract. *“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 the security of my life. My family is equally scattered in Europe. The older son is studying abroad and the younger son wants to do biochemistry in Luxembourg. But 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.”*⁸³⁸

Based on the data collected from the interviews⁸³⁹, I can conclude that concerns about radical Islam are very present among members of the LSJG. When I asked the narrators about their stance towards Islam, they told me mockingly: *“Well, we knew nothing about this new threat. People will not defend the Jews as we expected that is why we have our bags packed.”*⁸⁴⁰ The fear of radical Islam becomes a matter of passionate debate at all levels of society. There is no space to articulate all the different views on Islam in Europe, but in general, academic communities are highly divided in their views of this issue. Some scholars make the effort to defend Islamic communities in Europe and their way of life,⁸⁴¹ but other scholars and security experts draw

837 Ibid. p. 172-185.

838 J. H. Interview. Luxembourg, 13. 5. 2018. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

839 The problem with radical Islam was at least partly mentioned by 12 out of 15 interviewees.

840 T. K. Interview. Luxembourg, 19. 8. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

841 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 [cit. 2020-9-2]. Available from: doi:10.1080/13602000802303144

attention to the growing risk of radical Islam in Europe.⁸⁴² 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 focus mainly on the largest Muslim communities in the diaspora, specifically the USA, Great Britain, Canada and the African diaspora.⁸⁴³ Contrary to warning against radical Islam in Europe, the respected Pew Research Center conducted the surveys showing 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 and Italy.⁸⁴⁴

From Jewish perspective, I can submit the article written by Jeffrey Goldberg reflects these concerns of the Jewish diaspora in Western Europe in his essay: *“We should not leave,” he said, “but maybe for our children or grandchildren there will be no choice. [...] France’s 475,000 Jews represent less than 1 percent of the country’s population. Yet last year, according to the French Interior Ministry, 51 percent of all racist attacks targeted Jews. The statistics in other countries, including Great Britain, are similarly dismal. Jews in Europe were murdered, raped, beaten, stalked, chased, harassed, spat on, and insulted for being Jewish. Sale Juif—“dirty Jew”—rang in the streets, as did “Death to the Jews,” and “Jews to the gas.”*⁸⁴⁵

SURVEY

It is important to note that the anonymous survey conducted within the Jewish Community in Luxembourg in 2018-2019 was the first academic research of its type. As such there were no datasets to perform a comparative analysis at that time.

Table 15: Have you ever visited Israel?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	89%	89

842 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>.

843 ZIMMERMANN, Doron and William ROSENAU, ed. *The Radicalization of Diasporas and Terrorism*. Zurich: Center for Security Studies, 2009.

844 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/>.

845 GOLDBERG, Jeffrey. Is it time for the Jews to leave Europe? *The Atlantic*. 2015, **3**, p. 64.

No	11%	11
	Answered	100

Regardless of the different political and philosophical currents flooding the minds of the LSJG, I can analyze several findings from the survey. Based on the figures given by the LSJG respondents, I can state that most of them (89 respondents) visited Israel at least once and more than 45 out of 89 respondents travel to Israel frequently. Only a few respondents marked that they have never visited Israel, but immediately explained that it was due to their poor health. I have not encountered respondents who were against the idea of the State of Israel and would avoid visiting this country.

On this aspect, I have to also emphasize that my dataset does not correspond with the outcomes published by David Mittelberg who conducted a similar research among young American Jews in 1994. He came up with this conclusion: *“The great majority of core Jews have never been to Israel, although those born Jewish and with religious affiliations are more likely than others to have paid a visit: 69 percent of the born-Jewish respondents with religious affiliation have never gone to Israel, as compared to 89 percent of secular Jews and Jews by choice. [...] Older respondents are more likely to have visited Israel than younger ones. [...] Respondents with a high level of Jewish education have a greater tendency to visit Israel than others.”*⁸⁴⁶ He investigated together all social cohorts regardless of age and the provided results showed that younger American Jews used to visit Israel less frequently than their older adherents. None of my cohorts brings similar figures. My research shows that the younger generation the greater effort to visit Israel.

No matter how much the LSJG identify themselves with the fate of people living in Israel, they announced their unwillingness to take roots there. The LSJG are a group of people who are used to moving. Most of them spend a vital part of their lives out of Luxembourg. Some came to Luxembourg in the 1960s⁸⁴⁷, others graduated abroad and continuously absorbed distinct

⁸⁴⁶ MITTELBERG, David. *The Israel visit and Jewish identification*. New York: American Jewish Committee, 1994. p. 2-3.

⁸⁴⁷ 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).

approaches to Israel.⁸⁴⁸ 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 table 16 because 100 respondents marked 405 options which sometimes have opposite connotations and meanings. Several respondents also reported that this question was too complicated for a simple reply and in their opinion, everyone who does not live in Israel gives distorted information.

Nevertheless, table 16 allows me to pursue several trends which can be identified. Firstly, the LSJG unlike their Czechoslovak counterparts (CZSJG) were able to differentiate between individual conflicts, historical events, and political acts. Secondly, they support the creation of an independent Palestinian state because more than half of them commented that the hope from the 90s had slowly disappeared. Thirdly, they do not fully identify with the fate of Israel but are rather concerned about the people living there.⁸⁴⁹ They felt remotely affected by all the tragic incidents caused by suicide bombings or missiles. *“When I see the news from Israel, I am glad to stay at the place where I am now. I know a few relatives who have children there, I couldn't stand the fear of being killed by some terrorists. [...] I don't know if I'll ever go to Israel again.”*⁸⁵⁰

Table 16: Attitude towards Israel

Answer Choices	Responses	
I identify with the fate of people living in Israel. ⁸⁵¹	68%	68
I have some objections to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring state. ⁸⁵²	65%	65
I agree with Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states. ⁸⁵³	35%	35
I agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. ⁸⁵⁴	48%	48
I disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians ⁸⁵⁵	52%	52
I think that all Jews should live in Israel. ⁸⁵⁶	8%	8
I support the creation of an independent Palestinian state. ⁸⁵⁷	64%	64

848 I made this conclusion on the additional comments attached to the survey.

849 They are also worried about non-Jewish people living in Israel.

850 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

851 43 halachic r., 16 halachic 9 converts.

852 29 halachic r., 22 non-halachic r., 14 converts .

853 15 halachic r., 13 halachic r., 7 converts.

854 21 halachic r., 15 non-halachic r., 12 converts.

855 25 halachic r., 17 non-halachic r., 10 converts.

856 6 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

857 28 halachic r., 22 non-halachic r., 14 converts.

I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state. ⁸⁵⁸	36%	36
I do not have any special relationship with Israel. ⁸⁵⁹	4%	4
Other (please specify) ⁸⁶⁰	25%	25
	Respondents	(405) 100

Many LSJG respondents confirmed that liberal Western Jews in Luxembourg allowed them to maintain a critical stance on the contemporary political situation in the Middle East. *“We can freely read everything what 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 have thought of Israel.”*⁸⁶¹

Some respondents of the LSJG radically changed their opinion after the airstrikes in Gaza that were followed by the tough security measures and harsh counter strikes. However, this change did not primarily concern Israeli citizens. According to additional comments, some LSJG is fearful of the pacific policies⁸⁶² adopted by many democratic countries and international organizations (especially the EU) in the last decades. Their concerns correspond with the interpretations elaborated by Joseph Carmi in the book, *The War of Western Europe against Israel*.⁸⁶³ This fact-filled guide is for scholars and the public to explore the increasing antisemitism across Europe, and the globe. Users should consider that it is a very subjective and critical view but it reflects the opinions of some respondents. It is based on the historical context and illustrates the underlying animosity in the policies of Western Europe. *“...in Tel Aviv, where an Arab suicide bomber ignited his belt packed with deadly explosives, nails, and screws and killed nearly thirty teenagers. Quite coincidentally, German Foreign Minister Yoshka Fisher was a guest in a nearby (city) and had the privilege of witnessing the destruction, death, and maiming. Yet even this traumatic event did*

858 10 halachic r., 9 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

859 4 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

860 12 halachic r., 6 non-halachic r., 7 converts.

861 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

862 Pacific policy (Appeasement policy) is a way of policy to avoid open conflict 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>).

863 CARMI, Joseph. *The War of Western Europe against Israel*. Jerusalem: Devora, 2003.

not hinder Western European Countries, including Germany, from condemning Israel.”⁸⁶⁴ Nevertheless, some members of the LSJG appreciate Israel’s intercultural environment. “*Every time I come to Jerusalem, I am fascinated by the cultural and religious diversity. This city is incredible that it can hold so many nations together. [...] The culture created motivated me to live in Israel with my children for several years.*”⁸⁶⁵

However, this liberal approach also applies to all respondents. Those who marked the option indicating that all Jews should live in Israel are also against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state.⁸⁶⁶ This correlation appears mostly among several orthodox believers and in my opinion, it is an interesting trend partially reflected in a study by Herbert Kelman.⁸⁶⁷ His work reports on the negative aspects of identity elements embodied in Jewish fundamental religious concepts with the thesis that some orthodox Jews are against the current Zionist concept of the state,⁸⁶⁸ but the Palestinian state threatens this group of people who often view themselves as victims.

Luxembourg Second Jewish Generation (LSJG): Aliyah and the concept of home/homeland

Although the LSJG is used to engaging with various nations, ethnicities, and religious customs, only a minority of the respondents consider “connection to Israel” a component of their Jewish home identity. Michal Karp reflected this belief in one edition of the *Kadima* – a journal for Jewish Luxembourg youth. In his opinion, the Jews in Luxembourg believes that a successful Aliyah enables them to dispose of their identity problems experienced in the diaspora. He said that they always had the strength to handle all issues concerning their Jewishness and relationship with home and Israel.⁸⁶⁹

864 Ibid. p. 11.

865 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

866 I can also observe this tendency within the CZSJG, but it is not as obvious as in this case.

867 KELMAN, Herbert. The interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian national identities: the role of the other in existential conflicts. *Journal of Social Issues*. 1999, **55**(3), p. 581-600.

868 The main opponents of Zionism among ultra-Orthodox Jews are mainly members of the Hasid dynasty of Satmar. It is also the umbrella organization of the ultra-Orthodox Jewish anti-Zionist organizations ha-Ed ha-charedit, based in Jerusalem and some smaller Hasidic dynasties. The most radical Jewish anti-Zionist group is Neturej Karta, a splinter group from the Agudat Jisra'el movement grouping several thousand members. Its members regularly hold demonstrations for the abolition of Israel and they demand the establishment of a Palestinian-Arabian state in Israel where Jews would live as a religious minority. (KELMAN, Herbert. The interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian national identities: the role of the other in existential conflicts. *Journal of Social Issues*. 1999, **55**(3), p. 584-585).

869 KARP, Michel. Débat sous tension. *Kadima* . 1, 1983, p. 5.

The survey shows that LSJG sees their home as where they are currently living in Luxembourg. In their opinion, the less extreme step as compared to moving to Israel as a citizen is to return as a tourist, perhaps for a longer period, or for many short trips, each of which simultaneously reflects and impacts one's relationship to Israel.

The LSJG affiliated with the Jewish community professes a strong emotional connection with Israel and with world Jewry. Many have been to Israel and often envision future visits. At home, they are involved in formal and informal educational settings which encourage a sense of connection to Israel and the Jewish People. At the same time, the connection to Israel is not the foundation of identity for most: that lies in the family and in connection to the religion and culture as these are manifested closer to home.

Table 17: Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes ⁸⁷⁰	26%	26
Yes, some of my relatives have made the return (Aliyah) to Israel. ⁸⁷¹	12%	12
Yes, but in the end, we did not complete the return due to financial issues. ⁸⁷²	9%	9
Yes, but in the end, we stayed in Europe due to personal reasons. ⁸⁷³	15%	15
No ⁸⁷⁴	23%	23
No, my family stayed in the same place as before the occupation. ⁸⁷⁵	1%	1
No, but we changed our place of residence (country, city). Before the war, we used to live elsewhere. ⁸⁷⁶	14%	14
Prefer not to say.	0%	0
	Answered	100

Table 17 contains data similar to the social cohort of Czechoslovak Jews (CZSJG). We can easily identify that 62 respondents have considered making Aliyah, but eventually decided to stay in

870 14 halachic r., 11 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

871 8 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

872 4 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

873 7 halachic r., 6 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

874 12 halachic r., 6 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

875 0 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

876 10 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

Europe, mostly because of personal issues, and it is most certainly impossible to generalize all their reasons.

At first sight, there is a clear correlation between the provided figures and variables, especially between those indicating the strength of potential motivation to realize Aliyah. It is rather complicated to unify individual reasons to create a coherent social behavior pattern. Opinions on the Aliyah and home are tremendously different, but I noticed a common link containing a notion of transnationalism in between the ductile and the fluid concept of the diaspora. Here is one of the examples:

*"I have no war victims in my family though my grandparents were Jews. My mother married an Israeli after the war and then lived in Israel for a few years. In the meantime, I went to study in the USA, where I began to incline towards Judaism. Then I decided to visit my mother in Israel. I decided to stay there because I like warm weather (laughing). I converted, got married, divorced, and returned to Luxembourg. I have a home here, but I have taken souvenirs and experiences from all the places where I used to live."*⁸⁷⁷ This excerpt complicates the constitution of the research social cohort, but such cases are not rare and thus I decided to involve them in my survey.

In comparison to their peers in Czechoslovakia, the LSJG's parents did not experience strong pressures from the government, so they freely decided to assimilate and rebuild their homes. According to the interviews, the witnesses assess home through seven aspects widely indicating their priorities and these are tradition, family, religion, history, Jerusalem, Hebrew, and holy places. Preserving both a Jewish and Luxembourgish home has been a consequence of cultural and religious associations and groups.

My research did not establish similar findings as the former studies on the relationship of Diaspora and Israel conducted in the USA or Western Europe.⁸⁷⁸ These sociological studies suggest confirmation of adverse operations reporting that young Jews in Diaspora show weaker bonds to Israel as compared to their older relatives (parents and grandparents). The results drawn from the question about Aliyah show that 38 respondents have never thought of moving to Israel.

877 B. T. Interview, Luxembourg, 14. 9. 2019 (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

878 See more: HELKIN, H. Ahad Ha'Am, Hertzl, and the end of Diaspora Zionism. In: *Creating the Jewish future*. [Walnut Creek]: Altamira Press, 1999, p. 101-111; HOROWITZ, Bethamie. *Connections and journeys: assessing critical opportunities for enhancing Jewish identity*. New York: UJA, 2000.

Overall, Israel seems to be a very important place for many Jews from the LSJG but most of them cannot call it home.

I can conclude based on the collected data from the survey and interviews that the LSJG as well as their Czechoslovak counterparts perceive Israel as their “last resort.” For most of them, Israel should not only be a Jewish state but should be a home for all people who live there and Arabs). Physical and spiritual survival of Jews in Israel is important, but it does not constitute a home for the LSJG.

More than half of the LSJG respondents support efforts to transform Israel into a multicultural democracy. It underpins the idea raised by Eric Cohen who commented that true Judaism does not require a state or home. *“Israel does not have to be a Jewish state but should rather be a state for all its citizens. Judaism and Jewish nationalism are divorced from each other according to this viewpoint.”*⁸⁷⁹

Another interesting aspect of this question is that the 39 respondents who marked the option “Other (Please specify)” 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.

“Our discussion on Monday got me thinking, where is the place I consider my home. Where is the place I am emotionally attached to, where do I belong? The first thought is, of course, it is the place where I live with my husband surrounded by friends, but what if we move, is that where home is? When I was growing up, I had an emotional attachment to my city and Luxembourg, I was proud of the accomplishments made by this city. Then I moved to France, got married, and went to Israel and I decided to settle down there. Then things got screwed up and I had to keep running...I still feel something when I see the Israeli flags at the Olympics. I love my birthplace in Luxembourg although I cannot say I feel the same emotional attachment. Somebody asked last week who do you root for when Israeli plays the Luxembourgers or the French? I told him that cannot happen since Luxembourg does (not) have many professional athletes ☺ Honestly, I am very conflicted in this case and I cannot choose. I guess France is my home now, but I still have a

879 Ibid. p. 82.

*soft spot for the place where I grew up [Luxembourg], but I will probably never want to move back there.*⁸⁸⁰

Table 18 shows several important and prevailing aspects of the notion of home as perceived by the LSJG. The survey dataset proves that family and relatives are the most important aspects for the LSJG as well as the mentality of most of the population and cultural and intellectual proximity. The only negligible aspect is the climate, but on the contrary, the religious environment is an aspect that is also considered by the LSJG. Conclusively unlike the CZSJG, the LSJG gave all listed options a higher rating, including business opportunities in Israel.

Table 18: What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?

What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?	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	10

Luxembourg third Jewish generation: Attitudes towards Israel

The Luxembourgish third Jewish generation (LTJG) consists of Jews who see Israeli politics most critically as compared to the other research participants. Their opinions of Israel have changed due to the turbulences and hasty developments that occurred in the country. Francois Moyse wrote in one of his articles for *Kadima* that when Likud ascended to power in Israel in the 1970s, some Luxembourgish Jews got nervous and together with other Luxembourgers began to support the Israeli peace movement (Peace now).⁸⁸¹ However, this was not the only NGO striving to harmonize relations between Israelis and Palestinians. Another organization was the New Israel Fund (NIF), founded in 1980 by a liberal Jewish society in the United States. The purpose of this

880 M. F. Interview, Luxembourg, 7. 6. 2018 (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

881 MOYSE, François. Une promotion personnelle et en tant que leader. *Kadima*. 2013, (13), p. 8-9.

organization was to raise funds to support NGOs in Israel managing peaceful programs of tolerance between religions. It also supported equality between Jews and Arabs and last but not least women's rights. Their representatives also organized lectures and workshops for young Jews and Luxembourg Community hosted two conferences in the 1980s.⁸⁸²

Besides peace initiatives, some former youth leaders from the LTJG wrote non-professional but very informative articles on the political situation in the Middle East. They made efforts to defend Israel's political decisions and tried to be unbiased.⁸⁸³ It seems that contributors to Jewish community magazines did not sympathize with the Likud, a right-wing political party, but 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.⁸⁸⁴

INTERVIEWS

Based on the qualitative data drawn on the interviews, I can conclude that the Luxembourg third Jewish generation (LTJG) maintained certain ties to Israel because of close or distant family relatives; the bonds are both emotional and physical. Some pay a visit to Israel annually. Therefore, the bonds are a combination of feelings based on the degree of religiosity and political awareness (left-wing or right-wing position). *"It can be different politically but I would say people inside the community who go to the synagogue are people who still have a strong connection to the state of Israel. Then we have of course many differences when you speak about politics."*⁸⁸⁵

Like their Czechoslovak counterparts, the LTJG has various views of Israel and the notion of homeland and it is also difficult to conjoin their visions and imaginations. The articles published in their youth journal *Kadima* developed a wide range of arguments and some of them seem very peculiar for instance, the Jewish state lacks street bistros and open restaurants and therefore suffers from an insufficient integration of infrastructure.⁸⁸⁶

882 DIECKHOFF, Alain. The Jewish diaspora and Israel: belonging at distance? *Nations and Nationalism: Journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism* [online]. 2017, **23**(2), p. 278 [Accessed 2019-01-07]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12295>.

883 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).

884 Ibid p. 15-16.

885 K. T., Interview, Luxembourg, 11. 2. 2019. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

886 Que manque-t-il en Israël? *Kadima*. 1985, (3), p. 4.

They have also varied opinions on Israeli policy and Zionist movements. *“Israeli foreign policy is sometimes too opportunistic and often avoids adopting a stance on international principles, for example, Armenian genocide by Ottomans or the truth of the Kurdish self-determination. A pallid 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 homestead in Palestinian territory as a good idea since it seems completely counterproductive and it is worsening the entire situation.”*⁸⁸⁷

LTJG had also radical opinions on Zionist thoughts in Europe. According to some Jews, the Zionist movement has lost much of its past attraction and it is necessary to relaunch this process with assured (revolutionary) methods soon. They also criticized the arrogant press release 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.⁸⁸⁸

However, I have also encountered moderate and skeptical opinions such as: *“I am an Israelite, and I am aware that Israel is my homeland - no other country. I know we must find a solution acceptable for Palestinians, but I see no solution in the future.”*⁸⁸⁹

Most respondents from the third Luxembourgish Jewish generation (LTJG) (62 %) provided additional comments where they expressed that they appreciate Israel as a country for Jews, but have substantial objections towards the Israel government and criticize its right-wing and nationalistic policy.

*“I have sympathy for Israel, but not for its actual government. It is not a good idea that the government wants to proclaim Judaism to become a principal law for living in the country. It is leaving the path of democracy.”*⁸⁹⁰ This long-lasting issue has been reflected in the study *Secular Judaism in Israel* written by Ilan Troen.⁸⁹¹ His objective in the study was to explain a new balance between the traditional triad of peoplehood, the Torah, and the State of Israel. He analyzed those who imported new and diverse religious and ideological concepts, and the critical view of the Israeli government on some ambiguous approaches to Judaism.

887 A. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 15. 10. 2018. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, non-practicing, university degree).

888 STOLLÉ, Raffi. N'en croyez pas un mot. *Kadima*. 1987, (13 Avril), p. 7.

889 D. K. Interview. Luxembourg. 4. 10. 2018. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

890 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

891 TROEN, Ilan. *Secular Judaism in Israel. Society*. [online]. 2016, **53**(2), p. 153-162 [Accessed 2021-01-29]. Available from: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12115-016-9991-x>.

Yehezkel Dror understands a great variety of opinions and political views among Jews in the Western diaspora. In his opinion, a long-lasting conflict had different implications for diaspora-Israeli relations. He sees the Arab-Israeli conflict as an irreconcilable duel between two stubborn rivals. However, this conflict has been gradually developing over time and no one can predict the subsequent developments in the next 50 years. Thus, there may be a solid peace in the Middle East, or Israel may get in existential danger. These different alternatives will lead to different consequences for the new post-war Jewish generations in the diaspora and their diaspora-Israeli relations. According to Yehezkel Dror, 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 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.⁸⁹²

*“Every time I go to Israel with my brother, it's quite adventurous. All those airport checks and soldiers, I have to say, fascinate me. It is something unknown 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 that it must be quite annoying to the lives of the locals.”*⁸⁹³

Israel is a fascinating country for many Jews, and so is the LTJG, which perceives Israel as a very interesting country not only from a religious point of view, but also as a country suitable for business. However, this country must not be "criticized" or else they (at least according to some witnesses) will be accused of destroying his own home. *“I feel terrible to see that Israel is cooperating with countries like Saudi Arabia. I partly understand that, as I do not like Iran either. When I was in Israel for a business trip and it took six months, I had no problem with that, but the Israeli government just bothers me. But when I talk to my friends living in Haifa, they always wave a hand over me and say. It is easy for you to say it. You always come here for a week and then you go back, but we have to live here and bombs fall on our heads. They also dare to say that I am a "Nestbeschmutzer" - just shit in my own nest. When I talk about Israel in diaspora (Luxembourg and Switzerland), the view of my colleagues is quite different. I still believe in peace, but on the*

892 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>.

893 F. G. Interview, Mondorf, 11. 6. 2019 (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

*other hand, there is no one to deal with. University colleagues especially in Switzerland criticize Israel a lot from their leftist positions, I am also leftist, but I am not as critical as they are.”*⁸⁹⁴

SURVEY

After analyzing the community journals, I came across one short questionnaire published in the Kadima journal 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 Moyse, 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.⁸⁹⁵

It can be seen in table 19 that most of my respondents have visited Israel at least once, and similar to the survey in 1985, they travel to Israel regularly and many have made strong bonds with this country. There is no considerable difference between them and their Czechoslovak counterparts.

Table 19: Have you ever visited Israel?

<i>Answer Choices</i>	Responses	
Yes	96%	96
No	4%	4
	Answered	100

894 R. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 19. 10. 2020. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

895 MOYSE, Laurent. Sondage: Résultats et Commentaires. *Kadima*. 9, 1985, p. 6.

The LTJG often classify themselves either as secular or ‘traditional’ Jews. Those who consider themselves religiously traditional have stronger ties to Israel. The outcomes of my study correspond with the hypothesis by Erik Cohen who examined 416 youth leaders during the summer of 2000. Erik Cohen and his colleagues distributed a similar questionnaire among Jews in the USA, Canada, France, and the UK during their stay in Israel. The findings from his research correspond with my research findings (i.e., the opinions of my 101 respondents). Erik and colleagues’ confirmed that their respondents perceived the continued existence of a diaspora as instrumental for the existence of Israel. While on the contrary, Jews in the diaspora want Israel as a political indemnity against antisemitism.⁸⁹⁶

Based on table 20, I can confirm that the LTJG identifies with the fate of people living in Israel as well as their Czechoslovak peers. The fundamental difference is in the creation of an independent Palestinian state. The LTJG is the most benevolent to the conditions under which an independent state should be established. A similar trend has also been found in an indicator reporting on the tensions due to Israel’s policy towards Palestinians. 38 out of 66 respondents strongly disagree with Israel’s policy towards Palestinians, but they do not see protest movements such as BDS movements as solutions except for one respondent- a halachic Jew who is a leader of the BDS movement in Luxembourg.

Based on the data from the question on “Attitude towards Israel”, (see table 20), I can confirm that only a small minority (2 respondents) marked the answer “*I don’t have any special relation with Israel.*” On the other hand, 52 respondents identified with the fate of people living in Israel. There is also interesting number of 66 responses⁸⁹⁷ who disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. 12 respondents who marked that “*I think that all Jews should live in Israel*” came mainly from the members of the orthodox community *Chabad Lubavitch* in Luxembourg. Those (31) who are against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state assert that an uncontrolled country would turn into a den of terrorists threatening all denominations in the world.

⁸⁹⁶ 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. 80 [Accessed 2020-03-19]. Available from: doi:10.1080/0021624030690208.

⁸⁹⁷ 40 out of 66 were women – among halachic Jews in Luxembourg, there are also women supporting la Comité pour une Paix Juste au Proche-Orient asbl - CPJPO (find more information here: <https://paixjuste.lu/contact/>).

As mentioned above, most members (66) of the LTJG have some objections against Israeli policy towards Palestinians, but they (54) agree with Israeli policy towards their neighboring states.

Table 20: Attitude towards Israel

Answer Choices	Responses	
I identify with the fate of people living in Israel. ⁸⁹⁸	52%	52
I have some objections to Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring state. ⁸⁹⁹	47%	47
I agree with Israeli foreign policy towards their neighboring states. ⁹⁰⁰	54%	54
I agree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians. ⁹⁰¹	35%	35
I disagree with Israeli policy towards Palestinians ⁹⁰²	66%	66
I think that all Jews should live in Israel. ⁹⁰³	12%	12
I support the creation of an independent Palestinian state. ⁹⁰⁴	61%	61
I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state. ⁹⁰⁵	31%	31
I do not have any special relationship with Israel. ⁹⁰⁶	2%	2
	Respondents	(360)100

The results of my survey do not fully correspond with the results and interpretations of the survey carried out by Chantal Bordes-Benayoun, Dominique Schnapper, and Freddy Raphaël in 2009.⁹⁰⁷ These authors stated that the extent of identification with the State of Israel increases according to the religiosity of respondents. The sacred link to Israel seems to have become trivialized in the context of globalization. According to a rabbi of a large community interviewed by the mentioned authors, he said that this sacred link had found its sources mainly in the desire to bear witness to his attachment to Judaism. As mentioned before, the results can be applied to the LTJG and when I interviewed a rabbi in Luxembourg in 2018, he told me something similar: “*Sometimes, I have*

898 40 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 10 converts.

899 21 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

900 36 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 6 converts.

901 15 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 7 converts.

902 28 halachic r., 20 non-halachic r., 18 converts.

903 12 halachic 0 non-halachic r., 0 non-halachic r.

904 35 halachic r., 14 non-halachic r., 12 converts.

905 25 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

906 0 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

907 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.

people who attend Shabbat in the Synagogues, and they tell me: may you also bless my cousin from Israel. Trying to make me happy, they often say. I am coming back from Israel...They want to tell me even though I have not asked them to. They say: You see, Rabbi, we are Jews. Even though you do not see us often, we were in Israel and we feel homesick when we are somewhere else.”⁹⁰⁸

Interviews with current community leaders show that they realized the need to deal with the *Aliyah* of youngsters and they are willing to take the responsibility to encourage people to stay in Luxembourg. They saw that it was impossible to ignore this fact and felt the restlessness within the community. They recognized that new and engaging connections must be introduced to keep youngsters in Luxembourg. Thus, the UJGIL has restored its activities however 64 % of survey respondents added that the Jewish community in Luxembourg must adapt its activities to the demands of the people to prevent the youth from leaving the country.

Luxembourg Third Jewish Generation: Aliyah vs. the concept of home/homeland - Reflection of different relationships towards Israel and a place of living

This examined cohort belongs to the least homogeneous group in terms of the concept of home and Israel. Their ideas and vision of homeland are very diverse and difficult to unify and thus I decided to introduce two main different approaches of respondents.

First, an excerpt that illustrates the reasons why a narrator 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.*”⁹⁰⁹ Such a clearly defined example is quite rare, and it sheds light on specific LTJG’s opinions.

On the other hand, I submit one testimony from a narrator who would not change Israel to any other country on Earth. He moved there in the 1975s and considers Israel his real home with all the solid aspects such as family, religion, security, etc. *“I don’t want to say that all Jews should live in Israel as I also travel a lot and often come back to Luxembourg where I have my old parents.*

908 R. N. Interview, Luxembourg, 12. 4. 2019. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

909 L. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 11. 2. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

It is a tough life in this country, 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 sense of true home.”⁹¹⁰

The LTJG has no clear view of Israel as their homeland. When the LTJG talk about home, they take this concept from multiple angles, and their family and relatives often constitute a minor but important part. Various languages, different education, and international contacts make them more attached to particularism, universalism, and postmodernism.⁹¹¹ These traits make them different from other 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. Eliezer Ben-Rafael, a sociologist described this phenomenon in his study as dual or threefold homeness. *“Diasporans who may be attached in varying degrees to their different foci of collective-national identity can hardly subscribe unreservedly to the exigency of a “totalistic” commitment of any sort, i.e., that excludes any other collective national commitment.*”⁹¹²

Moreover, the family also played an important role in deciding whether stay in Luxembourg or not. *“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. This separated the family. From time to time, we sent a letter, but after a couple of years, we stopped writing. I saw no prospects here in Luxembourg and decided to study somewhere else. I ended up in the USA with no money but determined to build up my own life. I stopped hearing Israel’s enticement, but now I am back in Europe with passion to renew my Jewish life.*”⁹¹³

On this aspect, 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 belonging is frequently reconstructed through “daily-shared practices,” which unify individuals in

910 T. K. Interview, Luxembourg, 12. 5. 2019. (a man, non-Jewish (a convert), practicing, university degree).

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

912 BEN-RAFAEL, Eliezer. Transnational Diasporas: A New Era or a New Myth? *Protosociology: An International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*. [online]. 2011, 27, p. 95 [Accessed 2020-03-29]. Available from: <http://proxy.bn1.lu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sih&AN=67262179&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

913 L. G. Interview, Skype call, 14. 8. 2020. (a halachic Jew, partly practising, university degree).

a large collective.⁹¹⁴ This daily belonging is quite wide, but limited by a geographical dimension, and often limited by boundaries of a national territory.⁹¹⁵

Based on the data obtained from the survey, I can conclude that there are many different perspectives and topics constituting home namely: Zionism homeland, Holy land, home, and modern country. All these aspects must constitute one place allowing the LTJG to call this place a true home. The younger respondents of the LTJG are determined to see Israel as either a spiritual or political arena. They continue using different ways to link their visions of a homeland with their ethnic-communal consciousness and solidarity.⁹¹⁶ As shown in table 21 respondents have considered settling down in Israel. 15 out of 100 have relatives in this country. Table 21 indicates that none of my respondents or their family relatives stayed in the same place after the Nazi occupation of Luxembourg. It corresponds to the assertion that most of my respondents came from many different areas. The additional comments below the question (given in table 21) often elaborate on the personal reasons why respondents eventually stayed in Europe.

Table 21: Have you or your relatives considered “making Aliyah” by moving to Israel since 1948?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes ⁹¹⁷	24%	24
Yes, some of my relatives have made the return (Aliyah) to Israel. ⁹¹⁸	15%	15
Yes, but in the end, we did not complete the return due to financial issues. ⁹¹⁹	9%	9
Yes, but in the end, we stayed in Europe due to personal reasons. ⁹²⁰	12%	12
No ⁹²¹	22%	22
No, my family stayed in the same place as before the occupation. (Nazi occupation of Luxembourg)	0%	0

914 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>.

915 See more: BILLIG, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE, 1995.

916 See more: SAFRAN, William. The Jewish diaspora in a comparative and theoretical perspective. *Israel studies* [online]. 2005, **10**(1), p. 37 [Accessed 2020-03-29]. Available from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30245753>.

917 15 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

918 9 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

919 4 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

920 8 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

921 7 halachic r., 4 non-halachic r., 11 converts.

No, but we changed our place of residence (country, city). Before the war, we used to live elsewhere. ⁹²²	19%	19
Prefer not to say. ⁹²³	1%	1
	Answered	100

In the excerpt below are a few reasons illustrating the riven attitude towards Israel and the concept of Aliyah: *“I could not live in Israel due to political reasons, but my attitude is rather complicated. Aliyah would be a big deal for me since I work as a tradesman and travelling is part of my life. however, my friend would not accept my decision. I once paid a visit to my non-Jewish friends who I like a lot – they are always slandering Israel and its politics. I got angry though I'm not a big fan of Likud politics. I have mixed feelings. 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, 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 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! Well, what do you think would happen to them in the Arab countries?”*⁹²⁴

Another respondent also articulated the significance of human rights for Palestinians. In his opinion, he could not live in a country that is violating human rights. *“So you either have human rights or you do not.” On the one hand, Israel is a democratic state. Moreover, citizens have democratic rights including Arabs. However, we must admit that Palestinians face intentional discrimination.*⁹²⁵ This is not the only example that shows conflicts provoked by talks of surroundings. While asking other respondents, they answered that they were afraid that “the Israeli issues” could destroy their relationships with their friends and neighbors.

While making a qualitative analysis of the comments, I came across other opinions. *“When talking to one of my academic colleagues in London, I fly into range she always tells me that the Palestinians were the first in Palestine and the Jews came there later and drove them out. I will*

922 7 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 9 converts.

923 0 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

924 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, unknown, university degree).

925 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

*fight for Israel, even if it will never be my home. There is too much violence that I cannot get used to.”*⁹²⁶ Some LTJG no longer cares about real Aliyah, but sometimes flirts with thoughts of virtual Aliyah together with their peers in other European countries. They often attend Hebrew lessons, religious courses, or participate in imitations of life on a kibbutz.⁹²⁷ *“I must do something my Jewish education as I have a lot of shortcomings in Hebrew. Well, and my knowledge of siddur is very poor. I could not settle in Israel, I would die there as it is too much religious country.”*⁹²⁸

Regarding the outcomes of the survey in table 22, I can observe that the LTJG also considers making Aliyah like other Jews from other social cohorts, yet their motivation is different. The cultural and intellectual proximity and business opportunities are prioritized. A theory to explain this finding is that unlike the Czechoslovak and Luxembourgish second Jewish generation, the Luxembourg third Jewish generation does not succumb to the skepticism surrounding the peace initiatives.

Table 22: What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?

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

They are not as fearful of the state of internal security as their peers in the Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia). They would rather take advantage of the many business opportunities offered

926 Anonymous respondent, additional comment.(a man, a halachic Jew, lukewarm practice, university degree).

927 These educational and cultural activities were described in detail by Robin Cohen who introduced 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>).

928 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

by the Israeli international market. 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.

SUMMARY: correlations and distinctions among examined social cohorts.

This chapter aims to provide a summary in point form of the correlations, trends, intersections and contradictions that I explored in my research on specific social cohorts. It also aims to address the research questions: What is the attitude of post-war generations towards the state of Israel?; How do Jewish post-war generations reflect on the importance of home? The conclusions and theories are not only based on quantitative data drawn from the survey; they are also supplemented by qualitative data based on oral history research. The primary goal of my research is not to generalize my outcomes of Israel but rather to emphasize individual thoughts and experiences which have shaped a colorful mosaic of life stories. The aim is to prioritize those who usually remain hidden behind “big picture” history. I believe that this method can help to answer the research question of attitudes towards Israel from the perspective of research participants in all its complexity.

Attitude towards Israel:

Analyzing the data concerning different attitudes towards Israel, I can reliably state that some of the respondents from the CZSJG have changed their political view⁹²⁹ of Israel over the last 20-30 years. This group was the least critical of Israel when it came to political events, both domestic and foreign. The most critical attitudes to Israel’s foreign and domestic policy were seen in respondents from the LTJG, in both the interviews and the questionnaire surveys. Within this group, the most critical subgroup was more liberal-minded women. On this aspect, there was no marked difference between Halachic, non-Halachic Jews and converts. I also did not notice any radical differences in the perception of Israel between men and women.

Based on the data, it can be also concluded that the CZSJG envisioned Israel as a mysterious and unknown country before the Velvet Revolution. A large number of narrators (11)

929 Some are more skeptical about political and religious development and others still see the possibility to live in peace with Palestinians.

from this cohort also said they saw Israel as a “Promised Land” that had to be defended at any cost. The term appeared several times in the questionnaire survey and corresponds to the findings of previous research by Heitlinger. This somewhat romanticized perspective occurs mainly within the CZSJG and only exceptionally among members of the CZTJG. Luxembourg’s post-war generations have taken a more reserved approach, giving priority to their civic obligations towards the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg rather than their “spiritual and identity obligations” to the State of Israel.

Besides different perceptions of the State of Israel, members of the CZSJG assert that they were prevented from obtaining more accurate information about Israel because of repression from communist administrations. This perception was passed down to members of the CZTJG in the 1980s, during the period referred to by some as the “great silence.”⁹³⁰ Members of the CZTJG were given a sense of this repression in stories from their parents and grandparents. On the other hand, none of the members of the LSJG or the LTJG experienced open Anti-Zionism from the Luxembourg authorities. Both witnesses and respondents were inclined to criticize the UN and the EU and their political involvement in the Middle East. This is the biggest political impact caused by different political regimes within my study.

The survey further revealed that Israel as a Jewish country remains a focus for the Jewish diaspora across all examined cohorts. This trend even appears to be on the rise among research participants. Many members of the third Jewish post-war generation (much like the second post-war generation) have visited Israel at least once, for a variety of different reasons (friends, education, family, spirituality, etc.). Many of them return to Israel repeatedly.

As shown in the tables, more than half of all respondents from all examined cohorts, regardless of gender, origin and type of religion, identify to some extent with the fate of people living in Israel. On this point, the lowest numbers were found among the LTJG (52 respondents), but their attitudes were often explained in the additional comments below the question. The highest

930 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/>.

numbers were seen in the CZSJG, with 75 respondents identifying with the fate of the Israeli population.

As well as identification with the Israeli people, the trend in support of the foundation of a Palestinian state is interesting too. The CZSJG is the most skeptical cohort; its adherents see no progress in the current peace talks among enemies. Some of them (17) consider an independent Palestinian state as potentially dangerous for Israel. Their descendants in the CZTJG (8) are slightly less skeptical, whereas the LTJG shows support for an independent Palestine in more than half of their responses (61 respondents). But a look at the overall figures clearly illustrates that most research participants are predominantly in favor of establishing a Palestinian state and a degree of political revision towards the Palestinians.

The average across all cohorts examined was exactly 50% in support of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. On this point, the most skeptical group was males from the CZSJG regardless of origin and religion, while the establishment of an independent Palestinian state was most supported by females from the LTJG group.

Aliyah and home/homeland

The approach to Aliyah is also quite different in all the examined cohorts. One interesting indicator shows that more than half of all respondents have considered the idea of Aliyah at some point in their lives, but only a few respondents have actually put the idea into practice. Various personal reasons have prevailed, especially the thought of abandoning family members.

If any prevailing trend can be pointed out, it is certainly the different personal reasons given by the research participants to explain why their relatives eventually did not perform Aliyah. According to both witnesses and respondents, the political system played a secondary role here. Although they did have the opportunity to move to Israel in the late 1960s, most of those who emigrated from the Czech lands eventually settled elsewhere rather than in the Middle East. More than half of the CZSJG respondents (58) had an idea of leaving for Israel (the Aliya). Eventually, some emigrated to one of the countries of Western Europe, or to the USA or Canada. Why did most respondents stay in the Czech lands in the end? The predominant issues repeatedly appearing in the comments are strong family ties and a sense of responsibility for their parents or close relatives. This number increased even more among their descendants from CZTJG (64), who did not leave for Israel mainly due to the change of political regime in Czechoslovakia after 1989. On

this aspect, a high number of the respondents (64) from the LSJG also wanted to leave for Israel, but their reasons are more diverse since they had more opportunities of studying and working abroad and their religious life does not seem to be strong enough to make them settle down in Israel. The LTJG (60) do not take Israel as far land being unreachable for them, if they want to settle down, they would do it regardless of circumstances. However, sometimes some members are severe in Israel criticism because of politics.

The importance of individual aspects to call country for your home differ from the examined social cohorts, but even here I explored some intersections. First, it is clear that cultural and intellectual proximity are among the most important factors, regardless of the cohort. The issue of Aliyah is slightly more important for Halachic practicing Jews than for their liberal and lukewarm counterparts. The trend evolves across the examined generations, with the Jewish third generation considering this issue as being as important as business and entrepreneurial opportunities.

To be more specific of the question regarding what aspects are important to call a country for home, I can point out that the LTJG mainly articulates these three measurements: Cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment (4,23), relatives (4,16) and religious environment (4,09). Relatives especially for the LSJG (3,75) play an important role by forming a sense of home, and this is reflected in the collected data related to Aliyah. But on the matter of 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, their descendants (CZTJG (2,73) + LTJG (2,84)) did not consider this aspect as particularly decisive. However, it cannot be said that representatives of CZTJG and LTJG do not see security as a priority, even though they did not rank it as highly as other aspects. The trend regarding business opportunities (4,26 out of 5) is also interesting because it is at the top of the LTJG's list of priorities and the importance of this trend has also emerged at the CZTJG (3,97). These findings can also form the approach to Israel as a country of business opportunities – not only as a religious place. The collected data show that this indicator (Employment and business opportunities) is growing, especially among members of the next Jewish generations. 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 respondents, this is mainly due to the fact that Israel has greater potential for their descendants than for themselves. Some members of the CZSJG (12 respondents) assert that

multiculturalism and multi-religion are dangerous elements preventing them from being more emotionally attached to Israel.

RESULTS - Antisemitism

This part consists of empirical data collected from the interviews and questionnaires, and is divided into four subchapters dealing with different Jewish generations (CZSJG, CZTJG, LSJG, and LTJG). The 60 interviews⁹³¹ conducted seek to address the issues of perception of antisemitism and its forms by post-war Jewish generations. The sample of narrators is the same as in the section on diverse attitudes towards Israel. However, the aim of this section is to investigate the issue of antisemitism from the perspective of Jewish actors within the cohorts examined,⁹³² to reveal collective and individual perceptions of antisemitism and its impact on the quality of Jewish life in Luxembourg and the Czech lands.

The following subchapters are divided into a thematically focused qualitative analysis of interviews and a quantitative analysis of empirical data obtained from a questionnaire. Questions asked during the interviews focused on the types of antisemitic incidents in the Czech and Luxembourg contexts after the war. In attempting to reflect the intensity and types of antisemitism, I decided to focus on the following issues: prejudices, stereotypes, restrictions from the government, friends, neighborhood, media and work. The questionnaire aims to collect responses on the topic of forms of antisemitism, the intensity of antisemitism, and personal experiences with antisemitism. It is important to state that the format of the questions in the survey is the same for all the research cohorts examined. In this section, I also seek to verify whether some statements⁹³³ provided by narrators in the interviews and respondents in the questionnaire correspond to historical reality, or at least approach reality. I also make effort to describe identities of narrators and respondents as much as possible to keep their real identity anonymous. Furthermore, I make an effort to reflect the collected data with respect to international studies and analyses (individual statements from narrators and the results of the questionnaire).

931 Each social cohort (generation) contains 15 speakers and a different number of participants in the survey.

932 Detailed information on the different narrators has been included in the respective footnotes.

933 Of course, I can hardly verify if anyone was insulted at school or humiliated at work, but I focused on the testimonies dealing with the articles about Israel in *Rudé Právo* (the Red Truth).

INTERVIEWS:

In this chapter, I thoroughly analyzed 15 interviews conducted with representatives of the Czechoslovak Second Jewish generation. This sub-chapter based on the (CZSJG) interviews reflects, among others, the diverse approach of the CZSJG's parents towards the Czechoslovak communist regime, unexpected revelations of Jewish identity through antisemitic incidents, national antisemitism, and last but not least, the antisemitic aspects of post-war restitutions. It is important to underline that all the data obtained from the interviews are strictly subjective and do not necessarily reflect the views of the entire social cohort under study.

After February 1948, the communist dictatorship responded with a distrust of religion and the subordination of churches of the state under their observation. Sympathy for communism⁹³⁴ on the part of the Jewish population in the Czech lands in the first post-war years was often replaced by disappointment with antisemitism and repressive measures by the regime, which affected the Jewish population more than others. The suspicion and surveillance of the people who remained in contact with their relatives in exile behind the Iron Curtain affected many Jewish families. Moreover, the situation worsened during the trial of Rudolf Slánský and in the years that immediately followed, when contact with people in Israel or involvement in the Jewish community could turn into accusations of supporting “Zionist”, “bourgeois” and communist ideology.⁹³⁵ Here is one example of devotion to the communist regime combined with Jewish underestimation as exhibited by the parents of one of my narrators.

“My family was always leftist even before the war and nowadays I also vote for left political parties that believe in leftist ideas. This is the black chapter of my family, because my parents’ devotion to the Communist party was absolutely beyond my comprehension. They never sobered up, even after the trial of Rudolf Slánský, and I also remembered how other relatives defended the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact. I think they would still be convinced of that now. [...] “My parents were also ashamed of being Jewish and suffered a certain- how to put it? Self-

934 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).

935 ŠMOK, Martin. *Through the labyrinth of normalization: the Jewish community as a mirror for the majority society*. Prague: Jewish Museum, 2017. p. 13.

*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.”*⁹³⁶

How do Czech and Slovak scholars explain this frequent phenomenon? According to Czech historian Jana Svobodová, the illusion that the communist regime was the exact opposite of the Nazi regime could have played a significant role in this intergenerational perception of communism. In the decimated Jewish population, the Communist Party represented a rescue network of contacts and a certain sense of security for an abandoned people who had just returned from extermination camps.⁹³⁷

However, some other members of the CZSJG often did not understand how their parents could have “swallowed the Communist bait” so easily. *“I never understood how my parents could have so intensely – tooth and nail – adhered to communist ideologies, the trial of Slánský, or the trials of rabbis, had almost no effect on them. My grandma...miraculously survived [imprisoned in the concentration camp] also told me about the actions against the head of Kashrut canteen in the street Nekázanka. I do not remember the name of the action, but I read somewhere and it was terrible. And then I had trouble at school because I had a cousin in the West, but my parents did not reflect on that at all. They hate their Jewishness like Marx...ok, I might exaggerate, but almost.”*⁹³⁸ Regardless of the analyzed testimonies, the fact is that the Communist Party launched an official anti-Zionist campaign has been confirmed by several experts in this field. According to Svobodová, being labelled as an adherent of Zionism was one of the most serious accusations, yet many convicted Jews continued to support Communist ideas, even after being released from prison.⁹³⁹

In addition to potentially being accused of Zionism, the CZSJG, like their parents, had to live with the echoes of Stalinism, which favored heavy industry above other professions. The constant search for the internal enemy affected those who had contacts in the West because they began to be surveyed by StB after 1948. According to Alena Heitlinger, the fear of antisemitism

936 V. R. Interview, Prague, 28. 10. 2017. (a man, a non-Halachic Jew, not practicing, high school education).

937 SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. p. 40.

938 B. K. Interview, Prague, 29. 3. 2019. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, lukawarm, high school education). In my opinion, it is supposed to be the action of the State Security Police (StB) „Zlatá Husa“ (ŠMOK, Martin. Každý žid je sionista a každý sionista je špion! *Paměť a dějiny*. 2011, 5(4), p. 29-39).

939 SVOBODOVÁ, Jana. *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992: studie*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1994. p. 41.

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.).⁹⁴⁰ Heitlinger also draws attention to demographic features typical of post-war Jewish families, such as a small number of relatives or none at all. The family also had an often unspecified number of emigrants who went abroad after 1948.⁹⁴¹ The second problematic group was the bourgeoisie, which had considerable wealth before the war, a group that included all those who were considered unreliable by the regime. Jewish parents therefore wanted their children to choose less visible and frequent specializations and occupations that would conceal their Jewish identity. This may be considered as autoregulation on the part of the Jewish parents.⁹⁴² 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 and then I managed to get to the Philosophical faculty in Prague and started working at a small publisher.”*⁹⁴³

This autoregulation also gave rise to the practice of parents hiding their Jewish origin from their children who may have otherwise learned of their Jewish origins through insults and swearing. It was very difficult when Jewish parents realized they were not able to control non-Jewish environments outside the walls of Jewish community. They could not prevent their children from learning of their "exceptional" origin from their teachers or classmates, or random passers-by. So when the child came home surprised, the parents had to explain, at least in part, why he/she was different from other classmates or friends.⁹⁴⁴

“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

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

941 Some relatives left already after 1938, some after 1945 and some came back from wartime exile. (Read more: SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka. *Židé v českých zemích po šoa: identita poraněné paměti*. Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2016. p. 145.)

942Ibid. p. 22.

943 L. P. Interview, Prague, 27.9.2017. (a man, a halachic Jew, university degree).

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

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."⁹⁴⁵ By contrast, there are a number of Jews who consider petty insults as insubstantial and unworthy of their Jewish identity, therefore I cannot generalize the impact of antisemitism⁹⁴⁶ on the CZSJG either. I also interviewed Jewish scholars (born in the Czech lands) who investigate and measure antisemitic occurrences in terms of societies, and they take a very sober approach to antisemitism.

"Of course, I heard something somewhere at school from my schoolmates, but I did not consider it a sign of serious antisemitism. I deal with antisemitism as a sociologist. In my opinion and according to forensic statistics, this is a much bigger problem nowadays than it used to be in the past."⁹⁴⁷ This interviewee used to work at Charles University in Prague and said that the environment was "full of philosemitism"; he said he had never a problem with antisemitism at this institution, but admitted that it was caused by the working environment.

Besides aforementioned issues, I noticed that interviewees often reflected upon and remembered well the unjust acts of restitution as an act of deliberate antisemitism. The slow and unfair course of restitution was also reflected in *Věstník* in 1947, which criticized the amount of property that was returned to the original owners. The author of the article claimed that the original owners had received only 10% of all the properties requested. The author sarcastically added *"This is less than the percentage of lives that Nazi death factories returned."*⁹⁴⁸

One of the witnesses reacted to the issue of restitutions⁹⁴⁹ as follows: *"I didn't feel that way, but my parents cursed that the new "socialist just state" refused to give them the property from their parents. For example, my grandmother, who died with her grandfather in Auschwitz, had a beautiful villa at "Smetanka," but the Czechoslovak government dragged out the restitution*

945 M. L. Interview, Prague, 12. 7. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, a non-practicing family, university degree).

946 In this case, I mean antisemitism in childhood that stemmed from the surroundings (schoolmates, teachers, neighbors).

947 M. A. Interview, Skype, 2. 2. 2018. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

948 ENGEL Štěpán. Starý stesk nad novou vyhláškou. *Věstník*. 1947, 7(9), p. 93-94.

949 Read more: (KUKLÍK, Jan. *Jak odškodnit holokaust?: problematika vyvlastnění židovského majetku, jeho restituce a odškodnění*. Praha: Karolinum, 2015).

proceedings so much that the Communists eventually built a kindergarten there. Then father said that we had made a mistake by staying in Prague and not leaving for Palestine.”⁹⁵⁰

Besides “injustice” caused by restitutions, some witnesses also experienced subjectively-perceived manifestations of so-called national antisemitism. The following statement also reflects the different levels of sensibility of the witnesses interviewed. “Once, when I came back to Prague, and this was before the spring of Prague, I got off the bus and a teenager started yelling at me that my bag stank of Jewishness. I didn't understand it at all, so I didn't deal with it, but the fact is that it has remained in my head to this day.”⁹⁵¹ Random antisemitic yelling seems quite common and nearly all of the Jewish narrators mentioned some forms of antisemitic offences, though in many cases they did not attach any importance to them.

The memorialists often confirmed my question about how petty antisemitism manifested itself in their neighborhood. “There were few insults, but they were there. I experienced it mainly from our house confidante, such an ugly woman who always explained at house meetings how Jews had wanted to take over communist property.”⁹⁵² This incident resembles similar incidents which have occurred in the UK in recent decades, where Jews have become targets of antisemitic taunts. Anthony Julius asserts in his book that chants with antisemitic connotations have been on the rise and that UK citizens exhibit such behavior more frequently, especially during football matches.⁹⁵³

In addition to random antisemitic incidents, I also interviewed a man who used to work at the factory in Ostrava, who gave me a very interesting view of the working class in the Czech lands. “The factory is something other than an office or a ministry. At the factory, I sometimes heard something, but it was never to the point of feeling it myself. I have to say that workers were acting fairly. [...] It could help me that my parents were members of the Communist party, so they 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.”⁹⁵⁴

950 P. W. Interview, Prague, 3. 8. 2019. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, university degree).

951 P. T. Interview, Skype, 5. 2. 2019. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, a practicing Jew, high school education).

952 P. B. Interview, Prague, 18. 7. 2018 (a woman, a halachic Jew, a practicing Jew, university degree).

953 JULIUS, Anthony. *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-semitism in England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. p. 366.

954 T. B. Interview, Ostrava, 4. 6. 2018 (a man, a non-halachic Jew, a partly practicing Jew, High school degree).

In the end, I decided to include a witness statement that simply captures the prevailing trend among the interviewed witnesses. There is no clear evidence of antisemitism, but it illustrates the widespread defense of the CZSJG. A similar attitude was reflected by 10 out of 15 interviewed narrators. *“My parents simply never talk about Jewishness to anybody, and whenever there was talk about Jews in a non-Jewish environment, they tried to avoid conflicts. Honestly, I adopted this style as well. When I have to defend my Jewish identity or Israel, I say nothing, trying to stay silent and invisible. I think that this is a fairly common technique for those who are ashamed. I still have not found the courage to stand by my Jewishness in conflict situations. Someone says that is cowardice, but I call it an instinct for staying safe. Only when the risk is low, especially among my friends when I know that there is no danger of antisemitic insinuations, then I have no problem in openly acknowledging my Jewishness.”*⁹⁵⁵

This instinct for staying safe and hidden in the diaspora dates back to the Roman times,⁹⁵⁶ though the situation became 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. Furthermore, manifestations of antisemitism in the Diaspora often increase depending on the escalation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The interview with M. Š. reflects an issue which is ongoing, international and inter-generational, and has been addressed by several Jewish post-war generations. Based on recent data presented in the media, nearly 43% Jews in the Netherlands hide their Jewish ethnic identity to protect themselves against humiliating defamations. 52% of respondents assessed antisemitism on the street to be on the rise and 59% said that the media had become a popular breeding ground for antisemitism. The absolute majority of respondents (82%) said that the online environment, especially social media, had become a virtual tool for spreading antisemitic hatred.⁹⁵⁷

A Jewish police officer in Germany calls attention to the fact that German Jews are afraid to wear their kippa in public and they do not wish to receive mail with the logo of the local Jewish

955 M. Š. Interview, Prague, 15. 11. 2018. (a woman, a halachic Jew, partly practicing).

956 To get further information, I would recommend a very noteworthy book by Leonard Victor Rutgers called *The hidden heritage of diaspora Judaism* (RUTGERS, Leonard Victor. *The hidden heritage of diaspora Judaism*. 2nd ed. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1998).

957 JTA and Toi STAF. 43% of Dutch Jews say they hide their ethnic identity. In: *The Times of Israel* [online]. 2018 [Accessed 2021-5-19]. Available from: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/43-of-dutch-jews-say-they-hide-their-ethnic-identity/>.

community. *“I don’t personally wear a kippa daily but the media reports show that there is still a lot of antisemitism. I know many Jews who hide their faith. Some don’t want to receive mail from the Jewish community, since it says Jewish community on the name of the sender and they don’t want the postman or neighbors to know they are Jewish.”*⁹⁵⁸ All this evidence shows that being invisible or partly hidden is an international phenomenon pervading all Jewish post-war generations regardless of their origin or country of birth.

SURVEY

The results of the questionnaire survey show that the majority of respondents has experienced some form of antisemitism. However, it is important to mention that this is a subjective feeling and this indicator does not measure the level of receptivity, but rather points to the fact that a large number of research participants consider some manifestations and incidents to be antisemitic in the period researched. The number is well qualified, as 70 out of 100 respondents from the CZSJG answered that they experienced antisemitism themselves; however, the added comments show that in many cases this was not open antisemitism, but rather allusions and ridicule.

It is important to realize that antisemitism can be manifested in many different ways and the spectrum of incidents is very broad, from spitting on the sidewalk to open hatred.⁹⁵⁹ The additional comments attached to this question also emphasized the family burden – bourgeois origins, emigration in the family, or political beliefs could have all incited oppression from the Communist regime and fellow citizens. Women and men perceive antisemitism similarly in my survey; 37 males and 33 females out of 70 respondents experienced antisemitism in their opinion. By contrast, 14 males and 16 females said that they have not experienced antisemitism in their lives.

Table 23: Do you have any personal experience with antisemitism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes ⁹⁶⁰	70%	70

958 Jewish Policeman In Germany : Jews Hide Their Identity, Don’t Even Want Jewish-Related Mail. In: *VINnews* [online]. 2020 [Accessed 2021-5-19]. Available from: <https://vinnews.com/2020/12/30/jewish-policeman-in-germany-jews-hide-their-identity-dont-even-want-jewish-related-mail/>.

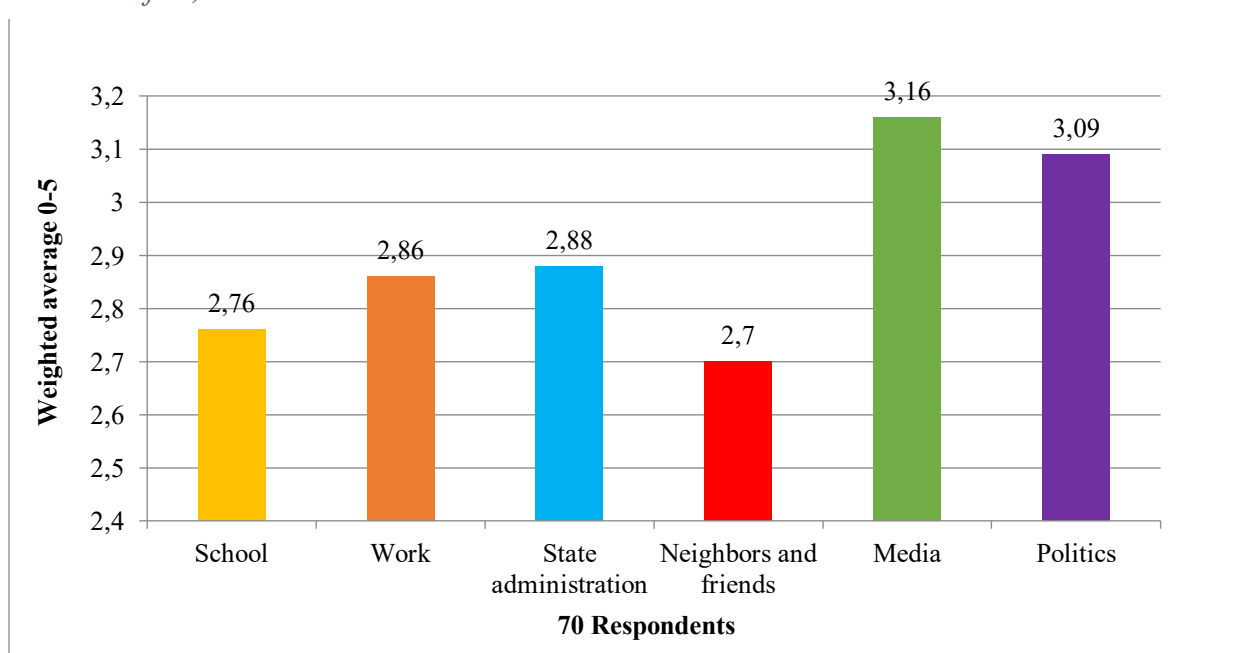
959 The incidents considered by respondents to be antisemitic is quite varied.

960 37 halachic r., 22 non-halachic r., 11 converts

No ⁹⁶¹	30%	30
	Answered	100

The data collected partially correspond with the trend described by scholars in the United States in the 1980s. Earlier studies dealing with personal experience and perceptions of antisemitism among Jews were limited to local communities, but 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.⁹⁶² The parallel with Czechoslovakia lies in the declining trend of antisemitism and the transformation of antisemitism over generations.

Table 24: *If so, indicate on the scale where antisemitism was the most intensive*



961 8 halachic r., 16 non-halachic r., 8 converts

962 REBHUN, Uzi. Correlates of experiences and perceptions of anti-Semitism among Jews in the United States. *Social science research*. 2014, 47, p. 45.

To explore the different intensity of antisemitism, respondents indicated within the sub question where antisemitism was the most intensive.⁹⁶³ Table 24 shows that the CZSJG considers antisemitism to be most intense in the media and in the Czechoslovak state administration, however, they also remark that the Communist media was not openly antisemitic. In their opinion, the 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.

The accompanying comments are also varied and range from emotional to highly stoic. “...*I was hoping that my own comrades, those with whom I stood by socialism, 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 after the trial of Rudolf Slánský, and it was the same in the 1970s. It hurts as I had gotten used to having friends around and now my friends started chasing me like a dog.*”⁹⁶⁴ This statement is based on a true perception of the reality of the time. As Czech historian Sára Černíková states, *Rudé Právo* (the Red Truth), along with Czechoslovak Radio, launched a long-running aggressive campaign that lasted throughout the trial. The outcomes of this campaign were even reported in the Communist Bulletin, which stated that anti-Jewish sentiment had been evident in some regions, and Jews had to face antisemitic ridicule and opinions, especially in factories. According to the authors of the bulletin, this trial created a dangerously antisemitic atmosphere.⁹⁶⁵

Another respondent refers to articles in *Rudé Právo* (the Red Truth) which, according to the respondents, took a critical stance on the following cases. “*I do not remember the responses to the Slánský trial, my parents probably told me about that, but I do remember how Rudé Právo (the Red Truth) wrote about the abduction of Israeli athletes. This was...I think in Munich...sometime in the early 70's. I do not know exactly what was there, but it was pretty disgusting. Yeah, and then the hijacking was kind of right after that. The Communists could not stand it at all.*”⁹⁶⁶

963 Respondents have indicated on a scale of 0-5 where antisemitism was the most intensive.

964 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, basic education).

965 ČERNÍKOVÁ, Sára. Ohlas na proces s „protistátním spikleneckým centrem“. *Paměť a dějiny*. 2020, **12**(3), p. 70.

966 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, university degree).

For this comment, I must demur this statement because I have compared this testimony with several editions of *Rudé Právo* (the Red Truth) dealing with this incident and based on the articles,⁹⁶⁷ I have to state that although *Rudé Právo* (the Red Truth) provided inaccurate, biased information, the text cannot be considered antisemitic. However, there was obviously a different approach to this event in terms of the amount of text and its location within the titles of *Rudé Právo* (the Red Truth). In serious dailies in the West,⁹⁶⁸ the Munich tragedy was published as a top story, which overshadowed all other news for at least a week, while *Rudé Právo* (the Red Truth) purposely pushed this incident to the bottom. The front page was full of information about fulfillment of “the Five-Year Plan,” the planned exercise of the Warsaw Pact armies, and the visit of Czechoslovak deputies to Mongolia.

I also noticed a higher than average focus on politics, because based on the additional comments, it is obvious that the CZSJG had unpleasant experiences with Communist officials, especially at school and cultural institutions such as theaters or galleries. It is interesting to note that respondents often cited politics as the main cause of antisemitism; however, this was not manifested in the state administration, but rather at school and at work. I draw this conclusion based on the answers provided by the respondents, which show that the CZSJG considered communist politics to be the main reason for their exclusion from studies or dismissal from work. Among these answers, it was more frequent 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 antisemitism is lower at indicators for “school” and “work”, and higher in “politics.”

In addition to measuring the intensity of antisemitism, my aim here is to define the most common forms of antisemitism. Table 25 contains data addressing the form of experienced antisemitism; respondents could choose from the following answers: swearing/insults, threats, physical violence, and interrogation.

⁹⁶⁷ Tragická událost v olympijské vesnici. [A tragic event in the Olympic Village]. *Rudé právo: ústřední orgán komunistické strany Československé*. 1972, **52**(10), p. 7.

⁹⁶⁸ Compare to: Moskau reagiert mit achtstündigen Verspätung. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*. 1972, (206), p. 2. ; ABRAMSON, Jerry. Fate of Hostages is Uncertain in Clash During Attempted Getaway. *International Herald Tribune*. 1972, **27**(882), p. 1.; Brandt leads night siege of Games village. *Guardian*. 1972, (6). The year and number are not listed in the journal.

I decided to integrate “interrogation” to the questions for the social cohorts researched because the CZSJG and the CZTJG could have been subjected to police interrogation (by State Security officers) for various reasons, especially as some had close relatives who were emigrants, or came from rich families before the war. As such, their Jewish origin was just an aggravating circumstance. However, at least according to the collected data, police interrogations were not primarily motivated by their 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 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.”*⁹⁶⁹

Only one respondent recalled a police officer uttering an overtly antisemitic insult such as “dirty Jew or Jewish bastards”. The 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.

As you can see in table 25, insults and threats were the most common manifestations of antisemitism for CZSJG. Physical violence was also 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. This question was not a multiple choice and respondents could pick only one option, but those who have, for instance, experience with physical violence and threats mentioned this intersection in additional comments. This observation holds for all examined cohorts (CZTJG, LSJG, LTJG).

Table 25: What form did you experience antisemitism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Swearing/insults ⁹⁷⁰	40%	28

⁹⁶⁹ Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, high school education).

⁹⁷⁰ 15 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

Threats ⁹⁷¹	28,6%	20
Physical violence ⁹⁷²	11,5%	8
Interrogation ⁹⁷³	3%	2
Other (Please, specify) ⁹⁷⁴	10%	12
	Answered	70

Czechoslovak Third Jewish Generation: Antisemitism

This chapter, as well as the previous, contains qualitative results of semi-structured interviews, which were conducted between 15 selected respondents, as well as empirical data provided by a survey (100 respondents). The purpose of this section is to map intergenerational differences and examine whether the perception of antisemitism evolved or changed across the CZSJG and CZTJG.

INTERVIEWS

Interviews with those who witnessed antisemitism reflect the period of Normalization (especially during the years 1969-1989), which occurred after the invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops. Witnesses have a very broad concept of antisemitic elements – some institutionalize antisemitism and consider the communist regime to be the main culprit, while others criticize their own family for antisemitism.

*“So honestly, the only antisemitic attack 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 him and I can learn what's going on with my brother. Unfortunately, our relations have not settled yet. He 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.”*⁹⁷⁵ This eyewitness talks about the ever-growing

971 11 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

972 4 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

973 1 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

974 8 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

975 V. N. Interview, Prague, 1. 6. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

phenomenon of Jewish self-hatred, originally elaborated by Theodor Lessing in 1930.⁹⁷⁶ The term “self-hating Jew” appears in debates about Israel's role in terms of Jewish identity and hostility between Jews.⁹⁷⁷ Scholar Sander Gilman argues 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” even against Jews who oppose Israeli politics and the current form of the Jewish state. This statement was supported by Antony Lerman 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.⁹⁷⁸ On the other hand, sociologist Irving Louis Horowitz assigned this term 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.⁹⁷⁹

While analyzing the interviews with the CZTJG, I came across some testimonies which addressed the issues of self-understanding and low self-confidence among Jewish narrators, rather than a feeling of self-hatred. As Pierre-André Taguieff states in his book *Rising from the muck*, 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, denies 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 threatened world peace and national existence.⁹⁸⁰

In contrast to Taguieff's perspective, the CZSJG from communist families also encountered antisemitism disseminated by Communist comrades. “*Our family was pretty left wing and our father was a passionate member of the Communist party. I had a Communist upbringing*

976 LESSING, Theodor and Boris GROYS. *Der jüdische Selbsthaß*. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1930.

977 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.

978 LERMAN, Antony. Jewish self-hatred: myth or reality? *Jewish Quarterly*. 2008, **55**(2), p. 47-48.

979 HOROWITZ, Irving Louis. New trends and old hatreds. *Society*. 2005, **43**(1), p. 45.

980 Read more: TAGUIEFF, Pierre-André. *Rising from the Muck: The new anti-Semitism in Europe*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004.

–first I went to Pioneer⁹⁸¹ and then to the SSSM.⁹⁸² My parents were children in hiding. After the war, they moved to Kutná Hora. [...] I did not encounter antisemitism until my teens, when I went to the “May Day”⁹⁸³ celebrations as a volunteer. I was wearing a red scarf and carrying a flag and I was really proud. I know, dumb but proud, but suddenly an old man jumped out at me, tore off my flag and said that I had no right to carry it because I was a Jew and a bourgeois. So this was my first encounter with open antisemitism. I don’t know how he recognized that I was Jewish...Maybe because of my hair or nose...but it was horrible for me and I broke into tears and I hated being a Jew.”⁹⁸⁴ This extract also points to a small manifestation of Jewish self-hatred, which is not very common in my research, but nonetheless appears from time to time.

In addition to self-hatred, the CZTJG also contended with monitoring from the StB, which closely observed the activities of the Jewish community towards Israel. This is also confirmed by representatives of the CZTJG. “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 asked me if anyone was trying to make contact with me, and I told them that their names were something like Muhammad, so I could barely remember their names. 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.”⁹⁸⁵

The third generation, like their parents, confirmed that they also faced unaddressed antisemitic ridicule. But as the witnesses immediately added, in their opinion, there was no intention or evil purpose in this behavior. Here is one such example: “As far as I can remember,

981 Soviet-style youth organization for youngsters eight to fifteen years old.

982 Youth organizations in Communist Czechoslovakia.

983 International Workers' Day.

984 K. Š. Interview, Prague. 7. 8. 2019. (a woman, halachic Jew, very lukewarm in practicing, high school education).

985 V. N. Interview, Prague, 1. 6. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

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. Honestly, I use it now as well, and I do not know anyone who has a problem with that. As you know, for example...you can consider antisemitism non-Christian money, but we Jews now quite commonly use it amongst ourselves.”⁹⁸⁶

Two of the respondents mentioned the antisemitism that their children experienced at school, but the following story shows that they do not attach much importance to these indications. *“I know antisemitism just 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 positive in this respect. But they did not seem frustrated as they did not know the meaning of the evil words used by their schoolmates.*”⁹⁸⁷

Another witness perceives antisemitism as a transnational problem which, although connected to the Czechoslovak nation, nonetheless 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. We just have it written there, but my foreign experience tells me that we are definitely no worse than other nations. As 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 Muslims have a problem with them ... At least sometimes.*”⁹⁸⁸

The extract corresponds with the data published in comparative studies conducted by the ADL and reflected in several academic works. In his work, Heiko Beyer argues that antisemitism occurs more frequently in countries with low rates of overt antisemitism. In his opinion, his research proves a strong correlation between nationalism and antisemitism in the United Kingdom and Germany. Antisemitism is also severe in richer countries with a strong catholic majority such as Lithuania, Spain and Poland. Beyer strives to emphasize that antisemitic resentment is rather

986 T. B. Interview, Prague, 4. 3. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

987 P. W. Interview, Prague, 19. 11. 2019 (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

988 K. M. Interview, Prague, 4. 12. 2019 (a man, a halachic Jew, agnostic approach, university degree).

linked with social change, economic crisis and religious conflict as opposed to a particular geographic area.⁹⁸⁹

SURVEY

The results of the survey show a declining intergenerational trend in the perception of antisemitism between CZSJG and CZTJG. However, based on the data collected it is difficult to identify any systematic variations by age of respondents or their denomination. The additional comments also provide a limited number of individual cases. I can conclude that most of respondents from the CZTJG consider antisemitism ubiquitous, often associated with Israel, but marginal. They remember rather well that Israel was either sidelined or criticized in the press during the period of Normalization (1969-1989). In line with the theory on perceived antisemitism in the USA⁹⁹⁰, as formulated by geographer Uzi Rebhun, I can confirm a declining trend in the incidence of antisemitism and its intergenerational perception. 59 out of 100 (CZTJG) respondents stated that they experienced antisemitism in their lives, in contrast to 70 respondents (CZSJG).

Women and men perceive antisemitism a bit differently in my survey (Table 26); 22 females and 37 males out of 59 respondents had experienced antisemitism in their opinion. By contrast, 17 males and 24 females out of 41 respondents said that they had not experienced antisemitism in their lives. 26 halachic Jews, 20 non-halachic Jews and 13 converts have experienced antisemitism in their lives, while 8 halachic, 21 non-halachic and 12 converts have never experienced antisemitism.

Table 26: Do you have any personal experience of antisemitism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	59%	59
No	41%	41

989 BEYER, Heiko. The Globalization of Resentment: Antisemitism in an Inter-and Transnational Context. *Social Science Quarterly*. 2019, **100**(5), p. 1517.

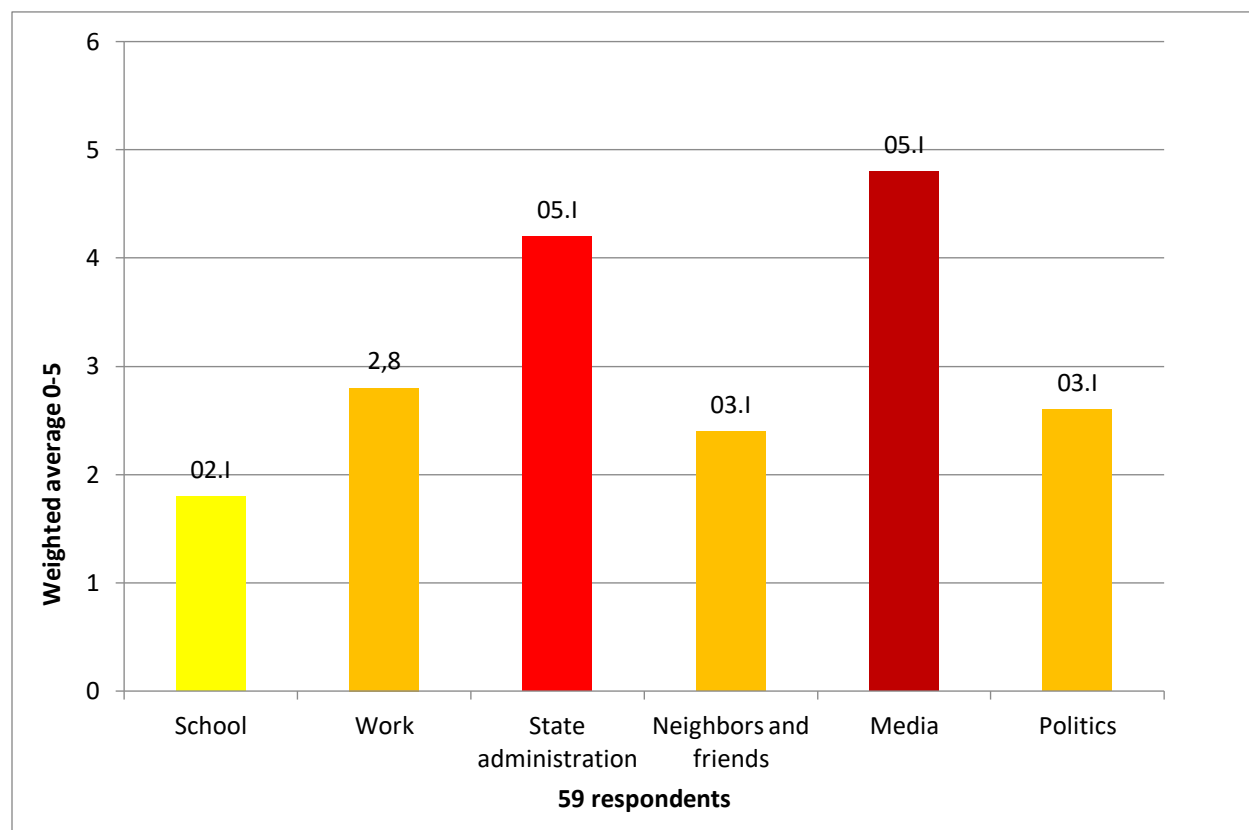
990 The post-war American Jewish generations no longer need to struggle as they have been fully integrated and accepted by American society. The distinction between personally experiencing antisemitism and perceiving antisemitism as a rather significant phenomenon is especially pronounced among elderly Jews. (REBHUN, Uzi. Correlates of experiences and perceptions of anti-Semitism among Jews in the United States. *Social science research*. 2014, **47**, p. 1503).

	Answered	100

As you can see in table 27, the CZTJG consider antisemitism to be most intensive in media and state administration, and stated that they perceived antisemitism in many various forms. Respondents to the survey stated that they were aware of the communist regime's hostility to Israel and consider this stance antisemitic, but at the same time added that these manifestations are not classically antisemitic. In their opinion, antisemitism during the period of Normalization encompassed various dimensions, from classic anti-Zionism (endorsed by international political organizations such as the UN) to efforts to eradicate Jewish culture into oblivion.

Although it is clear from archival sources⁹⁹¹ and the press⁹⁹² that the Communists intensified the anti-Zionist campaign during the period of normalization, it is not possible to deduce from the questionnaire survey whether this form of antisemitism was also experienced by the Jewish people

Table 27: *If so, indicate on the scale where antisemitism was the most intensive*



991 "The forces that engaged from the positions of Zionism, one of the tools of international imperialism and anti-communism, had a significant influence on the fight against socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Their leading representatives in our country were F. Kriegel, J. Pelikán, A. Lustig, E. Goldstücker, A. J. Liehm, E. Lóbl, K. Winter, and many others." (KULJAS, Pavel. *Poučení z krizového vývoje v československých prostředcích masové propagandy a informace a posílení vedoucí úlohy KSČ v nich (1968-1971)*, [Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Congress of the Communist Party, Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party]. Praha, 1971. Dissertation. Vysoká škola politická ÚV KSČ.

992 Here is one of several examples of open anti-Zionism published in the Communist journal *Tribuna*. "The Zionist movement, which largely collaborated with the Nazis in accordance with secret agreements, betrayed European Jews, whose memory it is now shamefully trading in. As an assimilated, withered branch of Judaism, a mere sediment of Jewish blood (corrupted by their merging with European nations), it betrayed them to the Nazis to calculate their lives on the side of future Zionist political assets after the war." (Ideological tricks of Zionism. *Tribuna*. 1974, (24), p. 15).

born in the 1960s. Their statements are largely influenced by the opinions of their parents, as well as the current political situation in the Middle East.

As for the school environment, the CZTJG occasionally cited some minor transgressions and blasphemies that could verge on antisemitism. However, even here there were incidents that respondents considered clearly antisemitic. *“The children did not call me Jewish, but teachers did. For example, I had to learn one of Nekrasova’s poems, we were asked to learn two verses, but I learned three because I loved Nekrasova and literature in general. When the teacher came to class, she asked, who learned Nekrasov? He was a very famous writer... And I raised my hand because I really wanted to say it. “So she called me and gave me a four and also said that I could do better because I was Jewish. I think this is a terrible example of unfair antisemitism, and I remember that to this day. Perhaps she was trying to indicate that I was a smart girl, but I doubt it because when we wrote a test, I always got a worse grade for less mistakes than my classmates, and my mother, who was otherwise very careful ... was already upset ... her parents died shortly after the war - my grandfather even committed suicide. So the teacher and my classmates mocked at me because of my Jewish origin. There were about three of us in the class and I knew it mainly because of the names.”*⁹⁹³

Besides media and school, the state administration played its role in terms of access to education and desired occupations. However, I must consider that most respondents mentioned antisemitism as a phenomenon that came to them mainly through the family, close relatives or neighbors. Nevertheless, they feel its primary and systematic source in the Communist regime and not in specific individuals. They considered antisemitic people to be mainly ignorant or stupid, but not antisemitic on purpose. This conclusion is based on the data collected in the question on the type of antisemitism experienced. The conclusion partially corresponds with the research conducted by Polish scholar Katka Reszke, who considered (based on the collected testimonies) antisemitism in Polish society to be a symbolic and inseparable part of Polish folklore stemming from ignorance, but unthreatening and mild.⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁹³ Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, university degree).

⁹⁹⁴ 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>.

According to the figures in table 28, I can conclude that the main problem of antisemitism lies in insults and threats similar to those experienced by the previous generation (CZSJG).

Table 28: What form did you experience antisemitism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Swearing/insults ⁹⁹⁵	37,2 %	22
Threats ⁹⁹⁶	41,7 %	24
Physical violence ⁹⁹⁷	6,7 %	4
Investigation ⁹⁹⁸	5,1 %	3
Other, please specify ⁹⁹⁹	10,2 %	6
	Answered	59

Physical violence was also very rare, and occurred only at school among classmates. According to the additional comments, threats seem more intensive within their neighborhood. I have twice encountered remarks that the respondents were concerned about spreading information about their Jewish origin by the postman, as some subscribed the Jewish monthly magazine, *Věstník*. *“I used to go to the Jewish municipality to pick it up by myself to keep everything confidential. We had small boxes and it always slightly snorted, so we did not want to risk it. My father refused to put flags in our windows and my mom did not want to cause any more trouble.”*¹⁰⁰⁰ The dataset also shows that halachic Jews appeared to be more threatened by swearing or insults than others. The reason, in their opinion, was their unusual surname or physical characteristics. In their opinion, political beliefs played no role at all.¹⁰⁰¹

Luxembourg Second Jewish generation (LSJG): Antisemitism

INTERVIEWS

995 9 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

996 11 halachic r., 9 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

997 2 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

998 2 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

999 2 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

1000 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, high school education).

1001 I draw this conclusion based on the additional comments linked to the identity of the commentators.

Interviews with witnesses of the second Jewish post-war generation have the same structure as their Czechoslovak counterparts. The questions concerning antisemitism sought primarily to expand upon and enrich the empirical data focused on the intensity and form of the antisemitism described in the survey. The narrators replied to the following questions: Have you ever faced antisemitism in your life? Where did you face antisemitism for the first time? Where and when was the antisemitism the most intense? What form of antisemitism have you experienced in your life?

This primarily concerns the features of antisemitism that originated in Luxembourg society, but it is worth noting that in the beginning almost all narrators quickly replied to my question “Have you ever experienced antisemitism?” with “No, never”; after a while, however, some unpleasant situations occurred to them, mostly typical examples of provoking antisemitism. This remarkable behavior was the same for all Jewish social cohorts in Luxembourg and Czechoslovakia. Research participants mainly stressed other important aspects of the social reality: unemployment, an economy in crisis, crime rates, immigration, racism, terrorism or religious intolerance. Except for the aspects mentioned, 4 out of 15 respondents consider ignorance and illiteracy to be the main sources of antisemitism in Luxembourg. The participants of oral historical research reacted 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.”*¹⁰⁰²

In addition, two other testimonies completed the argument of omnipresent antisemitism as follows: *“Antisemitism has never been as violent as the incidents in France. We have never experienced such aggressive threats and immediate attacks. We have never been abused over the phone like my friends in Paris.”*¹⁰⁰³

1002 J. G. Interview, Luxembourg, 7. 10. 2018. (a man, halachic Jew, daily practicing, university degree).

1003 T. J. Interview, Luxembourg, 4. 11. 2019. (a man, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

Based on the chapter published by Marc Schoentgen,¹⁰⁰⁴ I asked if they ever perceived foreign films as being antisemitic. Specifically, I asked about the film *Oliver Twist* (1949) and the films of Veit Harlan to see how antisemitic the films were considered to be by the LSJG. The answers were rather evasive and unclear. *“I heard some rumors about that film, but honestly I'm not interested in it somehow. 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.”*¹⁰⁰⁵

Another narrator answered my question as follows: *“...movies can be pretty crap, but 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 these 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. Here the government is relatively decent, in spite of fundamentally privileging the Catholic Church, but this has always been the case.”*¹⁰⁰⁶

Some narrators have turned questions about Luxembourg antisemitism around to consider other European states in which they have either relatives or friends. *“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 a slight 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 here.”*¹⁰⁰⁷

In general, it can be said that some narrators have slightly downplayed the intensity of antisemitism in Luxembourg; however, they have also made clear that antisemitic manifestations have had a marginal effect on their lives in Luxembourg.

1004 MOYSE, Laurent and Marc SCHOENTGEN. *La présence juive au Luxembourg du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*. Luxembourg: B'nai Brith, 2001. p. 91.

1005 P. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 3. 9. 2019. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

1006 M. F. Interview, Ettelbruck, 5. 10. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm in religious matters, university degree).

1007 R. H. Interview, Esch-sur-Alzette, 4. 10. 2018. (a man, halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

Israel still seems to play an important role in terms of the perception of antisemitism by the LSJG. Whenever a researcher interviews a member of the LSJG, 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 haven't experienced antisemitism much, even though there were such signs ... some paintings on graves, and my parents told me that there was some pressure for integration after the war, but I don't think it's any acute antisemitism. Like, I used to read about some Luxembourg holidays that were supposed to be antisemitic, but as if I were sleeping in peace, and this never excited me. 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 such a small resistance cell there, which is trying to protect Jewish students from psychological pressure."*¹⁰⁰⁸ *Like... it wouldn't have happened 30 years ago, but I also experienced it a bit ... like not at school but at work, but it wasn't in Luxembourg."*¹⁰⁰⁹

To fully understand the antisemitic incidents on campus, I can recommend the critical book *Antisemitism on the Campus: Past & Present*, which profoundly analyzes the different forms of antisemitism within a historical context, giving space to a wide range of voices from different academic spheres.¹⁰¹⁰ In their courses, some academics portray Israel as an imperialist and colonial-settler state, and according to the authors of the publication, the academics in question encourage other students to literally take responsibility for ending "this empire."¹⁰¹¹

Like their peers in Czechoslovakia, the LSJG have 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.'"*¹⁰¹² 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 –*

1008 Unfortunately, I did not manage to find out what kind of antisemitic manifestation occurred on campus in his case.

1009 B. G. Interview, Luxembourg, 1. 8. 2019. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1010 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>.

1011 Ibid. p. 395.

1012 M. T. Interview, Esch-sur-Alzette, 23. 8. 2019. (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

‘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...”¹⁰¹³

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.*”¹⁰¹⁴

SURVEY

As you can see in table 29, 64 respondents have experienced antisemitism in their lives; however, they often add remarks that antisemitic incidents were neither radical nor harmful. In the social cohort examined, women and men perceive antisemitism similarly; 35 males and 30 females out of 100 respondents had experienced antisemitism, in their opinion. On the contrary, 17 males and 19 females said that they have not experienced antisemitism in their lives. In terms of denomination, there is not a big difference between halachic and non-halachic research participants.

Table 29: Do you have any personal experience of antisemitism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes ¹⁰¹⁵	64%	64
No ¹⁰¹⁶	36%	36
	Answered	100

Based on the additional comments and the collected data, it seems obvious that respondents do not see a great deal of difference between contemporary antisemitism and antisemitism 30 years ago. The extra remarks correspond with the testimonies of narrators, who claim that antisemitism is negligible in Luxembourg. *“Luxembourg is alright, but the situation in other countries is worse. We have more serious problems with immigration or the state of the health services. [...] It is*

1013 T. P. Interview. Esch-sur-Alzette, 14. 6. 2018. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1014 M. S. Interview, Luxembourg, 8. 3. 2019. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, high school education) .

1015 41 halachic r., 17 non-halachic r., 6 converts.

1016 14 halachic r., 14 non-halachic r., 8 converts.

something what we have to struggle with. I am very afraid of immigration from the Middle East and countries with unknown culture...too far from our owns.”¹⁰¹⁷

The figures in the graphs also reflect the reality in Belgium where similar outcomes were published in the book *Confronting Allo-Semitism in Europe: The Case of Belgium*. In this research, Jewish respondents from Belgium also see the antisemitism and racism in a broader context which is not only limited to one social reality. According to the available data, it is clear that Belgian respondents perceive racism and antisemitism as a social issue, which must be understood in the context of other social problems. The authors of the research mention unemployment, an economic crisis, crime, immigration, or religious intolerance.¹⁰¹⁸ All these phenomena have similar levels of "severity" among the selected respondents (416) – the scale is between 76-86%. They believe that antisemitism and racism have been growing in society during the past few decades. According to Belgian and Luxembourgish Jews, both these phenomena occur mainly on the Internet. Some respondents explicitly claim that this medium created a new space for antisemitism and pushed the current form of antisemitism into the background – a new medium that covered the existing antisemitism, which was characterized by graffiti on walls and the desecration of Jewish cemeteries.¹⁰¹⁹

Despite the difficulties in quantifying this information, LSJG members largely claim that antisemitism is most present in the occasional aggressive behavior towards individuals in the street and in contemptuous media comments about Jews and Israel. According to the respondents, the internet and social media caused a new wave of antisemitism, which is borderless and not be specific to one place. Overall, it can be argued that respondents consider antisemitism in the 1960s and 1970s to be slightly less dangerous than current antisemitism over the past 20 years. *“Israel has always been under tight supervision, but now various misinformation and hoaxes, such as those killed and raped Palestinians, may be spreading because of the Internet. I dealt with it a bit and only Twitter is worse than Facebook. In my opinion, he does not have aggressive contributions at all.*”¹⁰²⁰

1017 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1018 BEN-RAFAEL, Eliezer. *Confronting Allo-Semitism in Europe: the case of Belgian Jews*. [online]. Boston: Brill, 2014, p. 74-75. [Accessed 2021-6-13]. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004274068_001.

1019 Ibid. p. 76.

1020 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

The form of antisemitism for the LSJG is remarkably similar to their Czechoslovak counterparts (CZSJG).¹⁰²¹ The results show that there is no great difference,¹⁰²² except of course interrogations by the police, as due to the nature of the regime this form of antisemitism was not a part of the questions for Luxembourg survey participants.

According to additional statements, the participants in the research often encounter what might be called modern allosemitism. This phenomenon concerns the element of ignorance and strangeness, rather than classical anti-Judaism, and does not correspond to any category of antisemitism defined so far. According to Baumann, modern antisemitism or hatred of Jews is more about Jewishness than Judaism. Despite the Jewish efforts at integration, antisemites always find reason to hate and consider Jewish people as a “special species.” According to Bauman, antisemites consider Jews to be people characterized by their own inimitable *Volkseigentümlichkeit* (people's peculiarity).¹⁰²³ Here is one of the examples when a respondent was perceived as something like a rarity or peculiarity, rather than a hostile element in terms of society.

*“They never looked at me strangely in Luxembourg... then only occasionally in the 60's I didn't go to Religion [class] 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.”*¹⁰²⁴

*“It never happened to me that I would receive a hate letter or something. 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, but it wasn't significant, so I don't remember.”*¹⁰²⁵

Only four witnesses stated that they had been physically attacked, and one of them explained it in a commentary as follows. *“We played an army game at school and nobody wanted*

1021 Compare the results from the survey beneath the question (“What form did you experience antisemitism?”).

1022 The similarity lies in the rare incidence of physical violence in contrast with swearing and threats, which were dominant in the respondents' replies.

1023 BAUMANN, Zygmund. Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern. In: *Modernity, Culture, and “the Jew”*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998, p. 143-156.

1024 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1025 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

to choose me anywhere, so I always got beating from both sides. Sometimes the kids shouted at me, but I think it was more stupid, maybe a little bullying, than antisemitic.”¹⁰²⁶

Table 30: What form did you experience antisemitism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Swearing/insults ¹⁰²⁷	43,8 %	28
Threats ¹⁰²⁸	34,4 %	22
Physical violence ¹⁰²⁹	6,3 %	4
Other, please specify ¹⁰³⁰	15,6 %	10
	Answered	64

As for the forms of antisemitism, I have encountered an issue for the question addressing the intensity of antisemitism, as – at least according to some comments – the respondents related the question to the intensity of contemporary antisemitism, especially on the Internet. *“I ticked off the media in your questionnaire, but it is especially the Internet that is currently spreading antisemitism. [...] Antisemitism in Luxembourg exists as everywhere, but it is nothing in comparison to my country of birth – Egypt.*”¹⁰³¹ Online antisemitism is a widespread phenomenon and has been analyzed in many different works.¹⁰³² It is a ubiquitous phenomenon generally reflected by all of the cohorts examined throughout the course of my research.¹⁰³³

Here is another comment showing that antisemitism was not strong in Luxembourg from the perspective of respondents. They believe that the world’s political stance towards Israel can be observed as more seriously antisemitic. *“Sometimes there was an article somewhere that showed how well the Jewish elite was doing, but when I moved to Lux, it's quiet... it is more dangerous 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.*”¹⁰³⁴

1026 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

1027 17 halachic r., 6 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

1028 15 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

1029 3 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

1030 6 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

1031 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1032 ZANNETTOU, Savvas et al. A Quantitative Approach to Understanding Online Antisemitism. *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media* [online]. 2020, 14(1), p. 786-797. [Accessed 2021-5-25]. Available from: <https://ojs.aaai.org/index.php/ICWSM/article/view/7343>.

1033 When we talked about antisemitism, they often mentioned the internet as a harmful, unmanageable space for causing harm.

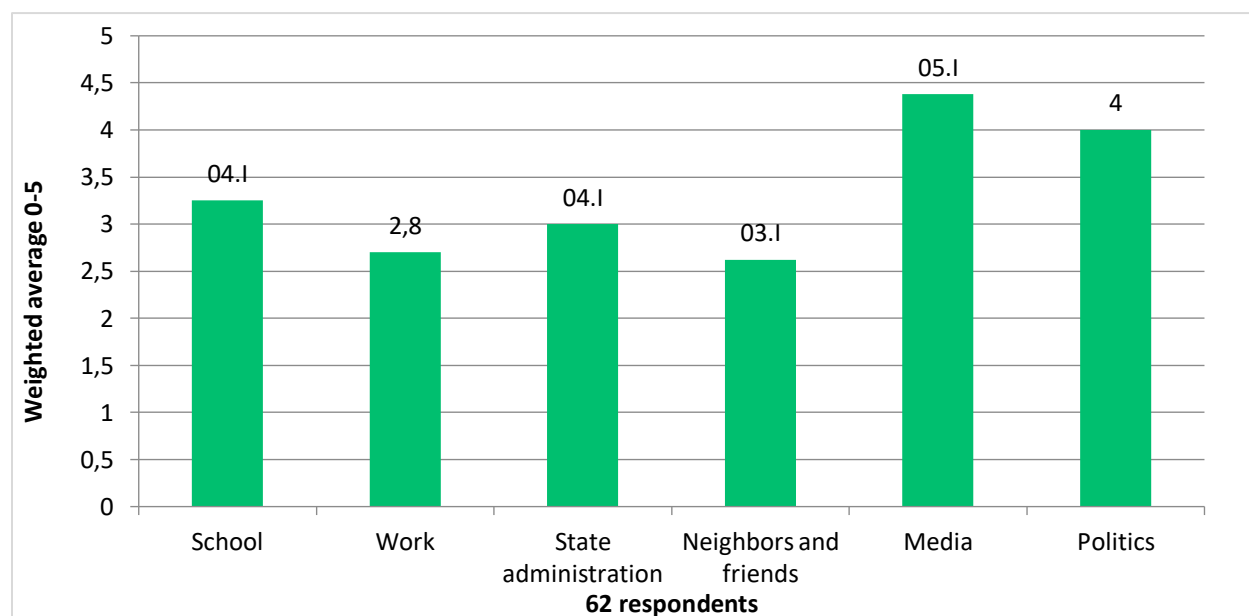
1034 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

Two comments also described antisemitic incidents that happened at school. *“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 they immediately started giving me worse grades. I dealt with it somehow, but then she left school.”*¹⁰³⁵ Another narrator describes his experience as follows: *“Once my classmates drew something in my notebook and it was a Jewish star. It was more of a nonsense, but my father was very upset and went to complain to the school.”*¹⁰³⁶

Based on the accompanying comments, it is remarkable that the graph n. 4 shows relatively high values in the area of state administration. However, three specific comments state that antisemitism was, in their opinion, especially present in the area of post-war restitution. More than anything else, this type of antisemitism reflects the narration of the LSJG’s parents and relatives. *“The state of [Luxembourg] did not behave well after the war either. There were many asylum applications and people had many worries about regaining their ID. I know my parents were frustrated to get their property back, but in the end they at least got something, unlike my uncle, who was trying to get his property back in France and completely failed.”*¹⁰³⁷

Luxembourg Third Jewish generation (LTJG): Antisemitism.

Table 31: If so, indicate on the scale where antisemitism was the most intensive?



1035 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, high school education).

1036 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1037 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing occasionally, university degree).

INTERVIEW

During the interviews with the narrators from the LTJG, it became clear that their views on antisemitism differed quite considerably, similarly to those of their Czechoslovak counterparts. An interesting fact is that once I began questioning them about Israel, witnesses quickly replaced this topic with antisemitism and automatically began analyzing the current political situation in that country. I have already encountered this phenomenon in other groups, but in this case, almost all narrators (13 out of 15) followed this unintended development of the conversation.

The LTJG argues, more than anyone else, 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 Jews from the LTJG strongly criticized the internal or international Israeli policy, but this collation is unacceptable and very intimidating for many of them. 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. This is something that they have had to defend themselves against not just in Luxembourg, but also abroad, for instance on business trips.

The LTJG also seems open to specifically describing what kind of antisemitism they have experienced. More than anyone else, they added detailed comments on particular antisemitic incidents. They emphasized the need for accuracy, as the history of antisemitism is not one-dimensional. They unintentionally justified the theory of Bryan Cheyette, who said that antisemitism is grounded in foundational ambivalences. He further states that the perception of Jewish otherness is deeply rooted in European, and specifically British, culture, and this otherness has often been marginalized and distorted, as it is limited to only one aspect of racial thought. The concept of the difference between "good" and "bad" Jews has always been ambivalent, and he calls this that "antisemitism of tolerance."¹⁰³⁸

"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 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

1038 CHEYETTE, Bryan. English anti-Semitism: a counter-narrative. *Textual Practice*. [online]. 2011, **25**(1), p. 15-32 [Accessed 2021-5-25]. Available from:doi:<https://doiorg.proxy.bnl.lu/10.1080/0950236X.2011.546084>.

that is antisemitism. It is rather about being anti-Israel."¹⁰³⁹ This response from one Jewish narrator suggests one of the common aspects of international antisemitism; a collective responsibility for the actions of the state of Israel. The respondents also argued that the force of antisemitism in post-war Luxembourg has never reached the level of denying the rights of Jewish people to self-determination.

According to Bernard Lewis, what has aroused and 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 (as judged by the narrators) resolutions set off a wave of antisemitism and remorse for both Jews in Israel and the diaspora. In the opinion of the LTJG, the United Nations 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 this resolution on November 17, 1947 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.¹⁰⁴⁰

Besides being abused due to Israel, one of the narrators said: *"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, a certain aversion to me 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."*¹⁰⁴¹

This statement corresponds to some of the testimonies of the LSJG who detailed their experiences with "academic antisemitism" in the previous chapter. The narrator described a series of antisemitic incidents that occurred to varying degrees in university environments, especially after the armed conflicts in the Middle East, in which Israel became militarily involved. 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

1039 F. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 24. 8. 2018. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

1040 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>.

1041 M.T. Interview, Luxembourg, 23.7.2019. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

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 Jewish students, such as excused absence for religious holidays, kosher dining facilities, chaplaincy services, Hillel, and Jewish studies courses.”*¹⁰⁴²

Nevertheless, this friendly atmosphere rapidly changed after 1956, when so-called “academic antisemitism” emerged. According to Kenneth Marcus, it is composed of several dimensions and aspects. The first factor 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 on the line between objective political criticism towards Israel and open antisemitism. The third is Muslim antisemitism that emerged among the Muslim population in Europe based on an age-old hatred of Jews, Israel and American foreign policy.¹⁰⁴³ *“Anti-American and anti-globalist anger that ‘spills over to Israel, and to Jews,’ who are identified with Israel, globalism and America.”*¹⁰⁴⁴

Regarding the international anti-Israel political reactions, I also wish to cite the narrator who complained about French antisemitism, which forced their parents to move to Luxembourg in the 1960s. *“It was ok in France for a long time, even though ordinary French were not great friends of the Jews, but until Israel was under French protection, everything went well. The hate began appearing, in my opinion, in the 1960s, when Israel definitively moved under the US wing. The French have deeply rooted anti-Americanism in their souls, and my parents told me that even Charles de Gaulle, whom we otherwise respect, publicly dishonored Israel because of its war acts.”*¹⁰⁴⁵

I compared this part of the interview with the statement made by Charles de Gaulle about Israel after the Six-Day War. This happened in the context of the adoption of the important UN Security Council Resolution No. 242 of 22 November 1967 relating to the territories of Israel. The general then declared that many politicians had been afraid that the recently dispersed Jewish

1042 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>.

1043 Ibid. p. 844.

1044 Ibid. p. 844.

1045 T. K. Interview, Luxembourg, 12. 5. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, agnostic, university degree).

population had been too vulnerable and defenseless, but in fact it remained an elitist, egotistical and domineering nation.¹⁰⁴⁶ 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 characteristic of the Jews as a “domineering” and too self-assured nation¹⁰⁴⁷ had a substantial impact on Franco-Israeli relations in the second half of the 20th century.

SURVEY

The LTJG also appeared more open to specifically describing what kind of antisemitism they had experienced. More than anyone else, they added detailed comments on particular antisemitic incidents. They emphasized the need for accuracy as the history of antisemitism is not one-dimensional, but multi-faceted.

As shown in table 32, most of the respondents (55) had encountered antisemitism in their lives, but it is noteworthy that 20 respondents attached extra qualifications these claims. However, all of them marked the option “No.” This social cohort proved to be the most cautious when reflecting upon antisemitism. 30 males and 25 females out of 55 respondents admitted to having experienced incidents considered to be antisemitic. The group (who experienced antisemitism) is composed of 29 halachic Jews, 17 non-halachic Jews and 9 converts. Similar to other examined cohorts, there is also a clear decline in the perception of antisemitism – this social cohort is the smallest.

Table 32: Do you have any personal experience of antisemitism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	55%	55
No	45%	45
	Answered	100

1046 DE GAULLE, Charles. *Discours et messages: Vers le terme, janvier 1966-avril 1969*. Paris: Plon, 1982. p. 232-233.

1047 Ibid. p. 232-233.

Based on the additional comments, the LTJG stated that they had encountered antisemitism from the left and right of Islam, as well as its radical elements, and as a rule this tends to converge around an opposition to the existence of Israel as a Jewish state.

These results partly correspond with the theory described by Jack Fischel, who wrote that the new antisemitism has enough strength to form a coalition of mutually intolerant opponents who are able to overcome their mutual antipathies to destroy the “Jewish” enemy together. 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.¹⁰⁴⁸ “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 Palestinians was viewed as no better than the Nazi brutalization of the Jews.”¹⁰⁴⁹

Besides evident political antisemitism, the LTJG mentioned insults and threats that had occurred in schools or at work. Some have written that their children were intimidated by their schoolmates due to their Jewish origin, 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. It was so disappointing and harmful that he decided to continue studying in Hungary. And he did not complain at all, but Orbán closed this university and he had to move to Austria. But it still keeps a good quality. [...] My son is the same as me, more left-wing. In general, students in the United States are more politically engaged than here [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.”*¹⁰⁵⁰

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). As shown on graph n. 7, according to the response from the

1048 FISCHEL, Jack. The New Anti-Semitism. *The Virginia Quarterly Review* [online]. 2005, **81**(3), p. 225 [Accessed 2021-3-21]. Available from: https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.is.cuni.cz/stable/26443852?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

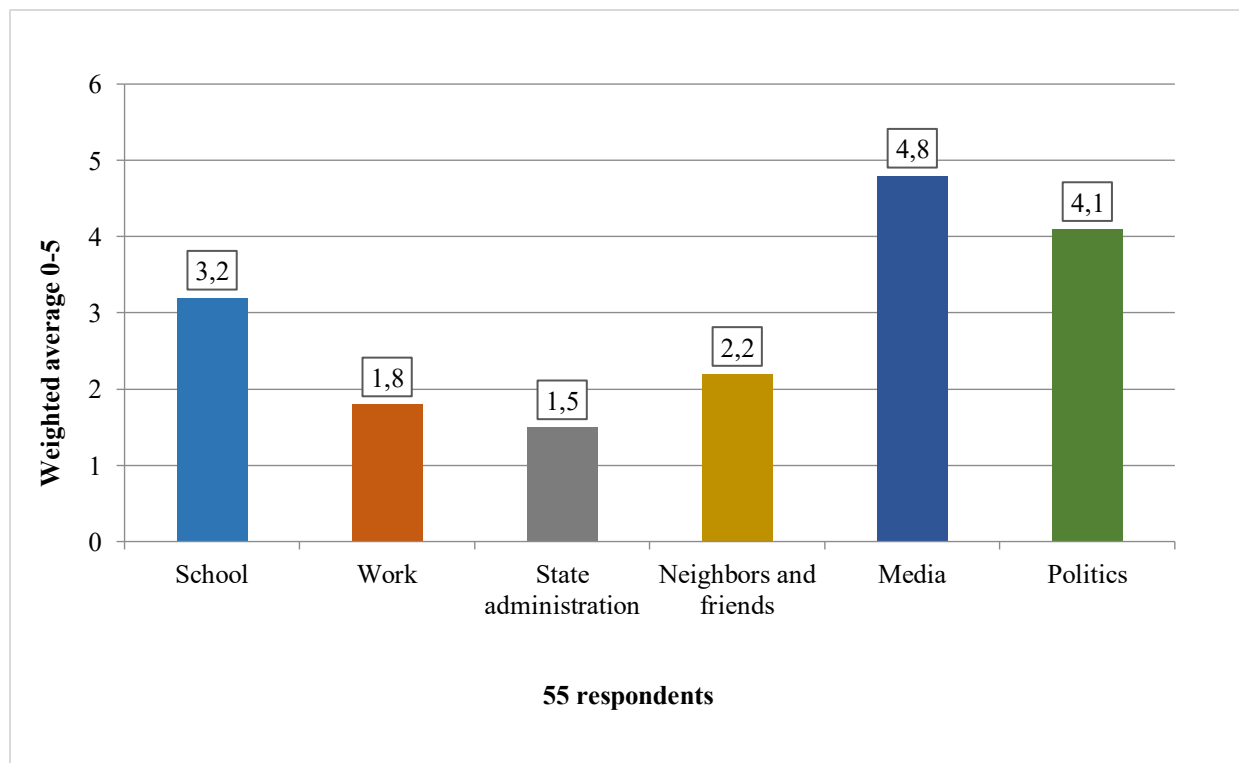
1049 Ibid. p. 226-227.

1050 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, not- practicing, university degree).

survey, Media and Politics also play an important role in terms of the intensity of antisemitism. Based on the data collected, I cannot draw the conclusion that politics and media were antisemitic, but I can infer from the data collected that both Luxembourgish post-war generations felt that antisemitism has increased considerably in the online world over the years. In their opinion, the reception is related to media reporting of events concerning Israel, which is often felt to be biased – to say the least. Whilst most of the LSJG and LTJG do not regard criticism of Israel as antisemitic, a perceived bias against Israel is viewed as part of a widely disseminated antisemitic phenomenon.

Apart from issues related to Israel, the additional comments also contain criticism of liberal Judaism from the side of orthodox Jews dealing with morality and truism, although this aspect is very rare and occurred only twice. Here is one such example: *“Well I have this as a major source of discussion because there is a trend within liberal Judaism to absorb socialistic wrongdoing behavior as the norm. Tolerance for the wrong. We can then end up by being as intolerant as antisemitic people are. So it is difficult to strike a balance but even the balance is already leaving the door open to wrongdoing. It is difficult. The morally acceptable is immoral whenever is not welcome in the group. This is a truism but it makes pockets, or islands, of isolated Jews within*

Table 33: If so, indicate on the scale where antisemitism was the most intensive



separate communities.¹⁰⁵¹ The other accompanying comments are full of examples of antisemitism towards Israel. According to survey respondents and narrators, Luxembourg Jews and Israel constituted perfect scapegoats, as although the Jews in Luxembourg are no longer physically abused, a part of them still feels they are the target of victimization coming from neighboring countries.

Here is the other 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 Juifs¹⁰⁵² that proclaims that all Jews are Palestinians. They decry Sharon’s and Israel’s political acts as crimes against humanity.¹⁰⁵³”* As you can see in table 34, the LTJG very rarely faced physical violence or open antisemitism, but based on the data collected, I can conclude that crude accusations stated against Israel are prevalent everywhere.

One research participant remarkably argues that some Jewish intellectuals contribute to contemporary antisemitism since they openly deny the Holocaust, but they did not specify any names.¹⁰⁵⁴ *“It is sometimes unbelievable, but in my opinion antisemitism is so strong today because of Jewish elitists who have openly denied the Holocaust. I never understood it, but I got my hands on the writings of a few of them and it is incredible reading...”¹⁰⁵⁵*

Table 34: What form did you experience antisemitism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Swearing/insults ¹⁰⁵⁶	36,4%	20
Threats ¹⁰⁵⁷	43,6%	24

1051 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew).

1052 Union des Progressistes Juifs de Belgique .

1053 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, occasionally practicing, university degree).

1054 A good example of Holocaust denial is the publication of the book *Le Drame des Juifs européens* by Jewish survivor Paul Rassinier, who survived imprisonment in the Buchenwald concentration camp. In his publication, he argues with the conclusions of respected Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg and accuses him of manipulating the facts. Rassinier was subsequently convicted of many lies and deliberate misinterpretations of the sources, yet his book became the "bible" of deniers, and his past as a Buchenwald prisoner gave him a mark of legitimacy. (IGOUNET, Valérie. *Histoire du négationnisme en France*. Paris: Seuil, 2000. p. 135-140).

1055 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, occasionally practicing, high school education).

1056 11 halachic r., 8 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

1057 12 halachic r., 7 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

Physical violence ¹⁰⁵⁸	7,3%	4
Other (Please specify) ¹⁰⁵⁹	12,7%	7
	Answered	55

I would like to conclude this chapter with a unique definition of antisemitism. Only one of the members of the LTJG¹⁰⁶⁰ dared to define antisemitism, but in my opinion, his description is interesting and insightful. *“Antisemitism cannot be theoretically defined but you can embrace it through antisemitic acts and incidents. Through these, the public can create a framework and define the scope within the bounds of possibility. Today, antisemitism can take many forms, e.g. attacks on property, physical attacks, verbal threats or antisemitic contributions on the Internet and social networks.”*¹⁰⁶¹

Summary

In order to answer a research question concerning antisemitism,¹⁰⁶² it is important to understand the evidence on the complexity of modern antisemitism in the cohorts examined, it is necessary to maintain a broad overview while also identifying patterns that cut across the datasets provided by the research survey and the interviews. The qualitative and quantitative data obtained can be summarized and interpreted in many ways and it is important to take into account the subjective view of the interpreter as well as the subjectivity of the research participants. The aim of the summary is to present intersections and similarities rather than differences and distinctions, although it is impossible to precisely quantify or clearly define a single unequivocal approach to the issues presented.

The first analysis performed explores how both Czechoslovak post-war Jewish generations coped with former communist anti-Zionism. The narrators' statements were very wide-ranging depending on their family origins, especially whether they come from a “communist” family or by contrast from a “reactionary” family with bourgeois origins. Some accused their parents of a lack of resistance to a hostile regime which in their eyes systematically denounced Israel. Others

1058 2 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 2 converts.

1059 4 halachic r., 2 converts 1 convert.

1060 He was the only one who attempted to define antisemitism out of all the cohorts examined.

1061 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

1062 Research question: How do Jewish post-war generations perceive the surrounding antisemitism?

identified intergenerational fears and concerns which mostly came from Jewish relatives. Some reflected on the way in which the family coped with persecution from the communist regime because of their origins and mentioned the emigration of one or more family members.

In all the generations examined, nearly all the research participants (CZSJG+CZTJG) who had/have family members in the communist party have formed a definite stance towards the behavior of their parents. During the interviews or in the attached comments, some implicitly rejected their parents' actions and attitudes towards the communist regime, although they partly understood their parents' reasons. Some narrators (CZSJG) admitted to being pushed to choose a job according to their parents' wishes because their parents did not want to stand out and attract the attention of the communist administration. Narrators and respondents imputed this behavior to their low self-confidence.

One area of intersection that cut across all generations, in both Luxembourg and the Czech lands, was the marginalization of antisemitism. All the generations examined downplayed the issue of antisemitism, regardless of age, place or generational classification. According to the vast majority of responses (questionnaire and answers in the interviews), Jewish generations did not consider slurs from classmates about their origins as threatening or dangerous antisemitism, but they took a more negative view of antisemitic allusions from teachers and other educational authorities. Narrators and respondents also encountered antisemitism in the workplace, but none confirmed that antisemitism was so intolerable that it made them leave their job. This attitude may stem from the phenomenon described by sociologist Bernd Marin, who 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.¹⁰⁶³

Emerging indicators of self-hatred are tightly interwoven with the CZSJG and the CZTJG in my research. When analyzing the LSJG and LTJG dataset, I did not encounter the same issue. Some Czechoslovak Jewish narrators and respondents across generations mentioned an active hatred from their close Jewish environment towards their identity and behavior. On no account can

1063 Read more: MARIN, Bernd. *Antisemitismus ohne Antisemiten: autoritäre Vorurteile und Feindbilder*. Vienna: Campus Verlag, 2000. p. 374-375.

this indicator be quantified or applied to create a uniform pattern of behavior for a particular group of subjects. 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.

Another common link is an intergenerational decline in the perception of antisemitism in both the Czech lands and Luxembourg. Both second generations claimed to experience antisemitism more often than their successors. The third generations agreed that direct contact with antisemitism has declined as a result of ever-improving integration into mainstream society. Nevertheless, it must be stated that both generations noted a relocation of antisemitism to online media and social networks. This trend is intergenerational and based on the data it is clear that subsequent generations of Jews in the diaspora will be on their guard against the dissemination of online antisemitism.

As mentioned above, the collected data can be interpreted in various ways, but the common denominator seems to be Israel, which dominates modern antisemitic discourse everywhere except in the State of Israel itself. While the Czechoslovak generations tackle this issue through the lens of communist anti-Zionism, the Luxembourg Jewish generations mainly operate from the perspective of international political antisemitism and anti-Zionism. The Luxembourg research participants distinguished a greater variability in individual antisemitic elements in the contemporary discourse, and they effectively recognized that Israel may have some political responsibility for the escalation of the conflict.¹⁰⁶⁴ 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 experience may be traced back to the international academic environment in the 1960-70s.¹⁰⁶⁵ 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 this form of antisemitism in Czechoslovakia/ the Czech Republic. Based on the analysis performed, I cannot claim with certainty that this phenomenon exists, but many of the

¹⁰⁶⁴ In their opinion, the shelling of the Gaza Strip has provoked violent antisemitic incidents against Jews in Western Europe.

¹⁰⁶⁵ 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>.

research participants mentioned this type of antisemitism. According to some Czechoslovak research participants, Czech universities are well known for philosemitism and their affection for Israel.¹⁰⁶⁶

Another common feature mentioned by all the examined cohorts is antisemitism by means of state administration and media. The CZSJG mainly referred to 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. No participants 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 I asked them 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 generations examined, can be summed up by the following observation: “Something occurs from time to time which seems wrong, but look at what is going on outside.” Another common statement: “I studied abroad and it was much worse there.” But as I mentioned above, Israel is a much-discussed aspect of post-war antisemitism in the European diaspora. In the vast majority of conversations, we ended up – sometimes inadvertently – discussing Israeli politics.

However, even here there is a difference: while the CZSJG and CZTJG do not associate Israeli policy so much with outbreaks of antisemitism in the diaspora, their Luxembourg peers have a partial understanding of why Israel has been so indiscriminately and sharply criticized by other states and international organizations. However, they 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.

The very perception of antisemitism is generally difficult to grasp and define. Many participants in the research downplayed antisemitic behavior and did not consider various incidents to be antisemitism, rather labeling them as prejudices and stereotypes that appear in history and

1066 Friendly relations continue to prevail in the university environment, as confirmed by Irena Kalhousova, the director of the Herzl Center, UK. (RYCHLÍK, Martin. Studenti UK se o Izrael velmi zajímají, říká šéfka Herzlova centra. In: *Forum: Magazín Univerzity Karlovy* [online]. Prague: UK, 2020 [Accessed 2021-5-30]. Available from: <https://www.ukforum.cz/rubriky/veda/619-rozviijeme-vztahy-s-izraelskou-vedou-rika-sefka-herzlova-centra>).

have deep roots in a certain society. I learned from both Luxembourg and Czechoslovak Jews that antisemitism is a latent phenomenon that resurfaces regularly, especially when there is an escalation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

According to the research participants, antisemitism has not vanished but has been transformed into more disguised forms and moved to the internet. The collected data insinuates that historical antisemitism has become less pronounced and that contemporary antisemitism contains elements of “allosemitism,” the idea of Jews as “other”: according to sociologist Ruth Gruber, contemporary antisemitism on social networks combines elements of traditional anti-Jewish prejudice and stereotypes with contrasting elements of unconditional Jewish adoration (philosemitism).¹⁰⁶⁷

Focusing on the quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire, you will learn the following details: 70 respondents from the CZSJG and 62 respondents from LSJG have experienced antisemitism in their lives. This is a larger number than their descendants, where this number decreases somewhat (CZTJG: 60 respondents and LTJG: 51 respondents). But it is disputable whether society treats Jews better or whether antisemitism has just moved to another environment (virtual domains). A common factor is the fear of their loved ones and the polarization of the perception of antisemitism.

RESULTS: Jewish identity and Jewishness

This part seeks to analyze the roles and features of interacting individualities and groups that have formed individual identities of the Jewish second and third post-war generation. Based on the individual narrators, it is very difficult to encompass all factors of post-war Jewish identities and Jewishness linked to the social cohorts examined. I have distinguished significant differences between the various types of factors that constitute individual identities which prevented me from constructing generally applicable patterns. The data collected should address the issues concerning

¹⁰⁶⁷ “Allosemitism can embrace both positive and negative feelings toward Jews – everything, as the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman put it, “from love and respect to outright condemnation and genocidal hatred.” (Allosemitism (noun) :Jews as the perpetual ‘other’. *Jewish Journal* [online]. New York, 2016 [Accessed 2021-5-30]. Available from: <https://jewishjournal.com/news/worldwide/65224/>.

the ambiguity and hybridity of individual cases, rather than generalizing and searching for intersections within particular social cohorts.¹⁰⁶⁸

The subject of my research was not to find a common denominator for all participants in the research, but rather to define the differences and connections that are typical of both communities in the former Czechoslovakia and Luxembourg. I did not focus on the influence on religious identity in terms of comparing Ashkenazi or Sephardic Jews. I was interested in the subjective view of the participants within the historical context in order to create certain starting points, rather than more general conclusions. Although many researchers analyze the formation of post-war Jewish identities on the principle of experience with the Holocaust,¹⁰⁶⁹ I have primarily focused my questions on individual perceptions of Judaism, history, family, surroundings and the Jewish community in certain areas. My research instead deals with the environment in which the participants grew up and the range of opportunities that enabled them to form their Jewish identity. I understand the individual identity of an individual in my research as the intersection of personal, social and collective identities. Man's idea of himself is thus to some extent derived from their reflected affiliation to (real or imaginary) social formations. In the text below, I seek to examine different 'lay perspectives' that demonstrate how Jews in the areas researched work with a wide range of identities and religious burdens. Through testimonies and the survey results, I provide different dimensions of 'lay theories,' implicating allusions to current 'formal' theories and prevalent discourses.¹⁰⁷⁰

To get a valid response to the research question of how Jewish identities and Jewishness were shaped and transmitted in the post-war period in Luxembourg and in the Czech lands, I decided to ask the following questions in the survey. How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up? What or who forms your Jewish identity? What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays? At what age did you start taking an interest

1068 I find inspiration in the publication of Katka Reszke, who is also trying to connect the distinctions, multiplicities and hybridities in terms of Polish Jewish identity. (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:doi:10.1515/9781644690420).

1069 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>.

1070 COLMAN, Andrew, ed. *Companion Encyclopedia of Psychology*. London: Routledge, 1994. p. 602-622.

in Judaism? Last but not least, I asked them who the Jew was for them personally. Although I did not ask them directly about the impact of Jewish culture on their Jewish identity and Jewishness, the collected data shows that Jewish culture played an important role in rediscovering Judaism both in Communist Czechoslovakia and in liberal democratic Luxembourg. On the contrary, the empirical data drawn on the survey aims to find general links and intersections typical of each social cohort examined in my research. The respondents in the survey were classified according to their gender, Jewish origin, and their level of practicing Judaism.

The analyzed interviews (60) and the submitted questionnaires give rise to a diverse range of collective and individual identities, whose features I try to reflect upon and analyze in the following section. As mentioned in the theoretical introduction, Jewish identity in the diaspora is very multi-layered, as is the approach to Judaism. The narrators and survey respondents provided data on religious, ethnic, political, national, generational and gender identities. Unfortunately, this work does not provide enough space to reflect in detail upon all these categories and their dimensions.

Czechoslovak Second Jewish Generation: Jewish identity formed by uncertainty and ignorance

This chapter analyzes the interviews with 15 narrators from the social cohort marked as the Czechoslovak second Jewish generation. During the semi-structured interviews, I asked narrators about their upbringing and support from their families. Questions were very similar to those asked in the survey.¹⁰⁷¹ I also try to select a variety of narrators with different backgrounds (halachic, non-halachic Jews and converts, but the background of narrators was very diverse and their stories were very genuine.

INTERVIEW

When I asked respondents of the CZSJG whether they felt like Czechs, most of my respondents¹⁰⁷² said they had been born in Czechoslovakia, had grown up in Czechoslovakia, and that Czech was their mother tongue. A few of them criticized the typical Czech or Jewish nature, and the interviews

¹⁰⁷¹ See the sample of the interview questions and the questionnaire attached at the end of the work.

¹⁰⁷² 9 out of 15 respondents.

therefore do not show excessive patriotism and pride towards the Czech or Jewish nations, but it also shows a remarkable degree of adherence to the Czech nation and Czech country. A certain admiration for Jewish culture and nation also appears in the stories of the CZSJG members. Sometimes it was a Jewish partner who evoked an interest in Judaism, others it was a family member, but very often it was cultural, along with certain unclear secrets which provoked young Jews to search for their roots.

Based on the different stories, it seems that the question of dual (hybrid) identity – national and Jewish – was more significant for those with Jewish ancestors than those who decided to convert. I would also assign a lesser importance to whether the family was halachic or non-halachic, because most of my respondents state that a dominant role of their fathers decided whether their families would live according to strict Jewish principles, whether they would be lukewarm believers, or whether they would totally reject Judaism and Jewishness altogether. Based on the testimonies and experiences of narrators, who were also influenced by their immediate Jewish surroundings, the political thinking of their families (both communist and liberal), especially their fathers, played an important role in 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. My mother was a housewife and my father worked as a technician. [...] Dad had Jewish parents who died in a concentration camp - both were left-wingers. My father joined the party after the war, so any religion was taboo at home. The change came only after the trial with Slánský. Although my 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.”¹⁰⁷³ This excerpt partly corresponds to the thesis of Marios Gudonis, who characterizes Jewish identity as balancing on the edge of secular tradition,

1073 M. T. Interview, Prague, 3. 9. 2020. (Halachic Jew, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, High school degree).

evoking Herbert Gans' symbolic ethnicity.¹⁰⁷⁴ This narrator indicates a wide range of identity aspects, including political, religious, cultural, ethical and emotional. When I asked about the post-war formation of Judaism and religious aspects, the CZSJG did not answer purely descriptively, as their statements also have an evaluation dimension. This evaluation often concerns the degree of "piety" of the primary family environment, which is often referred to in words such as benevolent, orthodox, dull or liberal, even by narrators from practitioners and orthodox families. None of the narrators defined their environment as religiously strict or rigid.

According to Alena Heitlinger, the Jewish post-war generation had a very small number of sources from which to draw information about their origin. Individuals had to deal with their parents' fears, trying to forget about hatred for their origins. I did not notice this extreme aspect in the interviews, but certain signs of self-hatred appeared in the questionnaire survey.¹⁰⁷⁵ This partly corresponds with the experience of the following narrator, who introduced several factors that influenced his Jewish identity.

"It's a little more complicated. The husband is an emigrant and is not Jewish. Our parents did not tell us much about Judaism. They were in concentration camps and somehow remained together after the war. The concentration camp had a significant effect on their mental health. For example, as little kids when we did not want to eat some food, they terrified us by telling stories from ghettos and concentration camps. "You do not know what hunger is. You would have to eat every crust and sometimes mice in a concentration camp." In my opinion, to say something like that to little children it is out of my mind. [...] They had a leaning to a few acquaintances who also survived the Shoah and created the world for themselves. 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 community in Prague also affected my view of the

1074 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.

1075 HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 92-93.

*community. Nowadays, I irregularly attend synagogue and use only the canteen and services of Hagibor.*¹⁰⁷⁶”¹⁰⁷⁷

This testimony partly coincides with the thoughts of 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).¹⁰⁷⁸

Jonathan Webber supported his argument by claiming that culture that is close to religion encouraged the rediscovery of Judaism in the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe.¹⁰⁷⁹ In his opinion, Jewish individuals can exist purely without a religious subtext Judaism can be built on a cultural basis. He said that Jewish culture has substituted religious lives in synagogues and households and for a large number of Jews a philanthropy became the main attraction in their lives.¹⁰⁸⁰ 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.¹⁰⁸¹ These arguments were underpinned by another narrator, 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 Synagogue is full on Rosh Hashanah or Yom Kippur. Cultural events and religious holidays are something that unites people.”*¹⁰⁸² The importance of cultural factors for the Jewish identity has

1076 A retirement home for Jewish elders.

1077 T. K. Interview, Prague, 2. 9. 2019 (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing very rarely).

1078 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>.

1079 Based on the datasets from the conducted surveys and interviews, I can responsibly extend this assertion to Luxembourgish Jews as well.

1080 WEBBER, Jonathan, ed. *Jewish identities in the new Europe*. Washington: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994. p. 76-78.

1081 Ibid. 318.

1082 I. K. Interview, Prague, 4. 4. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, university degree).

been conceived by the narrators in terms of Geertz's conception of "the net of meanings." His concept deals with the net that entangles individuals to allow them to move easier.¹⁰⁸³

I also decided to submit a slightly different opinion from another narrator. "*In my opinion, Judaism is a practical religion. The practice stems from faith in God on a spiritual basis and is associated with many rituals and practices. These rituals have or had primarily a religious character, but then the Shoah broke the essence of Jewish identity that was based solely on faith in God, and as such these rituals acquired a cultural character. 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.*"¹⁰⁸⁴ These two extracts coincide with the thesis described by Alena Heitlinger in her book.¹⁰⁸⁵ She described in detail different ways of transformation of the Jewish community after the war, contending with religious and educational issues. Several respected authors¹⁰⁸⁶ have analyzed the impacts on Jewish life in Czechoslovakia caused by a lack of Jewish authorities.¹⁰⁸⁷

Historian Diana Pinto judges that post-war Jewish generations in Europe seeking to find their place in terms of Jewish being visibility for other people. It is difficult since the environment is largely controlled by non-Jews and whether they want to stand out the crowd, they have to decide to be part of Jewish culture managed by someone else, or remain separate from it. In her 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.¹⁰⁸⁸

1083 GEERTZ, Clifford. *Interpretace kultur: vybrané eseje*. Prague: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), 2000. p. 69-102.

1084 M. S. Interview, Prague, 5. 4. 2018. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing).

1085 Read more about the cultural values and the religious transformation of the Jewish community in Czechoslovakia. HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 74-79.

1086 For example: (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 šťastnej budúcnosti*. Praha: Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy, 2014.

1087 See more: (SALNER, Peter. *Židovská komunita po roku 1945*. Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV, 2006. ; HALLAMA, Peter. *Národní hrdinové - židovské oběti: holokaust v české kulturní paměti*. Praha: NLN, 2020).

1088 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.

This also can be influenced by parents who played different roles in the process of self-identification. I can barely quantify these numbers, but I can at least introduce a few categories. The first can be called hidden Jewry, who try to keep their children away from the Jewish municipality. These consist of individuals who 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 of the typical examples illustrating the CZSJG attitudes to information related to Jewish origin. *“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.”*¹⁰⁸⁹

Some members of the CZSJG also remembered that their parents had baptized them, hoping to give them special protection. *“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 until I was about eight, when children were calling us names. Only then did she carefully explain some things.”*¹⁰⁹⁰ This testimony partly refers to Jewish assumptions that conversion to Catholicism could protect them and their children against the communist restrictions. This approach was also described by Zwi Gitelman, who asserts that the reverse is also pretty common, characteristic of the East European Jewry and closely connected to ethnic symbolism.¹⁰⁹¹

After the invasion in August 1968, the general order was “restored to the country”. The regime carried out relentless purges in the state administration and many Jewish communists had to leave the party, especially those who supported liberal views, and those who refused to agree to the Soviet occupation. *“When a committee decided that someone had too moderate opinions on the invasion and was a Jew. It did not mean that he was completely out of the party, but he was temporarily struck off. Nevertheless, those who claimed themselves to be opponents and critics of what had occurred, they were mercilessly excluded.”*¹⁰⁹²

1089 P. D. Interview, Teplice, 12. 6. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, not practicing, high school degree).

1090 K. W. Interview, Pardubice, 8. 11. 2018. (a man, halachic Jew, lukewarm, high school degree).

1091 GITELMAN, Zvi. Reconstructing Jewish communities and Jewish identities in post-communist East Central Europe. *Jewish Studies at the Central European University, Public Lectures*. [online]. Budapest: Central European University, 2000, p. 31-46 [Accessed 2021-7-2]. Available from: <https://archive.jpr.org.uk/download?id=5935>.

1092 T. K. Interview, Prague, 25. 3. 2018. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

The next narrator remembered harmful consequences of the invasion for his family. *“When ‘friendly armies’ invaded my country, my parents were expelled from the party. My dad had to leave the position of the head of important cultural institution and he had to move to a caravan to begin measuring the water level... He used to be a very amusing and charming man, but then he became very reserved and standoffish. He always said that the main reason for political sanctions was his origin and the fact that his relatives had gone to the west and Israel. I did not understand for a long time why he had talked about his origin. I did not know anything about it. My father never celebrated Christmas with us, but he always said that it was because of communists... in his opinion, they destroyed all religious festivities, turned them into manifestation of consumerism. Now, I know that he had a different motivation. I got to know more about my Jewishness once I began regularly visiting my grandma who needed my help in her household. She lived alone in a great apartment close to Old Town Square, and slowly she told me everything while looking at her old photos.”*¹⁰⁹³

The CZSJG narrators remembered that those who were expelled from the Communist Party got into more trouble: they lost their jobs and were often investigated as potential Zionist spies. Due to the other members of the Jewish community who had emigrated, they were not allowed to travel, and their children had problems studying. *“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 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. First, I lost my relatives (an uncle) in concentration camps and then I was kicked out of the party and betrayed by people I trusted in. I hated everything and I did not want to talk to my children (the Third Jewish generation) about my past. Now, I know that was an unforgivable mistake, but then I felt like a rat in society. I lost everything and got divorced. I was called by the State Security Police (StB) to regular interrogations – just the worst part of my life. I wanted to be free and leave everything behind.”*¹⁰⁹⁴ This excerpt appositely illustrates the circumstances of the last researched generation (CZTJG born right before the Normalization). This approach was one of the reasons why so many

1093 E. M. Interview, Prague, 13. 10. 2018 (a woman, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

1094 M. A. Interview, Prague, 31.8. 2019 (a man, halachic Jew, not practicing, high school degree).

young Jews seeking to find themselves in an illiberal society turned to their grandparents. Five respondents were expelled from the party, which caused them existential problems.

There were also Jews from Halachic circles who refused to continue their Jewish belief. They felt pressure from the side of family and relatives, and thus stopped caring about Jewishness until the Velvet Revolution in 1989. *“As a young boy, I went to the Jewish community in Prague mainly for holidays such as Purim. Naturally, I was inclined to find a girl among the Jews, but at the time, they all seemed ugly to me. The beautiful girls were hidden somewhere and those from pious families seemed unattractive to me. Sometimes, I went to synagogue with my half-uncle, who showed me how to celebrate some holidays such as Passover. But it did not tell me anything religious at all. I felt like I was atheist until the 1990s when I rejected all these things, I only took them as picturesque folklore.”*¹⁰⁹⁵

On the other side, there were also halachic Jews who had a traditional upbringing and continued keeping 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 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 and conformist. Judaism gave me a chance to become someone else, and it helps me overcome difficult life situations. I celebrate high holidays and I pray regularly.”*¹⁰⁹⁶

As described in the previous part dedicated to antisemitism, some narrators also unexpectedly revealed their Jewish origin in schools or in the neighborhood. *“My good friend told me with tears in his eyes that his parents prohibited him from talking to me as I am a Jew and they do not want to get into trouble with the communist administration. [...] Once I heard our neighbor yelling at me to go to Palestine, that I am no longer welcome here.”*¹⁰⁹⁷

The communist leadership also put pressure on the families whose children emigrated after August 1968. They were mostly summoned for long and worthless interrogations. *“My mother told me a story about one of her cross examination, she showed them a farewell letter from my older brother and they said that our family was unreliable and I should have been reeducated by*

1095 K. Š. Interview, Prague, 6. 7. 2017. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1096 T. Z. Interview, Prague, 12. 2. 2018 (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1097 K. D. Interview, Teplice, 10. 6. 2019 (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

the working class and she had to hand in her passport. My mother got embittered after this experience and she did not want to talk too much about the future. She was not communist, but she felt a great loyalty to Czechoslovakia. She also had a great fear of foreigners because her parents both experienced great trauma in the concentration camps."¹⁰⁹⁸

The narrators of the CZSJG also reflected on their parents' desires to belong somewhere; however, they did not want to keep a wide range of Jewish regulations. *"My grandmother told me that they had gone to a synagogue as they wanted to belong somewhere."*¹⁰⁹⁹ However, they never observed 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.*"¹¹⁰⁰

Some had a subconscious sense of Jewishness. They felt different from other peers, but could not define these differences. Some narrators mentioned that missing relatives and peculiar friends of their parents insinuated that their life was different from others. *"My parents did not have a lot of close friends, but those who paid a visit to our house spoke very quietly and they shut the door once they talked about the war. Whenever I wanted to know more, they smiled at me, stroked my hair, and said: Do not look back, it is far behind us."*¹¹⁰¹

SURVEY

Like the narrators in the previous chapter, a large number of the research participants from the CZSJG balance their Jewish symbolism, Jewish identity, Jewishness and religious Judaism. A considerable number of respondents¹¹⁰² had difficulty in classifying themselves. They still do not know if their Jewishness was purely a sentiment, or a real sense of ethnic or cultural belonging. Based on the data, many of them "practiced" symbolic ethnic identity. There was a variety of

1098 M. B. Interview, Prague, 12.10. 2018. (a woman, halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

1099 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>; 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>).

1100 A. K. Interview, Prague, 14. 2. 2019. (a woman, a non-halachic Jew, university degree).

1101 L. T. Interview, Prague, 1. 12. 2018. (a woman, halachic Jew, university degree).

1102 28 out of 41; those who have provided their comments below the questions.

attitudes, ranging from complete distance from Judaism to denial of Jewish origin to complete identification with one's ethnic or religious family background. Because most members of this generation did not have access to Jewish education and because contacts with the Jewish community were very rare. Many Jews wanted to know more about Jewishness and Jewish being.

In view of this fact, I decided to focus the first question on the process of learning about Judaism and Jewish origin. It aims to analyze the most common way how the members of the CZSJG found out their Jewish origin. The respondents could indicate only one option out of seven.

Table 35: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?

Answer Choices	Responses	
I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism. ¹¹⁰³	23%	23
I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents, we do not belong to practicing Jewish families (we attended the synagogue very rarely). ¹¹⁰⁴	49%	49
I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances ¹¹⁰⁵	6%	6
I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records ¹¹⁰⁶	5%	5
I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew) ¹¹⁰⁷	5%	5
I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert) ¹¹⁰⁸	4%	4
Other (please specify) ¹¹⁰⁹	8%	8
	Answered	100

On the basis of the collected data, I can deduce that most of respondents (49) belong to the category of 'lukewarm Jews', who know something about their origin but did not practice Judaism at all, or practiced it very rarely. The number of halachic and non-halachic Jews was in favor of halachic Jews. The second largest group contains the respondents from the traditional and dominantly

¹¹⁰³ 16 halachic r., 7 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

¹¹⁰⁴ 20 halachic respondents, 19 non-halachic respondents, 10 converts.

¹¹⁰⁵ 2 halachic respondents, 4 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

¹¹⁰⁶ 2 halachic respondent, 3 non-halachic respondent, 0 convert.

¹¹⁰⁷ 5 halachic respondents, 0 non-halachic respondent, 0 convert.

¹¹⁰⁸ 0 halachic respondent, 3 non-halachic respondents, 1 converts.

¹¹⁰⁹ 0 halachic respondent, 0 non-halachic respondent, 8 converts.

halachic Jewish families (16 respondents are of halachic origin). Only a minority, seven respondents, indicated their affiliation to non-halachic Jews.

Right behind the group with a traditional upbringing, the third group consists of those who found their own way to Judaism and meet halachic criteria and there is also a group of converts which seems quite marginal, but it is also necessary to include in this category most of the respondents who checked the “Other” option. All of them justified their choice by additional comments, and all were subsequently assigned to the category of “converts.” In total, this variant corresponds to eight respondents.

When I analyzed the additional comments below this question, I recognized a few interesting aspects. Three respondents stated in the additional comments that their belief was considerably influenced by their fathers. Here is the example of one of the attached 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.”*¹¹¹⁰

On the other hand, some parents were strongly opposed to religious based Jews, their actions to some extent reflecting post-war hysteria, which received its own professional designation as a self-hating Jew. In his article, Antony Lerman states that the 1950s and 1960s were literally the “the age of self-hatred for Jews” and Jews unleashed something like the “Jewish Cold War” on self-identification and assimilation.¹¹¹¹

“My parents soon left the Jewish community after the war, but we did not completely lose contact, especially because of our acquaintances. My mother never completely broke off contact with the Jewish Museum. But my parents did not want anything to do with any religion. In their view, every church was a source of power rivalry. I was a father, so I didn't go to the village until

1110 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, but practicing, high school education).

1111 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.

I was 67. Then I went there a few times, but my parents didn't like to see it. I became a Jew individually. My parents didn't know much about celebrating the holidays, I preferred to see my grandmother. [...] She was much more experienced in this."¹¹¹²

A small number of respondents indicated that they learned about their Jewish background 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 municipality."*¹¹¹³

According to additional comments, it is clear that the converts met with the Jewish community partly described by Smith. He believes that today's Jewish identity is in transformation, and that Jews are not truly a religious group, but something like a folk ethnicity. A group with a shared myth of origin, memories, culture, feelings and a certain bond to their homeland. There is a clear orientation to the past,¹¹¹⁴ especially to the "famous" period before the Second World War. The Jewish community in the Czech lands has developed in a specific example of modern ethnic nationalism, and this is also valid for the CZTJG. *"I had Jewish ancestors and I was interested in Judaism in the 1960s, but I did not dare to convert in Czechoslovakia, nor do I know if it was possible. I did not convert until I emigrated to Germany. it was a difficult process, but I am happy that I managed it."*¹¹¹⁵ The connecting factor of almost all converts from the CZSJG is that the conversion was undertaken abroad.

The next question in the survey addresses the degree of influence 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 indicate on the scale the importance of these aspects to their identity.

1112 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, but practicing, high school education).

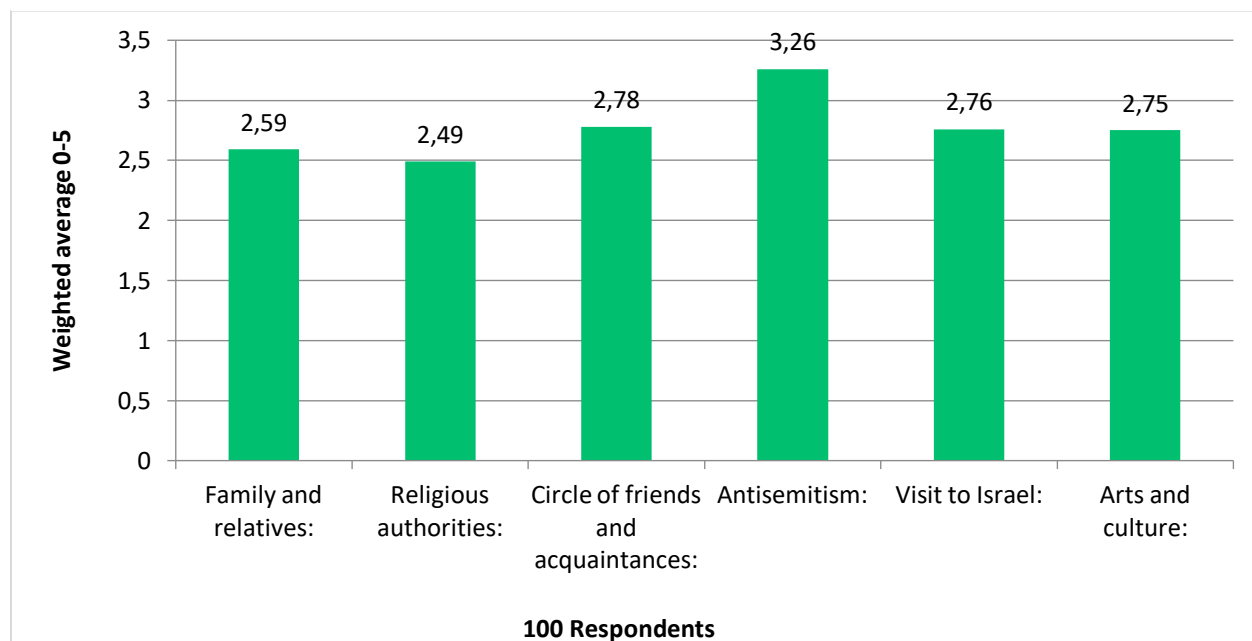
1113 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, but practicing, high school education).

1114 SMITH, Anthony D. *Nationalism and modernism* [online]. London: Routledge, 2013. p. 229 [Accessed 2021-9-3]. Available from: <https://doi-org.proxy.bnl.lu/10.4324/9780203167960>.

1115 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a convert, practicing, university degree).

On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being the least important and 5 being the most important, respondents reported that Jewish arts and culture had an above-average influence (2,75) on the formation of their Jewish identities. The most important category was antisemitism (3,26), then Circle of friends

Table 36: What or who forms your Jewish identity?



and acquaintances (2,78), and finally visit to Israel (2,76). Besides antisemitism, all the other categories affected the formation of the CZSJG's identity in a positive way.

Those who marked Arts and culture often mentioned that their circle of friends had a formative impact on their Jewish identity. Those who belonged to the group of youths assembling at the Jewish community in Prague and did not emigrate abroad 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, 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. To be honest, I was the only one from my family who was immersed in that. I learned a lot about Jewishness, but not about religion."*¹¹¹⁶ This testimony of the halachic

¹¹¹⁶ Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, but practicing, high school education).

narrator shows an interesting connection with the data of “the Generation 68” collected by Polish sociologist Iwona Irwin-Zarecka.¹¹¹⁷ She wrote in her book that: *“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 “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.”*¹¹¹⁸ The remarkable similarity is in the pressure from the Communist government, who wanted Jews to assimilate at all costs. Young Jews had to resort to different ways of self-realization.

The others, especially those who internalized the stigma associated with a Jewish identity, adopted various practices of invisibility and techniques of disappearing. Some recalled that during their childhood, they knew of other Jewish children in school, but none would dare to talk to them about their background. Nevertheless, other respondents had other occasions to share their thoughts and knowledge with Jewish friends who gathered around their parents. Those who had relatives abroad, e.g. in the USA or Israel, said they were more aware of international conditions of other Jews in the diaspora. *“As I said, my uncle went to Palestine with his whole family, but he wrote to us regularly. My parents even had some problems with this and had to go to interrogations, especially after my older brother emigrated. Because of that, I had an ambivalent attitude towards Judaism., My parents appreciated it very much, but it just hurt me. Having relatives abroad was nothing to brag about. However, in contrast to my Jewish friends, I had an overview of what was happening abroad and it was not harmful. I used it at 68, when I emigrated.”*¹¹¹⁹

They recalled discussing various Jewish issues with their peers, but they were a minority. Seven respondents wrote in their additional comments that they had discussed the fate of missing relatives because their parents just simply said that the Germans had killed them during the war. This was too simplified, and they wished to find a sufficient answer. Based on their comments, it is obvious that antisemitism have different forms and meanings for the CZSJG. *“Lying is always a matter of fear and my parents were terrified. I knew it. In my opinion, antisemitism can have*

1117 IRWIN-ZARECKA, Iwona. *Neutralizing memory: the Jew in contemporary Poland*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989.

1118 Ibid. p. 50.

1119 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, college).

many forms. It does not have to be only slurs or bullying in the streets. [...] The influence of latent antisemitism formed our Jewishness through our parents.”¹¹²⁰

This attitude of parents could have resulted in a certain indifference or even resistance to Jewish roots. It 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 put undue pressure on the adoption of 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 sample consists of people who truly sought some form of Jewish identity and had to overcome certain obstacles.

In the Czechoslovak context, this meant that homogeneous models of Jewish identity were very rare in Jewish families. *“I was Czech and I knew nothing about Judaism. I inherited halachic assumptions from my parents, but I did not want to go their way. They used Judaism only when it suited them. And I felt a certain inner emptiness after the invasion, so I decided to be a Jew. I wanted to learn while doing something forbidden. Forbidden fruit tastes the best. I also want Judaism to be a legacy for my children, but it is more emotional than rational. I felt it was something that needed to be done. My grandparents, who died in the concentration camps, were my role model, their diaries gave me a certain inner strength.*”¹¹²¹

Some members of the CZSJG preferred to do sporting activities rather than sitting with their peers in the Jewish synagogue listening to lectures with Jewish themes. It is difficult to judge whether the parent’s pressure was positive or negative in terms of Jewish identity formation. The results are very unequal in the case of the CZSJG. The answers obtained shed light on why some relatives within a particular family may have different approaches to Judaism. Some were surrounded by Jewish friends, but only a marginal number had only Jewish friends. According to the respondents, it was complicated to find Jewish friends as they were often well hidden, but it gave them helpful insight into their self-perception. *“A lack of Jewish classmates and peers led to a powerful sense of belonging and solidarity. “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.”*¹¹²²

1120 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1121 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1122 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

Table 37 shows the results of Jewish religious traditions and holidays among members of the CZSJG. The respondents could pick more than one answer from the list of options.

Table 37: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays?

Answer Choices	Responses	
I attend synagogue regularly ¹¹²³	21%	21
I attend synagogue only during the High Holidays ¹¹²⁴	37%	37
I keep kosher ¹¹²⁵	14%	14
I keep only Shabbat ¹¹²⁶	13%	13
I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays ¹¹²⁷	8%	8
I do not celebrate any Jewish religious holidays ¹¹²⁸	28%	28
I celebrate only some Jewish holidays (Please, state which ones) ¹¹²⁹	56%	56
	Answered	(177) 100

The predominant number of respondents stated that they belonged to a group that I operatively called “lukewarm Jews.” Their Jewish consciousness was distorted and affected by the absence of Jewish community and family authorities. The accompanying comments of the CZSJG show that these individuals had a very vague awareness of how to celebrate Jewish holidays, and their faith was sometimes based on feelings of alienation and the absence of relatives.

However, I cannot say that the Holocaust was the only factor that had caused the severance of ties within the Jewish community and the devastation of Jewish life as such. An important factor was also communist thinking, which affected the way of living within Jewish families and their relationship to religion. The absence of relatives was not only caused by the horrors of World War II, but as mentioned, the nationalistic post-war politics resulted in a considerable damage to Jewish Zionist movements after the war.¹¹³⁰ The subsequent massive post-war emigration of the surviving

¹¹²³ 16 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

¹¹²⁴ 26 halachic r., 10 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

¹¹²⁵ 8 halachic r., 2 non-halachic respondents, 4 converts.

¹¹²⁶ 0 halachic r., 13 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

¹¹²⁷ 6 halachic Jews, 2 converts, 0 non-halachic Jews.

¹¹²⁸ 9 halachic r., 19 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

¹¹²⁹ 29 halachic r., 18 non-halachic r., 9 converts.

¹¹³⁰ Read more: (BRONEC, Jakub. Židovský skauting během 2. světové války a v poválečném období v Československu a Francii. *Marginalia Historica*. 2019, 9(2), p. 38-39).

Jews also broke the already somewhat damaged ties to religious life in the restored communities. Witnesses reported that those who emigrated were the most active members of Jewish communities. Table 37 shows that several intersections reveal common nodes for some respondents. 37 respondents indicated they attend synagogues only during the High Holidays. This group largely intersects with those (56 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 “I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays” mostly intersects with the groups “I keep kosher” and “I attend the synagogue regularly”, but as mentioned above, it is important to emphasize that the majority of these respondents did not become religious during childhood, but became believers in the 1990s. It appears that some of them celebrate Jewish holidays to maintain Jewish traditions, rather than for religious reasons. These statistics suggest that for the majority of the CZSJG, Judaism has failed to evoke the same strong emotions that tend to be aroused by references to the Holocaust, Israel, communism, or antisemitism.

According to sociologists Alena Heitlinger and Peter Salner, the CZSJG did not know much about Jewish religious traditions, which was in some cases worsened by their parents, who refused to follow up prewar celebrations of big holidays. This was evident in all cities in Czechoslovakia, including the largest, Prague. Heitlinger described the youth in Prague as a cultural association without religious content. Only a handful of children had a bar/bat mitzvah, and most encountered religion only during visits to the synagogue with their parents, which were very rare.¹¹³¹ To support her argument, I can infer based on my data collection that only 21 out of 100 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). They reported that their parents often secretly celebrated Jewish holidays at home, because the Jewish municipality (especially in Prague) was full of communist spies and informers. *“We didn't go to the synagogue and 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 tongue. I began attending the Jewish community regularly, together with my adult children, when the communist regime was over.”*¹¹³²

1131 HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 102.

1132 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

Some kept the kosher tradition, but it was very challenging to get kosher meat, as there were no Shochet,¹¹³³ especially in smaller cities. Others did not have appropriate dishes to prepare the food under the appropriate conditions. *“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.”*¹¹³⁴

One respondent remembered being taken out of school during the High Holidays, but this happened in Slovakia, before moving to Prague. Jewish religiosity in the Slovak territory was higher than in Czech lands. I also managed to get information from other Czech cities, such as Karlovy Vary or Liberec. Most of the respondents from the CZSJG residing in these cities used to go to the synagogue irregularly, because of the lack of rabbis available to undertake Jewish service. *“I felt completely integrated into society. I used to go to the synagogue with my parents on average three times a year. I had a bar mitzvah and tried to learn the Hebrew language, but it was difficult to do it without motivation. When I was small our synagogue in Karlovy Vary had a program for children.”*¹¹³⁵

The figures in table 38 show that 34 respondents indicated they began to be interested in Judaism between the ages of 14-18 years old. 26 respondents indicated that they had known about their origins since early childhood, thus marked the age range “6-13 years”. The third most common category is the age range of 18-21 years, which contains those who realized their Jewish origin in adulthood. They often discovered their Jewishness by themselves. The majority became aware of their Jewishness while in primary school, and a significant proportion during their early teens. Personal experiences of antisemitism varied in their frequency, and for the most part were only occasional, but they left a lasting impact. Only a few respondents were not interested in Judaism at all. The majority 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.

1133 A Jewish butcher who was in charge of slaughtering certain animals according to kashrut.

1134 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, college).

1135 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

Table 38: At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
6-13 years ¹¹³⁶	26%	26
14-18 years ¹¹³⁷	34%	34
18-21 years ¹¹³⁸	15%	15
21> ¹¹³⁹	10%	10
I am not interested in Judaism ¹¹⁴⁰	5%	5
Other (please specify) ¹¹⁴¹	10%	10
	Answered	100

The answers obtained to the question of who is a real or authentic Jew show that the dominant number of respondents (51) have a rather liberal attitude in this case. In their opinion, for those who wish to call themselves Jewish, it is sufficient to have only one parent of halachic origin. No matter whether an individual has a Jewish father or mother, they should be approved as equal Jews. Some participants were convinced that it is more important to have a proper religious or cultural life. So-called non-Halachic Jews, who inherited Judaism only in the paternal line, can also be considered Jews whether they live according to rules in Talmud and Torah. The second most common group of replies were even more liberal and benevolent in this matter. According to 34 respondents, being a Jew only depends on your free will and your own reconsideration. Jewishness and Jewish identity are individual elements that are strictly connected to human will, wishes and feelings. 25 respondents are more orthodox in their opinion, namely that it is necessary to meet precisely defined halachic criteria. In several cases, these respondents also support the current policy of the Jewish community in Prague, which still only accepts Jews according to the Halacha. Karol Sidon, a former rabbi in Prague, conditions the orthodox approach and observance of Halacha by recognizing, for example, marriages in Israel.

1136 Marked by 17 halachic respondents, 6 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1137 Marked by 16 halachic respondents, 14 non-halachic respondents, 2 converts.

1138 Marked by 2 halachic respondents, 3 non halachic respondents, 3 converts.

1139 Marked by 4 halachic respondents, 7 non-halachic respondents, 9 converts .

1140 Marked by 1 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1141 Marked by 5 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondents, 5 converts.

Table 39: Attitude towards Jewishness: My opinion on the definition of “who is a Jew”

Answer Choices	Responses	
All those who consider themselves to be Jewish. ¹¹⁴²	14%	14
Only those who meet halachic criteria. ¹¹⁴³	25%	25
Those who officially converted. ¹¹⁴⁴	24%	24
Those who have at least one Jewish parent ¹¹⁴⁵	51%	51
Prefer not to say. ¹¹⁴⁶	5%	5
Other (please specify) ¹¹⁴⁷	23%	23
	Answered	100 (142)

Karol Sidon appeals to the invalidity of Reform and Conservative Gijurs in the Israeli Supreme Rabbinate, which does not recognize the denominations of these Gijurs. The State of Israel, despite the opposition of the Supreme Israeli Rabbinate, 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 Rabbinate, 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 (23) 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. Here are a few

¹¹⁴² 4 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

¹¹⁴³ 17 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

¹¹⁴⁴ 8 halachic r., 6 non-halachic r., 19 converts.

¹¹⁴⁵ 12 halachic r., 34 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

¹¹⁴⁶ 5 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

¹¹⁴⁷ 4 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 16 converts.

examples provided by respondents. *"I always laugh at those who think that conversion is enough to become a Jew. I always tell them, you won't be on the train with us after all. They simply will never fully bear the cross that we and our parents carried."*¹¹⁴⁸

Another comment, from a Halachic Jew, defends the need to allow strict conditions for granting membership into the Jewish community. *"In my opinion, all this tussling about who is a better Jew is nonsense. I'm a Jew after my mother, but my wife wasn't Jewish. However, she liked Judaism very much, so she undertook the orthodox giyur and definitely knows more about Judaism than I do. Our children are far better at this than I am. My son studied in Jerusalem and speaks Hebrew completely fluently, but he is not enrolled in the Jewish community because it is simply a problem. I do not understand it legally, but it would certainly benefit all parties if the Prague Jewish community also opened up to non-halachic Jews, or it will die out or to be ruled by orthodox fundamentalists. [...] It is also about political power which enable you to uphold your ideas in the leadership at the Jewish Community of Prague."*¹¹⁴⁹ This statement is in line with the statement made by Yael Tamir, who believes that the concept of authenticity is often used as a tool political in the fight against change or competing groups.¹¹⁵⁰ 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 that mostly Orthodox Jews are called authentic and they even consider themselves to be authentic. As mentioned above, Orthodox Jews also use authenticity to devalue non-Orthodox movements and lifestyles.¹¹⁵¹

Czechoslovak Third Jewish generation: Jewish identity balancing on the edge of uncertainty of being authentic or assimilated

Based on the analysis of the interviews, it can be argued that the idea of authenticity is an important and pervasive element of the CZTJG's statements about Judaism and Jewish identity. However, it

1148 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1149 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1150 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.

1151 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>.

is necessary to emphasize that the members of the Jewish generations in today's Czech Republic are Czechs first and then Jews.¹¹⁵² The narrators claim that they do not need to be recognized as Czechs, but strive to be accepted as a part of the Czech nation because they were brought up as Czechs.

This argument corresponds to the conclusions of Stanislaw Krajewski, who deals with this issue in his publication, in which he points out that it is necessary to look at assimilation from different angles, not only towards the Jewish community, but also out of formalized Judaism.¹¹⁵³ It should be appreciated that the phenomena that takes place in the contemporary Czech Jewish community are based on the concept of voluntary de-assimilation.

As this is a relatively new concept, it is surprising that de-assimilation is becoming more common in Europe, and especially in Eastern Europe. In essence, it gives insightful view into many forms of Jewish affiliation and the CZTJG to some extent adopts cultural and religious patterns inherited from their Jewish ancestors, and subsequently create new frameworks for Jewish life. Yael Tamir works with the term “identity restoration”, which she understands as a process contradicting the processes of assimilation. In his opinion, Jews should work on restoring their Jewishness and Jewish identity and get back the lost position among other minorities in Eastern Europe. For the CZTJG, 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.¹¹⁵⁴ Tamir's thesis of the restoration of Jewish identity can be applied to all generations examined in my research, but the social cohorts identified as the third Jewish generation correspond to this thesis the most.

INTERVIEW

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

1152 The same is true of their Polish peers. (KRAJEWSKI, Stanisław. *Poland and the Jews: reflections of a Polish Polish Jew*. Krakow: Austeria, 2005. p. 101).

1153 Ibid. p. 17.

1154 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.

by their parents. The third generation suffers from what Henri Raczymow and Alan Astro call a “memory shot through with holes”.¹¹⁵⁵ They describe this term as follows: *“The memory burst as balloon bursts, but people spend time sewing it back up. Sewing is an old tradition among us. In fact, sewing scraps together is a hypothetically endless task, an impossible task.”*¹¹⁵⁶

The post-war generations attempt to put together a coherent narrative which would resist the chasms of memory. Here are several examples from narrators, who commented on their awareness of Jewish identity and Jewishness. Some narrators (mostly women, converts and liberal Jews) also expressed a weak identification with their homelands. Contrary to my expectations, they were rather critical. Their identification was utterly pro-European, especially those who used to live in Israel, and mentioned how they lacked European culture, tradition and education in the Czech environment. *“I don't feel like a Czech. I feel like a Central European Jew. After all, I consider myself a girl from Prague. In the Czech lands, people are lame and lackluster and do not believe in anything, do not observe anything, do not think of anything. I got into trouble of a suspicious individualist, just because I am interested in something religious.”*¹¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, mostly orthodox Jews and halachic Jewish men emphasized several important aspects that formed their Jewishness and Jewish identity: a visit to Israel, their family, and their place of living.

Based on the collected data, I identified several approaches to the concept of identity in this social cohorts examined. These are parallel to the theoretical frameworks mentioned above. The first approach is likely essentialist, together with the positivist definition, which represents identity as given and inherited. The second approach supports the fluid, multi-dimensional and internally distinct part of identity. An example of an essentialist approach is the statement of one of the women who underwent an orthodox conversion. *“I can't imagine suddenly deciding to be a Jew, without family ancestors. For me, Judaism is a complex and pervasive element and cannot be reduced to a certain segment, such as the celebration of holidays. There is also culture, upbringing and education. In my opinion, it is not possible to be a Jew only part-time.”*¹¹⁵⁸

1155 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.

1156 Ibid. p. 103.

1157 V. N. Interview, Prague, 1. 6. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1158 K. L. Interview, Prague, 3. 12. 2018. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

Her statement suggests that even though she has gone through a process of conversion, she refuses to see it as her choice. During the interview, it became obvious that the decision to convert came from a sense of responsibility for keeping the line of Jewish inheritance. Another respondent saw her path to Judaism as something that she must do. She adopted her Jewishness as an imperative, feeling that she had no choice but to accept it. *“When she met my father, my mother completely abandoned Judaism. He inclined to left-wing ideas... He was in the Communist party and religion was not discussed in our household. Building a socialist paradise was the main issue. However, my grandmother and grandfather were fonts of information about Judaism. They still lived in a very neglected and shabby house in Josefov. There was mold and moisture everywhere. But the apartment was nice. We then moved to a housing estate in the 1970s, so I lost contact with them. But I really liked them. Their apartment was like a building from the last century, with high ceilings and a beautiful stove in the kitchen. My grandmother told me about all the religious objects she had inherited from her dead relatives. [...] She also talked me about how faith had helped her overcome everything. That completely disarmed and moved me. My grandparents were eternally optimistic and, above all, internally reconciled. This motivated me to become more interested in Judaism, to keep this ultimate beauty alive.”*¹¹⁵⁹

One of the Czechoslovak narrators mentions another aspect of existential approach to Jewish identity. *“If anyone feels Jewish, it does not matter if you have a Jewish mother or a father. If you strive for Jewish identity and you do not grow up in a Jewish family, it is an internal struggle.”*¹¹⁶⁰ It is clear that self-identification plays an important role in this case.

In this case, I can see the prevailing emotional approach to Judaism more as an inner imperative than a rational choice. Several women with Jewish ancestors told me that there were in fact several Jewish communities: religious, socio-cultural, and ethnic. From 15 interviews with the members of CZTJG, 8 people consider themselves “religious observant,” though only 4 of them led strict religious lives. However, out of these four, one dropped out and two lowered their religious conviction. Other respondents identify themselves as non-Orthodox, secular, but maintaining certain Jewish rituals (lighting candles on the Sabbath), or they follow *kashrut* to a certain extent (not eating pork, for example). This is further implication that among third post-war

1159 Š. K. Interview, Prague, 6. 2. 2019. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1160 P. W. Interview, Prague, 19. 11. 2019. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

generations in the Czechoslovakia/the Czech Republic there are only several strictly orthodox Jews.

Besides an essentialist approach to Judaism encompassing monotheism, identity and covenant,¹¹⁶¹ there are also other dimensions of Jewishness, including Jewish ethics, values, wisdom, and forgiveness. These factors – especially the last one, political forgiveness – have been examined and critically analyzed by a variety of scholars. Some are convinced that the concept of political forgiveness should not be abused by politicians to achieve their political goals.¹¹⁶² Others, meanwhile, found their path to Judaism through people deserving of their admiration. *“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.”*¹¹⁶³ Geoffrey H. Hartman defines this attitude as “Witnesses by adoption.” In his opinion, there is a certain assumption that the third-generation witnesses attempt to explore what happened to their Jewish nature in the past with ambition to change their destiny. Thus, the stories withheld 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.¹¹⁶⁴

1161 An agreement between God and his people.

1162 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>.

1163L. G. Interview, Brno, 2. 4. 2017. (a woman, a convert, practicing, university degree).

1164 HARTMAN, Geoffrey. *The longest shadow: in the aftermath of the Holocaust*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996. p. 8-9.

Some narrators confessed to learn about their origin thanks to bedtime stories told to them by their parents. *“My mother told me bedtime stories. The stories were about her mother’s childhood and they were always sad. Her mother would sit on the edge of my bed and smooth her hand along the quilt. Once upon a time, she would begin, as if the stories might be made-up tales [...] Her mother’s stories gave her a hollow feeling behind her ribs. But she asked to hear them anyway.”*¹¹⁶⁵ These stories demonstrate one of the ways that the CZTJG got to know about their origin. According to Alexander T. Shelley, reading 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. It can also contain parents’ worries and fears, which had 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.¹¹⁶⁶

More than half of the narrators confirmed (9 out of 15) that they learned about their Jewish origin 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 concentrations. 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.”*¹¹⁶⁷ 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 Shoah, they were also able to better keep a distance from what had happened to them and their family.

During the interviews, I identified several patterns regarding Jewish identity and the relationship to Judaism. First, Jewishness of the CZTJG was often kept a secret from them, or at least was not interpreted as a consequence. Close relatives and grandparents of the CZTJG were

1165 D. H. Interview, Prague, 16.8. 2017. (a woman, halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

1166 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.

1167 T. B. Interview, Prague, 4. 3. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

likely to arise a deeper interest in Judaism. This was followed by a search for evidence and a search in the past. Then some narrators had to face many confrontational questions, such as why do they want to be Jewish? Why do they want to convert?

The last phase was the intellectual interest in the issue, especially through self-study. Some also went to clubs in the municipally, but this was only possible in Prague, where Arthur Radwansky together with Michaela Vidláková organized clubs and youth camps.¹¹⁶⁸ Another possibility of cultural activities was the Mišpacha, a Theater Association and the Feigele Association and Music Group.

Two narrators criticized the current approach of the Jewish community in 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. but I don't know if this is a development in the right direction."*¹¹⁶⁹ The second narrator criticizes the religious program of the Jewish community in Prague. *"The Prague community has not done much for me, it is very canned. 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 on the other hand is a Jewish community that pretends to be the highest religious and moral judge of your life."*¹¹⁷⁰

Another pattern gained through interviews is an awareness of the Holocaust and its impact on family members. Several narrators (5) began to tell of how the Holocaust affected their relationship to Judaism and their Jewish identity. This was not necessarily a trauma, but it must

1168 HEITLINGER, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006. p. 70.

1169 V. G. Interview, Prague, 8.11. 2018. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

1170 T. B. Interview, Prague, 4. 3. 2019. (a man, non-halachic Jew, lukewarm practicing, university degree).

not be forgotten that the Holocaust played a role in Judaism. All the interviewees also visited a number of memorial sites dedicated to the victims of the Shoah, most of whom also have a very good overview of the fate of their close and distant relatives.

The data gained by means of interviews show that some members of the CZTJG grew up in even greater isolation than their parents did. Those people were too young to attend lectures organized in Jewish the municipality, and their childhood suffered from a shortage of Jewish incentives, as Jewish communities suffered severe losses through emigration. Those who had remained were often persecuted because of those who had emigrated. It also provoked negative opinions of their own relatives.

SURVEY

The context of rejected Judaism and the need to return is a very common phenomenon that appears, especially in the questionnaire survey among CZTJG members. In their comments, the respondents claim that the disruption to 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 ethnical and cultural traces were still present and clear.

Table 40: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?

Answer Choices	Responses	
I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism. ¹¹⁷¹	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). ¹¹⁷²	23%	23
I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances ¹¹⁷³	15%	15
I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records ¹¹⁷⁴	11%	11

1171 8 halachic respondents, 4 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1172 9 halachic Jews, 14 non-halachic Jews, 0 converts.

1173 5 halachic respondents, 10 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1174 3 halachic respondents, 4 non-halachic respondents, 4 converts.

I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew) ¹¹⁷⁵	7%	7
I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert) ¹¹⁷⁶	20%	20
Other (please specify) ¹¹⁷⁷	6%	6
	Answered	100

Based on the data in table 40, it is evident that the majority of the CZTJG came from lukewarm Jewish families (23), and the number of those who come from orthodox families was negligible. Most of those who decided to convert to Judaism began flirting with the idea of conversion before the Velvet Revolution, but in most cases (14 respondents), their families did not openly support their ideas. The converts came mostly from families in which the father had a Jewish origin, and they needed to pass the orthodox *giur* to be accepted by the Prague Jewish Community. Four converts also marked the option: *“I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records.”* The liberal conversion was the case for the respondents who marked the option “Other” and described their type of conversion in the additional comments. Here are three examples that illustrate the various approaches of respondents. *“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 physiognomy 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.”*¹¹⁷⁸ *“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.”*¹¹⁷⁹ *For me, liberal Judaism is proof of true religious tolerance. I think that religion should be here for*

1175 7 halachic respondents, 0 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1176 0 halachic respondent, 8 non-halachic respondents, 12 converts.

1177 2 halachic respondent, 1 non-halachic respondents, 3 converts.

1178 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew (convert), practicing, high school education).

1179 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

everyone and should not depend on our origin. I raised my children similarly."¹¹⁸⁰ The Jewish identity of the CZTJG relies on the fact that Judaism is not just a religion. The members of the CZTJG state that Jewish identity should be viewed from different angles, both ethnic and religious.

"For me, Judaism is a complex set of rules, beliefs, and ethnicities. But it is not something completely exclusive. Sometimes it's an advantage, sometimes it's a burden. For example, I am now happy to have Jewish ancestors and I am registered in the village. But my parents and grandparents were more in trouble. I benefit from living in a democracy and can, for example, use Lauder's schools for my children, and my grandmother is now in Hagibor."¹¹⁸¹

This excerpt does not completely correspond with the thesis of John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, who have argued that post-war generations of the same ethnic origin primarily share the common myth of their ancestors – the sharing of a common historical memory and one or more elements of common culture referring to a common homeland.¹¹⁸² Rather, it corresponds with the thoughts of Herbert Gans, who analyzed the intergenerational relations of American Jews. He was among the first scientists who found the passion of the third generation to rediscover their Jewish ethnicity. In his opinion, it was unlikely that they would adopt the same type of Jewish culture and religious practice as their parents; however, later studies have shown that post-war Jewish generations faced an intergenerational conflict, as did other ethnicities in the world. The intergenerational clash can stem from parents' pressure on their children to find a Jewish partner within a particular community. The aim was to reinforce a general sense of Jewish identity and preserve Jewish traditions within a particular family.¹¹⁸³ *"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. Sometimes it was embarrassing, but I remember my mother sending me to summer camps organized by Arthur Radwansky and then she always asked me if I fell for anyone there.*"¹¹⁸⁴

1180 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

1181 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1182 HUTCHINSON, John. Ethnicity and modern nations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* [online]. 2000, 23(4), p. 651-669 [Accessed 2021-7-1]. Available from: doi:10.1080/01419870050033667.

1183 GANS, Herbert. Symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity: towards a comparison of ethnic and religious acculturation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 1994, 17(4), p. 583.

1184 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, high school education).

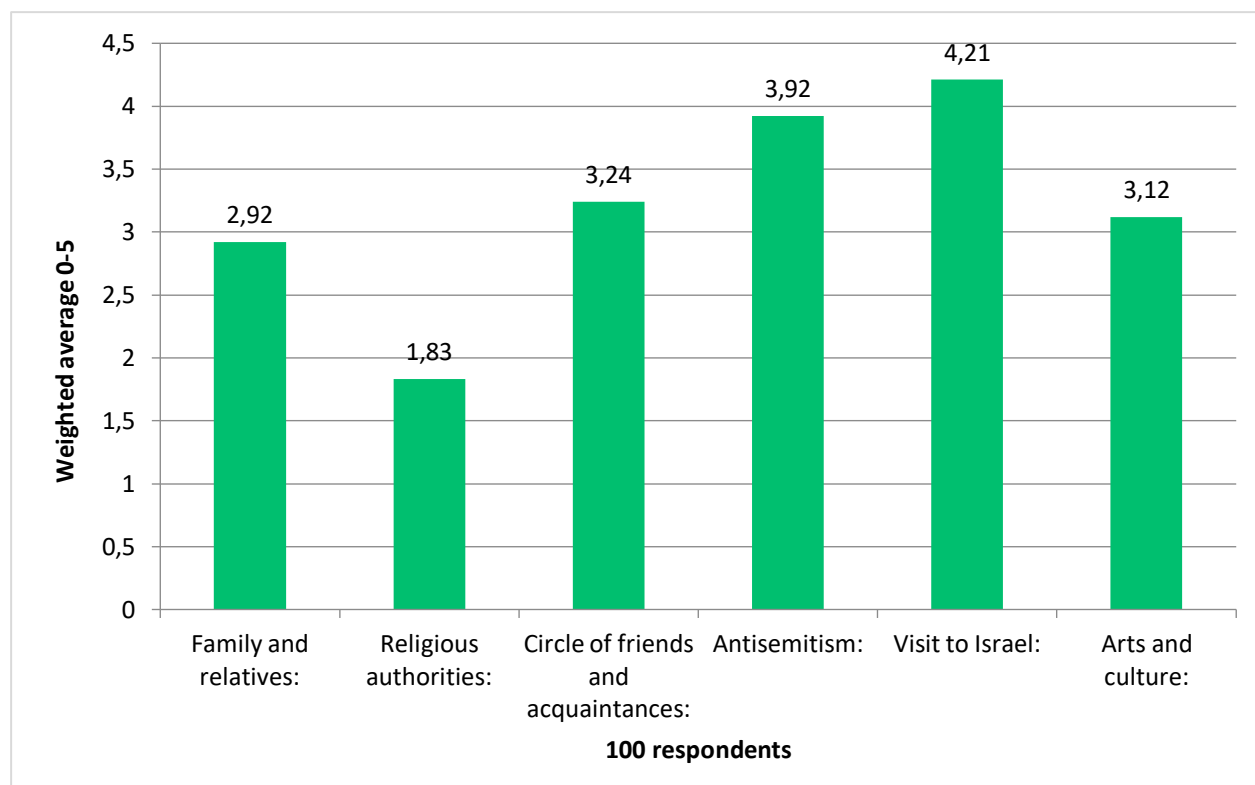
The results of the survey indicate both a continuity and a conflict with previous generations. From the accompanying comments, it can be understood that the respondents are often in greater or lesser agreement concerning the concept of Judaism. Many comments also point out that if any conflicts appeared eroded under the communist regime, then the rise of democracy eroded certain edges in the conflict.

In his study of American Jews, Sharot Dashefsky found that the second generation, like the Jewish generation in communist countries, did not aggressively rebel against the religion of their Jewish ancestors, but was simply indifferent to it. In his opinion, the third generation did not return to this approach, but this depends on the exclusivity typical all Jewish third generations.¹¹⁸⁵

Table 41 shows the analysis of individual factors that could potentially influence the formation of Jewish identity and Jewishness per se. The respondents consider 'Visit to Israel' to be the most influential factor. The influence of Israel on the examined sample has its own separate chapter, in which it is analyzed in detail. Antisemitism and the influence of friends also plays an important role. These have even more influence than parents and relatives. Another factor is art and culture, especially the development of cultural events in the Jewish Community of Prague during the 80s and early 90s. On the other side of the spectrum, there are religious authorities who seem to be the least important for forming the Jewish identity of the CZTJG. However, there are also several exceptions, such as the already mentioned Arthur Radwansky and Michalea Vidláková. In the cultural field, Vida Neuwirth directs the Feigle 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.

1185 ISAJIW, Wsevolod, Giuliana COLALILLO and Tomoko MAKABE. *Ethnic identity retention* [online]. [Toronto]: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 198, p. 9-10. [Accessed 2021-8-9]. Available from: <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/93215>.

Table 41: What or who forms your Jewish identity?



CZTJG also influences another aspect that is not much mentioned in the previous social cohort and that is time. Although it can be argued that the CZTJG has somewhat caught up with its Luxembourg peers in terms of religious and linguistic knowledge, time is a factor that to some extent affects the intensity of religious and cultural life. It is not, somewhat surprisingly, politics or the past Communist regime that has left significant traces on the Jewish perception of reality, but rather the ever-shrinking amount of time that respondents are willing to reserve for religious life. The respondents mentioned time constraints as one reason why they only celebrate certain high Jewish holidays. Despite the fact that 21 respondents marked the regular attendance of synagogue, lack of time plays an important role in their attendance. Three respondents justified their absence at worship by taking 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.”¹¹⁸⁶ Like their Luxembourg peers, most respondents

Table 42: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays?

Answer Choices	Responses	
I attend synagogue regularly ¹¹⁸⁷	21%	21
I attend synagogue only during the High Holidays ¹¹⁸⁸	39%	39
I keep kosher ¹¹⁸⁹	27%	27
I keep only Shabbat ¹¹⁹⁰	6%	6
I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays ¹¹⁹¹	16%	16
I do not celebrate any Jewish religious holidays ¹¹⁹²	6%	6
I celebrate only some Jewish holidays (please state which ones) ¹¹⁹³	51%	51
	Answered	166 (100)

attend the synagogue only on high holidays or celebrate only some Jewish holidays. Religious life often has to submit to their workload or family background. *“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.”*¹¹⁹⁴

Like their Luxembourg peers, most respondents attend the synagogue only on High Holidays or only celebrate certain Jewish holidays. Religious life often has to submit to their

1186 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1187 7 halachic respondents, 2 halachic respondents, 5 converts.

1188 18 halachic respondents, 13 non-halachic respondents, 9 converts.

1189 7 halachic respondents, 2 non-halachic respondents, 8 converts.

1190 0 halachic respondents, 7 non-halachic respondents, 1 convert.

1191 10 halachic respondents, 0 non-halachic respondents, 8 converts.

1192 2 halachic respondents, 4 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1193 23 halachic Jews, 16 non-halachic respondents, 12 converts.

1194 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

workload or caring for family. Some female respondents mentioned the low workload of men in raising children and therefore a certain difficulty in complying 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.”*¹¹⁹⁵

A large number of studies have confirmed or revised the division of male and female roles in various Orthodox communities.¹¹⁹⁶ The theme has become prominent in recent decades, along with the position of women within Jewish society, although the traditional concept of male and female roles within a nuclear family is still attractive to a large number of women within the Jewish community. My research has also shown critical voices calling for some adjustment or revision of the current family setting. The role and importance of the Jewish family are a frequent subject of appeal by religious authorities, because from the point of view of Orthodox Judaism, a woman is not an inferior being. Rather than inequality, orthodox rabbis emphasize different activities for women, especially their role as mothers. In their view, women have the task of taking care of the household, taking care of the children, and making supportive environment.

Critical voices of women have spread and given rise to a completely new concept – that of the so-called Modern Orthodoxy. Besides traditional roles of housewives, it also emphasizes other women’s needs, such as building a career and educational ambitions. However, typical Orthodox Judaism is slow to evolve and modernize, although many progressive rabbis are striving to find new approaches. The changes are evident in Reform Judaism, where women participate in the conduct of services and can become rabbis. However, it should be emphasized that religious Jewish ideologies are predominantly patriarchal and grant men higher status and privileges, and often legitimize the subordination of women. They have established different rituals and rules for

¹¹⁹⁵ Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, an orthodox convert, practicing, university degree).

¹¹⁹⁶ Compare to: DAVIDMAN, Lynn. *Tradition in a Rootless World: women turn to orthodox Judaism* [online]. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991 [Accessed 2021-07-20]. Available from: doi:10.1525/9780520911574. ; SCHRIJVERS, Lieke. Women wearing the tallit: tracing gender, belonging, and conversion of new Jewish women. *Transforming Bodies and Religions* [online]. London: Routledge, 2020. p. 199-220 [Accessed 2021-07-20]. Available from: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780367808754-14/women-wearing-tallit-lieke-schrijvers>.

men and women. Contrary to these claims, Debra Kaufman believes that traditional and orthodox ideologies celebrate a female humanity and women have an irreplaceable place within the family.¹¹⁹⁷ She has also published several studies showing how women are emotionally and physically satisfied within orthodox families.¹¹⁹⁸

Attitudes towards Jewishness (Table 43) can be defined as more liberal on the one side, but more determined on the other. The question in the survey was a multiple-choice and participants could select more than one option; I thus could follow interesting intersections while analyzing the collected data. The majority of respondents (51) indicated that being Jewish should be connected to having at least one Jewish parent. On the other hand, 30 out of 51 respondents also marked that the conversion should be accepted as a valid process to becoming a fully-fledged Jew. With some exceptions, respondents did not specify what kind of conversion would be acceptable. The most liberal part of the CZTJG (18) implied that being Jewish is entirely based on your free will and your feelings. This corresponds with a liberal intergenerational trend supported by additional comments:

“For my parents, Judaism was something strange or even despicable, but for my grandparents, it was something exclusive, and of course these two approaches had to collide. So the parents often quarreled with their grandparents, because Judaism was something like a memory of the dead. They also regularly went to Terezin to take part in “official mourning”. On the other hand, my children represent an interesting phenomenon. My son has absolutely no connection to religion, he is a technician and he doesn't want anything to do with Judaism. On the contrary, one of my daughters is totally immersed into Judaism and as far as knowledge of Tora is concerned, she is definitely more educated than I am. She speaks fluent Hebrew and knows all the religious rituals perfectly. She studied in Jerusalem and found a partner there and stayed there. The last son stands at the crossroads – halfway between here and there. His wife is a Christian, so it's such a mix. He is registered in the community, but only celebrates Jewish high holidays with

1197 KAUFMAN, Debra. *Rachel's daughters: newly orthodox Jewish women*. 2nd ed. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993. p. 98-102.

1198 KAUFMAN, Debra. Patriarchal women: a case study of newly Orthodox Jewish women. *Symbolic Interaction* [online]. 1989, **12**(2), p. 299-314 [Accessed 2021-7-12]. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1525/si.1989.12.2.299>.

*me. He knows how to pray, but he goes to Beit Simcha, a liberal group, rather than to the Jerusalem synagogue.”*¹¹⁹⁹

Table 43: Attitude towards Jewishness: My opinion on the definition of “who is a Jew”

Answer Choices	Responses	
All those who consider themselves to be Jewish. ¹²⁰⁰	28%	28
Only those who meet halachic criteria. ¹²⁰¹	21%	21
Those who officially converted. ¹²⁰²	40%	40
Those with at least one Jewish parent. ¹²⁰³	51%	51
Prefer not to say. ¹²⁰⁴	2%	2
Others (please specify) ¹²⁰⁵	14%	14
	Answered	156 (100)

In comparison to the CZSJG, I see a growing number of the option “*Those who converted.*” According to Darrol Bryant, the concept of conversion has been widely discussed in the context of religion. He considers the conversion in terms of a broader understanding as a process of personal transformation, encompassing a large number of dimensions, and the ritual and the procedure itself is no longer only about religious aspects.¹²⁰⁶

It is worth noting that the converted participants are those who have undertaken all steps to be accepted as converts. They are familiar with all needs and regulation of converts and they put their Jewish thinking into transition. Many respondents have Jewish roots, but the community, or their needs, made them formally convert. However, it was not an easy path for some members of the CZTJG, some of whom even converted twice in some cases. “*When I was in the USA, I decided to make a “reform conversion”, but here in Prague it was not accepted by the chief rabbi*

1199 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1200 5 halachic r., 17 non-halachic r., 6 converts.

1201 18 halachic r., 3 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

1202 8 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 20 converts.

1203 14 halachic r., 28 non-halachic r., 9 converts.

1204 2 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

1205 4 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 5 converts .

1206 BRYANT, Darrol and Christopher LAMB. Introduction: conversion: contours of controversy and commitment in a plural world. In: *Religious conversion: contemporary practices and controversies*. London: Cassell, 1999, p. 1-22.

Sidon. Well, then I went to Israel and lived there two years on a kibbutz and after all I returned to Prague and made an orthodox conversion to be fully recognized."¹²⁰⁷

The sociological and psychological academic works examine conversions from different angles. Some of them primarily deal with the role of motivation and analyze different stages in the conversion process both from the position of community members or the position of those who want to convert. Psychologist Lewis Rambo has stated that there is no universally applicable theory on all human dimensions of conversion. In his opinion, there is no concept which would embrace everything. In the study of conversion, scholars should analyze different theories, along with their religious features and dynamics. Some theories are more applicable to particular religions and for certain historical situations.¹²⁰⁸ The 'bloodline' is a means to become tangible and physical, and for many it seems fixed and inescapable, thus it occurs that converts face the following reactions: "Jewishness is something you are born with and not something you can attain"; "converts do not have a drop of Jewish blood in their bodies"; "only people with Jewish roots should convert."¹²⁰⁹

Sasja Tempelman has described this type of approach as "*built upon natural features that cannot be changed or questioned*".¹²¹⁰ Due to this legacy, the CZTJG seems bound to holy places, especially in Israel, emanating so-called "*strategic primordialism*" to be recognized as an established group.¹²¹¹ She also asserts that primordialism, or other forms of originating, can be recognized as a "strategic choice" that helps to reduce a feeling of existential threat to the authentic identity of the CZTJG.¹²¹² Sociologist Charles Taylor is more skeptically about the matter of authenticity and he judges that the most important factors in the pursuit of authenticity is recognition, which is very important for members of different religious groups, not merely for Jewish ones. In his opinion, it is very difficult to recognize true authenticity since there are many false streams of Jewish recognition.¹²¹³

1207 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a convert, practicing, university degree).

1208 RAMBO, Lewis. Theories of conversion: understanding and interpreting religious change. *Social Compass*. 1999, **46**(3), p. 260-261.

1209 I picked these opinions because they might intimidate those who wish to convert or who have just converted. There are only a few similar assumptions, but they are more noticeable.

1210 We cannot dispose of them because the nature comes to us. (TEMPELMAN, Sasja. Constructions of cultural identity: multiculturalism and exclusion. *Political Studies*. 1999, **47**(1), p.17-18).

1211 Ibid. p. 25.

1212 Ibid. p. 30-31.

1213 TAYLOR, Charles. *The ethics of authenticity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

According to table 44, there is also an important indicator showing that the most of the CZTJG became interested in Judaism in their late twenties. Based on their replies, this is partly associated with the notion of something like a sense of mission. This could be used as another source of interpretation of the CZTJG; however, this aspect is also visible among members of the LTJG. Besides, there is also an interesting 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.

Table 44: At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
6-13 years ¹²¹⁴	14%	14
14-18 years ¹²¹⁵	28%	28
18-21 years ¹²¹⁶	22%	22
21> ¹²¹⁷	25%	25
I am not interested in Judaism ¹²¹⁸	1%	1
Other (please specify) ¹²¹⁹	10%	10
	Answered	100

According to Jennifer Sinclair and David Milner, the CZTJG should be considered a more likely ethno-cultural group, based on the research conducted on young British Jews. Sinclair and Milner reported the shift from religious experiences to a tendency of identification with the Jewish ethnic group. Unlike their parents, the CZTJG wanted to take an active part in the social and cultural life of the community.¹²²⁰ This also supports the results of my analysis, namely that the members of the CZTJG have actively built up their identity and developed their Jewishness.

¹²¹⁴ 9 halachic respondents, 5 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

¹²¹⁵ 18 halachic respondents, 8 non-halachic respondents, 2 converts.

¹²¹⁶ 2 halachic respondents, 15 non-halachic respondents, 5 converts.

¹²¹⁷ 1 halachic respondent, 10 non-halachic respondent, 14 converts.

¹²¹⁸ 1 halachic respondent, 0 non-halachic respondent, 0 convert.

¹²¹⁹ 3 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondent, 4 converts.

¹²²⁰ 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>.

INTERVIEW

Judith Kestenberg judged that the post-war generations had to cope with their parent's resignation, which incited a new need. According to Kestenberg, *"the children feel they have an obligation to live in the past and to change it, so that their parents' humiliation, disgrace, and guilt can be converted into victory over the oppressors, and the threat of genocide undone with a restitution of life and worth."*¹²²¹

The LSJG also struggled with the sort of Jewish identity they should pass on to their descendants. They were in a quandary concerning the spiritual life and relations of their children. Henry Bulawko recognized the growing defeatism among the Jewish population and decided to struggle against it. 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*. He articulated the need to defend the unity of Jews for maintaining Jewish traditions and religious life. In his 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.¹²²² He also critically analyzed the question of assimilation and solidarity. *"Another question concerns the relations of the Jewish people with other minorities. It is difficult to feel solidarity with others and to be isolated. 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*

1221 BERGMANN, Martin, ed. *Generations of the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. p. 101.

1222 Pour l'avenir d'Israël renforçons l'unité du peuple juif. *Bulletin des communautés israelites du Luxembourg*. Luxembourg. 1971, p. 1-2.

and we are obliged to give them a Jewish framework where they can manifest both their Jewishness and humanity.”¹²²³ 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*.

Moving away from “concerns of forced assimilation” towards an analysis of the interviews themselves, I first come across a large number of narrators expressed their genuine relationship with Judaism, whether more or less intense, and everyone feels Jewish. They understand it as religious, cultural, national, historical, ethnic, institutional or social self-determination. Some of them needed to emphasize that they did not sympathize with fundamentally religious orthodox Jews, who they thought to be too fundamental.¹²²⁴ One of the narrators said the following: *“I don't understand orthodox Jews, just the orthodoxy, the fundamentalism, whatever the church, even the Catholic. It is far from me.”*¹²²⁵

Another interview revealed that the common denominator is sometimes symbolism and ritual aspects. *“I celebrate Christmas with my son, who does not practice Judaism and got married to a catholic woman and then I celebrate Chanuka 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.”*¹²²⁶ The important link is also the so-called “family respect for non-Jewish traditions. This excerpt 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 path to that of their parents.”¹²²⁷

I also made an interview with narrators who see their Jewish origin as an ethnic heritage given to them, without choosing it by themselves. Another denominator pertains to an active presence in the Jewish community. Eight narrators mentioned their membership in different Jewish

1223 Ibid p.1-2.

1224 Luxembourgish Jews were less abusive in their statements.

1225 V. R. Interview, Luxembourg. 13. 9. 2018. (a woman, non-halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

1226 K. D. Interview, Luxembourg. 19. 8. 2018. (a man, halachic Jew, lukewarm practice, university degree).

1227 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>.

communities and associations. Some have been members since birth, while others decided to enroll in them as an adult 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.”*¹²²⁸

Besides the given ethnic heritage, the narrators also feel Jewish from a cultural-historical point of view. They have been building their identity very slowly since childhood. Both in Luxembourg and Czechoslovakia, personal documents, accessible literature and relatives were irreplaceable. It is true that Judaism is complex and knowledge of the religion is not very high among non-Jews in Luxembourg. Besides, the Jewish community is quite discreet in Luxembourg. Another of the narrators contrasts the large Jewish communities in big cities and small Jewish communities in small cities as follows: *“To be a Jew in Paris or in Antwerp is different from in a small village in Auvergne or in Luxembourg. Nevertheless, it is again quite different to be Jewish in New York where it is almost considered the norm! For example, you may buy kosher wine there without being recognized. [...] Unlike small communities and small cities, the big city provides anonymity and the chance to hide your identity from your neighbors or colleagues at work.”*¹²²⁹ This excerpt illustrates the uneasy way of keeping their Jewish identity a secret. Joseph Sayagh described the concerns of Jews in Luxembourg as follows. In his opinion, it is very easy to recognize a Jew by their style of consumption, how they dress and external signs in general. Given the efforts of some Jews to merge with their surroundings and not stand out, the concerns about being visible can be justified.¹²³⁰ The different concerns of German Jews regarding visibility were analyzed by John Milfull and his study reflects on the visibility and invisibility during the assimilation process.¹²³¹ *“The integration of European Jewry, its embrace of “invisibility” – a process Feuchtwanger wrote about throughout his life with deep sympathy – is not an abnegation of self or of Jewish identity, but serves a higher, a universal cause.”*¹²³²

1228 V. H. Interview, Luxembourg, 9. 6. 2017. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1229 G. A. Interview, Luxembourg, 18. 4. 2017. (a man, halachic Jew, practising, university degree).

1230 SAYAGH, Joseph. L'art de savoir quoi manger et comment boire. *Bulletin des communautés israéliennes du Luxembourg*, 1972. Unpaged.

1231 MILFULL, John. “Visibility” and “Invisibility.” *Debate: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe* [online]. 2004, 12(1), p. 64-72 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: doi:10.1080/0965156042000230124

1232 Ibid. p. 71.

Besides factors referring to Jewish roots, celebrations, visibility and anonymity in bigger cities, There are also several other interesting factors that have shaped, and to a certain extent are still shaping, the LSJG's Jewish identity. These might be called material heirloom and religious symbols and here are two excerpts from interviews with narrators that speak directly on the subject. *"The beginning of my path to Judaism will be interwoven forever with the family mezuzah attached above the door of our apartment. We have never belonged to the orthodox Jewish current, but did our best to attend the synagogue regularly. My Christian schoolmates sometimes asked me what I was going to do on Friday evenings, and it was difficult to explain that I had to stay at home with my parents. When entering my apartment, I always touch the mezuzah that reminds me of my childhood."*¹²³³

Another narrator remembered the importance of the mezuzah given to her by her grandma. *"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."*¹²³⁴ As you can see, the mezuzah symbolizes a person's Jewish identity (or an entire family living in the same household), but it also contains a great variety of meanings, which are difficult to quantify.¹²³⁵ The Pious Jews, who kiss and touch the mezuzah while entering a house, attach a different meaning to this symbol than those who consider the mezuzah a cultural and national symbol.¹²³⁶ Jewish religious objects bring Jewish adherents a certain emotional burden together with institutional regulations of practices coming out the base of shared cultural intergenerational meanings.¹²³⁷

Notwithstanding the above mentioned circumstances and based on a detailed analysis of the interviews provided, I have concluded that the LSJG addresses several main features concerning their identity. First, many newcomers to Sephardic religion are not entirely sure of their identity. *"I am partly French, a bit Egyptian, I am also Jewish and last but not least*

1233 V. K. Interview, Luxembourg, 13. 9. 2018. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1234 D. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 15.7.2018. (a woman, halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1235 HAMAR, Eleonóra. *Vyprávěná židovství: o narativní konstrukci druhogeneračních židovských identit*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), 2008. p. 85.

1236 Read more: (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>).

1237 FALSER, Michael. *Cultural heritage as civilizing mission: from decay to recovery*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015. p. 2-3.

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 antisemitism or a football victory. On the other hand, my inner Jewish identity is associated with photographs of my parents and grandparents, and especially the reading of holy texts."¹²³⁸

Regardless of Jewish origin, the vast majority of respondents consider themselves to be multi-identity individuals who like Luxembourg and support Israel, but often have strong reservations about its political representation. However, they feel a strong Jewish belonging when their fellow believers are in danger anywhere in the world. *"I am in regular contact with my family, who live in Brussels. It is a free city, but terrible things have been happening there lately. But my children have taken root there and their children have moved to Germany again. Thanks to my language skills, I have no problem with communication, so I actually feel at home everywhere and the home is closely connected to my inner self.*"¹²³⁹

SURVEY

Based on my collected data, I can confirm that most members of the Luxembourgish Second Jewish generation fall somewhere between two poles of uncertain identity. Luxembourg has always been too small a territory for it to form a big community, like the Jews of Eastern Europe or North Africa. The Jews there come from various different areas, ranging from the Rhineland to Alsace-Lorraine. In fact, they are German Ashkenazi.

As you can see in table 45, there are a few similarities with the majority of the members of the LSJG, who come from the relatively traditional Jewish families, but there is also an appreciable number who found their own way to Judaism, despite being halachic Jews.

Table 45: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?

Answer Choices	Responses	
I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism. ¹²⁴⁰	29%	29

1238 T. K. Interview, Esch-sur-Alzette, 12. 8. 2020. (a man, halachic Jew, practising, university degree).

1239 M. S. Interview, Luxembourg, 4. 6. 2019. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1240 24 halachic respondents, 5 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents, we do not belong to practicing Jewish families (we attended the synagogue very rarely). ¹²⁴¹	32%	32
I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances ¹²⁴²	4%	4
I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records ¹²⁴³	3%	3
I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew) ¹²⁴⁴	12%	12
I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert) ¹²⁴⁵	14%	14
Other (please specify) ¹²⁴⁶	6%	6
	Answered	100

1241 19 halachic respondents, 10 non-halachic respondents, 3 converts.

1242 0 halachic respondent, 3 non-halachic respondents, 1 convert.

1243 0 halachic respondent, 2 non-halachic respondent, 1 convert.

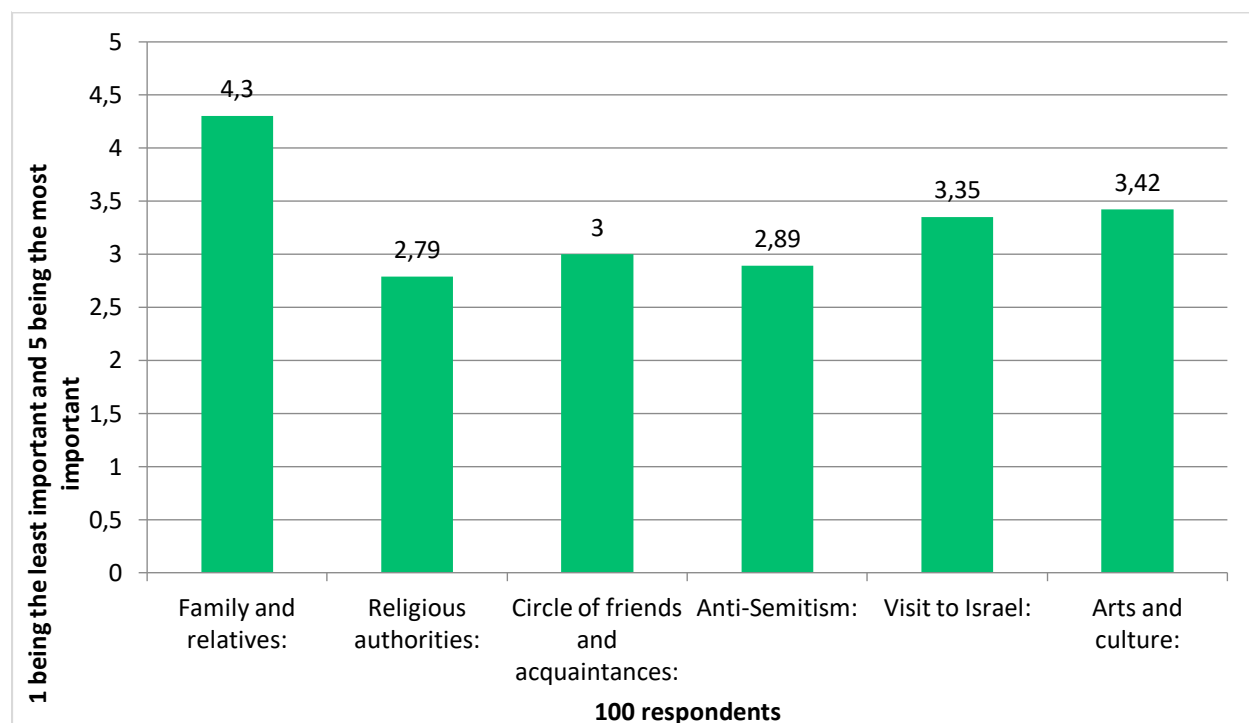
1244 12 halachic respondents, 0 non-halachic respondent, 0 convert.

1245 0 halachic respondent, 6 non-halachic respondents, 8 converts.

1246 0 halachic respondent, 5 non-halachic respondents, 1 convert.

The converts mostly came from the group of those who had a Jewish father, but there was also a considerable number of those wanted to reassure themselves of their origin. This group mainly contains refugees who left Luxembourg during the war as little children, or those who came to Luxembourg after the war without parents. The respondents who converted mostly belonged to the category of liberal Jews, who mostly attend the liberal synagogue in Esch-sur-Alzette, the only functional liberal synagogue in Luxembourg.

Table 46: What or who forms your Jewish identity?



Additional comments below the survey's questions imply that Jews (LSJG) should become a part of the majority. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the Jews living in Luxembourg feel very good there, whether they are Luxembourgers or foreigners. In the view of respondents, Luxembourg society was open and tolerant. Life was not complicated there, partly because the standard of living was always relatively high. On the other hand, the religiosity of Luxembourg Jews is lukewarm, similar to that of Czechoslovak Jews. Since the end of World War II, the question of Judaism was not properly discussed. The figures in table 45 are very similar to those in table 35 showing the results of the CZSJG. The majority of Jews belonging to this group marked the option *"I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents, we do not belong to practicing Jewish families (we attended the synagogue very rarely)."* This corresponds to the results of interviews conducted with

Jewish narrators. One of them reported: *“I do not think that our Judaism was deeply influenced by our Luxembourgish way of living. Catholicism has always been well established and the Jewish community was always too small to have any impact. However, we can be proud of a few Jewish persons, such as the only Nobel Prize winner from Luxembourg, Gabriel Lippmann. He was French, but born in Luxembourg. The Godchaux family is one of those who took part in the industrial revolution in Luxembourg. They have truly left their mark on Luxembourg industry.”*¹²⁴⁷ Table 46 indicates one crucial factor that distinguished the LSJG from their Czechoslovak peers: family and relatives. The role of the family is the highest compared to other social cohorts, and outweighed the other factors involved in the question. By contrast to the CZSJG, the LSJG indicated that their Jewish relatives and friends played a more important role in their lives in Luxembourg. There is also an interesting column showing the impact of Arts and Culture (theatre and movies). The respondents said that the international documentaries and internationally produced films helped them to build up their Jewishness and form their Jewish identity. This implies that the possibility to travel without severe restrictions allowed young Jews to watch a variety of movies and meet peers from all over the world.

I can conclude that the open borders and multicultural environment contributed to Jewish consciousness in Luxembourg. *“I have several acquaintances in the Czech Republic with whom I have been in contact. Their limited possibilities surprised me. I could travel quite freely behind the Iron Curtain, but they could not and had no contact with the international Jewish movement. So they probably had contact, but very limited. Visiting Israel meant a lot to me, so I can imagine how difficult it was for Jews in Eastern Europe who were second-class citizens.”*¹²⁴⁸ The column with antisemitism also has a very interesting result. Even though Jewish narrators and survey respondents claimed that antisemitism is a rare phenomenon, this statement does not correspond with replies indicated in the survey. The column “Antisemitism” reached slightly above average values (2,89). We can thus conclude that antisemitism played a secondary but non-negligible role. *“My family was fully integrated, but I experienced antisemitism in the army, where I was assigned to an accounting office and the commanding officer justified his order because of my Jewish origin. In his opinion, Jews were good at counting.”*¹²⁴⁹

1247 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, partly practicing, university degree).

1248 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1249 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

Table 47 shows several trends that can be compared with the results provided by respondents from the CZSJG. The first trend is a slight liberalization towards who can be considered a full-fledged Jew. Only 18 respondents strictly observe the halachic rules when determining Judaism. Respondents to the LSJG, like the CZSJG, tend to recognize the paternal bloodline, although they are sometimes embarrassed by this. They are also very supportive of the officially recognized conversion, which also surpasses their Czechoslovak peers.

On the other side, only a few respondents (18) marked the option *“Only those who meet halachic criteria.”* As with the cohort of CZSJG, respondents provided a wide range of additional comments especially concerning experiences with their parents. They also confirmed that their parents seem more rigid in terms of the question: “Who is a Jew?” 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.” 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 UJGIL will renew the program soon.”¹²⁵⁰

Table 47: Attitude towards Jewishness: My opinion on the definition of “who is a Jew”

Answer Choices	Responses	
All those who consider themselves Jewish. ¹²⁵¹	26%	26
Only those who meet halachic criteria. ¹²⁵²	18%	18
Those who officially converted. ¹²⁵³	37%	37
Those who have at least one Jewish parent. ¹²⁵⁴	45%	49
Prefer not to say. ¹²⁵⁵	3%	3
Others (please specify) ¹²⁵⁶	10%	10
	Answered	139 (100)

Jewish religious traditions were also a matter of great discussion. Based on the previous survey conducted in the 1980s, Jewishness and Jewish identity have changed considerably. Half of the former respondents (50% of responses) considered themselves religious out of solidarity, which was no surprise even then. 32% of (orthodox) members 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 of numbers. 23% of respondents criticized the community for not being united enough to be fully functional. 21% blamed the community for being unwelcome towards foreigners. Other criticisms have been formulated, such as a lack of dynamism and motivation, the lack of value attached to Jewish life, an “idiotic traditionalism”, or even a certain snobbery.¹²⁵⁷

1250 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1251 8 halachic r., 13 non-halachic r., 5 converts.

1252 15 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

1253 19 halachic r., 7 non-halachic r., 11 converts.

1254 14 halachic r., 25 non-halachic r., 10 converts .

1255 3 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

1256 2 halachic r., 5 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

1257 MOYSE. Laurent. Sondage: Résultats et Commentaires. *Kadima*. 9, 1985, p. 6.

Table 48: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays?

Answer Choices	Responses	
I attend synagogue regularly ¹²⁵⁸	26%	26
I only attend synagogue during the High Holidays ¹²⁵⁹	32%	32
I keep kosher ¹²⁶⁰	21%	21
I keep only Shabbat ¹²⁶¹	4%	4
I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays ¹²⁶²	23%	23
I do not celebrate any Jewish religious holidays ¹²⁶³	5%	5
I celebrate only some Jewish holidays (please state which ones) ¹²⁶⁴	34%	34
	Answered	145 (101)

This table 48 clearly show a few clusters that are typical of the lukewarm, secular, Jewish diaspora. Only a few respondents do not celebrate any Jewish holidays and declare themselves atheists. An obvious line connects the categories “attending synagogue during the High Holidays,” and “*Celebration only some Jewish holidays.*” Most respondents, regardless of their social cohort, indicated that they do not cut down their “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.*”

Table 49 contains statistics on the age at which respondents became interested in Judaism, or at least their Jewish origin. The dominant influence of the Jewish family background is evident here, as most respondents became aware of their origins and Judaism during their childhood. Converts and non-Halachic Jews began to develop their Judaism later. However, there are a number of exceptions, and none of these indicators can be taken exclusively. The data are obtained only at the subjective level, and cannot be over-generalized.

1258 17 halachic respondents, 2 non-halachic respondents, 6 converts.

1259 12 halachic respondents, 10 non-halachic respondents, 10 converts.

1260 13 halachic respondents, 2 non-halachic respondents, 6 converts.

1261 1 halachic respondent, 3 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1262 15 halachic respondents, 0 non-halachic respondents, 8 converts.

1263 2 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1264 18 halachic respondents, 11 non-halachic respondents, 5 converts.

Table 49: At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism?

Answer Choices	Responses	
6-13 years ¹²⁶⁵	27%	27
14-18 years ¹²⁶⁶	32%	32
18-21 years ¹²⁶⁷	15%	15
21> ¹²⁶⁸	12%	12
I am not interested in Judaism ¹²⁶⁹	5%	5
Other (please specify) ¹²⁷⁰	8%	9
	Answered	100

Luxembourg Third Jewish generation: Jewish identity facing the challenges of postmodernism

INTERVIEW

I would like to introduce this part with the data collected from the converts which, remarkably, coincide with the data collected from their Czechoslovak peers. 4 out of 15 respondents 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 stories, the narrators expressed admiration for the Jewish culture, nation and their Jewish partner, which motivated them to go through the Jewish conversion. *“I saw the very first Jews in France, and they belonged to the ultra-Orthodox Haredi and everyone cursed them. So I could not judge them at all. When my husband told me he was also 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’. In my opinion, you cannot just be born a Jew, you have to become one, just like other religions. I know this view*

1265 22 halachic respondents, 5 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1266 19 halachic respondents, 11 non-halachic respondents, 2 converts.

1267 10 halachic Jews, 3 non-halachic respondents, 2 converts.

1268 1 halachic respondent, 4 non-halachic respondents, 7 converts.

1269 2 halachic respondents, 3 non-halachic respondents, 0 convert.

1270 1 halachic respondent, 5 non-halachic respondent, 3 converts.

is 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, but they must have the final word. My husband is much stricter in these matters than I am, but we have found a compromise.”¹²⁷¹ It might be difficult for some Ashkenazi Jews from the LTJG to become “adequate” Jews in their own eyes because the current Jewish community is slowly transforming into more a Sephardic nature and many Sephardic Jews have an even more diverse ethnical origin with accompanied by different ways of religious life such untypical of Luxembourg Ashkenazi population.¹²⁷²

Another convert has Jewish roots, but Judaism was discouraged in her family. *“My grandmother was Jewish, but after the war she got married to a non-Jewish husband and completely lost interest in Judaism. However, she inherited many things from her dead relatives, and these helped me find my way to Judaism after her death. [...] At first she discouraged me from doing so, but then she was glad that someone wanted to continue the family tradition. [...] Nevertheless, I had trouble accepting the fact that I was Jewish, it is difficult to explain. I just felt that Judaism was part of my soul, but I was unable to reflect on it.*”¹²⁷³

It is important to realize what this narrator is dealing with. It is not just the case with this particular individual. All human senses concerning Jewish identity, especially authenticity is always influenced by historical and sociological context. According to Rom Harré and Grant Gillett, the structure of authenticity is directly intertwined with the outside world. Thus, they articulates essentialism of self-questioning stemming from dialogical interactions and it is effected by socio-cultural representation.¹²⁷⁴ When it comes to a person's authenticity in front of the Jewish community, conversion becomes the principal means of gaining authenticity. Whether the candidates decide to undergo the process or not, the conversion has become an important means of expressing their own perception of the cultural boundaries with other members of the Jewish community, not only in the Czech lands but also in Luxembourg. Apart from the external and

1271 R. M. Interview, Mondorf, 13. 8. 2020. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1272 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>.

1273 S. L. Interview, Luxembourg, 9. 5. 2019. (a woman, a convert, practicing, university degree).

1274 HARRÉ, Rom and Grant GILLET. *The discursive mind*. London: Sage, 1994. p. 97-110.

internal conflicts of being authentic, the narrators from the LTJG also stress certain influence of big cities on their identity and Jewishness. *“First, I was quite ashamed; my parents had some Jewish relatives, but they were Catholics, and I only got to study Judaism when I was in college. Paris influenced me a lot because it was something incredibly open. I do not want to claim that Luxembourg is a backcountry, but France was something incredible in the 1990s. Indeed, it also played a role that I found a Jewish partner; he was a Sephardic Jew, and he taught me to practice Judaism. [...] We decided to raise our children as Jewish.”*¹²⁷⁵ The excerpt shows the influence of bigger and well-organized communities shaping those who decided to undertake an official conversion. The marriage of Jews to non-Jews represents an interesting enrichment of the discourse on Jewish identity. A survey conducted by Bernard Lazerwitz found that Jews who married a non-Jewish partner became Reform Jews, and less conservative Jews. Over 80 percent of Jewish marriages remained heterogeneous, accepting diverse way of religious denomination. In addition, 38% of people in these countries said they were raising their children as Jews.¹²⁷⁶

If I shift my analysis to halachic Jews, the stories of Luxembourg narrators with Jewish ancestors are different. Various patterns appear within them; while the stories vary, there is a common ground for almost all narrators who sought to convey how they learned of their origin. One narrator learned by chance about her Judaism from her secular grandmother. *“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.”*¹²⁷⁷

1275 L. P. Interview, Luxembourg, 6. 9. 2020. (a woman, a convert, practicing, university degree).

1276 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>.

1277 V. D. Interview, Luxembourg, 1. 8. 2020. (a man, status unknown, practicing, university degree).

Another narrator learned about Judaism on his 18th birthday from a friend. *“I was at school with my schoolmates and my good friend came up to me and asked me what I think about the conflict between Israel and Palestinian. It was at the time of the First Intifada. And I thought nothing of it. I did not understand why he asked me and he said that he could not keep our friendship because I was Jewish, although he was not a purebred Arab. And I told him he was a liar because I was not a Jew. I didn’t go to the synagogue and kept no Jewish traditions. I didn’t know anything about halachic rules or the right to return, what it meant to be a Jew after the father line, etc. And he told me that my mother was Jewish because I spoke of her several times. He started yelling at me and I told him that it was nonsense because we only had Jewish ancestors. At that time, I did not understand him at all, he was acting weird, but then he realized that he had overdone it.”*¹²⁷⁸

Another narrator has his origins with a slightly antisemitic comment from his father, who used her Jewish origins as an insult in a quarrel with his mother. *“I once heard my father arguing with my mother. It was quite normal because my father had ancestors and he used to be quite “loud.” but then I was taken aback when he said to my mum something like: You are all the same, you all just spend the money of others. But he shouldn’t have done that ... my mum did not tolerate this and started yelling... To cut it short, in a few days I asked my mother what it had meant, and she reluctantly said that my father had lost his temper. But that was not enough for me, so I began secretly looking into the family archives, where I found out that my mother’s parents were probably in a concentration camp. I did not know them, they died very soon after the war. My suspicions were confirmed when I discovered my grandmother’s diary. It was terribly illegible and written in a mixture of Italian and Hebrew (perhaps it was Yiddish). However, I began to solve it in the evenings, and that was my first encounter with Judaism.”*¹²⁷⁹

According to Francois Moyse, 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.¹²⁸⁰ However, some others were trying to make their lives more meaningful. *“I was very puzzled that my life had no order and no meaning. Then, when I became interested in Judaism, I got answers to life’s questions. It was a relief to have a system in life. I cannot say that I live exactly according to the rules or orthodox, but I have found a system of values that helps me find my own*

1278 T. B. Interview, Luxembourg, 12. 8. 2020. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1279 T. G. Interview, Esch-sur-Alzette, 15. 8. 2020. (a man, a halachic Jew, practicing, university degree).

1280 F. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 28. 4. 2018. (a man, a halachic Jew, university degree).

way in life and it is convenient for me. I actually chose Judaism because I consider it a good principle for raising children and how people should live."¹²⁸¹

SURVEY

Most respondents of the LTJG (especially the younger ones) came from a multicultural environment, where not only religious but also ethnic influences were mixed together. From an anthropological point of view, insufficient attention is paid to social reality, for example the portrayal of grandfathers (strong, weak, smart, educated, etc.). The accompanying comments contain mostly positive, and sometimes heroic, descriptions of their Jewish ancestors who, thanks to their abilities, were able to survive the war. Criticism is seldom used here, but there is a certain degree of compassion and understanding.

The results of the questionnaire showed a number of interesting aspects. For example, 8 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. On the other hand, parents often appreciated when their children observed *kashrut*, and overall they were surprised at how seriously their descendants took the Jewish faith. Grandparents have a special position in the lives of several respondents, and positive reactions prevail. In general, I can confirm that identification with grandparents had a significant effect on only a small number of respondents, but grandparents did play a role in shaping Jewishness and ethnic identity, especially as guardians of family memory. Grandparents are often the only slim link connecting abstract relationships with dead relatives and pre-war Judaism and Jewishness.¹²⁸² For some 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."*¹²⁸³ This is

1281 S. M. Interview, Luxembourg, 15. 7. 2018. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

1282 Read more: (EPSTEIN, Arnold. *Ethos and identity: three studies in ethnicity*. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2006. p. 74-94).

1283 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew, practice, university degree).

not just a matter of LTJG; the CZTJG is on a similar basis and try to maintain respect for their grandparents in most cases. Friendly grandparents can be the ideal characters to motivate devotion to their culture and ethnicity and serve to develop a positive ethnic identity. Several respondents mentioned the unique relationship they have with their Jewish grandparents, especially their grandmothers.¹²⁸⁴

After this introduction, I will move on to analyzing the results of each question. When looking at table 50, you see two dominant replies¹²⁸⁵ which encompass 62 out of 100 respondents. These two replies include 37 halachic Jews, 27 of whom were brought up in Jewish families and raised with the traditions of Judaism. 10 halachic Jews had a rather secular or lukewarm upbringing, and did not belong to practicing Jewish families. 9 non-halachic Jews belonged to the category of traditional families, where their upbringing was largely affected by the dominant role of their fathers. 16 non-halachic Jews became familiar with their Jewish descents by means of their parents. 8 out of 28 non-halachic Jews admitted to converting in adulthood. 11 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 small group¹²⁸⁶ (7) admitted that studying family materials had a major impact on their Jewish identity. I have to take this indicator with a grain of salt, because the influence of family heritage (photos, letters) played a role, but the respondents did not assign much importance to it. 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 10 respondents marked the option “I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew)”.

1284 EPSTEIN, Arnold Leonard and Athena LEOUSSI. *Ethos and identity: three studies in ethnicity* [online]. London: Routledge, 2017, p. 139-154 [Accessed 2020-9-3]. Available from: <https://www-taylorfrancis-com.proxy.bnl.lu/books/mono/10.4324/9781351311205/ethos-identity-epstein-athena-leoussi>.

1285 First: I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism. Second: I learned about my Jewish descent from my parents, we do not belong to practicing Jewish families (we attended the synagogue very rarely).

1286 This group consists of 2 halachic Jews, 1 non-halachic Jew and 1 convert.

Table 50: How did you learn about Judaism and being Jewish growing up?

Answer Choices	Responses	
I was brought up in a Jewish family and my parents raised me with the traditions of Judaism. ¹²⁸⁷	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). ¹²⁸⁸	25%	25
I learned about my Jewish background from acquaintances. ¹²⁸⁹	4%	4
I learned about my Jewish origin when studying family records. ¹²⁹⁰	7%	7
I found my way to Judaism on my own (halachic Jew). ¹²⁹¹	10%	10
I found my way to Judaism on my own (convert). ¹²⁹²	11%	11
Other (please specify) ¹²⁹³	5%	5
	Answered	100

Table 51 shows several striking features that distinguish the social cohort (LTJG) from their Czechoslovak peers. The first indicator is the much higher influence of family members and relatives on the formation of Jewish identity. The second important distinguishing indicator is the role of Jewish culture and arts. These factors play a crucial role in forming the Jewish identity of the LTJG. The respondents mainly mentioned the UJGIL, the organization of young Jews which organized cultural, educational and sport activities for young Jews. Here is one representative example: *“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*

1287 27 halachic r., 9 non-halachic r., 1 convert.

1288 10 halachic r., 12 non-halachic r., 3 converts.

1289 2 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

1290 1 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

1291 10 halachic r., 0 non-halachic r., 0 convert.

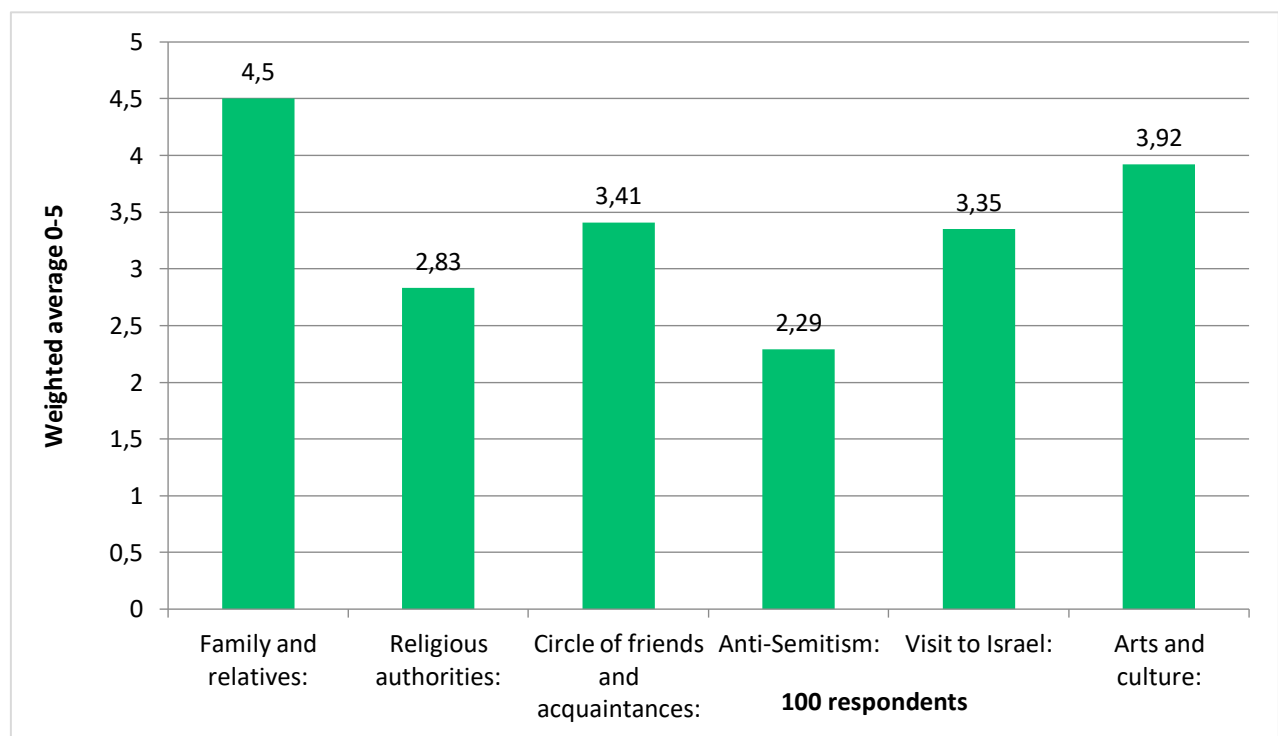
1292 0 halachic r., 2 non-halachic r., 9 converts.

1293 0 halachic r., 1 non-halachic r., 4 converts.

proved to be a very tolerant country, where I took part in events organized by UJGIL in the early 1990s.”¹²⁹⁴

There was also a lesser degree of influence from the State of Israel and antisemitism towards the Jewish identity of the LTJG. Family and relatives mainly influenced halachic Jews with traditional Jewish education. However, there are converts who have faced a lack of understanding from family members, unless they were exactly non-Halachic Jews who to some extent mixed with converts. A visit to Israel had an equal effect on all religious denominations, regardless of gender. The same is true of art and culture, which had an impact mainly on converts and non-Halachic Jews, who almost universally ticked numbers 3 to 5. Friends and acquaintances also played an important role in shaping the Jewish consciousness. While at the CZTJG, they were active in persuading and inviting the respondents to the Jewish community. For the LTJG, they mostly acted as a liberal component of Judaism. For some respondents, they were proof that Judaism has many forms and is not closely tied to a particular religious community.

Table 51: What or who forms your Jewish identity?



1294 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a halachic Jew, lukewarm, university degree).

You can see two dominant affinities in table 52, which analyzes the level of 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. 31 respondents who attend synagogue only during the High Holidays also marked the option "I celebrate only some Jewish holidays", and often state which ones. The more traditional or orthodox group of respondents also primarily marked two options (regular synagogue attendance and celebration of all Jewish holidays). There is also a special group of those who keep kosher, and a marginal group of respondents who keep only Shabbat. These 8 respondents also marked the last option in the question and stated that they keep only Shabbat at home. They 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."*¹²⁹⁵ The category "I do not celebrate any Jewish holidays" was selected by a majority of non-halachic Jews (15) and (6) halachic Jews. Converts are more often among those who observe at least partial kashrut and regularly attend the synagogue, even though they do not celebrate all Jewish holidays. 7 halachic Jews attend synagogue regularly, together with 3 converts; the remaining two spots belong to non-halachic Jews. 19 halachic Jews, 5 non-halachic Jews and 10 converts attend the synagogue only during High Holidays. 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.

Table 52: What is your approach towards maintaining Jewish religious traditions and holidays?

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 only Shabbat	13%	8
I celebrate all Jewish religious holidays	8%	11

1295 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a non-halachic Jew, lukewarm, university degree).

I do not celebrate any Jewish religious holidays	9%	9
I celebrate only some Jewish holidays (please state which ones)	56%	55
	Answered	(148) 100

Table 53 shows that a majority of respondents, regardless of religious denomination or gender, began taking an interest in Judaism between the ages of 18 and 21. 19 respondents of halachic origin were led by their parents to learn about Judaism since their early childhood, while two respondents come from a non-halachic line of parents. A dominant number of converts began to be interested in Judaism from the age of 18 onwards, and both respondents who marked the option ‘Other’ are also classified as converts. There is also a brief selection of comments that mostly relate to converts, but there are also several examples that illustrate a return to the practices of their grandparents and great-grandparents. *“My parents lost interest in Judaism. This was quite common in Germany. I rejected the preservation of the legacy of my grandparents, who survived the horrors of the concentration camp. This was my primary motivation, but over time I understood the whole system of Judaism and opened up to the spiritual path and faith as such. Sometimes I wondered if another religion might be better, but it was my grandparents who motivated me to choose Judaism.”*¹²⁹⁶ This passage recalls the so-called Hansen's law on the return of the third post-war generation to the original practices of their ancestors. His thesis is based on the rejection of a complete assimilation within the broader society. In defiance of parents who, in an effort to fully adapt, have abandoned the religious and cultural background of their parents, the third generation seeks to continue with Jewish traditions.¹²⁹⁷

“I became interested in Judaism later, although my family led me to do so. I still think that accepting a religious way of life as one's own is greatly influenced by an individual's maturity. In my opinion, it's okay for young girls and boys to have the Bat Mitzvah or Bar Mitzvah ceremony. I am glad that our liberal Jewish community attaches the same importance to both. It also helped me emancipate in understanding the role of a woman in a Jewish family, although I am from a

¹²⁹⁶ Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

¹²⁹⁷ Lynn Davidman uses Hansen's law in the chapter “Order, Belonging, and Identity” in relation to orthodox women, but in my opinion, it is applicable to both genders. (DAVIDMAN, Lynn. *Tradition in a Rootless World: women turn to orthodox Judaism* [online]. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. p. 89 [Accessed 2021-7-2]. Available from: doi:10.1525/9780520911574.

very traditional family, so my wife is relatively liberal and our daughters and son go to the Bney Mitzvah and Talmud Torah in Esch-sur-Alzette.”¹²⁹⁸

Table 53: At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism?

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

The interest in Judaism is closely linked to the attitude towards Judaism indicated in table 53. The LTJG is one of the most liberal social cohorts in my research, as confirmed in the survey by the question: “Attitude towards Jewishness: My opinion on the definition of who is a Jew”. Most respondents marked the option: “Those who have at least one Jewish parent” and the second most frequent answer was the option: Those who officially converted. The indicator of the liberal attitude is the option: All those who consider themselves Jewish. 31 respondents picked this answer, indicating their liberal approach to being Jewish. The comments below this question are different, and reflect a variety of respondents’ opinions. There are several examples of converts and their experiences of the process of conversion, as well as the reactions of their families.

Table 54: Attitude towards Jewishness: My opinion on the definition of “who is a Jew”

Answer Choices	Responses	
All those who consider themselves to be Jewish. ¹²⁹⁹	31%	31
Only those who meet halachic criteria. ¹³⁰⁰	28%	28

1298 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a man, a convert, practicing, university degree).

1299 10 halachic respondents, 16 non-halachic respondents, 5 converts.

1300 22 halachic respondents, 2 non-halachic respondents, 4 converts.

Those who officially converted. ¹³⁰¹	34%	34
Those who have at least one Jewish parent ¹³⁰²	55%	55
Prefer not to say. ¹³⁰³	3%	3
Others (please specify) ¹³⁰⁴	9%	9
	Answered	(160) 100

*“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 conflicting relationship, in the end it got better when my children were born. Fortunately, my partner's husband is great and has definitely contributed to our family's well-being.”*¹³⁰⁵ The other narrator described her lack of knowledge of what the Jewish faith means and includes. *“Conversion was a path to full Judaism for me. I was not a halachic Jew and I sincerely wanted to learn how to do it. In our family, it was difficult with faith and there was no one to teach me.”*¹³⁰⁶ Like their peers from CZTJG, the LTJG supplemented their answers with a number of comments that reflect an especially halachic and non-halachic affiliation. *“I'm probably not a proper halachic 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 there. 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.”* This results in an interesting finding based on the accompanying comments, which partially disrupts the allegedly tolerant approach to converts. The questionnaire showed that some LTJG members with Jewish ancestors distinguished between two categories of converts. The first category contains those who have Jewish ancestors, but they are not halachic Jews – they do not have Jewish mother. Trying to ensure their status in

1301 17 halachic respondents, 5 non-halachic respondents, 12 converts.

1302 20 halachic respondents, 22 non-halachic respondents, 12 converts.

1303 2 halachic respondents, 1 non-halachic respondent, 0 convert.

1304 2 halachic respondents, 2 non-halachic respondents, 5 converts.

1305 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew (convert), practicing, university degree).

1306 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a convert, practicing, university degree).

terms of Jewish society, they decide to undertake different kinds of conversion. The second category consists of candidates without Jewish ancestors, but these people want to lead a Jewish observant life. In my attitude to converts, I want to illustrate the LTJG's view of the boundaries and essence of Jewish identity. The next excerpt shows that while people from the first category are generally accepted by other Jewish community members, the second category is viewed with some distance, although respondents describe themselves as very tolerant and liberal. *“Such a religious (conversion without Jewish ancestors) conversion is something stranger. I don't know if I can do it or completely take in ... I do not really understand that someone is only going along a religious line. As in Luxembourg, it is so unhealthy, I don't think it attracts people who are serious about Judaism, but rather weirdos who want to give meaning to their lives.”*

SUMMARY

When analyzing the dataset collected, I seek to reasonably answer the research question of identity – How were Jewish identities and Jewishness shaped and transmitted in the post-war period in Luxembourg and in the Czech lands? I have recognized the following intersections and distinctions: The results of the questionnaire and interviews showed that Jewish society is more liberalized 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 gained from the survey, young people tend to have a more liberal mindset and are usually more liberal than their parents. It is obvious that the trend of liberalism will intensify in their offspring.

Converters, regardless of social cohort, have three basic characteristics in common. Respondents did not talk about their plan to convert, and started the process without their family's knowledge. Respondents confided in others only in part, and only in select family members. However, the family at least knew that they were actively interested in Judaism. The last category includes those who openly confessed to their families and mostly received support from family members. Some converts have to face a degree of misunderstanding from their peers and respected members of the Jewish community. It had a negative impact on the transmission of Jewishness in several cases. These people are not sure whether they should transmit their experiences and knowledge of Judaism to their children.

Despite liberalization both in Luxembourg and the Czech Republic and an increasing tolerance among the younger generation, there are still some remaining prejudices. The younger

generations are also polarizing, which means that liberal communities 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.

One aspect of Jewish religious life is also important for converts without Jewish ancestry. Unlike their halachic peers, it seems that this type of convert is often more oriented and educated in religious matters and Jewish culture. This does not rule out the possibility that a random approach to Judaism may overcome a primordial one. The primordial approach is reflected in my work as the irrational and emotional character of Jewish ethnicity. There is a very thin line as to how Judaism can be understood especially in Israel.¹³⁰⁷ The increasing frequency of people arriving in Israel without a clear Jewish background has been the subject of much debate in recent years.

Both the Luxembourg and Czechoslovak research participants (CZTJG and LTJG) have a greater diversity of opinions on individual aspects of Judaism, and more frequently encounter new converts who wish to be fully integrated into communities. For both groups, they are more accepting of converts than their parents. They are also much more open to the issue of Jews who are Jews only in the paternal line. However, my research has also shown that even in these two categories, 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.

Almost all the narrators, regardless of social cohort and territorial delimitation, mentioned the following aspects 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 more critical, especially the CZTJG. Their criticism mainly embraces the following aspects: Third Jewish generations feel to be questioned - the authenticity of Judaism by themselves (a lack of self-confidence). Questioning the authenticity of the Judaism of other converts (people without Jewish ancestors). Questioning the authenticity of Judaism by young Jews. Questioning the authenticity of Judaism by foreign Jews (secular and pious).

1307 VERKUYTEN, Maykel. *The social psychology of ethnic identity*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2018. p. 108.

The common denominator for the second Jewish post-war generations (CZSJG and LSJG) is represented by the fear of development of Jewish communities in particular areas. The basis of this fear has many dimensions, but there is a common question: will our community survive in Luxembourg, and in the Czech lands? Answers and visions mainly depend on the political system, experiences of emigration, family background, and the degree of Jewish practice.

As for the fear shared across the cohorts studied, another common concern that is present and recurring in conversations and commentaries, albeit not so often, is the validity of Judaism and authenticity, especially the way of transmission of authenticity. In the stories of the participants of my research, there is a problem verifying the individual's Judaism. This issue is interesting especially for the CZSJG and the CZTJG, whose members witnessed that until 1989, nobody in the Jewish community had interrogated them about their origin. *"Everyone was just happy that someone joined the program organized by Jewish communities at all. It was such an underground thing for us and we knew that we were under the supervision of the StB there, but it was adventurous, even though the rabbi did not work there for a long time."*¹³⁰⁸ Another comment completed this statement as follows: *"Everyone started pouring into the village only after the revolution, when the Jewish community in Prague got rich from restitution."*¹³⁰⁹ Luxembourg members take it in a different way. Since many of them come from highly extended families and did not move to Luxembourg until long after the war, it is sometimes difficult for them to prove when enrolling in a Jewish consistory that their parents are of Jewish descent. Some of the unregistered members told me that their mothers were of Jewish descent, but they were unable to prove it without personal documents. *"No one realizes that my father was hidden in France during the war and his documentation was lost, it's stupid."*¹³¹⁰

Another important finding explored in my research is a degree of uncertainty 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

1308 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew (convert), practicing, university degree).

1309 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew (convert), practicing, university degree).

1310 Anonymous respondent, additional comment. (a woman, a halachic Jew (convert), practicing, university degree).

only towards the majority, but also within the Jewish community as a whole. This is even more difficult for the Luxembourg Jewish population.

In addition, surprisingly, the CZTJG in the Czech lands very rarely reflected on the communist regime as an obstacle to building Jewish identity. In their eyes, this issue could be boiled down to the irrational fears and anxieties that were transmitted to them through their parents or acquaintances. They did not see the main obstacle in the regime as such, but rather in the fear and distrust of their parents and the overall mood in society, which discouraged them from pointing out their origins.

The phenomenon of Jewish identity transmission in all social cohorts has a very volatile and fluctuating nature, which is a constant process of self-awareness. External and internal influences and factors are different, and cannot be generalized. However, a trend can be seen, which states that the Jewish community is slowly opening up to the world, and that its members are liberalizing, giving space for a heterogeneous plurality of opinions. The common denominator is the origin, which is based primarily on unorthodox, mostly liberal families, although their descendants have a predominantly halachic origin.

An important factor that influenced my research is the broad range of respondents who had the opportunity to express their opinion and define their identity. Both the narrators' statements and the respondents' comments showed that the Jewish population in both demarcated areas consists of a very different pattern of individuals, whose different origins and religious beliefs form a diverse range of identities.

Last but not least, it is important to emphasize a role of grand-parents typical of both cohorts researched in my study. Grandparents, especially grand-mothers brought several research participants to Judaism. It is a widely recognized fact¹³¹¹ described in number of works and my project can confirm that the influence of grand-parents is not negligible, especially for LTJG and CZTJG.

1311 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>.

Conclusion: Slightly positive expectations and results of the IWalk experiment on university students.

The thesis aimed to explore the influences that shaped the two post-war Jewish generations in different areas and in a certain period of time in history, I was not primarily interested in great historical events, but rather in their effect on the micro-history of a specific group of people. 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.*”¹³¹² 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. I try to avoid using the terms of “Collective memory” in my project because according to Nietzschean reasoning, the collective can be viewed as monumental history by nature and it is necessary to investigate a lot of individual stories to give Jewish history the “plastic power.” “*Collective memory, by contrast is completely insensitive to the differences between periods and “qualities of time” [...] People, events, and historic institutions of the past serve as prototypes for the collective memory; none of them are recognized by their uniqueness.*”¹³¹³

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.¹³¹⁴ This constant expectation of a hard hit from history is typical of the social cohorts I have studied. Regardless of their origin, gender, or religious status, Jews have faced two main uncertainties: uncertainty about what great history the future will bring, and internal uncertainty. In my opinion, this uncertainty is directly linked to the inner Jewish identity and eventually erodes almost every individual of Jewish descent. However, as I show in my research, in addition to the changing identity, the individual is also exposed to other sociological and historical factors. One example is

1312 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.

1313 FUNKENSTEIN, Amos. *Perceptions of Jewish history*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. p. 8.

1314 USSHER, Arland. *Journey through dread: a study of Kierkegaard, Heidegger, and Sartre*. 2.nd ed. New York: Biblo & Tannen Publishers, 1968. p. 17.

antisemitism in various forms combined with anti-Zionism, which to some extent completes the Jewish attitude towards Israel.

All these 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.¹³¹⁵ As already mentioned, the social cohorts studied grew and changed in different historical contexts. The second generation of Jews in post-war Czechoslovakia dealt with a historical context, mediated experiences of the Shoah, communist antisemitism, family secrets, lack of information, and the inability to develop freely. On the other hand, their descendants (CZTJG) have one indisputable advantage: They have experienced at a relevantly young age fundamental social changes and the liberalization of society. However, they had to face even greater challenges of the liberal world giving them a variety of opportunities to form and shape their Jewish identity regardless of political power. A number of narrators found that, although they were adamant about their "I," they suddenly had the opportunity to work with a much wider range of information that allowed them to rethink their current conception of their own identity. This act of disrupting a certain reconciliation with oneself and its subsequent agitation resulted in an increase in insecurity among young Jews. This information about Judaism suddenly appeared out of nowhere and many narrators had to somehow learn to deal with it. Some used new information as building blocks to deepen their Judaism. Of course, this fact cannot be generalized; many members of the CZSJG have done the same. They took advantage of the potential of this new information and often began rebuilding their Jewishness from scratch. Both examined social cohorts in the Czech lands have had to face ongoing persecution due to their authenticity, which forces them to constantly improve the process of building Judaism and take it to the next level.

According to Charles Taylor, 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, it is primarily a question of recognition by other members of the community who meet strict elemental requirements.¹³¹⁶ Uncertainty about the future of the Jewish community in the diaspora is a thin

1315 Compare: (BAUMAN, Zygmunt. *Identity: conversations with benedetto vecchi*. 2.nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008. ; GIDDENS, Anthony. *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

1316 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.

connecting line that permeates all post-war Jewish generations to varying degrees of intensity and, to some extent, creates intergenerational tensions. Concerns about the sufficiency of young people and the direction in which the policies of individual municipalities and congregations will develop is a common problem addressed by the general Jewish public in both territories examined.

By no means can my research provide a clear forecast of cultural and religious trends affecting Jewish population, both in the Czech Republic and in Luxembourg, because the core of my research is based on the subjective empirical dataset. As inaccurate as my estimates may be, I have found certain patterns here that can be a positive promise for the future. Most 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 of Jewish history, culture and religion. Another question is what tool to choose for the education of the Jewish and non-Jewish population.¹³¹⁷ In my point of view, teachers should encourage a wide range of students to understand the meaning of Holocaust from slightly different perspectives than only through eyes of victims.

Although this fact can change and evolve very quickly, it is clear from the answers to my last question¹³¹⁸ in the questionnaire survey that a slight optimism about the future prevails in the Jewish community. The question was as follows: What is your experience of the restoration of the Jewish life in your country after the war? Respondents could choose from the following answers, ticking more than one: I am satisfied with developments after the war; I have a higher standard of living; My religious and cultural life is richer; I can now live more freely as a Jew, and; 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. The question was specified here for 1989. 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, they

¹³¹⁷ 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/>).

¹³¹⁸ What is your experience of the restoration of the Jewish life in your country?

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 social cohorts examined also positively reflected 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.

In the Czech Republic and Luxembourg, the Jewish community is not large enough for Jewish people to primarily spend their time in Jewish environment surrounded only by Jewish peers. Young people are therefore constantly affected by the surrounding non-Jewish world. During puberty or younger adulthood, respondents began to consider or question their Jewish identity (in the case of converts about religious identity as such) in some way, regardless of whether they grew up in a Jewish family or not. This phenomenon is described by J. J. Arnett, who recognizes adolescence as the beginning of questioning one's own identity. In order to build a unique personal identity, a young person has to first identify with Judaism and begin to define himself as a Jew.¹³¹⁹

As I showed through the analysis of my respondents, the Jewish identification took place on the basis of various stimuli. The question is, to what extent is it possible to identify another identity, through another component of Judaism. For example, to the extent that virtual Jews feel like Jews, according to Ruth Ellen Gruber, whether the absence of ethnic origin or conversion is possible for a person to identify as a Jew.¹³²⁰ Researchers have 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).

One of the main benefits of the thesis is the identification and analysis of different experiences between respondents with Jewish ancestors and without ancestors. I dealt with motivation, self-understanding, family background, historical and sociological context. Narrators

1319 ARNETT, Jeffrey Jensen. Emerging adulthood: a theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American psychologist* [online]. American Psychological Association, 2000, **55**(5), p. 469-480 [Accessed 2021-9-5]. Available from: doi:<https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.5.469>.

1320 According to her study, 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).

and respondents with different personal stories enter the same communal environment. A noteworthy observation is that the groups are not internally homogeneous and my work has identified a number of different patterns. Surprisingly, a negligible number of research participants mentioned the Shoah as an important factor in shaping their Jewish identity. Given how much literature on this topic is available,¹³²¹ I found this a very surprising finding. Overall, it can be stated that narrators, especially from the third post-war generation, present their Judaism positively and sparingly. Only short parts of the interviews and some comments have a negative touch. Based on the research, it can also be stated that most halachic Jews, regardless of the social cohort, knew about their Judaism, or at least felt it, with the exception of only a few narrators and respondents from the CZSJG.

A certain number of research participants understand their identity as something predestined and fateful, and their involvement in Judaism affects the whole family. Thanks to them, many relatives also became interested in Jewish issues, and there are far fewer negative reactions. An interesting observation is the marginal role of God as a mover and creator of Jewish identity. None of the narrators emphasized the role of God as the most important factor in the creation of their identity. Traveling to Israel and staying in the Middle East have very different impacts on research participants, and for most, Israel is a territory that offers protection along with the opportunity to exercise its Judaism, but there are also people who take Israel as a good business opportunity.

This study does not aim to adequately explain and reflect all phenomena, but seeks to point out the way in which research participants gain relevance over time. I have tried to contribute to the understanding of what post-war Jewish individuals must face if they choose to be a Jew and cultivate their Judaism within themselves. I focused on three basic patterns in the experience of acquiring Jewish identity, which refer to concepts such as Israel, antisemitism, authenticity,

1321Compare: (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).

hybridization of identity, and the role of primordialism. A detailed analysis of the data showed me that research participants are not primarily forced to be Jewish. It is dominantly their choice regardless of the community, family, or state.¹³²² Their motivations might be different, but the unifying factor is the freedom associated with the feeling of the mission to continue the tradition. However, this feeling of duty is internal and for the most part it is only up to the specific person how he interprets this fact for himself. As one of the accompanying comments has already said: Being a Jew is a mission and a certain degree of uniqueness, and for everyone it represents a certain dynamic interpretive trajectory, which, however, carries with it a number of difficulties.

What is often discussed as the main factor of identity, the so-called ethnic identity, is not so dominant in my research. Judaism through blood can easily die if external circumstances do not bring it to life. For some, Judaism can be a sign of historical coincidence, both in the Czech lands and in Luxembourg. The influence of Jewish family heritage did not have a dominant element in my research, however, even here there was a certain exclusion based on significance. Research has not proved a developing conflict of national identity with Jewish identity or any other identity. In my opinion, it is important to realize which of the identities prevails in a multicultural Luxembourg society. The identity of Prague Jews, who often have to choose in the intercultural environment of Prague, is moving in a similar direction.

The starting points of my thesis are by no means definitive and have great potential for future researchers. 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 Orthodox¹³²³ or, on the contrary, liberally progressive communities also play a role here, which in my opinion will determine the direction in which the Jewish community will move in the coming years. The small, often non-indexed 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

1322 Unlike some orthodox groups in the USA, Luxembourg Jewish communities and Czech Jewish communities are far more liberal and they do not want to turn into isolated groups to cope with the world's postmodernism. (HEILMAN, Samuel. *Sliding to the right: the contest for the future of American Jewish Orthodoxy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. p. 296-298).

1323 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.

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. Since there is no single common Jewish identity in the world today, Jews serve as a litmus test in the postmodern era in a variety of settings. My research did not reveal a large number of common elements, but instead pointed to the fact that the Jewish environment is even more differentiated than it may seem.

Young Jews are an interesting cultural phenomenon in the Czech Republic as well as in Luxembourg, which is gradually beginning to be sought by academics and experts. However, the gap in the available literature is still open and there are certainly opportunities to fill it. If I have to comment on the term of religious life on the basis of my data, then it cannot be said that this is happening centrally, although there are some indications in the form of conservative or liberal communities such as Masorti, Beit Simcha or Ec Chayim. Jacob Labendz cited Rabbi Karol Sidon in his thesis, who had said that the Jews in the Czech lands are something like “Czechs of the Jewish religion.”¹³²⁴

In Luxembourg, on the other hand, there is a strong multicultural impact and a relatively strong migration base for all research participants. Few of them can be said to have been born, spent their childhood, studied and worked only in Luxembourg. That said, this apparent dichotomy is not detrimental to the research itself; on the contrary, it has highlighted a number of facts that intersect in all social cohorts, regardless of geographical location. What is happening seems to be a general redefinition of what it means today to be a Jew by changing the Jewish traditions through which young people develop Judaism as acceptably as possible. In other words, attempts to discover Jewish identity or revive Jewish culture result in creating a new specific identity and new culture.

As for the fundamental changes in the relationship between the Luxembourg government and the Jewish Consistory, it is worth drawing attention to the agreement concluded between the Luxembourg state and the Jewish consistory. The aim of the agreement was to find a solution to all unresolved issues with Holocaust restitutions. The signatories were Prime Minister Xavier Bettel and the President of the Jewish Consistory, Albert Aflalo, while the World Organization for

1324 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. 636.

Jewish Restitution (WJRO) and the Luxembourg Foundation for the Shoah Memorial co-signed. It is interesting for scientists and experts that the Luxembourg government is going to offer two million euros for research on Jewish life in Luxembourg in upcoming two years.¹³²⁵

Creating awareness in everyday life via the Visual History archives and virtual applications

The intention of using IWalk as part of my Video Content Analysis course was to establish an empathic connection between the students and the witnesses of Jewish life at the time. By increasing their understanding of everyday life, I felt that I could effectively nurture respect in the students for the Shoah survivors. Although this was my personal goal, it proved quite challenging to achieve, but now I am convinced that IWalk can be an answer to my research question; What virtual educational tools can teachers use to strengthen student knowledge of Jewish public history?

Whilst working on the course, I was very excited to receive invaluable feedback from my students. Their reflections and inspiring comments are important for molding my future work. The students reported that my course had taken them to new sites that were previously unknown to them. One of the course participants appreciated this new way of preserving the memory of people who had lived through the atrocities of the Holocaust. Dynamic personal accounts are more engaging than cold memorials without historical context. The video evidence allowed the students to connect with people that harbor memories of unique experiences. *“We put ourselves in another’s situation, so that through that person’s eyes we can imagine, or we can make ourselves imagine, what [the] victim’s experience feels like.”*¹³²⁶ This comment shows the students’ interest in maintaining a vivid collective memory rather than memorizing war monuments erected as reminders of the atrocities of war. It also proves that it is possible to generate empathy in students towards the victims of various genocides. The course valued and therefore built on students’ points of view and personal experiences.

The students were shown how to combine various forms of media through the hands-on task of designing memorial tours. Werner Dreier and Angelika Laumer called upon the students

1325 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>.

1326 L. D. Reflection paper. BCE-EU-105-03 Video History Analysis. 26.1.2020

to become part of an international system of remembrance exploring the memories of victims of the Holocaust.¹³²⁷ Designing their very own IWalk tour gave them the opportunity to share their reflections on the conditions that led to Shoah atrocities.

I also invited a number of guest speakers to enrich the content of the course. The first lesson of the IWalk course set out to introduce various video databases, with the aim of giving students an overview of the resources at their disposal for future research. Based on student feedback, I can conclude that the course met the expectations of most participants. They learned new methods of working with digital and virtual projects and developed communication and leadership skills within small working groups.

In their final reports, the students often stated that the course helped them to critically understand the past rather than being only passive consumers of information. They tried out for themselves what it is like to participate in a media message. For some of them, it was motivation to actively participate in events in public spaces. The reflections of the students enabled me to draw several conclusions about the benefits of my course. Witness testimonies make sense if they are critically reflected and judged. They can serve to enrich historical discourse by highlighting neglected destinies and parts of micro history. Students became more aware of the influence of politics on people's thinking and behavior, which forms an integral part of various phases in history. According to Andrea Szonyi and Kori Street, it is not a question of whether the witnesses are right or not. Their contribution is in the form of the connection they create between factual history and the level of empathy that is felt for the perception of specific events.¹³²⁸ In my opinion, their message to future generations of students and scientists fulfils several tasks, namely not to forget, not to trivialize and to keep the events of that time alive.

Walter Benjamin argues in one of his essays: *“The experiences of the war event and mass death could no longer be observed, described, and communicated using the structures and meaning-making strategies reserved for historical realism, which was part and parcel of the*

1327 DREIER, Werner, Angelika LAUMER and Moritz WEIN. *Interactions: Explorations of Good Practice in Educational Work with Video Testimonies of Victims of National Socialism*. Berlin: EVZ, 2018. p. 270.

1328 SZONYI, Andrea and Kori STREET. Videotaped Testimonies of Victims of National Socialism in Educational Programs: The Example of USC Shoah Foundation's Online Platform IWitness. In: DREIER, Werner, Angelika LAUMER a Moritz WEIN. *Interactions: Explorations of Good Practice in Educational Work with Video Testimonies of Victims of National Socialism*. Berlin: EVZ, 2018. p. 271. 1329 BENJAMIN, Walter and Harry ZOHN. The story-teller: Reflections on the works of Nicolai Leskov. *Chicago Review* [online]. JSTOR, 1963, **16**(1), p. 83.

tradition of storytelling with clear agents, a coherent plot, and narrative strategies.”¹³²⁹ This argument should not be interpreted as an act of resignation to historical facticity, but as a call to find a new epistemological balance. Stephen Smith in his paper “On the Ethics of Technology and Testimony” admits that easy access to all materials in the VHA would cause the unintentional side effect of flattening differences between the testimonies and rendering listening one-directional.¹³³⁰ As I argue here, such testimonies should definitely be used as a relevant historical source in education, but they must remain in the hands of professionals (teachers or academics).

1329 BENJAMIN, Walter and Harry ZOHAN. The story-teller: Reflections on the works of Nicolai Leskov. *Chicago Review* [online]. JSTOR, 1963, **16**(1), p. 83.

1330 FOGU, Claudio, Wulf KANSTEINER and Todd PRESNER. *Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture*. 1. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016. p.182.

Resumé (CZ):

Disertační práce byla zpracována na základě metody orální historie podpořené dotazníkovým šetřením, které se uskutečnilo mezi členy druhé a třetí poválečné židovské generace. Výsledky ukázaly, že navzdory rozdílné historické zkušenosti jsou židovská minority jak v Lucembursku, tak v českých zemích propojené v určitých oblastech. Podobnosti stejně jako rozdíly byly představeny ve třech triádách řešící: vztah zkoumané židovské menšiny k Izraeli, antisemitismus a jeho vliv na identitu a v neposlední řadě je to vývoj a mezigenerační přenos židovství v rámci židovských rodin.

Výsledky analýzy empirických dat došly k závěru, že vztah k Izraeli je pro mladé židovské generace stále důležitý, byť se v průběhu let proměnil a zejména mladší židé nenahlíží na Izrael pouze jako na svatou zemi, ale spíše jako na místo, kde se upevňuje a rozvíjí jejich židovský naturel. Na druhé straně roste politická kritika Izraele a to bez ohledu na zkoumané prostředí. Kritika sílí směrem k mladší generaci zkoumaných jedinců v Diaspoře a to zejména v Lucembursku. Co se týče závěrů týkajících se antisemitismu, téměř všichni respondenti a narátoři se shodli, že antisemitismus je stále přítomen, ale zásadně změnil svoji formu. U určité části zejména mladší židovské populace dochází k bagatelizaci otevřeného antisemitismu jakožto vymírajícímu fenoménu. Práce rovněž analyzuje stále častější fenomén tzv. Nového antisemitismu a jeho výskyt ve většinové společnosti.

Dalším přínosem práce je interdisciplinární analýza a postupné upozadění následků historických traumat, které již nemají tak silný vliv na formování židovské identity u třetí poválečné židovské generace. Práce dále zohledňuje vztah konvertitů nejen k většinové populaci, ale také k židovské společnosti.

Zásadním překážkou práce při jejím vypracování byla nutnost přísné anonymizace pamětníků i omezený přístup k archivním zdrojům. Současně práce je rovněž teoretická pasáž věnovaná digitální vzdělávací aplikaci IWalk. Teoretická část věnovaná této problematice má i praktické vyústění v podobě dvou IWalk tras provádějící uživatele po lucemburských městech Lucemburk a Esch-sur-Alzette.

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ANNEXE :

1. The draft of questionnaire
2. The draft of questions for semi-structured interviews

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

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)

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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:

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0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

Anti-Semitism:

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. Have your parents ever hidden their Jewish origins before other people after the war?

(Select only the answer with which you agree.)

Yes ☐

No ☐

Please state why, when and how:

10. 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:

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11. Attitude towards Jewishness: My opinion on the definition of “who is a Jew”:

(You may select more than one answer. You may supplement your answers with additional comments.)

All those who consider themselves to be Jewish ☐

Only those who meet halachic criteria ☐

Only those who converted ☐

Who has at least one Jewish parent ☐

Prefer not to say ☐

Other:

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 ☐

I am against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state ☐

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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

IV. SHOAH AND POSTWAR RESTITUTIONS

15. How much did personal war experiences affect your relatives’ post-war behaviour?

(To be completed only by those who had their relatives at concentration camps.)

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(Please indicate the influence of each of the following, with 0 being no influence, 1 being the least influential and 5 being the most influential.)

The living conditions of ghettos and concentration camps undermined their physical and mental health.

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

They bore the suffering from the Holocaust very bravely but they rarely talked about their experiences (e.g. their time in concentration camps)

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

Their experiences in ghettos/concentration camps instilled a great sense of fear, which they subsequently transferred to me as their offspring.

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

They were able to live and work after the war with no visible limitations.

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

They shared their experiences with other people.

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

Other:

16. If your family lost any property, did they manage to recover it through restitution proceedings after World War II?

Yes, with no problems ☐

Yes, but there were slight problems and delays ☐

Yes, but there were major problems and it took a long time (several years) ☐

Yes, but only partly ☐

No, my family members did not manage to recover their property and estates ☐

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My family members did not attempt to ask for their property and estates to be returned ☐

My family's property was not confiscated ☐

Other:

17. Did your family feel under pressure from the state to integrate quickly into post-war society 1945-50 (e.g. did they experience restrictions and obstacles to celebrating Jewish holidays)?

(Select only those answers with which you agree. You may select more than one answer.)

Yes, the state authorities urged us to integrate on a regular basis ☐

Yes, there were small remarks from state officials but it was not openly repressive ☐

Yes, the state secretly followed our post-war cultural activities ☐

No, we noticed no restrictions concerning our cultural and spiritual life, but the state did not support our community activities ☐

No, the state supported us and funded a number of activities organised by Jewish-majority communities ☐

Other:

V. CHILDREN

(To be completed only by those who have children.)

If your children do not live in Luxembourg, what is their level of Luxembourgish?

(Select only those answers with which you agree.)

Very good ☐

Good ☐

Only passive ☐

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None ☐

Prefer not to say ☐

Other:

18. If you have several children, do they have different attitudes towards Jewishness?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Please state why:

VI. CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH WITH ANTISEMITISM

19. While growing up, did you have a feeling that you were different from your friends and surroundings?

No (please state why) ☐

Yes (please state why) ☐

20. At what age did you start taking an interest in Judaism?

6-10 ☐

11-15 ☐

16-20 ☐

21> ☐

I am not interested in Judaism ☐

Other comments:

21. Do you have any personal experience of anti-Semitism?

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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:

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

Neighbors and friends

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

Media:

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

Other:

22. If so, in what form did you experience antisemitism?

Swearing/insults ☐

Threat(s) ☐

Physical violence ☐

Other (give example(s)):

23. How many Jewish friends did you have as a child/adolescent?

(Please indicate one answer.)

None ☐

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Not many ☐

A few ☐

I had only Jewish friends ☐

I had only Jewish friends, but now I consider some non-Jewish people to be my friends ☐

Please state:

VII. JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

24. Have you ever been a member of Jewish organizations after the war (schools, cultural associations, language courses, sports clubs, etc.)?

(Select only those answers with which you agree. You may select more than one answer.)

Yes, since early childhood ☐

Yes, I have been enrolled in Jewish organisations since the age of 13 ☐

Yes, I became a member of a Jewish community/organisation in adulthood ☐

Yes, but I gave up these activities ☐

Yes, but I left the organisation/club ☐

No, I have never been a member of a Jewish organisation, but this idea appeals to me ☐

No, I have never been a member of a Jewish organisation and this idea does not appeal to me ☐

Please state why:

25. What type of Jewish organisations are you/did you used to be a member of?

(Please fill in the name of the organisation and describe its activity under "other".)

Spiritual/religious ☐

Sports ☐

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Cultural ☐

Educational ☐

Social ☐

None ☐

Other:

26. Do your children attend any Jewish organisations?

(Please select only one answer.)

Yes ☐

No ☐

Comments:

27. Do your other relatives attend any Jewish organisations?

(Please select only one answer.)

Yes ☐

No ☐

Comments:

28. 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)

Cultural and intellectual proximity of the environment

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

Climate

0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

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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:

29. What national sports team do you support?

(Select only those answers with which you agree. You may select more than one answer.)

I support the national team of the country where I was born. ☐

I support the national team of the country where I am living now. ☐

I support the national team of the country where I obtained citizenship. ☐

I support Israeli national teams. ☐

I'm not interested in sport and I don't support any sports teams. ☐

Other:

30. 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.)

STUDY ON LUXEMBOURG JEWISH IDENTITY, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL
ACTIVITIES AMONG JEWISH POST-WAR GENERATIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AND LUXEMBOURG (1945-90)

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:

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. Did your family feel under pressure from the state to integrate quickly into post-war society?
8. Do you have any personal experience of antisemitism?
9. How would you describe your position within the Jewish community?
10. What Jewish associations worked within a Jewish community?
11. Have you ever been a member of Jewish organizations after the war (schools, cultural associations, language courses, sports clubs, etc.)?
12. What Jewish establishment did in favor of developing the education within a Jewish community?
13. Do you think that the contemporary Jewish generation is more motivated to participate in religious and cultural life?
14. Could you please compare advantages and disadvantages between the former Jewish life in the 1960s/1970s/1980s with the current situation?
15. What aspects are important for you to call a country your home?
16. What would you improve in your cultural and religious life?
17. What milestones do you consider to be the most important for the Jewish community?