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THE RISE AND FALL OF JEWISH REPRESENTATION AND COMMUNIST REFORM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1945-75

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Table of Contents

List of Images

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

AAN – Archive of the Modern Era (*Archiwum Akt Nowych*)
ABS – State Security Archives (*Archív bezpečnostních složek*)
ČSF – Czechslovak Film (*Československý film*)
FAMU – Film and TV School of the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague (*Filmová a televizní fakulta Akademie múzických umění v Praze*)
FN – National Film Archives, Warsaw (*Filmoteka Narodowa*)
KSČ – Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (*Komunistická strana Československu*)
LA – Literary Archive (*Literární archív*)
LS – Literary Script (*Literární scénář*)
MK – City Library (*Městská knihovna*)
MLK – Municipal People's Library (*Městská lidová knihovna*)
MV – Ministry of the Interior (*Ministerstvo vnítra*)
NA – National Archive (*Národní archív*)
ND – National Theater Archive (*Národní divadlo*)
NK – National Library (*Národní knihovna*)
OZF – Division of Special Funds (*Oddělení zvláštních fondů*)
PNP – Museum of Czech Literature (*Památník národního písemnictví*)
RFE/RL – Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty
ROH – Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (*Revoluční odborové hnutí*)
SFU – Slovak Film Institute (*Slovenský filmový ústav*)
SK – State Library (*Státní knihovna*)
SSTS – Collection of Files on Confidential Informants (*Sbírka Svazky tajných spolupracovníků*)
StB – State Security (*Státní bezpečnost*)
TS – Technical Script (*Technický scénář*)
UK – Central Library (*Ústřední knihovna*)
ÚPS – Central Publication Office (*Ústřední publikační správa*)
ÚŘ – Central Directorate (*Ústřední ředitelství*)
ŽNO – Jewish Religious Community (*Židovská náboženská obec*)

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Introduction

When employment within the approved fields of Jewish labor could no longer help him, Jiří Weil sought protection from deportation by marrying a non-Jew in 1942. It worked for a time; he labored at the Jewish Museum of Prague, which survived the Nazi period, cataloging liturgical and cultural items from destroyed synagogues. When his mixed marriage could no longer protect him and he was called to a transport, he faked his own suicide and went into hiding. After the war, he attempted to publish about these experiences by novelizing them. The novel, *Life with a Star* (Život s hvězdou), was about a banker who attempts to cope with life in occupied Prague until he goes into hiding. It was primarily an exposition on the loss of self, dehumanization, and the literal isolation the main character suffers as the consequence of survival in an anti-Semitic world. He published it in 1949 with the *ELK* publisher, where he himself was head editor. Alfred Rádok, a theater and film director, wrote Weil shortly after its publication that the novel should be "required reading for all those who wish to be human." But the novel had the misfortune of being published in the year after the communist victory in Czechoslovakia, and so the novel was quickly banned as "defeatist," "cowardly," and excessively "cosmopolitan." *ELK* was completely shut down.

The story of Weil's failure to publish *Life with a Star* could be taken as indicative of the beginning to a rapid end of Jewish history and culture in the communist bloc. The banning of Weil's novel is clearly related to an increasingly anti-Semitic atmosphere in early 1950's Czechoslovakia. Shortly afterwards, the Secret Police began arresting party functionaries—mostly rank and file cultural, economic, or diplomatic officers. They were also mostly Jews. They were kept in prison for two or more years, isolated and refused contact with family or friends. Finally, between 1952 and 1954, those who had been arrested were accused of and sentenced for a "Trotskyite-Titoite-Zionist" conspiracy to betray Czechoslovakia to "foreign powers" that were

enemies of communism. The series of show trials became known by the name of the highest-ranking official sentenced, Rudolf Slánský, second in command to Czechoslovak President Klement Gottwald at the time of his arrest.[1]

Yet, the Slánský Trial was not the end of the story for *Life with a Star*. Although Weil died of cancer in 1960, *Life with a Star* was republished in 1964 and again in 1967, becoming just two of the 145 publishing contracts that authors secured for novels, short story collections, or personal narratives about Jewish experiences between 1958 and 1973. Perhaps this number does not seem that remarkable on first glance. Consider the fact that after the communists consolidated their power in 1948, domestic authors published only 12 new works about Jews until 1957, compared with 81 from 1958-1973.[2] In other words, the period 1958-1973 saw a 675% growth in works about Jewish experiences from the preceding ten years. These dates are representative of the rise and fall of Jewish narratives, and, I argue, the cultural reach of the Thaw in Czechoslovakia. If we adjust the dates for an even ten-year comparison, there was still a 558% growth in 1958-1968 from the previous decade. Moreover, the tone of these works shifted in the second decade of communism. Prior to 1958, heavy-handed ideological and political referents were required to make narratives about Jews fit a narrowly prescribed view of World War II as a class of barbarous German fascism against valiant socialist brethren nations. After 1958, narratives about Jews slowly pushed these boundaries, offering increasingly non-ideological and even critical interpretations of Czech and Slovak behavior during World War II.

[1] Karel Kaplan, *Report on the Murder of the General Secretary,* trans. by Karel Kovanda (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1990); Zuzana Justman, *A Trial in Prague*, DVD, Documentary (The Cinema Guild, 2000).
[2] This dissertation distinguishes between books published and individual titles, the former including new editions and republications, and the latter excluding them. There were 81 new titles and 64 republications from 1958-1973, and 26 total publishing contracts (inclusive of republications) froom 1948-57. The metrics for 1958-1968 are 115 published books and 67 new titles. In the Methodology section later in this introduction, I address why republications are important to consider. See Appendix A, Section 1.

This dissertation seeks to explain this cultural phenomenon in detail, answering how and why this growth happened. More specifically, it follows a cultural trend—the rise, spread, and eventual decline of novels, films, and plays about Jews. It asks: what allowed for the emergence of Jewish representation in this period? What people, events, or conditions shaped the contours of this trend? Who was responsible for this growth and why? How was this movement influenced by global cultural trends? What domestic impact did the collective body of these works have? Thus, Jewish representation functions in two ways in this context. On the one hand, this dissertation looks at representations of Jews in Czechoslovak literature, film, and plays. On the other, it considers Jewish representation within the cultural milieu; in particular, the ways in which Jews interacted and engaged with non-Jews in bringing narratives of Jewish experience to a general audience.

The relationship between Jewish representation in Czechoslovak culture and the rise of reform politics in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s is at the center of this dissertation. After the deaths of Stalin and Czechoslovak president Klement Gottwald, intellectuals believed in the possibility of a re-defined political future that could accommodate pluralism. Socialist reform reached its apex with the Prague Spring, when Alexander Dubček was elected head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1968. In the past, scholars have briefly discussed links between new Jewish narratives and the rise of reform politics. They have done so, however, without critically exploring the relationship between the two, often implying that changing politics begat cultural opportunity.[3]

[3] For a sample, see Jiří Holý, "Židé a šoa v české a slovenské literatuře po druhé světové válce," in *Šoa v české literatuře a v kulturní paměti*, edited by Jiří Holý, Petr Malék, Michael Špirit, and Filip Tomáš, 7–65 (Prague: Akropolis, 2011); Blanka Soukupová and Miloš Pojar, eds., *Židovská menšina v Československu v letech 1956-1968: od destalinizace k Pražskému jaru* (Prague: Židovské Muzeum v Praze, 2011); Šárka Sladovníková, "Holokaust v Československém a českém hraném filmu," in *Cizí a blízcí: židé, literatura, kultura v českých zemích ve 20 století*, edited by Jiří Holý, 601–80 (Prague: Akropolis, 2016). My research builds on a dissertation by Jacob Labendz, which considers the relationship between reform politics and interest in the Holocaust more closely. Jacob Labendz, "Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia, The State and the Jews in Communist Central Europe: The Czech Lands, 1945-1990" (PhD Dissertation, Washington University in St. Louis, 2014), 165-221.

The rapid rise in works about Jewish experiences was intimately linked to the process of re-envisioning the socialist future. Rather than being simply a consequence of bureaucratic shifts, I argue, Jewish narratives helped to create the era of loosening political constraints.

Scholars have noted the way anti-Semitism has influenced and shaped political and social movements in wide-ranging contexts, and 20th Century Europe is no exception. The number of studies that attest to the political and social power of anti-Semitism are so numerous that it would be impossible to list them all.[4] Yet, strikingly few studies consider the possibility that sympathy for Jewish experiences could also motivate social or political change.[5] This is precisely the focus of this dissertation: how sympathetic portrayals of Jewish experiences in literary, cinematic and theatrical media influenced, and were influenced by, political shifts and changes. What began as a way for Jewish writers and intellectuals to reclaim Jewish experiences from the silencing forces of

[4] For a sample, see David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013); Joanna B. Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Steven Ascheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Birnbaum, Pierre *Antisemitism in France: A Political History from Leon Blum to the Present* (Cambridge: B. Blackwell, 1992); Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 1964); John Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siecle Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Paul Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism, 1870-1945* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Antisemitism, 1700-1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980). See also footnote 22.

[5] While interest in Jewish culture has been discussed, particularly in the collapse of communism, the way that this affects political or social movements is fairly rare. For a few examples on Jewish culture interest, see Erica Lehrer, *Jewish Poland Revisited: Heritage Tourism in Unquiet Places* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Ruth Ellen Gruber, *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Marian Mushkat, *Philo-Semitic and Anti-Jewish Attitudes in Post-Holocaust Poland* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992). For a few that indirectly examine social and political consequences of resistance to anti-Semitism, see Michael Meng, *Shattered Spaces: Encountering Jewish Spaces in Postwar Germany and Poland* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Jeffrey Herf. *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Harvard University Press, 1997); John Efron, "Framing the Conversation: Jewish Voices in the German Sixties," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 13, no. 1 (2014): 2-11; Christoph Schmidt, "The Return of Dead Souls: The German Students' Movement and the Ghosts of Auschwitz," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 13, no. 1 (2014): 75-86; Laura Jockusch, *Collect and Record! Jewish Holocaust Documentation in Early Postwar Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). The edited volume *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland* includes remarkably few articles about resistance to anti-Semitism. Robert Blobaum, ed, *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

Nazism and stalinism[6] ultimately became a way for intellectuals to discuss the dangers of isolating and oppressive political systems that functioned on fear and conformism. This discourse, conducted through interpretations and commentary on Jewish narratives, was fundamentally linked to ideas about "humane socialism" that eventually became central to the Prague Spring, the reform movement that came to power in 1968.

By examining how Jewish representation functioned in the political context of the first decades of communism, I engage with several scholarly conversations. First, my research builds upon recent literature on postwar European Jewry and history of communism in the Eastern bloc. These two fields have grown dramatically over the past ten to twenty years due to the availability of new archival material after the collapse of communism. While these two historiographic fields are well integrated for the early period of postwar European reconstruction, there is little overlap between these two fields after the first five years of communism. My dissertation bridges these gaps by arguing that understanding how Jewish representation functioned in 1960s Czechoslovakia is necessary to understand de-stalinization and reform politics in Czechoslovakia more broadly.

In addition to these conversations within the historical discipline, my dissertation connects cultural studies and history. My work particularly engages with scholarly literature on memorialization and memory of the Holocaust in the postwar period in Europe. It builds upon scholarship challenging the understanding that there were decades of silence over Holocaust themes in cultural media. This periodization is especially pronounced in the communist countries,

[6] I understand stalinism in the postwar in the terms described by Vladimir Tismaneau in *Stalinism Revisited*: a "transplanted secular eschatology (Marxism-Leninism), a radical vision of the world (capitalist encirclement and the touchstone theory or proletarian internationalism formulated by Stalin in the 1920s), and, ultimately, an alternative idea of modernity (based upon anti-capitalism and state managed collectivism) self-identified as infallibly righteous)." At the same time, my work follows upon Padraic Kenney's (and others' after him) use of "stalinism" in the lower case to distinguish the system from the individual. Vladimir Tismaneanu, "Introduction," in *Stalinism Revisited: The Establishment of Communist Regimes in East-Central Europe* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009), 3–4; Padraic Kenney, *Rebuilding Poland: Workers and Communists, 1945-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

where the 1990s is also associated with liberation from decades of oppression.[7] By recognizing 1960s films and novels as a part of a significant cultural trend, rather than isolated and unconnected examples, my work throws this post-communist moment into new light. The communist period was profoundly influential for public engagement with Jewish culture and Holocaust memory in the 1990s.

Jewish life in Czechoslovakia and the Postwar Communist World

In the modern, post-emancipation period, Czechoslovakia—in particular the Czech-speaking Bohemian lands—has often enjoyed the reputation of a bastion of tolerance for its Jewish minority. Jews were relatively acculturated in the Czech lands, having been primarily urban and secular. In part, this is because of Czechoslovakia's first president Tomáš Masaryk. In spite of his own personal ambivalence towards Jews, he did not believe in political persecution and spoke out publicly against blood libel and other traditional forms of anti-Semitism at the turn of the 20th century. Nonetheless, animosity towards Jews did exist, particularly for having adopted German cultural customs after being emancipated in the Habsburg Empire, when German was the language of state affairs and social and educational advancement.[8] When the Czech lands were ceded to

[7] Though this will be discussed in greater detail later, but for a sample, see Ruth Ellen Gruber, *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Joanna B. Michlic and John-Paul Himka, *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013); Tomaš Sniegoň, *Vanished History: The Holocaust in Czech and Slovak Historical Culture* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014). For broader European and global assertions of this periodization, see Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2005); Neil Levi and Michael Rothberg, "General Introduction: Theory and the Holocaust," in *The Holocaust: Theoretical Readings*, edited by Neil Levi and Michael Rothberg, 1–22 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

[8] On Jewish life in Czechoslovakia in the 19th and early 20th centuries, see Wilma Abeles Iggers, ed. *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: A Historical Reader* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992); Hillel Kieval, *Languages of Community: The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Kateřina Čapková, *Czechs, Germans, Jews? National Identity & the Jews of Bohemia* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 131-70; Nancy M. Wingfield, "The Politics of Sound: 'Talkies' and Anti-German Demonstrations in Prague," in *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

Nazi Germany after the Munich Agreement, the Jewish population was left largely to fend for themselves, without their neighbors or allies to rely on.

A "deep-rooted anti-Semitic tradition" had historically been more prominent in Slovakia. Latent anti-Semitism grew in the mid-1930s, when Andrej Hlinka's virulent Slovakian nationalism flourished under the guise of an independence movement.[9] Hlinka was a priest, and he and his predecessor Dr. Josef Tiso promoted a form of Catholic fascism known as "clericofascism" as part of their nationalist agenda. After the Munich Agreement, Czechs lost control of their own government and became a Nazi protectorate, but Slovakia was granted autonomy. Josef Tiso led Slovakia into independence, and laws defining Jews and Aryans were instated almost immediately. By 1941, Slovakia developed a "Jewish Codex" modeled off German race policies.[10]

In Bohemia and Moravia, the communists ultimately were responsible for the most overt resistance to the Nazi occupation. It was not uncommon for pre-war socialists to spend the war in the London-based Czech exile government or escape to the Soviet Union. Communists who remained in Bohemia and Moravia fought against fascism and were often punished for it by being sent to concentration camps. The general lack of resistance among the regular population meant that communists were able to dominate the legacy of resistance in the early postwar period.[11] Chad Bryant has shown that Czechs did, in fact, resist Nazi German policies, through finding ways to "act Czech" and display Czech symbols and culture as the Bohemian lands were being Germanized.[12] This type of small-scale, individualized protest, however, did not hold much narrative weight in the postwar period. In Slovakia, the partisan movement was even more

[9] Mendelsohn, *Jews of East Central Europe*, 164.
[10] Ibid 166 and Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939-45* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981), 358.
[11] Bradley Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 35-36. Chad Bryant, *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 130-31.
[12] Bryant, *Prague in Black.*

important for postwar mythology, as Slovakian leadership had instituted their own version of the Nuremberg Laws and had to create a heroic narrative to white-wash Slovakian involvement in Nazi race policies.[13]

When the communists took over in 1948, many Jews who had been pre-war socialists enthusiastically took up new roles in the government. During the process of consolidating communist power (roughly 1948-1954), expressions of particularity were often silenced for the sake of ideological unity both within and among communist countries. For example, the state portrayed Nazi war crimes as fascist violence against communist (or sometimes national) victims, thus erasing the specificity of Nazi policy towards Jews. The state banned the few literary and cinematic works about Jewish experiences in occupied Czechoslovakia that emerged in the late 1940s. Jews who returned often changed their names (or were urged to) because of their perceived Germanness.[14]

Like many other countries that had been occupied by the Nazis, the postwar government felt the need to punish wartime collaborators as an elaborate show of distinction from the occupation regime. In doing so, the Czechoslovak government even expelled most of its remaining German minority, claiming human rights as a justification for forceful population transfer and the creation of ethnically homogenous states.[15] In spite of these government displays of hostility towards Nazi collaborators, returning home was often difficult for Jews. They searched for family

[13] Shari J. Cohen, *Politics without a Past: The Absence of History in Postcommunist Nationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 12, 100-3; Sniegoň, *Vanished History*, 196.
[14] Blanka Soukupová, "Modely životních osudů českých Židů po šoa," in *Židovská menšina v Československu po druhé světové válce: od osvobození k nové totalitě,* ed. Blanka Soukupová and Miloš Pojar (Praha: Židovské Muzeum v Praze, 2009), 81-106. Anti-German sentiment was particularly high during this period; the Nazi occupation had exacerbated longstanding anti-German sentiments. For example, see Benjamin Frommer, *National Cleansing: Retribution Against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[15] Douglas, R.M. *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans After the Second World War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013; Tara Zahra, *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families after World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Frommer, *National Cleansing.*

and friends, often finding none, or worse, finding that once-trusted friends had betrayed them for their own personal interest. Many were completely dispossessed, either by the Nazis, their neighbors, or some combination of the two. And trials of collaborators were geared more towards national retribution than justice for those individuals harmed by Nazism.[16]

The sudden arrest of dozens of Jewish state employees in the late 1940s and early 1950s added to the woes of the postwar Czechoslovak Jewish population. Eugen Löbl, a Slovak Jew and employee of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, was the first arrested in 1949. Czechoslovakia was mounting their own show trial, modeled off the László Rajk trial in Hungary. By 1952, fourteen stood accused of a treasonous "Zionist-Trostkyite-Titoite" conspiracy in the eponymous Slánský Trial. Ironically, General Secretary of the party Rudolf Slánský, the highest-ranking defendant, had been involved in planning the show trial prior to his own arrest.[17] Twelve were Jewish. By the 1952 sentencing, the state had charged others—again mostly Jews—in subsidiary trials aimed at uncovering this supposed web of conspiracy.[18] Among other things, Slánský was accused of overinflating the existence of anti-Semitism. According to the prosecutor, overzealously attacking anti-Semitism was a deliberate attempt to divert resources from a campaign against Zionist agents

[16] See, for example, Heda Margolius Kovály, *Under a Cruel Star: A Life in Prague 1941-1968*, trans. Franci Epstein and Helen Epstein (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986); David Bankier, *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to Their Countries of Origin after World War II* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005); Anna Cichopek-Gajraj, *Beyond Violence: Jewish Survivors in Poland and Slovakia, 1944-48* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[17] Karel Kaplan, *Report on the Murder of the General Secretary,* trans. by Karel Kovanda (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1990).

[18] The Slánský Trial was the largest of a series of show trials that swept the satellite states with anti-Semitic overtones, sometimes considered a test for its Soviet counterpart, the Doctor's Plot. On the anti-Jewish elements of the Czechoslovak trial in particular, see Me'ir Ḳoṭiḳ, *The Prague Trial: The First Anti-Zionist Show Trial in the Communist Bloc* (New York: Herzl Press :Cornwall Books, 1987); Robert S. Wistrich, *From Ambivalence to Betrayal: The Left, the Jews, and Israel* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Helaine Blumenthal, "Fourteen Convicted, Three Million Condemned: The Slansky Affair and the Reconstitution of Jewish Identities after the Holocaust" (University of California, Berkeley, 2012); Labendz, "Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia," 51-117; Martin Šmok, "'Every Jew Is a Zionist, and Every Zionist Is a Spy!' The Story of Jewish Social Assistance Networks in Communist Czechoslovakia," *East European Jewish Affairs* 4, no. 1 (2014): 70–83. Other prominent victims in Czechoslovakia included Slovaks, labeled as "bourgeois nationalists."

who were facilitating Czechoslovak betrayal to the West. The defendants' "Jewish bourgeois origin" was consistently cited as a factor linking them together.[19] In interrogation, evidence of defendants' links to a Jewish conspiracy were: spending time in other countries during the war, facilitating trade negotiations with Israel (in this case, as the Minister of Trade), surviving a Nazi prison camp, and contacts with "Einstein and Spinoza."[20]

For a long time, the Slánský Trial was considered indicative of postwar Czechoslovakia; to many, Jewish history seemingly just ended in 1952. The same could be said of attitudes towards Jewish history in the communist bloc more broadly. Much of the historiography on Jews in postwar East and Central Europe has focused on anti-Semitism, often defining the parameters of their study by major anti-Semitic events (such as the Slánský Trial or the 1968 anti-Zionist campaign) or waves of outmigration. This early historiography essentially describes this period as exclusively defined by Jewish disappearance from Eastern Europe.[21] In other words, scholars defined the communist period by Jewish absence or lack of Jewish agency. In doing so, the first waves of

[19] "Proceedings of the Trials of Slansky et Al" (Prague, Czechoslovakia: Czechoslovak Home Service, November 20, 1952), 25.

[20] Zuzana Justman, *A Trial in Prague*, DVD, Documentary (The Cinema Guild, 2000); Goldstücker, *Vzpomínky 1945-1968*, 42. Heda Margolius Kovály, *Under a Cruel Star*; Artur London, *The Confession*, trans. Alastair Hamilton (New York: Morrow, 1970).

[21] I consider all works focusing on anti-Semitic policies that led to outmigration also part of this narrative. See, for example, Bernard Wasserstein, *Vanishing Diaspora: The Jews in Europe since 1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996); David Bankier, *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to Their Countries of Origin after World War II* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005); Jana Svobodová, *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu v českých zemích 1948-1992* (Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny, 1994); Ján Mlynárik, *Dějiny židů na Slovensku* (Prague: Academia, 2005); Michael C. Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead: Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997); August Grabski and Grzegorz Berendt, *Miedzy emigracją a trwaniem : Syjoniści i komuniści żydowscy w Polsce po Holocauście* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2003); Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other*; Me'ir Ḳoṭiḳ, *The Prague Trial: The First anti-Zionist Show Trial in the Communist Bloc* (New York: Herzl Press, 1987); Alena Heitlinger, *In the Shadows of the Holocaust and Communism: Czech and Slovak Jews Since 1945* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006); Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*; Anat Plocker, "Zionists to Dayan: The Anti-Zionist Campaign in Poland, 1967-1968" (PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 2009); Jan Podlešák, "K otázkám genocidy českých židů, komunistického antisemitismu a záchrany židovských památek," in *Totalitarismus ve 20 století: Československé zkušenosti*, ed. Milan Valach and Radovan Rybář (Brno: Masaryk University, 2002); Dariusz Stoła, *Kampania antysyjonistyczna w Polsce, 1967-1968* (Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych, Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2000); Blanka Soukupová and Miloš Pojar, eds. *Židovská menšina v Československu po Druhé světové válce: od osvobození k nové totalitě*. Prague: Židovské Muzeum v Praze, 2009.

scholarship on postwar Jewish history contributed to a double erasure: an emphasis on repression effectively compounded communism's propensity to subjugate minority voices.

The late Tony Judt synthesized current scholarly perspectives on states' relationships to Jews after World War II in his work *Postwar*: "the long shadow of World War Two… could not be acknowledged in full. Silence over Europe's recent past was the necessary condition for the construction of a European future."[22] Indeed, much of recent scholarship on East and Central Europe examines "stabilizing" measures that in fact effectively prolonged traumas of the war into the postwar period: political retribution, the use of violence against minority groups, and forced deportations—except this time directed primarily against Germans. Jews, too, were often swept into this violent processes of "stabilizing" Europe. Instead of an open welcome, an easy return or recognition of the catastrophic horrors of Nazi race policy, Jews found themselves largely among neighbors and in states that had no desire for their return after the Second World War. Jews were often included in forced population transfers. [23] Overt violence towards Jews—pogroms in Poland and Slovakia and executions in postwar show trials—has also been described as a consequence of postwar fears of instability and the impulse to unify the population by eliminating or obfuscating difference.[24]

In recent years, scholars have begun to push back on these arguments in a variety of ways. Some have highlighted Jewish agency under communism by emphasizing Jewish institutions and

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[22] Judt, *Postwar*, 10.

[23] See footnote 16, and Gregor Thum, *Uprooted: How Breslau Became Wrocław during the Century of Expulsions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Frommer, *National Cleansing*; István Deák, Jan Tomasz Gross, and Tony Judt, eds, *The Politics of Retribution in Europe World War II and Its Aftermath* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

[24] In the case of pogroms, the state's response reflects the desire to eliminate and obfuscate difference. On pogroms, see Jan T. Gross, "A Tangled Web: Confronting Stereotypes Concerning Relations between Poles, Germans, Jews and Communists," in *The Politics of Retribution in Europe World War II and Its Aftermath,* István Deák, Jan Tomasz Gross, and Tony Judt, eds, (Princeton: Princeton Unviersity Press). Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz* (New York: Random House, 2006). On show trials, see footnote 19.

the role that they played in shaping Jewish relationships with the state.[25] Others have used micro-history to show how individual Jews actually lived under communism.[26] In other cases, methodologies like spatial and oral history have been instrumental in understanding how Jews negotiated being both Jews and citizens of socialist states.[27] In all of these cases, scholars recognize that the communist state was not rigid or unchanging, and that different periods held different opportunities for Jewish agency and expression.

In the case of Czechoslovakia, the Thaw was a period that offered new opportunities for Jewish expression.[28] The period in which the communist states shifted away from stalinist models of governance after Stalin's death in 1954 is known as the Thaw, or de-stalinization. The Thaw is typically marked by Soviet leader Nikita Krushchev's 1956 "Secret Speech," in which he publicly denounced the cult of personality and Stalin's use of mass repression as a political tool. In the case of Czechoslovakia, the close proximities of Stalin and Czechoslovakian president Klement Gottwald's deaths led to new possibilities in Czechoslovak culture.

Despite the fact Czechoslovakian president Klement Gottwald died within a year of Stalin, the continued presence of many party functionaries from Gottwald's time as head of the

[25] Labendz, "Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia;" Michael Meng, *Shattered Spaces: Encountering Jewish Spaces in Postwar Germany and Poland* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); August Grabski, *Centralny komitet żydów w Polsce (1944-1950): Historia Polityczna* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2015). In the Soviet context (for earlier periods), see Jeffrey Veidlinger, *The Moscow State Yiddish Theater: Jewish Culture on the Soviet Stage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); David Shneer, *Yiddish and the Creation of Soviet Jewish Culture, 1918-1930* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[26] Karen Auerbach, *The House at Ujazdowskie 16: Jewish Families in Warsaw after the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

[27] See Meng, *Shattered Spaces*; Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*. In the Soviet context, see Jeffrey Veidlinger, *In the Shadow of the Shtetl: Small-Town Jewish Life in Soviet Ukraine* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Mordechai Altshuler, *Religion and Jewish Identity in the Soviet Union, 1941-1964* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2012); Anna Shtershis; *When Sonia Met Boris: An Oral History of Jewish Life under Stalin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[28] See footnote 4 on Czechoslovakia. This is also the case in the Soviet Union and Poland, though to different degrees. See Piotr Zwierzchowski, *Kino nowej pamięci: obraz II Wojny światowej w kinie polskim lat 60* (Bydgoszcz: Wydanictwo Uniwesytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2013); Olga Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust: Soviet Cinema and Jewish Catastrophe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2013).

Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSČ) led to "delayed de-stalinization." Typically, scholars associate the early 1960's with the first loosening of the cultural sphere.[29] Jewish themes appeared in Czech and Slovak works as early as the late 1950's, suggesting a possible re-evaluation of this periodization, or that these works played a crucial role in altering the possibilities of cultural expression. However, Czechoslovakia's "delayed de-stalinization" meant that cultural elites who chose to focus on Jewish experiences continued to face resistance or restrictions from party ideologues at times.

Literature examining changing state attitudes towards the Holocaust were among the earliest works to recognize that communist states were not monoliths. While this literature largely focuses on ways in which communist regimes silenced conversations about Jewish experiences, these works nonetheless resist painting the communist period as static and monolithic.[30] Jonathan Huener stresses that "just as the history of the camp was multifaceted, so too have collective memories and public manifestations of those memories been diverse and at times even contradictory."[31] This argument has been supported by Soviet historiography, which emphasizes the lack of formal ideological directives or explicit censorship protocols vis-à-vis the Shoah.[32] Works focusing on state attitudes towards the Holocaust implicitly recognizes the potential for a gray area in communist states' interpretations.

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[29] This will be discussed in further detail later, but for some examples of this narrative, see Galia Golan, *The Czechoslovak Reform Movement: Communism in Crisis, 1962-1968*, Soviet and East European Studies (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), 2–3; Judt, *Postwar*, 436; Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 249.

[30] Michael C. Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead: Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997); Jonathan Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945-1979* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003); Zvi Gitelman, *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

[31] Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration*, 14.

[32] See, for example, David Shneer, *Through Soviet Jewish Eyes: Photography, War, and the Holocaust* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012); Zvi Gitelman, *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

Michael Meng has insisted that "memories were hardly static in the Soviet bloc. Poland experienced arguably more searing debates about its complicated relationship with Jews than West Germany did, which discussed the Nazi past numerous times but in ritualistic, vapid ways… Communism produced noise, not just more years of silence." Nonetheless, in Meng's examination of postwar Jewish spaces, he states that "the absence of Poland's large Jewish community had become assimilated into everyday life; it had become so normal, so banal, that it rarely received much thought."[33] In the case of Czechoslovakia, however, the absence of the Jewish community was not "so banal" that it was forgotten. Jacob Labendz has importantly recognized "due to popular association of Stalinism with anti-Semitism, communist reformers… deployed the Holocaust as a symbol with which to call for and mark political progress within the communist system" in Czechoslovakia.[34] My dissertation builds upon this argument by uncovering how and why communist reformers chose to engage with Jewish experiences, as well as shows how narratives outside of the parameters of Holocaust culture were necessary to promote political arguments about. Moreover, my work shows that creating and distributing works about Jewish experiences was not simply a symbolic act, but a way of creating the space to talk about political pasts and hopes for political futures.

Cultural studies have pushed back on this narrative to some degree. Historians of the Soviet Union have turned to cultural forms—such as literature and music—as a way to understand how individuals managed to advance a conversation about the specificity of Jewish persecution in spite of hostility to such depictions. "Instead of focusing on the ideologically orchestrated absence of Jews," Harriet Murav has argued to consider "memory, memorialization, mourning, and testimony as literary problems, as problems of language and representation." Her argument that "scholarly

[33] Meng, *Shattered Spaces*, 159, 168.
[34] Labendz, "Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia," 39.

and artistic response to the destruction of the Jews had its own distinct outline" in Soviet literature has since been expanded by scholars examining film and music.[35] What these studies identify is a blurring or collapsing of cultural identities that scholars have often assumed were contradictory or even mutually exclusive. "Soviet patriotism" and "universal humanism," James Loeffler writes, did not necessarily obfuscate expressions of "individual Jewish pain"—the three could coexist at once.[36]

Outside of the historical discipline, scholars of film and literature have also recognized the importance of cultural works attempting to memorialize, mourn, or represent Jewish life. In this scholarship, representations of the Holocaust emerging from communist contexts have been considered primarily through isolated study or underneath larger umbrella studies of Holocaust or national culture. Scholars of "Holocaust" film and literature often ask what these works tell us about how one can represent the Holocaust, querying the stakes, ethics, or modes of representation. As such, historical impact is often treated as secondary to persistent tropes and themes.[37] Another

[35] Harriet Murav, *Music from a Speeding Train: Jewish Literature in Post-Revolution Russia* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press), 153.

[36]James Loeffler, "'In Memory of Our Murdered (Jewish) Children': Hearing the Holocaust in Soviet Jewish Culture," *Slavic Review* 73, no. 3 (2014); 588. For texts on Soviet cinema and the Holocaust, see Olga Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust: Soviet Cinema and Jewish Catastrophe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2013); Jeremy Hicks, *First Films of the Holocaust: Soviet Cinema and the Genocide of the Jews, 1938-1946* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

[37] A notable exception to this is David Roskies and Naomi Diamant's *Holocaust Literature: A History and Guide* (Hanover: Brandies University Press, 2012), which considers historically specific "phases" of Holocaust literature. Omer Bartov, *The "Jew" in Cinema: From The Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Ilan Avisar, *Screening the Holocaust : Cinema's Images of the Unimaginable* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Joshua Francis Hirsch, *Afterimage : Film, Trauma, and the Holocaust* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows*; Bożena Shallcross, *The Holocaust Object in Polish and Polish-Jewish Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Katarzyna Mąka-Malatńska, *Widok z tej strony: przedstawienia Holocaustu w polskim filmie* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2012); Aaron Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust : New Perspectives on Dramas, Documentaries, and Experimental Films* (New York: Continuum, 2011); Ewa Mazierska, "Double Memory: The Holocaust in Polish Film," in *The Holocaust and the Moving Image: Representations in Film and Television Since 1933*, ed. Toby Haggith and Joanna Newman (New York: Wallflower Press, 2005), 225–42; Joanna Preizner, *Kamienie na macewie: Holokaust w polskim kinie* (Kraków: Austeria, 2012). Often "Holocaust film" also gets incorporated as a thematic chapter in monographs on national cinemas: Peter Hames, *Czech and Slovak Film: Theme and Tradition* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Peter Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 2nd ed. (New York:

approach common to cultural studies is to examine single works thoroughly, but not in explicit conversation with each other. These consider historical context more seriously have typically been written in survey format, and thus the historical questions of motivation, reception, and public impact are not addressed in detail.[38] Only in recent years have scholars began to consider what the existence of Jewish narratives in the postwar communist culture tells us about the Jewish relationship to the state or to their larger environment.[39]

While these studies convincingly show that Jewish culture did exist before 1990, they fail to address several important issues. First, while they show that Jewish expression was important for Jews, few of these studies make arguments about the importance of Jewish expression for the broader public writ large, and thus fail to explain the popularity of Jewish themes in the post-communist period. As such, works about post-communist Jewish cultural revival and newer arguments about Jewish culture under communism are often oddly non-conversant: one body of literature seeks to explain why non-Jews in contemporary post-communist Europe care about Jewish culture, while the other argues that Jews were active cultural actors in the communist

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Wallflower, 2005); Paul Coates, *The Red and the White: The Cinema of People's Poland* (New York: Wallflower Press, 2005); Haltof, *Polish National Cinema*.

[38]Several edited volumes include: Joanna Preizner, *Gefilte Film I-III: wątki żydowskie w kinie* (Kraków: Austeria, 2008-2010); Jiří Holý, ed., *The Representation of the Shoah in Literature, Theatre and Film in Central Europe: 1950s and 1960s* (Prague: Akropolis, 2012); Jiří Holý, ed., *Holokaust: v české, slovenské a polské literatuře* (Praha: Karolinum, 2007); and for a sample of individual essays on single works, see Alice Jedličková, "Nepublikovaná kapitola Weilova románu *Na střeše je mendelssohn*," *Česká literatura* 38, no. 2 (1990): 151–57; Miroslav Kryl, "Jiří Weil- intelektuál mezi východem a západem," *Slovanský přehled* 91, no. 2 (2005): 301–8; Jiří Cieslar, "Daleká cesta/ Distant Journey," in *The Cinema of Central Europe*, ed. Peter Hames (London: Wallflower Press, 2004), 45–54; L'ubica Mistríková, "Obchod na korze / A Shop on High Street," in *The Cinema of Central Europe*, ed. Peter Hames (London: Wallflower Press, 2004), 97–106; Jeffrey Saperstein, "'All Men Are Jews': Tragic Transcendence in Kadár's The Shop on Main Street," in *The Modern Jewish Experience in World Cinema*, ed. Lawrence Baron (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2011), 155–60.

[39] Most of these, however, are either as one chapter (sometimes even fewer than five pages of a chapter) or in edited volumes, which again suggests that the works are disparate and disconnected or minor enough not to constitute a cultural phenomenon. Holý, Jiří, ed. *Cizí a blizcí: židé, literatura, kultura v českých zemích ve 20 století*. Prague: Akropolis, 2016; Haltof, *Polish Film and the Holocaust*; Sniegoň, *Vanished History*; Labendz, "Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia"; Petr Bednařík, "Pronikání židovské tematiky do československé kinematografie na přelomu 50 a 60 Let," in *Československo v letech 1945-1962*, ed. Libor Svoboda and Jiří Petráš (Praha: Ústave pro studium totalitních režimů, 2015), 151–62; Magdalena Ruta, *Bez żydów?: literatura jidysz w PRL o Zagładzie, Polsce i komunizmie* (Kraków: Austeria, 2012).

period. The two bodies of literature both address the impact of the Holocaust and communism on Jewish culture, but at cross-purposes.

Second, cultural studies often fail to consider works about Jews in a collective fashion. They uncover reactions or controversies over particular works, or show how individual artists managed to convey expressions of Jewishness while remaining sufficiently "socialist" in content very well. These studies are immensely important for showing how a particular Jewish work functioned in the communist context. From these singular case studies, we can extrapolate important broader messages about the possibility of engaging with Jewish themes during communism. Yet, surely reading twenty-five novels about the Holocaust, or even five, was a fundamentally different experience than reading one. The existence of 90 separate titles about Jewish experiences in 1968, rather than 24 in 1957, had a felt impact.[40] In 1957, Jewish authors were fighting their way back into the literary world (see Chapter 1). In 1968, a Czechoslovak citizen could find works about Jews in every library in the country, including hospital reading rooms, the libraries of local chapters of the National Trade Union (*Revoluční odborové hnutí* or *ROH*), and hundreds of copies in public city and town libraries.[41]

This dissertation makes no claim that the average person read even five of the 90 published novels about Jews or saw even one of the 11 Holocaust movies available from 1960-1968. Instead, it argues that the intellectual community *absolutely* read, watched, reviewed, or talked about a majority of them, and were aware of nearly all of them (see Chapter 1). The fact that intellectuals regularly engaged with themes about Jewish displacement, isolation, persecution, and

[40] Referring to individual titles published between 1945 and 1968 (or 1945 and 1957) potentially available to a reader in a bookstore or library. Appendix A, Section 1.
[41] See Appendix F. For an example, the town of Vsetín, which today has a population of 26,000 people, had 752 books about Jews to return to the National Library after 1972 (see the Conclusion), and this is just the authors/titles that were officially banned by the regime after 1972. Brno, Czechoslovakia's second largest city, had over 14,000. Appendix F, Section 2.

abandonment by their non-Jewish neighbors truly mattered, precisely because of the role intellectuals played in shaping political reform during the Thaw in Czechoslovakia.[42]

"The Thaw" in Czechoslovak Culture and the Prague Spring

Vladimir Tismaneau describes the early Central-East European postwar history as divisible into two distinct periods: the first, from 1944-47, witnessed the "takeover and accelerated annihilation of democratic pluralism"; while the second, 1948-53, was "characterized by institutional and ideological transfer, cultural regimentation, domestic terror, and international bi-polarism."[43] The literature on population transfer, expulsions, and retribution described in the previous section has contributed much to our understanding of the mechanisms that allowed for and contributed to the decline of pluralism in postwar Eastern Europe. These studies, however, are often less specifically interested in the process of "sovietization" (Tismaneau's second phase) — the means by which newly communist states adopted Stalin's model of Soviet governance.[44] Scholarly literature on this period strongly asserts local agency in shaping the establishment of communist states. Whether explained by the role of local communists or the retention of certain elements of interwar social dynamics and culture, scholars assert that the arrival of communism in local contexts was not achieved simply by the use Soviet force. Nor did the "satellite states" simply

[42] For a sample, see Kieran Williams, *The Prague Spring and Its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics, 1968-1970* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jan Mervart, *Naděje a iluze: čeští a slovenští spisovatelé v reformním hnutí šedesátých let* (Brno: Host, 2010); Pat Lyons, *Mass and Elite Attitudes during the Prague Spring Era: Importance and Legacy* (Prague: Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2009); Vladimir V. Kusin, *The Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring: The Development of Reformist Ideas in Czechoslovakia 1956-1967* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).
[43] Tismaneanu, "Introduction," 4–5.
[44] Indeed, in the case of Czechoslovakia, some have even argued specifically that communism was irrelevant to the practices of retribution, population transfer and ethnic cleansing. See Frommer, *National Cleansing*.

become carbon copies of the Soviet Union; even under stalinism, local dynamics, population characteristics, and local elites impacted institutional and political forms within each state.[45]

The importance of local particularity also seems to hold true for literature on the decline of stalinism in Eastern Europe. In the case of Czechoslovak historiography, for example, the Thaw is rarely evoked as a period of historical analysis.[46] The notion of "delayed de-stalinization" has seemingly rendered "The Thaw" an irrelevant category for Czechoslovakia. Where scholars have examined processes of social, political, or intellectual change leading up to the Prague Spring, it has been framed in terms of tracing the origins of the reform movement. Typically, scholars see initial phases of social and political change in 1963 at the earliest.[47] However, I argue that the Thaw is a useful category of historical analysis in Czechoslovakia. Though 1963 was a crucial moment for changing Czechoslovak cultural politics (marked by a group of intellectuals successfully convincing the regime to overturn a ban on Kafka), I date the earliest moments of new Jewish narratives to the late 1950s. "Delayed de-stalinization" did have an impact, but it did not limit the opportunity to circulate Jewish narratives altogether.

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[45] For examples, see: Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation*; Kenney, *Rebuilding Poland*; Patryk Babiracki, *Soviet Soft Power in Poland: Culture and the Making of Stalin's New Empire, 1943-1957* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); John Connelly, *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945-1956* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Katherine Lebow, *Unfinished Utopia: Nowa Huta, Stalinism, and Polish Society, 1949–56* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

[46] One exception is Karel Kaplan, *Kronika komunistického Československa: doba tání, 1953-1956* (Brno: Barrister & Principal, 2005), though he clearly understands the historical period differently than the typical beginning at Krushchev's 1956 Secret Speech. Tellingly, one of the few focused studies of "destalinization" is titled *A Destalinization that Failed.* Muriel Blaive, *Une Déstalinisation Manquée: Tchécoslovaquie 1956* (Paris: IHTP, 2004).

[47] The early stages of reform mobilization and "The Stalin Era" even coexist in František August and David Rees, *Red Star Over Prague* (London: Sherwood Press, 1984). For other examples of this periodization, see Golan, *The Czechoslovak Reform Movement*; Frank Kaplan, *Winter into Spring: The Czechoslovak Press and the Reform Movement 1963-1968* (Boulder: East European Quarterly, 1977); Blanka Zilynská and Petr Svobodný, eds., *Česká věda a Pražské Jaro* (Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2001); Mervart, *Naděje a iluze*. One important exception to this is Kusin, *The Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring*. A new monograph by Kevin McDermott likewise points to earlier moments—notably the pardoning of victims of the stalinist show trials. Kevin McDermott, *Communist Czechoslovakia, 1945-1989: A Political and Social History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 100.

Soviet historiography proves useful for understanding why the Thaw is a useful category of analysis, and why depictions of Jewish experiences in the recent past are relevant to understanding political shifts during de-stalinization. Polly Jones and Denis Kozlov have emphasized the Thaw as a period of societal self-criticism, in which open discussion of dark moments in the recent past played a central role.[48] Kozlov asserts the primacy of culture (in his case, literature) as "the principal medium for these reflections and conversations." I build upon these arguments by examining how the impulse to air societal wrongdoings of the past manifested in Czechoslovakia. As Kozlov argues, "the issue of the twentieth century's state violence and its legacy was not peripheral but absolutely central to public life and language during the Thaw."[49] For Jones, the "exercise in coming to terms with the past" defines de-stalinization.[50]

I argue that "the twentieth century's state violence and legacy" was interrogated in Czechoslovakia primarily through the lens of Jewish narratives.[51] For Jews, cultural media became an outlet to discuss the experience of being Jewish—primarily persecution during the Nazi occupation. Non-Jews also were also drawn to Jewish themes, notably the alienation and isolation Jews experienced under oppressive regimes. While most of the works were explicitly about the Nazi occupation, most also functioned on another level as veiled metaphors for the communist period. The use of negative example, exemplified by the Slánský Trial, was a central form of

[48] Denis Kozlov, *The Readers of Novyi Mir: Coming to Terms with the Stalinist Past* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Polly Jones, *Myth, Memory, Trauma: Rethinking the Stalinist Past in the Soviet Union, 1953-1970* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013). See also Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd, "The Thaw as an Event in Russian History," in *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).
[49] Kozlov, *The Readers of Novyi Mir*, 7–8. The primary focus on state violence in these Soviet conversations was Stalin's repressions and the gulag.
[50] Jones, *Myth, Memory, Trauma,* 4.
[51] Vladimír Kusin has importantly recognized the role of "critical revaluation of the past" for reform, but by looking at the historical discipline, has missed the revaluations that occurred within literature, film, and theater. Kusin, *The Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring*, 76.

communist pedagogy. Precisely because of the anti-Semitism of the stalinist period,[52] many members of the cultural community began to believe that exposing the public to Jewish experiences could provoke positive social change by educating the public on the consequences of accepting politically inhumane regimes. This dissertation posits that this media constituted a kind of cultural discourse—a way in which intellectuals could debate how Jewish experiences in the recent political past could help inform a political future where vulnerable citizens were protected and supported, rather than targeted.

Scholars have demonstrated that intellectuals were essential to the process of "liberalization" in Czechoslovakia. Moreover, new literature has stressed the importance of the cultural community—namely writers—for the rise of political reform. Cultural arenas such as film and literature, Alice Lovejoy and Jan Mervart have shown, did not necessarily follow directly from state political directives and interests. In Lovejoy's examination of Czechoslovak Army Film, she argues that "films had a markedly cosmopolitan existence… defined less by bloc politics than by the more practical question of a film's function or subject: what it taught, depicted, or did."[53] Vladimir Kusín wrote, "from forced epic forms, they [writers and filmmakers] transferred allegiance to lyricism" and created works that "grasped at the sense of life."[54] Yet, in Czechoslovakia's historiography, the emergence of new representations on Jewish life plays little role, even though the "sense of life" for Jews—particularly during the Nazi occupation—came to be a significant part of Czechoslovak culture during the Thaw. My work expands on these

[52] For an article putting the anti-Semitic undercurrent in Czech society, as well as resistance and criticism of it, in context, see Kevin McDermott, "A 'Polyphony' of Voices? Czech Popular Opinion and the Slánský Affair," *Slavic Review* 67, no. 4 (2008): 840–65.
[53] The Czech New Wave is also often considered essential to this period, and though it is often seen as explicitly political, it is less often described as affecting political processes. Mervart, *Naděje a iluze* and Alice Lovejoy, *Army Film and the Avant Garde: Cinema and Experiment in the Czechoslovak Military* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 13–14.
[54] Kusín, *Intellectual Origins,* 58.

arguments, emphasizing how intellectuals envisioned the didactic function of films, novels, and plays about Jews as a way of educating new generations on the importance of a political system that supported rather than isolated their most vulnerable citizens.

The need to address these moments of the recent past—including the Nazi Occupation and stalinist show trials—in Czechoslovak culture grew as the decade progressed, and members of the cultural elite found themselves facing party authorities who were hostile to their project.[55] This issue came to the fore in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Both the stringency of ideological control over representation of the conflict and the return of the anti-Zionist rhetoric of the Slánský Trial convinced many intellectuals that they were sliding back into stalinist-style governance. Thus, the state's attitude towards Israel brought underlying conflicts between reform-minded communists and party ideologues to its apex in the months before the Prague Spring.[56]

January 1968 ushered in a new reform government, colloquially referred to as the Prague Spring, with Aleksander Dubček at its head. This meant two important changes—freedom of the press and freedom of movement—both of which had dramatic effect on the cultural community. However, this "failed experiment" (as it came to be called by contemporary observers) was cut short by a Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion in August 1968. The importance of conversations about pluralism and countering anti-Semitism in the development of reform politics has largely been obscured because of this emphasis on the Prague Spring's failure. The Prague Spring, or the

[55] This follows upon work by Małgorzata Fidelis and Jan Mervart. Fidelis stresses that the opening of the public sphere to multiple viewpoints did not necessarily mean increased freedoms. Mervart emphasizes the fact that though writers had a degree of greater autonomy, they still faced significant resistance from the "Action program" (party cultural agenda). Małgorzata Fidelis, *Women, Communism, and Industrialization in Postwar Poland*; Mervart, *Naděje a iluze*.

[56] The role of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War was noted by contemporary commentators and is referenced in early political science literature on the Prague Spring. See for example Dušan Hamšík, *Spisovatelé a moc* (Praha: Československý spisovatel, 1969); H. Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Golan, *The Czechoslovak Reform Movement*; Kaplan, *Winter into Spring: The Czechoslovak Press and the Reform Movement 1963-1968*.

eight months of Dubček's reform leadership, has received relatively little scholarly attention since the 1970s.[57] The invasion, on the other hand, is often seen as a watershed moment in Czechoslovak history. In the historiography, it is approached either as a moment of examining how other communist bloc states took part (militarily) in the forced rejection of the Czechoslovak model or as a foundational event for the dissident movement, which became convinced that communism could not be reformed by the failure of the Prague Spring.[58]

My research builds on scholarship that challenges emphasis on the Soviet invasion as the definitive end to socialist reform. By focusing on the cultural world, it is clear that "normalization" extended into the early 1970s, suggesting that a more appropriate periodization for communist reform would be 1958-1972, rather than 1963-68, as it is often described. [59] It was not until 1972

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[57] Galia Golan, *Reform Rule in Czechoslovakia: The Dubček Era 1968-1969* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*; Ivan Sviták, *The Czechoslovak Experiment, 1968-1969* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); Jiri Valenta, *Soviet Intervention in Czechoslovakia, 1968: Anatomy of a Decision*, Rev. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); Harry Schwartz, *Prague's 200 Days: The Struggle for Democracy in Czechoslovakia* (New York: Praeger, 1969). It should be noted that it was virtually impossible to write about this subject from within Czechoslovakia prior to the fall of communism. Since then, a few key studies have appeared: Antonín Beňcík, *Rekviem za Pražské Jaro: důvěrná informace o přípravě a provedení srpnové intervence Varšavské pětky v Československu 1968*, Vyd. 1., Edice Fakta (Třebíč: Tempo, 1998); Jiří Hoppe, *Opozice '68: sociální demokracie, Kan a K 231 v období Pražského Jara* (Praha: Prostor, 2009). Jindřich Pecka and Vilém Prečan, eds., *Promeny Pražského Jára 1968-1969*, Sborník studií a dokumentů o nekapotolistanských postojích v Československé společností 1968-1969 (Brno: Doplněk, 1993); Oldřich Tůma and Markéta Devátá, eds., *Pražské Jaro 1968 : občanská společnost, média, přenos politických a kulturních procesů*, (Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2011). There has been one focused study of the Prague Spring in English since the opening of the archives and some attention to specifically Slovak issues during the Prague Spring. See Kieran Williams, *The Prague Spring and Its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics, 1968-1970* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Scott Brown, "Socialism with a Slovak Face: Federalization, Democratization, and the Prague Spring," *East European Politics & Societies* 22, no. 3 (2008): 467–95.

[58] On military intervention and foreign involvement/interpretations, see M. Mark Stolarik, *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968: Forty Years Later* (Mundelein, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2010); Günter Bischof, Stefan Karner, and Peter Ruggenthaler, *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968*, The Harvard Cold War Studies Book Series (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2010). Notably, the Warsaw Pact Invasion has been described as a moment of the realization of reform failure for all of the communist bloc countries, and not just within Czechoslovakia. On the invasion's role in the development of dissident politics, see: Barbara Falk, *The Dilemmas of Dissidence: Citizen Intellectuals and Philosopher Kings* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003); Jonathan Bolton, *Worlds of Dissent: Charter 77, The Plastic People of the Universe, and Czech Culture under Communism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse 1970-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Jeremi Suri, "The Promise and Failure of 'Developed Socialism': The Soviet 'Thaw' and the Crucible of the Prague Spring, 1964-1972," *Contemporary European History* 15, no. 2 (May 1, 2006): 133–58.

[59] Many texts on reform focus exclusively on 1968-69 (see footnote 58), while others look from 1963 (footnote 48). For some scholarship that looks beyond the invasion, see Williams, *The Prague Spring*; Suri, "The Promise and

that the state even decided how they would attempt to curb public access to ideas that had been circulating in the 1960s (see Conclusion). Second, the focus on the Soviet Invasion, rather than the years leading up to the Prague Spring, helps to reinforce an overarching emphasis on repression. Focusing on repression has led scholars and contemporary commentators alike to situate East European engagement with the Jewish past in communism's collapse. The general consensus, with a few exceptions discussed earlier, has identified the 1990s as the period of European reckoning with the Holocaust. In the case of the communist bloc this is particularly pronounced, because of the emphasis on repression. Scholars see the sudden emergence of klezmer, Jewish culture festivals, and the reclamation of Jewish neighborhoods and spaces rising with new freedoms brought by communism's collapse.[60]

My research challenges this periodization by showing, first, that communists did engage with the Jewish past. They did so in large numbers, at least within the intellectual community. The purpose of doing so, moreover, was not simply to recover some lost ideal of a multi-ethnic Europe. Instead, they sought to strengthen and preserve existing Jewish voices, and to shape the development of their social and political world in the process. Second, my research shows that much of the post-communist "discovery" of Jewish culture was concretely linked to the cultural developments of the 1960s. I draw these insights by focusing on a few important factors: the scale of engagement (producing, circulating, commenting on) with Jewish narratives; the people who

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Failure of 'Developed Socialism'"; Paulina Bren, *The Greengrocer and His TV: The History of Communism after the 1968 Prague Spring* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010). Notably, scholars that attend to cultural industries often identify this prolonged period of ambiguity. See Štepán Hulík, *Kinematografie zapomnění: počátky normalizace ve Filmovém studiu Barrandov (1968-1973)* (Prague: Academia, 2012); Falk, *The Dilemmas of Dissidence,* 84-5.

[60] For a sample, see Gruber, *Virtually Jewish*; Sander Gilman, "There Ain't No There There: Reimagining Eastern European Jewish Culture in the 21st Century," *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 25, no. 1 (2006): 1–4; Larry Ray, "Migration and Remembrance: Sounds and Spaces of Klezmer 'Revivals,'" *Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 3 (2010): 357–78; Erica Lehrer, *Jewish Poland Revisited: Heritage Tourism in Unquiet Places* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Michlic and Himka, *Bringing the Dark Past to Light*. Works like Tony Judt's *Postwar,* about Europe more broadly, also promote this interpretation of events.

were responsible for the dramatic rise in accessible Jewish narratives in the 1960s; dominant concepts that emerged from novels, films and plays about Jews; and finally the relationship between these concepts and political developments before and after the Prague Spring.

Structure of the Dissertation

The five main chapters that follow focus on tracing the increasing engagement with Jewish themes, particularly within the intellectual and cultural elite. What began as a mode for Jews to render their experiences visible to the wider public developed into a way of advocating for resisting conformism. In order to amplify readers' and viewers' sympathy for Jewish experiences, they attempted to make Czechs and Slovaks understand Jewish tragedies as personal, even as their own. The more successful writers and filmmakers were at convincing audiences that Czechs and Slovaks could and should understand the Jewish experience, the more Jewish narratives were co-opted to be symbolic of other Czech and Slovak national concerns.

The first chapter, "Anatomy of a Trend: The Rise and Fall of Jewish Culture, 1945-1975," looks at shifts in literary and cinematic works about Jews from a bird's-eye-view. In part, this is an extended methodological intervention, in which I explain the use of data collection and analysis in my dissertation. Rendering literary and cinematic works as data points allows me to look at authors, works, and other cultural figures that are normally forgotten in cultural and historical studies. I use data to uncover key moments of change, as well as contextualize growing numbers of Jewish narratives in Czechoslovakia in national and global settings. It also collectively examines the larger social group that involved in creating, distributing, and circulating narratives about Jews. The evidence presented in this chapter informs much of the periodization and analysis of cultural works in the following chapters.

The second chapter, "Writing Jewish Experiences in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1963," looks at how and why authors first began writing about the experience of being Jewish after World War II. First, I examine the biographies of three figures—Jiří Weil, Arnošt Lustig, and Eduard Goldstücker—as case studies of how and why individuals were motivated to make Jewish experiences publicly accessible. I argue that the earliest narratives about Jews were produced and made accessible to the public primarily through the concerted efforts of writers who felt the need to recover Jewish experiences from the erasures of Nazism and stalinism—the former attempted to eradicate Jews and the latter, the validity of their experience. It also addresses the Franz Kafka Liblice Conference of 1963, in which intellectuals successfully advocated for the official approval of Kafka. Kafka's rehabilitation by the Czechoslovak regime might seem a divergence from contemporary Czechoslovak authors writing in real time, but the legitimation of expressionism had a profound influence on future possibilities for authors to publish about Jewish experiences. Moreover, it was at the Kafka Conference that scholars first put forth an argument about the relationship between Jewish and Czechoslovak experiences that would be re-emerge repeatedly over the course of the 1960s: because Kafka was Jewish, he was alienated from the bureaucracy he lived in, and being alienated from one's political system was a quintessentially Czechoslovak experience. This somewhat abstruse fallacy of association would be replicated repeatedly over the course of the 1960s.

Chapter Three, "Homes, Heroines, and Countrymen: Living 'Outside the Law' in Czechoslovak Literature and Film, 1959-1969," examines how gender and the shared home space emphasized the ways in which Czechs and Slovaks had abandoned or failed their Jewish neighbors during World War II. At the same time, the focus on the emotional and mental experience of being isolated and alienated from their neighbors encouraged Czech and Slovak readers and audiences

to identify with Jewish characters. This was particularly prominent in film, which traded in the concept of totalitarianism, decontextualizing much of the film from the Nazi period. As more and more people became involved in promoting, creating, and circulating Jewish narratives, works about Jews took on multiple meanings. Jewish narratives of the Nazi Occupation in particular became convenient ways for trading in concepts of totalitarianism, offering thinly veiled criticisms of Czechoslovak society in the past and present. They were both at once a way of reckoning with the past, bringing anti-Semitism to light, and a way of discussing the dangers of oppressive regimes more generally. By 1968, Czechs and Slovaks often interpreted their own experiences into the plight of Jewish characters.

The phenomenon of reading national experiences onto Jewish characters is made clear in the fourth chapter, "Co-opting Tevye: *Fiddler on the Roof* Productions in Communist Czechoslovakia, 1968-69." In this chapter, I shift to theater to examine how the live and local performance affected interpretations of Jewish themes. *Fiddler on the Roof*, as an American musical and worldwide phenomenon, also allows me to consider how Jewish narratives in Czechoslovakia are related to larger global trends. In spite of the different time period and context, theater producers framed everything, at least in part, in terms of Jewish absence from Eastern Europe. It shows how the invasion, in particular, allowed Czechs and Slovaks to map their own national woes onto Tevye's plight: Czechoslovakia, like Anatevka, was struggling simply to live with a small degree of independence from their Russian oppressors. After numerous instances of encouraging readers and viewers to read their own experiences with communism into narratives of Jewish suffering during the Nazi Occupation, Czech and Slovak audiences were primed to co-opt Jewish narratives—in this case, Tevye's—as their own.

The fifth chapter, "Culture and Politics: The '67 War, the anti-Zionist Campaign, and the Prague Spring," looks at how the preponderance of narratives of Jewish experiences affected intellectual's interpretations of Czechoslovakia's relationship to Israel and legacies of anti-Semitism in Czechoslovakia. It begins by exploring the proliferation of pro-Israel sentiments among Czechoslovak intellectuals (most of whom were writers) from after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War through the Warsaw Pact Invasion. The revival of the rhetoric of Zionist conspiracy led intellectuals to associate the state's position with the revival of stalinism. In particular, the chapter focuses on how intellectual challenges against state policy borrowed from the conflation of Jewish and Czechoslovak experiences that had been frequently mobilized in interpretations of literary, cinematic and theatrical works. Then, it examines the way that the confluence of freedom of speech in Czechoslovakia and the anti-Zionist campaign in Poland impacted discourses about anti-Semitism, the Slánský Trial, and anti-Semitism in Poland. Finally, it looks at ways in which the Warsaw Pact Invasion in August 1968 cemented feelings of affinity between Israel and Czechoslovakia.

The conclusion focuses on how normalization affected Jewish narratives and the lives of authors and filmmakers. In the process of reversing the changes brought by the Prague Spring, they functionally banned the publication of Jewish narratives for the rest of the communist period—a move that was a striking validation of the political power of Jewish narratives. Looking ahead to the post-communist period, I show that the literary, cinematic and theatrical works discussed in this dissertation had lasting impact, constituting much of the post-communist reckoning with the Jewish past.

Chapter One

Anatomy of a Trend: The Rise and Fall of Jewish Culture, 1945-1975

Scholars often talk of the Holocaust in the communist bloc as "vanished," "obscured," "hidden," or "phantom." Likewise, Jewish presence in Eastern Europe after World War II has often been described as "vanishing," "erased," in "shadows" or "ruins."[1] This impression has been created in part because of a lack of systematic aggregation of what *did* exist in communist countries. Though not every country may have seen the same proliferation of Jewish narratives as during the long Czechoslovak 1960s (1958-72), a data-based approach to Jewish narratives challenges the myth of the hidden or decaying Jewish world of Eastern Europe. Though there were phases of suppression, Jewish narratives were so numerous in the 1960s that it would be nearly impossible to be a part of the intellectual elite and *not* to be exposed to them. The community of people reading, viewing, and talking about Jewish experiences in the 1960s was not small. A large group of intellectuals was committed to discussing and circulating Jewish narratives, and Jews were the active, vocal, and persistent core of this community.

In the article "The Slaughterhouse of Literature," which is often taken as a seminal theoretical piece in digital humanities, Franco Moretti writes of the forgotten titles in the 1845 catalog of a small library in England. "Today," he writes, "only a couple of titles still ring familiar…The history of the world is the slaughterhouse of the world, reads a famous Hegelian aphorism; and of literature. The majority of books disappear forever—and 'majority' actually misses the point: if we set today's canon of nineteenth-century British novels at two hundred titles

[1] For examples of this rhetoric, see Michlic and Himka, *Bringing the Dark Past to Light*; Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust*; Wasserstein, *The Vanishing Diaspora*; Sniegoň, *Vanished History*; Meng, *Shattered Spaces*; Heitlinger, *In the Shadows of the Holocaust and Communism*; Omer Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

(which is a very high figure), they would still be only about *0.5 percent* of all published novels."[2] As an example, he uses the numerous authors who were "rivals of Conan Doyle" who have since been forgotten, as they were not ushered into the canon of literature.[3] This chapter is about the 99.5%, the forgotten that never made it into the canon. Scholarly discourse on Jewish culture under communism has been monopolized a few prominent works. While famed works, authors and filmmakers were important to the circulation of Jewish narratives in communist Czechoslovakia (and will be discussed elsewhere in this dissertation), a focus on these individual examples have obscured the reality that a wide variety of figures were creating and circulating Jewish narratives in 1960s Czechoslovakia.

Though Moretti was speaking specifically about literary works, I am also interested in the writers, editors, illustrators, directors, and graphic designers responsible for circulating literary works about Jews. Jewish themes were relegated to a few key authors, but a subject that became widely popular among writers, filmmakers, journalists, and other members of the intellectual community. Rendering literary and cinematic works as data points allowed me to look at cultural works in aggregate, expose forgotten works and figures, and to understand how cultural works functioned collectively in the communist context.

First, I use data collection and analysis to uncover the lost titles and trends in the literary world—forgotten works, translations, and new editions. Data also illuminates the global significance of Jewish narratives in 1960s Czechoslovakia. By collecting information on creators and peripheral figures, including editors, reviewers, and cinematic support (cameramen, composers, sound technicians, and others), I can concretize certain aspects of the reach and spread of Jewish narratives within the cultural/intellectual elite. Finally, I also utilize basic methods of

[2] Franco Moretti, "The Slaughterhouse of Literature," *Modern Language Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2000): 207.
[3] Ibid 209-213.

text analysis to approximate a few key types of reading or viewing experiences: namely, that of the cultural elite (novelist, reviewers, filmmakers) who were regularly exposed to concepts or tropes in Jewish narratives over a short period of time, and that of censors, who were looking for certain rhetorical and linguistic markers to indicate that narratives "matched" with the meta-narratives and propaganda.

Before moving to explore these data insights in greater detail, I will outline my basic criteria in each of my databases for data collection (Appendices A-F). I included film, literature, and theater that had a Jewish character feature prominently in the narrative (usually the main character, though occasionally a significant supporting character). I also included testimonials and non-fiction literary reportage—particularly about concentration camps, but also about war crimes trials or Israel—that were written by Jewish survivors. For literature, many of these narratives would today fall under the "Holocaust" genre, although not all of them. Cinematic works about Jews that premiered in Czechoslovakia from 1945-89 exclusively falls within the "Holocaust" genre. Literature and film are a logical pair, as the majority of the films in question were adapted from previously published novels and short stories or penned by members of the literary community. The theater community intersects with this milieu in a more indirect fashion, but there are nonetheless clear points of continuity and connection between the three groups. Theatrical productions focused on Jews were rarer, and temporal and geographic focus was more varied. Nonetheless, commentators and producers often approached works about Jews in distant places and times in similar ways to those that were about Nazi occupation. Theater also allows me to explore how context—including local differences between productions and political shifts over time—influenced audience interpretations of a work.

My primary focus is narrativized and fictional accounts. The databases and data collection that follow (and in the appendices) explicitly exclude documentary film or non-fiction books, unless they meet the survivor criteria described above. There are several reasons for excluding historical texts, documentary films, or other non-fiction works in data collection. Fictional narratives circulated more widely—in reviews, as excerpts in literary magazines, through republications and cinematic or television adaptations—and thus played a larger role, I argue, in facilitating a conversation about Jewish experiences in this time period. I primarily examine works available to or marketed for the general public, because of my focus on the relationship between culture and political change. Moreover, I show that writers and filmmakers were able to use the ambiguity of literary, cinematic and theatrical tropes to load Jewish narratives with multiple meanings, so as to satisfy both censors and convey subtle challenges to Czechoslovak society and viewers to re-evaluate their resistance to oppressive political policies.[4]

Throughout this dissertation, I incorporate observations and analysis from data sets collected for the purposes of identifying cultural trends, understanding global context, discerning exposure to and engagement with Jewish narratives, and approximating different types of reading or viewing experiences that a contemporary reader or viewer no longer has access to. To illustrate how data informs my research, I will provide some examples of larger insights derived from collected literary, film, and journalistic data.[5] In this section, I focus on three main data uses: tracking domestic and global trends in the production of Jewish cultural works; identifying the

[4] For other work that attends to the way writers, filmmakers, and theater producers negotiated the boundaries of censorship see Sara Jones, *Complicity, Censorship and Criticism: Negotiating Space in the GDR Literary Sphere* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2011); Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust;* Veidlinger, *The Moscow Yiddish State Theater*.
[5] I exclude theater from much of this section, as theater had a less-accessible data imprint. Theater was reviewed somewhat less frequently, and theater producers had a slightly less concrete relationship with the cinematic and literary industries, which overlapped significantly.

group of people who regularly read, viewed, or worked on Jewish narratives; and collating repetitive themes and tropes.

Literature as a Cultural Movement

The Jewish themes in the works of writers like Arnošt Lustig, Jiří Weil, and Ladislav Fuks are a well-discussed subject in Czechoslovak history, culture, and commentary.[6] Scholars, moreover, have recognized the correlation between Jewish themes in Czechoslovak literature and the 1960s. Czech Literary Studies and Jewish Studies scholar Jiří Holý has described distinct phases of publishing Jewish narratives (in his case, specifically Holocaust narratives): 1945-49 as characterized by survivors' memoirs and reports, the 1950s as a period of near erasure, the late 1950s and 1960s as a period of increased interest in Holocaust narratives (related to changing the political atmosphere), and then the near erasure again during normalization.[7] Others, likewise, have described increased opportunity for Jewish narratives in the 1960s. Their observations, like Holý's, are based upon the selection of a few influential authors or texts.[8] From these descriptive outlines, however, it is difficult to grasp exactly what it meant, historically, that authors were able to publish new works in the 1960s.

My work looks builds upon these phases by identifying exactly how preponderant Jewish themes *were* in 1960s Czechoslovakia. In the graph below (Fig. 1.1), which is based upon a database of all literary works that focus on Jewish experiences (Appendix A), it is clear that the number of Jewish literary themes in the 1960s practically dwarfs the rest of the communist period.

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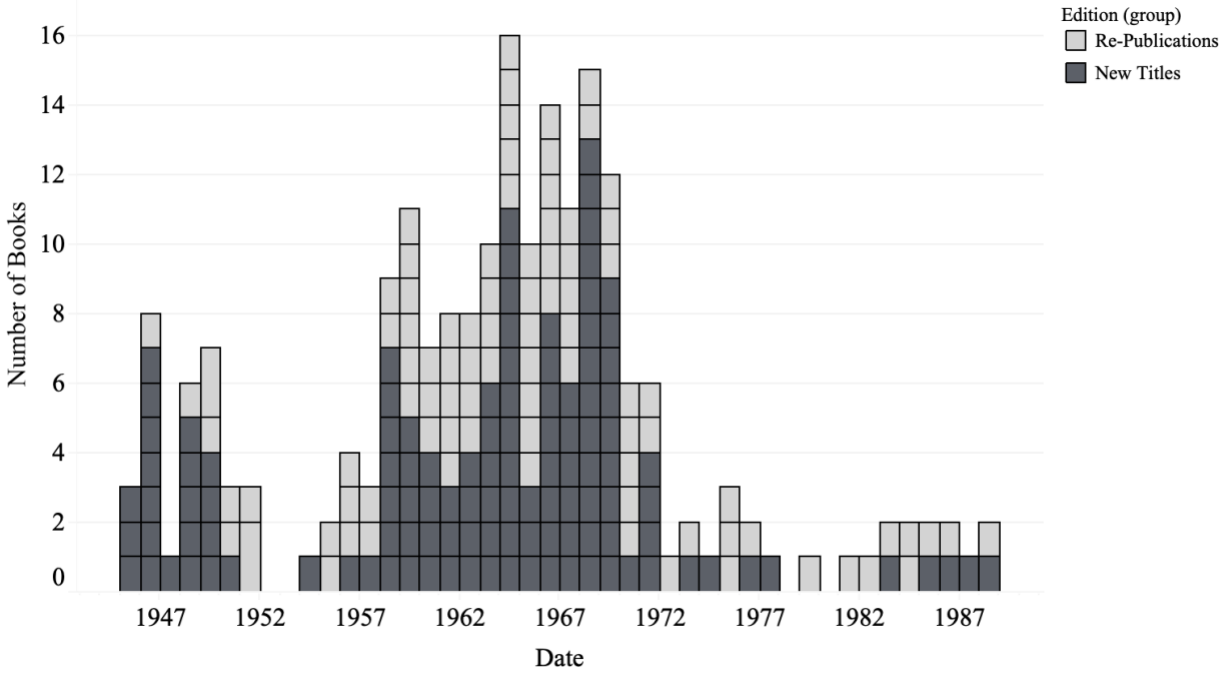
[6] There are many more examples of this (including from contemporary Czech culture, as the Conclusion discusses), but for a sample in scholarly literature, see the following texts and edited volumes: Holý, *The Representation of the Shoah in Literature, Theatre and Film in Central Europe;* Holý, ed., *Holokaust*; Sniegoň, *Vanished History;* 178-183; Labendz, "Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia," 165-221.
[7] Holý, "Židé a šoa," 7–65.
[8] Ibid, as well as Soukupová and Pojar, *Židovská menšina*; Sladovníková, "Holokaust v Československém a českém hraném filmu;" Labendz, "Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia," 165-221.

The relationship between the rise in Jewish narratives and political change is visually apparent. The number of literary works about Jews was exponentially higher between 1958-1968 than in any other decade of the communist period.

By rendering literary works as data points, I also illuminate new distinctions in the periodization described above. In the immediate postwar years, a small but substantive publishing trend emerged, which was closed off by the solidification of communist power. 1958 was a breakthrough moment for Jewish narratives, but there was an identifiable setback shortly afterwards in 1960. There was a marked solidification of publishing opportunities in 1963, which I will argue was linked to the Kafka Conference in Chapter 2. After 1963, there was consistent circulation of Jewish themes in literature and cinema (at least ten publishing contracts a year), and the mass engagement of non-Jews and intellectuals with Jewish themes in Czechoslovak culture (Figure 1.1).

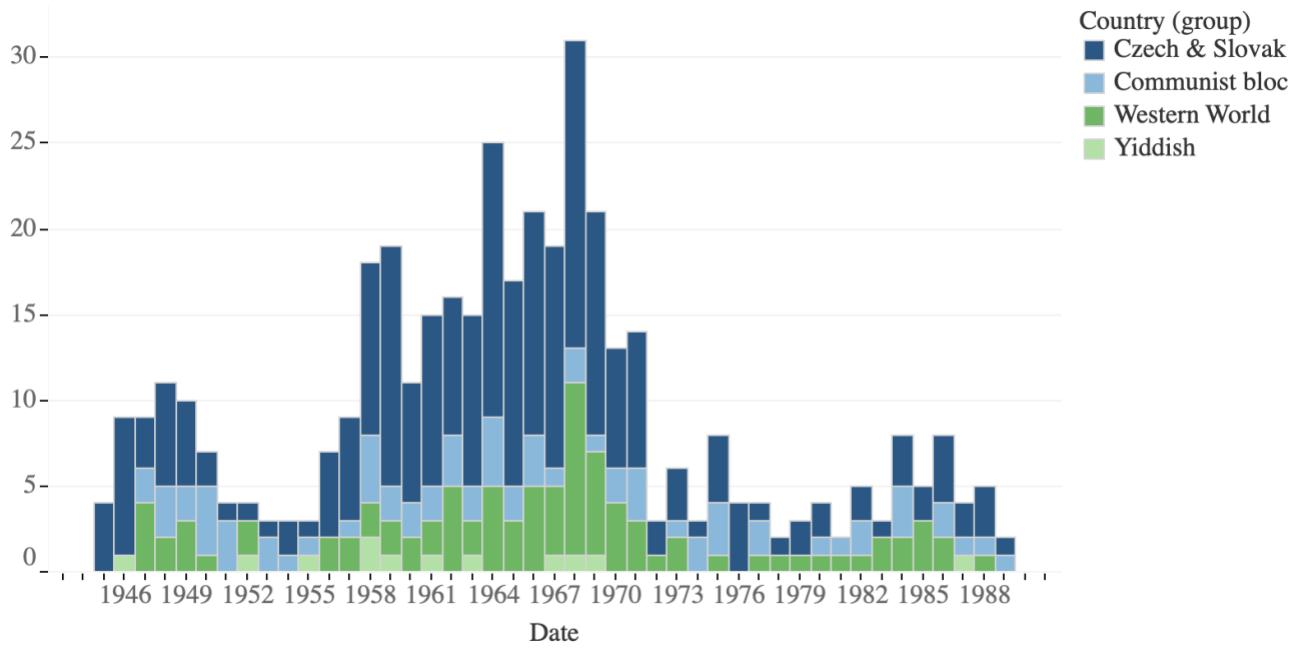
This aggregated look at literary Jewish narratives also helps to clarify the relationship between the rise of Jewish narratives and reform politics. While the numbers of books about Jews is high in 1968, during the Prague Spring, it is not higher than 1965. Though 1968 saw the highest number of new titles, it is important to consider new editions of already published works, because republication and recirculation of Jewish narratives kept ideas and concepts within them present for the Czechoslovak cultural elite. New editions were frequently published with new illustrations, cover designs, or commentary, meaning there was something added or new about re-circulated narratives. Less than 10% of all republications were exact copies of previous editions, suggesting new engagement with the texts, particularly within the literary and artistic community. When new publications and republications were at their peak in the 1960s, the creative elite were essentially repeatedly processing narratives about Jews.

Fig. 1.1. Books about Jews Released by Year, 1945-1989
(Czech and Slovak Authors)



Source: Appendix A, Section 1.

Fig. 1.2. Books about Jews Released by Year, 1945-1989
(Includes translations and re-published interwar authors)*



Source: Appendix A, Section 4.

* Yiddish authors are categorized separately here, though most of them were from the Russian empire.

With the inclusion of translated works and novels originally published in the interwar period, 1968 appears more exceptional (Figure 1.2). However, the major difference between 1968 and the preceding years was a significant increase in publications of works about Jews by authors from the "West" (mostly the United States and West Germany). Thus, we can understand the Prague Spring as the *culmination* of interest in Jewish narratives, rather than the reason for it.

Furthermore, from the bird's-eye-view that data analysis provides, it is clear that normalization was a slow and gradual process. The continual publication and republication of Jewish narratives stayed steady through the invasion of 1968. In the literary world, normalization was finalized through a retroactive banning project that curbed the possibilities of publication for various authors, as well as removed their books from public circulation in used book stores and libraries (discussed in the Conclusion). The list of banned authors was not finalized until 1972, and the texts that lost favor were not completely collected until 1975.[9] Nonetheless, numbers of publishing contracts for Jewish narratives were lower in 1970 and 1971 than they had been since 1958, and declined even further when the list was completed.

It is possible that the trend in the graph above was applicable to the Czechoslovak literary world more broadly. That possibility does not negate the significance of the rise and fall of Jewish narratives in this period. As other data collection methods prove, the dramatic concentration of literary and cinematic works about Jews had impact beyond the publication industry. Other metrics help to understand the broader significance of this trend, both globally and domestically.

[9] "Inventurní soupis zásob knih, 1972," and "Zahraniční autoří," in Folder 4 - Seznamy vyřazevané literatury a zakázaných autorů, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ; "Seznamy vyřazované lit. podle resort," Folder 7, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ; Seznam zastaralé a nevhodné literatury [April 12, 1973]," Folder "Směrnice MK ČSR 1969 o tenizi fondům," Box 1, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ.

Global Context

Czechoslovakia produced more feature films about Jews and Nazi Occupation than any other country in the 1960s. How could a country known for a major anti-Semitic show trial less than a decade earlier become such a dominant producer of Holocaust memory? In part, it was because of the dramatic increase in literary narratives. Every film about Jews was adapted from a literary text (except one, Alfred Rádok's 1949 *A Distant Journey*, which was banned).[10] To put the appearance of Jewish narratives in Czechoslovakia in some broader context, I compared the release of Holocaust films globally from 1945-1989. Pragmatically, comparing literary works about Jews globally would be a task far beyond the scope of an individual researcher. The cost of a feature film, and the narrower focus on Holocaust films only,[11] made it feasible to situate Czechoslovakia's Jewish narratives in a global context.

For the sake of this set of data, I consider 'Holocaust films' to be fictional feature films dealing with the fate of Jews during Nazi rule or World War II, and/or the impact of World War II on Jewish lives after the war. For the sake of data comparison, I have tried to include films that attend, in some way, to the distinct experience of being Jewish.[12] This may mean a Jewish main character, or it may mean a focus on distinctions between Jewish and non-Jewish experiences of Nazi Occupation or the camps. I have excluded "phantom" representations, including concentration camp films about political prisoners or prisoners of war that only allude to Jews momentarily through shots of crematoria or cattle cars, or occupation and war films where characters cross paths with Jews briefly. Olga Gershenson uses the word "phantom" to describe

[10] For more on Rádok's film, see Jiří Cieslar, "Daleká Cesta/ Distant Journey," in *The Cinema of Central Europe*, edited by Peter Hames, 45–54 (London: Wallflower Press, 2004).
[11] All films about Jews in communist Czechoslovakia would today be qualified as 'Holocaust films.'
[12] I believe these parameters (and exclusion of documentary) are responsible for distinctions between my data and the data included in Lawrence Baron's "Holocaust Movie Database," though it is unclear which movies he included or what his criteria was. Lawrence Baron, *Projecting the Holocaust into the Present: The Changing Focus of Contemporary Holocaust Cinema* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 25.

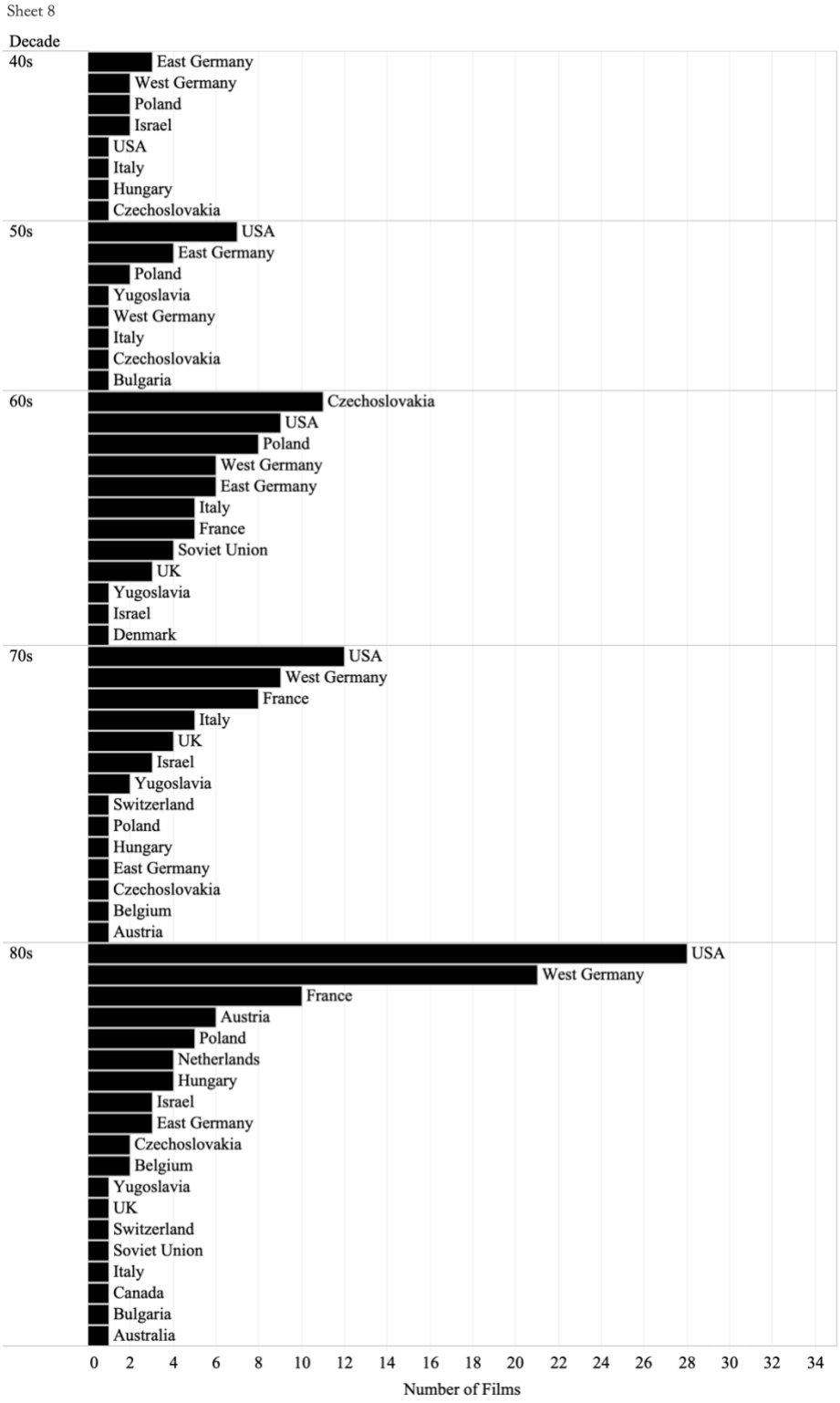
subtle references to the Holocaust in Soviet film, though many scholars consider films with non-overt allusions to the Holocaust.[13] *The Stranger* by Orson Welles, which in fact never mentions Jews at all, is a perfect example. The film could easily be seen as promoting the universalizing message of violence against citizens that was characteristic of the Nuremburg Trials.[14] These types of representations are immensely important for understanding the development of war and Holocaust memory more broadly, but their inclusion would mean a skewed representation of contemporaneous understandings of the film. By excluding such films, I hope to resist anachronistically presuming audience associations with particular concepts and visual images as "Jewish." In 1960s Czechoslovakia, for example the yellow star was the only visual symbol concretely identified with Jewish persecution. Gas and chimneys were visual markers that often implied Jewish persecution, but nonetheless was rarely overt. Barbed wire, while a marker of a concentration camp, was often used for films and works that made no reference to Jews.[15]

[13] I recognize the importance of considering these kinds of representations for understanding the image of the Holocaust in a particular context or period, which is why elsewhere (Appendix C), I do consider these types of representations. Nonetheless, I think these types of films hinder rather than help us to understand where cinematic conversations about Jewish fates were occurring. Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust.*

[14] Lawrence Baron, "Trial by Audience: Bringing Nazi war criminals to Hollywood Films, 1944-59," in *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence*, ed. David Cesarini and Eric J. Sundquist (New York: Routledge, 2012), 152-170. On the universalizing of the Nuremburg Trials, see David Cesarani, "Introduction," in *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence*, ed. David Cesarini and Eric J. Sundquist (New York: Routledge, 2012), 1-14.

[15] Chimneys seem to vaguely mark Jewish fates in films like *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* and cover art for *Death Factory* (Továrna na smrt) and the Polish film *The Passenger*. See the emblems on the cover (not book jacket) of the 1946, 1957, and 1959 editions of *Továrna na smrt*, Appendix A, Section 1; *Romeo, Julie a tma,* dir. Jiří Weiss (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1960); *Pasażerka*, dir. Andrzej Munk (Warsaw: Kamera, 1963). Movie posters for films like *Ivan's Childhood* (1962) about a Russian boy orphaned by German violence and *I Survived my own Death* (1960) about a boxer in a concentration camp both feature barbed wire imagery. Though there is nothing ostensibly Jewish about the story, both these films would be considered "phantom" representations. *Ivanovo detstvo*, dir. Andrei Tarkovsky (Moscow: Mosfilm, 1962); *Přežil jsem svou smrt*, dir. Vojtěch Jasný (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1960); Jiří Balcar, *Přežil jsem svou smrt*, Movie poster, Prague: 1960; *Ivanovo dětství*, Movie poster, Prague: 1962, http://www.film-plakat.cz/index.php?option=com_igallery&view=category&igid=2&igtype=category&ighidemenu=1&igchild=1&igtags=andrej.tarkovskij&searchAll=1&iglimit=100&Itemid=113 .

Fig. 1.3. Global Releases of Films about Jews under Nazi Occupation*



Source: Appendix B.

* Includes feature films made for television. Television movies are responsible for nearly half (13) of the U.S. Holocaust film output in the 1980s.

Figure 1.3 makes Czechoslovak filmmakers preoccupation with Jewish fates during Nazi Occupation clear. Nearly half of all Holocaust related films from the United States in the 1980s were television films, meaning that the number of Holocaust related feature films emerging from 1960s Czechoslovakia rivaled West European countries and the United States during the 70s and the 80s.[16] Moreover, there is a clear link between the 1960s and Czechoslovak productions about Jews—Czechoslovakia did not produce nearly as many films either before or after this period. It is clear that cinematic attention to Jewish narratives was particularly tied with developments in the 1960s. Interestingly, Poland has a similar trend. As Polish film scholar Piotr Zwierchowski has shown, Jewish themes were an important but ultimately small part of a larger project of Polish filmmakers' creation of a "new" memory of World War II that allowed access into individual psychological, moral, and existential quandaries.[17] By contrast, Czechoslovakia had relatively few World War II films that did not feature Jewish characters in the 1960s.[18] There was a concrete link between the global dominance of Czechoslovakia in 1960s Holocaust film production and the increasing numbers of literary works: the original scripts for each of these films was adapted from a literary work published recently beforehand. Taking data on the literary and cinematic works together, one can conclude that interest in Czechoslovak cultural works about Jews was so dramatic in the 1960s that it was exceptional in both globally and in Czechoslovakia.

[16] Even by Baron's data collection standards, Czechoslovakia was the second highest producer of Holocaust films in the 1960s. Baron, *Projecting the Holocaust into the Present*, 25.
[17] There were up to 300 films about World War II in Poland from 1960-1970. Zwierzchowski, *Kino nowej pamięci,* 9-10, 39-41.
[18] A sample of Czechoslovak World War II films, see *Vyšší princip*, directed by Jiří Krejčík (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1960); *Atentát*, directed by Jiří Sequens (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1964); and of course, the decidedly anti-heroic *Ostře sledované vlaky*, directed by Jiří Menzel (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1966). On Czechoslovak World War II films, see Petr Koura, "Obraz nacistické okupace v hraném českém filmu 1945-1989," in *Film a dějiny*, edited by Petr Kopal, 219–42 (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2003).

Milieu

Data analysis also helps to understand *who* was engaging with Jewish themes and why. In this section, I am going to focus on two ways to use data to understand the role and impact of normally forgotten figures, the relationship between creators and their community, and to identify commonalities among those who created narratives about Jews. First, I use data collected to examine commonalities that link authors who wrote about Jews. Second, I will discuss how tracking commenters (reviewers, for example) and peripherally involved figures (editors, illustrators, sound technicians, assistant directors, and more) provides insight into the reach and spread of Jewish narratives.

Collective Biography

Between 1945 and 1973, over 50 individual authors wrote at least one novel, biographical report, or collection of short stories with Jewish themes. It would be impossible to know why every one of those individuals was invested in promoting Jewish experiences through their works. In Chapter Two, I discuss influential authors and figures (1945-63) who helped to make it possible for large numbers of authors to engage in Jewish themes. Elsewhere in this dissertation, I discuss why particular authors, filmmakers, and play producers chose to address Jewish experiences.[19] By aggregating this group of authors together, I can explore the following questions: What role did Jews and non-Jews play in bringing Jewish narratives to the public? What was the political orientation of these authors? How did they spend World War II? It is important to note that the conclusions offered by the data, however, are correlative, rather than causative. Nonetheless,

[19] I am not conducting a similar analysis of filmmakers for two reasons. First, there are far fewer directors, and therefore I can address their motivations and investment in Jewish narratives individually. Second, I currently have insufficient data on important non-directorial figures (sound technicians, composers, assistant directors) to make this a useful collective data set.

correlations among factors such as birthplace, wartime activity, and publications provide larger insights into who was shaping Jewish narratives in communist Czechoslovakia.[20]

Just over 55% of the writers in this group were Jewish, but they were responsible for 72% of the individual titles written during this period (Fig. 1.4 and 1.5). In other words, Jewish writers were far more likely (200%) to publish more than one book about Jews than non-Jewish writers (Table 1.1). Given that the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia was only a little more than 0.10% in 1960, Jewish writers (perhaps unsurprisingly) played an outsized role in narrativizing Jewish issues for the public.[21]

Fig. 1.4. (left) Authors' Backgrounds, as a Percentage of Total Authors

and **Fig. 1.5.** (right) Percentage of Total Titles, by Ethno-religious Background

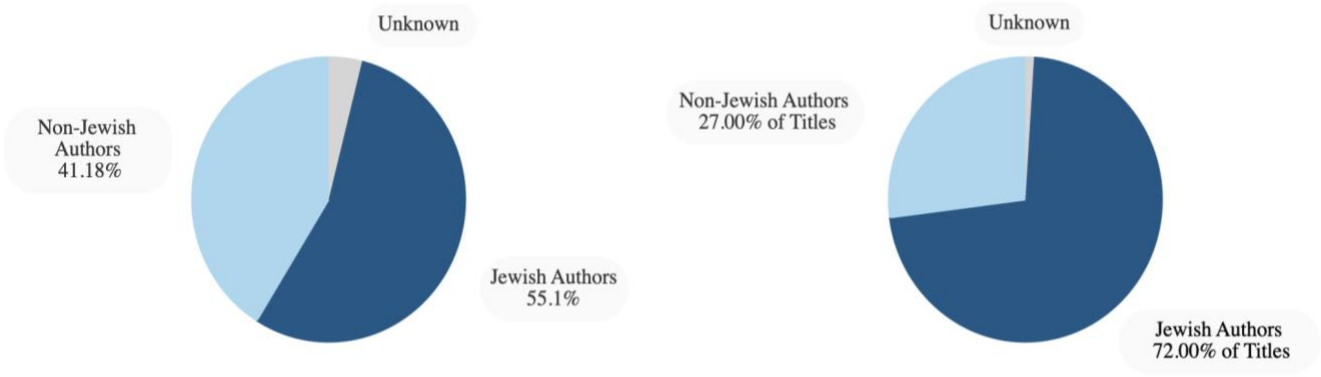


Table 1.1. Average Number of Titles per Author

Unknown	Non-Jewish Authors	Jewish Authors
1.000	1.286	2.571

[20] All data in this section is derived from Appendix E. Though in other parts of this dissertation, I consider translations into Czech and Slovak or republications of interwar authors, in this section, I consider only authors and titles that were published for the first time after World War II.

[21] "World Jewish Population," *American Jewish Yearbook* 61, p. 351 (statistics for 1959); 71, p. 539 (statistics for 1969); "Population," *World Bank Data*, accessed July 9, 2019, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=CZ-SK .

Data was often lacking for authors who wrote narratives in 1945-48, though these texts were usually about Terezín, so there is a high likelihood that these authors were Jewish. Information about female authors was also often minimal. There were only eight women among the authors examined. Two of them wrote only in 1945, and never again. Women were far better represented as editors and graphic designers than they were as writers.[22] It is unclear why women were so underrepresented as authors of literary works about Jews, but scholarly research suggests that general labor gender imbalances in Czechoslovakia at the time may have also affected women writers. Pavla Frýdová argues that "the 'socialist woman' had an extremely limited amount of leisure time compared to her male partner" in Czechoslovakia. As most writers were composing novels on top of their regular occupation, it is possible that the lack of "leisure time" for women affected their opportunities to write and publish.[23]

The majority of the authors (Fig. 1.6) were from "the Czech lands"—the regions of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia which make up the current Czech Republic—while a little over 20% came from Slovakia. However, only 30% of Czechoslovakia's population lived in Slovakia, meaning that equal interest between Czech and Slovak writers would be represented by 70/30. Slovak-born authors, in other words, were underrepresented by 10%. Though this would seem to suggest that Slovak-born authors were less interested in writing Jewish narratives, it is possible that Slovak authors simply had fewer publishing opportunities in the Czech-language dominant book market.[24]

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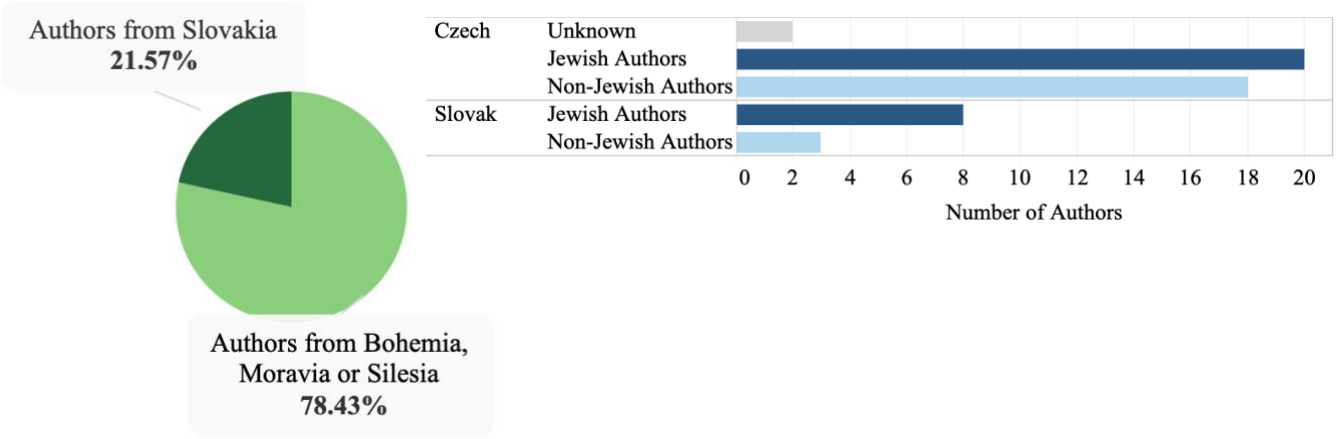
[22] See Appendix A.

[23] Pavla Frýdová, "Women's Memory: Searching for Identity under Socialism," in *Czech Feminisms: Perspectives on Gender in East-Central Europe,* edited by Iveta Jusová and Jiřína Šiklová (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 59.

[24] A linguistic disparity exists between the two languages, where Slovak speakers are expected to read Czech, while Czechs are not expected to read Slovak. Successful Slovak authors were translated into Czech, whereas successful Czech authors are almost never translated into Slovak (both in the communist period and today). This disparity could explain some preference towards Czech language writers. For examples of this disparity, see Appendix A and iha, "Ve slovenských knihkupectvích je nejméně třetina českých knih, naopak to nefunguje," *Hospodářské noviny,*

Fig. 1.6 and **1.7.** Authors' Birthplaces and Ethno-Religious Background



However, the unevenness of Czech and Slovak representation becomes more dramatic when we consider whether the authors were Jewish (Fig. 1.7). The number of Czech-born Non-Jewish authors who wrote about Jews (35.3%) was nearly equal to the number of Czech-born Jewish authors (39.2%) who wrote about the same subject. In contrast, Jewish authors made up 72.7% of the authors born in Slovakia. This suggests that non-Jewish Czech authors were more interested in engaging in cultural discourse about Jews than non-Jewish Slovak authors. However, it does not necessarily mean that non-Jewish Czech authors were more impactful or were more serious about cultural discourse about Jews.

On the one hand, not all authors were obviously motivated by desires to give voice to Jewish experiences. For example, a few Czech authors used the dramatic inspiration of Simon Wiesenthal, other "Nazi hunters," or particular Jewish biographies (the spy Ignaz Trebitsch-Lincoln or the charlatan performer Erik Hanussen) to write one-off detective or historical adventure novels.[25] It is important to consider that these authors spent hours researching and

January 9, 2013, https://art.ihned.cz/knihy/c1-59090210-ve-slovenskych-knihkupectvich-je-nejmene-tretina-ceskych-knih-naopak-to-nefunguje.

[25] See, for example Milada Taterová, *Král dobrodruhů* (Prague: Lidová demokracie, 1969); Václav Pavel Borovička, *Vražda jasnovidce Hanussen* (Prague: Svoboda, 1968); Václav Erben, *Na dosah ruky* (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1971).

writing about the world of Jewish restitution claims, prosecution of war criminals, or the unusual lives of individual Jews, even if it is likely that their primary interest was sensational entertainment. On the other hand, not all authors used their literary oeuvre as their primary means for promoting Jewish narratives. Slovak author Ladislav Mňačko's public statements about anti-Semitism, which will be addressed in Chapter 5, were as (if not more) important than the books he wrote for generating discourse about Jews. Fewer authors, in other words, did not necessitate a less significant conversation about what had happened to Slovakia's Jews.

Authors who devoted time to thinking and writing about Jewish experiences did often share common World War II experiences (Table 1.2). Unsurprisingly, due to the number of Jewish authors, the most common experience was having spent time in one or more concentration camps. 47% of all authors who wrote about Jews spent at least part of World War II in a concentration camp. Of those authors, 37.5% were interned in multiple camps. The second most common experience was shared by non-Jews of school age during World War II (ranging 9-19 years old at the time of the war, most in gymnasium and aged 14-16: Category "In School" in Table 1.2).[26] These authors likely felt the consequences of the Nazi occupation more acutely than many other non-Jews in Prague. All Czech institutions of higher education were closed in November 1939, after Czech students flooded the streets to commemorate the death of student Jan Opletal, who was killed by German police in a demonstration the month before.[27] In addition to the Germanization of the Czech school system, these future authors would have been likely aware how the Nazi occupation affected their opportunity to attend university.

[26] In some cases, I made assumptions about an author's wartime activity. For example, for non-Jewish authors whom I could not find information about, I extrapolated based upon their age whether they would have been employed or in school during World War II when possible.
[27] Bryant, *Prague in Black*, 60.

The impact that an experience had on an author is further underscored by the correlation between an author's World War II experience and the number of distinct titles written by that author.[28] Authors who spent part of the war interned in one or more concentration camps wrote 53% of all literary works about Jews during this period. Several war experiences had a 1:1 ratio of authors to books written; each author who was in the exile government, working, in a partisan group, or in the Soviet Union (or had unknown war experiences) wrote just one book about Jewish experiences (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2. Correlation between Author's Dominant Experience[29] and Number of Books written about Jewish experiences

Dominant Experience	**Number of Authors**	**Number of Books**	**Ratio** Authors: Books	**Average** Books per Author
Multiple Camps	9	34	9:34	3.8
Concentration Camp	10	12	5:6	1.2
Hiding	3	12	1:4	4
In School	8	11	8:11	1.4
Unknown	6	7	6:7	1.2
Czechoslovak Army Abroad	3	7	3:7	2.3
Partisans	5	8	5:8	1.6
Working	5	5	1:1	1
Soviet Union	2	3	2:3	1.5
Exile Government	1	1	1:1	1

[28] "Distinct titles" refers to new publications, and excludes re-publication of titles.
[29] "Dominant Experience" refers to the primary time spent, or the final experience of an author if they, for example, were first in the partisans and then a camp. Referred to as "Second Experience" in Appendix E.

Those who spent at least part of the war in hiding appear, at first glance, to be the most prolific writers of narratives about Jews, with a 1:4 author to book ratio. However, this statistic is somewhat misleading. One of the three authors who spent a portion of the war in hiding was the second most prolific author overall: Jiří Weil wrote eight of the twelve works attributed to authors in hiding. This means the remaining two authors wrote just two books a piece.

On average, authors who were interned in multiple concentration camps were much more likely to repeatedly write about Jewish experiences than authors who spent the war elsewhere. Authors interned in multiple camps wrote four books per person on average. Interestingly, this is a significant increase from those who experienced only one camp over the course of the war (a 9:11 ratio, or only a little more than one book per person). Prolific authors impacted this ratio as well (namely Arnošt Lustig and Erich Kulka, both multiple camp survivors. The former published novels and short stories, and the latter published repeated "documentary" accounts of camps in which he was interned). The median number of titles published by a person who lived through multiple camps was three. Overall, the median number of books an author published about Jews was one. Given the significant increase in both mean and median, one could conclude that suffering multiple concentration camps had an impact on authors' decisions to write multiple works about the experience over the course of their careers. Overall, experiences predominantly held by Jewish authors—being interned in multiple concentration camps, in hiding, and the Czechoslovak Army Abroad—were the only experiences correlated with an average of more than two books per author (Fig. 1.8 and Table 1.3).

Fig. 1.8. Correlations between Author Experiences and Number of Titles Written

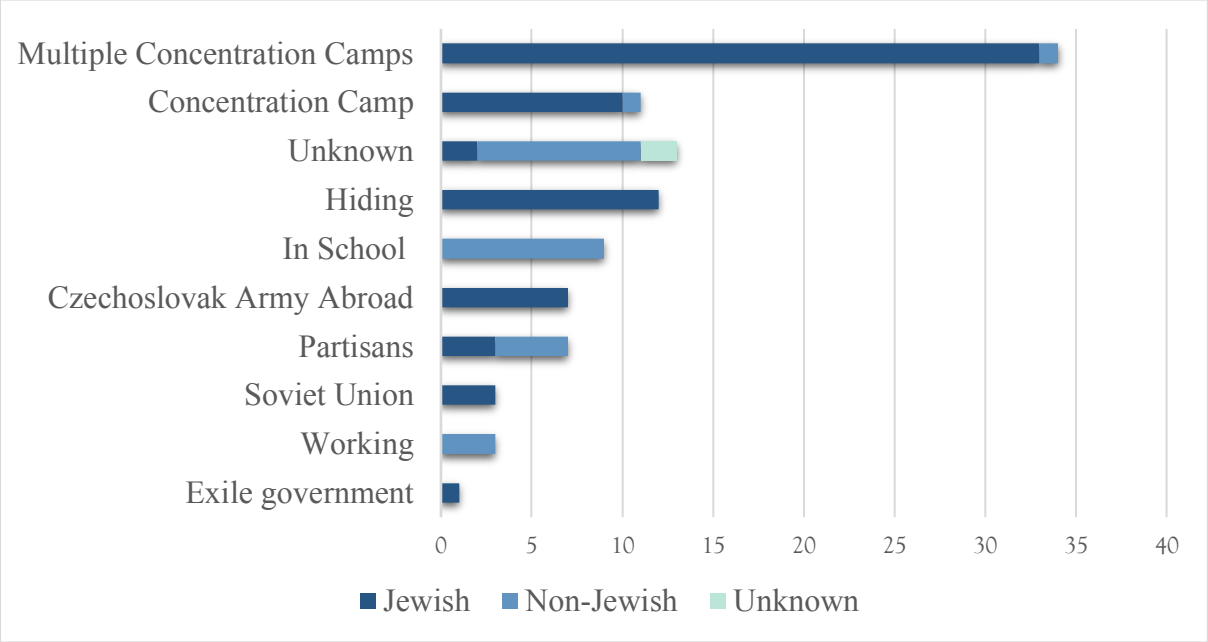


Table 1.3. Correlation between Ethno-religious Background and War Experience

Experience	**Percentage of Authors who were Jewish**
Multiple Concentration Camps	97%
Concentration Camp	91%
Hiding	100%
In School	0%
Unknown	16.6%
Czechoslovak Army Abroad	100%
Partisans	43%
Working	0%
Soviet Union	100%
Exile Government	100%

The most striking disparity, however, is between authors imprisoned in one vs. many concentration camps. Authors interned in multiple camps wrote significantly more books, on average, than authors interned in only one camp.There are several possible explanations for the correlation between repeatedly publishing about Jewish experiences and having survived multiple camps. Publishers may have been more interested in concentration camp narratives, as they better fit the communist narrative of World War II. Writers with the authority to testify (even through fiction) to multiple camp experiences may have had more leverage with publishers, especially after Jewish narratives became more common after 1963. It is also possible that authors who had experienced multiple camps likely had greater firsthand insight into the scale of the Nazi labor and death camp system. Moreover, they would have been in multiple kinds of camps—ghetto camps like Theresienstadt, labor/death camps like Auschwitz-Birkenau, political prisoner camps like Dachau or Mauthausen. Because of this range of experiences, these authors may have felt they had more experiences to chronicle or stories to tell. Scholars have argued that writing during World War II became a way for Jews "to preserve evidence of the murderous methods employed by the perpetrators and thereby to prevent their killers from controlling the knowledge of their deaths. In so doing, they demonstrated their keen awareness that annihilation is incomplete when memory is preserved." Though the authors in question here were writing after the war, the communal experience of the camp may have added to these authors' feeling of responsibility to their fellow prison-mates to "bear witness to tragedy as a means of transcending it." [30]

Of the experiences endured by non-Jews, being a member of a partisan group was more likely to contribute to a prolonged interest in Jewish themes. While being in school was the most common experience for non-Jews, non-Jewish authors who had been in the partisans were most

[30] Garbarini, *Numbered Days*, 2-3.

likely to write more than one book about Jews. Engaging in explicitly anti-fascist activity may have made wartime partisans more concerned with exposing the public to crimes against Jews.

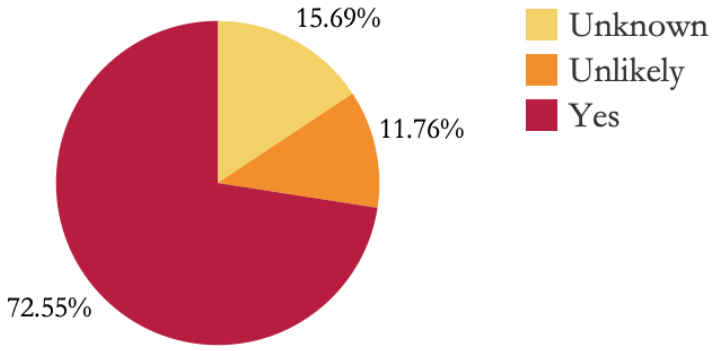
Finally, it is important to consider the political affiliation of the authors. The legacy of dissent, which dominated narratives of resistance to the communist system for the 1970s and 1980s, has often led scholars to overlook the foundations of challenges to the communist state in the 1960s. The dichotomy between working within the system (conformism) and outside and against the system (dissidence) has obscured the reality that this distinction was not as clear prior to the late 1970s.[31] Many worked within the system, and yet were not conformists. This is particularly relevant for the years leading to the Prague Spring, when intellectuals were responsible for pushing the boundaries of the political system. Journalists and writers played an important role in this process, often engaging in the most overt confrontations with the state.[32]

The dominant communist narrative of World War II painted the war as a clash between a brutal fascist oppressor and a heroic socialist underdog. There was no room for specificity of Jewish persecution in this dichotomy. The authors in question here problematized communist World War II narratives by highlighting Jewish experiences. This posed an inherent challenge to hegemonic state structures. Nonetheless, these authors stayed committed to communist ideals. Most were socialists, either Communist Party members or those generally committed to the ideals of socialism, at least in its earliest iterations. Many believed that socialism could be salvaged for

[31] Within the field of human rights studies, scholars often depict socialist reform as necessary primarily because of its failure, which led to a new approach (the dissident model) and a new language (human rights). Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010). Jonathan Bolton's *Worlds of Dissent* importantly challenges many of these distinctions and heroization of the dissident.
[32] Golan, *The Czechoslovak Reform Movement;* Kusín, *Intellectual Origins;* Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*; Mervart, *Naděje a iluze*; Hamšík, *Spisovatele a moc*; Kieran Williams, *The Prague Spring and Its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics, 1968-1970* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

a humane political future.[33] As Figure 1.9 shows, most of the authors participated in the socialist project at some point in the postwar period.

Fig. 1.9. Percentage of Total Author Group with Socialist Affiliation or Leaning, 1948-1968



In some instances, I made conclusions about individuals' political leanings based upon certain biographical factors. For example, I assumed party-membership for authors who held certain professions from 1948-1968—editors, union writers, and newspaper journalists, for example—for which it would have been nearly impossible to perform this work without party membership. Ota Kraus, for example, was involved in pre-World War II communist youth organizations, but was purportedly the only non-card-carrying member of the Communist Party in the Ministry of Culture. However, one can still consider his cultural contributions from "within" the structures of the system, because he worked within the confines of an official state organization (earning him a "yes" categorization for socialist affiliation).[34] Likewise, the "unlikelihood" that authors were socialists was also based often upon age and biographical factors. For example,

[33] Pavel Kolář sees this belief that communism could be rewritten after stalinism as related to the constant process of "making and remaking" communism. Kolář, Pavel. "The Party as a New Utopia: Reshaping Communist Identity after Stalinism." *Social History* 37, no. 4 (2012): 402–24. Quote from page 423.
[34] Dita Kraus, "Biography of Otto B. Kraus," *Otto (Ota) B. Kraus*, http://www.ottobkraus.com/.

several of the "unlikely" authors published in the immediate postwar, and then died or emigrated early in the communist period.[35]

Importantly, shared career paths meant that many of these authors knew or worked together on a regular basis. In some cases, they were working in close proximity at the very moments in which they were writing narratives about Jews. For example, Arnošt Lustig and Jan Otčenášek were both employed by Czechoslovak Radio shortly before they each published stories about Jewish experiences of World War II.[36] Věra Kalábová, one of the few women to write Jewish narratives, had been a dramaturge for a cinematic adaptation of one of Hana Bělohradská's novels prior to writing her own novel, *The Brothers Stein are in the City*.[37] They were editors of literary magazines publishing their colleagues' short stories on similar themes.[38] They provided commentary for their colleagues' narratives. [39] As time went on, these writers were not simply

[35] Karol Sidon, for example, was quite young and only began working on editorial staff at *Literární listy* in 1968. Though he may have been a party member, it would have been for a very brief period. Leopold Lahola emigrated to Israel and then West Germany. He was allowed to return to Slovakia because of lack of political activity abroad. "Leopold Lahola," *Literárne informačne centrum*, http://www.litcentrum.sk/slovenski-spisovatelia/leopold-lahola .

[36] Lustig was a journalist at Czechoslovak Radio from 1950-58 when he was approached by the StB while working on *Noc a naděje* in 1958; Jan Otčenášek was the editor from 1953-56. He too published *Romeo, Julie, a tma* in 1958. Přemysl Blažíček, "Jan Otčenášek," *Slovník české literatury po roce 1945,* edited by Michal Přibáň (Prague: Ústav pro českou literaturu AV ČR), last modified September 30, 2006, http://www.slovnikceskeliteratury.cz/showContent.jsp?docId=833 ; Veronika Košnarová, "Arnošt Lustig," *Slovník české literatury po roce 1945,* last modified February 13, 2009, http://www.slovnikceskeliteratury.cz/showContent.jsp?docId=507&hl=Arno%C5%A1t+lustig+.

[37] Věra Kalábová was the dramaturg on Zbyněk Brynych's *...a pátý jezdec je Strach* (Prague: Filmové studio Barrandov, 1965), based on Hana Bělohradská's *Bez krásy, bez límce* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1962) before writing her own *V městě jsou bratři Steinové* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1967). See "A pátý jezdec je Strach," *Filmový přehled*, http://www.filmovyprehled.cz/cs/film/396610/a-paty-jezdec-je-strach. This happened in other instances in the film industry. Juraj Herz, in particular, was an assistant for multiple films with Jewish narratives prior to filming *The Cremator.* See Appendix C, Section 1.

[38] Many authors first published selections of their works in literary journals. Jan Otčenášek, for example, was director of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, which produced *Literární noviny,* after leaving Czechoslovak Radio. See Blahoslav Dokoupil, "Literární noviny," *Slovník české literatury po roce 1945,* last modified May 31, 2006, http://www.slovnikceskeliteratury.cz/showContent.jsp?docId=1286 .

[39] For examples of commentary: Ladislav Fuks in Arnošt Lustig, *Dita Saxová* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1969); Ludvík Aškenazy in Arnošt Lustig, *Noc a naděje* (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1958); E.F. Burian in *Továrna na smrt* (Prague: Čín, 1946), with the same comment in editions published by Naše vojsko in 1957 and 1964; Arnošt Lustig in Erich Kulka, *Útěk z tábora smrti* (Prague: MNO, 1966). František Kafka, who only himself wrote one short volume and one book of prose about the concentration camps, wrote more than twenty reviews of other authors writing on Jewish themes in World War II. See Appendix A, Section 1 and Appendix D, Section 2.

isolated crusaders for Jewish narratives. They functioned within a community of similar political and cultural values, advocating for a form of socialism that would accommodate minority experience after all.

Those who published repeatedly about Jewish experiences were far more likely to be Jews than non-Jews. Chapter Two shows that initial successes publishing works about Jews in the late 1950s were made possible by Jewish authors who tirelessly sought to make their experiences visible to the broader Czechoslovak public. As more individuals became interested in Jewish narratives, Jews also lost control over defining their own narratives. The cinematic lives of Jewish narratives were an illustrative example; whereas nearly half of authors were Jewish (and they wrote over 70% of titles), only 27% of directors who adapted stories about Jews into movies were Jewish.

Nonetheless, non-Jews and the 30 individual authors (both Jewish and non-Jewish) who wrote only one title focusing on Jewish experiences contributed to over a quarter of all the works about Jews that were accessible to the Czechoslovak public. Exploring commonalities across the whole group of authors allows me to put authors who consistently focused on Jewish themes in conversation with authors who "dabbled." These authors have largely been forgotten: those who turned to stories of Jewish despair because it made for a good love story, who wrote detective stories about Nazi hunters, who focused on Jewish stories of survival that were outrageous, or who eventually picked up Jewish narratives because they were accessible and convenient ways of talking about totalitarian systems more generally.

Circulating, Discussing, and Packaging Jewish Narratives

Just as it is important to consider the authors who "dabbled" in Jewish themes, it is also important to consider the larger community of people who were responsible for distributing, circulating, interpreting, or packaging Jewish narratives for the public. Individual directors and

authors did not operate within a creative vacuum; editors, colleagues, sound technicians, assistants, composers, and camera operators helped to shape their work. By that same token, readers and viewers were influenced by illustrators, poster designers, and reviewers who interpreted and re-represented Jewish experiences for readers and viewers. Even more importantly, these individuals can be concretely identified by their engagement with these novels and films, helping us to better understand the reach and impact of literary and cinematic works about Jews within the cultural elite.

There were at least 1700 separate individuals who wrote, edited, reviewed, wrote forewords for, or illustrated novels; reviewed, wrote scripts for, directed, assisted, made music, or made posters for movies. Over 1100 people engaged with Jewish themes more than once. Twenty-one people engaged with Jewish themes in their profession as journalists, editors, or illustrators over ten times, and some of those, more than twenty. Of course, many were responsible for one review or editing or illustrating only one book. Nonetheless, this is clear evidence of a community of intellectuals processing Jewish narratives. Consider the fact that the majority of Jewish narratives appeared in one decade, between 1958 and 1968 (67 new books and nine new movies). Most of those 1700 people were engaging with Jewish themes in that decade.[40] In a small country, in a short time period, large numbers of the cultural elite were thinking seriously about Jewish narratives repeatedly. High numbers of intellectuals were repeatedly producing, circulating, or consuming narratives of Jews suffering under controlling, oppressive, and racist political systems, at the same time that they were advocating for a new "humane" form of socialism. This new "third way" socialism would not rely on fear tactics or control, and could accommodate difference. The

[40] Derived from Appendix A, Section 1-3; Appendix D, Section 1-4; Appendix C, Section 1. As discussed in the guides to these appendices, some of these appendices are even missing data, meaning this number is potentially even higher.

overlap between the development of new ideas about socialism and concentrated attention to Jewish narratives proves that the correlation was more than coincidental. Moreover, the fact that Jewish narratives increased dramatically in the late 1950s (see Figure 1.1) suggests that reform followed the appearance of Jewish narratives, rather than the alternative.

Identifying writers, journalists, and filmmakers that produced, circulated, and consumed Jewish narratives helps to concretize connections between individuals and understand the spread of ideas. Ideas about Jewish experiences were being debated, developed, and explored through re-publishing, reviewing, and commentary. Moreover, authors, filmmakers, and theater producers were influenced by one another, and often built upon themes and motifs in their colleagues' works. I argue that this continual reviewing, adapting, and building upon narrative and symbolic concepts constituted a form of cultural discourse. Creative elites used literary, cinematic and theatrical works—and commentary about them—to discuss what it meant to be persecuted, isolated, and abandoned by one's state and neighbors, and how lessons from these stories could be used to help fashion a safer political future.

Repetition and Rhetoric

Looking at commonalities and repetitive tropes across texts, films, and commentary helps to approximate what it might have been like to be two important groups of readers. First, it helps to understand what it might have been like to be one of these members of the cultural elite, who reviewed, watched, and commented on four, five and up to twenty works about Jewish experiences. We can extrapolate that a number of these commentators and creators read works and reviews beyond the ones that they identifiably authored. Thus, looking in aggregate at tropes and themes common across reviews approaches the experience of engaging repeatedly in cultural discourse about Jewish experiences.

Uncovering shared concepts in works and reviews also aids in establishing a concrete connection between representations of Jewish experiences and the rhetoric of the Prague Spring. Prague Spring reforms had economic, social, cultural, and political components. Pragmatically, the most important for cultural elites were freedom of the press and freedom of movement. The Prague Spring was also marked rhetorically by an emphasis on the "human face" of politics (socialism in particular) and an emphasis on pluralism.[41] In essence, it was a discussion about the place of human rights in socialist politics. Cultural works about Jews helped intellectuals to formulate their ideas about reform and to promote the importance of resisting governance by fear.

Second, examining texts for keyword markers helps to approximate how censors or other cultural officials responsible for approving media (editors at publishing houses and certain publications) would have approached texts about Jews. Narratives about World War II were expected to abide by certain tropes and reference to socialist resistance, Nazi brutality or German aggressors. Prescribed language was also a major component of commentary on the 1967 Arab-Israeli War (Chapter 5). It was precisely the narrowness of allowed interpretation that galvanized the intellectual community prior to the Prague Spring. Distant reading, or examining texts in aggregate, enables the scholar to estimate the experience of being inundated by particular propagandistic rhetoric.[42] Looking at how works did and did not utilize these keywords helps to understand how authors negotiated censorship constraints that were often vague and fickle.

[41] See Kusin, *Intellectual Origins*, 33-62; Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, 526-562.
[42] For more on distant reading, see Franco Moretti, "The Slaughterhouse of Literature," *Modern Language Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2006): 207-228.

Conclusion

The data presented in this section proves the perspective that Jewish experiences were "hidden" or disguised from public view untenable for 1960s Czechoslovakia. Not only were new books and films regularly appearing from 1958 to 1970, but editors, illustrators, filmmakers, and commentators were returning to and repackaging works that had been originally published only a few years before. Moreover, a high number of cultural elites (filmmakers, journalists, writers, editors, illustrators and graphic designers) were repeatedly exposed to Jewish narratives over the course of little more than a decade. At the end of the 1960s, Czechoslovakia was the leading global producer of Holocaust films. Jewish narratives were not hidden in the shadows.

This is not to say, however, that the proliferation of Jewish narratives in 1960s Czechoslovakia was an easy or straightforward process, nor did the existence of Jewish narratives mean that life for Jews in Czechoslovakia was necessarily easier. Though data collection and analysis illuminate the spread and movement of Jewish narratives through educated Czechoslovak society, its scope is limited. The following chapters explore questions unanswered by data and graphs: How was it possible to force Jewish narratives into the open after stalinism? How did people represent Jewish experiences? How did talking about Jewish experiences through cultural media become a form of discourse? What was the relationship between what was happening in Czechoslovakia and broader global cultural trends? Finally, how did the existence of these cultural discourses impact Czechoslovak politics? Data collection and analysis will continue to play an important role in answering these questions, but they will be secondary to close reading, biographical detail, cinematic analysis, and discursive analysis.

The next chapter focuses on the first question: how was possible to force Jewish narratives into the open after stalinism? The rise of Jewish narratives in late 1950s Czechoslovakia, I argue,

begins with Jewish writers trying desperately to find their place in the post-Holocaust world. To answer this question, I turn to the biography of three key figures in the literary world: authors Jiří Weil and Arnošt Lustig, and literary scholar Eduard Goldstücker. Though there were others who contributed significantly to opening the Czechoslovak cultural sphere to Jewish narratives, these three figures were among the most influential. They each, in different ways, made it possible for the large-scale circulation of Jewish narratives in the mid 1960s.

Chapter Two

Writing Jewish Experiences in Czechoslovakia, 1945-63

"For us, your work is an obligation. I think for all people, who want to be human."[1]

This dissertation begins with the storytellers: the writers who felt it was important to narrativize Jewish experiences of persecution and share them with the public. Though filmmakers helped to popularize Jewish narratives in a different medium with a (sometimes) wider audience, this chapter focuses on the writers. It was the writers who were responsible for a 675% increase in Jewish narratives in 1958-1968 from 1948-58. The writers were also responsible for the twenty scripts about Jewish experiences submitted for approval and the twelve resulting films of the late 1950s and 1960s.[2] The surprising rise of Jewish narratives in Czechoslovak literature and film was made possible by Jewish writers who devoted themselves to promoting exposure to Jewish experiences through their work.

After Stalin and Czechoslovak president Klement Gottwald's deaths in 1954, it was the writers who first tested the waters to see if it was now possible to challenge the state's hegemonic narratives about World War II. In the communist bloc, like much of the rest of the world, there was "no room" for Jewish minority narratives during the first decade after World War II.[3] During stalinism, Jewish narratives were repeatedly banned for the sake of narratives of socialists heroically resisting fascist brutality. The Slánský Trial made Jewish survival, international

[1] Letter from Alfréd Radok [June 8, 1949], č inv. 263, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[2] See Figure 1.1 and Appendices A and E.
[3] Quotation from Jockusch, *Collect and Record!*, 120. For some samples on West Europe and the United States, see Judt, *Postwar;* Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999). Numerous historical studies, addressed in the introduction, have documented the way Jews returned to their home countries and found themselves ignored and forgotten at best, deemed a threat to national unity and suppressed after communism came to power and in the Soviet Union. For an edited volume conceived of as resistance to the overall "myth of silence," see David Cesarini and Eric J. Sundquist, eds., *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

contacts, and certain wartime activities signs of treason. The propaganda effort of the postwar communist narrative rejected the particular traumas of Jewish citizens. Strikingly, however, Jewish writers made room for their minority narratives in the second decade of communism. This chapter is about how writers voiced Jewish narratives after stalinism's forced silence.

Though scholars have, at times, recognized that the late 50s represented an era of new possibilities for writers to publish Jewish narratives in Czechoslovak culture, few scholars have critically attempted to understand *how* this happened.[4] Scholarly literature typically simply assumes that political changes were beginning to take hold, and therefore authors could finally succeed in publishing narratives about Jews. While political shifts were important, the opportunity to publish about Jewish minority experiences did not simply appear in 1958. The dramatic rise in new narratives about Jews in the year 1958 was not an opportunity that authors stumbled upon. 1958 saw an unexpected rise of Jewish narratives in communist Czechoslovakia precisely *because* authors failed, persisted, adapted, and compromised, until they finally created their own opportunities. Moreover, they faced setbacks, even after their successes, and yet still endeavored to continue publishing their narratives. This chapter examines this process: How did writers succeed in advancing narratives of Jewish experience in the late 1950s and the 1960s, when they had failed in the late 1940s and early 1950s? Why did they try, when past evidence seemed to suggest it was impossible?

Numerous scholarly studies have been devoted to the question of writing about Jewish experiences of World War II, including survivors' motivations for doing so. Alexandra Garbarini

[4] Holý, "Židé a šoa." Jacob Labendz has importantly considered the appeal and role Jewish works played in "Chapter Three: 'Liquidated Several Times'? The Holocaust in Public Culture, 1956-1989," but again links changes to politics, rather than focusing on the concerted effort it took to publish these works. Labendz, "Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia;" Šárka Sladovníková,"Holokaust v Československém a českém hraném filmu;" Petr Bednařík, "Pronikání židovské tematiky."

writes of Jewish diarists that "the act of writing did not merely reflect their experiences but also granted a sense of agency."[5] As Sidra Azrahi writes of postwar survivor literature:

> "For most of these writers, the compulsion to record their experiences could be attributed to several motives: the desire for some sort of revenge; the need to bear witness "so that the world will know what we suffered"; the desire to commemorate the dead; the impulse to absolve oneself or one's companions of aspersions of passivity or complicity; the sense of mission, to warn humanity of its capacity for genocide."[6]

Many of these motivations could likewise apply to Jews in communist Czechoslovakia. However, writing about Jewish experiences took on additional meanings in post-stalinist Czechoslovakia, where the state had actively suppressed the circulation of Jewish narratives. Writing was not enough. For Jews who lived through decimation by Nazism, and then the silencing of those experiences by stalinism, making their narratives public was a way of restoring their agency and declaring their existence. In the words of Mendel Mann, "I write because, through my books, I bear witness to my existence. I try to banish my solitude, to demonstrate to the world that I am here."[7] On a broader level, publishing became a way of proving the continuation of a Jewish voice in Czechoslovakia.

To illustrate how Jewish writers fought to reinstate themselves in Czechoslovak cultural memory, and the cultural and political implications of having done so, I look at case studies of several figures—Jiří Weil, Arnošt Lustig and Eduard Goldstücker—whose trials, tribulations, and persistence made it possible for Jewish narratives to circulate widely by the mid-1960s. Weil and Lustig were both writers who exhibited an almost compulsive need to publish. Their experiences

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[5] Alexandra Garbarini, *Numbered Days: Diaries and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 8. For more on reading and writing about the Holocaust, see Inga Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Alvin Rosenfeld, *A Double Dying : Reflections on Holocaust Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Lawrence L. Langer, *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975); David Patterson, *The Holocaust and the Non-Representable* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2018.

[6] Sidra Ezrahi, *By Words Alone: The Holocaust in Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 21.

[7] Quoted in Sidra Ezrahi, *By Words Alone*, 21.

are emblematic of the types of sacrifices, compromises, and persistence needed to publish Jewish narratives until the late 1950s. Lustig produced more Holocaust narratives than any other author in this time period; Weil, the second most—in spite of his death in 1960.

Eduard Goldstücker, by contrast, was a diplomat turned literary scholar, most remembered for having led the charge to approve Kafka in Czechoslovakia. Scholars have often understood Kafka's criticism in the communist countries as a rejection of modernism. In countries where realism was the official aesthetic, Kafka's expressionistic critiques of bureaucracy were attacked as "pessimistic," "defeatist" and "existential."[8] However, I argue that Kafka's approval in Czechoslovakia was also about reclaiming the Jewish past. Kafka, and the experience of being a German-speaking Jew in interwar Prague, had also been erased by Nazism and stalinism. Goldstücker sought to recover that legacy.

Paths to Success: Three Case Studies

The biographies of a few key figures illuminate why individuals endeavored to publish narratives about Jews, and how they succeeded in an atmosphere that had already proved its hostility to minority expression. Their biographies are best understood not as distinct case studies, but as entangled literary biographies, because each author's successes reflected and informed the limits of possibility for others, and precipitated shifts in the overall cultural landscape. The following individuals were chosen both because their biographies illuminate different motivations and methods of pursuing the normalization of Jewish experiences in Czechoslovak culture, and because their lives reflected or created shifts in the cultural and political climate. Their efforts built

[8] Emily Tall, "Who's Afraid of Franz Kafka? Kafka Criticism in the Soviet Union," *Slavic Review* 35, no. 3 (1976):484-503; Kusín, *Intellectual Origins*, 63-65; Kenneth Hughes, "Introduction," in *Franz Kafka: An Anthology of Marxist Criticism,* Kenneth Hughes, ed., xiii-xxviii (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1981).

upon one another's, enabling and encouraging interest in Jewish themes among the intellectual elite by the mid-1960s.

These figures broke the seal, making it possible for Jewish narratives to proliferate in Czechoslovak literature and film.[9] The first case is of Czech-Jewish author Jiří Weil. In many ways, it is a story of failure. Weil, who died at 59 of leukemia, never lived to see the full impact and reach that his works would have on the Czechoslovak public. Weil's story is emblematic of authors who attempted to publish in the immediate postwar, and his struggles through the late 1950s underscore the kinds of negotiations and compromises authors had to make in order to represent Jewish experiences in their works. His biography and his posthumous publishing history also emphasize the importance of professional and social networks for authors who hoped to publish Jewish narratives in 1950s and early 1960s Czechoslovakia.

Next, I focus on Arnošt Lustig, a young, committed, Czech-Jewish communist, whose opportunism and unflagging persistence had dramatic impact on both the literary and film industries. Lustig was one of a few key figures who managed to publish narratives about Jews, to great success, in the late 1950s. Both Weil and Lustig are representative of the kind of persistence and ingenuity authors necessarily had to employ in the 1950s in order to succeed in publishing Jewish narratives. Writers like Lustig and Weil were responsible for the initial opening of the Czechoslovak cultural sphere to Jewish narratives in 1958 and 1959.

The third story is of Eduard Goldstücker, a Slovak-born Jewish intellectual who began his career as a diplomat, was imprisoned in a subsidiary of the Slánský Trial, and finally became a professor of German Literature upon his eventual release and rehabilitation. His efforts to bring

[9] Some scholars have even noticed how important Weil and Lustig were for opening the Czechoslovak cultural sphere to Jewish themes, but still have yet to query how and why this happened. See Bednařík, "Pronikání židovské tematiky," 154.

Kafka into the canon of approved literature, I argue, contributed both to a significant shift in the range of acceptable literary and cinematic styles. Moreover, Goldstücker's approach to Kafka involved implicitly embracing Jewish figures as a statement in favor of humanist values and a rejection of illiberal anti-humanist Stalinist tendencies. The approval of Kafka in 1963 signaled the solidification of the place of Jewish narratives in Czechoslovakia; after Goldstücker's "Kafka Conference," criticisms like "defeatist" and "existential," which were often used to justify banning Jewish narratives about persecution, were no longer legitimate. Modernism and expressionism became accepted styles, allowing the opportunity for more authors to publish—and they did so, using expressionism in particular as a mode of conveying Jewish experiences of Nazi occupation.

Jiří Weil: Early Visionary, Late Success

Jiří Weil was born in 1900 in Praskolesy, near Prague. The family moved to Prague after World War I, where Weil soon became an active member in socialist political and cultural circles. After making a trip to the Soviet Union in 1922, he became more enthusiastic about socialist values. He then worked as a Russian-Czech translator in the Soviet embassy's press division until 1931. However, his faith in the Soviet system quickly faded upon his return to Moscow in 1933. After complaining in a letter about living conditions, he was expelled from the party and sent to be "re-educated" in a labor camp in Kyrgystan and Kazakhstan, but Weil was eventually released for unknown reasons.[10] Upon returning to Prague in 1937, he published *Moscow to the Border* (Moskva-Hranice), an unflattering portrait of daily life in the Soviet Union and a scathing critique of Soviet political infighting and party purges.

[10] Jaroslava Vondráčková, *Mrazilo- tálo* (Prague: Torst, 2014), 10-13; Miroslav Kryl, "Jiří Weil- intelektuál mezi východem a západem," *Slovanský Přehled* 91, no. 2 (2005): 301; Eva Štědroňová, "Jiří Weil," *Českožidovští spisovatelé v literature 20. století* (Prague: Židovské museum v Praze, 2000), 71.

Anti-Jewish measures were instated in Prague shortly after the Bohemian and Moravian portions of Czechoslovakia were ceded to Nazi Germany in the 1938 Munich Agreement. Within a year, it became apparent that Nazi German restrictions on Jewish movement and employment would be imposed upon the Czech Jewish community as well. Weil's first strategy to protect himself was to provide documentation of his gainful employment—working for his close friend A.V. Frič—within the "approved" fields of Jewish employment.[11] In 1942, Weil took further steps to protect himself from deportation by marrying a Catholic Czech woman, Olga Frenclová. On the marriage certificate, Weil listed himself as "without confession."[12] A little over a year later, he was employed at the Central Jewish Museum cataloging items collected from destroyed synagogues. An employee of the Jewish community convinced the Nazis that Jewish property could be stored in the synagogue, and the Nazis agreed, planning to use it as a "museum of an extinct race."[13] In 1944, the Gestapo arrested him for living in an undeclared residence, but thanks to a Czech bureaucrat marking him "deathly ill," he was released into a hospital for five months. When these measures still failed to save him from being called to a transport, Weil faked his own suicide in 1945 and went into isolated hiding for three months, aided by two women of the "Solidarity" anti-fascist movement.[14]

Weil was already writing, attempting to process his desperate years of self-preservation and loss of loved ones and community, before the war's close. In 1946, he returned to the Jewish

[11] A.V. Frič "Prohlášení" [1940], č inv. 9-19, Doklady: doklady k rasové perzekuci za okupace z let 1939-1945, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.) LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[12] Trauungschein/ Oddací list [March 4, 1942], č inv. 20, Doklady: doklady k rasové perzekuci za okupace z let 1939-1945, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[13] For the quote, see Leo Pavlát, "The Jewish Museum in Prague during the Second World War," *European Judaism* 41, no. 1 (2008): 124. See also Magda Veselská, *Archa paměti: cesta Pražského Židovského muzea pohnutým 20. století* (Prague: Academia Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2013), 54-119.
[14] "Potvrzení M. Pelce a D. Dubinské o úkrytu J. Weila za okupace," Doklady: doklady k rasové perzekuci za okupace z let 1939-1945, č inv. 21-22, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ. On the "National Solidarity" movement, see Frommer, *National Cleansing*, 168.

museum. The fact that the museum had been allowed to continue through the war was instrumental to its reopening in the postwar period. Weil and Hana Volaková, who had been instrumental in the museum through much of the Nazi Occupation, were responsible for starting new museum activities immediately after the war. Some of their first activities included collecting documentation of the Terezín ghetto.[15] As an employee of the museum, he visited Terezín for the first time to collect children's drawings and poems. That same year, he began working for European Literary Club (abbreviated as ELK in Czech), where he published one of his two wartime works: *Makanna—Father of Wonders* (Makanna – otec divů). Both Weil's 1946 publications deal with the impact of the war: *Colors* (Barvy) was a series of short stories about people he knew and lost, while *Makanna* was an historical novel about a false prophet—a fairly clear metaphor for Hitler's rise to power. For *Makanna—Father of Wonders*, Weil was awarded the state literary prize.[16] In spite of this success with the historically veiled *Makanna*, Weil continued to write more explicit narratives of Jewish experiences in Nazi occupied Czechoslovakia.

Despite the relatively short duration, the experience of hiding had a dramatic impact on Weil. In 1949 he published *Life with a Star* (Život s hvězdou), the first-person narration of the former bank clerk Josef Roubiček, a Jew living in secrecy and utter solitude in a bare apartment in Nazi occupied Prague. In the opening pages, Roubiček converses with a woman that he openly admits is not actually there. They set the stage for an intensely personal, psychological exploration of what it means to lose one's sense of self as a consequence of persecution and the forceful devaluation one's self-worth. Josef gradually destroys all of his furniture and much of the apartment, in an attempt to defiantly prevent "them" from taking anything more from his life. As

[15] Veselská, *Archa paměti*, 122-150.
[16] Jiří Weil, *Makanna – otec divů* (Prague: ELK, 1946); Jiří Weil, *Barvy* (Prague: B. Stýblo, 1946). On the Nazi allegory, see Jan Podlešák, "Stříbrnou polnicí zpívejte píseň svobody," *Terezínské listy* 27 (1999): 76.

the main character loses his sense of individuality, he even begins to refer to himself as "we," emphasizing both his experience as a shared Jewish one, as well as his internalization of his loss of individuality.[17]

Between his initial iterations to the final version, Weil changed the words "Jew" to "us," and "Hitler" and "SS" to "them." References to German language, concentration camps, and formal names of institutions or places were also removed.[18] This suggests that Weil was potentially aware of communist resistance to references of Jewish specificity. It might also be possible that Weil, in fact, wanted the novel to be more accessible for a general, non-Jewish audience. Jan Grossman, in his commentary published with a later edition, remarked how much Weil's narrative deviated from the standard themes of the war and Nazi occupation, noting that it did not simply center on "fascist brutality and the celebration of superhuman heroism of the thousands of anti-fascist fighters…but [instead shows] the heights of the systematic degradation and deformation of a man and all his human connections."[19]

After reading the book, the filmmaker and theater director Alfred Rádok (who himself was half-Jewish) wrote to Weil: "Many thanks to you. And for my father, who died with the star. This is their answer, their life and their death…For us, your work is an obligation [*zavázek*]. I think for all people, who want to be human." For Rádok, Weil's novel clearly served a commemorative, pedagogic and even redemptive function all at once; through such narratives, the Czechoslovak public would have access to the experiences of those lost, teaching the consequences of failing to treat all with human dignity, acceptance, and respect.[20]

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[17] Jiří Weil, *Život s hvězdou* (Prague: ELK,1949).
[18] Hana Hříbková, "On the Emergence of the Novel *Life with Star*," *Centrum pro studium holokaustu a židovské literatury* (Prague: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze), 16.
[19] Jan Grossman, "Doslov," in Jiří Weil, *Život s hvězdou* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1964), 156.
[20] Letter from Alfréd Radok [June 8, 1949], č inv. 263, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.

Unfortunately, however, exposure to Weil's work would not be possible for much of the Czechoslovak public. Shortly after it was released, it was condemned for falling on the wrong side of "the definitive fight for realism," as "decadent," "cowardly," "defeatist" and too "cosmopolitan."[21] These were coded terms common for authors labeled bourgeois ("decadent"), Jewish ("cosmopolitan") and who utilized expressionistic styles to voice feelings of despair and isolation ("cowardly" and "defeatist").[22] It was likely because of Weil's refusal to frame the experience of Nazi oppression as a battle between fascism's brutality and displays of superhuman (and almost exclusively socialist) resistance that Czechoslovak state cultural officials found the novel so offensive. The same characteristics that made Weil's novel so moving and powerful as a pedagogic tool, in the estimation of Rádok and Grossman, condemned the novel to its obscurity.

The state's position towards Weil's works was likely also influenced by Weil's well-known criticism of the Soviet system in his 1937 novel *Moscow to the Border*.[23] The state did not simply ban Weil's work, but closed the ELK publishing house entirely. The Czechoslovak government was beginning to solidify control over the social, cultural and political atmosphere by controlling the narratives that the public was and would be allowed to see. In addition to tightening the reigns on what was and was not published, the state issued a "Directives for Library Cleansing" in 1950 that included guidelines for removing published books from circulation. Weil's *Moscow to the Border* made it onto the list of "Nazi, anti-state, anti-Soviet and other trash literature" for being "anti-Marxist" (more specifically "Trotskyist").[24]

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[21] Jiří Holý, "Komentář k Weilovým dílům Život s hvězdou, Žalozpěv za 77 297 obětí a Na střeše je Mendelssohn," *Centrum pro studium holokaustu a židovské literatury* (Prague: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze), 9, https://sites.ff.cuni.cz/holokaust/wp-content/uploads/sites/122/2013/11/jiri-holy-komentar-k-weilovym-dilum.pdf.
[22] The terms "bourgeois," "cowardly" and "defeatist" will be discussed later in this chapter. On cosmopolitanism, see Michael L. Miller and Scott Ury, "Cosmopolitanism: The end of Jewishness?" in *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and the Jews of East Central Europe*, edited by Michael L. Miller and Scott Ury, 1-24 (New York: Routledge, 2015).
[23] See, for example, Holý, "Komentář," 2-3.
[24] "Směrnice pro očistu knihoven," Box B3/1, Collections of the Národní Univerzitní Knihovna, NK, Prague, CZ.

The initiative was clearly linked to preparations for the Slánský Trial. Many of the trial defendants, who would be accused of a "Titoite-Trotskyite-Zionist conspiracy," had just been arrested. Most of the defendants were Jewish. One prominent member of the party, Karel Kreibich, voiced his disapproval of the trials by emphasizing the inherent anti-Semitism in using "Jewish origin" as proof of criminal connections and lost favor with the regime.[25] Ultimately, the Slánský Trial served the didactic function of illustrating proper behavior of a loyal communist citizen through negative reinforcement: the defendants of the widely publicized trial clearly proved that those with ties outside of the communist bloc (many of the victims had spent the war abroad, had fought on the side of the communists in the Spanish Civil War, or were involved in foreign affairs ministries) would be found out and punished as being allies of foreign powers. Regardless of whether the accusations were true, this was the pedagogic function of the trial.

More generally, these "Directives for Library Cleansing" emphasized cultivating an environment where library contents would not potentially "harm the education of the new man." The guide included "works by the authors… revealed as saboteurs, such as Jozef Broz-Tito, László Rajk, Rudolf Slánský, Vlado Clementis, Marie Švermová," who were nearly all victims of show trials across the communist bloc, including Slánský himself and his "co-conspirator" Vlado Clementis. The 1950 guide preceded the Slánský Trial by two years. The increased stringency in publishing was linked to a larger plan to dictate and control public opinion and narrative access in preparation for their public denouncement of betrayers and saboteurs.[26]

Weil's experience with publishing in the early postwar, in other words, was intimately linked to the changing relationship between state politics and cultural expression, reflecting the

[25] "Kópisa prípisu s KREIBICHA k otázke židov v súvislosti s procesom proti Slánskemu a spol." [2 Dec. 1952], Folder 1564, Box 33, Fund A 2/1, Achivní fondy řídících a organizačních útvarů ministerstva vnitra a federálního ministerstva vnitra, ABS, Kanice, CZ.
[26] "Pomůcka," Box B3/1, Collections of the Národní Univerzitní Knihovna, NK, Prague, CZ.

consolidation of communist power in Czechoslovakia. After ELK's closing, Weil continued to work at the State Jewish Museum, which was centralized in 1950 as a state institution and the activities of the museum were heavily curtailed.[27] When *Moscow to the Border* was removed from public access, Weil was also expelled from the Writer's Union. In practice, this meant he had no hope of being published. Weil despaired over being deprived of his craft: "if I could write, I would be fine, but like this I'm trudging like a galley slave with a mill stone around my neck."[28]

Yet, Weil's dramatic declaration had less to do with writing than publishing. After all, he kept writing, though he waited to *publish* for seven years. Cultural controls were beginning to relax in the wake of Stalin's death, as new Soviet leader Nikita Krushchev openly denounced the extremity of Stalinist repression and the "cult of personality." For Czechoslovak writers, Stalin's death was, on the one hand, fortuitously timed with the death of their own Stalinist leader, Klement Gottwald. On the other hand, president Antonín Novotný, who took his place, was more resistant to post-Stalinist change than leaders in other communist countries (Poland, for example).[29]

Nonetheless, change came. It was 1956, the same year as Krushchev's "Secret Speech," when two respected writers and colleagues successfully entreated on Weil's behalf for his reinstatement in the Writer's Union.[30] Weil immediately seized on the opportunity, publishing *The Prisoner of Chillon* (Vezeň chillonský*,* 1957), a modified version of his 1949 short-story collection *Peace: Stories from the Years 1938-1945* (Mír: povídky z let 1938-1945).[31] The following year,

[27] Veselská, *Archa paměti*, 167-70.
[28] Letter to Marie Beňová [1949] in Vondráčková, *Mrazilo- talo,* 101.
[29] This is apparent, for example, in the cultural world, as well as with the immediate outbreak of protests in Poznań. On the protests, see Paweł Machcewicz, "Social Protest and Political Crisis in 1956," in *Stalinism in Poland, 1944–1956*, ed. A. Kemp-Welch (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 99–118. On film, see Marek Haltof, *Polish National Cinema* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002); Piotr Zwierzchowski, *Kino nowej pamięci: obraz II wojny światowej w kinie polskim lat 60* (Bydgoszcz: Wydanictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2013).
[30]Vondráčková, *Mrazilo-talo* 160.
[31] "Mír, povídky z let 1938-1948," č inv. 751, Próza, Rukopisy vlastní, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ. For more on these works, see Hana Hříbková, "Šoa v díle Jiřího Weila," in *Cizí i blízcí*, edited by Jiří Holý (Prague: Akropolis, 2016), 681–727.

he published two more works: the historical novel *Harfeník* and *Elegy for 77,297 Victims* (Žalozpěv pro 77 297 obětí). The latter was linked to the Jewish Museum's first exhibit in the Pinkas Synagogue, a mural of the names of 77,297 Jews from Bohemia and Moravia killed during the war. The petition to create the memorial had been submitted as early as 1950, but it was not approved until 1954. Shortly after the exhibit was unveiled in 1959, the synagogue was closed to the public.[32] Notably, *Elegy for 77,297 Victims,* with its more overt references to wartime anti-Semitism, had a print run of only 700 copies, compared with 5000 for *The Prisoner of Chillon* and 10000 for *Harfeník*, suggesting that publishers were not yet convinced that these themes were appealing to or appropriate for the public.[33]

Image 2.1 and **2.2.** Both the cover (left) for Weil's *Elegy for 77,297 Victims,* the Pinkas Memorial to Czech Jews, and the interior illustration (right), with the bent and emaciated skeleton, make more overt reference to the Holocaust. Source: Jiří Weil, *Žalozpěv za 77297 obětí* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1958).

[32] It was reopened in 1968. For more on the Jewish museum exhibit, see Veselská, *Archa paměti*, 178-200.
[33] See the publication information pages, Jiří Weil, *Vězeň chillonský* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1957); Jiří Weil, *Harfeník* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1958); Jiří Weil, *Žalozpěv za 77297 obětí* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1958).

Still, Weil's life seemed on the upswing in 1957. He had published four books since being accepted back into the Writer's Union and had contracts for two more: *Mendelssohn is on the Roof* (Na střeše je Mendelssohn) and *Hospital Gate* (Špitálská Brána). It seemed he had every reason to be full of optimism. *Mendelssohn is on the Roof,* in particular, stirred up great enthusiasm among the literary and cinematic community. Weil had just signed a contract with the publisher Československý spisovatel. The editor there wished him an optimistic New Year, in which "Mendelssohn would not just be on the roof, but also on paper!," in late December 1957.[34] Within a year, the film group Felix-Daniel had agreed to take on the project as a film with the directorial duo Jan Kadár and Elmar Klos at the head.[35] Kadár, who was a Slovak-born Jew, had shown interest in exploring the impact of World War II and Nazi race policy in his early postwar short films.[36]

In spite of these successes, optimism soon turned to despair. Weil was already severely ill from leukemia when he began to experience firsthand the phenomenon that scholars now call "delayed de-Stalinization." Though Czechoslovak president Klement Gottwald died only months after Stalin, the retention of many prominent figures from the early 50s in the Czechoslovak bureaucracy, including Gottwald's replacement Antonín Novotný, meant that cultural and political changes progressed slowly and unevenly at best. Weil's first disappointment came in the form of a letter in late October 1958. The editors at Mladá fronta, who had originally agreed to publish *Hospital Gate*, were no longer interested. They claimed that unless Weil was willing to change the content of the novel (which he was not), they would not be able to accept his work. They could

[34] Letter to Weil from Československý spisovatel [12/28/1957], Korporace – Československý spisovatel, č inv. 343-347, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[35] Letter to Weil from from Tvůrcí skupina Felix-Daniel, č inv. 348, Korporace – Filmové studio Barrandov, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[36] Václav Macek, *Ján Kadár* (Bratislava: Slovenský filmové ústav, 2008), 29-33. Kadár and Klos will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

only choose "the very best works," they claimed, and *Hospital Gate* no longer met their standards.[37]

Then, in spite of their initial enthusiasm, Československý spisovatel withdrew their support for *Mendelssohn is on the Roof*, asserting that they "could not publish the work in this form." They gave no reason, although the fact that Weil later added many modifications to the text to be more explicit about the role of communist resistance and Soviet liberation suggests that the reasons were political.[38] In pencil over his letter from the Felix-Daniel group at Barrandov Film studios, Weil wrote "badly received."[39]

Then Weil had an idea. Only two weeks prior, Weil had received a letter from the Union of anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters inviting him to come speak. In spite of the leukemia that was already beginning to slowly take his life, he seized on the opportunity and wrote back offering to speak about his newest anti-Fascist resistance novel: *Mendelssohn is on the Roof*. The Mariánské Lázeň group of the Union of anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters agreed, unaware that the Writer's Union publishing house had labeled the work in need of ideological revision. They gave him a workshop spot and placed him in a panel on the "The Heydrichiad through the Eyes of Czechoslovak Authors."[40] The "Heydrichiad" refers to the days after the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, when the Nazis conducted a series of reprisals in Prague and Lidice, Czechoslovakia.

[37] Letter to Weil from nakladatelství Mladá fronta, Korporace – Mladá fronta, č inv 355-56, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[38] Letter to Weil from Československý spisovatel [3/11/1959], Korporace – Československý spisovatel, č inv. 343-347, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ. On changes to the text, see Alice Jedličková, "Nepublikovaná kapitola Weilova románu *Na střeše je Mendelssohn,*" *Česká literatura* 38, no. 2 (1990): 152-153.9/7/2019 8:47:00 PM
[39] Letter to Weil from from Tvůrcí skupina Felix-Daniel, Korporace – Filmové studio Barrandov, č inv. 348, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[40] Korporace – Svaz protifašistických bojovníků- Mariánské Lázně, č inv. 373-376, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.

After the reading, a discussion erupted among the full audience over the novel and "the correct position towards fascism and supported the anti-Fascist fight."[41]

In essence, stalinist hard-liners were waging a cultural counter-attack, attempting to slow the pace of change that Stalin's death had brought. Weil felt this first hand with *Mendelssohn is on the Roof*. Moreover, he saw what happened to those who refused to comply—as several of his colleagues' works had recently been banned.[42] Nonetheless, Weil immediately wrote the publisher Československý spisovatel with his invitation to the Union of anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters as proof of his political propriety.[43] Weil was fighting to keep publishing. He had, after all, succeeded in publishing four books in 1957-8 and producing a film about children's experiences of the Terezín ghetto with the Jewish Museum, *Butterflies Don't Live Here* (Motyli tady nežijí), that garnered positive press.[44]

He submitted *Hospital Gate* to another publisher, Naše vojsko. But Naše vojsko was not interested either.[45] With the fate of *Mendelssohn* still unclear, he sent a story "Lidická ovce" ("The Sheep of Lidice," named for the town destroyed in retribution for the assassination of Reinhardt Heydrich) to the literary magazine *Host do domu.* The story followed the sheep of Lidice after the destruction of the town, through their fate in the Thereseinstadt ghetto when the sheep are given as gifts to the ghetto Jews forced to clean the wreckage of the city.[46] Ludvík Kundera, then the editor of *Host do domu* wrote Weil requesting "a story with another theme besides the

[41] Letter from Weil to the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, Korporace – Svaz československých spisovatelů, č inv. 366-72, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[42] Holý, "Komentář," 16.
[43] Letter from Weil to the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, Korporace – Svaz československých spisovatelů, č inv. 366-72, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[44] See for example Arnošt Schulz, "Film volá poselství do Ženevy," *Večerní Praha*, May 29, 1959, 3; Arnošt Lustig, "Dějiny se nebudou opakovat," *Co vás zajímá*, no. 4 (1960): 39-41; "Jak vznikl film Motýli tady nežijí," č inv. 836, Rukopisy vlastní – Články, přednášky, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[45] Letter from Naše vojsko [3/7/1959], Korporace – Naše vojsko, č inv. 357, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[46] "Lidická ovce," č inv. 747, Rukopisy vlastní**,** Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.

concentration camp. So many are printed and written [with this theme], and it is of course necessary to choose the themes of prose in the magazine proportionally." Kundera also frankly claimed the piece was not as high quality as some of Weil's earlier works.[47] Severely ill with leukemia, he was facing his third rejection within the year for his insistence on writing about the Jewish experience of World War II. Within two months, Weil was dead.

Oddly enough, Weil's death did not adversely affect his publishing career. In part, this was because Weil had helped himself. First, Weil leveraged his invitation from the Union of anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters to his advantage. Second, Weil amended his literary strategy and agreed to some of the changes to *Mendelssohn is on the Roof* that his publisher had insisted upon.[48] He made references to the Red Army more explicit and generally increased his use of obviously identifiable political language.[49] Recall that Weil had removed references to either Jews or Germans in *Life with a Star* (1949); only the words "star," "transport," and variations on "prayer" implied the narrator was a Jew living under Nazi occupation.[50] By contrast, *Mendelssohn is on the Roof* (1960) included a significant increase in obvious references to Jewish persecution—explicit references to Jews and ghettos—as well as a notable rise in words like "Reich," "SS," "German," and "Gestapo," with a few token references to fascists, communists, socialists, and Nazis.[51] These words helped to make the novel fit more "in line" with the kind of rhetoric hard-

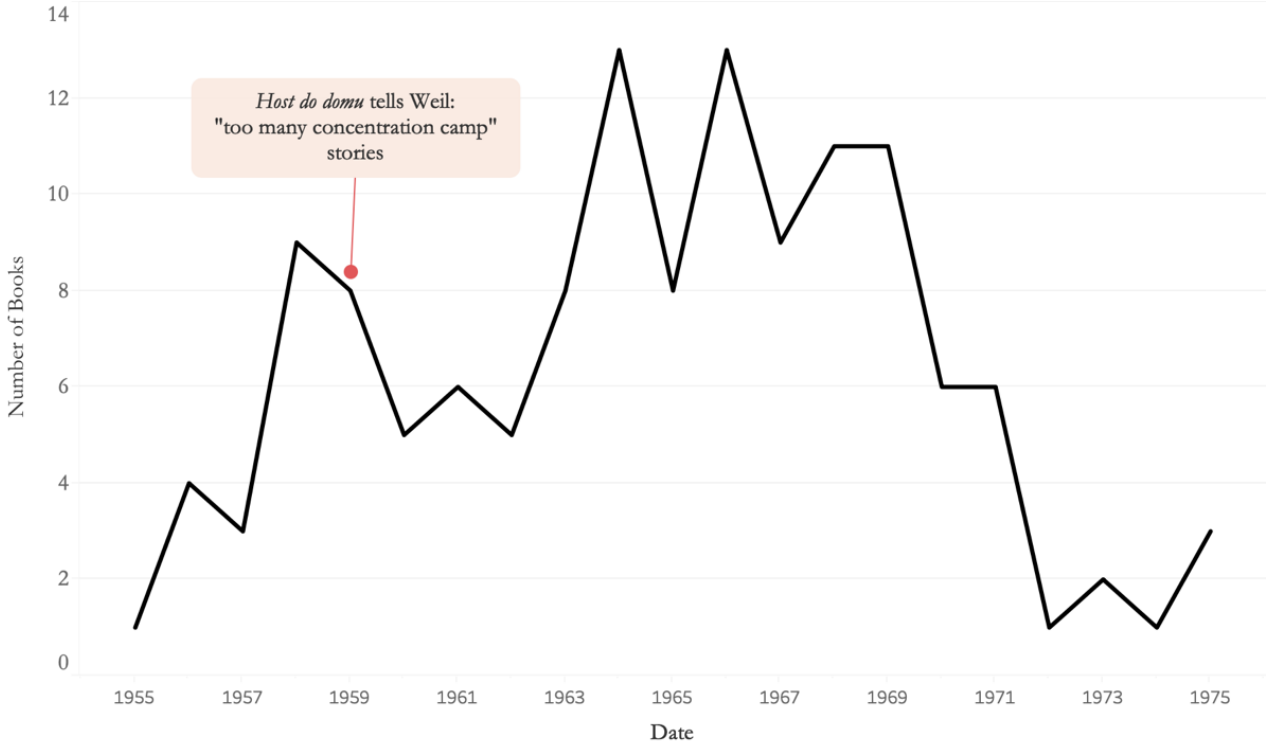
[47] Kundera is referring specifically to Weil's 1946 *Colors*. Letter from Ludvík Kundera [10/1/1959], "Lidická ovce," č inv. 747, Rukopisy vlastní**,** Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[48] Holý, "Komentář," 16.
[49] Jedličková, "Nepublikovaná kapitola," 153.
[50] "Star" (*hvězd**) appears 63 times, "pray*" (*modl**) 22, "transport" (*transport**) 72. Hereafter, a word root with an * after it refers to the word and all its possible variants. For example, *modl** (pray*) refers to *modlit* (to pray), *modlitba* (prayer), *modlitby* (prayers), *modlím, modlíš, modlí* (I pray, you pray, he/she/it prays), and so on.
[51] References to Jews included 176 instances of "Jew*" and 91 occasions of "ghetto." These words, as well as the obvious references to Germans and Nazis, had not appeared at all in *Život s hvězdou*. German*: 89, SS: 108, gestapo: 61, Reich: 72. Weil, *Život*.

line communists liked to use to talk about the war, primarily by identifying the antagonist more concretely as Nazi Germans.

A little over a month after his death, Československý spisovatel wrote Weil's widow, Olga, promising to publish *Mendelssohn is on the Roof* in its edited form.[52] Kundera and *Host do domu*, furthermore, proved to be wrong about Czechoslovak readers' exhaustion of war themes. In 1959, at the time of Kundera's letter to Weil, it is true that there had been an increasing number of short stories about concentration camp experiences in literary magazines like *Host do domu*, *Plamen*, or *Literární listy*, but there had been relatively few published novels or volumes. From 1963 to 1968, for example, the number of books published about Jewish experiences was 30% higher than in 1958-9 (Figure 2.1), proving that the Czechoslovak public had not, in fact, reached the exhaustion Kundera spoke of. In part, this was due to the efforts of a few particular authors. Weil was one of them. There was also another, younger author, whose tireless persistence and successes impacted the entire publishing landscape for authors (including Weil) who hoped to publish about the experience of being Jewish in 20th Century Czechoslovakia. His name was Arnošt Lustig.

[52] Letter to Olga Weilová [1/28/2019], Korporace – Československý spisovatel, č inv. 503-504, Korespondence cizí – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.

Fig. 2.1. Books published about Jewish War Experiences



Arnošt Lustig: The Prolific

Born in Prague, Lustig was 16 when he was sent to Thereseinstadt concentration camp, where he was later transported to Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and eventually escaped from a train in 1945 to Dachau. He returned to Prague as a 19-year-old, just in time to participate in the Prague Uprising in May. He claimed to have started writing immediately after the war. “I was exploding with experiences which I could never tell anyone,” he told an interviewer in 1999, because he felt people “looked at me as if I was a mental case” when he tried to talk about the camps. Instead, he decided to write about it. But he realized if he wanted people to read his work, he needed to learn

to write better.[53] He chose to study journalism at Charles University. Upon graduation, he began working as a journalist and traveled to Israel to report upon the 1948 War.[54]

He was known to many of his colleagues as one of the "few committed communists," but one of "the good ones," as his film collaborator Jan Němec described him.[55] In 1948 he became an editor of Czechoslovak Radio, a position he was still in when he was approached by the StB (Státní bezpečnost / State Security Services) in 1957 to become an "informer" on the ŽNO (Židovská náboženská obec, the main organization for the Jewish Religious Community). The ŽNO functioned during the communist period as a community organization, hosting memorialization events and community programming, basic holiday services, and to advocate for Jews (for example, to overturn a ban on keeping kosher, distributing aid to elderly Jews).[56] Another of ŽNO's activities was to circulate two publications specific to Jewish interests: *Věstník židovské náboženských obcí v Československu* (Bulletin of the Jewish Community of Czechoslovakia) and *Židovská ročenka* (Jewish Yearbook). The *Bulletin* published commentary, reviews, and pieces on events of relevance to the Jewish community. The *Yearbook* was a well-respected literary magazine that published prose and poetry by Jewish authors and about Jewish topics. Several of these institutions had been in existence since before World War II and were re-established in the postwar.[57]

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[53] Rob Trucks and Arnošt Lustig, "A Conversation with Arnošt Lustig," *New England Review* 20, no. 4 (1999): 69-70.

[54]Ladislav Šmejkal [29 May 1957], Sbírka Svazky tajných spolupracovníků (SSTS), Svazková agenda (K), Ministerstvo vnítra (MV), TS-591632 MV, ABS, Prague. Hereafter this fund simply referred to as TS-591632 MV, as it labeled in the ABS guides.

[55] Jan Němec, "Jan Němec," *25 ze šedesátých: aneb Československá nová vlna*, directed by Martin Šulík and Zdeněk Suchý (Prague: CinemArt, a.s., 2010).

[56] Alena Heitlinger, *In the Shadows of the Holocaust*. There was a commensurate organization in Bratislava, which helped plan organize religious services and other basic activities. Petr Salner, "Niektoré aspekty činnosti židovských organizácií na Slovensku v rokoch 1956-1969 (Prípadová štúdia na základe zachovaných dokumentov ÚZŽNO a ŽNO Bratislava)," in *Židovská Menšina v Československu v letech 1956-1968: od destalinizace k Pražskému Jaru*, Blanka Soukupová and Miloš Pojar, eds., 69- 85 (Prague: Židovské muzeum v Praze, 2010).

[57] Alexej Mikulášek, Jana Švábová, Antonín B. Schulz, eds., *Literatura s hvězdou davidovou II* (Prague: Votobia, 2002), 238-51.

In particular, his StB contact, Ladislav Šmejkal, expected Lustig to report on several key members of the ŽNO, including the chief rabbi Gustav Sicher. In order to have Lustig approved, Šmejkal had to provide an extensive statement vouching for Lustig's proletarian background and political activities, including his wartime imprisonment ("for racial reasons") and postwar employment. Lustig's writing for the *Bulletin* and the *Jewish Yearbook* were of particular interest to the StB, as it was through this activity that Lustig became a member of the Prague synagogue board.[58]

Lustig first met with Šmejkal in June 1957. One of the major topics of conversation was Max Goldberger, an uncle of Lustig's wife, who was on trial for purportedly distributing money at the behest of the Israeli Embassy.[59] Between 1953 and 1957, Czechoslovak State Security conducted two major operations ("Golden Goose" and "Dana") related to identifying the impact and reach of Israeli aid in Czechoslovakia. "Dana," which examined a network involved in distribution of aid to "elderly and indigent Jews" put Goldberger under particular scrutiny, as the head of a Jewish retirement home.[60] It seems likely, in particular considering Goldberger's very recent arrest, that Lustig had agreed to meet with StB in order to find out information about Goldberger's case (if, indeed, he had a choice at all). He did, it appears, convince Šmejkal that it would be too difficult to report about the work at Czechoslovak radio, and that the StB would have "to learn about that the completely official way."[61]

In any case, it appears that Lustig only met with Šmejkal once, ten months later, in March 1958. He first told Šmejkal that "by calling him again," Šmejkal was interrupting Lustig's "normal work"—in this case, a six-month paid vacation from the Writer's Union to complete his book

[58] Ladislav Šmejkal [29 May 1957], TS-591632 MV, ABS, Prague.
[59] Ladislav Šmejkal, "Tajné" [22 June 1957], TS-591632 MV, ABS, Prague.
[60] Labendz "Re-Negotiating," 424-427.
[61] Ladislav Šmejkal, "Tajné" [22 June 1957], TS-591632 MV, ABS, Prague.

titled, at the time, *Days and Nights* (Noc a dny). The interruptions were so severe, Lustig claimed, that he would have significant difficulty gaining momentum again. Furthermore, he told Šmejkal that he simply "did not have the character" that encourages people to "entrust him with every detail, which he could then inform [the StB] of." Lustig claimed he had no information (and would no longer be able to provide any information), because others essentially did not feel comfortable sharing important information with him. Regardless of whether Šmejkal believed this claim, he no longer pursued Lustig as an informer after this meeting.[62]

For the StB, then, Lustig's short stint as an informer came to naught. For Lustig, however, it seems as if the endeavor may not have been quite so fruitless. Individual publishing houses did maintain some independence from the StB, Though the StB provided a list of "non-publishable authors" to publishing houses, they otherwise functioned with their own internal censorship checks.[63] Nonetheless, the striking coincidence that Lustig secured his first publishing contract only months after signing on to become an informer suggests that the favor of the state censorship organs impacted his opportunity to publish. The work that Lustig spoke to Šmejkal about became *Night and Hope* (Noc a naděje), Lustig's first collection of short stories.[64] Both Weil's experience modifying *Mendelssohn is on the Roof* for publication and Lustig's first publishing successes show that a little bit of opportunism was necessary to publish literary works about Jews, particularly in the late 1950's.

Night and Hope sold out of its first print run of 6000 copies before the end of the year. Publisher *Naše vojsko* released the second edition (for 8500 copies) that same year, and a third the

[62] Ladislav Šmejkal, "Tajné" [24 March 1958], TS-591632 MV, ABS, Prague.
[63] Doris Grožďaničová, Interview with author, April 9, 2017. Though Grožďaničová worked for Československý spisovatel, one can presume all publishing houses had the same restrictions.
[64] Arnošt Lustig, *Noc a naděje* (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1958).

following year (for 6000 more copies).[65] Only a year after its publication, the Czech composer Otmar Mácha used the story collection as thematic inspiration for a "symphonic poem" of the same name.[66] Lustig's short stories had seemingly proved that literature about Jews could, indeed, appeal to a broader public. Some critics thought Lustig's career would stymie after *Night and Hope*, because his next book *Diamonds of the Night* "showed a lack of further development," a euphemistic way of saying that repeated focus on the concentration camp was dull and repetitive. Fortunately for Lustig, other critics thought that the repetition was a "deepening the poetic image, style, word, character" that brought out the "diamond grains of humanity" in the darkest times.[67] The reviewer in *Host do domu* wrote that Lustig was "searching for a human face" in the realities of Nazi Occupation.[68] Between 1958 and 1968, 23 editions of Lustig's ten unique volumes appeared, meaning Lustig published more individual novels and short-story collections about Jews than any other author (see Appendix A, Section 1).

In part, Lustig's success could be attributed to style and the setting of his stories. Unlike Weil, Lustig wrote primarily about the experience of the concentration camp, rather than life as an outcast among neighbors in occupied Czechoslovakia. This meant that Lustig's novels inherently fell more in line with hardliners interpretations of the war. Novels about the concentration camp made obvious that the oppressors were Nazi Germans and managed to primarily avoid the thorny problem of dealing with how to portray Czech or Slovak locals who collaborated or were simply indifferent to Jewish fates. This was not necessarily part of any conscious plan; Lustig, unlike

[65]See copyright pages of Arnošt Lustig, *Noc a naděje,* 1 ed. (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1958); Arnošt Lustig, *Noc a naděje,* 2 ed. (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1958); Arnošt Lustig, *Noc a naděje,* 3 ed. (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1958). Print runs were set by the publishing house, rather than commanded by state organizations. Grožďaničová Interview.
[66] Otmar Mácha, *Noc a naděje,* (Prague: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1961).
[67] František Kautman, "O čtyřech prózách roku 1958," *Kultura* 3, no. 2 (1959): 4. The issue of repetitive themes was also addressed in Milan Suchomel, "Noc jednou, noc podruhé," *Host do domu* 6, no. 2 (1959): 85.
[68] Suchomel, "Noc najednou, noc podruhé." Another common trope was to discuss "human actions" in Lustig's works. See Miroslav Petříček, "Modernost tradice povídky," *Literární noviny* 11, no. 24 (1962): 4; Miroslav Petříček, "S povídkou do života," *Nový život,* no. 8 (1958): 625-30.

Weil, experienced four concentration camps. Above all, Lustig wanted to write. Literature, he thought, was "the most noble expression of human memory, emotions, and history." "Everything I learned about man," he claimed, he "had learned about in the camps."[69] It was simply the nature of Lustig's experience that led his works to be more generally amenable to the state's preferred war narratives.

Not only did Lustig continually submit new short stories and novels for publication, but he also actively pursued the adaptation of his stories and novels into films. Most films about Jews made between 1959 and 1969 were adapted from novels or short stories written only a few years prior to their adaptation. In nearly every case, either the director or the script-writer were Jewish. Four of the ten completed films were based off of Lustig stories. In other words, Lustig was responsible for 40% of the Czechoslovak film industry's Holocaust-related plots. Lustig submitted more than ten scripts for production at Barrandov, Czechoslovakia's premiere film studio. In 1964 alone, the Central Film Agency reported Lustig's involvement with at least seven scripts in various stages of development.[70] Over the course of the 1960s, ten of his scripts were picked up by a director, though only four of the ten scripts were actually produced. The directors who chose his scripts did so repeatedly, suggesting a larger commitment to Jewish themes, even when they didn't have the opportunity to complete the film.[71] Lustig's relaxed attitude towards interpretations of his

[69] Trucks and Lustig, "A Conversation," 71.
[70] "Tvůrčí skupiny: oběžníky směrnice 1964," R12/BI/1P/6K, Ústřední správa ČSF ÚŘ, NFA, Prague, CZ.
[71] Completed scripts include Arnošt Lustig, "Demänty noci" Jan Němec, dir., S-371-TS-A, NFA, Prague, CR; Arnošt Lustig, "Transport z ráje: Literární scénář (1960)," Zbyněk Brynych, dir., S-1054-LS, NFA, Prague, CZ; Arnošt Lustig, "Dita Saxová," Antonín Moskalyk, dir., S-779-LS, NFA, Prague, CZ. A television movie for *Modlitba pro Kateřinu Horowitzovou* was also made by Moskalyk in 1965. Scripts not filmed include Arnošt Lustig, "Golem: Literární scénář (1964)," Zbyněk Brynych, dir., S-1476-LS, NFA, Prague, CZ; Arnošt Lustig, Ludvík Aškenazy, "My tři se nerozejdem: Literární scénář (1958)," Vojtěch Jasný, dir., S-2424-LS -A, NFA, Prague, CZ; Arnošt Lustig, "Dívka s jizvou: Literární scénář (1965)," Jaromil Jireš, dir., S-1848-LS-A, NFA, Prague, CZ; Arnošt Lustig, "Bílé břízy na podzim: Literární scénář (1964)," Jaromil Jireš, dir., S-1754-LS -A, Prague, CZ; Arnošt Lustig, "Hořké mandle- Technický scénář (1965)," Jaromil Jireš, dir., S-1473-TS -A, Prague, CZ; Arnošt Lustig, "Západní nádraží- Literární scénář (1961)," Jan Němec, dir., S-2420-LS-A, NFA, Prague, CZ.

works allowed directors to add layers to the text's original meaning (see Chapter 3), which made his works popular source material for films.

Lustig's persistence and consistent publishing record led not only to his own success but also contributed to the success of others seeking to bring works about Jews to the Czechoslovak public. His impact on the film industry is clear: there simply would not have been as many films about Jews without Lustig's contributions. While it is impossible to say that Lustig had direct influence on authors' opportunity to write about Jews, early works like *Night and Hope* proved essential to convincing both publishers and other authors that Jewish themes could succeed in the Czechoslovak market.

Lustig's prolific output, in essence, helped to normalize Jewish themes in Czechoslovak literature and cinema. His impact on the Czechoslovak literary scene was so profound, that he was seen by reviewers as emblematic of "the new literary generation" that came to define the "'new word' in Czech prose" during the Thaw.[72] This excitement about new ideas and ways of thinking about World War II made space for authors who had tried and failed to publish narratives about Jews in the past. Weil's posthumous success, in some ways, is an example of this. After *Mendelssohn is on the Roof* was published in 1960 (with some difficulty and compromise), it was published again in 1965. Even more significantly, *Life with a Star* was officially approved for publication for the first time in 1964 and again in 1967. A third collection of his short stories was published posthumously in 1966.[73]

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[72] Quotes from František Benhart, "Příležitosti prvotin," *Plamen* 5, no. 1 (1963), 116; Aleš Haman, "O tak zvané "druhé vlně" válečné prózy v naši současné literature," *Česká literatura* 9, no. 4 (1961): 513-520. For a sample of other articles that discussed Lustig (and sometimes others) as part of a new trend in literature, see Petříček, "S povídkou do života"; Arnošt Lustig and Karel Kostroun, "Rovnou k věci," *Kulturní tvorba* 3, no. 40 (1965): 6; Petříček, "Modernost tradice povídky."

[73] Jiří Weil, *Na streše je Mendelssohn* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1965); Jiří Weil, *Život s hvězdou* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1964); Jiří Weil, *Život s hvězdou* (Prague: Odeon, 1967); Jiří Weil, *Hodina pravdy, hodina zkoušky* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1966).

Yet there were other important factors in the normalization of Jewish narratives that were ideologically or stylistically challenging to the state's proscriptions, such as *Life with a Star*. The first is the role of peripheral figures: editors, family, and friends who promoted and supported the distribution of Jewish narratives in Czechoslovak culture. Weil's publishing history makes this particularly clear. While Weil continued to write in his lifetime, it was the efforts of his wife, Olga Weilová, and his friend and editor Květa Drabková (among others), that ensured that Weil's work was published and republished when the opportunity arose. Weil and his wife remained married until his death, even though their marriage was arranged for the purposes of his safety. After his death, his wife consistently worked to keep Weil's work in print—in part, as an important source of income for her, and in part simply because she and others in the literary community wanted to keep his legacy alive.[74]

Yet, neither Lustig's concentration camp-based stories nor Weil's support network can explain the turnaround from 1949, when *Life with a Star* was banned and harshly criticized, to 1964, when it was published without resistance. Even more narrowly, what had happened between 1959, when Weil was scrambling to add enough references to the Red Army and Nazi brutality so that *Mendelssohn is on the Roof* could be published, to *Life with a Star*'s publication, without any changes? Oddly enough, this shift had everything to do with the rehabilitation of Kafka.

Eduard Goldstücker: *The Diplomat turned Kafka Scholar*

Former diplomat Eduard Goldstücker spearheaded the effort to convince government officials of Kafka's relevance to socialist ideals. In particular, he foregrounded Kafka's biography (particularly his Jewishness) as an essential part of this new reading of Kafka's life and works. He

[74] See Doklady: smlouvy s nakladatelstvím Československý spisovatel z let 1956-1968 vlastní, č. inv. 37-45, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.

also implicitly advocated embracing Jewish figures as a statement in favor of humanist values and a rejection of illiberal Stalinist tendencies. The success of his initiative lifted many restrictions that had been placed on Jewish narratives and profoundly impacted Czechoslovak culture more generally.

Goldstücker was born in Podbiel, a small village in the Northern Slovakian region, just before the outbreak of World War I. Though he describes little anti-Semitism in his town, his recollections later in life suggest that Goldstücker's village was one of the many where the immediate aftermath of World War I saw a spike in anti-Jewish violence.[75] There were so few Jews in Podbiel that Goldstücker's mother sent him to live in Trstená (a town 15 kilometers away) so he could learn Hebrew and have a Jewish education. Nonetheless, Goldstücker's sense of Jewishness grew into a primarily cultural. rather than religious, affinity.

Goldstücker became a student at Charles University in Prague in 1933. Aware of the rise of German nationalism both in Czechoslovakia as well as in neighboring Nazi Germany, Goldstücker became a member of the Communist Party. For him, the salient Communist Party ideology, Goldstücker recalled in his memoirs, was its opposition to right-wing ideologies of social and ethnic isolation.[76] He spent the war with the exile government in London. After the war he was first appointed to diplomatic service in Paris and then as the Ambassador to the newly formed Israeli state. The latter was a post that Goldstücker later claimed to have resisted, aware that Jews were often under suspicion of being loyal to lands other than their homeland and hoping not to be put in that position. As it turned out, this skepticism was not unfounded. In 1951, he was imprisoned with the wave of arrests that would lead to the Slánský Trial. Both having been in the

[75] Goldstücker, Eduard, "Eduard Goldstücker," Interview by Jana Freisová, February 26, 1996, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive; Goldstücker, Vzpomínky 1913-1945, 14; Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 27-28.
[76] Goldstücker, *Vzpomínky 1913-1945*, 73-76.

exile government and having been the ambassador to Israel were used against him as suspicious (and treasonous) foreign connections to "imperialists." In imprisonment, Goldstücker was forced to give testimony that helped to condemn the defendants of the Slánský Trial. Ironically, testimony of the three surviving members of the Slánský Trial was then used in evidence against Goldstücker and the other defendants in his trial. Yet, being sentenced in a subsidiary trial saved Goldstücker's life. His sentencing passed months after Stalin's death, likely saving him from execution.[77] Slavicist Veronika Tuckerová, however, has suggested that Goldstücker's interest in Kafka began with his own arrest and parallels that he drew between *The Trial* and the experience of being a participant, defendant, and victim of a show trial.[78] Goldstücker was rehabilitated in 1955 and appointed to the Department of Germanic Studies at the Charles University, but the StB still kept close tabs on him.[79] Kafka became his focus of study.

In the 1950s, "young non-conforming Prague intellectuals" translated and passed Kafka literature as "an expression, a reflection of the longing for the knowledge of the forbidden, outlawed world of true writing which Kafka at the time embodied for them."[80] As a modernist, Kafka's works flew in the face of communist regime's veneration of realism as the only legitimate artistic style. Communist authorities in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union had argued Kafka was "reactionary" and "hostile to realism." Modernism, they claimed, was a "decadent" bourgeois aesthetic. Finally, the alienation of the characters in Kafka's works were seen as "pessimistic" or

[77] Eduard Goldstücker, "Episode 6: Reds. Interview with Professor Eduard Goldstücker," *The National Security Archive*, George Washington University, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/coldwar/interviews/episode-6/goldstucker1.html. The three surviving members were Evžen Löbl, Artur London, and Vavro Hajdů. Návrh trestného oznámenia skupiny spolupracovníkov Slánského na ministerstvo zahraničných vecí [6 May 1953], Folder 475, Box 33, Fund A 2/1, Achivní fondy řídících a organizačních útvarů ministerstva vnitra a federálního ministerstva vnitra, ABS, Kanice, CZ. On Goldstücker giving evidence in the Slánský Trial, see Veronika Tuckerová, "Reading Kafka, Writing Vita: The Trials of the Kafka Scholar Eduard Goldstücker," *New German Critique* 42, no. 1 (2015): 131-2.
[78] Tuckerová, "Reading Kafka, Writing Vita."
[79] Ibid 145-7.
[80] Jan Zábrana quoted in Marek Nekula, *Franz Kafka and his Prague Contexts* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2016), 16.

"fatalistic" by the communist regime. Kafka's stylistics, therefore, has often been understood as both the reason for his appeal and his condemnation by communist regimes.[81] The rise of modernist aesthetics across the communist bloc in the 1960s seemed to have supported that claim.[82] Tellingly, however, "modernism" and "expressionism" rarely appear in Czech writers' or scholars' commentary on the Liblice Kafka Conference.[83] Instead, the rhetoric surrounding Kafka in Prague foregrounded Kafka's biography—including his Jewishness—as the reason for Kafka's universal insights into the human condition.

The first appearance of Kafka in Prague was in 1957, with a Czech translation of his short story "The Burrow." The translator of the story, Pavel Eisner, was a German-speaking Jew from Prague. He paired the story in *Světová literatura* (World Literature) with his own commentary, in which he described Kafka as a victim of a triple ghetto—isolated for being German-speaking, middle-class, and Jewish.[84] For Kafka (like for Weil and Lustig), the late 1950s marked an early, yet uncertain, breakthrough. The first postwar edition of *The Trial* was published in 1958, and *America* in 1962. The response to these early publications was minimal, however, and translators were "obliged to translate… in the shadow of an ideologically acceptable interpretation."[85] The

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[81] Referenced in Kusín, *Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring*, 63-66; Tall, "Who's Afraid of Franz Kafka?"; E. Bahr, "Kafka and the Prague Spring," *Mosaic* 3, no. 4 (1970): 18.

[82] See Laura Silverberg, "Between Dissonance and Dissidence: Socialist Modernism in the German Democratic Republic," *The Journal of Musicology* 26, no. 1 (2009): 44-84; Kamila Kuc, *The Struggle for Form: Perspectives on Polish Avant-Garde Film, 1916–1989* (New York: Wallflower Press, 2014); Libor Gronský, Marek Perůtka, and Michal Soukup, eds. *Flashback: český a slovenský filmový plakát 1959-1989* (Olomouc: Muzeum umění Olomouc, 2004).

[83] Either then or now. One might presume commentators at the time were limited by ideology, but this is also true of commentary published in exile after 1968. See Antonín J. Liehm, "Kafka and His Communist Critics," *Partisan Review* 42, no. 3 (1975): 406- 415; Eduard Goldstücker, "Ten Years after the Kafka Symposium of Liblice," *European Judaism* 8, no. 2 (1974): 22- 26. Goldstücker is quoted as describing Kafka as expressionist in Harry Järe, "Kafka in Eastern Europe 1963-1972," *Weiner Library Bulletin* 26, no. 3-4 (1972): 52.For scholarly literature that approaches the Kafka Conference from the perspective of biography and local Prague context, see Tuckerová, "Reading Kafka, Writing Vita;" Marek Nekula, "Suppression and Distortion: Franz Kafka 'from the Prague Perspective'," *Franz Kafka and his Prague Contexts*, 23-36 (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2016).

[84] Franz Kafka, "Doupě," *Světová literatura* no. 3 (1957): 132–153; Pavel Eisner, "Franz Kafka," *Světová literatura* no. 3 (1957): 109–129.

[85] Nekula, *Franz Kafka*, 16-17.

majority of Czechs and Slovaks, according to film critic A.J. Liehm, 'knew nothing about Kafka, or very little."[86]

Eisner died in 1958, but Eisner's ideas about Kafka's relationship to Prague had a profound influence on Goldstücker, the architect of the Kafka Conference.[87] A speech made by Sartre at the Moscow International Peace Congress of 1962 was a second important influence on Goldstücker.[88] Notably, Sartre himself referenced to Kafka's Jewishness: "This brilliant author was Jewish. He was tortured by the fate of the Jewish community in Prague during the Hapsburg reign and during the early years of the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic. Gnawed by family conflicts and religious disagreements, the testimony he left us is all the more universal because it is so deeply individual."[89] Goldstücker had been at the Congress—his first trip to Russia in 27 years—an experience he described as truly 'Kafkaesque' and a complete shock. In particular, he noted Kafka's resonance for survivors of the Stalinist terror. [90] His visit there convinced him that "Kafka had become a central point in the battle for breaking down the isolation caused by years of Stalinism and the Cold War."[91]

Plans for the Liblice "Kafka Conference" were underway within the year. At a meeting of the Board of Czech Germanists, Goldstücker insisted that all conference participants would have to agree on a unified message in order to strengthen their argument. Though the conference drew

[86] Liehm, "Kafka and His Communist Critics," 409.
[87] See Eduard Goldstücker, "O Franzi Kafkovi z pražské perspektivy 1963," in *Franz Kafka: Liblická Konference 1963* (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1963), p. 28. Goldstücker, *Vzpomínky 1945-1968,* 115.
[88] Antonín J. Liehm, "Kafka and His Communist Critics," *Partisan Review* 1942, no. 3 (1975): 407. Goldstücker also references Sartre's comments on Kafka in his writings. See Eduard Goldstücker, *Na tema Franze Kafky: články a studie* (Praha: Československý spisovatel, 1964), 28.
[89] Quoted in Liehm, "Kafka and His Communist Critics," 409.
[90] He describes the experience through an anecdote about a Drohobych rabbi, who goes to the top of a hill outside Drohobych and is stunned to see that Drohobych from a distance appears to be "on fire." Goldstücker, *Vzpomínky 1945-1968*, 124-7, 134. Though this was part of his motivation, it was not part of the reading or the arguments in the conference. Tuckerová, "Reading Kafka, Writing Vita," 139.
[91] Quoted in Liehm, "Kafka and His Communist Critics," 407.

participants from East Germany, France, and Hungary, Goldstücker's "Prague perspective" became the dominant position. Ultimately, Goldstücker adopted Eisner's "triple ghetto" thesis to explain the classic alienation found in Kafka's works. Some participants begrudged Goldstücker for forcing this perspective on the rest of the participants, but nonetheless, eventually agreed.[92]

Goldstücker's strategy was to foreground the "social conditions" of the city of Prague as the "driving force of intellectual and artistic actions." Goldstücker argued that Kafka and other German-speaking, Jewish intellectuals from bourgeois families (Max Brod, Egon Kisch, Franz Werfel) were on a "tri-partite island"—isolated three-fold from their neighbors due to language, religious/ethnic background, and class. He underscored the role that European liberalism—particularly the rejection of legally supported class-privilege and the emphasis on rationalism and humanism—played in their German-speaking, middle class, Jewish lives.[93]

Jewishness played an important role in several of these isolating factors. Historically, many Jews in the Czech lands spoke German because German was the language of the state when the Jews were emancipated.[94] Moreover, having been granted citizenship rights, Jews embraced education and middle-class professions as a form of advancement. European liberalism was responsible for enabling Jews to make a place for themselves in Prague. Goldstücker explained:

> The Jews were tied as if by fate to liberalism, for the principle of *laissez faire* afforded them a sense of security and an opportunity to make their way…Consequently, they were devoted adherents of liberal ideas...and therefore the Prague German island remained a

[92]Alexej Kusák, *Tance kolem Kafky: Liblická konference 1963, vzpomínky a dokumenty po 40 letech* (Prague: Akropolis, 2003), 20. Kusák even claims that this put the conference participants into an intellectual "ghetto."
[93]The quote is from Eduard Goldstücker, *The Czech National Revival, the Germans, and the Jews* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles Center for Russian and East European Studies, 1973), 36, however, he made the same statements in 1963. Eduard Goldstücker, "O Franzi Kafkovi z pražské perspektivy 1963," *Franz Kafka: Liblická conference 1963*, edited by Eduard Goldstücker, František Kautman, Pavel Reiman (Prague: Nakladatelství československé akademie věd, 1963), 28-9. Other Czech speakers who emphasized Jewishness as an important influence on Kafka's work included František Kautman, Jiří Hájek, and Dagmar Eisnerová. František Kautman, "Franz Kafka a česká literatura," *Franz Kafka*, 39-76; Jiří Hájek, "Kafka a my," *Franz Kafka,* 107-110; Dagmar Eisnerová, "Poznámky o mravní problematice Kafkových románů a o pražském pozadí 'Proces'," *Franz Kafka,* 129-136.
[94] Hillel Kieval, *Languages of Community: The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 28-35.

> stronghold of liberalism long after opposing programmes and policies had, for the most part, come to dominate the political scene.[95]

Therefore, Goldstücker argued Kafka's generation saw and felt "the death throes of liberalism" more acutely than others, because "their fate was parallel with the fate of liberalism."[96] Kafka proved the most poignant example of this phenomenon, because unlike Max Brod, who turned to Zionism, Egon Kisch who joined the "revolutionary proletariat," or Franz Werfel, who never converted but turned to mystic Catholicism, Kafka was "neither willing nor capable... of accepting any solution his time could offer."[97] Kafka, as literary historian Scott Spector writes, was "caught between" spaces, nationalisms, and "political identities." [98] It was not nihilism or fatalism that had given rise to Kafka's works, but "earthly humanism."[99]

Goldstücker rejected the condemnation of Kafka as a decadent and a fatalist. He argued that the "black and white simplification" of the world in communist rhetoric ("everything that was on the bourgeois side of the world was bad, and everything on ours good") had turned Kafka into "a victim of the cult of personality."[100] To embrace Kafka, by this logic, was to reject stalinism and champion stalinist victims (not unlike Goldstücker himself had been within the last decade) and to make space for "humanism" and "in betweenness" in the socio-political world. Furthermore, Goldstücker made a clear parallel between the rise of anti-liberalism at the end of Kafka's life, and the anti-liberalism inherent in stalinism. All the conference presenters promoted the same

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[95] Goldstücker, *The Czech National Revival*, 36.
[96] Věra Klusáčková, ed. *Franz Kafka: Liblická Konference 1963*. (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1963), 30. Goldstücker, *The Czech National Revival, the Germans, and the Jews*, 36-38. On Czechoslovak President T.G. Masaryk's rejection of forms of Austrian liberalism, but his otherwise expressed support of the ideals of liberalism (tolerance, egalitarianism, reason), see Andrea Orzoff, *Battle for the Castle: The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe, 1914-1948* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 23-56.
[97] Goldstücker, *The Czech National Revival, the Germans, and the Jews*, 39.
[98] Scott Spector, *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka's Fin de Siècle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 5.
[99] Goldstücker, *Na tema Franze Kafky,* 29.
[100] Ibid 24.

statement, identifying Kafka as an essential figure for the Czech experience—not *in spite of* his Jewish heritage and German tongue, but *because of* his Jewish heritage and German tongue. They did so by defending Kafka's aesthetic and his role in defining Prague experience. They held him as "a poet of our absurdities," expressing an ownership of Kafka that Prague had not ascribed in his lifetime.[101]

Legitimating Kafka, thus, relied on two rhetorical strategies that seemingly conflicted, but somehow managed to coexist in harmony. The first was to point to the unique qualities that isolated Kafka as the source of the ideas manifested in his works—namely being a German-speaking bourgeois Jew in a sea of rising Czech and German nationalism. The second was to suggest Kafka had particular resonance for Czechs, as his texts were often seen as "reflections of their everyday experiences." As Veronika Tuckerová writes: "Kafka's texts bore insights into totalitarian everydayness."[102] Embracing Kafka after the conference involved identifying Kafka's Jewishness as an essential component of his alienation, at the same time that it suggested that all Czechs were living Kafka's texts.[103]

The acceptance of Kafka at the 1963 Liblice Franz Kafka conference became an important step in the lessening of media control.[104] Kafka, and this interpretation of his Jewish alienation and essential Czechness, proliferated. In 1963 alone, 40 articles on Kafka were published following the May conference (between June and December) in Czech. Goldstücker himself authored approximately 25% of all Kafka commentary.[105] Kafka spread from the pages of intellectual

[101] Kusin, *Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring,* 66. Kusin is quoting Alexej Kusák.
[102] In the first quotation, Tuckerová is quoting Jiří Stromšík. Tuckerová, "Reading Kafka, Writing Vita," 136.
[103] For more on how Czechs and Slovaks gravitated to Kafka, see Liehm, "Kafka and His Communist Critics," 410.
[104] See Svobodová, *Zdroje a projevy antisemitismu,* 47; Vladimir Kusin, *The Intellectual Origins of the Prague Spring: The Development of Reformist Ideas in Czechoslovakia 1956-1967* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 64.
[105] The following year, the proceedings were published in a collected volume, making a total of 65 published pieces on Kafka in 1964. In 1965, the number fell slightly to 35, and stayed steady at 15 in 1966 and 1967. Article counts

commentary to the public: there were Kafka museum exhibits and a series of "Franz Kafka Walking Tours" in 1968.[106] Kafka's works were regularly sold out.[107] *Kafkárna* became a word for elements of Kafka's world "come to life in Prague" that persisted well into the 1980s.[108] Not only had Kafka's rehabilitation established that Kafka belonged to Prague, but Prague also belonged to Kafka.

The Kafka conference did not simply legitimate Kafka, but also darkly existential aesthetic styles that highlighted oppressive and nightmarish elements of bureaucratic regimes. Though the general public may have known somewhat less about the specific arguments of the Kafka Conference, writers and journalists were privy to the arguments made linking Kafka's Jewishness, marginalization, alienation, and universal human insights. Given the explicit centrality of Kafka's Jewishness in the Czechoslovak context, it is unsurprising that in many cases, "Kafkaesque" styles were used to evoke specifically Jewish experiences of Prague. The heroine of the 1967 film *Dita Saxová,* a girl struggling to find a place in contemporary Prague after having lost all her family in concentration camps, described "knowing Kafka as if he were myself."[109] The "Kafkaesque" atmosphere in the 1963 film *The Fifth Horseman is Fear,* which showed life under the Protectorate for the residents of a Prague apartment building, was evident both to commentators at home and

derived from *Členky v českých časopisech*, 11-16 (Praha: Statní knihovna ČSSR); Klusáčková, ed. *Franz Kafka*; Goldstücker, *Na tema Franze Kafky.* This represents only Kafka commentary in Czech language sources.

[106] On exhibits, see Jiří Hek, "Deset let literárního oddělení Moravského muzea v Brně (1958-1968)," *Literární archív* no. 5 (1970): 291. "Tour of Franz Kafka's Prague," *Welcome to Czechoslovakia* vol 1 (Praha: Orbis, 1968), 62. This English language publication of Čedok, the oldest tourism agency in Prague, was first published in 1966, indicating a desire to increase Czechoslovakia's foreign favor abroad.

[107] Liehm, "Kafka and His Communist Critics," 410.

[108] Tuckerová, "Reading Kafka, Writing Vita," 140. Jackson Diehl, "Kafka's Prague Revival," *The Washington Post,* February 4, 1989, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1989/02/04/kafkas-prague-revival/2be7dfec-1c2d-469d-bbb7-cd80564a80ee/?utm_term=.30be1f996e9c .

[109] Arnošt Lustig, Antonín Moskalyk and Ivan Urban, "Dita Saxová: literární scenář [1967]," page 125, S-779-LS-2, NFA, Prague, CZ.

abroad (see Chapter 3).[110] Ladislav Fuks' 1963 novel *Pan Theodor Mundstock,* about a Jewish man in fear of being called for deportation, primarily stuck in his apartment speaking only to his neighbors and his own shadow, likewise seemed to draw inspiration from Kafka. These works, as one American commentator described, "succeed(ed)…in affirming human possibilities even as it describes the most inhuman of events."[111]

Even more importantly, the legitimation of Kafka negated the validity of critiques like "decadent," "defeatist," "existential" or "cosmopolitan"—which had often been used as reasons for quashing Jewish narratives.[112] In the 1964 edition of *Life with a Star*, Jan Grossman openly discussed the circumstances of the novel's failed first editions, attributing its condemnation to "the era of the offensive of dogmatic realism." Grossman indicated that he chose "offensive" intentionally, to emphasize the militant quality of Stalinism. Furthermore, Grossman called attention to the authorities' 1949 criticism of Weil's "decadence" and "pernicious existentialism"—unsurprisingly reminiscent of authorities' critiques of Kafka as "decadent" and "defeatist."[113] To read *Life with a Star* in 1964, Grossman made it clear for readers, was to openly flout Stalinist cultural and ideological ideals. In this climate, the "unspecified distinction" between "us" and "them" could especially be interpreted as a reference between "the individual and the Communist state."[114]

Conclusion

[110] Jaroslav Boček, "…a pátý jezdec je strach," *Kulturní tvorba* 8, no. 3 (1965): 12; Charles Champlin, "Kafkaesque 'Fear' From the Czechs," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1968, C1; Kenneth Tynan, "Czech Films Excel: Kafka is Hero of the post-Stalin Cultural Thaw," *The Jerusalem Post*, April 28, 1965, 7.
[111] Richard M. Elman, "Anatomy of Terror," *The New York Times,* January 28, 1968, BR5.
[112] This was the justification for banning *Life with a Star*, as well as Alfred Rádok's film *A Distant Journey*. Moreover, even Lustig received criticisms that it was "too abstract." See Josef Vohryzek, "Prozaická prvotina," *Květen* 3, no. 7 (1958): 390.
[113] Grossman, "Doslov," 155. John Tagliabue, "Kafka's Homeland Lifts Its Ban," *The New York Times*, 12 April, 1989, C19.
[114] Alfred Thomas, *The Bohemian Body: Gender and Sexuality in Modern Czech Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 172.

Between Weil's expulsion from the Writers' Union in 1949 and his reinstatement in 1957, only two new books were successfully published about Jews, and all of them after Stalin's death: a collection of stories by famed poet and influential Communist Party member E.F. Burian, and Norbert Frýd's politically oriented novel of a fictional concentration camp.[115] 1958 was the first crucial moment for the appearance of new narratives about Jews. In addition to Weil and Lustig's books (two each in 1958), Kulka and Kraus came out with a new book, as did Lustig's Czechoslovak radio colleague Jan Otčenášek (Chapter 2).[116] Delayed de-stalinization meant some pushback, until the Kafka Conference solidified the opportunity to write existential narratives that explored the condition of being alienated from one's state and neighbors. The number of authors who focused on Jewish themes from the seven-year period after the Kafka Conference (1963-69) was double the number from the preceding seven-year period (1956-62).[117] Though the first breakthrough moment for Jewish narratives was in 1958, the rehabilitation of Kafka enabled expressionistic and existential styles that were commonly used for Jewish narratives after 1963. Moreover, the conference rhetoric implied that alienation was both quintessentially Jewish and specifically Czech. In different ways, Weil, Lustig, and Goldstücker were each instrumental in

[115] E.F. Burian, *Osm odtamtud a další z řady* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1954); Norbert Frýd, *Krabice živých* (Prague: SNKLU, 1956). There was a Czech translation of Hela Volanská's partisan novel *Meeting in the Woods*, which was reprinted in the early 50's. There were also republications of Auschwitz survivors' Erich Kulka and Ota Kraus's documentation of the Auschwitz and Dominik Tatarka's *Farská republika. Továrna na smrt* was first published in 1946, and then in1950 before the solidification of control over narratives was complete. In keeping with the silence of the Stalinist period, it was not published again until after Stalin's death (when it was published nearly every year for five years). Volanská and Tatarka were published in 1951 and not again until 1959 or later. See Appendix A.
[116] Lustig, *Demänty noci*; Lustig, *Noc a naděje;* Weil, *Žalozpěv za 77297 obětí*; Weil, *Harfeník*; Erich Kulka and Ota Kraus, *Noc a mlha* (Prague: Naše vojsko, 1958); Jan Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julie a tma* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1958).
[117] Refer back to Figure 2.1 to see the dramatic breakthrough in 1958, the fluctuations that followed, and the consistently high number of publications after 1963. The number of new narratives does fluctuate. The drop in new narratives in 1965 may have something to do with high numbers of cinematic adaptations in 1963-5. Nonetheless, republications often required new engagement within professional circles (at least on the part of editors, illustrators, and commentators), as new editions were frequently printed with new artwork or cover design.

creating a cultural climate where unprecedented numbers of authors were interested in and able to publish about Jewish themes in communist Czechoslovakia.

Although Weil and Lustig often spoke in terms of the *need* to *write*, it is fairly clear that writing was nothing without publishing. After having survived the experience of erasure, Jewish writers like Weil and Lustig felt an almost compulsive need to make themselves *visible* again. In spite of not having been a fiction writer, what Goldstücker did was not so different. Goldstücker essentially made it his life's work to recover the story of German-speaking Jewry,[118] which had been erased from Czechoslovak cultural memory. Their stories, collectively, are about how the powerless try to find representation after being utterly deprived of a voice.

The rise in Jewish narratives in Czechoslovakia began primarily with Jews who repeatedly fought for the space to make their experiences visible, after the erasures of Nazism and Stalinism. This cultural shift began in the late 1950s, in part, because of the concerted efforts of writers like Weil and Lustig. However, delayed de-Stalinization meant that authors faced resistance to their attempts at pushing the boundaries of expression. The Kafka Conference finally pushed that boundary to safely allow for Jewish narratives of World War II, particularly for those that focused existential questions of human value or the psychological experience of complete social rejection. At the same time, however, the Kafka Conference solidified a new interpretation of Jewish alienation in the Czechoslovak context.

These authors appear to have felt none of the inadequacies that some scholars and writers have discussed about the "impossibility to describe" events or the "presumptuousness" of

[118] This will be discussed in further in the Conclusion, but he continued to publish about Kafka, repeatedly promoting the same argument in exile. Goldstücker, "Ten Years after the Kafka Symposium;" Järe, "Kafka in Eastern Europe;" Goldstücker, *The Czech National Revival, the Germans, and the Jews*. These pieces are nearly identical to the points he makes in his statements at the conference and his studies *Na tema Franze Kafky*.

fictionalizing the Holocaust.[119] The most important thing for them was to circulate their narratives. Authors and filmmakers would continue to emphasize the importance of sharing stories of persecution with those who did not live through the experience for the remainder of the decade. As the following chapter will show, once Jewish narratives were allowed, they became convenient vehicles for trading in concepts of totalitarianism that blurred distinctions between Nazism and stalinism. This was an interpretation that Jewish writers tolerated, or even supported, at least implicitly. At once, Jewish narratives became a way of highlighting the ways in which Czechoslovak society had been implicit in the fate of their Jews, at the same time that texts and films encouraged the public to imagine themselves as the central characters—isolated, living in fear, and alienated by an oppressive regime that encouraged conformism and mistrust among its citizens.

These three case studies help to understand the struggles that minorities face more broadly in establishing avenues for representation. Though censorship could be mobilized to block Jewish narratives, they were never officially forbidden in Czechoslovakia. Weil, Lustig, and Goldstücker's stories are indicative of the challenges of this process; it required compromise, ingenuity, and on occasion the help of others. Because of them, Jewish narratives became widely accessible, both to the public and other authors, filmmakers, and theater producers. Non-Jews increasingly began to create representations of Jewish experiences, as the motivation to warn Czechs and Slovaks of their capacity for inhumanity and the dangers of conformism became especially important to those with hopes that a newly reformed communism could right the wrongs of World War II and stalinism.

[119] Ezrahi, *By Words Alone,* 8-10

Chapter Three

Homes, Heroines, and Countrymen: Living "Outside the Law" in Czechoslovak Literature and Film, 1959-1969

"Daddy, what really is a hero?"
"A hero is… someone who dies unnecessarily.
Unlike all the rest, who live unnecessarily." [1]

In the late 1950s, the Czech-Jewish director Jiří Weiss decided he was tired of being criticized and manipulated by the censors. Inspired by Polish filmmakers, who had successfully created nuanced and complex films by focusing on the Second World War, Weiss chose to adapt Jan Otčenášek's 1958 novel set during the Protectorate.[2] On the face of it, *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* (Romeo, Julie a tma) was a love story between a Czech boy and the Jewish girl he had hidden in his building's attic storeroom, but the 1959 film was also an exploration of what happens under a political system that operates on fear and suspicion, an indictment of the ease with which many Czechs abandoned their Jewish neighbors and acquiesced to the inhumane rules of Nazi occupation. Over the next decade, these themes appeared repeatedly in Czechoslovak cinema, most famously in Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos's Academy Award-winning *The Shop on Main Street*.

This chapter focuses on the way the home and gender were used in literature and film. By focusing on these themes, writers and filmmakers fundamentally challenged traditional communist narratives about World War II. Instead of focusing on resistance and indiscriminate Nazi brutality, they highlighted the dangers of conformism and showed how ordinary Czechs and Slovaks contributed to the persecution of Jews by failing to make a stand for "ordinary" human

[1] Tomáš Hádl (playing Honzík) and Jiří Adamíra (playing Karel Veselý) in *…a pátý jezdec je Strac*h, directed by Zbyněk Brynych (Prague: Barrandov Film Studios, 1965).
[2] Antonín J. Liehm and Mira Liehm, *The Most Important Art: East European Film After 1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 228–9.

moral values. Writers and filmmakers created narratives that transcended of the trite dichotomies of fascism versus socialism, collaborator against resister, and local victims and Nazi perpetrators.

Scholars of the Thaw in the Soviet Union have emphasized the role that efforts to "rethink the Soviet past and Stalinist memory" played in political change after Stalin's death. This same phenomenon occurred in the other socialist states. Rethinking the past often involved challenging simplistic narratives about wartime heroism. Due to what has often been called "delayed de-Stalinization" in Czechoslovakia, the way that literary and cinematic narratives problematized the mythology of wartime heroism and Jewish weakness have rarely been considered as part of a broader socio-political shift. Polly Jones writes of de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union that "de-mystification of World War II heroism became an important component of the reflectively self-critical process of the Thaw."[3]

I argue that we can see the "process of de-Stalinization, which invited the population to rethink the Stalinist past by releasing (albeit hesitantly) new evidence into the public domain and by encouraging (albeit sporadically) the narrativization of traumatic experiences" in literary and cinematic narratives about Jews in Nazi Occupied Czechoslovakia.[4] According to film scholar Piotr Zwierchowski, "de-Stalinization" in Polish film involved creating "a new way of reading the events of the war," focusing on the myth of heroism, the attempt to return to normal life, or psychological, moral and existential questions.[5] Novels and films about Jews and non-Jews in Nazi occupied Prague likewise attempted to urge the public to rethink the past and the

[3] Polly Jones, *Myth, Memory, Trauma: Rethinking the Stalinist Past in the Soviet Union, 1953-1970* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 10.
[4] Ibid 10.
[5] Piotr Zwierzchowski, *Kino nowej pamięci: obraz II wojny światowej w kinie polskim lat 60* (Bydgoszcz: Wydanictwo Uniwesytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2013), 9-10.

mythologization of war heroism, and to call attention to the existence of cowardice, collaboration, and even racism within Czech and Slovak society.

The processes of adaptation and translation are central to this chapter. I focus on novels that were adapted into films in order to examine how themes were introduced, expanded, and exaggerated by the process of adaptation and interpretation. Philosopher Jacques Rancière has written about theater's potential to engage audiences. It was possible, Rancière claimed, for a spectator to cross the boundary from "passive voyeur" to "active participant" with the ability to "learn from as opposed to being seduced by the images." In order to accomplish this transition, however, spectators had to be "won over by empathy that makes them identify with the characters…offered an exemplary dilemma" which allowed them to imagine themselves in the position of the characters.[6] When filmmakers adapted narratives about relationships between Jews and non-Jews, they attempted to create "active participants" who would take the lessons of the screen into contemporary Czechoslovak society. Using cinematic motifs, they took literary themes about loss, love, obligation, the oppressive and alienating home, conformism, and humanism to help create active, learning viewers, who could imagine themselves as "ordinary heroes," collaborators, or even Jews.

I exclude concentration camp narratives in order to focus explicitly on how dynamics between Jews and non-Jews were highlighted in these works. Though, at times, concentration camp narratives engaged in similar tropes and cinematic motifs, occupation era narratives that place non-Jews and Jews in the same living environment were much more explicit about issues of human responsibility across divides. For both the heroine and the home, I focus on two case studies and then examine how themes and ideas promoted within them proliferated in other

[6] Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, translated by Gregory Elliott (New York: Verso Books, 2011): 4.

literary and cinematic works. My first case study for both the heroine and home trope is *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*, a 1958 novel adapted for film in 1959. It was groundbreaking for introducing themes and stylistic forms that accentuated both the Jewish heroine (with her Czech anti-hero) and the dangerous and oppressive home space. My second case study for the Jewish heroine is *Death is Called Engelchen* (1959 novel, 1963 film), which built upon concepts of romance, belonging, obligation, and challenges to heroic behavior. Furthermore, the author and filmmakers involved in this production were important figures for the promotion of Jewish narratives in this period more generally. *The Fifth Horseman is Fear* (1962 novel, 1965 film) expanded upon cinematic tropes found in *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*, allowing viewers to imagine the threatening and de-stabilizing home space described in the novel as a more general social phenomenon. I conclude by examining the question of reception, to understand the impact of these tropes in a larger social and political context.

The Jewish Heroine and the Czech/Slovak anti-Hero

"*Go to Auschwitz, Marta, and go and tell those millions:*
I am a Jew, and I slept with the Germans, but few of you have had it as difficult as me…"[7]

"*I need to go after them…They're in Terezín. Let me go…they might have written me…I already don't belong…you can't keep me…they'd kill him…you know…they'd kill him…let me go…!*"[8]

"Jewish women are unwittingly beautiful…Especially this one. She looks like death."[9]

7 Volod'a to Marta in Ladislav Mňačko, *Smrt si říká Engelchen* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1962), 41. All quotes are from this Czech edition.
8 Ester to a stranger who encounters her after she flees her hiding space in Jan Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julie a tma*, 4th ed. (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1961), 137. All quotes are from the 1961 edition.
9 A line from Juraj Jakubisko's *Vtačkovia, siroty, a blázni.* Juraj Jakubisko and Karol Sidon, "Vtačkovia, siroty, a blázni: Technický scénář (1968)," S-622-TS, NFA, Prague, CZ.

The trope of the tragic Jewish heroine was so widespread in 1960s Czechoslovakia that eight of the 13 Shoah or concentration camp films completed between 1959 and 1969 included a relationship (usually romantic) between a Jewish woman and a non-Jewish man. Aaron Kerner has written that "Holocaust victims, especially Jewish victims, have traditionally been feminized." In Kerner's analysis, the "victimizer" plays the masculinized foil to Jewish femininity.[10] To some degree, Czechoslovak representations of women were representative of gendered motifs of "female subjugation, captivity, and violation" that sociologist Janet Jacobs argues are typical of Holocaust collective memory.[11] The women in Czechoslovak novels and films were all, in some way, trapped and emotionally crushed. Particularly at the beginning, Jewish women were rendered weak and in need of "saving" both by their womanhood and their Jewishness.

In 1960s Czechoslovak films and novels, however, the masculine foil was not the Nazi victimizer that Kerner describes. Instead, male characters in 1960s Czechoslovakia were typically non-Jewish co-protagonists. In many cases, the victimizer was completely absent from the narrative. The male, non-Jewish counterparts were often depicted as resistors or "ordinary heroes" attempting to help. However, in some final tragic act, the Jewish female characters regained agency by asserting their refusal to live in a world of such inhumanity, escaping their captivity, resisting their violation, and rejecting their subjugation. Meanwhile, the non-Jewish (Czech and Slovak) counterparts were rendered anti-heroes by this act: utterly ineffective, immobilized, helpless, and devastated by the loss of their respective Jewish female foils.

[10] Aaron Kerner, *Film and the Holocaust: New Perspectives on Dramas, Documentaries, and Experimental Films* (New York: Continuum, 2011), 8.
[11] Janet Jacobs, *Memorializing the Holocaust: Gender, Genocide, and Collective Memory* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 31.

While male foils were not Nazi victimizers, neither were Jewish women "high-minded, innocent, optimistic…and asexual" types that feminist Biblical scholar Esther Fuchs describes as characteristic of Holocaust heroines.[12] Czechoslovak film and gender studies scholar Petra Hanáková has argued that, in spite of the relative "freedom" of the 1960's, Czechoslovak New Wave films "created typically exploitative and objectified images of women, picturing female characters either only as objects for the male gaze or as the essence of biological otherness." Stalinist films, by contrast, produced more "progressive" images of independent, working women demanding equal domestic labor of their male counterparts.[13] While the "biological otherness" of the Jewish heroines did play a role – often fetishized as exotic and tragic beauties – they did not become victims and possessions of their male counterparts. Jewish women were used to subvert mythologized narratives of wartime heroism – narratives traditionally dominated by masculine socialist characters – as well as critique conformism in the face of oppressive political systems. In *The Bohemian Body: Gender and Sexuality in Modern Czech Culture*, literary scholar Thomas Alfred writes, "postwar writers and filmmakers frequently represented political relations in a totalitarian society in the personal terms of sexual and familial relations between husbands and wives."[14] In the case of the Jewish heroine, the fantasy of personal relationships between the Jewish woman and the Czech or Slovak male became a way to emphasize individual responsibility.

Romeo, Juliet and Darkness

[12] Esther Fuchs, "The Construction of Heroines in Holocaust Films: The Jewess as a Beautiful Soul," in *Women and the Holocaust: Narrative and Representation*, edited by Esther Fuchs (Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1999), 97.
[13] Petra Hanáková, "From Mařka the Bricklayer to *Black and White Sylvia*: Images of Women in Czech Visual Culture and the East European Visual Paradox," *Studies in East European Cinema* 2, no 2 (2011):147
[14] Thomas Alfred, "Terror and Fear were my Father and Mother: Postwar Czech Fiction and Film," *The Bohemian Body: Gender and Sexuality in Modern Czech Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007): 170.

Jan Otčenášek's novel *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* was, on one level, a standard love story between a Czech boy and a Jewish girl set during the Nazi Occupation. "Romeo and Juliet in a contemporary variant," Jan Otčenášek told a reporter in in 1958.[15] According to Jiří Weiss, the director of the 1959 film adaptation, the story was autobiographical, based on an experience Otčenášek himself had.[16] Otčenášek was a student for much of World War II, but from 1943-45, he was forced into labor in Germany and then at an automotive factory in Prague, where he became a member of an underground youth organization. After the war he worked in chemicals and metallurgy. From 1953 to 1956, he was an editor at Czechoslovak Radio, where the young Arnošt Lustig, discussed in the previous chapter, was working as a reporter. After the success of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*, his second novel, he quit to become a full-time writer.[17]

Like Romeo and Juliet, Pavel and Ester were a couple doomed to fail based upon circumstances of their heritage that were out of their control. The novel made the distinction between the 18-year-old non-Jewish Pavel and the Jewish Ester even starker. When the 18-year-old Pavel first met Ester in a park, she was carrying a suitcase and crying. He asked if he could help her, and she demanded he leave her alone. When they parted ways from this encounter, the omniscient narrator adopted Pavel's thoughts:

> Clearly a crazy girl, he thought angrily. He [her boyfriend] left her, and now she's sniveling on a park bench and thinking about suicide. Maybe she wants to poison her milk, phooey. How she'd bristled. Maybe she'd become attractive, like all women. And me? So be it! Farewell, young lady, and not see you later, go ahead and unburden yourself, if you can't have a sensible conversation. I don't have to help you with it.[18]

[15] Jan Otčenášek and Ota Klein, "Spisovatel, literární práce a doba," *Kultura* vol. 2, no. 24 (1958): 1; Jan Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julie a tma* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1958).
[16] Though Liehm conducted the interviews in Czech, the first published version was in English, so I will primarily be quoting from the English "original" unless where the later published Czech version has more information. Antonín J. Liehm, *Closely Watched Films: The Czechoslovak Experience* (White Plains: International Arts and Science Press, 1974), 69.
[17] Přemysl Blažíček, "Jan Otčenášek," *Slovník české literatury po roce 1945,* last modified September 30, 2006, http://www.slovnikceskeliteratury.cz/showContent.jsp?docId=833 .
[18] Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julie a tma,* 21.

These words revealed a typically sexist encounter. Ester's erratic emotions and hostility were reflected through Pavel's gaze, as "crazy" (*poblažená*) and irrational. Though she was clearly in need, her typically feminine traits prevented her from wisely taking his help in spite of her obvious emotional distress.

Despite his disdain, he does not leave before the revelation of a yellow star with the word "*JUDE*" on her jacket, which only amplified her emotional precarity. Ester asked if Pavel was afraid of her, to which Pavel responded, "Why should I be afraid?" Ester proceeded to interrogate him, "Haven't they warned you not to associate with the likes of me? You don't know?" referring obliquely to anti-Semitic propaganda. When he continued to ask her questions about where she would go and what she would do, she declared, "Don't worry about me. I'm mangy."[19]

The dynamics of this initial interaction established two things: Ester as a typically feminine character – helpless, irrational, wildly emotional – and as a character who had internalized her own racialized devaluation of self-worth. Pavel, by contrast, was the typical masculine figure: gracious in spite of being insulted, emotionally sanguine, and impervious to the political world around him. Then he began to learn more about her, including that her brother escaped ("where, nobody knows"), her sister married an "Aryan" for protection, and her parents had already been transported. In Pavel's first true recognition of the precariousness of her condition, a "cold shock" ran through him after discovering she ignored her own call to a transport that morning.[20] Taking pity on her fear, he invited her to lodge in his building's storeroom, becoming Ester's impromptu protector.

[19] Ibid 21-22.
[20] Ibid 24-25.

Much of the novel was an intimate portrayal of Ester and Pavel's developing relationship within the confines of a small attic space. Ester's voice dominated more and more of the text as time passed, and she waited daily for Pavel's arrival and remembered her family and the circumstances that resulted in her present condition. The novel contrasted the happy affection and normalcy within their small, independent attic space to the terror of the Heydrichiad – the series of reprisals for the assassination of Reichsprotektor Reinhard Heydrich – outside the building walls. When Rejsek, a Nazi sympathizer in the building discovered Ester, she resolved to leave the building, but Pavel refused to allow her (*nedovolím!*)[21] Nonetheless, she eventually fled, imagining she would be reunited with her parents. In doing so, the narration followed her exclusively for a short period. Where the text began with Pavel, it ended with Ester. It returned to Pavel only to show him discovering the empty room after her absence.[22]

Oddly enough, in spite of Ester's relative lack of a voice in the text, both the novel and the film adaptation were often called "The Czech Anne Frank" at home and abroad.[23] While the film followed the same basic plot, it added new characters and elements through the narrative style. Though Otčenášek was not Jewish, the director of the 1959 film Jiří Weiss was a Prague born Jew who spent the war in London. Before the war, he saw the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany and Czechoslovakia, as well as experienced it personally within the film industry. Moreover, he recognized the passivity of the "immobile" who refused to stand up against anti-Semitism.[24]

[21] Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julie a tma,* 111.
[22] Ibid 112-141.
[23] See F.R. Kraus, "Otčenáškova Anna Franková," *Věstník židovských náboženských obcí v Československu* no 21, vol 2 (1959): 9-10. This was especially true after the film traveled abroad. See the following clippings, from Folder 9 – 1, Jiří Weiss Personal Papers, NFA, Prague, CZ: Jerzy Plażewski, "Złota muszla, młodzież i czerwony słupek," *Przegląd kulturalny Warszawa,* September 18, 1960; "El amor entre la justicia y la injusticia," *La voz de España,* July 17, 1960; Jerzy Plażewski, "W San Sebastian rozdano nagrody," *Ekran*, July 2, 1960; Jerzy Plażewski, "Złota muszla w rękach Czechów," *Życie Warszawy*, July 21, 1960.
[24] Liehm, *Closely Watched Films*, 59.

He began his cinematic career filming documentaries. His interest in "antiracist tone(s)" was evident even before World War II, already writing scripts about partisans, imagining the war was over, and exploring false dichotomies of heroism and cowardice.[25] From the refuge of London, he learned to "recreate reality" through effective editing working on films about the war in Czechoslovakia, a strategy utilized again with *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*.[26] When he returned to Prague, he attempted initially to "forget [the] realism" he had been devoted to in London and produce "socialist monumentalism." He tried this with *My Friend Fabian*, a film devoted to exposing the situation of the Roma in Czechoslovakia. The criticism he received urged him to resist explicitly engaging with political aims in his work.[27] He managed several successful films without conflict with the authorities, until he decided to film *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness.*

In the film, Pavel was played by Slovak actor Ivan Mistrík. The name Ester was de-Judaized to the "more likely [Czech name]" Hanka, played by Weiss's wife at the time, the Czech (and non-Jewish) actress Daniela Smutná. [28] Pavel and Ester/Hanka's initial interaction was much kinder in the film. Hanka arrived searching for the Wurms, a Jewish family just evicted from Pavel's building. Pavel, sympathetic to the Wurms, displayed none of the anger and frustration of the novel. Moreover, Smutná played Hanka's emotional distress through shy reservation, quiet pain, and a soft feminine fear, rather than the wild, visible pain of the Ester introduced in the novel. Nonetheless, the effect was similar. Both establish the Jewish woman as helpless, in need of Pavel's steady and secure hand.[29]

[25] "Byl jsem zbabělec," *Literární práce*, Jiří Weiss Personal Papers, NFA, Prague, CZ.
[26] Liehm, *Closely Watched Films*, 60-61.
[27] Ibid 65-6.
[28] The quote is from František Vrba, "Romeo, Julie a tma," *Literární noviny* vol. 9, no. 15 (1960): 6. Others, notably the Jewish reviewer František Goldscheider, commented on the appropriateness of the biblical name. František Goldscheider, "Romeo, Julie a tma," *Kino* vol. 15, no. 2 (1960): 25.
[29] Jiří Weiss*, Romeo, Julie a tma*, directed by Jiří Weiss, 35mm (Prague: Československý Film, 1960).

Hanka became a more typical projection of a "damsel in distress" in the film, in part through the addition of new characters that emphasized the way many citizens of occupied Prague were motivated by self-interest rather than morals or values. Rejsek became a woman, named simply "Kubiasová" in the script. Importantly, Kubiasová was not a completely vilified Nazi sympathizer but an indifferent opportunist. Pavel's mother took on a more dominant role, as a Czech resistant to Nazi policy, but took no action for fear of reprisals. Weiss also added Pavel's grandfather, a clock repairer who disliked the Nazis but was too preoccupied with his own work for much of the film. There was also a neighbor who stopped Pavel to whisper rumors of the Czech resistance. Pavel also had a girlfriend at the outset, a superficial blonde beauty, a striking contrast from the dark-haired and introspective Hanka. These added female types emphasized Hanka's demure helplessness, in contrast with Kubiasová's brazen hedonism ("We have to enjoy today, we might not be here tomorrow" she pronounces) and flirtation and Alena's superficial lack of concern with politics at all.[30]

Image 3.1. Hanka with her *Jude* star, cowering in the corner. Source: *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* dir. by Jiří Weiss (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1960).

[30] Weiss*, Romeo, Julie a tma.* Jiří Weiss and Jan Otčenášek, *"*Romeo, Julie a tma: Technický scenář (1959)," S-963-TS-A, NFA, Prague, CZ.

Image 3.2. Kubiasová flirting with Pavel in the hallway. Source: *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* dir. by Jiří Weiss (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1960).

Image 3.3. Pavel's girlfriend Alena sunbathing. Source: *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* dir. by Jiří Weiss (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1960).

These added character types diversified the narrative to include a broader array of Czechoslovak responses to the Nazi Occupation: the collaborator, the bystander too afraid to act, the bystander who supported action but did nothing, and the bystander who simply did not care. The film situated Pavel between them, attempting to do the right thing, while also hearing the fears, doubts, selfishness of his neighbors and family around him. The film stressed Pavel's agency in a few key ways. Pavel was the only building resident viewers saw functioning outside of the apartment building at all. He went to school, roved around Prague with his friend and girlfriend Alena, and traveled into the countryside to sell goods to buy food for Hanka. Even the hallway was made into a space of relative power and agency; only Pavel and Kubiasová, the opportunistic and immoral girlfriend of a Nazi officer assigned the Wurm's apartment, passed through the hallways of the building for the bulk of the film.

The film also stressed Pavel's agency by contrast with Hanka, who waited the entire day, immobilized, for Pavel – not just for food and water, but also as her only human contact. Pavel even had control of whether there was light or dark in her confined world, as his arrival dictated whether or not the light was on or the window open. In a highly self-aware moment, the film

made this dynamic apparent: Pavel announced to Hanka that he is "the king, Caesar, dictator" of the storeroom, in an attempt to convince her that Nazi race policy did not apply in this space.[31] Much of the movie focused on the challenges Pavel faced: namely attempting to provide for Hanka in a war-strapped Prague without being caught (an external challenge) and reconciling his fear of being discovered with the desire to protect her (an internal challenge). Both fundamentally involved understanding and managing one's own *actions*. By contrast, Hanka struggles to understand her *existence* – a fundamentally passive act of simply being in the world. Her dilemmas, in stark contrast with Pavel, include struggling with meaning: she expresses desires to "sleep forever and never wake up" and she "almost wishes there were a god" so that he might take her away from the Earth.[32]

In short, the entirety of the film served to establish Pavel as active – strong, brave, indignant of the occupiers' worldview, committed to creating and finding a solution, and doggedly persistent. Meanwhile, Hanka was passive: weak, alone, immobilized, isolated, in need of rescuing, and on the verge of giving up. While Pavel took control of both his and Hanka's life daily through his actions in and outside of the house, Hanka is ascribed only two significant actions. The first created the entire conflict of the film: choosing not to show up to her transport and going instead to the Wurm's. The second was to leave at the height of the Heydrichiad, assuring her death. In this one action, she regained agency and utterly undermined all of Pavel's agency. In a poignant last moment, he screamed "I won't allow it!" ("Nedovolím! Nedovolím!")

[31] Ivan Mistrík (playing Pavel) in *Romeo, Julie a tma*, dir. Jiří Weiss. This is not in the original novel. See Weiss, *Romeo, Julie a tma;* The added line is on page 60 of Jiří Weiss and Jan Otčenášek, *"*Romeo, Julie a tma: Technický scenář (1959)," S-963-TS-A, NFA, Prague, CZ.

[32] See Jiří Weiss and Jan Otčenášek, *"*Romeo, Julie a tma: Technický scenář (1959)," S-963-TS-A, pages 60-2 and 142, NFA, Prague, CZ; Daniela Smutná (playing Hanka) in *Romeo, Julie a tma*, dir. Jiří Weiss. These lines are in the original text. See Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julie a tma,* 40, 77-8.

in vain at the doors of the locked building, emphasizing the illusory nature of Pavel's sense of control, an illusion he tenuously maintained until this point.[33]

In the book, Ester was eventually found by a German. Her fate was left unsaid, but the presumption was clear. Pavel's imagining of her "sniveling on a bench and thinking about suicide" from the outset came to fruition.[34] In the novel, Pavel contemplated suicide, making his devastation and charge to the reader explicit: "Live! Live! How?" "You must live," a voice in his head tells him – a voice he knows to be Ester's. While Ester/Hanka's decision to leave was portrayed as tragi-heroic, his decision to live and "continue on" was also portrayed as heroic, to a degree. "Why is everyone silent? People and things are silent. Why did nothing happen? Why did everyone return to their muddy rut, blunted by the musty air of the Protectorate? Why did the heavens not fall?"[35]

Though we have no access to Pavel's initial internal monologue in the film, Hanka's act as suicide was even more apparent in the film: sound of gunshots presumed her immediate death. Hanka's final moments theoretically saved the residents, allowing them to live out the occupation safely. Yet, in this moment, Pavel had the least agency and control in the entire film. Instead of a feeling of comfort or relief at a resolution to Pavel's conflict, the Czech viewer was told to see this resolution as a devastating loss.

While Otčenášek implied the contemporary relevance of his novel, Weiss made them explicit: "it speaks vividly to today, when swastikas reappear in cemeteries and synagogues."[36] Weiss made changes to the novel in order to emphasize that the "problem of the worth of

[33] *Romeo, Julie a tma*, dir. Jiří Weiss.
[34] Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julie a tma,* 21.
[35] Ibid 143.
[36] Oldřich Adamec, "Režiséř Jiří Weiss o svém novém filmu 'Romeo, Julie a tma'," *Film a doba* vol. 6, no. 4 (1960): 272.

ordinary human decency in a dangerous situation. In the end, anxiety and fear for one's own livelihood, while morality and everything else fall by the wayside…and then these people live on, and frequently even have the audacity to give other people lessons in morality." Censors purportedly objected strongly to this message. In 1968, Weiss told his former roommate and film critic Antonín Liehm, "I was publicly accused of having made a Zionist film, its heroine being a Jewess whom no one is willing to help." In particular, he was forced to re-shoot several scenes, including the final scene. Initially, he had "the inhabitants of the house look on in silence as the girl leaves, to certain death." All of the scenes he re-shot, were, he felt, so "the non-Jewish citizens would come off at least a little better."[37]

Even with these modifications, the adaptation was controversial. Some defended Weiss's changes, recognizing that these added elements were responsible for "evoking a strong atmosphere of occupied Prague" and developed the theme of "protest against racism." The "weaker part" of the film, according to one reviewer, was the "middle section" that built out the love story between Hanka and Pavel that characterized the novel.[38] There was some recognition, in other words, that the novel's primary function was a love story, whereas the film tackled issues of collaboration and racism more head-on. Moreover, the film emphasized any "ordinary person" could engage in acts of heroism by resisting oppressive system's attempts to control thought and action.[39]

[37] Liem, *Closely Watched Trains,* 69.
[38] M. Jetel, "Film a novela," Plamen vol. 2, no. 6 (1960): 135. Jetel was engaging specifically with criticisms in J. Boček, "Film s velkou látkou," *Kultura* vol. 4, no. 15 (1960): 4.di
[39] Lines like "I just wanted to give you ordinary help" emphasize this. Jiří Weiss and Jan Otčenášek, *"*Romeo, Julie a tma: Technický scenář (1959)," S-963-TS-A, NFA, Prague, CZ.

Death is Called Engelchen

Only one year after playing Pavel, the Slovak actor Ivan Mistrík portrayed Volod'a, a male resistance figure who ultimately struggled with the realization that he could not save or match the actions of his Jewish female romantic interest in the television adaptation of the Slovak novel *Death is Called Engelchen* (Smrt' sa vola Engelchen).[40] *Death is Called Engelchen* was originally published in 1959 (translated into Czech in 1960) by Slovak author Ladislav Mňačko.[41] During World War II, Mňačko fought as a partisan against the Slovak clerico-fascist Nazi collaborator state. Described by his friend Arnošt Lustig as a "madman," Mňačko was so affected by the Slovakian deportation of their Jewish population during the war that he "decided after the war to go to the station where Jewish girls got off the train from the camps and marry the first that he saw" (and purportedly, he did). [42] He would eventually become known as the "enfant terrible" of Slovak literature for his open criticism of the regime in 1967-8 (see Chapter Four).

Mňačko's biography and personal experience of the war, then, help to understand why Mňačko told the love story of a Slovak partisan and a Jewish woman in his first novel.[43] The novel began with Volod'a in the hospital, having been shot in the back in a gun-fight; in all likelihood, he was crippled. In the first chapter, the Red Army arrived in Prague and the war ended. In this narrative, it was clear that Volod'a had lost his Jewish heroine, Marta, from the

[40] *Smrt' sa vola Engelchen,* directed by Ivan Balaďa (Bratislava: Československá televize, 1960). Ladislav Mňačko, *Smrt' sa vola Engelchen* (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavatel'stvo politickej literatúry, 1959).
[41] Josef Škvorecký, *Všichni ti bystří mladí muži a ženy: osobní historie českého filmu* (Prague: Horizont, 1991), 231.
[42] Arnošt Lustig, *Zpověď'* (Praha: Nakladatelství Franze Kafky, 2009), 81.
[43] The characters were supposedly created based on real people. "A Chat about War Films with Directors Elmar Klos," *Death is Called Engelchen* (Prague: Československý filmexport), 7, Folder "Smrt si říká Engelchen" 884, NFA, Prague, CZ. While Mňačko had published several reportage works, his first being about the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, this was his first novel. Ladislav Mňačko, *Izrael, národ v boji* (Bratislava: Pravda, 1949); Ladislav Mňačko, *Albánska reportáž* (Bratislava: Pravda, 1950); Ladislav Mňačko, *Dobrodružstvo vo Vietname* (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo politickej literatúry 1954); Ladislav Mňačko, *Vody Oravy* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1955); Ladislav Mňačko, *Ďaleko je do Whampoa* (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo politickej literatúry, 1958).

very beginning. She arrived at the hospital to tell Volod'a that she was leaving Slovakia forever, having been a member of the resistance who slept with a German general in order to gain special access to Nazi military plans. It was in this scene that Volod'a revealed to her that he knew she was Jewish – her beauty and desirability the mask that enabled her to do her resistance work. Marta clearly struggled with her guilt of having survived in material comfort, while so many died. "I should have gone to Auschwitz," she declared, feeling she escaped the shared Jewish fate. Volod'a insisted that her position was worse than being in Auschwitz, and wondered to himself if she might have been better off dead. She declared her intention to go to Canada, feeling that she could never escape her past in Europe.[44] Her departure sent Volod'a back to recollections of his time as a partisan, when he met Marta.

In 1963, the novel was adapted into a cinematic feature film directed by Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos. Kadár was a Slovak Jew, who spent the war in a labor camp (and lost his family) and had directed several short documentaries about the Slovak partisan uprising and Nazi war crimes immediately after the war.[45] Nonetheless, it was purportedly his collaborator, Elmar Klos, who read Mňačko's book and decided to adapt it as a film.[46] It is possible Klos was inspired by Polish director Wanda Jakubowska's 1948 film about Auschwitz, *The Last Stop*, as he recalled the film's festival screening specifically.[47] Klos had already been established in the interwar Czechoslovak film industry and was a key member of the film industry already in the immediate postwar. Kadár and Klos started working together in 1949, and exclusively directed together

[44] Mňačko, *Smrt si říká Engelchen*, 40-43.
[45] Macek, *Ján Kadár,* 29-33. Kadár and Klos discuss what drew them to these themes in Antonín J. Liehm, "Ján Kadár – Elmar Klos," *Ostře sledované filmy: československá zkušenost* (Praha: Národní filmový archiv, 2001): 114-5, 125-6. Interestingly, they consider *The Shop on Main Street* their first foray into these themes.
[46] Elmar Klos, "Černobílý snář: aneb Jak se snadno a rychle stát filmovým režisérem," in *Černobílý snář Elmara Klosa*, edited by Jan Lukeš (Prague: Národní filmový archiv, 2011), 187.
[47] Ibid, 175. On Jakuboswka, See Haltof*, Polish Cinema and the Holocaust*, 28-47; Hanno Loewy, "The Mother of All Holocaust Films?: Wanda Jakubowska's Auschwitz Trilogy," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 24, no. 2 (2004): 179–204.

until after 1968.[48] This was not the first time that they attempted to adapt narratives about Jews for public audiences; it was Kadár and Klos, recall, who had wanted to adapt Jiří Weil's *Mendelssohn is on the Roof,* before the work lost favor with the publisher.[49]

In Kadár and Klos's version of *Death is Called Engelchen,* filmed in Czech, the partisan bore the name "Pavel," presumably because of the Slovak specificity of "Volod'a." The setting also shifted from the region around the Slovakian town of Ploština to the Moravian town, Zlín. Ironically, however, in spite of Kadár and Klos's commitment to exposing the human impact of Nazi atrocities, the film obscured that Marta was Jewish by altering the structure of the narrative and relying exclusively on insinuation (rather than the overt statements of the novel) to establish her Jewishness. At the end of the novel, Volod'a discovered that Marta's trip to "Canada" was a euphemism for her suicide. "Canada" was potentially a veiled reference to her feeling of obligation to other Jewish fates in Auschwitz, as this was also the nickname of the storeroom where Jewish belongings were kept in Auschwitz.[50] The film begins with the partisan initiative that led to Pavel's injury. It is implied that the initiative is an attempt to rescue Marta from a Nazi commandant, but he finds Marta, presumably dead after consuming a bottle of pills. When Pavel attempted to escape the Nazi commandant's home, now under siege, with his Russian comrade Nikolaj, he was shot and taken to the hospital. For much of the film (like in the novel), Pavel remained prostrate in a hospital bed, looking at people through their reflection in a mirror.

[48] See "Deset stran životopisného rozkladu, kterým se Elmar Klos bránil v roce 1959 posudku z Barrandovského Kádrového oddělení," cited in *Černobílý snář Elmara Klosa*, edited by Jan Lukeš (Prague: Národní filmový archive, 2011), 113-117; Elmar Klos, "Černobílý snář: aneb Jak se snadno a rychle stát filmovým režisérem," in *Černobílý snář Elmara Klosa*, edited by Jan Lukeš (Prague: Národní filmový archiv, 2011), 159-196.
[49] Letter to Weil from from Tvůrcí skupina Felix-Daniel, č inv. 348, Korporace – Filmové studio Barrandov, Korespondence vlastní – přijatá, Jiří Weil Personal Papers (70/70 č přír.), LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[50] See, for example Miklós Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, translated by Tibére Kremer and Richard Sever (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1993): 195-6.

The plot of the movie unfolded as Pavel drifted in and out of his recollections of his activities as a partisan prior to his injury and his love affair with Marta.

Pavel's first encounters with Marta emphasized both her sexuality and the isolated nature of her work with the resistance. The film recreated Volod'a's incessant thoughts about Marta by having Pavel stare at her continually, both because of her striking beauty, but also because he did not trust her. In *Death is Called Engelchen,* Marta's sexuality was very much an element of the film. Marta's beauty, particularly her ability to "pass" as a non-Jew, had heightened significance: not only did it allow her to survive, but she was an invaluable resistance resource because of it. Her beauty allowed her access into the inner circles of the SS, a position described by Nikolaj as "more valuable than our entire department." In the novel, Volod'a himself commented on the absurdity of the beautiful spy: "the era of various Mata-Haris is long gone, no spies used strikingly beautiful women. Or maybe it works?"[51]

Image 3.4. One of the many scenes in which Pavel stares at Marta surreptitiously, emphasizing her allure and mystery. Source: "Smrt si říká Engelchen," *Filmový přehled*, NFA, https://www.filmovyprehled.cz/cs/film/396530/smrt-si-rika-engelchen .

[51] Mňačko, *Smrt si říká Engelchen,* 46-49; *Smrt' si říká Engelchen,* directed by Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos (1963; Prague: Filmové studio Barrandov).

As he recalled these events, Pavel struggled with being literally immobilized both by his injury and depression over feeling incapable of saving Marta. The film placed Marta's hospital appearance much later, but otherwise the film and novel closely match. Because of her presumed suicide in the opening scenes of the film, the film retained the effect of Marta seeming "lost" from the very beginning. One day, Marta visited him in the hospital, having survived her suicide attempt. In stark contrast with Pavel's reluctant over-heroization, Marta had been branded a collaborator for her work with the resistance. Very quickly he realized that, in spite of her survival, she was still lost to him. She planned to leave and go "someplace no one knows her," having no one left of her family and been ostracized for her work. She told him that he would one day be able to walk, whereas she would be a "cripple forever," forever marked by her experience of war. Marta had literally worn her experiences on her body. During the course of the film she described her subjugation to the Nazi officers as being like the biblical Ruth, "a slave," and was once even whipped by a Nazi general (whom she later shot, by her own hand, proving even the master of her own vengeance).[52]

Image 3.5. Marta in despair after killing her victimizer. Again, men look at her while she looks away. Source: *Smrt si říká Engelchen*, dir. by Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1963).

[52] Eva Poláková (playing Marta) in *Smrt' si říká Engelchen.*

This statement emphasizes the central contrast between Marta and Pavel. Pavel's duties as a partisan involved companionship and building strong bonds with others. In spite of resisting lionization, Pavel was constantly called a hero by everyone with whom he interacted. His resistance and heroism were legible, recognizable, and publicly valued. By contrast, Marta faced her tasks alone. In both *Romeo, Juliet a Darkness* and *Death is Called Engelchen,* the films' framing emphasized the internal suffering and isolation of the Jewish women. Marta and Hanka were often featured with their respective Pavels, while staring off into the distance. Marta and Hanka faced internal struggles that even their male protectors could not access.


Image 3.6. and **3.7.** Scenes of Hanka looking off into the distance, her attention not with Pavel. Source: *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* dir. by Jiří Weiss (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1960).


Image 3.8. and **3.9.** Scenes of Marta looking off in the distance, her attention not with Pavel. Source: *Smrt si říká Engelchen*, dir. by Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1963).

Like the heroine of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*, Marta struggled to feel alive: "Sometimes I feel terribly empty, Volod'a, deathly empty…" she says in the novel.[53] In the novel, Marta's suicide attempt was at the end and was successful. There were two parallels here with *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness.* First, like Pavel, Volod'a imagined that Marta might be better off dead in the opening of the novel, and this came true.[54] Like the Pavel of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* Volod'a heard Marta's voice whispering to him: "You have to live, Volod'a…I couldn't, but you must." Having regained his ability to walk, Volod'a resolved to hunt down Engelchen, the Nazi commandant who destroyed whole villages in Slovakia hunting the partisans. This vengeance was portrayed as a way of making Marta's wartime suffering have meaning, as she was the one who gave him the intelligence on Engelchen's location.[55] Pavel and Volod'a thus retained some small sense of heroism, in spite of having failed to help their Jewish loves survive their pain.

The relative lack of clarity about Marta's Jewishness unsurprisingly meant that it was less likely for film reviewers to mention Marta's Jewishness. Kádar himself did not consider *Death is Called Engelchen* a film with "Jewish themes." [56] By considering the novel's cinematic adaptation emblematic of gendered Jew/non-Jew dynamics in 1960s Czechoslovak culture, I am, in a sense, reading the film against the vision of its creators. Yet, even the cinematic adaptation of *Death is Called Engelchen* traded in the same tropes and images as *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* and other works with "Jewish themes."[57] Furthermore, reviewers often knew the

[53] Mňačko, *Smrt si říká Engelchen,* 69.
[54] Ibid 280-83.
[55] Ibid 283.
[56] Kadár himself described *The Shop on Main Street* (1965) as his first foray into "Jewish themes," admitting some of the muting of the "Jewish themes" of *Death is Called Engelchen.* Liehm, "Ján Kadár - Elmar Klos," *Ostře sledované filmy,* 126-7. This interview was completed in 1971.
[57] This is be discussed in further detail in the following section. Kadár's biographer Václav Macek also describes similarities between the two. Macek, *Ján Kadár*, 156, 147.

original premise of the novel, and still described Marta as a Jewish character for their readers. Even when reviewers failed to recognize the Jewish element of the film, they commended the film for being a "challenge against racism," a representation of heroism without "mythologization," and linked it to other Holocaust themed works.[58]

Repetitions on a Theme: The Jewish Heroine and Czech/Slovak Anti-Hero

There were two basic gendered tropes at play in movies about the occupation featuring Jewish women: the first was of the beautiful, irresistible, yet languishing Jewish woman, and the second was of the non-Jewish man, who desperately wanted to save and protect a Jewish woman, but failed. It fell upon the woman to reject the conditions of the world that she lived in, which typically resulted in tragedy. These tropes appeared repeatedly in Czechoslovak literature and film. Often, the two tropes appeared together, though not necessarily.

Rudolf Jašík's 1958 novel *St. Elizabeth Square* (Namestie Svätej Alžbety, made into a film in 1965) was also another Slovak story about a non-Jewish boy who fell in love with a Jewish girl that he failed to save from deportation and death.[59] Both *A Prayer for Katherine Horowitz* (Modlitba pro Kateřínu Horowitzovou; 1964 novel, 1965 film) and *Dita Saxová* (1962 novel, 1967 film) focused on beautiful, sexualized Jewish women who ultimately rejected the conditions of their subjugation and alienation. Both were originally stories written by Arnošt

[58] For reviews that either make the Jewishness of the characters explicit, or focus on anti-racism and heroic mythology, see the following. On *Romeo, Julie a tma*: M Jetel, "Film a novela," *Plamen* 2, no. 6 (1960): 124-6; Jan Pilát, "Dopis osmnáctiletému příteli," *Mladá fronta*, April 14, 1960, 5; František Vrba, "Romeo, Julie a tma," *Literární noviny* 9, nov. 15 (1960): 6; On *Smrt' si říká Engelchen*: "Smrt si říká Engelchen: Film, který má co říci," *Naše pravda*, May 3, 1963 in Výstrižky 1, Smrť sa volá Engelchen [dokumentačná zložka]," 07.10.2010 AACR2, SFU, Bratislava, SK; Jaroslav Boček, "Film—Roman," *Kulturní tvorba* 20, no. 1 (1963): 10; A.J. Liehm, "Filmový sloupek," *Literární noviny* 12, no. 20 (1963): 8; Jan Žalman, "Heroismus bez legendy," *Film a doba* 9, no. 6 (1963): 328-9; M. Fiala, "O pravdivost, původnost a osobitost," *Rudé právo,* June 30, 1963, 5; Vlastimil Vrabec, "Hrdinové románo varují z plátna," *Svobodné slovo*, May 4, 1963, 3.

[59] Rudolf Jašík, *Námestie svätej Alžbety* (Bratislava: Mladé leta, 1958); Vladimír Bahna, *Námestie svätej Alžbety* (Bratislava: Československý film Bratislava, 1965).

Lustig and then adapted as films by Antonín Moskalyk.[60] *A Prayer for Katherine Horowitz* was based on a true story of a woman who killed a concentration camp guard. Though she had no male partner, her defiance was contrasted with a group of wealthy foreign Jews (all men), who were supposed to be exchanged with Nazi POWs for safe passage to Switzerland, but were instead sent to Auschwitz. *Dita Saxová* depicted the story of a girl in postwar Prague who felt abandoned and isolated by life and Europe more broadly, having been the only camp survivor in her family. She was billed as an "untypical Jewish girl, a blonde of great beauty, who would captivate those around her by looks alone."[61] Dita attempted to find place throughout the story, but eventually killed herself in Switzerland.[62] "Alas," director Moskalyk wistfully told an interviewer for the Czechoslovak Film Export Press Division, they "settled for a brunette" in the film version of *Dita Saxová*, having found "no-one like that either at home or abroad."[63]

The male counterparts to these Jewish beauties were portrayed in one of two ways: "ordinary heroes" who failed due to circumstances out of their control (*Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*, *Death is Called Engelchen, St. Elizabeth Square*) or overt anti-heroes, whose lack of morality caused their own undoing (*Birds, Orphans and Fools* and *The Cremator*). Juraj Jakubisko's 1969 absurdist *Birds, Orphans and Fools* (Vtačkovia, siroty, blázni) (based on a screenplay by a young Karol Sidon, who eventually became the Chief Rabbi of Prague 1992)

[60] Arnošt Lustig, *Modlitba pro Kateřinu Horowitzovou* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1964); Arnošt Lustig, *Dita Saxová* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1962); *Dita Saxová,* directed by Antonín Moskalyk (1967; Prague: Barrandov Studio); Antonín Moskalyk, *Modlitba pro Kateřinu Horowitzovou* (Prague: Československá televize, 1965).

[61] Both in the novel and film. *Dita Sax* (Prague: Československý Filmexport Press Department, 1967), 4,9, Folder "Dita Saxová" (1038), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ.

[62] On the legend of the woman who killed the Nazi camp guard, see Haya Bar-Itzhak, "The Story of a Jewish Woman Who Killed a Nazi in a Concentration Camp: A Folkloristic Perspective" *Fabula* 50, no. 1/2 (2009): 67–77. For reflections on fear of Europe in *Dita Saxová,* see Arnošt Lustig, Antonín Moskalyk and Ivan Urban, "Dita Saxová: literární scenář (1967)," page 120, S-779-LS-2, NFA, Prague, CZ.

[63] *Dita Sax* (Prague: Československý Filmexport Press Department, 1967), 4, Folder "Dita Saxová" (1038), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ.

also exhibited both the sexually attractive yet tragic Jewish woman and the anti-hero who failed to save her. The Slovak Yorick is the anti-hero; he committed suicide when he became the arbiter of destruction for the Jewish Marta, whom he set out to save at the outset of the film. Though it was not an occupation film (and was banned), the film nonetheless followed the pattern of using a Jewish woman and non-Jewish partner to emphasize the devastating loss of the Jewish character for Czechs or Slovaks.[64]

Juraj Herz's 1969 surrealist horror *The Cremator* (Spalovač mrtvol) also focused on this dynamic: the non-Jewish Karel Kopfrkringl, a director of a mortuary, became obsessed with the idea that he would save his Jewish wife and their children by killing them, liberating them to be reincarnated, now free of their blood prejudice.[65] Though based on Ladislav Fuk's 1967 novel, it had the misfortune of premiering in the months after the Soviet Invasion. In spite of great enthusiasm exhibited in multi-lingual promotional materials created by the Central Film Agency, it was banned.[66]

While most films about overt anti-heroes like Kopfrkringl and Yorick were banned, the Academy Award-winning *The Shop on Main Street* (Best Foreign Film) was an exception. It was also adapted by Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos, who were recommended the original story by none other than Arnošt Lustig.[67] Rather than the sexualized Jewish female, it built upon a concept of a familial bond between the Slovak carpenter Tono Brtko and the elderly Jewish button-shop owner Rozálie Lautmann. Tono was an apolitical and slightly bumbling carpenter. Tono's wife,

64 *Vtačkovia, siroty, blázni,* directed by Juraj Jakubisko (Bratislava: Československý film, 1969).
65 Juraj Herz, *Spalovač mrtvol* (Prague: Barrandov Film Studios, 1968). It was based off a novel by Ladislav Fuks, *Spalovač mrtvol* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1967).
66 Folder "Spalovač mrtvol" (1126), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ.
67 The story was purportedly originally published in the literary magazine *Plamen* in 1962, and the novel was published in 1965 by Ladislav Grosman, the same year that Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos adapted it into a film. Ladislav Grosman, *Obchod na korze* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1965); *Obchod na korze*, dir. Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos (Prague: Barrandov Film Studios, 1965). On Lustig's role, see Klos, "Černobílý snář," 189.

however, coveted the comforts afforded to her sister and brother-in-law as a result of her brother-in-law's position in the local Hlinka Guard, the Slovak fascist militia. Tono had little interest in politics, but was eventually lured with the promise of wealth to take an assignment as an "aryanizer" of Rozálie Lautmann's button shop.

With dark irony, Rozálie turned out to be senile – the shop itself made little money, and Rozálie was entirely supported by the alms of a local community. Instead of taking control of the shop, Tono became Rozálie's assistant, domestic support (in an odd hybrid husband-son role), and protector all at once. He was even fitted in Rozálie's husband's old suits, emphasizing Tono's adoption of the role of familial obligation. Nonetheless, Tono's motivations were conflicted at best: in part because he wanted to please his wife, in part because he liked the status, in part because he liked Rozálie and her helpers, and in part because he wanted the money. Eventually, when Rozálie is called for a transport, Tono got increasingly drunk, oscillating wildly between self-preservation, fear of reprisal, and a desire to protect her. When he finally decided to save her, he accidentally killed her by shoving her in a closet and breaking her neck. Forced to face his abject failure to save her, he committed suicide.

The Shop on Main Street's morally ambiguous anti-hero was, in fact, a more negative portrayal than many of the other films of the decade. Younger, alluring Jewish women were the norm, as were their agency-deprived but well-meaning Czech or Slovak lovers.[68] According to Elmar Klos, he and Kadár only got away with a film so overt about weakness and cowardice because President Novotný "didn't like Slovaks."[69] In spite of the Best Foreign Film Award, the

[68] Esther Fuchs still argues that Rozálie's beauty and allure is a part of her characterization in the film. Fuchs, "The Construction of Heroines in Holocaust Films," 97.
[69] Quoted in "Jozef Króner: Fidlikant na korze," *Tv oko* no. 36 (2008): 24, Folder 1, Jozef Króner collection, SFU, 02.07.2003, Bratislava, SK.

regime apparently regretted allowing such a negative portrayal, and there was some suggestion of banning Czechs from making more movies on "Slovak topics" because of it.[70]

In spite of the tragi-heroic status of the Jewish women in these narratives, though, these stories prioritized the non-Jewish counterpart. Tono, Volod'a and Pavel were the obvious "protagonists" of the works. This is evident in part through narration. Even when the narration is third-person, the story primarily follows the non-Jewish man; the Jewish woman only appears when interacting with him. There were exceptions – Dita Saxová and Katherine Horowitz's narratives have no male counterpart, so their narratives are theirs alone. Nonetheless, they do not have first-person narration.

Functionally, these narratives emphasized the agency and responsibility of the non-Jewish characters. In contrast, Jewish main characters often functioned simply to place the non-Jewish characters in a kind of moral quandary. Thomas Alfred writes that, "the female characters in Czech fiction and film are invariably objects of male fantasies and fears rather than subjects in their own right."[71] While Jewish female characters were not exclusively objects of male fantasies and fears, they were often less complex and somewhat hollow, being rarely given narration or internal thought processes. If the Jewish characters managed a tragic self-reclamation of agency (as they did in all cases but *The Shop on Main Street*), it functioned to prove to the non-Jewish characters that it was not enough to be a solitary hero – society had to be free to allow humans to live without persecution and to stand up for moral justice.

[70] Letter from Jiří Weiss to Alois Poledňák, Central director of Czechoslovak Film [March 13, 1967], Folder 8, Jiří Weiss Personal Papers, NFA, Prague. Evidence of its controversial nature is also evident in: Liehm, "Jan Kadár - Elmar Klos," *Ostře sledované filmy*, 128; Pavel Taussig, "Obchod na korze," in *3x Oscar pro Český film* (Praha: Cinemax, 1998), 11.
[71] Alfred, *Bohemian Bodies*, 171.

Ironically, in spite of the focus on the non-Jewish characters, the Jewish women were often the visual focus of marketing materials and commentary– especially for international audiences (See Figures 3.10– 13). Tono, for example, was clearly the main character of *The Shop on Main Street*, yet when reviewed by or billed for international audiences, Rozálie Lautmann, played by the famed Polish-Yiddish stage actress Ida Kamińska, was nearly always displayed without Tono.[72] Likewise, billing *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* as a story about the "Czech Anne Frank" helped Ester/Hanka to supersede Pavel, in spite of the fact that Pavel was clearly the main character.[73] Even domestic press materials sometimes foregrounded images of Marta or Hanka looking off in the distance.[74]

[72] See, Henry Kamm, "Her People Live in 'The Shop on Main Street'," *The New York Times,* February 20, 1966, x9; Bosley Crowther, "Screen: 'The Shop on Main Street' Begins its Run," *The New York Times,* January 25, 1966, 47; Kevin Thomas, "Kaminska: Symbol of Tragedy," April 21, 1966, C21; Kate Cameron, " 'The Shop on Main Street' Deeply Moving Film," *Daily News,* January 25, 1966 and Rose Pelswick, "Import Truly Superb," *The New York Journal*, January 25, 1966 in Folder "Obchod na korze" (976 A-B), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ. There were a few examples of this in the Czech/Slovak press, including a film still of Rozálie dead in the closet in *Svět v obrazech.* Jiří Možka, "Obchod na korze," *Svět v obrazech* vol. 21, no. 21 (1965), 10; L. Konrádová, "Tvář, kterou nezapomeneme," *Svobodné slovo*, May 30, 1965, 4. Klos and Kadár decided upon Kaminska after seeing her at the Yiddish theater in Warsaw. Klos, "Černobílý snář," 189.

[73] See footnote 23. Likewise, whereas Pavel and Hanka were frequently featured together in the Czech press, Hanka was the subject of international promotional materials or articles. See Promotional matchbook from the San Sebastian Festival, Folder "Romeo, Julie a tma" (759 A-B), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ; Bosley Crowther, "Screen: 'Sweet Light in a Dark Room'," *The New York Times,* June 30, 1966, 28; Jerzy Andrzejewski, "W San Sebastian rozdano nagrody," *Ekran*, July 2, 1960, 5.

[74] This framing is featured in Figures 3.6-9. Marta in the forefront: See Miloš Helcl, "Smrt' si říká Engelchen," *Pochodeň*, May 23, 1963, 3; Gustav Francl, "Svědectví stále aktuální," *Lidová demokracie*, May 4, 1963, 3; Milan Polák, "Engelchen ještě žije!" *Květy* vol. 12, no. 37 (1962): 18-19; Ctibor Vašina, "Smrt' sa volá Engelchen," *Hlas l'udu,* May 15, 1963; Josef Vagaday, "Do rokytnice za Engelchenem," *Československý voják,* October 13, 1962; Richard Blech, "Minulost' nie ako retrospektíva," *Kultúrny život*, August 25, 1963; all located in Výstrižky 1&2, Smrť sa volá Engelchen [dokumentačná zložka], 07.10.2010 AACR2, SFU, Bratislava, SK. This was rarer for *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*, but for a few examples of Hanka in the forefront, see Gustav Francl, " 'Romeo, Julie a tma' ve filmové podobě," *Lidová demokracie,* April 10, 1960, 5; K. Nešvera, "Romeo, Julie a tma," *Svět v obrazech,* Poster for the Youth Film Club, "Filmový klub mládeže uvádí 'Romeo, Julie a tma'," Folder "Romeo, Julie a tma," (759 A-B), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ.

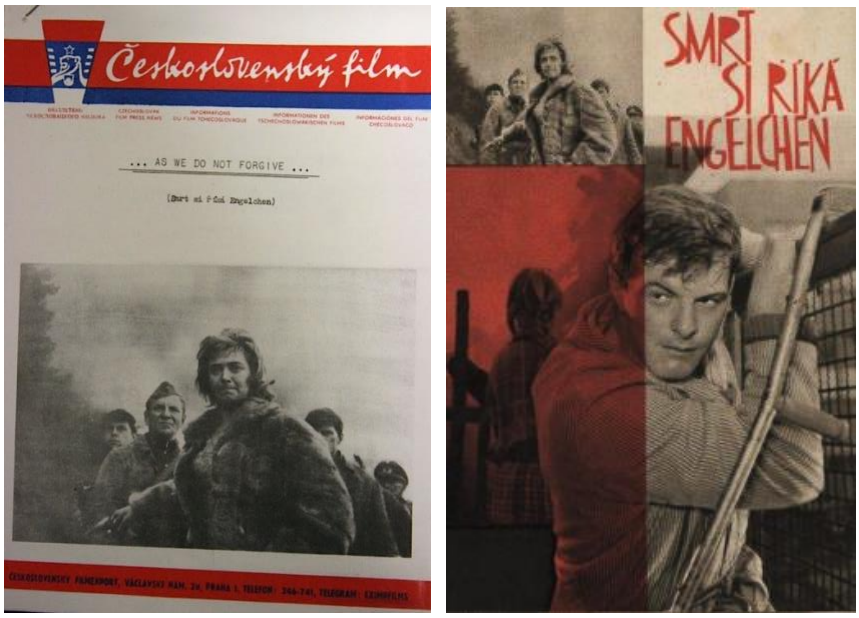


Image 3.10 and **3.11**. On the left, the international promotional pamphlet for *Death is Called Engelchen,* which foregrounds Marta (while Pavel is absent). On the right, the domestic promotional pamphlet. Source: *...As We Do Not Forgive…* (Prague: Československý filmexport) and *Smrt si říká Engelchen,* Folder "Smrt si říká Engelchen" (884), NFA, Prague, CZ.

Images 3.12 – 3.14. The Czech poster for *The Shop on Main Street* (left) is oddly decontextualized. The only clear film referent is the hat that Tono wears that belonged to Rozálie's husband. Both the Hungarian (center) and German (right) posters foreground Rozálie. Source: Folder "Obchod na korze" (976 A-B), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ.*

* In some of the other promotional materials, Tono or Tono and Rozálie were featured together. The Polish poster also referenced to Rozálie, showing her arthritic hands sorting buttons. Wiktor Górka, *Szklep przy głównej ulicy* (1965), P-3982, FN, Warsaw, PL, http://gapla.fn.org.pl/plakat/6145/sklep-przy-g-wnej-ulicy.html.

Visual commentary foregrounded the women, and thus their dilemma: whether or not they "belonged" in the environment in which their male Czech or Slovak partner lived. In nearly every case, the women chose to leave against the men's wills. As Jeffrey Saperstein writes of *The Shop on Main Street,* Tono "become(s) a 'Jew' in the sense that… suffering is the fate of all humans; only when we recognize our kinship with others can another world be imagined…a world in which pragmatism and accommodation have been replaced by kindness and responsibility."[75] This same image of attachment over "kindness and responsibility" bound Marta to Pavel/Volod'a and Ester/Hanka to Pavel. The repetition of themes – the tragic Jewish heroine failed by her non-Jewish neighbors and lovers, the idea that the Jewish characters would be "better off" dead than living in a world that accepted such inhumane treatment of its citizens, and the specter of suicide (both for the Jewish women, who usually succumbed, and the non-Jewish men debating or deciding to join them) – tethered these novels and their cinematic adaptations together across the long 1960s. Appearing first with the novel *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* in 1958, these dynamics repeatedly played out until after the Soviet Invasion in 1968.[76]

Nation, Place and Space: The Home that Provides no Comfort

Czech and Slovak writers and filmmakers also often used the concept of "home" and belonging to underscore lessons about conformism and "ordinary heroism." As with the Jewish heroine, this trope was inspired by texts. "Home" typically denoted safety, security, comfort, and respite. Czech and Slovak writers and filmmakers, however, inverted these associations, making

[75] Jeffrey Saperstein, "'All Men Are Jews': Tragic Transcendence in Kadár's The Shop on Main Street," *Literature/Film Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1991): 247-251. In the case of Tono, there's some suggestion that Króner was chosen to play Tono because he had a "similar nose" to Kaminská, i.e. a "Jewish nose," thereby creating a physical/visual marker of Tono's connection with Rozálie as well. Macek, *Ján Kadár*, 149.
[76] Films that had the misfortune to premiere after the invasion (like *Birds, Orphans and Fools* or *The Cremator*) were banned.

the home space a place of fear, danger, isolation and mistrust. Filmmakers in particular utilized the grey areas of adaptation to transform narratives into stressful, disorienting explorations of the feeling of being outcast among one's neighbors.

The concept of the isolating and alienating home space was not unique to novels and films from the 1960s; it appeared in the earliest postwar works. Jiří Weil's 1949 *Life with a Star,* for example, portrayed the story of a man going mad in the solitary confinement of his home space. His home was a place of isolation and disorientation, a battleground for waging a war for his individual existence. In spite of the fact that the narrator, Roubiček, lived in complete isolation, he could only guarantee the space was truly his if he retained control of the space. He accomplished this by destroying all his possessions before "they" had a chance to take them away from him.[77]

Alfred Rádok's *Distant Journey* (1949), too, portrayed "home" as a complicated concept for Dr. Hana Kauffman. In spite of her Czech fiancé (and later spouse), Toník, Prague grew increasingly alien. Even in her happy moments, foreboding reminders of her threatening Jewish heritage loomed (the *Jude* star and "Jew, out!" scrawled in public spaces, for example), while disorienting moments, noises, and ominous music seeped into her happy domestic moments.[78] Later filmmakers certainly borrowed from Rádok's vision of the Terezín ghetto and transit camp as a disorienting space of shadows, staircases, and cramped angles. Both Weil and Rádok's works were banned, however, making Otčenášek and Weiss's versions of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* were the first to successfully distribute trope of the alienating home to a wider public.

[77] Weil, *Život s hvězdou*.
[78] You can also see here that Hanka is a precursor to the Jewish heroine. Alfred Rádok, *Daleká cesta* (Prague: Státní výroba dlouhých hraných filmů, 1948).

The physicality of the home space became a way of utilizing extra-textual cinematic motifs to bring the viewer into the setting of the story. Cinema scholars Tim Bergfelder, Sue Harris, and Sarah Street write, "Sets concretize [characters'] psychology; and, often in conjunction with other contributing elements…help in creating a sense of place in terms of 'mood' or 'atmosphere,' and thus evoke emotions and desires that complement or run counter to the narrative."[79] In the ambiguousness of adaption, directors sought to make it possible for a viewer to "feel" what it was like to be in the same space as the characters in the script. In particular, unscripted elements of a film—objects, domestic interiors, sounds, and the interaction of these elements with cinematographic strategies— escaped the scrutiny of censors and approval committees.

For film theorist Siegfreid Kracauer, the interplay of "raw [physical] material" and the properties of editing also had the potential to supersede the basic film narrative. "Natural objects" were inherently accompanied by a range of emotive and "inarticulate" meanings, dependent upon the "fluid interrelations between the physical world and the psychological dimension." "Natural objects" Kracauer wrote, "are surrounded with a fringe of meanings liable to touch off various moods, emotions, runs of inarticulate thoughts…a theoretically unlimited number of psychological and mental correspondence." Kracauer believed that the filmmaker could retain this "indeterminacy of natural objects" by highlighting them in such a way that "delimits without defining" them. Filmmakers could "alienate our environment in exposing it." [80] The filmmakers studied here achieved precisely this in their exploration of home; they made it

[79] Tim Bergfelder, Sue Harris, and Sarah Street, *Film Architecture and the Transnational Imagination: Set Design in 1930s European Cinema* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 11.
[80] Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 55, 68-71. Kracauer quotes Lucien Sève when he describes cinematic framing as "delimiting without defining" (69).

possible for multiple interpretations of the setting – making the story both a lesson of the past and the present – and allowed the viewer to feel the alienation of the characters through careful mechanisms of exposure.

In the Czechoslovak "State-socialist mode of [film] production," film scholar Petr Szczepanik writes, "film was primarily a screenwriting art, a pseudo-literary form destined to deliver prefabricated ideas and topics, not, strictly speaking, an audiovisual medium."[81] This meant, I argue, that censors were less inclined to recognize statements made through cinematic motif than literary theme. Thus, directors often sought to amplify messages about belonging, obligation, and alienation by relying on cinematic strategies, such as set, framing, and sound.

To demonstrate how this worked, I focus on two adaptations: *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* and the 1962 novel *Without Collar, Without Beauty* (Bez krásy, bez límce) and its 1965 cinematic adaptation, *The Fifth Horseman is Fear* (...a pátý jezdec je strach). *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* established many of the cinematic motifs that would later be refined by other directors. I argue that *The Fifth Horseman is Fear* most clearly and boldly used cinematic strategies to impart the characters' feelings of discomfort and confusion on the viewers, and allowed for metaphoric comparisons with the present.

Romeo, Juliet and Darkness

Otčenášek's novel opened with the home as a character itself, a living, breathing space that carried the memories, experiences, and sounds of those within: "Old houses are like old people: full of memories. They have their particular life and face…. the walls of old homes are alive. They're enlivened by the fates that played out within them. What did they see? What did

[81] Petr Szczepanik, "How Many Steps to the Shooting Script? A Political History of Screenwriting." *Iluminace* 23, no. 3 (2013): 74.

they hear? Old homes also have their voice."[82] The novel also ended with the building where Ester and Pavel's romance bloomed. While the old home inherited some foreboding qualities, like "heavy steps" and "blistering walls," both the opening and the closing reminded readers that the "unwritten" and the "forgotten" lived on through the walls.[83] The home, like an eternal caretaker, preserved the memory of Ester and Pavel's pure and simple love.

In the film, the shared building became both Pavel and Hanka's personal dominion and their prison. The storeroom was a tenuously safe space, but one over which Hanka had no control (recall that Pavel declared himself her "king, Caesar, dictator" of the space).[84] Though her bonding with Pavel was a positive experience, she languished there, thinking often of suicide and death, in spite of her love and appreciation of Pavel. The shared spaces of the building, especially, were anything but comforting. The addition of new characters, as well as Weiss's cinematic strategies helped to add an alienating and oppressive quality to the home space. Weiss attempted to "recreate [the] reality" of living in fear of reprisals for basic human kindness with editing, framing, and extratextual elements. The grandfather's clock building, for example, contributed to an incessant ticking. A constant high-pitched, unsettling chirping of birds, and the sound of Kubiasová's barking dog could be heard at any time. These sounds were often asynchronous; the origin of the noise lurked off-screen, invisible to the viewer.[85] As an American film reviewer commented, the sounds and spaces contributed to a sort of heightened claustrophobia: "the film is full of accidents, of objects, none of them standing for something

[82] Otčenášek, *Romeo, Julie a tma,* 9
[83] Ibid.
[84] See footnote 31.
[85] Only the clocks are visible with the ticking noises. For more on synchronous and asynchronous sound, see Kracauer, *Theory of Film,* 128-132.

else but all of them taken for what they are and heightened, sometimes unbearably. For once, a bird is not a symbol of the unfettered spirit… this one chirps at a level too shrill to be borne." [86]

Detailed sound notes in Weiss's scripts are evidence of the intentionality of these "accidents."[87] For Weiss, proper editing of real, everyday sounds and spaces helped to "recreate [the] reality"[88] of life during the occupation. Camera angles often framed Pavel uncomfortably cramped by the house's walls and staircases, dark shadows cast over spaces in the house (Images 3.14 – 3.17). Any encounter Pavel had while walking the hallways threatened to expose him. Diegetic noises and framing functioned to make the viewer feel the stress and claustrophobia that Pavel faced as he struggled to navigate his desire to help Hanka and his fear of exposure.

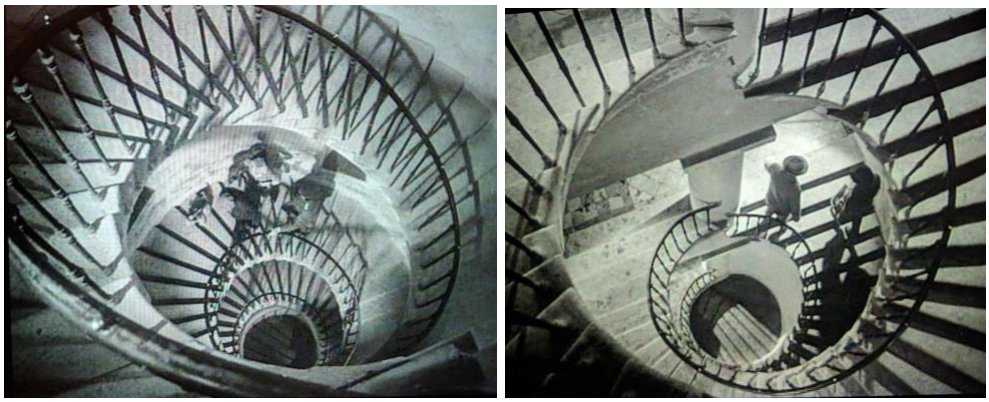


Image 3.15 and **3.16.** Figures lurking on the spiral staircase, dramatic lighting creating a dizzying effect. Source: *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* dir. by Jiří Weiss (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1960).

[86] Joseph Kostolefsky, "Review: Romeo, Juliet, and Darkness," *Film Quarterly* vol.14, no. 2 (1960): 49-50.
[87] Jiří Weiss and Jan Otčenášek, "Romeo, Julie a tma: Technický scenář (1969)," S-963-TS-A, NFA, Prague, CZ.
[88] Liehm, *Closely Watched Films*, 60-1.


Image 3.17 and **3.18.** Pavel crouched and confined in various corners of the building. Source: *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* dir. by Jiří Weiss (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1960).

It is possible that these cinematic strategies were meant to replace the inner monologues that disappeared when adapting the novel. Weiss's own commentary on his work, however, suggests that these extra-textual elements were part of his intentional desire to emphasize the lack of resistance to inhuman political policies.[89] Using sounds and visuals to invite the viewer to feel Pavel's heightened sense of stress and inner conflict lead to a broader identification with Pavel himself. In the moment in which Hanka finally escaped, Pavel was left devastated, banging on the locked main doorway to the building. The viewer, conditioned by the claustrophobic sounds and visuals of the home, was told to understand Pavel's moments as their own, and thus to understand the Jewish loss as an acutely painful experience.

Without Beauty, Without Collar / The Fifth Horseman is Fear

Hana Bělohrádská's 1962 novel *Without Beauty, Without Collar* takes more obvious inspiration from Jiří Weil's *Life with a Star.* The novel followed a short period in the life of the ostracized Dr. Armín Braun, who had been removed from his house, his profession, and now occupied an "approved" one-room apartment and worked cataloguing confiscated property from

[89] Refer back to Adamec, "Režiséř Jiří Weiss o svém novém filmu," 272; Liehm, *Closely Watched Films,* 69.

Jews in the warehouse installed at the Spanish Synagogue in Prague. The novel focused on the residents of Dr. Braun's building, and how they responded to an impending Gestapo search.

The other residents of the building included an eccentric retired piano teacher, a wealthy "intellectual family," a fastidious member of the "Civil Defense Brigade," a woman who kept rabbits and was hard of hearing, and a young family (the Šidláks). Several of these residents, particularly the young family and the "intellectual family" (as they were called in the script), served to emphasize the stark contrast between theirs and Dr. Braun's reality. The family of Dr. Veselý (the intellectual) lived in lavish comfort. Moreover, their lives were frivolous and excessive: the son wandered around taunting the house dog out of boredom, Dr. Veselý was having an affair, and his wife was being groomed and pampered constantly. The novel emphasized contrasts between their luxury and Braun's deprivation by providing vignettes into their lives, including a scene where Mrs. Veselý hires a masseuse.[90]

The main conflict of the story centered around the arrival of an injured resistance fighter who sought help from his cousin, Mr. Šidlák, after suffering a gunshot wound. Mr. Šidlák, in turn, came to Armín Braun for help with his cousin's injuries. The need for morphine sent Braun on a nightmarish journey through Jewish Prague – to a colleague (whose wife had gone crazy), a Jewish-only bar, and a sanatorium. The novel emphasized Braun's mental state through an omniscient narrator, that described his actions and his thoughts on his precarity and degradation as a Jew in occupied Prague.[91]

Director Zbyněk Brynych saw these elements of the novel, and immediately understood it as a broader story about "three categories of people":

> Those who are above the law – in our film, the Commissar and his four helpers. They decide, govern, and violate, when they don't have anyone to punish. The law is

[90] Ibid 82-4.
[91] Hana Bělohradská, *Bez krásy, bez límce* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1962).

> underneath them, because it's theirs. The second category of people are "within the law" – in our story, the inhabitants of the building. They are most numerous. There are so many of them, that they can be unsafe and also safe in their own way. And then there are people outside the law, living in illegality, deprived of freedom and rights. For example, Braun in our film. I wanted to make a novelistic film about human fates, divided according to this rubric. The law of tragedy, and often of life, is that those who must die are the most likable actors in the drama…[92]

Brynych's use of the word "Commissar," originally used to describe an official in the Communist Party, was in fact appropriate. Over the course of the transformations that Brynych would make to the novel and various iterations of the script, context would be nearly entirely removed. What was once the uniformed, German-speaking Gestapo in Bělohrádská's novel became a Czech-speaking Commissar with his four "citizen" helpers in black suits and ties – the four horsemen of the apocalypse. The film, by the final script, was named *The Fifth Horseman is Fear*, emphasizing the shift in focus on the role of fear in determining "human fates."[93]

This film was Brynych's second foray into Jewish narratives of World War II, having completed *Transport from Paradise* (Transport z ráje) in 1963.[94] Though set in Terezín concentration camp, his earlier film also dealt with questions of passivity, conformism, resistance, and the psychological consequences of oppression. Building upon strategies in *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* and *Transport from Paradise*, Brynych transformed Bělohradská's novel into a psychological exploration of conformism and resistance within a nightmarish society where fear, neighborly mistrust, and betrayal governed daily life. Brynych used material

[92] Zbyněk Brynych in an interview with Agáta Pilátová, "Pátý jezdec zkázy," *Kino* vol. 19, no. 11 (1964): 2.
[93] The only script with the changed title is Zbyněk Brynych, Jan Kališ, Milan Nejedlý, Ester Krumbachová, Ota Koval, "…a pátý jezdec je strach: Technický scénář (undated)," S-27-TS-B, NFA, Prague, CZ. Scripts with the original novel title (all located at NFA in Prague) include: Hana Bělohradská and Zbyněk Brynych, "Bez krásy, bez límce, Literární scénář (1963)," S-27-LS, S-27-LS-A, S-27-LS-B; Zbyněk Brynych, Jan Kališ, Milan Nejedlý, Ester Krumbachová, Ota Koval, "…a pátý jezdec je strach: Technický scénář (1963)," S-27-TS, S-27-TS-A. Some of these additional script versions are simply duplicates, while others exhibit small changes. The most dramatic changes include between the literary script (LS scripts) and the technical script (TS scripts), and between TS-A and TS-B, the final version.
[94] Zbyněk Brynych, *Transport z ráje* (Prague: Barrandov Film Studios, 1963). It was based on a story from Arnošt Lustig's *Noc a naděje* (discussed in Chapter One).

contrasts, framing, and music to draw the viewer into the experience of living within this shared house.

Material contrasts primarily distinguished Braun from the other residents of the apartment. Dr. Braun lived in a bare room in the back of a dark and cramped attic (Image 3.18). The Veselý's large apartment, where Mrs. Veselý got massages and her husband illicitly spoke with his lover, was adorned with leather bound books, figurines, and art (Image 3.20). Mrs. Šidlák spent many of her scenes admiring herself in the mirror with an entire wall of fashion magazine cutouts behind her (Image 3.19). Veselý's own words to his son, "A hero is… someone who dies unnecessarily. Unlike all the rest, who live unnecessarily," was a striking self-condemnation of his own and his neighbors' lifestyles. While these contrasts were part of the original novel, this added line made apparent how the rest of the shared house's residents sacrificed their values for their own material comfort.[95]

Image 3.19. Braun in his one room apartment in the attic. Source: *...a pátý jezdec je Strach*, dir. by Zbyněk Brynych (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1965).

[95] Jiří Adamíra (playing Karel Veselý) in *...a pátý jezdec je Strac*h, directed by Zbyněk Brynych (Prague: Barrandov Film Studios, 1965).

Image 3.20. Mrs. Šidlák eying herself in a mirror in front of a wall plastered in magazine ads. Source: *...a pátý jezdec je Strach*, dir. by Zbyněk Brynych (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1965).

Image 3.21. A panning shot of objects in the Veselý's apartment. Source: *...a pátý jezdec je Strach*, dir. by Zbyněk Brynych (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1965).

These frivolous activities and superficial lifestyles contrasted Dr. Braun's two spaces: first, his bare apartment, and second, the excessively cluttered space of the Spanish Synagogue, where he worked cataloguing possessions of Jewish families. In essence, Braun lived between two dichotomies – complete deprivation (forced to move from his home to a bare attic and forbidden from his profession) and nightmarish excess (labyrinthine storerooms of hundreds of clocks, pianos, chairs collected from Jewish homes). These scenes were overlaid with "nervous sounds of a piano," in one reviewer's words.[96] Without his occupation and a sense of place, Dr. Braun was clearly losing his sense of reality in a world where his friends and acquaintances were constantly being removed from their lives, and regulations controlled every part of his world. In an early scene, Dr. Braun hallucinated the presence of a moving truck collecting the possessions of his colleagues, the Lederer's. Throughout the film, the visuals and the sounds (and the interaction between the two), continually instilled a sense of uncertainty and discomfort in the viewer, constantly destabilizing one's understanding of what was real and what was not, paralleling the strain on Braun's own mind.

[96] Miloš Fiala, "…a pátý jezdec je Strach," *Rudé právo*, February 18, 1965, 5.

Image 3.22 – 3.24. Braun among a dizzying array of Jewish property in three scenes in immediate succession. Contrast with this workplace with his residence (Image 2.18). Source: *...a pátý jezdec je Strach*, dir. by Zbyněk Brynych (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1965).

The film, for example, opened by alternating scenes of deserted doorways, alleys, and stairwells – with one man standing ominously within them—to bustling scenes of Prague city life and entire walls plastered with Nazi decrees saying, "Promptly and accurately reporting information ensures your safety." A small swastika on each of these posters was the only obvious marker of that the film's setting was the Nazi occupation (Image 2.24). The music alternated between jazzy and ominous, with the most impending crescendo when the scene cut to Prague's bustling streets, implying that danger existed, in fact, with everyday life among Czech citizens, rather than in isolated pathways and spaces.

Image 3.25. The singular visual reference to the Nazi Occupation. Source: *...a pátý jezdec je Strach*, dir. by Zbyněk Brynych (Prague: Barrandov Film Studio, 1965)

The danger of one's countrymen was reinforced by scenes within the collective building. Similar to Weiss in *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* Brynych amplified natural sounds – a dog barking, prolonged telephones ringing, steps on stairs, yelling between residents (particularly the hard-of-hearing woman), crying baby, relentless humming – to add to a sense of grating invasiveness in all of the residents' private lives. These sounds were often asynchronous, meaning that the origin of the noise lurked off-screen, invisible to the viewer. "Every sound," a *New York Times* reviewer wrote when the film went to the United States in 1968, "is a threat."[97] Lights flickered off and on in the hallway, and perspectives often framed the residents in corners or as being observed from through the winding staircase. These cinematic strategies, following the example of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* imparted to the viewer the same sense of heightened tension that the residents of the house, particularly Dr. Braun, might have felt.

[97] Renata Adler, "The Screen: Every Sound is a Threat," *New York Times*, May 7, 1968, 52.

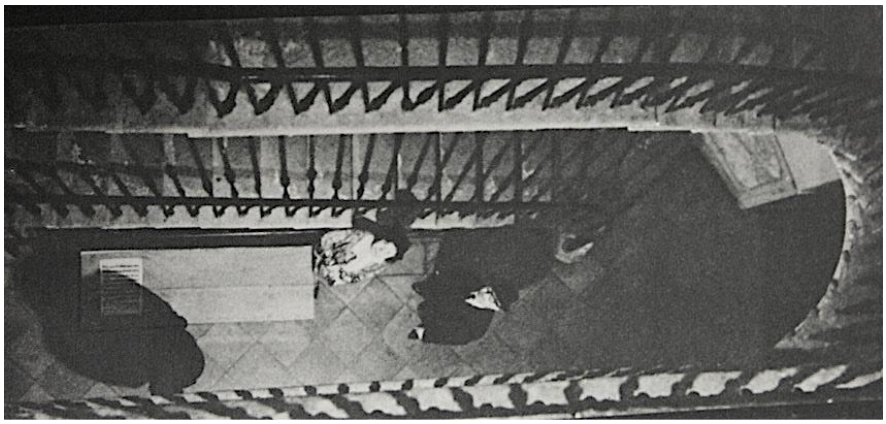


Image 3.26. A typical stairway scene, showcased in a promotional pamphlet. Source: …*a pátý jezdec je strach* (Prague: Ústřední půjčovna filmů, propagační oddělení), Folder "…a pátý jezdec je strach" (953), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ.

Through the layering of cinematic techniques, Brynych decreased the distance between subject and viewer, created a parallel sense of fear and discomfort in the viewer. Framing frequently placed one speaker off camera, making it seem as if Dr. Braun was speaking to himself or hearing voices. As the camera panned, the viewer saw that Dr. Braun had, in fact, not yet lost his grip on reality. Yet, in other scenes, the camera never tracked from Dr. Braun's soliloquy in his bare room, leaving the viewer with a constant sense of uncertainty of what was "real" and what was Braun's fractured mental state. Likewise, Brynych added combined framing strategies with musical and sound elements to create an unclear sense of reality for the viewer. In one scene, the sounds of soccer played on in Dr. Braun's room. One assumed these sounds to be non-diegetic, some added figment of Braun's imagination. Minutes later, the camera panned to Braun's window, and the viewer saw a soccer game happening outside his window.

These heightened and disorienting cinematic qualities amplified as Braun moved further and further into his task of procuring morphine for the injured resistance fighter. The film emphasized the absurdity of Šidlák coming to Dr. Braun and Braun's precariousness: Braun repeatedly told Šidlák that he had no power with the nervous assertion "I'm, somehow, outside

the law."[98] Sounds continued to play an important role in highlighting the absurd horror of Braun's encounter with a Jewish woman who had gone crazy, his visit to a bar (a nightmarish place of contrasts: entertainment and despair, relief and tension, normalcy and insanity), and finally to a sanatorium. The cacophony and large groups of people crammed in small spaces mirrored the claustrophobic clutter of Braun's job in the storeroom. While these noises were technically synchronous – originating from people visible on the screen – Brynych still managed to make these noises de-stabilizing, disorienting, and threatening. Constant babbling and music that started and suddenly stopped for no apparent reason contributed to an overall lack of certainty about what is real and what is not.

Eventually, the experience of fostering the injured resistance fighter affected the rest of the residents. Like Braun, other residents were also portrayed with framing techniques to make them appear to talk to themselves, emphasizing their mental collapse under the stress of being exposed. Dr. Braun carried the injured resistance fighter from floor to floor, avoiding the watchful eyes of the Commissar and his assistants. On a second visit, the Commissar collected all of the residents in the basement, intending to search Dr. Braun's room again. Cramped in the small space, their fear and cowardice reached a fever pitch – they prayed, cried and laughed, screamed about not wanting to die, and panicked self-reassurances that it was their "duty" to report to the authorities. Of this scene, Brynych told an interviewer, the spaces were perfectly symbolic: the commissar and his men waited "above the law" in the lobby, while the residents were below in the dark. Briefly, the residents knew what Braun felt being "outside of the law."[99]

[98] Miroslav Macháček in *...a pátý jezdec je Strach.* The line in the script is "Jsem jaksi mimo zákon," in Obraz 20. The phrase is repeated a few pages later in Obraz 21. Zbyněk Brynych, Jan Kališ, Milan Nejedlý, Ester Krumbachová, Ota Koval, "…a pátý jezdec je strach: Technický scénář (undated)," S-27-TS-B, NFA, Prague, CZ.
[99] Pilátová, "Pátý jezdec zkázy," 3.

In the last scene, Braun's actions have striking parallels with actions typically ascribed for female Jewish characters in 1960's Czechoslovak films. Braun returned to the home, having helped the resistance fighter escape in the night, to the Commissar and his "four horsemen." He killed himself with a cyanide pill with the parting words, "A man is as he thinks, you can't change that."[100] The film portrayed his rejection of his position "outside of the law" – exemplified by his actions over the course of the film, and particularly his suicide – as a reclamation of his identity and selfhood. For much of the film, Braun had been effeminized – timid, cautious, and afraid. Not unlike Hanka, Marta, or Dita, Braun's final act of suicide is portrayed as tragiheroic. The film's division between the hero Braun, "who died unnecessarily," and the other residents, "who lived unnecessarily," was obvious.

Brynych's cinematic techniques were highly effective at instilling similar sensations in the viewer as the characters might experience: confusion, discomfort, and instability. The film rested on an inherent ambiguity, which allowed viewers to take multiple messages from the films. In part, Brynych managed to accomplish this by relying heavily on extra-textual elements to tell Braun's story. It also seems likely that Brynych succeeded, in part, by manipulating the Czechoslovak film system. Frequent annotations, whole blocked texts marked out, and pasted passages in the final script suggest that Brynych was removing more and more political context with each iteration.

In the original novel and early iterations of the script, the Gestapo were marked by German speech and appropriate uniformed clothing. By the final version, the Gestapo spoke Czech and dress in suits and ties. [101] Overt references to communist resistance were removed.

[100] Miroslav Macháček in *...á pátý jezdec je Strach.*
[101] For the German-speaking Gestapo, see Hana Bělohradská and Zbyněk Brynych, "Bez krásy, bez límce, Literární scénář (1963)," S-27-LS, NFA, Prague, CZ; for the Czech speaking Commissar, see Zbyněk Brynych, Jan Kališ,

The bar where Braun searched for his colleague, Dr. Weiner, was originally labeled a "Jewish Bar" in the script. In the final cut, it was referred to as "Desperation Bar." The sanatorium, however, remained marked as "Jewish," where one doctor informed Braun that there were "twenty Jewish suicide attempts a day."[102] Otherwise, only the small insignia on the plastered regulations definitively marked the period as the Nazi Occupation. Two of the most memorable lines from the film – Veselý's definition of a hero and Braun's assertion of being "outside the law" – were both added to the technical script (or "shooting script"), and the latter not until the final version. It was also in the last version of the script that the injured man lost all obvious political affiliations.[103] Brynych slowly removed contextual references, making it a more broadly accessible message about surveillance, fear, life "outside the pale," courage, and conformism. These concerted shifts from the original script and novel served to decreased the distance between the viewer in contemporary Czechoslovakia and the circumstances of the plot.

Commentators abroad particularly recognized the collapsing of historic chronology. The film "ostensibly concerns a Jewish doctor during the German occupation who operates on an injured anti-Nazi, thereby exposing all his neighbours to the scrutiny of the Gestapo; but no Nazis appear, the investigators wear plain clothes, and the exterior shots look strictly contemporary."[104] "Given the undated implications of the story," an American reviewer wrote, "it is remarkable that 'The Fifth Horseman' should have come out of present Czechoslovakia."

Milan Nejedlý, Ester Krumbachová, Ota Koval, "…a pátý jezdec je strach: Technický scénář (1963)," S-27-TS, NFA, Prague, CZ.

[102] Ivo Gübel (playing the asylum doctor) in *...á pátý jezdec je Strach.*

[103] See Zbyněk Brynych, Jan Kališ, Milan Nejedlý, Ester Krumbachová, Ota Koval, "…a pátý jezdec je strach: Technický scénář (undated)," S-27-TS-B, NFA, Prague, CZ.

[104] Kenneth Tynan, "Czech Films Excel: Kafka is Hero of the post-Stalin Cultural Thaw," *The Jerusalem Post*, April 28, 1965, 7. A nearly verbatim statement was also made by Marjory Adams, " 'Horseman' candidate for top import of '68," *Boston Globe*, July 3, 1968, 15.

He noted implied contemporary relevance of the "phenomenon of betrayal and oppression of citizen against citizen in a climate of fear," which were "not unique to the Nazi Occupation."[105]

Even more remarkable, Czechoslovak directors also commented on these elements of the film. One reviewer, for example, admitted he was initially perturbed by the "historical inaccuracies" of Brynych's version, but admitted this new story was not about the "time-specific, politically constrained institution of the Gestapo, but the timeless and more significant Secret Police."[106] Even when domestic reviewers were not this explicit, they recognized that the film was more broadly about the "mechanisms of fear... fear's deformation of man…and the search for individual freedom and human values." Even the reviewer in the *Rudé pravo,* the main communist party daily and known for its strict adherence to party lines, emphasized the contemporary relevance of the work by calling the film "a warning."[107] *The Fifth Horseman is Fear* was ultimately emblematic of the way Jewish narratives became increasingly expansive, expected to hold critiques of Czechoslovak society during the Nazi occupation, of stalinist surveillance techniques, and create ways for Czechs and Slovaks to understand the experience of being Jewish all at once.

The Unfriendly Neighbor and the Oppressive Home in other Czech and Slovak Narratives

Cinematically adapting concepts of "home" during Nazi Occupation was all about making the viewer *feel* the discomfort and disorientation of the characters in the film. This was, for example, how Jan Němec's critically acclaimed film *Diamonds of the Night* (Demanty noci)

[105] Charles Champlin, "Kafkaesque 'Fear' From the Czechs," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1968, C1.
[106] Jiří Brdečka, "Raději strach než STRACH," *Divadlo* no. 6 (1965): 69.
[107] Fiala, "…a pátý jezdec je Strach."

functioned. The 1964 film, which focused on two teenage boys escaping a transport, was based off a story in Arnošt Lustig's 1958 collection *Night and Hope*. In Lustig's story, the two boys spoke frequently, encouraging each other and strategizing their escape, whereas in the film, they hardly talk at all.[108] Instead, the viewer moved through the Czech countryside from their vantage point, hearing their steps and their breath, watching their hallucinations of a cold and empty Prague, where people stare at them in their *Konzentrationslager* camp jackets yet refuse to acknowledge them. "Home," in this case, was less about a singular domicile than a broader concept of nation and place (Prague and its surroundings). *Diamonds of the Night* immersed the viewer in the boys' isolation, fatigue, and feverish hallucinations.[109] Like Brynych, the director Němec was interested in "the problem of human existence under boundary conditions of fear and physical exhaustion, of humiliation of human dignity…I am not concerned with telling the spectators when and where these occurrences happened."[110] Nonetheless, the film suggested that the central question was whether Czechoslovakia, either during the occupation or afterwards, was a place that cultivated the conditions of fear and humiliation.

Home was a particularly important concept in narratives that dealt with the fracturing psyche of the narrator. This is evident in two of Ladislav Fuk's literary works: *Mr. Theodor Mundstock* (Pan Theodor Mundstock) and *The Cremator / Spalovač mrtvol* (described briefly in the previous section). The former focused on a Jewish man who, under the mental strain of his position, began practicing for his own deportation. He communicates with only one set of neighbors; for much of the novel he is isolated in his own apartment, talking mostly with his

[108] Arnošt Lustig, "Tma nemá stín," *Noc a naděje, Démanty noci, Dita Saxová,* 247-299 (Prague: *Československý spisvatel*, 1966). Originally published in 1958 in *Démanty noci*.
[109] Jan Němec, *Demánty noci* (Prague: Barrandov Film Studios, 1964). For a contemporary interpretation of the immersive experience: Gustav Francl, "Nový český film: Démanty noci," *Lidová demokracie*, October 2, 1964.
[110] *Diamonds of the Night* (Prague: Československý film Press Department, 1963), 2, Folder "Démanty noci" (939), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ.

shadow.[111] In the latter, the home was Kopfrkingl's domain of madness, where he planned to murder his Jewish wife and their children in order to "save" them from the threat of Nazism. The cinematic adaptation of *The Cremator* illustrated the continual borrowing of cinematic strategies. Director Juraj Herz (assistant to Klos and Kadár for *The Shop on Main Street* and Brynych for *Transport from Paradise*) frequently framed the narrator Karel Kopfrkringl in monologue, addressing the camera. Following Brynych's strategies, the camera often shifted or panned from Kopfrkringl's monologues into new scenes, where Kopfrikringl was either with his family or out with friends, emphasizing the destabilization of the main character's psyche.[112] These films combined real life with expressionism, attempting to make the atmosphere of the Occupation feel real for the viewer. These strategies were often mobilized in films that focused on a Jewish protagonist that lived "outside the pale of the law," or more broadly on the character attempting most to reclaim their humanity during inhumane times.[113]

Even in less existential narratives, however, home was still an important concept. *The Shop on Main Street, Dita Saxová, Death is Called Engelchen,* and *Birds, Orphans and Fools* also dealt with the concept of home and belonging. Tono's attachment to Rozálie was built on dynamics of domesticity. Framing in the film emphasized Tono's discomfort with his own self-serving family and his comfort with Rozálie and her neighbors, who lived amongst each other with acceptance. In this case, ideas of domestic comfort and discomfort were instrumental in showing which moral "world" Tono fit in best. A village that housed the partisans became a sort of proxy home to Marta and Volod'a in *Death is Called Engelchen*. Marta found the war irrevocably stole the comfort of her home from her, feeling the war would never leave her. In

[111] Ladislav Fuks, *Pan Theodor Mundstock* (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1963).
[112] Juraj Herz, *Spalovač mrtvol*; Ladislav Fuks, *Spalovač mrtvol*.
[113] Non-Jewish characters examined this way include Pavel from *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* and Tono in *The Shop on Main Street.*

Birds, Orphans and Fools, the Slovak Yorick and Polish Andrzej attempted to build a home with the Jewish Marta in their squat, but fail. For Dita Saxová, the alienating "home" was Europe more broadly. As the promotional pamphlet for *Dita Saxová* put it: "the political circumstances have changed in Czechoslovakia. Dita doesn't know if she only has home in her memories from childhood. Where is her place?"[114]

Fundamentally, this was the primary question posed to viewers and readers: could Czechoslovakia be a home that protected people from injustice? Films particularly attempted to confront people with these challenges by drawing them mentally into the experience of fear and humiliation, and inviting them to share in the characters' ethical quandaries. For example, one reviewer described accidentally encountering the filming of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* in front of the National Theater, and how real the Nazi Occupation suddenly felt again. [115] In 1969, the magazine *Květy* solicited reader letters for Jozef Króner, who played Tono in *The Shop on Main Street*. In spite of four years passing since the film's release, six of the letters were explicitly about *The Shop on Main Street*, and primarily what it was like to work with Ida Kaminská and the experience of acting in such an important film. In a striking letter, a viewer wrote about having grown up in the town where the movie was filmed, and how much the film was evocative of the place to her. In particular, she recalled a Jewish button-shop owner the town who "very much resembled Ms. Kaminská in the film."[116] In addition to these examples of being triggered

[114] "Dita Saxová, Distribuční list č 20/68," Folder "Dita Saxová" (1038), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ.
[115] Goldscheider, "Romeo, Julie a tma."
[116] Letter from Jiřina Havlíková, April 10, 1969, Folder 7, Jozef Króner collection, SFU, 02.07.2003, Bratislava, SK. Other letters are in the same folder.

by faces or scenes, reviews also suggested that readers and viewers were effectively drawn into the feelings and dilemmas of the characters they followed.[117]

Interaction, Reception and Conclusions

These two themes – the Jewish heroine and home –served to suggest several important things about the relationship between Jews and Czechs/Slovaks. First, these novels and films emphasized that the decimation of the Jewish population was a devastating loss for Czechs and Slovaks. Second, these novels and films attempted help viewers imagine the stress, anxiety, isolation, and fear of the characters. Third, they made Jews tragi-heroic characters. They did so by idealizing death, and particularly suicide, as a heroic act of rejecting inhuman politics. Fourth, they used motifs that allowed viewers and readers access into the space that Jews and their rare allies were living in, inviting them to imagine alongside or even as the characters. Finally, through all of these strategies, they suggested that Czechs and Slovaks could be like Jews – particularly if they chose to reject conformism and uphold humane political values (even if that were only possible in death). As F.R. Kraus, the reviewer of the *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* novel for the newsletter of the Jewish community of Prague wrote: in his survival, Pavel was "putting a hand to work, to build a new society, a new order that will respect all honest people regardless of race and skin color."[118]

How did spectators and readers of various types respond to these works? In spite of the fact that many of these narratives – the films in particular – made implicit critiques of Czechoslovak society, state authorities continually allowed their release. In part, this was

[117] For a sample, see A.J. Liehm, "Mimo řádný debut," *Divadelní a filmové noviny* vol. 8, no. 3 (1964): 6; Roger Ebert, "The Fifth Horseman is Fear," July 30, 1968, *RogerEbert.Com, https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/the-fifth-horseman-is-fear-1968;* Kraus, "Otčenáškova Anna Franková;" Goldscheider, "Romeo, Julie a tma."
[118] F.R. Kraus, "Otčenáškova Anna Franková," 10.

because the Czechoslovak government was pleased with international recognition these films received. This was evident as early as 1949, when Czechoslovakia's first Holocaust film, *A Distant Journey*, was banned as "too expressionistic." Yet, the central film agency had no problem making money off its screening in other countries.[119] In each of the cases in this chapter, international prestige likely helped to solidify the regime's favor towards the films. Recall that Weiss was criticized for his interpretation of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*. What eventually solidified *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* as an "accepted" film was its international recognition. In summer of 1960, it won the "Golden Shell" award at the San Sebastian Film Festival in Spain. In particular, it was after this win that international commentators began describing the film as the "Czech Anne Frank" – placing Czechoslovakia's cultural works on the scale of a major international cultural phenomenon.[120] Unlike, for example, in Poland, where party officials were constantly concerned about Poland's public image abroad, Czech officials were ultimately less concerned about non-heroic portrayals of Occupied Czechoslovakia than they were about international recognition.[121]

Like *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness, Death is Called Engelchen* was reinforced by international prestige. First, it won the Golden Prize at the Third International Moscow Film Festival in 1963. With the legitimation of Soviet regime, both Ladislav Mňačko (for the script) and Kadár and Klos (for the film) were awarded the Klement Gottwald State Prize in 1963.[122] International prestige also cemented the acceptability of *The Fifth Horseman is Fear*, in spite of the thinly veiled metaphors for stalinism. In this particular case, Brynych likely manipulated the

[119] *Zpravodajství Ústřední správy Československého filmu*, no. 3 (1959), 11. On the film's banning, see Jiří. Cieslar, "Daleká Cesta/ Distant Journey," in *The Cinema of Central Europe*, edited by Peter Hames (London: Wallflower Press, 2004), 45–54.
[120] See Footnote 23.
[121] "Długa noc: Stenogram z Komisji Ocen Scenariuszy w dniu 28 października 1966 r," A-214 poz 430, and "Długa noc: Stenogram z posiedzenia Komisji Kolaudacyjnej w dniu 15.6.67," A-216 poz 132, FN, Warsaw.
[122] Výstrižky 1, Smrť sa volá Engelchen [dokumentačná zložka], 07.10.2010 AACR2, SFU, Bratislava, SK.

state's emphasis on the literary script.[123] Censors could continue to imagine the injured man as a socialist and the Commissar and his henchmen as the Gestapo, because that was how the script had originally been written. The fact that *The Fifth Horseman is Fear* won the "Golden Plaque" main prize from the "International Festival of Resistance Films" in Cuneo, Italy the same year that it premiered likely helped to cement the state's impression of the film's political perspective.[124]

Major international awards would continue to confirm the prestige value of Jewish narratives in Czechoslovak cinema for much of the 1960s. By 1963, however, distribution of these films was also aided by a sympathetic Czechoslovak Film Board. The 25 members of the board included: directors Zbyněk Brynych (*Transport from Paradise,*1963 and *The Fifth Horseman is Fear,* 1965), Jiří Weiss (*Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* 1960), Vojtěch Jasný (co-collaborator on an unrealized 1958 film with Arnošt Lustig and Ludvík Aškenazy about Jews during the Nazi Occupation), and Petr Solan (*The Boxer and Death*, 1962, adapted from a story by the Polish-Jewish author Józef Hen); journalists Jiří Pitterman and František Goldscheider (two frequent and/or favorable reviewers of films with Jewish themes); and scriptwriter and dramaturg Jan Procházka, who would later make a public stand against the state's anti-Israel policy in 1967 (see Chapter 5).[125] By the early 1960s, engagement with Jewish themes was so

[123] On the focus on the literary script, see Szczepanik, "How Many Steps to the Shooting Script?" 74.
[124] See "Zlatá plaketa ze 3 mezinárodního festivalu odbojových filmů v Cuneo, Italie, za film 'a pátý jezdec je Strach,' 1965," Zbyněk Brynych collection, I/9, no. inv. 26, NFA, Prague, CZ. For other awards, see "A pátý jezdec je Strach," *Filmový přehled*, http://www.filmovyprehled.cz/cs/film/396610/a-paty-jezdec-je-strach . Brynych's reputation, too, may have helped; *Transport from Paradise* had won many prizes, including recognition at the Cuneo festival and the State Prize for Brynych. See "Transport z ráje," *Filmový přehled,* http://www.filmovyprehled.cz/cs/film/396483/transport-z-raje .
[125] For more on Jasný's script, see "My tři se nerozdejem: literární scenář (1958)," S-2429-LS-A, NFA, Prague, CZ; Veronika Zýková, "Nerealizované filmové projekty Ludvíka Aškenazyho," *25fps*, February 25, 2011, http://25fps.cz/2011/nerealizova-filmove-projekty-ludvika-askenazyho/. For more on Petr Solan and Józef Hen, see Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows,* 55-56; "Józef Hen," *Culture.pl,* https://culture.pl/pl/tworca/jozef-hen.
On Pitterman and Goldscheider's reviews, see Appendix D.

widespread within the literary and cinematic community that it shaped the realm of possibility for future writers and filmmakers.

Novels and films about Jews appeared within such close temporal proximity of one another that overlaps were obvious to contemporary commentators. Comparison across works occurred nearly as soon as themes about Jews were published in the post-Stalinist moment, because Lustig's short-story collection *Night and Hope* and Otčenášek's *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* were two of the most talked about books of 1958. Contemporary commentators remarked upon how these new World War II narratives were changing war memory and the Czechoslovak cultural scene.[126] Links between "occupation themes," the "new word" or "second wave" in Czechoslovak literature became characteristic of commenting upon any novel or film about Jews. Frequent adaptation of novels into films, as well as television screenings or special viewings for youth clubs after the films left theaters,[127] kept these topics fresh when they might have otherwise been forgotten. The combination of the production of new narratives and continual adaptation and re-circulation of old narratives encouraged reviewers to put individual works in explicit conversation with others, often drawing broader messages about persecution of Jews and the dangers of conformism.[128]

126 František Benhart, "Příležitosti prvotin," *Plamen* vol. 5, no. 1 (1963), 116; Aleš Haman, "O tak zvané 'druhé vlně" válečné prózy v naši současné literature," *Česká literatura* vol. 9, no. 4 (1961): 513-520; František Kautman, "O čtyřech prózách roku 1958," *Kultura* vol. 3, no. 2 (1959): 4.

127 Recall *Death is Called Engelchen* was first made into a television film in Slovakia, as was *A Prayer for Katherine Horowitz.* For some samples of television screenings of feature films, see: "Neděle 22.1.1967," Čs. Televize, 16.1.1967, Výstrižky 4, Obchod na korze [dokumentačná zložka], 05.10.2010 AACR2, SFU, SK; Filmová tvorba a distribúcia," Výstrižky 1, Smrť sa volá Engelchen [dokumentačná zložka], 07.10.2010 AACR2, SFU, Bratislava, SK. For some sample Youth Club screenings, see "Filmový klub mládeže uvádí 'Romeo, Julie a tma'," Folder "Romeo, Julie a tma" (759 A-B), Reklamní materiály collection, NFA, Prague, CZ; Liehm, "Jan Kadár - Elmar Klos," *Ostře sledované filmy*, 128.

128 For a non-exhaustive list, see Ivan Soeldner, "Má stále co říci," *Hlas revoluce* vol. 17, no. 3 (1964): 3; Ivan Soeldner, "Válka – opět jinak," was on the same page with two other articles ("Film z období Slovenského státu" and "Nové knihy") about Holocaust works in *Hlas revoluce* vol. 17, no. 19 (1964): 5; Agáta Pilátová, "Nad prvním," *Kino* vol. 19, no. 3 (1964): 2-3; Jiří Opelík, "Událost," *Kulturní tvorba* vol. 1, no. 19 (1963): 10; Antonín Jelínek, "Fantasmagorie a válka," *Kulturní tvorba* 2, no. 13 (1964): 12. This was common with *The Fifth Horseman is Fear*, because Brynych had recently made the concentration camp film *Transport from Paradise.* See, Jiří Pitterman, "…a

Commentary stressed that lessons about alienating and controlling systems and the tragedies of human loss were not specific to the occupation period, and necessarily reverberated in the present.[129] The more that a novel or a film attempted to use home to explore the psychological consequences of repression, the more indebted the work was to the legitimation of Kafka in 1963. Domestic and international commentators alike were convinced of the "Orwellian" and "Kafkaesque" qualities of these works.[130] Decontextualization – which was particularly common in works that focused on nation, place, and home – allowed for these stories to be interpreted as thinly veiled metaphors for contemporary life. Because the Slánský Trial was a benchmark of stalinist political rule, discussing anti-Semitism and the public's willingness to accept anti-Semitism became an implied way of being critical of Czechoslovak society during the occupation *and* stalinism. In these works, we see a glimpse of this implied parallel in *The Fifth Horseman is Fear*, though it would become a much more overt argument within intellectual circles after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War (Chapter 4).

Readership is difficult to determine with absolute certainty, though continued republication suggests that these works were popular. For example, *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* was republished six times by 1967, and adapted twice (into a film and an opera). Every edition had a new cover, proving that at the very least, editorial staff, illustrators and graphic designers

pátý jezdec je strach," *Kino* vol. 20, no. 5 (1965): 7; Jaroslav Boček "…a pátý jezdec je strach," *Kulturní tvorba* vol. 3, no. 8 (1965): 12; Brdečka, "Raději strach než STRACH;" A.J. Liehm, "Filmový sloupek," *Literární noviny* vol. 14, no. 8 (1965): 9; Svatoslav Svoboda, "…a pátý jezdec je strach," *Mladá fronta*, February 11, 1965; Drahomíra Novotná, "Předchod přes soutešku," *Divadelní a filmové noviny* vol. 8, no. 14/15 (1964): 9.

[129] For a sample, see Milan Jungmann, "Romeo, Julie a tma," *Literární noviny* vol. 7, no. 50 (1958): 4; Richard Blech, "Minulost' nie ako retrospektíva," *Kultúrny život*, August 25, 1962, in Výstrižky 1, Smrť sa volá Engelchen [dokumentačná zložka], 07.10.2010 AACR2, SFU, Bratislava, SK; Kraus, "Otčenáškova Anna Franková;" Adamec, "Režiséř Jiří Weiss," 272.

[130] Ebert, "The Fifth Horseman is Fear;" Champlin, "Kafkaesque 'Fear' From the Czechs;" Tynan, "Czech Films Excel;" Boček "…a pátý jezdec je strach;" Jiří Brdečka, "Raději strach než STRACH," *Divadlo* no. 6 (1965): 68-9; A.J. Liehm, "Mimo řádný debut," *Divadelní a filmové noviny* vol. 8, no. 3 (1964): 6; Agáta Pilátová, "Nad démanty noci," *Film a doba* vol. 10, no. 9 (1964): 482-3; Opelík, "Událost;" Milan Jungmann, "Dobré srdce v cizím svtětě," *Literární noviny* vol. 12, no. 16 (1963): 4.

were putting new labor into re-presenting the novel for the public.[131] This phenomenon was not unique to *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*; over 34% of novels with Jewish themes were printed more than once.[132] Print runs for individual titles also suggest the works were popular. In the year before the film version of *Death is Called Engelchen* premiered, the second edition of the book was printed for 86,400 copies. The following year, a different publisher released a third edition for 65,100 more copies. Though censorship organs provided lists of banned authors, they had no control over contracts and print runs.[133] Thus, these repeat publications and high-volume print-runs suggest that at least some of these works were in high demand.

[131] See Chapter 4 for more on the opera. See Appendix A, Section 1 for all the editions of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*.
[132] Among the most frequently published: Mňačko's *Death is Called Engelchen* was published five times in Czech (between 1960-65) and seven times in Slovak (between 1959-1966); Norbert Frýd's *Krabice živých* was published nine times, although many of these republications were unchanged (between 1956-1975); Erich Kraus and Erich Kulka's *Továrna na smrt* seven times (between 1950-1964) by four different publishers. See Appendix A, Section 1.
[133] Doris Grožďaničová, Interview with author, April 9, 2017. See Appendix A, Section 1 for editions and their print runs.

Image 3.27. Covers of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* from left to right:
Top – 1958, 1959, 1960; Bottom – 1961, 1963, 1967.
Source: Appendix A, Section 1, and author's image collection.

On the other hand, these figures are also potentially indicative of the larger popularity of romances. Of the works discussed in this chapter, *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* and *Death is Called Engelchen* were by far the most successful – adapted the most times, circulated in the highest numbers. When the Central Film Agency took stock of the number of viewers per screening for films premiered between 1960 and summer of 1962, *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*

was in the top 25% with 225 viewers per screening.[134] In a survey among "young people" in 1964, nearly half of respondents listed *Death is Called Engelchen* as "very good" or "one of their favorite films."[135] Artwork for the novel *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness,* particularly in the first edition's teenage diary-like presentation, likewise suggests an appeal to youth (see Figure 3.26). The fact that these romance novels and their adaptations did, in fact, seem to appeal to Czechoslovak youth was important, because of the emphasis made by many authors and filmmakers on reaching on youth, the population who did not live through the occupation.[136]

A fortunately timed sociological study about film viewership completed in years 1963-5 provides more detail into the popularity of films about Jews. Generally, the average number of screenings increased each year, suggesting an increasingly open cultural atmosphere.[137] After noting declining movie attendance in the early 1960s, the Central Film Agency was making a concerted effort to expand access to films by building movie theaters across Czechoslovakia, suggesting that increased viewership was part of a concerted state strategy.[138] Nonetheless, comparing films about Jews with other films that premiered in the same year provides useful insight into who engaged most with cinematic narratives of Jewish experiences.

Data from 1963-5 emphasizes the particular success of the romance genre. When compared with other films, most movies about Jews were not very popular among generalized audiences. Most films about Jews, for example, had a below average number of screenings for

[134] "Přehled o navštěvnosti českých filmů v Čechách a na Moravě za ½ roku od premiery," Folder 6, Fund ÚŘ ČSF (kol. rady) R12/AI/5P/6k, NFA, Prague, CZ.
[135] Karel Morava, *Filmové občenstvo dnes a zítra* (Prague: Ústřední ředitelství ČSF – Filmový ústav, 1967), 143-50.
[136] G. Kopaněvová, "Rozhovor s Jánem Kadárem – Zda leka není důležité, co říká tvůrce," *Film a doba* 10, no. 4 (1964): 173, 175; "Svědectví stále aktuální;" Sandra Pudilová, "Balada o Ditě Saxové," *Kino* 22, no. 20 (1967): 9; Adamec, "Režiséř Jiří Weiss," 272.
[137] Morava, *Filmové obecenstvo dnes a zítra,* 127-135.
[138] On decline in viewership (likely related to television), see "Přehled ukazatelů kin – představení a návštěvníků za rok 1957-1962 za Č. a Mor.," Folder 6, Fund ÚŘ ČSF (kol. rady) R12/AI/5P/6k, NFA, Prague, CZ. For expansion of theater access, see "Zpráva o plnění plánu investiční výstavby Československého filmu za I.- III. čtvrtletí 1960," from Folder 18. por. 3.10.1960, Fund ÚŘ ČSF (sek. red) R12/A1/3P/9K, NFA, Prague, CZ.

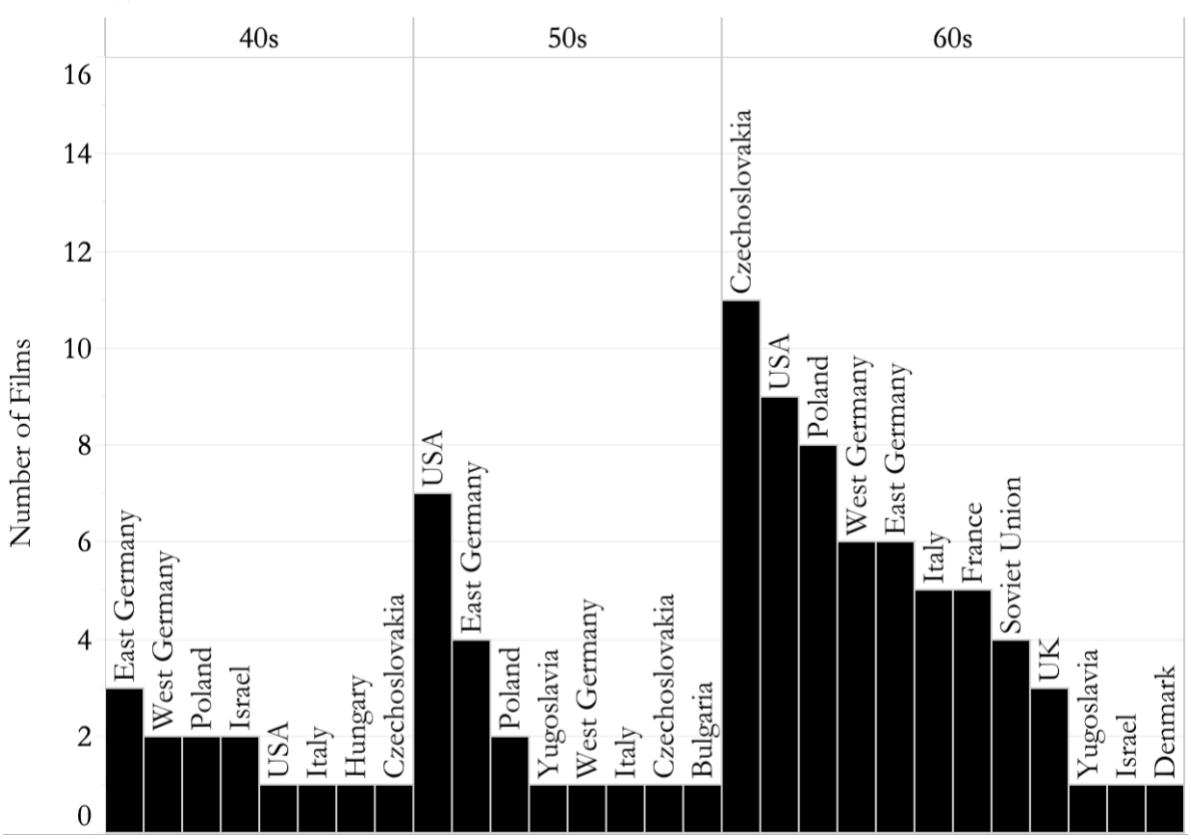
that year. Films like *Death is Called Engelchen* were exceptional in this genre for reaching over the average number of screenings. In some cases, those that had an above average number of screenings still had below average numbers of viewers, meaning that the screenings were not well attended (*The Fifth Horseman is Fear*, for example). This, however, did not mean they had little impact. Films about Jews in Nazi Occupied Prague were reviewed exceptionally often, typically over double the average number of reviews for that year. In the case of *Diamonds of the Night*, it was reviewed nearly 5 times more than the average for 1964. *Diamonds of the Night* was reviewed so often and screened so rarely that there was a review for every second showing of the film.[139]

What this meant was that films about Jews had an outsized impact among the intellectual and literary community. It was standard for films about Jews to have below average numbers of screenings or viewers. At the same time, they were among the most talked about films each year in the press.[140] This outsized attention to narratives about Jews proves that the journalistic and cultural elite were thinking seriously about "lessons" from these films. Exposure to the recent past became a key component of thinking about ideals for a political future in a time in which many of the cultural elite believed optimistically in the possibility of a reformed socialism. Querying the ways in which isolating and dehumanizing bureaucracies pit citizens against one another during the occupation period became a dominant mode of engaging in this conversation. This was born out not just by how much attention reviewers and journalists gave to these films, but also the volume of works: as a country of fewer than 15 million people and roughly 15,000

[139] See Appendix C, Section 2, from Morava, *Filmové obecenstvo dnes a zítra,* 127-135.
[140] Films about Jews were not the only films that had outsized impact within the cultural elite. Certain kinds of "cult classics" or films with lasting cultural and critical significance, such as Oldřich Lipský's 1964 *Lemonade Joe* (Limonadový Joe) or Miloš Forman's 1965 *Loves of a Blonde* (Lásky jedné plavovlásky)*,* were similarly frequently reviewed, but less commonly seen. See Appendix C, Section 2.

Jews in 1968, Czechoslovakia was rivalled only by Poland in numbers of feature films that dealt with Jews under Nazi occupation (See Figure 3.1).[141] This clear creative and intellectual engagement with horrors of the recent past was significant, given the role this group plays in this period in forming new ideas about political humanism during the Thaw.[142]

Fig. 3.1. Global Distribution of Feature Films on Nazi Persecution of Jews



Source: Appendix B. It is not until the 1980s that any country exceeds this number.

This emphatic impact on cultural circles extended beyond national borders. Famed Polish director Andrzej Wajda commented in 1964 on how Czechoslovak filmmakers were waging a "cinematic offensive" that was rooted in works about the past with "concrete links to the

[141] See Chapter 1 for more on Poland's movies about Jews. "World Jewish Population," *American Jewish Yearbook* 61, p. 351 (statistics for 1959); 71, p. 539 (statistics for 1969); "Population," *World Bank Data*, accessed July 9, 2019, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=CZ-SK .

[142] For works that discuss intellectual involvement in socialist reform generally, see Mervart, *Naděje a iluze*; Kusin, *Intellectual Origins*; Williams, *The Prague Spring;* Golan, *The Czechoslovak Reform Movement*.

present." Several films about the Nazi Occupation were cited as examples.[143] Some Polish filmmakers, for example, cited the international successes of Czechoslovak films when attempting to justify their own works querying the complicated relationships between Poles and Jews during the occupation. Sometimes, however, these parallels hindered rather than aided Polish filmmakers causes. Given these same parallels, cultural officials sometimes saw the negative these portrayals of non-Jews in Czechoslovak films as justification to ban films using similar approaches in Poland.[144] In short, while commentators in the US lauded the boldness and creativity of these works, neighbors within the communist bloc recognized, for better or for worse, how much these narratives diverged from the acceptable communist standard.

Just as Czechoslovak creators attempted to circulate their narratives outside of the communist bloc, so too would creators attempt to join international conversations about the Jewish past in Europe by bringing Western works to Czechoslovakia. Using theater as a case study, the following chapter highlights the unique life of *Fiddler on the Roof* in Czechoslovakia, the only communist country to produce the musical before the 1980s. Tevye's story might seem a divergence from the occupation narratives described so far, yet, nearly a decade of works and reviews describing Jewish experiences of Nazism as symbolic parallels for understanding contemporary political possibilities had primed reviewers and audiences to collapse differences in historical context and understand Tevye as a figure out of time, fighting for the same political values of Czechs and Slovaks in 1968.

143 Antonín J. Liehm, "Zazrák" in *Ostře sledované filmy: československá zkušenost* (Praha: Národní filmový archiv, 2001), 29-30. This essay was not included in the original version of this book, published as Antonín J. Liehm, *Closely Watched Films: The Czechoslovak Experience* (White Plains: International Arts and Sciences Press, Inc, 1974).

144 "Długa noc: Stenogram z Komisji Ocen Scenariuszy w dniu 28 października 1966 r," A-214 poz 430, and "Długa noc: Stenogram z posiedzenia Komisji Kolaudacyjnej w dniu 15.6.67," A-216 poz 132, FN, Warsaw.

Chapter Four

Co-Opting Tevye: *Fiddler on the Roof* Productions in Communist Czechoslovakia, 1968-69

"It was the sad symbol of a man that lit a torch to his own flesh in protest against the unjust world, like a fiery baton in our hearts that calls for justice,"[1] Czech journalist Jiří Seydler wrote in February 1969, in the wake of Soviet led invasion in August 1968. The invasion had quashed Czechoslovak hopes of the autonomy to modify and define their political system. Almost six months later, Jan Palach was the first of four university students to light himself on fire in protest against the re-institutionalization of repressive measures.[2] Yet, Seydler was describing none of these self-immolators. Oddly enough, the "fiery baton" that Seydler described was Tevye from the American musical *Fiddler on the Roof*.

Across Czechoslovak cities in 1968 and 1969, something strange was happening. Tevye, the iconic central character of the musical *Fiddler on the* Roof, was being held as a symbol of fierce desires for political self-definition. Producing *Fiddler on the Roof* in Czechoslovakia began as an attempt to join the world in a global cultural phenomenon, but became a poignant reminder of dashed political hopes. *Fiddler on the Roof*'s translatability into other cultural contexts is frequently considered one of the reasons for its international success. In the 1980s, a Japanese director of *Fiddler on the Roof* saw the themes of tradition and generational conflict as "so Japanese" that he was shocked to find that Americans related to the plot at all.[3] This is the typical universalization of Tevye's challenges in *Fiddler on the Roof*: the relatability of timeless

1 Jiří Seydler, "Čím žije hlavní město slovenské socialistické republiky," *Reportér* (February 6, 1969), 10.
2 Jonathan Bolton, *Worlds of Dissent: Charter 77, the Plastic People of the Universe, and Czech Culture Under Communism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 55-56.
3 Stephen J Whitfield, "Fiddling with Sholem Aleichem: History of *Fiddler of the Roof*," in *The Jewish Experience in World Cinema*, edited by Lawrence Baron (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2011), 61.

themes of tradition vs. change, intergenerational familial divides, nostalgia and progress.[4] Rarely have audiences interpreted Tevye politically, as a crusader for social justice. Yet, this is precisely what happened in Communist Czechoslovakia.

Fiddler on the Roof has been largely forgotten from Czechoslovakia's cultural history. Jewish themes on Czech and Slovak stages have received almost no attention in theater discussions, and there has been relatively little exploration of foreign plays produced on Czech and Slovak stages.[5] Scholars have noted that classic Czech works on the Nazi regime were used to make broader allegorical statements about totalitarianism in the 60s, but works about other historical periods have gone undiscussed.[6] Furthermore, a misconception that Western plays were not permitted on Czech and Slovak stages after 1948, "with the exception of Shakespeare and some other classical writers," has prevented scholars from exploring how audiences engaged with Western productions.[7] The appearance of *Fiddler on the Roof* and its predecessors in the communist bloc, as well as the careers of the actors who played Tevye, underscore the reality that Western productions could and did cross the Iron Curtain.[8] The rapid rise of interest in

[4] For more on these universally accessible and popular themes, see Whitfield, "Fiddling with Sholem Aleichem;" Alisa Solomon, *Wonder of Wonders: A Cultural History of Fiddler on the Roof* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2013).

[5] For works on foreign plays, see Lauren B. McConnell, "Gray Zones and Black Holes: The Effects of Normalization Censorship on Czech Playwriting" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2004); Adam Grunzke, "Models of Aesthetic Subversion: Ideas, Spaces, and Objects in Czech Theatre and Drama of the 1950s and 1960s" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011); Olga F. Chtiguel, "Without Theatre, the Czechoslovak Revolution Could Not Have Been Won," *The Drama Review* 34:3 (1990): 88-96; or Barbara Day, "Czech National Theatre from the National Revival to the Present Day," *New Theatre Quarterly* 2, no.7 (1986): 250-274.

[6] Lisa Peschel, "The Devil and Brezhnev's Eyebrows: Czech "Anti-fascist" Theater after the Warsaw Pact Invasion," in *Theatre and Performance in Eastern Europe*: *The Changing Scene*, edited by Dennis Barnett and Arthur Skelton, 97-105 (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2008).

[7] Lauren B. McConnell, "Gray Zones and Black Holes," 70. This chapter builds on important new work by Eleonory Gilburd focusing on translation and adaptation of Western cultural works in the communist bloc. Eleonory Gilburd, *To See Paris and Die: The Soviet Lives of Western Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018).

[8] Ladislav Pešek, who played Tevye in Prague, was in two Moliére plays, *The Miser* in 1950 and *The Abashed Husband* in 1951, Bernard Shaw's *Saint John* in 1956, John Osborne's 1957 *Comic*, Goldoni's *The Chiogga Scuffles* in 1961, Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* in 1962, just to name a few. Likewise, Jozef Króner was in Moliére, Agatha Christie, Goldoni, d'Usseau, Lillian Hellman, Ibsen, Arthur Miller, Mahler, Sartre, Edmond Rostand, Tennessee Williams, and Brecht plays, in addition to Shakespeare, prior to or during the *Fiddler* cycle. Ladislav

Jewish culture in the post-communist period, including *Fiddler on the Roof* and klezmer music, has also obscured Tevye's adventures behind the Iron Curtain. Moreover, a focus on the lack of Jewish "authenticity" in East European theater (the common occurrence that non-Jews adopt Jewish roles) has contributed to understanding *Fiddler on the Roof* as part of a post-communist, "post-Jewish" moment, rather than alongside a decade of Jewish cultural developments in the communist bloc.[9]

Due largely to associations with the musical genre, *Fiddler on the Roof* is often understood as being particularly "American" rather than particularly Jewish. Ironically, American producers initially consistently rejected the project because of it being seemingly "too Jewish" to appeal to broader audiences.[10] In the original American production, producers and actors enabled multiple competing contexts by consciously universalizing the story in hopes of making it relatable to wider audiences.[11] Yet, Tevye's appearance in Czechoslovakia was very much a story of the particularities of 1960s Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia was one of the only countries in the Soviet bloc to produce *Fiddler on the Roof.* The fact that Jewish themes had become germane to Czechoslovak culture helps to explain both why theater producers were interested in *Fiddler on the Roof,* as well as why they

Pešek, *Tvář bez masky: skutečnost a sen* (Prague: Odeon, 1977), 300-301 and Zuzana Bakošova-Hlavenková, ed, *Elixír smiechu: Jozef Króner a Kronerovci* (Bratislava: Edícia Osobnosti, 2010), 319-321.

9 Magdalena Waligorska. "A Goy Fiddler on the Roof: How the Non-Jewish Participants of the Klezmer Revival in Krakow," *Polish Sociological Review* 152 (2005): 367-382; Charles Eliot Mehler, "Fiddler on the Roof: Considerations in a New Age," *Studies in Musical Theater* 2:1 (2008): 51-60; Jessica Hillman, "Goyim on the Roof: Embodying Authenticity in Leveaux's Fiddler on the Roof," *Studies in Musical Theater* 1:1 (2007): 25-39; Gruber, *Virtually Jewish*; S.I. Salamensky, "Diaspora Disneys:'Jewface' Minstrelcy and 'Jewfaçade' Display in East-Central Europe and Eurasia," in *Jews and Theater in an Intercultural Context*, edited by Edna Nashon, 331-48 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Alisa Solomon, "*Szkrypek na Dachu:*Poland," *Wonder of Wonders: A Cultural History of Fiddler on the Roof* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2013), 318-40.

10 Alisa Solomon, "Tevye Leaves for the Land of Broadway," *Wonder of Wonders: A Cultural History of Fiddler on the Roof* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2013), 87-140.

11 See Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Imagining Europe: The Popular Arts of American Jewish Ethnography," *Divergent Centers: Shaping Jewish Cultures in Israel and America*, Deborah Dash Moore and Ilan Troen eds, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 2, 27. The concept of the multiplicity of competing contexts in literary is derived from Spector, *Prague Territories*.

succeeded in producing the musical where other repressive cultural regimes did not.[12] In Czechoslovakia, *Fiddler on the Roof* followed an exponential increase in the availability of novels and films about Jews over the preceding decade. Moreover, interpretations of *Fiddler on the Roof* were influenced by a decade of works, reviews, and commentary that encouraged conflation between Jewish and Czechoslovak experiences, suggesting Czechoslovaks could and should read their own contemporary political experiences into historical narratives of Jews being repressed, isolated, or estranged from their communities.

Czechoslovakia's late 1960s *Fiddler on the Roof* productions, in other words, became sites of "double-coding." Henry Biale uses the term "double-coded" to describe the way Jewish audiences are able "read Jewishness" by interpreting signals and symbols relevant only to them.[13] Jeffrey Veidlinger likewise argues that the Moscow State Yiddish Theater accessed "semiotic systems" that enabled implicit references to Jewish culture in their productions, despite the anti-religious and ethnic hostility of Soviet policy.[14] In Czechoslovakia's 1968 to 1970 *Fiddler on the Roof* productions, an inverse semiotic reading took place. In the overt themes of tradition and changing structures of Jewish life, Czech and Slovak writers and audiences read their own frustrations and feelings of helplessness into Tevye. This reading was still distinctly "Jewish" in the Czech and Slovak context, because it was made possible by recent attempts in the artistic and intellectual world to promote Jewish experience to the public as integral, often invoking emotional parallels between historical Jewish alienation or suffering and the Czech and

[12] Only Hungary seems to have also performed the play. "Jewish Writers, Jewish Themes Enjoying Popularity in Hungary," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, April 2, 1974. The production was not simply deemed potentially dangerous in the communist bloc, but also in other repressive cultural contexts. Ironically, however, *Fiddler on the Roof*'s banning in Pinochet's Chile was as a result of its purported Marxism. "Fiddler on the Roof, Floored," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, August 27, 1974; Alisa Solomon, *Wonder of Wonders* 2-3.

[13] Henry Biale, *Acting Jewish: Negotiating Ethnicity on the American Stage & Screen* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 67.

[14] Jeffrey Veidlinger, *The Moscow State Yiddish Theater: Jewish Culture on the Soviet Stage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 3.

Slovak position under communism. At the same time that this reading was tied to Jewish cultural contexts, co-opting Tevye as a freedom fighter also silenced the Jewish experience in Pale of Settlement Russia that was at the center of Tevye's story.[15]

This chapter probes these tensions between various interpretations of *Fiddler on the Roof* in communist Czechoslovakia, analyzing production challenges, reviewer and producer understandings of the story, the influence of the 1968 Soviet-led invasion on audience and reviewer interpretations, and finally nuances between productions in various locales. Using *Fiddler on the Roof* as a case study allows me to examine how the theatrical genre affected representations and interpretations of Jewish life, as well as the role of international (and particularly commercial) influences on Czechoslovak interests in Jewish themes. In addition, the appearance of the production in Prague, Plzeň, Bratislava, and Brno allows me to travel across localized Czechoslovak contexts, exploring particularities between Slovakia and the Czech lands in particular.

Due to the transient and ephemeral nature of live performance, studying theater poses distinct challenges and presents unique opportunities. Jan Kubik notes that when analyzing theater, it is "almost impossible to determine how many layers of meanings the spectators might have decoded," making it difficult to understand the impact of performance on the public. Kubik suggests examining various contexts to reconstruct the "multilayered meaning" and potential interpretations of a given production.[16] This chapter will focus on three important contexts: *Fiddler on the Roof*'s literary, cinematic and theatrical precedents; concurrent domestic and

[15] For more on the Pale of Settlement at this time, see Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter in Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
[16] Kubik's specific contexts for examining *Song of Wawel* performances leading up to the Soldarity movement in Poland are positional, exegetic, and operational. Jan Kubik, *The Power of Symbols Against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 87.

global political events; and the historical realities of Jewish life in East-Central Europe. Analyzing these different contexts provides insight into the ways that audience interpretations of narratives of Jewish life were flexible, adaptable, tenuous, and multi-layered. This was particularly true as Czechoslovakia's relationship to the Soviet Union shifted over the course of 1968.

Fiddler on the Roof's Communist Contexts: Jews and Musicals on the Czechoslovak Stage

Though there are fewer examples of Jewish themes in 1960s Czechoslovak theater than in cinema and literature, Jewish themes were not totally absent from Czech and Slovak stages in the 1960s. One of the earliest plays on the National Theater with Jewish themes was Josef Heyduk's *Návrat*, which premiered for the 1958-1959 season. The play focuses on the Protectorate period and critiques contemporary conceptions of protectorate themes by focusing on the presence of domestic "internal fascism." Much like with cinema and literature, plays about Protectorate life gave the opportunity to challenge Czech audiences to question their responsibility for injustices that occurred during World War II.[17]

These themes were carried over with an operatic adaptation of *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* for the 1962-3 season of the Czech National Theater. In addition to Prague, the opera premiered on stages in Brno and the Soviet Union.[18] After changing the female-lead's name to the more Czech-sounding "Hanka" for the 1960 film, the opera director Hanuš Thein decided to return to the original Esther (Ester) for the opera. The promotional pamphlet for the premiere

[17] Josef Heyduk, *Návrat* (Prague: Národní divadlo, 1959), Folder č 637a, Archiv Národního divadla (AND), Prague.
[18] See "Premiery viecny," *Ogoniok* no 18, 2027 (May 1, 1966): 11; "Romeo, Julie a tma," AND, Brno, http://www.ndbrno.cz/modules/theaterarchive/?h=inscenation&a=detail&id=5267 ; "Romeo, Julie a tma," AND, Prague, http://archiv.narodni-divadlo.cz/Dokument.aspx?jz=cs&dk=Inscenace.aspx&sz=0&ic=1348&abc=0&pn=256affcc-f103-1000-85ff-c11223344aaa . For more on the novel and film, see Chapters 2 and 3.

reminded viewers that "the opera was art above all, and that the role of art was to be concerned with the experiences of the creators and their listeners." Promoters of the opera suggested it was the responsibility of the opera's composer, J.F. Fischer, to "poignantly sense the connection between the recent past and the present" in order to urge "the younger generation, who did not live through it," to think of the World War II era not as "simply historical events," but to carry the lessons with them to protect the future.[19] An interview with Helena Tattermuschová, who played the role of Esther, reinforced this impression that a primary function of producing narratives about the Holocaust was to teach the youth: she claimed she was too young to understand the "entirety of the Jewish tragedy" until she was older and "read and learned the narratives of the cruel destinies of the concentration camps."[20] This emphasis on the pedagogic function of exposure to narratives of persecution parallels statements made by novelists and filmmakers about their motivations and the importance of works about Jews during the Protectorate period.[21]

[19] L Dorůžka, "Romeo, Julie a tma," *Premierová knihovnička: Romeo, Julie a tma* (1962) 5, 7, Folder O 300a, AND, Prague.
[20] Helena Tattermuschová, "Hovoříme o rolích," *Premierová knihovnička: Romeo, Julie a tma* (Prague: Národní divadlo, 1962), 11, Folder O 300a, AND, Prague.
[21] See Chapters 2 and 3.

Image 4.1. The set of the Prague *Romeo, Julie and Darkness* opera attempts to create the claustrophobia of the apartment block through multiple levels of open structures. Source: *Romeo, Julie a tma,* Folder O 300a, AND, Prague.

Image 4.2. Helena Tattermuschová as Esther, the storeroom marked with a large Star of David to code the space as Jewish. Source: *Romeo, Julie a tma,* Folder O 300a, AND, Prague.

Jewish themes on stage continued in 1965, when the National Theater premiered the Verdi opera *Nabucco* about the political struggle between the Israelites and the Babylonian Empire for Jerusalem. Though the action of *Nabucco* takes place in the distant past, the opera's promotional materials explicitly told opera-goers to consider parallels with recent history. The director's notes in a 1965 pamphlet linked *Nabucco* specifically with concentration camp novels and films of the early 1960s by asking viewers to consider the parallels between this "biblical story" and the "memories, thoughts, premonitions and desperate hopes of interned Jews" that one might find in "the atmosphere of Lustig or Brynych's Terezín." He further suggested that the lesson of the opera was that "a man must learn to accept responsibility" to resist the "tyranny" represented by the story of Nebuchadnezzar and the Jews.[22]

A second subtext to the opera was the story as a tale of national perseverance. Israel's battle for independence in Verdi's *Nabucco* had long been recognized as a metaphor for Italian freedom and unification. The Czech productions of *Nabucco* emphasized this element of *Nabucco* and equated it with the work that Bedřich Smetana's operas did for the Czechs.[23] Thus, the opera's promotional materials implicitly suggested that just as the Israelites plight in *Nabucco* could be a symbol for Italian freedom, so too could it be a symbol for Czech freedom.[24] The opera aired until 1973, meaning that this sympathetic portrayal of the Israelites as the universal symbol of nations yearning for freedom and independence was available for Czech audiences during the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.

[22] Karel Jernek, "Šar Kibratim Arbaim: Režisérovy poznámky k insenaci," *Nabucco* (Prague: Národní divadlo, 1965), 4, Folder O 230a, AND, Prague.
[23] For more on Smetana and his role in Czech nation-building, see Kelly St. Pierre, *Bedřich Smetana: Myth, Music, and Propaganda* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2017).
[24] "*Nabucco* z repertoáru Národního divadla Národní divadlo," *Nabucco* (Prague: Národní divadlo, 1965), Folder O 230a, AND, Prague. The references were to Czech-Jewish novelist Arnošt Lusting, who had written 6 novels about the Holocaust at this point, and film director Zbynek Brynych's 1963 film *Transport z ráje* (Transport from Paradis*e*) about the Terezín ghetto and concentration camp and the filming of the Red Cross propaganda video. See Chapters 2 and 3.

The Arab-Israeli War broke out in 1967 after several weeks of tensions between Egypt and Israel. Soon thereafter, the Soviet Union officially severed all diplomatic relations with Israel, and Czechoslovakia soon followed suit. It became a major cause of disagreement between party Secretary Jiří Hendrych and the writers at the Fourth Writers' Congress. The memory of World War II appeared again when Pavel Kohout made parallels between Jewish and Czech/Slovak experience by likening Israel's location among hostile nations to Czechoslovakia's position on the eve of the Munich Agreement.[25] The prominent Slovakian author Ladislav Mňačko, who wrote *Death is Called Engelchen* and was the editor of *Kultúrny život*, made his position known by defiantly visiting Israel in August of 1967.[26] The *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* reported Czech youth rallies supporting Israel and even an influx of Czech volunteers on Israeli kibbutzim.[27] International foreign policy relations politicized Jewishness, which in turn affected the government position towards Jews internally. Using the breakdown of relations with Israel as justification, the Novotný regime cancelled the plans for a celebration of 1,000 years of the Prague Jewish community.[28] In spite of the government's hostility towards any expression of sympathy towards Israel or Jews more generally, many Czechs and Slovaks retained sympathies for Jews or Israelis, thanks in part to a decade of films and productions like *Nabucco* telling audiences to read Jewish longing for place as allegorical for their own.

Recent stories and films about the deportation of Jews from Slovakia had an added effect in Slovakia. In Czechoslovakia, creators and reviewers emphasized ways in which Jewish

[25] Kusin, *Intellectual Origins*, 126.
[26] Henry Raymont, "Czech Author Travels to Israel in Defiance of a Ban by Prague," *New York Times* (August 12, 1967), 8.
[27] See "Non-jewish Czechoslovakian Youths Demonstrate for Recognition of Israel," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* (June 10, 1968) and "Czech Kibbutz Becomes Haven for Non-jewish Czech visitors to Israel," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* (August 23, 1968).
[28] "Czechs Drop Observance of Jewish Anniversary: Cancel Tours and Stamps for 1,000th- Year Celebration-Hostility to Israel Blamed," *The New York Times*, Sept. 6, 1967, and "New Czech Government Approves Major Celebration of Jewish Millennium," *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, May 14, 1968.

experiences mirrored or were integral to the Czech and Slovak contemporary experience. For Czechs, this was ultimately achieved by trading in ideas of totalitarianism and oppressive bureaucracies that linked Jews' experiences under Nazism, or even during the First Republic, with a dehumanizing and isolating communism. For Slovaks, it was also about the collective responsibility for accepting and enacting Nazi policies as an allied but independent clerico-fascist state during World War II. Contemporary federalization debates about Slovak independence encouraged intellectuals in Slovakia to address the "unsolved national problems" of a fascist and anti-Semitic legacy.[29] Promoting any degree of autonomy in Slovakia recalled the recent horrors of the Holocaust at the hands of Slovakia's own pro-Nazi policies, highlighting the relationship to Jews as well as anxieties among intellectuals about the dangers of federalization.

The writers and editors of *Kultúrny život,* the Slovak Writer's Union weekly, expressed an awareness that the recent horrors of "clericofascism" needed to be addressed if Slovakia was federalized by producing a six-part series on the "Jewish tragedy" in 1968. In the series, Ladislav Hoffman and Juraj Šujan addressed this question in a multi-part debate over "who deported the Jews" and the role of the Catholic Church.[30] This question was particularly pertinent given that two priests, Andrej Hlinka and Dr. Jozef Tiso, had been responsible for instituting a Slovak version of the Nuremberg Laws in Slovakia.[31] A moderator then evaluated the two journalists' perspectives against each other. In five consecutive issues, four articles appeared on the "Jewish

[29] Kusin, *Intellectual Origins*, 69.
[30] Despite the fact that Catholic leadership had been irrevocably tainted by Tiso's rule, the large Catholic population continued to sympathize with Catholic leaders in the immediate postwar years. James Felak, *After Hitler, Before Stalin: Catholics, Communists, and Democrats in Slovakia 1945-1948* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), 4.
[31] Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939-1945* (Wayne State University Press, 1981), 356.

question" in Slovakia.[32] Slovak intellectuals and cultural elites were making a concerted effort to take ownership of the loss of their Jewish population by forcing Jewish history and culture into public discourse.

It was on this backdrop that *Fiddler on the Roof* was proposed for the Czechoslovak stage. In literary, cinematic and theatrical genres, Jewish themes had steadily been becoming more and more common. Examining other productions from the late 1950s and 1960s shows that producers and actors related stories about Jews to the Holocaust and to Czechoslovak experiences of nationhood, regardless of the actual setting of the production. Approaching the Prague Spring, the stage had been set for Czechoslovak audiences to affectively identify with Jewish stories in two seemingly contradictory ways, that managed nonetheless to function in concert. The first was to suggest that plays (like films and novels) about Jews served an important pedagogic function of reminding younger generations of the dangers of oppression, prejudice and conformism, and the second was to encourage conflation between their own yearning for autonomy and the historical experience of Jews—both individually and writ-large, as a nation.

Tevye the Freedom Fighter on Czechoslovak Stages

Planning: 1967

The success of *Fiddler on the Roof* after its 1964 premiere drew the attention of theater producers in Czechoslovakia. Prague and Bratislava stage directors were again reminded of the

[32] The primary articles appear in issues 23-27, with the evaluation of the two major contributors, Hoffman and Šujan in issue 31. *Kulturny život* was shut down after the invasion. Ladislav Hoffman, "Katolická církev a tragedia slovenských židov," *Kulturny život* 23: 23 (1968), 6, Mieroslav Hysko, "K článku ktorý moze zadá vyznievat´ tendečne," *Kulturny život* 23: 25 (1968), 10, Juraj Šujan, "Kto vyvazal židov zo Slovenska," *Kulturny život* 23:26 (1968), 10, Juraj Šujan, "Kto vyvážal židov zo Slovenska," *Kulturny život* 23: 27 (1968), 10, and Anton Rašla, "Šujan kontra Hoffman," *Kulturny život* 23: 31 (1968), 9.

musical's "international success" after the 1967 London premiere. The international prestige of the play may have been one of the appeals for Czech and Slovak theater producers and directors, as this was an important factor for other Broadway shows in the communist bloc. Producers of *Romeo, Julie and Darkness* related the opera to the *Diary of Anne Frank*, which had not only been translated into Czech, but also had recently been produced on stages in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary.[33] Programs for Poland's productions of the *Diary of Anne Frank* in Łódź*,* for example, emphasized that Poland was joining with a global phenomenon by producing the play, which had 400 Broadway showings, was showing in 15 theaters, and was based off of a diary printed in the millions.[34]

When the governing body of the National Theater in Prague decided to produce *Fiddler on the Roof* in 1967, it created a scandal within the theater community. Many considered the musical form to be a "lesser type of art" that did not belong on the stages of the National Theater. Miroslav Ponc, the composer and musical director, "did not like" Jerry Bock's music, because it was cheap, commercial, and "foreign." [35] Prague's Tevye, Ladislav Pešek, described a community wholly uncomfortable with the unfamiliar challenges of the musical genre. In fact, Pešek had never seen a musical until the year before in London. [36] He emphasized that preconceived notions of the music or form as "low art" were quickly overturned through concerted efforts to master the genre.[37] Despite this initial resistance, it was produced the next year at *Tyvolo divadlo* in Prague (a part of the National Theater group) and *Nová scéna* in

[33] Hanuš Thein, "Režisérovo slovo," *Romeo, Julie a tma*, Folder O 300a. Anne Frank, trans. Gustav Janouh, *Deník Anne Frankové* (Prague: Svobodné slovo, 1956); Kata Bohus, "Anne and Eva: Two Diaries, Two Holocaust Memories in Communist Hungary," *Remembrance and Solidarity* 5 (2017): 97-113; Labendz, "Re-Negotiating Czechoslovakia," 143-44.
[34] "Program Pamiętnik Anny Frank," Teatr Powszechny, Łódź, Pamiętnik Anny Frank (Folder 133), Teatr Powszechny (Fund 2308), Archiwum Panstwowe w Łódzi.
[35] He is likely commenting on a perceived Americanness of the music, rather than a Jewish foreignness, based upon his negative associations with commercialism. Pešek, *Tvář,* 276, 277-8.
[36] The musical was "Matchgirls." Ibid 277.
[37] Ibid 278.

Bratislava, as well as on stages in Plzeň and Brno.[38] Nonetheless, there does appear to be some continued skepticism towards *Fiddler on the Roof*'s place in Czechoslovakia: though it was approved for stage, it was forbidden from both television and radio in August 1967.[39]

It seems likely the producers were concerned about resistance to or confusion about the quality and legitimacy of the musical genre, because they devoted large sections in the promotional materials to explaining the wide-reaching significance and tradition of the musical genre. Otherwise, the programs focused on Sholem Aleichem and the story's *shtetl* origins.[40] This strategy seemed to have worked: rather than portraying the musical as a new and strange American genre, *Literární listy* contributor Milan Lukeš believed that *Fiddler on the Roof* was familiar for audiences as either a modern version of opera or a traditional adaptation of Central European folk songs and dancing. Lukeš placed heavy emphasis on the musical form as a key factor in *Fiddler on the Roof's* success, and the main vehicle for delivering authentic sound and feel. For Lukeš it was not necessarily a Jewish feel, but a "familiar" or "known" one. [41]

The lack of Jewish actors, composers, directors, or producers did not register as notable or problematic. The Czech and Slovak non-Jewish stages were not "lacking 'Jewish soul'"[42] for reviewers, because they believed the actors, composers, and directors were able to deliver Jewish qualities. In the mind of most reviewers, the music was particularly important for cultivating an

[38] It premiered in Prague on February 21, 1968 ("Šumař na střeše"), Brno on November 29, 1968 ("Šumař na střeše," Národní divadlo Brno, accessed September 15, 2012, http://www.ndbrno.cz/modules/theaterarchive/?h=inscenation&a=detail&id=5034), Bratislava December 14, 1968 (Bakošova-Hlavenková, *Elixír smiechu*, 309), and in Plzeň, Ivens wrote about the premiere for his July 12th article (Ivens, "Always," 9). Heger reveals in his interview that he had been thinking about producing the musical due to its international success for two years, but chose instead to wait until he was able to acquire the original music materials. The suggestion is that the Prague production, which he had seen, did not. Šmidová, "O Poslednej minuloročnej," 5.

[39] "Vec: The Fiddler on the Roof" [8/25/1967], Smlouvy – interní dokumentace, *Šumař na střeše,* Folder č 1128 a, AND, Prague.

[40] See the theater programs for *Šumař na střeše* (Prague: Národní divadlo, 1968), Folder č 1128 a, AND, Prague.

[41] Milan Lukeš, Untitled review, *Literární listy* 1, no. 5 (March 28, 1968), 12.

[42] Jessica Hillman, "Goyim on the Roof: Embodying Authenticity in Leveaux's Fiddler on the Roof," *Studies in Musical Theater* 1:1 (2007): 25, 33-36. Hillman is referring to reviews of David Leveraux's 2004 Broadway revival of *Fiddler on the Roof*.

"authentic" experience that evoked the *shtetl*. Music developed the right "atmosphere and local color" through "Ukrainian and Jewish intonation."[43] It was described as representative of the Jewish experience, "melancholy and at the same time full of the people's happiness."[44]

Sholem Aleichem was given due credit for authorial inspiration of the text, but the art of Marc Chagall was ubiquitous to the musical's atmosphere. Everything but the script is described as "Chagallian" (*chagallovský*). They emphasize his influence primarily in choreography, but also in the decorations, costumes, and lighting.[45] While at first glance the emphasis on the Russian painter might seem to be a nod towards Soviet influence, a more complete analysis of the "Chagallian" components reveal that the producers were drawn to the surreal ethereality of Chagall's floating figures and bright, yet somber color schemes, that evoke communities both vibrant but sad, concrete and yet otherworldly.

Image 4.3. and **4.4.** Left, Chagall's *The Dream* (1939) and Right, *The Fiddler* (1912), which is the inspiration for the musical's title. Source: "Dream," *Marc Chagall*, http://www.marcchagall.co.uk/dream/ and "The Fiddler, 1912 by Marc Chagall," *Facing History and Ourselves*, https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/image/fiddler-1912-marc-chagall.

[43] Marián Jurík, "Fidlikant Króner: Úspechy s americkým muzikálom na pokračovanie," *Film a divadlo* 13:4 (1969), 24, A. G., "Vít'azné t'ažnie NS pokračuje," *Slovenská hudba,* 13:2 (1969), 77.
[44] Seydler, "Čím žije," 10.
[45] A. G., "Vít'azné t'ažnie," 76. Pešek, *Tvář,* 278.

Set designer Boris Aronson, who designed the original Broadway show, was inspired by Chagall. He used similar color schemes and some of Chagall's trademark floating technique. Prague set designer Oldřich Smutný likewise utilized Chagall's floating technique. However, there are two ways in which the Prague set design is distinctly unlike Aronson's. First, the preponderance of menorahs makes an overt reference to Jewish religion that is absent in Aronson's sets (Image 4.5).[46] This symbol reinforces the Jewish elements of the play, something that the producers might have been aware was lacking in the non-Jewish cast composition. Also, Smutný was not a career set designer, but trained as an artist, raised in the generation where the use of bright colors, amorphous shapes, and natural, flowing movement was a political statement, a rejection of the official regime aesthetic of socialist realism.

His set design was even more surreal than Aronson's. The objects themselves seem haphazardly dropped on the canvas, while the flowing movement in the lines used to make the chairs, tea samovar, and menorah invoke an eerily dream-like quality that might be called visually Kafkaesque (Image 4.6).[47] The pairing of bright and dark colors is even more dramatic than in Chagall's own work, creating a somewhat off-putting contrast between the concrete spaces of Tevye's life and the uncertain darkness beyond. Smutný's design mock-ups look more like Chagall's watercolors, such as Chagall's *Aleko and Zemphira*, *Zemphira Costume Design* images or *The Carnival* (all from 1942).[48] By the final version, however, the floating objects were even more pronounced (Image 4.7 and 4.8).

[46] Jaromír Svoboda, "Šumař na střeše - 21.02.1968, Oldřich Smutný - návrh scény," Národní divadlo, accessed September 15, 2012, http://archiv.narodni-divadlo.cz/ArchivniDokumentFotografie.aspx?ad=16624 or Jaromír Svoboda, "Šumař na střeše - 21.02.1968, Oldřich Smutný - návrh scény," Národní divadlo, accessed September 15, 2012, http://archiv.narodni-divadlo.cz/ArchivniDokumentFotografie.aspx?ad=16625

[47] Smutný was described as being "like Kafka" in his actual painting process as well. Jaromír Zemina, *Oldřich Smutný* (Prague: Galeria Magna, 2000), accessed September 11, 2012, http://www.slavime.com/magna/katalog/osmutny.pdf .

[48] See "Marc Chagall," *MoMA,* https://www.moma.org/artists/1055?=undefined&page=1&direction= .

Image 4.5. One of Boris Aronson's original set backdrops for the 1964 Broadway musical. Aronson's floating elements appear almost spherical, evoking global imagery of a connected world. At the same time, the houses form a barrier, implying a closed and isolated community. Source: Jeannie Rosenfeld, "The Works of Yiddish Set Designer Boris Aronson," *Tablet*, December 21, 2015, https://www.tabletmag.com/scroll/196093/the-works-of-yiddish-set-designer-boris-aronson .

Image 4.6. Oldřich Smutný's design mock-ups, while sparser, were more colorful and open than Aronson's. Objects literally float in the background haphazardly. Source: Oldřich Smutný, *Šumař na střeše*, Folder č 1128 a, AND, Prague.

Image 4.7 (top) and **4.8** (bottom). Smutný's final set designs for the Prague production featured larger than life, looming objects. Source: Jaromír Svoboda, *Šumař na střeše*, Folder č 1128 a, AND, Prague.

Distinctions in set design and costuming provide insight into producers' and designers' preparedness, approach, and understanding of the *shtetl* in each locale. Both Bratislava (Image 4.9) and Plzeň (Image 4.10) attempted to reproduce Aronson's upside-down houses framing the residents of Anatevka (Image 4.5), though in Bratislava the more realistic and sparsely distributed houses seem to have the least in common with either Aronson or Chagall. Both the Bratislava and the Prague production mark Jewish men by long black coats and beards, by contrast with a *rubashka* (a traditional Ukranian shirt) presumably for the non-Jewish characters.

Instead of traditional prayer shawls (*tallit*), the men simply wear scarves (Image 4.11).[49] Oddly enough, the Plzeň production seems to have the most accurate representation of *tallit*, but the strangest costuming for the women (Image 4.10). The women's costuming reveals even more confusion over the appropriate Anatevkan attire, with traditional Ukranian flowered and more formal dresses in Brno and Prague (with traditional Ukranian patterns for the Brno dresses as well), plain peasant wear (that one might find in the Slovakian countryside) in Bratislava, and lacy, more urban dresses in the Plzeň production (see Images 4.10-12). The frills and lace in Tzeitel's Plzeň wedding scene (Image 4.12) seem the most out of place, but some evidence from studies of historical Russian costuming suggests that flounces (or double flounces) could have been typical for a working-class wedding dress.[50] The outfit Golde wears in the Prague production (Figure 4.10) most accurately matches the designs from the original Broadway sketches, with the exception of the floral aprons.[51] Nonetheless, these nuances in costuming

[49] For more photos of the Prague production, see "Šumař na střeše," *Národní divadlo*, http://archiv.narodni-divadlo.cz/default.aspx?jz=cs&dk=Titul.aspx&ti=637&sz=0&abc=S&pn=456affcc-f401-4000-aaff-c11223344aaa .
[50] It is unclear whether such styles would have also been common in a village; in any case, the four flounces seems unlikely for what would have been typical of a poor Jewish village wedding. For working-class wedding attire, see Luisa V. Yefimova, Tatyana S. Aleshina, "Wedding attire of a working class man and woman," *Russian Elegance: Country and City Fashion from the 15th to the early 20th Century* (London: Vivays Publishing Ltd., 2011), 170-71.
[51] Patricia Zipprodt sketches available from Hannah Vine, "Check out the Costume Sketches from the Original Broadway Production of *Fiddler on the Roof*," *Playbill*, September 22, 2018, http://www.playbill.com/article/check-out-the-costume-sketches-from-the-original-broadway-production-of-fiddler-on-the-roof .

suggested a general lack of consensus about the material realities of life for impoverished Jews in the Russian Empire.

Image 4.9. Anatevkans in Bratislava (Jozef Króner as Tevye in the foreground). Source: "Blahoželáme!" *Divadlo Nová scéna,* April 29, 2013, http://www.nova-scena.sk/novinky/detail/blahozelame-182.html

Image 4.10. Yente (left) and Golde (right) in the Prague production.
Source: Jaromír Svoboda, "Šumař na střeše, 21.02.1968," *Národní divadlo, http://archiv.narodni-divadlo.cz/ArchivniDokumentFotografie.aspx?ad=16618*

Image 4.11. A scene from the Plzeň production. Source: "Šumař na střeše 1968," *Národní divadlo Brno, http://www.ndbrno.cz/photo/sumar-na-strese-1968*

Image 4.12. Anatevkans in Plzeň. Source: Věra Caltová, "Šumař na střeše, 1969, Divadlo J.K. Tyla Plzeň," *Virtual Study: Database and on-line services of the Theater Institute,* http://vis.idu.cz/ProductionDetail.aspx?id=23220&tab=photo .

Initial Interpretations

"In the days where theater has such strong competition, like television and radio, the amphitheater is full of the theater before the premiere of *Fiddler on the Roof*," a reviewer wrote on the Prague production, emphasizing *Fiddler on the Roof*'s appeal to Czech audiences.[52] The desire to join in a global cultural phenomenon likely brought viewers to the premiere. What appears to have kept viewers engaged, however, was the way that *Fiddler on the Roof* seemed to speak to the political culture of the Prague Spring.

Members of the broader intellectual community and public approached *Fiddler* with a newly defined set of Jewish associations that were empathetic, political, and rhetorically tied to hopes of a new socialism. In January of 1968, newly elected party secretary Alexander Dubček ushered in a new "third way" reform communism, which became known as the Prague Spring.

[52] Lukeš, Untitled review, 12

Hallmarks of the Prague Spring included the abolition of censorship and allowing for freedom of the press. What many intellectuals were striving for in their "third way" socialism was "socialism with a human face," or a humane form of socialism that could accommodate social and cultural pluralism (as well as pluralism in public opinion). Reviewers' attention to characters and other contributors reveals an overall desire to fit the musical into a vaguely political parallel to the Prague Spring.

It would have been easy for reviewers to trumpet the idealistic Bolshevik revolutionary character Perchik as a nod towards Soviet ideals. Instead, Tevye dominates the production. Other actors only appear summarily.[53] At the same time, reviews frequently emphasized the importance of the cooperative efforts of the director, composer, choreographer, and adapter. However, they are equally emphatic on the necessary marriage between the "collective approach" and Tevye as the central figure.[54] The rhetoric of the equality between the "individual and the collective" was reminiscent of reformers' calls to reincorporate the "human face" into socialism during the Prague Spring.[55]

[53] For example, see Prúša, "Fidlikant Króner," 8; A. G.; "Vít'azné t'ažnie," 77; or Juríik, "Fidlikant Króner," 4.
[54] Juríik, "Fidlikant Króner," 24.
[55] Šmidová, "O Poslednej minuloročnej," 5.

Image 4.13. Perchik dressed in a striped t-shirt for the Plzeň production. Source: Věra Caltová, "Šumař na střeše, 1969, Divadlo J.K. Tyla Plzeň," *Virtual Study: Database and on-line services of the Theater Institute,* http://vis.idu.cz/ProductionDetail.aspx?id=23220&tab=photo .

Henry Bial argues that each Tevye defines the tone of *Fiddler*.[56] The reviewers of the Prague and Bratislava productions overwhelmingly agreed that the skill and the talents of each Tevye actor—Pešek in Prague and Jozef Króner in Bratislava—were ultimately responsible for the success of the production. Reviewers perceived a comic-tragic duality in *Fiddler* that they tendentiously associated with the Jewish people. Words like "sad" (*smutný*), "poor" (*chudý,* as in pitiable, but also impoverished), "tragic" (*tragický*) and "suffering" (*trpkost*) are consistently paired with positive words, such as "idyllic" (*idylický), "*wisdom" (*moudrost*/*múdrosť*), "richness" (*bohatství*), "hope" (*naděje*), or "comic" (*komediantský*).[57] One reviewer was more explicit, arguing that the overall feeling of "sad humor" was achieved through "links" or "complements" between individual components of the play.[58] The *Divadelní noviny* reviewer of

[56] Though he refers to the quintessential Tevyes, Zero Mostel and Topol, his argument that particular physical characteristics or acting personalities ultimately affect the tone of the character is relevant to all casting nuances. Bial, *Acting Jewish*, 73-82.
[57] See A. G., "Vít'azné t'ažnie," 75-77; JTG, "Šumař na střeše," *Divadelní noviny* 11:17 (March 13, 1968), 5; Majka Šmidová, "O Poslednej minuloročnej premiére a plánoch pre rok 1969 s Daliborom Hegrom," *L'ud* (January 2, 1969), 5; Jozef Leikert and Mária Macková, *Osud tak chcel: Rozhovor s hercom Jozefom Kronerom* (Bratislava: LUNA, 1999), 175-6; Seydler, "Čím žije," 10.
[58] G. Rapos, "Fidlikant na streche: smutný humor na Novej scéne," *Práca* (December 17, 1968), 6.

the Prague premier wrote that by delivering these qualities, Pešek had "captured the Jewish soul."[59]

In Pešek's performance, the aforementioned qualities were more clearly associated with a particular Jewish experience. In his autobiography, Pešek described Tevye as resilient and committed to "tradition as law," qualities frequently associated with Jewish perseverance and religious practice.[60] Pešek's Tevye is even called "Ahashueras-like" (*ahasvérský*), alluding to the middle-ages Christian archetype of the wandering Jew, who was condemned to search the Earth for peace and redemption.[61] During the Czech National Revival, the 18th and 19th century movement to revive Czech language and culture, non-Jews who supported Czech-Jewish cooperation frequently painted Jewish wandering and placelessness as a sympathetic commonality between Jews and Czechs.[62] By emphasizing this as an aspect of Tevye's character, reviewers were highlighting long-standing tropes of Czech-Jewish affinity.

Pešek liked Tevye as a character because of his ability to laugh through struggle and avoid desperation, but he refrained from universalizing Tevye's struggle.[63] By contrast, the Bratislava production was discussed for its Jewish particularity far less frequently. Though one reviewer of the Bratislava production situated *Fiddler* within a popular "Jewish folklore" trend in public culture (particularly in "pop-music"),[64] the Bratislava reviews overwhelmingly emphasized the broader "human qualities" of Tevye's story as "part of mankind's fate."[65] Ironically, by universalizing the narrative, the original creators of *Fiddler on the Roof* made the

[59] JTG, "Šumař," 5.
[60] Pešek, *Tvář,* 277-8.
[61] JTG, "Šumař," 5.
[62] See "Czech Literature." This was also a trope sometimes romantically associated with Roma. See for example, Karel Hynek Mácha, *Cikáni* (Prague: Kat. Jeřábková, 1857).
[63] Pešek, *Tvář,* 278.
[64] He is likely referencing the appearance of two Yiddish-influenced songs on Slovakian pop- star Haná Hegerová's 1966 *Šansony s Hanou Hegerovou.* Juřík, "Fidlikant Króner," 24.
[65] Šmidová, "O Poslednej minuloročnej," 5.

story mutable to particular local contexts. In the case of Czechoslovakia, the story's meaning evolved not just as it traveled from the Czech lands to Slovakia, but also within one production cycle.

Typically, audiences identify with and reproduce *Fiddler on the Roof* as statements on tradition, generational changes or endurance; Czechoslovakia's *Fiddler on the Roof* eventually became about protest.[66] Milan Lukeš's pre-invasion review paired *Fiddler on the Roof* with the "great play" *It is Written* (called *The Anabaptists* in Prague) by Friedrich Dürrenmatt, in which Dürrenmatt used his trademark satirical tragicomic lens to tell the story of the 16th century Münster suppression of the Anabaptists. Lukeš elevated the musical form by placing *Fiddler on the Roof* on the same level as Dürrenmatt's "challenging philosophical tractate." Lukeš was almost prophetic in his take on *Fiddler on the Roof*, describing the muscial as "a picture of a world…an idyllic microcosm irrevocably swept away by social and political transformations." In a matter of months, Czech and Slovak reformers saw their own Prague Spring political ideal, like Anatevka, "swept away by social and political transformation."[67]

Interpretation after Invasion

When Soviet tanks backed by Warsaw Pact powers entered Prague, this image of an "idyll…swept away" resonated in new ways with Czech and Slovak audiences. Though the decision to produce the musical had likely been made prior to the invasion (and even before the Prague Spring), only the Prague production premiered before Soviet tanks fatefully rolled through Czechoslovakia to undo the Dubček government's reforms in August 1968. The Soviet Union made it clear that Czechoslovakia's media, travel, speech, and federalization reforms were

[66] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Imagining Europe," 24-26.
[67] Lukeš, Untitled review, 12.

a step too far by leading an invasion of Czechoslovakia eight months later and returning the country to the pre-reforms status quo. Large-scale screenings, a lack of leadership response, and the continued presence of Soviet tanks rendered initial public protests useless.

After the 1968 invasion, nightly "revivals of plays and operas" from the National Revival, the Czech nationalist cultural-linguistic movement of the 19th century, became a political activity in itself. Václav Havel described flocking to the theater as a "substitute for action."[68] British journalist Michael Ivens of the *London Evening Standard* noted in his visit to Southern Bohemia in July 1969, "everything is political right now in Czechoslovakia."[69]

In this highly politicized atmosphere, theater reviewers and journalists co-opted Tevye as an anti-discrimination protester. After August 1968, "the awareness of this important moment" pervaded reviewers' interpretation of the "struggle against anti-Semitism, racism, and discrimination of other types" as the musical's most important theme. The fact that the oppressing force in *Fiddler on the Roof* was "old patriarchal Russian life" encouraged reviewers to emphasize the "the contemporary period" as a parallel struggle.[70] It was presented as a story of the powerless against the strong, a "cry against discrimination" that Czechs and Slovaks could understand.[71] It was not a story *of* discrimination, but "against" (*proti*) discrimination. Tevye did not simply endure, he spoke out. Over the past decade, everything from the geopolitical location of Israel to Holocaust films and Franz Kafka's biography had been used to emphasize the realities of hardline communism and legitimate Jewish experience as inextricable from the Czech and Slovak experience. Now, the experience with hardline communism was no longer being associated with alienation and de-individualization, but discrimination. If Czechs and Slovaks

[68] Barbara Day, "Czech National Theatre from the National Revival to the Present Day," *New Theatre Quarterly* 2:7 (1986), 250.
[69] Michael Ivens, "Always in love- the plump girls of Prague," *The London Evening Standard* (July 12, 1969), 9.
[70] Emphasis on "other types" is mine. A. G., "Vít'azné t'ažnie," 76.
[71] Leikert and Macková, *Osud tak chcel,* 176. Šmidová, "O Poslednej minuloročnej," 5.

envisioned themselves as struggling against discrimination, recent cultural representations and Tevye himself reminded them they had this in common with Jews. They accepted Tevye into their fold, and co-opted him as the Czech or Slovak everyman. At the most extreme, Tevye stood on stage as the most well-known Czech protester of the 20th century, the self-immolator Jan Palach.[72]

Though it is difficult to know how the broader public received these messages, there is evidence that audiences at least saw the production in the most basic dichotomy of Russian repressor versus non-Russian repressed. As part of Ivens' tour of Southern Bohemia, he went to see the Plzeň production of *Fiddler on the Roof*. He wrote frankly that he thought the London *Fiddler* was "schmaltzy and sentimental" and he "did not…expect anything special from the Pilsen [sic] audience."[73] By contrast, political tension in the Plzeň theater erupted when "(stage) Russians" interrupted Tzeitel's wedding. "As *Fiddler* went on," he noted, "political points were recorded more frequently and more fervently." [74] Tevye's words that "We don't bother them, and so far, they don't bother us" were especially poignant for audiences who had also imagined a harmony between themselves and the Russian authorities.[75] This interpretation may have been aided by the Plzeň costuming, which was decidedly more urban than the other productions, making the characterization seem potentially more local (Image 4.12-13).

The 1968 invasion not only reminded Czechoslovakia of a powerlessness to protect its own bureaucracy, but also the relationship to Nazi Germany during the war. Josef Koudelka's photographs of the invasion show that protestors equated their oppressors with Nazis by

[72] Seydler, "Čím žije," 10.
[73] Ivens, "Always," 9.
[74] Ivens, "Always," 9, and "'Fiddler' in Pilsen Reminds Czechs of Russian Occupation," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, July 15, 1969.
[75] Joseph Stein, *Fiddler on the Roof* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1964), 7.

scrawling swastikas on tanks and in the Soviet star.[76] Other tropes circulating during the invasion suggested that Czechs were now "like Jews": the student newspaper suggested Czechs would be persecuted like Jews were during the Nazi Occupation and an underground poem described Czechs as a David against a Goliath.[77] These metaphors served to close the gap between Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Tevye's life in the Russian Empire. This was particularly poignant for the Plzeň audience in the moment that Tevye cried his "wish to be left alone" and for the village to be able "to live amicably together."[78]

Interpreting Difference

The call to "live amicably" was not just relevant to the relationship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet governments, but also to Czechs and Slovaks. Historian Scott Brown argues that Czechs and Slovaks were more than just "in concert against a shared antagonist" that "went their separate ways in pursuit of different goals." In the mind of Slovaks, the "federation just became a cloak for obscuring the unitary form of the 'normalized' state" without democratization.[79] Seydler's emotional response to the musical, quoted at the opening of this chapter, was the close of a piece on "How the Capital City of the Slovak Socialist Republic Lives."[80] Strangely, the Bratislava production of *Fiddler on the Roof,* an American-made musical derived from Yiddish stories about a Jewish community in the Russian empire, synthesized the Czech journalist's experience exploring the new Slovak federation. The independent federation status of the Slovak Socialist Republic was the only remaining Prague Spring reform still intact.

[76] For some examples, see Josef Koudelka, *Invasion 68: Prague* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 47, 115, 168, 186, 239, 251, 252, 280.
[77] "Budou se nosít davidovy hvězdy?" *Student*, August 26, 1968; Ivan Sviták, *The Czechoslovak Experiment, 1968-1969* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 202.
[78] Ivens, "Always," 9.
[79] Scott Brown, "Socialism with a Slovak Face: Federalization, Democratization, and the Prague Spring," *East European Politics and Societies* 22:3 (2008), 469, 491.
[80] Seydler, "Čím žije," 9.

Seydler used *Fiddler* to address the misconception that Slovakians were indifferent to the failure of the Prague Spring because federalization had been preserved.[81] At the end of the show, Seydler sat down with Jozef Kroner, "as Czech and Slovak, unusually close." Kroner recognized that Slovakian federalizing reform was nothing without Czech democratizing reform, remarking that "the common tragedy would be if we cease to understand [each other], especially today. We need you, the same as you need us. In good and bad times…" suggesting that there was a deeper obligation and reciprocal responsibility between Czech and Slovak than the tendentious "we don't bother them, they don't bother us" harmony.[82]

By analyzing the reviews and words of each Tevye character, other differences between Pešek and Króner's Tevye performances emerge. While the Prague actor, Ladislav Pešek, had some experience in productions addressing Jewish themes, [83] the Bratislava Tevye was none other than Jozef Króner, who had recently played Tono Brtko in the *The Shop on Main Street*. Though Tono is not a Jewish character, the film shows Tono eventually developing a near familial relationship with Rosalie Lautmann, the Jewish owner of the button shop he is assigned to "Aryanize." Króner's role in *The Shop on Main Street* not only required actual Czech-Slovak-Jewish cooperation in production, but also presented a message that emphasized broader human responsibility,[84] a quality that many of the reviewers and producers also promoted with *Fiddler on the Roof*. Króner's recent involvement with Jewish themes not only shaped his relationship to

[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid 10.
[83] Only one year after the war Pešek had a part in in *Pražský žid* (*Prague Jew)*, J.J. Kolár's 1871 play. The play, about a rabbi who donates money to the Czech cause after the defeat and expulsion of the Czech landowning elite at White Mountain in 1620, belongs to the Czech-Jewish assimilation movement. Though Kolár was not Jewish, he does "articulate a notion of Czech–Jewish cooperation based on common experiences." Jonathan Bolton, "Czech Literature," *Yivo Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2010) http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Czech_Literature .
[84] See Chapter 3.

the role, but also the associations that theatergoers brought with them to the Bratislava production of *Fiddler on the Roof*.

While Pešek "liked Tevye," Króner expressed a kindred connection with Tevye: "despite discomforts and problems, he infinitely loved life…in this we were the same."[85] One reviewer put it simply that "Tevye is in Króner, and Króner in Tevye."[86] Króner deeply identified with the character, reinforced the message of *The Shop on Main Street*, and brought more fame to his Tevye portrayal. Króner was also younger. Following his international success as Tóno, Tevye became one of Króner's career-defining roles.[87] Pešek played Tevye towards the close of his career and described his foray as Tevye as one role in the closing chapter of a long stage career.[88] In presenting his *Fiddler on the Roof* experience through the lens of the "human community" and reciprocal ownership, Króner reveals his indebtedness to the character of Tono.[89]

A reviewer in Prague remarked that popular opinion seemed to favor the Bratislava *Fiddler on the Roof* over the Prague one.[90] Króner played a large role in the success of the Bratislava production, but production and historical contexts also point to possible distinctions between *Nová scéna* and *Tyvolo divadlo,* the Bratislava and Prague theaters respectively. In 1967 *Nová scéna* had already produced *Hello Dolly!, My Fair Lady,* and *Man of La Mancha,* suggesting prior experience with the musical genre that was absent in Prague.[91] Additionally, director Dalibor Heger had purportedly seen the Prague production and waited to acquire

85 Leikert and Macková, *Osud tak chcel*, 176.
86 Rapos, "Fidlikant."
87 Bakošova-Hlavenková, *Elixír smiechu*, 319.
88 Pešek, *Tvář.*
89 "Human community" quote is in reference to Tono's role in *The Shop on Main Street.* Saperstein, "'All Men Are Jews'," 158.
90 Jaromír Prúša, "Fidlikant Króner and his all stars," *Divadelní noviny*. 12:9 (1968-69), 8.
91 Leikert and Macková, *Osud tak chcel,* 173 and Pešek, *Tvář,* 276-8.

additional original music materials, while in Prague they had rented the music from Dilia, Czechoslovakia's main literary and theater agency.[92]

The Bratislava production was perhaps more closely linked in form to the original and therefore better equipped from the production standpoint to tackle musical challenges. Furthermore, Heger was married to the famed Slovak chansonist and pop-star Hana Hegerová, who had delved into Yiddish music with her 1966 album *Chansons with Hana Hegerová*. Hegerová's history with interpretation of Jewish cultural works suggests that Heger had spent more time considering issues of "Jewish" sound and staging. Her Yiddish songs included a Czech version of the 1925 "My Yiddishe Momme," which had the same melody but, in keeping with the common trope of reading the recent decimation of European Jewry into older cultural works, had reinterpreted lyrics that strongly suggested the fear, suffering, and pain of the Jewish people. Others of her songs included more sentimental or pop interpretations of Yiddish melodies, including a video that presented staging not unlike the visuals eventually used in the Prague production of *Fiddler on the Roof* (Image 4.14).[93]

[92] Majka Šmidová, "O Poslednej minuloročnej," 5. Prusa particularly praised Machácek, the Bratislava composer, for delivering a skillful rendition of Bock's music. Pruša, "Fidlikant Króner," 8. A clip of Króner singing the "If I were a Rich Man" as Tevye is very similar to the Broadway version, though the chorus lyrics are "Let the groš (money) grow." "Jozef Kroner – Fidlikant na streche," *Retro Slovak*, YouTube Video, March 31, 2018, https://youtu.be/ExCmL4NqQZI ;

[93] See Hana Hegerová, "Židovská máma (My Yiddische Momme)," and "Noc (Schön wie die Lawona)," *Šansony s Hanou Hegerovou* (1966).

Image 4.14. A still from Hana Hegerová's video *Noc*, which shows oversized menorah on a sparse backdrop, with shadowing that emphasizes the floating-objects, an effect not unlike Oldřich Smutný's set designs. Source: CS klipy, "1967 Hana Hegerová – Schön wie die Lawone/ Noc," YouTube Video, 1:50, February 28, 2014, https://youtu.be/nzgE6OV2gJs .

Reviewers also credit the Bratislava *Fiddler on the Roof* for quelling doubts about the ability of the musical to convey serious "artistic or societal values," suggesting that they thought of *Fiddler on the Roof* as a more elevated production than previous musicals on the *Nová scéna* stage.[94] Perhaps this was because the Slovakian Jewish community more closely resembled Anatevka than in Bohemia and Moravia. *Shtetl* nostalgia had significantly different connotations in Bratislava than Prague. The costuming for the Bratislava production recalled a less regionally distinct (Ukranian) folk-wear, potentially allowing the Bratislava audience to associate the residents of Anatevka with local Slovakian communities.[95] Slovakia's role in deportation of Jews during World War II and stronger commonalities between Slovakian Jewish communities and the imagined Anatevka gave *Fiddler on the Roof* additional emotional weight in Bratislava.

Shtetl life was far from the reality that Czechs had seen, and Czech Jews had experienced. By contrast, Slovakia's Jewry was more traditional (or less like German-Jewish

[94] A. G., "Vít'azné t'ažnie," 76.
[95] Refer to Image 4.9.

communities). Though western and urban Slovakian Jewry "acculturate(d) to some extent in matters of language and dress," in peripheral Hungarian areas and the East, Orthodoxy predominated. Because Slovak culture "lagged behind that of the Czechs," there had been little appeal for Jews to attempt cultural integration like the Czech-Jewish movement in Bohemia and Moravia.[96] In Prague, the production did not recall Prague's own lost Jewish community, but rather a nostalgia or appreciation for a larger and more generalized conception of Jewish culture. While the Bratislava Jewish community was nothing like Anatevka, in more provincial areas of Slovakia, particularly in the east, Jewish life might have resembled the world of Sholem Aleichem's stories.

Lukeš ended his dual review of *Fiddler on the Roof* by quoting the last words of *The Anabaptists*: "This inhuman world must humanize people. But how? But how?"[97] In many ways, this was the central question that many intellectuals posed about communism: was it possible, after the horrors of Nazism and stalinism, to create a "humanistic" socialism, a political system that could finally accommodate political and social pluralism? Eventually, Tevye's story made both Czech and Slovak audiences think of persecution. Parallels to Nazism, however, had different connotations for Czechs and Slovaks. In recent years, New Wave cinema techniques (such as a narrow cinematographic focus and emphasis on psychological effects) were used to create allegories set in the Protectorate years about the de-individualization in contemporary communist Czechoslovakia. Slovakian intellectuals and artists had been forced to cope with the Holocaust legacy in a more straightforward manner in order to address questions of legitimacy for autonomous Slovakia.

[96] Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 139-140.
[97] Lukeš, Untitled review, 12.

Conclusion

Though the invasion symbolically marked "normalization," or the "return to status quo" pre-reform communism, pragmatic changes began when Gustav Husák took office in 1969.[98] It is unclear whether the production closed in late 1969 or early 1970 due to normalization policies or whether the production cycle was simply over. In any case, there were no obvious negative repercussions for those involved.[99] However, playwrights, intellectuals, and others who had been part of the community that promoted reincorporating, addressing, and supporting the Jewish narrative in Czechoslovak culture made up the primary group of those blacklisted and forced into exile afterwards.[100] With the primary promoters of Jewish culture gone, Jewish culture on the public stage and the production closed with the same curtain drop.

By situating *Fiddler on the Roof* in the context of other elements of Jewish public culture, political events, and how the community of theater critics, journalists, actors and producers presented the production to the public, I have attempted to explain how *Fiddler on the Roof* fits into what is usually considered a hostile, or indifferent at best, socialist cultural environment. An examination of recent expressions of Jewish culture in the public sphere reveal that the intellectual atmosphere was not hostile, and the state was at least passive enough to allow intellectuals to explore Jewish themes. I do not argue that all or even many audiences perceived *Fiddler on the Roof* as an allegory for the Warsaw Pact Invasion, but rather that members of an artistic and intellectual elite offered that interpretation in public discourse. In doing so, they

98 Jan Rychlík, "The 'Prague Spring' and the Warsaw Pact Invasion as seen from Prague," in *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968: Forty Years Later*, edited by M. Mark Stolarik, 31-52 (Mundelein: Bolchazy- Carducci Publishers, 2010), 51.

99 See "Šumař na střeše" for the Prague production. Króner and Heger had long careers after this production. In fact, Heger became the head of the Nová scená theater shortly thereafter. Leikert and Macková, *Osud tak chcel*.

100 McConnell, "Gray Zones and Black Holes," 109-11, 314-5. Among these, to name a few, were Ján Kadár, Elmar Klós, Eduard Goldstücker, Pavel Kohout, and Ladislav Mnačko. Brynych was only allowed to produce television programs, while other Czech New Wave filmmakers who made Holocaust films, such as Jan Němec, were not allowed to work at all.

knowingly or unknowingly referenced recent cultural and political discourse that suggested that Jews, Czechs, and Slovaks were all obligated to each other in a type of reciprocating ownership or utilized historical Jewish experience as a parallel to their own position under a de-individualizing and isolating communism.

"Contexts," Scott Spector argues, "are always plural, and in competition with one another."[101] Timing had a significant impact on how audiences and commentators interpreted Tevye's story. Intellectuals and artists incorporated calls for the acceptance and reclamation of Jewish culture into the rhetoric of democratization. Often interpretations of Jewish works emphasized the pedagogical function of teaching new generations about the horrors of Nazi occupation, while at the same time, stressed the parallels between Czech and Jewish experiences. After August 1968, however, the context of the invasion proved too powerful to be ignored. When this democratization was overturned, the reformer community connected it with a long-held sympathetic association between Jews and placelessness in Czech culture.

Slight differences in the productions in Bratislava and Prague indicate that contexts were also plural within Czechoslovakia. The Bratislava theater community was more invested in nostalgia for *shtetl* life and Jewish culture, because they had a closer relationship to an actual *shtetl* community, a stronger need to address an anti-Semitic past, and more resources to work with the genre and specific production. By co-opting Tevye as a protester, the theater community utilized a specific notion of Jewishness as a political statement against the Soviet style communism developed in the intellectual and artist community in the preceding years. When Tevye stood in his final scene with the rest of the Anatevka community on the brink of an unknown future, about to scatter the earth in exile, perhaps his "fate" was not so different from the intellectuals in Czechoslovakia after all.

[101] Spector, *Prague Territories,* 3.

Over-sympathizing with Jewish stories had become common way of engaging with representations of Jewish experiences over the course of the 1960s. It was especially easy for commentators to slip into self-identification with representations of Jewish quandaries and challenges at certain political pressure points. This was the case with Tevye after 1968, and it was also the case with intellectuals—writers in particular—after the outbreak of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. When the war broke out in 1967, it kicked off a renewed propaganda campaign. The anti-Jewish tone, suspicion of Israel, and the increased stringency in public opinion control reminded many intellectuals of the stalinist era. Similar claims that Jewish experiences, in this case specifically Israeli experiences, were parallel to the national experience of Czechoslovakia emerged in the wake of the war. After censorship was lifted during the Prague Spring, anti-Jewish rhetoric, both former and current, became a prominent component of intellectual discourses.

Chapter Five

Culture and Politics: The '67 War, the anti-Zionist Campaign, and the Prague Spring

"The consolation was that being a Jew was not a privilege of the Jews."[1]

In 1984, the famed Czech writer Milan Kundera wrote about how "precious" the Jewish people were to Central Europe from his exile in France: "in their destiny the fate of Central Europe seems to be concentrated, reflected, and to have found its symbolic image. What is Central Europe? An uncertain zone of small nations between Russia and Germany…Indeed, what are the Jews if not a small nation, *the* small nation par excellence?"[2] Kundera's sentimental expressions of affinity between Czechs (and other Central European small nations) and Jews in *The New York Review of Books* has often been taken as emblematic of the rise of interest in Europe's Jewish legacy. Yet, Kundera's statement was not as original in 1984 as readers and scholars have often understood it to be. When Kundera was a young author just beginning his career in the 1960s, dozens of his colleagues were making similar arguments (if often more figurative) in literary and cinematic works and the cultural press. Preceeding chapters have illustrated how authors, filmmakers, and theater professionals emphasized the symbolic connection and affinitiy between Jews and Czechs/Slovaks throughout the 1960s. In the wake of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, however, many of Kundera's countrymen and colleagues made these statements more explicit, especially the parallelism of Jews and Czechs as kindred "small nations." This chapter shows how intellectuals mobilized this symbolism in the political arena after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.

The war broke-out on June 5, 1967, after weeks of tension between Israel and Egypt. Despite lasting only six days, the war had continuing consequences around the world. It is often

1 Ján Kadár in an interview with Antonín J. Liehm in 1971. Liehm, "Ján Kadár – Elmar Klos," *Ostře sledované filmy,* 128.
2 Milan Kundera, "The Tragedy of Central Europe," *New York Review of Books* 31, no. 7 (1984): 35.

attributed to cementing the Jewish diaspora's relationship to Israel, particularly in the United States and other West European countries. In the Soviet bloc, the consequences were different. By June 12, the Soviet Union and its sattelites (excepting Romania) had officially severed diplomatic relations with Israel. This seemingly distant diplomatic action had serious domestic repercussions for two groups: intellectuals and Jews. In particular, it led to a resurgence of censorship, as governments scrambled to control public opinion on their diplomatic stance and on Israel in general. In Czechoslovakia this was singularly felt, because of the confluence of renewed draconian measures and the rising tide of socialist reform—a call for more "humane" socialism that was rapidly gaining momentum, particularly among intellectuals. Expressing one's opinion on Israel quickly became a *cause célèbre* among Czechoslovak intellectuals, primarily through impassioned emotional appeals about the resemblance between Jewish and Czechoslovak experiences. When Alexander Dubček's reform government finally came to power in January 1968, censorship and restricted movement disappeared. Instead of decreasing intellectuals' interest in Israel, the short-lived era of free press offered authors and other intellectuals the opportunity to make public the political relevance of Jewish culture for their vision of socialist reform.

Middle East policy remained domestically important in 1968. In part, this was because Czechoslovak policy on Israel never officially changed. I argue, however, that the renewed "anti-Zionist campaign" in Poland was equally as important for making Israel and domestic anti-Semitism relevant issues throughout 1968. Intellectuals and students in Poland were inspired by socialist reform in Czechoslovakia, contributing to protests against censorship in early 1968. The Polish government responded by accusing protestors of being "Zionists" in disguise. This reaction further convinced Czechoslovak intellectuals of the need to fight anti-Zionism, which

was often recognized as a thin veil for anti-Semitism at the time. Many of the intellectuals featured in this chapter will be familiar from preceding chapters; they are novelists, journalists, and contributors to the film industry who actively composed, circulated, or reviewed Jewish narratives.

This chapter begins by examining the state's response to the 1967 Arab-Israeli War (hereafter '67 War), highlighting two concrete consequences of the state's official "anti-Zionism": to crystallize the importance of resisting state-sponsored anti-Semitism as a crucial component of achieving a more "humane" form of socialism; and to trigger an overt but convoluted conflation between Nazism, Stalinism, and Middle East politics (utilized, but to cross-purposes, by both reformers and hard-liners). Furthermore, Czechoslovak writers became more explicit about anti-Semitism as a trademark sign of Stalinism. This linkage was due to the now recognized role of anti-Semitism in the 1952 show trial often eponymously referred to as the Slánský Trial (for the highest party functionary sentenced, Rudolf Slánský). This aggravated state of tension between the Writers' Union could theoretically have been relieved in 1968 by the Prague Spring. Instead, this chapter shows, intellectuals in Czechoslovakia felt the need to continually address the Slánský Trial and communism's tendency towards anti-Semitism because of Poland's "anti-Zionist Campaign." The Prague Spring, in spite of its freedoms, was not a period free of conflict. In fact, precisely because of the abolition of censorship, tensions between hardliners and reformers reached a fever pitch—tensions not limited to Czechoslovak borders, but that ricocheted back and forth between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Reactions to the 1967 Arab-Israeli War in Czechoslovakia

In the early days of the Israeli state, the Soviet Union supported a pro-Jewish policy in British mandate Palestine, because the creation of a Jewish state seemed to ensure a decreased British presence in the Middle East.[3] Stalin possibly hoped the leftist orientation of the kibbutz movement would translate into a socialist state, and Israel would become an ally in the Middle East.[4] In Czechoslovakia, the shift towards a pro-Arab policy were evident as early as 1951, with the arrest of the Slánský Trial defendants. The anti-Israel tone of the Slánský Trial was clear: the defendants (11 of 14 were Jewish) were accused of being enemy spies for Israel, and via Israel, spies for the West.[5]

The Soviet Union's position slowly became more pro-Arab over the course of the 1950s and 1960s.[6] During the Yemeni Civil War in the early 1960s, the Soviet Union demonstrated allegiances to Egypt through military aid. By 1967, the Soviet Union was clearly allied with Egyptian president Gamal Nasser, a self-proclaimed leader of pan-Arabism (though the Soviet Union had never had to defend their Arab interests directly against Israel). When Nasser sent armored units into Sinai, forced the removal of the UN Emergency Forces stationed in the area, and then blockaded the Straits of Tiran in May 1967, Arab presses hailed the elimination of the

3 Galia Golan, *Soviet Policies in the Middle East: From World War Two to Gorbachev* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 34-6.

4 See David Thompkins, "Israel as Friend and Foe: Shaping East German Society through Freund- and Feindbilder," in *Becoming East German: Socialist Structures and Sensibilities after Hitler*, ed. Mary Fulbrook and Andrew I. Port, vol. 6, Spektrum (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 221. Eduard Goldstücker, a victim of the Slánský Trial, and Ladislav Mňačko also speculated on Stalin's hopes that the leftism of the kibbutz movement would lead to a close alliance between the Soviet bloc and Israel. See Eduard Goldstücker, *Vzpomínky 1913-1945* (Prague: G plus G, 2003), 44; Ladislav Mňačko, *Siedma noc: skúsenosti a obžaloba jedného komunistu* (Práca: Bratislava, 1990), 99-100.

5 For more on the Slánský Trial, see Karel Kaplan, *Report on the Murder of the General Secretary* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990). George H. Hodos and Joseph Stalin, *Show Trials: Stalinist Purges in Eastern Europe, 1948-1954* (New York: Praeger, 1987); Justman, *A Trial in Prague*; Ķoţiķ, *The Prague Trial*.

6 Jesse Ferris, *Nasser's Gamble: How Intervention in Yemen Caused the Six-Day War and the Decline of Egyptian Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Thompkins, "Israel as Friend and Foe"; Golan, *Soviet Policies in the Middle East*.

Israeli presence in the Middle East. Fears of another Holocaust circulated in the Israeli press. After three weeks, Israel launched an offensive into Egypt.[7]

In the Soviet bloc, state responses to the war relied upon two basic strategies. The first was rhetorical: condemning Israel's pre-emptive attack on Egypt as revanchist, imperialist and explicitly Nazi-like. The Soviet press immediately labeled Israel a "fascist" country engaged in a "Hitlerite…extension of *Lebensraum.*"[8] In Czechoslovakia, the attack was first called a "lightning war," alluding to the Nazi invasion of Poland. This sensationalist rhetoric revived national traumas of World War II, including the "extermination (*vyhlazení*) of Lidice," the murder and destruction of an entire Czech village as reprisal for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, the *Reichsprotektor* of Prague and head of the *Einsatzgruppen*. Czechoslovak President and Communist Party General Secretary Antonín Novotný made this parallel apparent by penning a public letter to *Rudé pravo.* Novotný claimed that the memory of Lidice "obligated" the Czechoslovak state to fight against the resurgence of "militaristic, revanchist tendencies" in the Middle East. A brief section on the U.S. in Vietnam and an extensive condemnation of Israel's "war of aggression" were sandwiched in between his open letter and another piece on the "tragic fate of Lidice."[9] He reminded readers that the Soviet Union had fought against the spread of Nazism in Europe and urged the public to continue to fight imperialism twenty years after World War II.

The second strategy was to take a series of steps to ensure that the communist states were perceived as sufficiently "anti-Zionist." In truth, these "anti-Zionist" actions were often simply

[7]See Anita Shapira, *Israel: A History*, trans. Anthony Berris (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2012), 288-301; Guy Laron, "Playing with Fire: The Soviet-Syrian-Israeli Triangle, 1965-1967," *Cold War History* 10, no. 2 (2010): 163–184; Ferris, *Nasser's Gamble*.

[8] "Document 92: Soviet Reaction to the Six-Day War (June 1967)," in *The Soviet Government and the Jews, 1948-1967: A Documented Study,* ed. Benjamin Pinkus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 253-6. Originally published as E. Evseev, "Lakei na pobegushkakh," Komsomolskaya pravda, October 4, 1967.

[9] Antonín Novotný, "Shromádžění k 25 výročí vyhlazení obce: tragický osud Lidic nás zavazuje," *Rudé právo*, June 12, 1967, 1.

anti-Jewish. The Czechoslovak government, for example, cancelled a millennial celebration of the Prague Jewish community as a supposed expression of unity with the Arab world. Before the celebration was officially cancelled, the Postal Administration called for post offices and collectors' shops to urgently cease distributing and return commemorative stamps related to the millenial of the Old-New Synagogue and the State Jewish Museum.[10] These initiatives did not go unnoticed. A letter-writer scorned state justifications in *Literární noviny*: "It would surely be feeble-minded to believe that Prague postal Hebraica inspired Israeli aggression." Another commentator argued that supporting Jewish institutions actively countered endemic "stupidity" among the Czech people.[11] While subscribers to *Literární noviny* were likely sympathetic to these arguments, the state was not. By September 1967, the Jewish community's millennial celebration was officially cancelled, purportedly due to the lack of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel. Affiliated anniversary tours of historic Jewish sites were also cancelled.[12]

In keeping with its rhetorical strategy, the communist party (*Komunistická strana Československa* or KSČ) strictly controlled what others could and could not say publicly about Middle East events. Recalling these events in 1969, journalist Dušan Hamšík bemoaned that the Czechoslovak public knew nothing of extreme Arab nationalism and its actions towards "the extermination (*vyhlazení*) of the Israeli people," while the press publicized every link between Israel and the U.S. He interpreted the KSČ position as "embarrassingly primitive anti-Semitism,"

[10] *Situation Report: Czechoslovakia, 9 August 1967* (Munich: Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, August 9, 1967), 2.
[11] It's unclear why these pieces were printed; the archives of the StB show that the letters in the "Čtenáři soudí" section of *Literární noviny* were not exempt from the censors' scrutiny. Karel Málek, "Čtenáři soudí," *Literární noviny* 16, no. 31 (August 4, 1967): 2. ZN, "Aby ani stín..." *Literární noviny* 16, no. 29 (June 22, 1967): 10. Málek's article was actually a response to the latter piece.
[12] "Czechs Drop Observance of Jewish Anniversary," *The New York Times*, September 6, 1967.

reminiscent of both the Slánský Trial and "even the crude anti-Semitism of the Nazi era."[13] The intellectual community particularly felt this tightening control over cultural events and printed media. Over the past decade, the Czechoslovak intellectual community managed to slowly forge a comparatively more open and tolerant journalistic and cultural sphere, but they had suffered a series of setbacks in 1967. The government forcibly closed the journal *Tvář*. Two student protesters were arrested (one of whom would later volunteer on an Israeli kibbutz). Czechoslovak intellectuals were dismayed with the suppression of Aleksander Solzhenitsyn's open letter to the May 1967 Soviet Writer's Union. Prohibitions forbidding intellectuals to publish anything other than the KSČ position on the 1967 Arab-Israeli War became the final straw.[14]

State control over the media's representation of the war was indeed severe. In the months after the war, *Rudé právo*, the main communist party daily, represented 65% of all articles printed about the '67 War. With *Nová doba*, which exclusively published articles translated from the Soviet press, these two publications represented 74% of all articles about the Middle East conflict (Figure 5.1). *Pravda*, the Slovak equivalent to *Rudé právo* represented 64% of all Slovak articles on the Middle East crisis between June and December 1967 (Figure 5.2). On the eve of the Writers' Union Congress at the end of June, *Nová doba* and *Rudé právo* dominated nearly 83% of all Czech-language press coverage on the war. Inclusion of Slovak publications did not diversify opinion; *Pravda*, *Nová doba* and *Rudé právo* were responsible for over 84% of all printed press coverage (see June column in Figure 5.3). The remaining 15.6% of articles were

[13] Dušan Hamšík, *Spisovatelé a moc* (Praha: Československý spisovatel, 1969), 31. For more on intellectual associations of anti-Zionism with stalinism, see Frank Kaplan, *Winter into Spring: The Czechoslovak Press and the Reform Movement 1963-1968* (Boulder: East European Quarterly, 1977), 95-6.
[14] See Kaplan, *Winter into Spring*, 87-88; Golan, *Reform Rule in Czechoslovakia*, 15. The referenced language to "objectionable" texts were found in Box 4, Folder 3, Fund 318, ABS, Prague, Czech Republic. "Intervention" (*zásah*) was suggested. This language was used to describe texts earlier in the 1960s as well.

divided among 19 different publications, including special trade journals on military matters or international law, which presumably had a low readership (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.1.

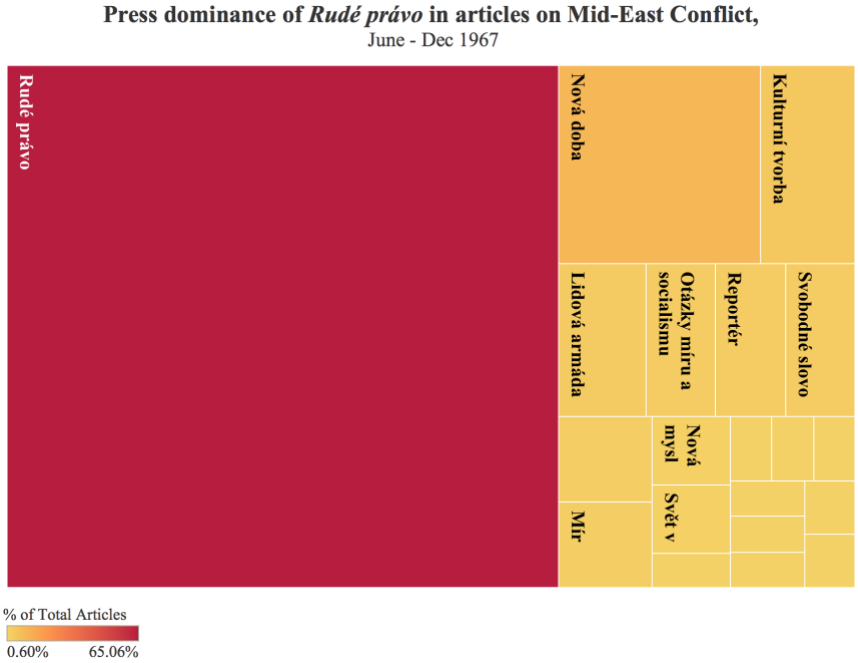
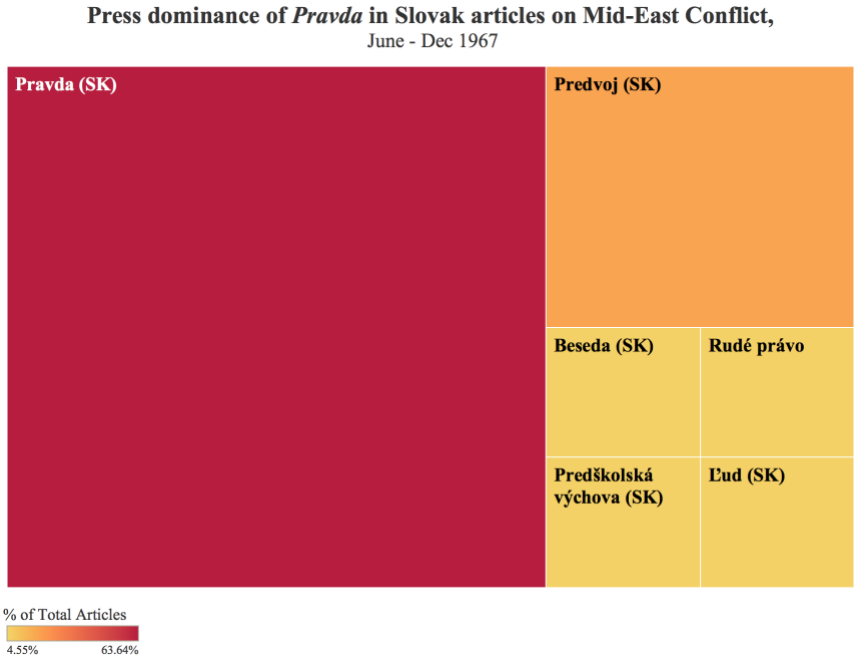


Figure 5.2.



Source: Appendix D, Section 5.

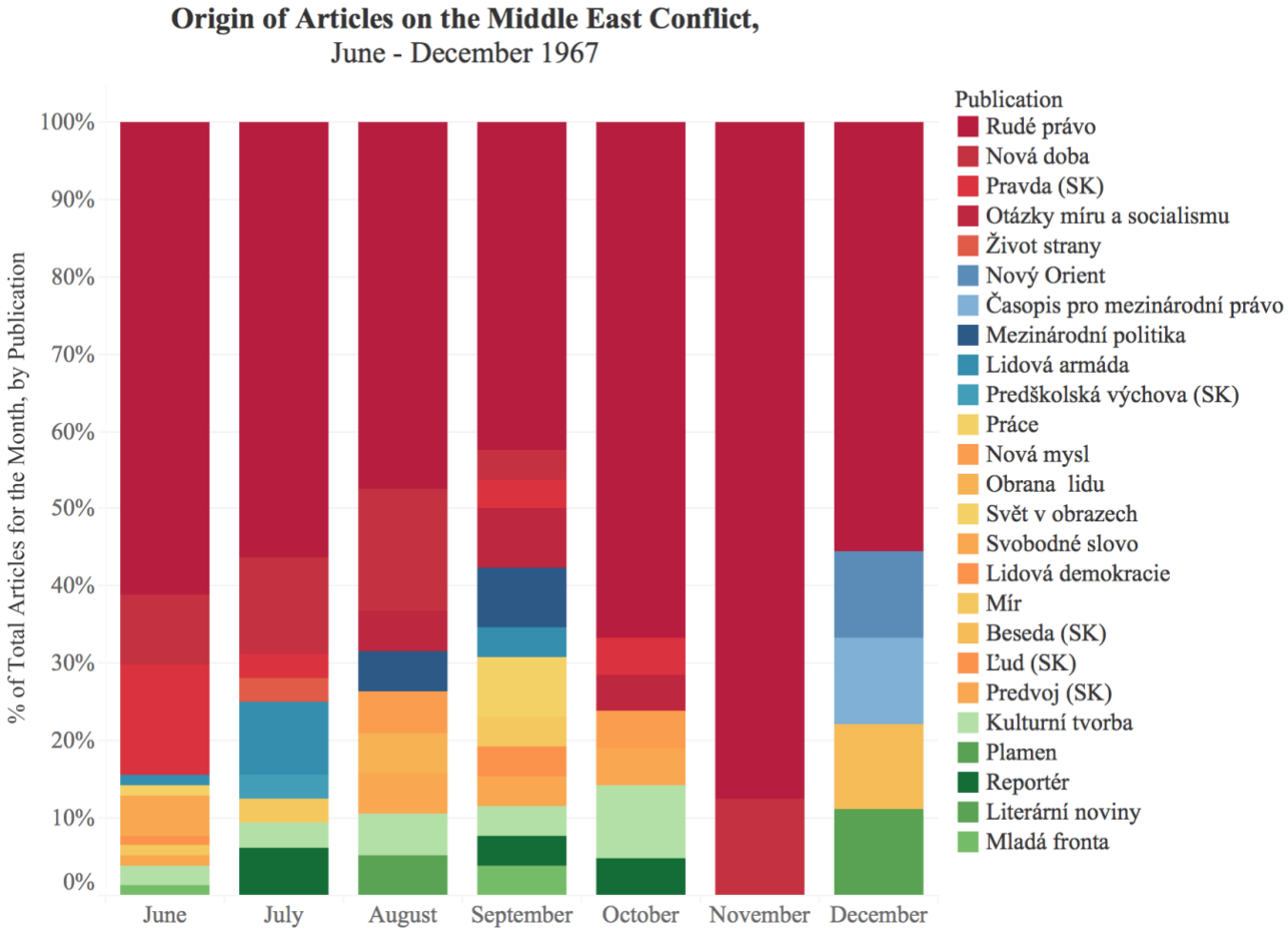
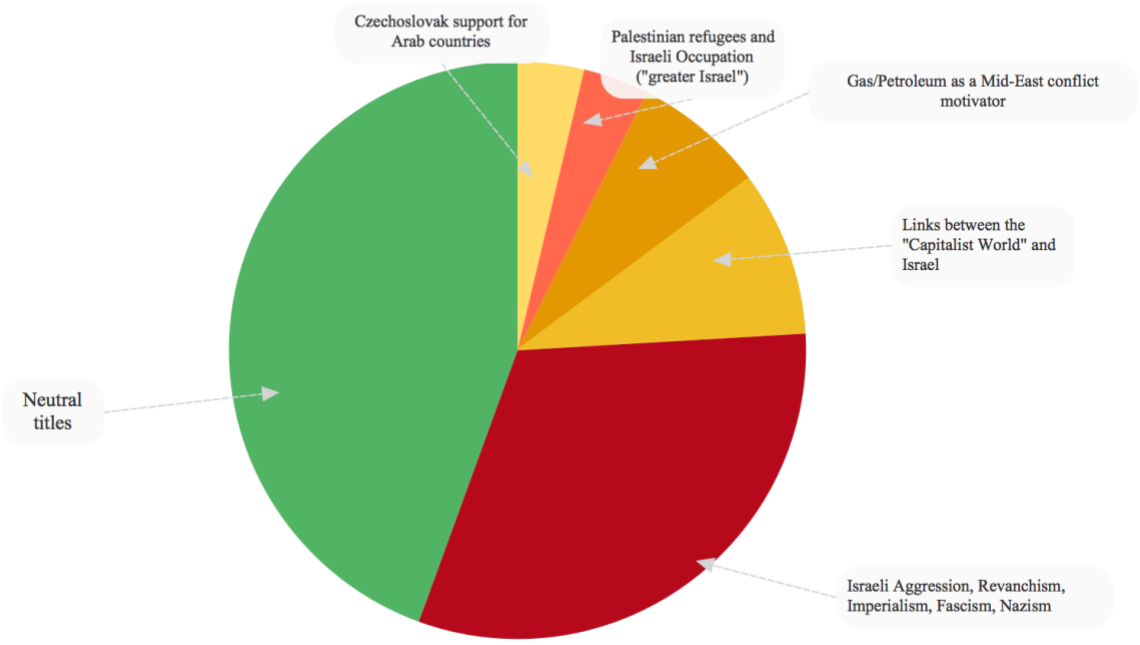


Fig. 5.3. Red represents publications that would be guaranteed to reproduce the party line. Blue includes special interest publications. Yellow represents publications that likely, for this issue, are reproducing state rhetoric, but could and did engage in reform-minded journalism. Green represents cultural presses that were most resistant to party dictates. SK denotes Slovak publications. Source: Appendix D, Section 5.

Moreover, more than 32% of these articles used terms like "aggression," "revanchist," "imperialist," or even "fascist" to describe Israel *just in the title alone* (Figure 5.4).[15] It would be a mistake to assume that all uses of state language, however, were signs of state complicity. One of the few cases where an article managed to criticize the state position was in *Student.* The piece utilized state approved rhetoric until the closing, when the anonymous author suddenly admitted this was only "one-side" of the issue.[16] Nonetheless, the frequency of these strong vilifying words in article titles helps to understand what writers might have been preoccupied with and responding to as they approached the IV Czechoslovak Writers' Union Congress.

Fig. 5.4. Keyword markers in article titles about the Middle East
From dominant presses before the Czechoslovak Writer's Union Congress



Source: Appendix D, Section 5.

[15] Ibid.
[16] "Co se vlastně stalo?" *Student* 24 (1967): 1. Some other examples of more even-handed pieces include Věra Šťovíčková, "Střední východ v plamenech: staletí konfliktů," *Reportér* 2, no. 13 (1967): 22–24; "Násir a Izraelci," *Reportér* 2, no. 19 (1967): 22–23.

Writers took advantage of the opportunity to voice their frustration with the government's treatment of the Middle East crisis at the IV Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union in late June 1967. In the late 1960s, the Czechoslovak Writers' Union was dominated by reform minded communists, who immediately interpreted anti-Israel statements as a regression to Stalinism and a direct threat to individual freedoms. Several writers met in preparation for the Congress to discuss the "unconditional bias of the official propaganda" in Middle East affairs.[17] Two of the participants were concentration camp survivors and authors, Arnošt Lustig and Ivan Klíma. The third was playwright Oldřich Daněk, and the final participant was the author and screenwriter Jan Procházka, who had worked with Jan Němec on a film adaptation of one of Lustig's stories, *Diamonds of the Night*. Klíma and Daněk had both been in Israel.[18]

They were explicit about their belief that the press was leaving out important considerations in evaluating Middle East politics. They used words like "hate" and "unsympathetic" to describe Czechoslovak reportage and discussed the lack of attention to Arab desires for "the destruction of Israel." To argue for a more sympathetic attitude towards Israel, they pointed to the role of Jewish communists in the *kibbutz* system and Jewish resistance to British imperialism. Moreover, Klíma claimed that "as a country that experienced Munich… [Czechoslovakia] should understand what it means to have a terrorist group cross their national borders."[19] They submitted a transcript of the discussion to the Central Committee. It was promptly confiscated for being "beyond what could be tolerated" and never seen by the public.[20]

[17] "Spisovatelé o Středním východě," Příloha k Denní zprávě ÚPS, č. 53/1a, Folder 142-1b, Fund 318, Hlavní sprava tiskového dohledu ministerstvo vnitra, ABS, Prague, Czech Republic. Herafter, "Fund 318, EHlavní sprava tiskového dohledu ministerstvo vnitra" will be referred to simply as "Fund 318."
[18] See Blahoslav Dokoupil, "Jan Procházka*," Slovník české literatury po roce 1945,* last modified September 30, 2006, http://www.slovnikceskeliteratury.cz/showContent.jsp?docId=846&hl=proch%C3%A1zka+ ; Halman, "Arnošt Lutig;" Štěpán Otčenášek, "Oldřich Daněk," *Slovník české literatury po roce 1945,* last modified February 18, 2008, http://www.slovnikceskeliteratury.cz/showContent.jsp?docId=280&hl=dan%C4%9Bk+ .
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ivan Klíma, *My Crazy Century: A Memoir*, trans. Craig Cravens (New York: Grove Press, 2013), 204.

The transcript would have never come to public light had Jiří Hendrych, the chief party member for ideology, not chosen to read from the confiscated text verbatim the night before the Writers' Union Congress. Hendrych had intended to use the text as a weapon against *Literární noviny*, which he mistakenly assumed had been responsible. Instead, he learned he had played into the authors' plan.

Lustig publicly condemned Hendrych's flagrant political opportunism and confessed that he had hoped the text would be confiscated. There was no way to be heard, he claimed, without sensationalism. A confiscated text would land on every official's desk, assuring the widest possible audience. Taking advantage of his public audience, Lustig made parallels between Nazi and Czechoslovak state anti-Semitism: as "a communist and a citizen of a socialist state, it made him despair that *Rudé právo*'s writings mirrored the Nazi Jew-baiting that paved the way to the gas chambers of Auschwitz and subdued the consciences of the rest, so that this crime was carried out without resistance." [21] Whatever his intentions, Hendrych had reinforced the importance of the Middle East to the Writers' Union's fight for increased freedoms. Lustig, for his part, had legitimized the relevance of parallels between contemporary Middle East policy and Nazi crimes, but had shifted the paradigm to suggest that it was the Czechoslovak government utilizing Nazi rhetoric.

When the Congress opened the next day, Hendrych exacerbated the growing conflict between himself and the writers by again condemning Israel's "aggressive war" backed by "the USA and other imperialist powers" and others with "anti-communist tendencies." [22] Pavel Kohout, a non-Jewish Czech playwright who would continue to be an outspoken critic of anti-Israel rhetoric and anti-Semitism, immediately followed Hendrych. Kohout began his talk by

[21] Quoting Hamšík, an attendee, as he remembered the event in his memoirs. Hamšík, *Spisovatelé a moc*, 39.
[22] *IV. sjezd svazu československých spisovatelů* (Praha: Svaz československých spisovatelů, 1968), 28-29.

describing a small nation formed in the wake of world war. "However small," this nation "received its proper boundaries and diplomatic recognition." Without mentioning the name of this "small nation" or its conflict with a "powerful neighbor," Kohout ostensibly painted a picture of the small and isolated Israeli state in the Middle East:

> … [this nation] didn't stop being a thorn in the eye of its neighbors, who in the ensuing era began again to exercise claims on its land…After twenty years things went so far that the powerful neighbor threatened this small nation with destruction. [This threat] was far from figurative, but factual and [it was done] far from privately, but in front of the whole world. 'Extermination' was the word that was repeated in almost every speech of the leader of that strong nation. 'Extermination' was the word that posters, news, and radio repeated daily after him.[23]

When he reached the climax of his narrative, the moment where the protagonist nation would either be forced to surrender or be destroyed, he revealed that he "was not talking about the duel of Arabs against Israel, but of Germany against Czechoslovakia."[24]

It is unclear whether Kohout and other Czechoslovak writers were aware that just before the war broke out, Israeli presses had also compared Nasser to Hitler and Israel to Czechoslovakia.[25] Nonetheless, Kohout made it a palatable analogy for a Czechoslovak audience, compressing the time and distance between Czechoslovakia in 1938 and Israel in 1967. Israel's plight as a "small nation" was not simply a Jewish problem, but a problem shared by all small nations.

The thesis of small nationhood was articulated by Czechoslovakia's first President T.G. Masaryk. He argued that a small nation should rely on moral humanitarianism (in a sometimes immoral world) to define itself and overcome "anxiety from smallness."[26] Thus, by invoking

[23] *IV. sjezd*, 39.
[24] Ibid 40.
[25] Plocker, "Zionists to Dayan," 45.
[26] They did not overcome "anxiety from smallness;" it was only intensified by the experience of the Munich Agreement. Bradley Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 108-110.

small nationhood, Kohout was making an implicit appeal to humaneness, as well as Czechoslovakia's political founding father. The word *vyhlazení,* which Kohout used for "extermination," was an allusion to both the destruction of Lidice and "racial extermination." Only weeks earlier Novotný had used the same words, *vyhlazení Lidic*, to remind Czechoslovaks of the dangers of the aggressive imperialism of the United States and, above all, Israel.[27] Using the same historical moment, and even the same language, Kohout reversed the lessons of WWII. As "citizen(s) of the country that experienced Munich," he urged the attendees at the conference to question the legitimacy of the "unequivocal" (*jednoznačný*) use of the term aggression. He challenged them "if it were the year 1938 and Czechoslovakia had fired the first shot instead of surrender, could any fair judge label this the act of an aggressor?"[28]

The remainder of the Writers' Union Congress that followed suggested that the discomfort that writers' felt with state propaganda was not just about journalistic integrity, but also about feelings of moral obligation to and affinity for Israel. Many that followed took up the issue of censorship with increasing vehemence. Only these subsequent speeches kept Kohout from being expelled from the party; he ended up with a reprimand, while Ivan Klíma and several others were expelled from the party.[29]

The most dramatic statement, however, was Slovak writer Ladislav Mňačko's public declaration to emigrate to Israel in August 1967. During World War II, Mňačko fought as a partisan against the Slovak clerico-fascist Nazi collaborator state. His experiences inspired him to write his novel *Death is Called Engelchen* in 1959. Mňačko's sympathies for Israel were

[27] Novotný, "Shromádžění k 25 výročí vyhlazení obce."
[28] *IV. sjezd svazu československých spisovatelů*, 40.
[29] Klíma, *My Crazy Century*, 215; Hamšík, *Spisovatele a moc,* 163.

already evident in 1948, when he reported on the '48 War with Lustig and Aškenazy.[30] His connections to Israel were strengthened when he covered the Eichmann Trial in 1961. He made close friends through the Czechoslovak-Israel Friendship League, journalists, and leftist Israeli groups. By the time the '67 War broke out, Mňačko was well integrated into the transnational milieu of Czechoslovak-born Israeli Jews.[31]

His response to the state was to opine about the Czechoslovak government's abandonment of the "principles of socialist humanism" from the safety of Vienna in open letter to *Allgemeine Zeitung*: "Since in Czechoslovakia one is prevented from speaking about the Middle East crisis—in fact, one is not allowed to comment at all—and since I want to express my opinion about it, I am compelled to choose this unusual way." Alluding to *Literární noviny*'s stance of refusing to print on the Middle East, he continued:

> It is impossible for me to support—even through silence—a policy which is to lead to the eradication of a whole people and to the liquidation of an entire state. The Czechoslovak government has promised unconditional support to the Arab states and leaders, although these Arab leaders have proclaimed their plans quite openly…[the] destruction of the two and a half million inhabitants of Israel…it is the second time in this century that such destruction has been talked about, and once this destruction did become concrete reality.[32]

Though contemporary Radio Free Europe commentators interpreted Mňačko's decision as a "protest against uncontrolled and uncontrollable [state] power,"[33] he was also deeply motivated by his personal connections to Israel and his opinions on anti-Semitism.

He claimed in his open letter that the KSČ position towards Israel was, at its core, an issue of anti-Semitism. He believed the communist system was currently in a crisis that began

[30] Ladislav Mňačko, *Izrael: národ v boje* (Bratislava: Nakladatel'stvo Pravda, 1949); Ladislav Mňačko, *Já, Adolf Eichmann…* (Prague: Státní nakladatelství politické literatury, 1961). See also, Yehuda Lahav, *Zjazvený život* (Levice: Koloman Kertész Bagala, 2003), 101-3.
[31] Arnošt Lustig and Markéta Mališová, *O spisovatelích* (Praha: Nakladatelství Franze Kafky, 2010), 43-44.
[32] Ladislav Mňačko, "Mnacko [Sic] Letter," RFE/RL Country Series: Czechoslovakia (Munich: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, August 11, 1967), 2.
[33] Hajek and Niznansky, *Mnacko [sic] on a Protest Journey to Israel*, Radio Free Europe Research, Eastern Europe (Czechoslovakia: Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, August 16, 1967), 2.

with the "anti-Semitic tide" produced by the Slánský Trial. Current Israel policy proved to him that this crisis persisted.[34] At the same time, Mňačko's decision to emigrate was informed by small nation empathy. "The scandal of all scandals, my disreputable trip to Israel," he wrote, was inspired by the "suspicion that the Soviets were a playing dirty game in politics, that between them and the USA 'something' hangs in the air, something that small nations would have to pay for."[35] He made similar statements on a Vienna television interview, in *Le Monde*, *Deutsche Welle, Der Spiegel,* and to Tel Aviv newspapers.[36]

Mňačko was already on bad terms with the government after the publication of *Ako chuti moc* (translated in English as *The Taste of Power*), which was interpreted as an excoriating take on "the decay and depravity of the communist social system."[37] The State Security Service (StB) took particular issue with Mňačko's interpretation of the Slánský Trial and the claim that Czechoslovakia had promised "unconditional support" for another nations' utter destruction in the defamation decree they filed against Mňačko shortly after the publication of his letter. The Czechoslovak government denounced his departure as treason and revoked his citizenship (making his self-imposed temporary exile permanent). They declared the forfeiture of all the Mňačko family property and diligently collected and cataloged it for their records before the end of the month. His wife, whose parents were both killed in the Holocaust, was sentenced for "abandoning the republic" for traveling with him.[38] The "Mňačko affair," as it came to be called,

[34] Mňačko, *Mnacko [sic] Letter,* 4. See also "Usnesení August 16, 1967," Folder 1, Fund V-8657 Ministerstvo vnitra, ABS, Prague, Czech Republic. Ministerstvo vnitra herafter abbreviated MV.
[35] Mňačko, *Siedma noc*, 148.
[36] See the many "Protokol o výslechu svědka;" "Závěrečná zpráva;" "Zprávy September 4, 1967;" "Zprávy September 12, 1967;" "Výpis ze zvláštní informace ČTK ze dne 3 listpoadu 1967," Folder 1, Fund V-8657 MV, ABS, Prague.
[37] The book was printed in Germany, not within Czechoslovak borders. Hajek and Niznansky, *Mnacko [sic]*, 3.
[38] See, for example, "Stvrzenka čís. 1-4, 8-14;" "Usnesení September 18, 1967;" "Usnesení October 24, 1967;" "Zápisnica;" Folder 1, Fund V-8657 MV, ABS, Prague. For Hedvika Mňačko's charges, see "Usnesení October 4, 1967," Folder 1, Fund V-8657 MV, ABS, Prague.

caused division within the journalist community.[39] *Literární noviny* refused to publish on Mňačko's decision, and the Central Committee again objected to that silence.[40] Despite the party's ardent desire to see Mňačko criticized, only official party press sources commented on the affair.[41] The "Mňačko affair" faded from public view.

By the end of the summer, controversial public expressions of Israel support subsided. Writers continued to attempt to use the media at their disposal to shed more light on the Middle East conflict, as did members of the general public. The number of "interventions" (censorship requests) was indicative of increasing control over public opinion; they more than doubled from 57 in the year 1966 to 141 between January and September of 1967.[42] Comments about the Middle East conflict, Israel or anti-Semitism were responsible for many of these "interventions." The archives of the StB show a wide variety of pieces—including reader letters and stories about the history of Israel, and even chapters of books—were removed from potential circulation.[43]

Having been blocked from their own press, the Czechoslovak Writers' Union smuggled a letter to France. Their plea for Marxism to maintain its status as the "realm of liberty" rather than a "dominion of terror" that fostered a "fascist witchhunt" and "antisemitic and racist" position towards Israel was published by *Le Monde* (and noted by StB).[44] *Literární noviny* claimed to intentionally abstain from Middle East issues to avoid repeating KSČ statements without aggravating an already tense relationship between the Writers' Union and the government, though they attempted on several occasions to provide commentary on the Middle East and each

[39] Hamšík, *Spisovatelé a moc*, 162.
[40] Ibid.
[41] *Situation Report: Czechoslovakia, 22 August 1967* (Munich: Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute, August 22, 1967).
[42] Kaplan, *Winter into Spring*, 95.
[43] See Denní zpráva ÚPS, no. 51(2) and no. 56(5b), Folder 142-1b and Denní zpráva ÚPS, no. 58(1a), no. 60(3), no. 66(1), no. 75(1b), no. 82(2), no. 84(1g), no. 87(2), 143-1, Fund 318, ABS, Prague, Czech Republic.
[44] Denní zpráva ÚPS, no. 76 (2), Folder 143-1, Fund 318, ABS, Prague, Czech Republic.

time the censorship office removed the text.[45] The strategy failed regardless; their refusal to reprint official statements was incorporated into three of six reasons for rejecting the paper's application for re-registration.[46]

Intellectuals initially responded to what they saw as excessive encroachment of the state into public discourse, but it quickly developed into a resistance to the aggressive propaganda campaign against Israel. Rather than simply rejecting state language, intellectuals challenged the state's position by defending Israel and making emotional parallels about Czechoslovakia and Israel's shared experience of small-nationhood. They re-interpreted the language they found so detestable when used against Israel and used it against Arab nations and leaders. Intellectuals also competed with the state over the use of contemporary and historical events such as the Nazi occupation, the Holocaust, and Vietnam. The specters of aggressors and *národní vyhlazení* (national extermination) did not disappear, but were commandeered by Israel sympathizers. Though these topics faded from public view as summer transitioned to fall, they did not disappear. Mňačko, for example, wrote a new work in exile, *Aggressors,* that mobilized the party's usage of "aggression" to defend "small nations who are always 'aggressors,' … always 'guilty,' … always a 'deadly danger' for the Great Powers."[47] Resisting the state's anti-Zionist rhetoric, which intellectuals interpreted as both fundamentally anti-Semitic and a regression to Stalinist era politics, remained a salient part of intellectuals' political mandate into 1968.

[45] For the claims, see Hamšík, *Spisovatelé a moc*, 169-171. For examples of failed attempts to print on the Middle East conflict, see Denní zpráva ÚPS, no. 53, no. 56(5b), Folder 142-1 and no. 75(1b), Folder 143-1, Fund 318, ABS, Prague, Czech Republic.
[46] Hamšík, *Spisovatelé a moc*, 169-171.
[47] Mňačko, *Mnacko Letter,* 7.

How the Anti-Zionist Campaign Drove Intellectual Politics During the Prague Spring

On January 7, 1968, Alexander Dubček and Ludvík Svoboda were elected the General Secretary of the KSČ and President of Czechoslovakia respectively, ushering in the Prague Spring. Dubček and Svoboda sought to decentralize and democratize the Czechoslovak socialist state. In practice, this meant two changes that dramatically impacted the lives of Czechoslovak intellectuals: freedom of the press and freedom of movement. *Literární noviny,* which had been shut down only months earlier by Novotný, was reborn as *Literární listy*; for the editorial board, the renaming represented a complete break from past regimes that were tainted by prejudices, censorship, and lack of individual freedoms. The Prague Spring was an unprecedented opportunity in the communist bloc for pluralism in public media.

Yet, intellectuals' desires to right the wrongs of their state did not fade simply because the new government was much better than the last. They had their own hopes for the Prague Spring: to usher in a new era of a more humane socialist politics, also known as "socialism with a human face." Over the second half of 1967, state policy towards Israel had become a symbol of the return of Stalinist era political rhetoric and control. Moreover, in the process of challenging the state's comparisons with Nazi-occupation, intellectuals had begun to associate state anti-Zionist policy with both Stalinism *and* Nazism. The fact that Dubček did not renew diplomatic relations with Israel became an important point of contention for intellectuals that hoped the Prague Spring would be just the beginning of a larger political project. Precisely because of the new capacity for pluralism in the media, the political debate over anti-Semitism and the state's anti-Zionist position grew. Moreover, events in nearby Poland reinforced the importance of state attitudes towards Israel.

Like Czechoslovakia, Poland immediately fell in line with Soviet rhetoric after the '67 war. On June 19th, Polish president Władysław Gomułka warned the Polish people against a "Fifth Column," or those who supported "the Israeli aggressor and politics of imperialism." In World War II parlance, the "Fifth Column" referred to Nazi collaborators. In the context of the '67 War, historians have generally understood the "Fifth Column" as a reference to Polish Jews, because it echoed a pre-World War II accusation of Jews as a "Fourth Partition" power, meaning they shared equal responsibility with the Prussian, Russian, and Austrian Empires for dismantling the Kingdom of Poland in the 18th Century.[48] Several Politburo members convinced Gomułka to strike the "Fifth Column" component from the press releases given to printed newspapers; other references to WWII, such as Gomułka's description of Israel's offensive as a *Blitzkrieg*, stayed in print. He insisted that "Israel's air operation…could only be equated with the decisive success of the German Luftwaffe" over Poland in 1939 and accused Polish-born Jews in Israel of forgetting the trauma that befell Poland and the sacrifices that Poles made to save Jewish lives.[49]

Nonetheless, the "Fifth Column" component to Gomułka's June 19th speech validated a more broadly anti-Jewish component of Poland's Israel policy. Pro-Israel sentiments were listed as the cause for removal of 54 party members. According to Dariusz Stola, of the 382 Jews that were listed by the Security Service as having "pro-Israel attitudes…76 were journalists and writers, 51 individuals in upper managerial positions in the administration, 46 scholars and 36 lawyers."[50] Bożena Szaynok's research in the Ministry of Internal Affairs archives has shown

[48] Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other*, 247.
[49] Poland, at this time, refers to the Middle East as the "Near East," but I will uniformly use Middle East in this text. "Władysław Gomułka o agresji na bliskim wschodzie," *Życie literackie*, June 25, 1967. Anat Plocker, "Zionists to Dayan: The Anti-Zionist Campaign in Poland, 1967-1968" (PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 2009), 76.
[50] Dariusz Stola, "Anti-Zionism as a Multipurpose Policy Instrument: The Anti-Zionist Campaign in Poland, 1967-1968," in *Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism in Historical Perspective: Convergence and Divergence*, ed. Jeffrey Herf (New York: Routledge, 2007), 170.

that these professions were generally under scrutiny.[51] Foreshadowing the conflation of certain intellectual professions with "Zionists" that would occur in March 1968, authorities at the Ministry of Internal Affairs reported that, "pro-Israeli sympathies of the 'narrow circle of artistic and literary people' were a form of resistance to party policy rather than an expression of genuine support for Israel." Polish Catholic sympathy for Israel was explained in the Ministry of Internal Affairs by labeling them "Catholics of Jewish descent."[52]

Talk of the "Fifth Column" re-emerged in Poland in 1968. In January, the Polish government banned the play *Dziady* [*Forefathers' Eve*], written by the Romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz, for "anti-Russian overtones." The contrast with neighboring Czechoslovakia, where the specter of censorship had been lifted, was striking. Over the coming months, writers, students, and other intellectuals protested the government's use of censorship. Tensions built as the government labeled protestors of all types and persuasions (students, politicians, Catholics, Jews, journalists) as "Zionists" bent on destabilizing the government. On March 8, Polish students gathered to protest the banning were attacked by state police.[53]

The anti-Zionist campaign took place in the press, in the streets, in fliers, and in public speeches. Jewish student protesters and their political supporters were often referred to in the plural ("Michniks, Szlajfers, and Zambrowskis"—names of actual Jewish student protestors) in order to emphasize their pervasiveness in Polish society and connote collective Jewish responsibility for social disorder.[54] The student protestors in particular were accused of being part of an "Israeli-West German plot to overthrow the Polish government." The independent

[51] Bożena Szaynok, *Poland - Israel 1944-1968: In the Shadow of the Past and of the Soviet Union*, Wyd. 1. (Warsaw: Institute of National Remembrance, Commission of the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, 2012), 431.
[52] Plocker, "Zionists to Dayan," 87-88.
[53] Włodzimierz Rozenbaum, "The March Events: Targeting the Jews," *1968: Forty Years After* 21, edited by Leszek Głuchowski and Antony Polonsky (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2009), 78-9.
[54] Dariusz Stola, *Kampania antysyjonistyczna w Polsce, 1967-1968* (Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych, Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2000) 83.

Polish Catholic organization, *Znak*, and other members of intellectual and artistic groups were also accused of being prominent allies of an international Zionist conspiracy with goals of destabilizing the Polish state. Furthermore, links were made between the Czechoslovak reform movement and "Zionists" in Poland, and the anti-Zionist campaign was credited with preventing "attempts to install a Polish Dubček."[55]

The anti-Zionist campaign caught the attention of Czechoslovak intellectuals, who were exercising their newfound freedom of speech. Not only did it remind them of their own fight for some degree of journalistic independence from the year before, but also the search for internal "Zionists" in the early 1950s represented by the Slánský Trial. Moreover, now many Czech and Slovak intellectuals recognized this rhetoric as fundamentally anti-Semitic. Although these were all issues that became increasingly important to Czechoslovak intellectuals over the course of the 1960s, there is a clear correlation between the outbreak of violence in Poland in March and increased press interest in the Slánský Trial, anti-Semitism, and Middle East Politics. In fact, the *only* issue that was discussed in the Czechoslovak press before the outbreak of violence in Poland was the Middle East conflict (Figure 5.5), which increased significantly after March.

[55]Mikolaj Kunicki, *Between the Brown and the Red: Nationalism, Catholicism, and Communism in Twentieth-Century Poland—The Politics of Boleslaw Piasecki* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 2012), 153-157.

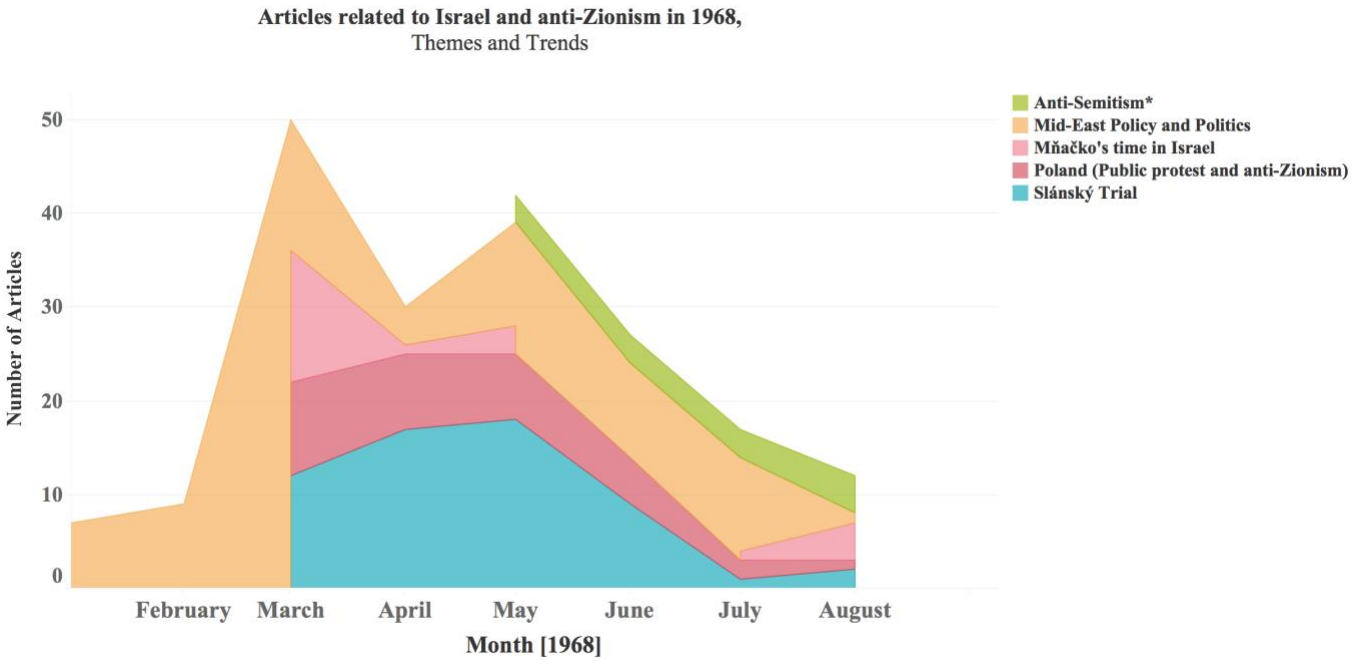


Fig. 5.5. The category of "Anti-Semitism" will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter. It essentially refers to instances where individuals overtly link the anti-Zionist campaign, Middle East Policy, and the Slánský Trial as manifestations of anti-Semitism. Source: Appendix D, Section 6.

However, just because journalists and commentators were able to openly offer their opinion on anti-Zionism, that does not mean that these opinions were necessarily well received. Writers speaking out against the anti-Zionist campaign, anti-Semitism or anti-Israel attitudes created controversy that, on occasion, crossed national borders. Political scientists in particular, writing in many cases before 1980, have recognized the importance (and divisiveness) of Israel and the Slánský Trial to Prague Spring politics, but few have connected these issues either with the cultural movements discussed in preceding chapters, or with the return of anti-Zionism in Poland.[56] In the following sections, I detail how the confluence of the anti-Zionist campaign in Poland and freedom of press in Czechoslovakia led to a maelstrom of public discourse about anti-Zionism, anti-Semitism, and the Czechoslovak state's responsibility to defend Israel, particularly its socialist citizens, and protect and uplift their domestic Jewish population.

[56] See, for example, H. Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 373-411; 633-4; Kaplan *Winter into Spring,* 95-6.

The Middle East Conflict and the Anti-Zionist Campaign

In contrast with 1967, *Rudé právo* occupied only 60% of articles published about the Middle East conflict in 1968. Moreover, beginning in March, they never contributed to more than 50% of monthly articles about the conflict (Figure 5.6). Only two weeks before the outbreak of violence in Poland in 1968, Arnošt Lustig admitted in an interview he "did not believe news [he] read in *Rudé právo* about certain countries in the Middle East."[57] The opportunity for open expression, however, would prove to even have effect on *Rudé právo. Rudé právo* of 1968 was not the same *Rudé právo* of 1967. Only *two* articles in 1968 used terms like "aggression," "revanchist," "imperialist," or "fascist" in the title.[58] By the anniversary of the '67 War, even *Rudé právo* stressed the diversity of opinions in Israel in 1968.[59] Publications like *Literární listy, Reportér, Plamen*, and *Student* published five times as many pieces after March 1968 as they did between June 1967 and February 1968. These publications stressed similarities between Czechoslovak reform socialism and the Israeli left and strove to distance the broader Israeli public from the "chauvinistic" ideas of "Greater Israel" advocates. Most of these publications had published no more than one piece in all of 1967. While an increase from one to five may not seem that significant, this meant that reform ideas played a much bigger role (especially after March) in shaping available press commentary on Israel.

[57] Denní zpráva ÚPS, no. 15 (2), Folder 144-1, Fund 318, ABS, Prague, Czech Republic.
[58] There were a few others that were generally negative towards Israel, but primarily article titles were much more positive. Some negative titles, moreover ("Holiday in Hell," for example, were about cultivating sympathy for the difficulty of life in Israel amidst the Arab-Israeli conflict). For a sample, see Yehuda Lahav, "Izrael: dovolená v pekle," *Reportér* 3, no. 27 (1968): 22; Jigal Arci, "Jak překonat strach," *Literární listy* 1, no. 5 (March 28, 1968): 10–11. See Appendix A, Section 5.
[59] The anniversary piece in June 1968 reviewed a book of Israeli youth opinions on the Middle East conflict, and it was a far cry from the pieces that appeared earlier describing Israel as an aggressor. Bořek Homola, "Bude rok beznaděje vystřídán nadějemi?" *Rudé právo*, June 5, 1968.

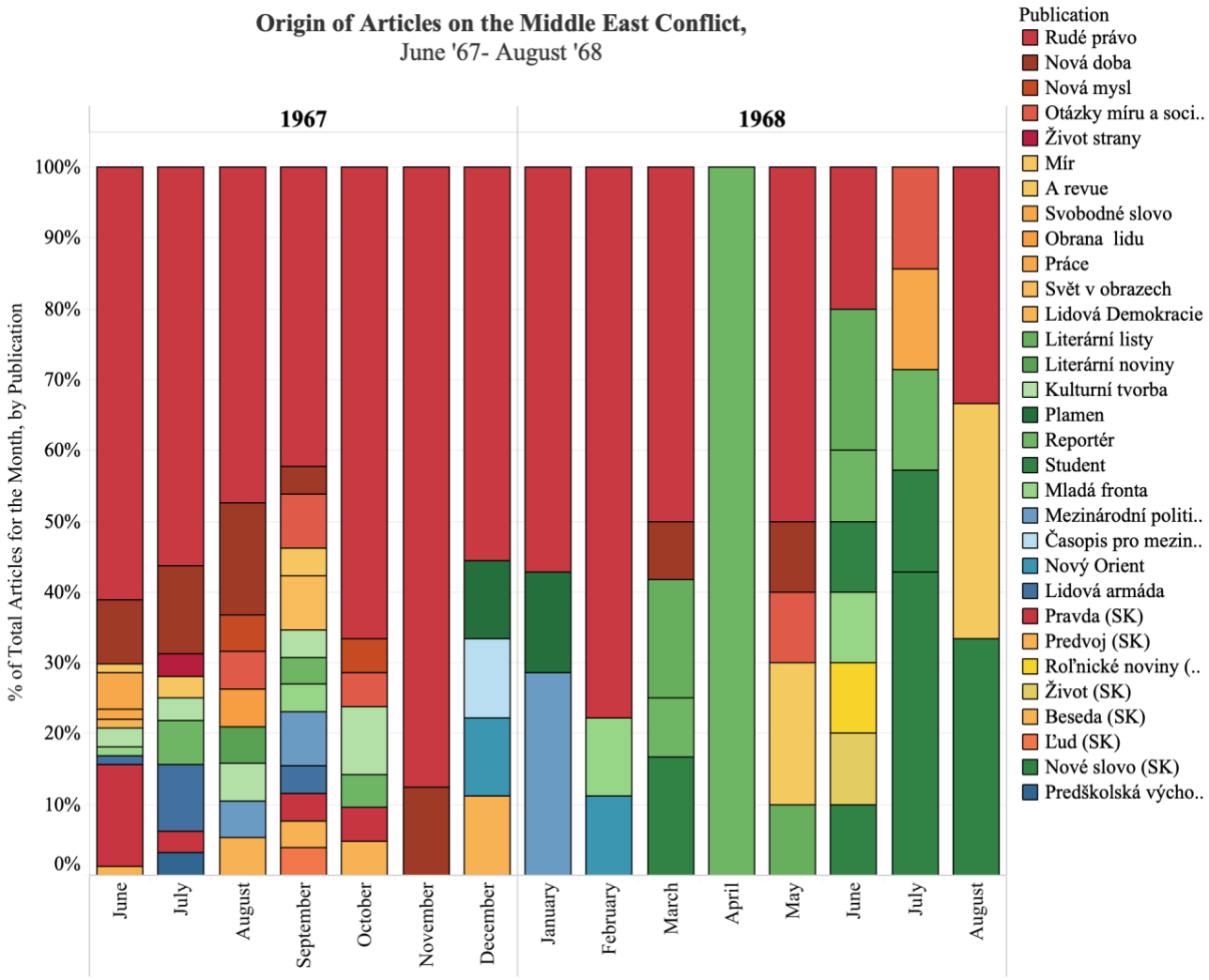


Fig. 5.6. 1968 shows significant increase in the percentage of articles about Middle East Policy published by reform presses, particularly after March. Source: Appendix D, Section 5.

Věra Šťovíčková, a Prague journalist who penned several pieces on the Middle East conflict in 1968, announced on Radio Prague in April that it was "necessary to resume diplomatic relations with Israel." Her reasons for this were two-fold. First, she argued that it was illogical to break them off in the first place. Second, "open hostility of the socialist camp towards Israel…is bound to drive [Israel] further into the arms of the capitalist world…Israel has all the conditions for a much more progressive position…this open hostility of the socialist camp is harmful to the Israeli left wing." Arguments such as this, which relied upon ideas of the unified

socialist international movement, were common at the time. Though there was some talk of renewing diplomatic relations with Israel among government officials after Šťovíčková's speech, it never came to fruition.[60] Thus, intellectuals who called for renewed diplomatic relations with Israel remained at variance with the Prague Spring regime.

Articles on the Israeli left were based upon several suppositions. The first was that Israelis had a right to nationhood, and it followed that the Israeli invasion of Egypt had been a necessary preventative measure to the impending threat of another genocide. The second was that the refugee situation was unacceptable. The solution to the current problem was to support the Israeli left, who were "openly fighting for the return of the occupied territories to the Arabs, are opposing terrorism against the Arab population and chauvinism and militarism in the Israeli ranks."[61] For example, Stanislav Budín told his readers in *Reportér*, "Let's speak concretely, in Israel there exists a left, comprised of some civilian elements, intellectuals, the socialist party Mapam and Mikunis's communist party...this left always endorses progress in the arena of world politics, lobbies against imperialism, is presently against the war in Vietnam, and endorses socialism and even Marxism."[62] Emphasis on leftist positions was meant to illustrate the common beliefs and social standards of leftist Israelis and reform communists in Czechoslovakia. Several interviews with members of Israeli leftist parties underscored their political similarities.[63] Discussion of Vietnam, in this context, became part of a broader strategy to deconstruct the party's common assertion that Israel's invasion of Egypt and U.S. involvement

[60] *Jewish Aspects of the Changes in Czechoslovakia,* Background Paper (London: Institute of Jewish Affairs, June 30, 1968), 14-15. For examples of Šťovíčková's other pieces in 1968, see Věra Šťovíčková, "Mezi válkou a mírem," *Literární listy* 1, no. 5 (March 28, 1968): 11; Věra Šťovíčková, "Egypt rok po válce," *Literární listy* 1, no. 20 (July 11, 1968): 12–13.

[61] The quote is from Šťovíčková's speech on Radio Prague. *Jewish Aspects of the Changes in Czechoslovakia,* 15.

[62] Stanislav Budín, "Vyhlídky a naděje," *Reportér* 3, no. 12 (1968): 19.

[63] Gabriel Laub, "Izraelští komunisté," *Literární listy* 1, no. 16 (June 13, 1968): 10–11; Gabriel Laub, "Prohlášení soudruha Gabriela Lauba o interviewu s M. Vilnerem," *Literární listy* 1, no. 21 (July 18, 1968): 12–13; Meir Vilner, "Prohlášení soudruha Meira Vilnera o interviewu s jistým zpravodajem," *Literární listy* 1, no. 21 (July 18, 1968): 12.

in Vietnam were both examples of capitalist imperial aggression.[64] Budín urged readers to realize the importance of supporting the group of leftists "and reasonable people" in Israel, lamenting that "unfortunately from us, from the socialist world and developed world, this help has so far not arrived."[65]

Czechoslovak-born Israeli communist Yehuda Lahav, writing sometimes under the name Jigal Arci, wrote most of the articles on Israel in the Czechoslovak press. His long-lasting connections to the Czechoslovak journalist community—including Ladislav Mňačko—and his history of reporting on Israel for the Czechoslovak press endowed him with a position of authority.[66] The article, "How to Overcome Fear," that appeared in *Literární listy* was a powerful example of Lahav's perspective. He described a fragile cease-fire line, formed only by the Jordan River. Readers were reminded of the continual threat of "Israeli liquidation" in multiple ways. He emphasized the constant presence of death: "gunfire erupts here almost daily," he wrote, "tanks, cannons, and planes scatter death, Arab diversionists almost nightly try to break through manned territory." Then, he traced statements made by various political leaders accusing Israel of "conspiracy against Arab nations" or assuring that Israel would be "driven to the sea." He also commented on Israeli "extremists" that emerged after the war, who "drew nationalist, militaristic, and religious megalomaniacs without scruples…that either avoid the existence of 1.5 million Arabs in the occupied territories…or faithfully promote in state politics inspiring of mass

[64] A photo of Israelis protesting Vietnam appeared one week earlier in an article on Vietnam. This too was part of the goal of Mňačko's newest book, *Aggressors*. See "Vietnam—docela jiná válka," *Reportér* 3, no. 11 (1968), 18. See also Yehuda Lahav, "Izrael: dovolená v pekle," *Reportér* 3, no. 27 (1968): 22; Yehuda Lahav, "Mír nemá alternativu," *Reportér* 3, no. 23 (1968): 19–20.

[65] Budín, "Vyhlídky," 19.

[66] See Lahav, *Zjazvený život*. With the exception of important events such as the Eichmann Trial, Lahav (writing under Jigal Arci, AJ or Yehuda Lahav) was a significant contributor to news updates on Israel in the 1960s prior to the '67 War. See, for example Jigal Arci, "Renegáti zachránili Ben Gurionovu vládu," *Rudé právo*, February 22, 1963, 4; AJ, "Krach jedné koncepce," *Rudé právo*, February 19, 1963, 5; AJ, "Izrael, produktivita versus politika v zemědělství," *Mezinárodní politika* 8, no. 12 (1964): 569- 571; AJ, "Izrael, volby do odboru," *Rudé právo*, February 21, 1965, 5. To compare these with the overall articles on this theme, see "Israel" topic heading in *Články v českých časopisech* for years 1962-1966.

Arab emigration…every comparison with Nazi occupation only needlessly stirs passion." In comparison, he emphasized that the "democratic and progressive" elements in Israel constantly fought "against chauvinism, against every injury unto Arab citizens." [67]

Pieces on Israel were often paired with articles on current affairs in Poland. [68] The politician Josef Smrkovský and writers Pavel Kohout, Jan Procházka, and Arnošt Lustig publicly criticized the return of anti-Semitism in Poland. The latter three published an open letter in the trade union daily *Práce* calling for the Polish government to "put an end to the shameful anti-Semitism, threatening to stain the common fight of the Poles and Jews against Hitler's fascism." A radio broadcast in Bratislava accused Poland of reviving 50s era Slánský Trial anti-Semitism. [69] Jiří Lederer, a well-known Czechoslovak reporter, took over reportage on Polish events and opined in several media outlets that Poland's current crisis was anti-Semitic at its root. [70] A piece in *Reportér* made the link between Poland's March 1968 and anti-Israel statements clear by suggesting this was reminiscent of their own summer conflict from 1967. [71]

The effect of this pairing was two-fold. First, most texts on Poland reminded readers that Poland had lost most of their Jewish population under Nazism, reinforcing the message that Israelis were victims, rather than allies of Nazism. Second, generally speaking, all of these articles emphasized that the conflict was not between nations, but between the enemies and defenders of a pluralistic vision of socialist humanism that accomodated both varied opinions and cultural backgrounds. Intellectuals openly rejected the dividing lines that the state was attempting to prescribe. For example, *Filmové a televizní noviny* came to the attention of the StB

67 Jigal Arci, "Jak překonat strach," *Literární listy* 1, no. 5 (March 28, 1968): 10–11.
68 Examples of Polish texts paired with texts on Israel were: Lederer, "Polsko- země v napětí;" SB, "Neklid ve Varšavě;" B, "Poznámky," *Literární listy* 1, no. 4 (March 28, 1968): 11; Radoslav Selucký, "Polská cesta: od października k...?" *Reportér* 3, no. 12 (1968): 20–22.
69 *Jewish Aspects of the Changes in Czechoslovakia*, 4-5.
70 Ibid; See also Jiří Lederer, "Polsko těchto týdnů," *Literární listy* (May 16, 1968): 11; Lederer, "Polsko- země v napětí."
71 SB, "Neklid ve Varšavě."

(which still kept tabs on what was being said in the press, in spite of the abolition of censorship) for publishing a proposed resolution "against anti-Semitism in Poland" at a March conference for the Union of Film and Television Artists. The Union's report linked anti-Semitism in Poland to the broader need to support colleagues facing persecution from "fascists" on both the right *and* the left: "we all well know that…intellectuals, artists and Jews all fall into one bag," read the collective artists' statement, emphasizing that non-Jewish intellectuals and artists faced the same challenges and suffered the same persecutions as Jews more generally.[72]

In essence, one's perspective on Israel often became a litmus test for one's opinion on a variety of issues, including the anti-Zionist campaign in Poland. Israel become a dividing line among "diplomatic workers, journalists, and politicians as a whole," and even from within the Prague Spring a political crisis began to form. As Věra Šťovíčková put it: "And so we arrived at the extraordinary situation in this country when one's attitude to the war in the Middle East became the criterion for one's attitude to the internal crisis."[73] With censorship lifted, differing opinions among segments of the Czech and Slovak public became increasingly divisive and inflammatory.

Czechoslovakia Revisits the Slánský Trial

Re-evaluation of the show trials appeared in Czechoslovakia as early as 1956, when the party "cautiously joined in the chorus of denunciation of the cult of personality." However, to avoid slandering then president Klement Gottwald, blame for the trials was placed primarily on Slánský himself, thus limiting the purview of their retroactive search for justice to the trials

[72] Denní zpráva ÚPS, no. 24(1), Folder 144-1, Fund 318, ABS, Prague, Czech Republic. For more on Czechoslovak intellectuals' belief that Poland's anti-Zionist rhetoric, anti-Israel rhetoric, and stalinist show trials were linked, see also Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, 634.
[73] *Jewish Aspects of the Changes in Czechoslovakia,* 14. See also Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, 633.

conducted up until Slánský's arrest. Many of the victims of the Slánský Trial had been officially rehabilitated by this point, but Slánský and hundreds of others sentenced in subsidiary trials had not, and there was no admission of a miscarriage of justice. As Political Scientist H. Gordon Skilling wrote in 1976: "Anger over the illegalities of the fiftes and resentment over the delays and inadequacies in the rehabilitation of victims after 1956 was a major element in the developing political crisis of the sixties." By January 1968, it had become a frequent topic of discussion, and, he notes, "by mid-March an essential component of the official program."[74] Domestic concern over this issue certainly grew throughout the 1960s, but the revival of anti-Zionism in Poland was a blatant reminder that this rhetoric was still a vibrant element of communist politics. The explosion of discourse over the trials in March was not coincidental, but correlated with the revival of similar rhetoric in Poland (Figure 5.7).

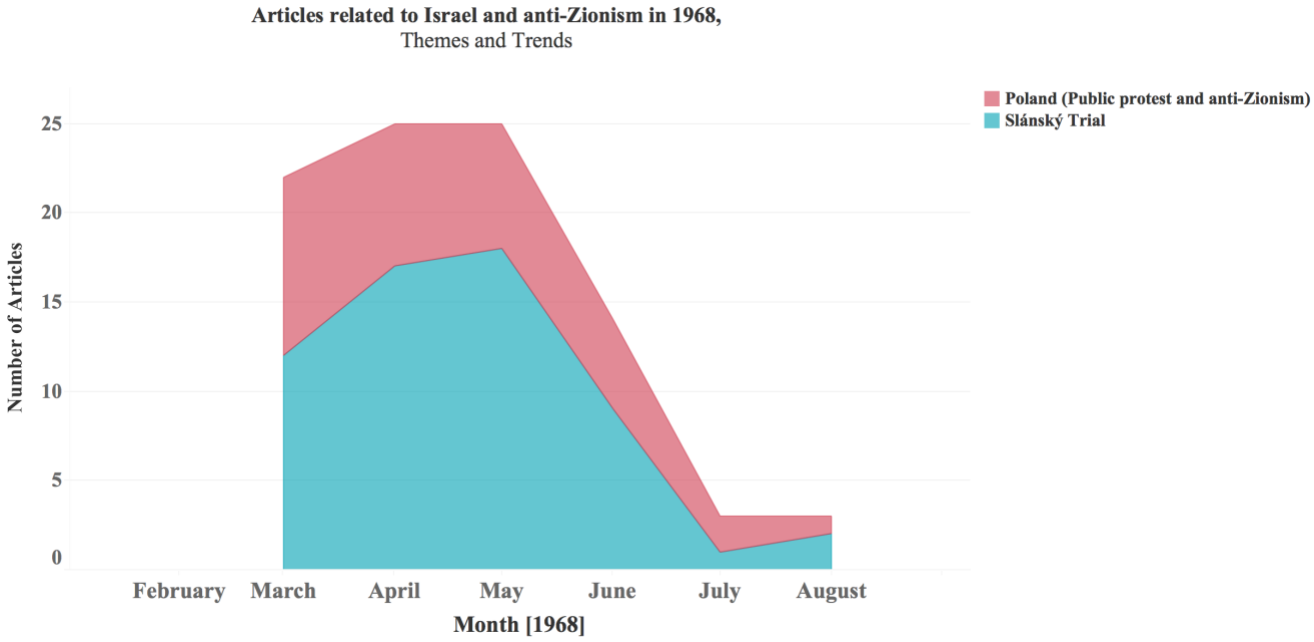


Fig. 5.7. The trends in press attention to the Slánský Trial and Poland are nearly parallel. Source: Appendix D, Section 6.

[74] Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution,* 49, 373-4.

In both cases, Zionism was one arm of a multi-layered set of accusations meant to quickly and easily demarcate internal enemies. Slánský had been made metonymic—like Michnik, Szlajfer, and Zambrowski—for a vaguely defined Jewish internal enemy in the early 1950s. The public had more or less accepted the validity of that metonym by the 1960s. When the Prague Spring finally allowed for public criticisms of the trial, Slánský was reinterpreted as a metonym for stalinist victimhood in Czechoslovakia, particularly Jewish victimhood. In Slovakia, the association of Stalinism with Jewish victimization was slightly less overt than in the Czech lands, due to the execution of Vladimír Clementis, a prominent Slovak lawyer and politician executed along with Slánský. Although there were articles in the Slovak press about Clementis prior to March 1968, they usually focused on his contributions to law, politics, and the Slovak state, rather than the circumstances of his death.[75]

Pieces on the Slánský Trial appeared in all of the major reform-leaning presses and were penned either by the loved ones of executed defendants (including Slánský's widow) or by victims of the trial who had escaped execution. The student journal, *Student*, featured many of these pieces.[76] Widow and survivor testimonials were among the first pieces to deal with the Slánský Trial as a show trial and emphasize its emotional impact.[77] On the whole, the large body of Slánský Trial discourse that emerged between March and August of 1968 illustrated a desire to distance the nation from past forms of spurious political justice. This new commentary

[75] See the entries for Vladimír Clementis in *Články v slovenských časopisoch* 14, no. 1 (January 1968) and Články v slovenských časopisoch 14, no. 2 (February 1968). By March, articles had become more overt about the circumstances of his death. See "Tragédia človeka," *Lud*, March 12, 1968, 5.

[76] Evžen Löbl, "Proces," *Literární listy* 1, no. 9 (April 25, 1968): 13. See for example, Petr Chudožilov and Oldřich Unger, "Viním vás ze smrti svého muže," *Literární listy* 1, no. 11 (May 9, 1968): 5–6; Dušan Hamšík, "Procesy, které dělaly dějiny," *Literární listy* 1, no. 5 (March 28, 1968): 1, 5; Jan Šling and Jan Vlk, "Procesy a rehabilitace," *Student* 24 (1968): 7; Anna Tučková, "Dost na jeden život?" *Reportér* 3, no. 12 (1968): 5–6; as well as the rest of the texts in this section. Josefa Slánská, "Zprává o mém muži," parts 1-7, *Literarní listy* 1:9-15 (1968), 16. See also Jiří Čutka and Josefa Slanská, "Hodnota přátelství," *Reportér* 3, no. 13 (1968): 6–9; Anna Tučková, "Slánský a spol.-- jejich "velký" případ aneb zlé věci nepřicházejí najednou," *Reportér* 3, no. 22 (1968): 8-11.

[77] Igor Cibula, "Žena, ktorá trpela za lasku," *Večerník*, March 30, 1968, 3; Eduard Goldstücker, "Zoči-voči," *Slovenské pohľady* 84, no. 2 (1968), 36-55.

prompted responses from the trial prosecutor, Dr. Josef Urválek, who was still a prominent member of the KSČ. An interview in *Reportér* was particularly telling:

> URVÁLEK: …There were a few things that confirmed my opinion that everything was just. Reicin, for example, was a Jew. Please don't take that as an offense, I am just stating a fact. He was a Jew and in the Komsomol and the Germans [would have] put him into a concentration camp for both, but he did not end up there and instead received a passport to emigrate.
> HÁJEK (interviewer): But that's not evidence.
> URVÁLEK: It's not, but then…when the charge that Reicin worked with the Gestapo was put forward, well...Just read for yourself what was said about him in the Central Committee of the KSČ long before the trial…[78]

Urválek's attempts to defend himself reinforced the belief that the errors of Stalinist era communist thought had not been fully corrected. The dialogue between Urválek and Hájek indicated that tensions between citizens and the state extended beyond the question of intellectuals' right to free opinion to include right and wrong modes of communist governance.

Fortunately, the reform government, as a whole, did not agree with Urválek's faith that there had been no miscarriage of justice. In the end of April, the government passed a bill on rehabilitation for victims of political victims of the early 1950s. Before the beginning of May, the pages of *Rudé právo* announced that many victims of the Slánský Trial had not simply been rehabilitated, but given the highest awards and honors of the Czechoslovak state. Many were given awards *in memoriam*. Ironically, arrestee Eduard Goldstücker was awarded the "Order of Klement Gottwald," named for the KSČ leader responsible for his arrest. By May 9, President Svoboda had signed a decree of amnesty to at least 20,000 more political prisoners. It was the anniversary of Prague's liberation from Nazi occupation, a day typically reserved for praising the

[78] The conversation got rather heated, when Hájek suggested that these judges were still in power, Urválek angrily asked whether Hájek expected him to "take the guilt" and kill himself by jumping from Petřín Tower, Karel Hájek and J. Urválek, "Hledání viny," *Reportér* 3, no. 13 (1968): 10. Urválek responded soon afterwards in J. Urválek, "Ještě jednou k 'Hledání viny,'" *Reportér* 3, no. 16 (1968): 14.

benevolence of the Soviet Union's Red Army.[79] In 1968, it celebrated Czechoslovakia's path away from a Soviet past as well.

Battling Anti-Semitism through Public Controversy

The most dramatic series of conflicts broke out in the summer. These public media controversies each initially adressed a specific issue (anti-Zionism in Poland, anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism in Czechoslovakia, the continuation of Nazi rhetoric, parallels between the Slánský Trial and the present), but quickly spiraled to address multiple issues—or even on occasion, all of them. Reform-minded individuals at the center of each of these controversies made it clear that these issues all stemmed from anti-Semitism. The first press feud was over Mňačko. Gavril Gryzlov, the editor of the Bratislava-based *Smena,* revived the "Mňačko affair" through his full-page criticism of both Mňačko's decision to immigrate to Israel and the quality of his novel *Ako chutí moc*. Gryzlov relied primarily upon a variety of unverifiable opinions by anonymous informants, even though he claimed the twenty years he had known Mňačko made him an authority on Mňačko's actions. Among other things, Gryzlov repeated rumors that Mňačko's true interest in Israel was driven by money promised to his Jewish wife and quoted a *New York Times* article that accused Mňačko of being a "red Leon Uris, and 'Ako chutí moc' is, in the best case, communist schmaltz." The implication was that Mňačko was taking advantage of Israel and other Jewish issues to compensate for his own Stalinist past.[80]

[79] See "Čest a sláva vyznamenaným! Propůjčení řádů," *Rudé právo*, April 30, 1968; *Jewish Aspects of the Changes in Czechoslovakia*, Background Paper (London: Institute of Jewish Affairs, June 30, 1968).
[80] Ostensibly Gryzlov's piece was inspired by the enquiries of three Israelis that he met in Geneva, but the letter preceded the first reports that Mňačko was in Vienna by only a few days. It is also ironic that the original *New York Times* piece called Mňačko's work "a communist soap opera" and not schmaltz. Gavril Gryzlov, "Červený Hemingway," *Smena*, March 5, 1968. David Binder, "Death of a Dictator," *The New York Times*, September 10, 1967, 370.

One respondent in *Kulturny život* noted that it was "amazing, that the author and his editors created from [Mňačko's] case a sensation now, more than a half a year after the wider populace forgot about him and the situation."[81] Indeed, this was the overall effect of Gryzlov's piece: his brash personal attack on Mňačko stimulated a public controversy that continued for more than a month. There were twenty-one interviews or responses to Gryzlov's three critiques, mostly in the Slovak press.[82] The first wave of articles concerned themselves primarily with the journalistic (in)validity of slander. Ján Rozner insisted that a "potent joke" that Mňačko "changed his name to Mňačkohn" in Israel proved there was an anti-Semitic agenda in accusations that money motivated Mňačko's trip to Israel.[83] Gryzlov and his staff at *Smena* continued to battle Mňačko-supportive authors, particularly in the Slovak press, over Mňačko's character and journalistic ethics. Ironically, this time, it was the official party presses that were silent on the Mňačko affair.

The more important effect of the renewed Mňačko controversy was the opportunity for Mňačko to speak for himself. In March, criminal proceedings were suspended, in May, Mňačko was granted amnesty, and in June, the state officially dropped all criminal proceedings. Mňačko returned, meaning reporters had the unusual opportunity to contact Mňačko.[84] The broader public was not even aware where Mňačko had been—rumors had circulated that he was in the U.S. and West Germany, essentially suggesting he had abandoned the socialist cause. These interviews,

81 Mieroslav Hysko, "Novinárska etika?" *Kultúrny život* (March 15, 1968), 3.
82 In addition to "Červený Hemingway," Gryzlov also penned "Priateľ mi je Sokrates, no väčší priateľ pravda," *Smena*, March 19, 1968, and "Metody politické," *Smena*, April 17, 1968 about Mňačko. Other pieces included Ladislav Mňačko, "Slovo ma Ladislav Mňačko," *Kultúrny život* 23, no. 11 (1968): 1, 9; J. Lion, "Spisovatela zpověď: L. Mňačko o svém pobytu v Izrael," July 5, 1968; Ladisalv Mňačko, "Agresori: Úryvok z pripravovanej knihy," *Práca*, August 18, 1968, 4; Ivan Mojík, "Mňačkova nová kniha," *Práca*, August 18, 1968, 4; Mieroslav Hysko, "Novinárska etika?"; Katarína Lazarová, "Záruky?" *Kultúrny život* 13, no. 6 (1968): 6; Ján Rozner, "Ešte raz (a vlastne prvný raz) o prípade Ladislava Mňačku," *Kultúrny život* 23, no. 11 (March 15, 1968): 2, 3. For more, see Appendix D, Section 6.
83 Ján Rozner, "Ešte raz (a vlastne prvný raz) o prípade Ladislava Mňačku," *Kultúrny život* 23, no. 11 (March 15, 1968): 2, 3.
84 See "Usnesení (14 května 1968)," and "Usnesení (4 červná 1968)," MV, V-8657 1, ABS, Prague, Czech Republic.

commentary, or sections of his newest book *Aggressors*, based explicitly on his opinion of "small nation aggressors," offered readers the opportunity to hear Mňačko's opinions on the role of anti-Semitism in the Slánský Trial and his personal feelings about Israel.[85]

Mňačko framed his decision to go to Israel as a "moral" decision, often linked to legacies of World War II. He was clear that the issue in the Arab-Israel conflict was one of genocide: "Everyone has their definite limits, and my patience ends there, where it's a question of genocide." When asked specifically what inspired him to "commit so strongly to Israel," he highlighted the way Arab states revived Nazi rhetoric and the relationship between the "Jewish tragedy" and the formation of Israel. Mňačko himself often stressed that his commitments to Israel were broad, implying that Czechoslovak citizens did not have to have a specific relationship with Israel to relate to its citizens.[86] Discussion of *Aggressors* allowed Mňačko to state the broad implications of support for Israel even more clearly. While the KSČ regularly equated American actions in Vietnam to Israel's position in the Middle East, *Aggressors* described Israel's position as parallel to Vietnam's. Commentators noted that the book was "not just about Israel" but "the face of the world."[87] This was Mňačko's consistent message—that one's sympathies towards Israel reflected more than just the Middle East crisis, but their worldview and their commitment to humanism.

While Mňačko kept some distance from his emotional and personal connections to Israel, Arnošt Lustig did not. Public controversy originated from Lustig's televised condemnation of anti-Semitism in Poland. First, Jozef Barecky, the editor-in-chief of the leading Polish party daily *Trybuna ludu,* gave a television interview where he accused Lustig of hurling "insults against the

85 Ladislav Mňačko, "Slovo ma Ladislav Mňačko," *Kultúrny život* 23, no. 11 (1968): 1, 9; J. Lion, "Spisovatela zpověď: L. Mňačko o svém pobytu v Izraeli," July 5, 1968; Ladisalv Mňačko, "Agresori: Úryvok z pripravovanej knihy," *Práca*, August 18, 1968, 4; Ivan Mojík, "Mňačkova nová kniha," *Práca*, August 18, 1968, 4.
86 Ladislav Mňačko, "Slovo má Ladislav Mňačko."
87 Ivan Mojík, "Mňačkova nová kniha," *Práca*, August 18, 1968, 4.

Polish people…comparing us with the Nazis." Then Czechoslovakia's own Ladislav Novomeský accused Lustig of being blindly pro-Israel and pro-Zionist, insisting Lustig's opinions on Poland were "above all about Israel." Lustig's response in *Literární listy* took up more than a page. The title of the open letter, "Kdo maluje čerta na zeď?" (the title "Who Painted the Devil on the Wall?" would be more colloquially translated as "Who Cried Wolf?") outlined Lustig's agenda: to expose anti-Israel sentiments as crying wolf, looking for enemies that were never there.[88]

If it was "above all about Israel," Lustig set out to clarify what Israel was about. He recapped everything that had happened over the last year—including the IV Writers' Union Congress—that never reached the broader public. The opinions that he was forbidden to say in print only a year earlier appeared at once. He directly compared the communist bloc position on the '67 War to the wave of early 1950s communist bloc anti-Semitic show trials. He also established the Arab nations as the barbaric aggressors, rather than the Israelis, when he claimed that Jordanian king Hussein ordered his troops to "kill Jews wherever you meet them—on the road, in the fields, in their homes, don't have pity on women, children, or the old, stab them, and when you are without weapons, bite, strike, and scratch them." These victims of violent Arab nationalism were those who had once called Czechoslovakia their home:

> I imagined my friends, who left Czechoslovakia for Israel in 1948, when Israel was the result of the Zionist emulation of socialist camps, [it was] good, because they sliced into the British Empire and cut it well. I was with these people before in Terezín and Auschwitz and in Buchenwald and on the Prague barricades, many of these people fought in the Soviet Union on the front against Hitler…I imagined their children.

For Lustig, support for Israel was clearly personal. At the same time, these words reinforced the historical and continuing importance of Israel's leftist orientation. Through both emotional appeal and political empathy, Lustig stressed that Israel was not and should not be used as an

[88] Arnošt Lustig, "Kdo maluje čerta na zeď? Otevřený dopisy Ladislavu Novoměsky," *Literární listy* 1, no. 13 (May 23, 1968): 10–11.

instrument of international affairs. As many other interviews and commentary on Israel did at this time, he asked, "Why didn't we sever diplomatic relations with others—Greece, the USA, with the pronouncedly fascist regimes in South America? Do you think this was only about Israel?....it's more than likely that Israel, like every small nation, is someone's instrument; but other than being someone's instrument, it's alone." For Lustig it was also "not only about Israel," but continued Jewish persecution, support for socialist camps worldwide, and the continued struggle of "small nations."[89]

One final example shows how intellectuals used accusations against them to emphasize how anti-Semitism and bigotry linked the anti-Zionist campaign, the Slánský Trial, Nazi ideology, and anti-Israel policy. After receiving several violently anti-Semitic letters, Eduard Goldstücker chose to print the most vitriolic in *Rudé právo* with his own rejoinder. Goldstücker himself avoided expressly commenting on Israel in response to his epistolary assailant. He instead stressed the dangers of anti-Zionist rhetoric to humanist thought, and reminded readers that similar ideas had once been used as proof of his guilt during the era of the Slánský Trial. His reluctance to address Israel directly was understandable, given that his official relationship with Israel had once been justification for his imprisonment in 1950. Despite this reluctance, the episode is important because of the unique position Goldstücker held in both the student and broader intellectual community as the head of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union and the Pro-rector of the Charles University in Prague.[90]

In exchange for a formal opening, the anonymous letter began with "Mr. Goldstücker—bastard and Zionist hyena!" The letter writer alluded to a new political party of Jewish intellectuals (peopled by none other than the Slovak author Ladislav Mňačko) that supported

[89] *Ibid*.
[90]He was unanimously elected to both of these positions in 1968.

"Israeli aggressors," had been allies of Slánský and Nazi Germany, were attempting to use the Zionist platform to "control the world," could "join hands with Hitler" and had been responsible for destabilizing events in Poland.[91] The letter-writer's vehement rhetoric affirmed the opinion that Poland's anti-Zionism, the Slánský Trial, Nazi racism, and Middle East policy were all fundamentally related issues of anti-Semitism. According to Goldstücker, the pair of letters received thousands of responses. *Rudé právo* published sixteen responses on July 10: twelve in support of Goldstücker, and four that were "sad and cautionary evidence" of "anonymous terror, anti-Semitism, and uncultured evil."[92] A year earlier, this same publication affirmed this rhetoric with daily reports linking Israeli policies to Nazism and insinuations that Israel infiltrated world politics at the behest of Western capitalists.

The Jewish community was encouraged by the broad general support from the intellectual community to issue their own public declaration for safety, rehabilitation, and protection from accusations of being agents of "imperialist secret services." By May, the government had reapproved the millennial celebration for 1969, though the celebration never came to fruition.[93] Being supportive of the Jewish community at this time did not in fact put one at odds with the Prague Spring government, but being supportive of renewed diplomatic relations with Israel did. It is important to note that both Gryzlov, who led the charge in Mňačko criticism, and Novomeský, who set his sights on Lustig, were both reformers.[94] As Israel support became the highest expression of pluralism, these episodes indicated that Israel indeed was a dividing

[91] For more on this episode, see Kieval, *Languages of Community*, 227-8. Eduard Goldstücker, "Občané, Pozor!" *Rudé právo*, June 23, 1968.
[92] Eduard Goldstücker, Eduard Goldstücker, interview by Jana Freisová, February 26, 1996, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive; "Znovu: Občané, Pozor!" *Rudé Právo*, July 10, 1968.
[93] It was scheduled for 1969, and the invasion prevented it from coming to fruition. *Jewish Aspects of the Changes in Czechoslovakia,* 20-24. It was also published in short form in *Literární listy.* See "Žádost českých židů," *Literární listy* 1, no. 14 (1968): 2.
[94] Novomeský was even the victim of a 50s trial. "Gavril Gryzlov," *Literárne informačné centrum*, http://www.litcentrum.sk/slovenski-spisovatelia/gavril-gryzlov#curriculum_vitae; "Ladislav Novomeský," *Literárne informačné centrum*, http://www.litcentrum.sk/slovenski-spisovatelia/ladislav-laco-novomesky.

line among reformers. As Israel sympathies spread through the press, they caught the attention of the student movement.

The Student Movement and the Fate of Israel Sympathies after 1968

After the invasion in August, the issue of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism remained relevant—although less public—for a number of reasons. A volunteer trip for university students and young journalists organized by Ladislav Mňačko to Israeli kibbutzim was one of these reasons. Throughout the Prague Spring, the student union press, *Student,* frequently published on issues of anti-Semitism in Czechoslovakia—including the Slánský Trial, anti-Israel state policy, and obvious anti-Semitic elements of the Polish student protests.[95] Paulina Bren has argued that the Czechoslovak student movement failed to find a "common political language" with Western European student movements, whose enthusiasm for tearing down the institutions of democracy seemed naïve to a generation that grew up under communism. Bren also points to affinities between the student movement and the Prague Spring regime, but suggests the student movement struggled to find a platform of their own.[96] However, analysis of *Student* and student activities reveals that the student movement heavily advocated for one issue that was independent of government goals: Israel.

95 Alexandr Kramer and Jan Kavan, "Ženy s podobným osudem: seriál rozhovorů *Studenta* s vdovami po popravených v procesu z roku 1952, Heda Kovalyová-Margoliová," *Student* 4, no. 12 (1968): 1,3; Alexandr Kramer and Jan Kavan, "Ženy s podobným osudem: Lída Clementisová," *Student* 4, no. 13 (1968): 3; Alexandr Kramer and Jan Kavan, "Ženy s podobným osudem: Marian Vilbrová-Šlingová," *Student* 4, no. 15 (1968): 3. See also Emanuel Pohař and Petr Feldstein, "J'accuse! Žaluji! Rozhovor s Charlotte Kreibichovou," *Student* 4, no. 16 (1968): 3-5. For articles that consistently reference the anti-Jewish elements of the Polish repression of the student movement, see Milan Kroutova, "Polsko. Varšava," *Student* 4, no. 14 (1968): 4; Miloš Remeš, "Nezklidněná," *Student* 4, no. 16 (1968): 1,6; Milan Kroutva, "Nezkrocené Polsko," *Student* 4, no. 20 (1968): 4; V.S., "Varšavské ticho," *Student* 4, no. 22 (1968): 1; Mieczyslaw Machnicki, "Právo na informaci," *Student*, 4, no. 24 (1968): 4; Pavel Hříšný, "Odpověď polskému kolegovi," *Student* 4, no. 28 (1968): 2.

96 Paulina Bren, "1968 East and West: Visions of Political Change and Student Protest from across the Iron Curtain," *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004): 130-2.

Less than a week after student protests turned violent in Poland, *Student* published a retrospective piece re-evaluating "label of Israeli aggression." The piece opened by quoting Ladislav Mňačko in *Maariv* (a popular Israeli daily) on his political emigration and established that *Student*'s allegiances were with Mňačko. Their position on the Middle East was clear: "In June, Israel fought for its independence and existence, the subjects of the Jewish nation for their physical being." The current editor, Alexandr Kramer, was one of two contributors to the piece. By the end of June, Kramer was continuing his reportage on the Middle East from Israel.[97] In the meantime, his bold pro-Israel stance received several public responses. The first, "I disagree," refuted each of Kramer and Železný's arguments in favor of Israel; the second, "I explain," added key insight into the positions of the Israeli communist parties and the Organization for Free Palestine (PLO) and "other terrorist organizations."[98] The author of "I disagree," in turn, recieved at least four letter responses of his own, all of which came to Kramer and Železný's defense.[99]

Student continued to build their pro-Israel platform through the early summer. In May, the student council of the Faculty of Arts at Charles University published its own call to renew diplomatic relations with Israel.[100] Shortly therafter, the Syrian Arab Student Union held anti-Israel demonstrations in Prague, and *Student* published commentary on one of their most offensive posters. The poster, which now hung in the entryway to the Syrian Arab Student Union dorm, depicted a Jew with "bent nose and spiteful smile under the Star of David" receiving a

97 Alexandr Kramer and Vladimír Železný, "David šel do války..volky? nevolky? po 9 měsících," *Student* 4, no. 11 (1968): 4. For more on Kramer, see "Zemřel komentátor Práva Alexandr Kramer," *Novinky.cz,* May 30, 2013, http://www.novinky.cz/domaci/269034-zemrel-komentator-prava-alexandr-kramer.html

98 Josef Štveráček, "Nesouhlasím," *Student* 4, no. 22 (1968): 2; Jiří Kouba, "Nesouhlasím," *Student* 4, no. 22 (1968): 2; Václav Krupka, "Nesouhlasím," *Student* 4, no. 18 (1968): 9; Hana Heitlingerová, "Vysvětluji," *Student* 4, no. 18 (1968): 9.

99 Ing. Štěpán Zdeněk, "Nesouhlasím," *Student* 4, no. 24 (1968): 2; M. Berger, "Nesouhlasím," *Student* 4, no. 24 (1968): 2.

100 Akademická rada studentů FFUK, "Výzva k podpisové akci za znovunavázání diplomatických styků s Izraelem," *Student* 4, no. 22 (1968): 10

heart transplant from Nazism (Figure 5.7): "according to…one Arab student, [it was] the best poster from the May parade." For *Student*, however, it was "too reminiscent of Goebbel's propaganda." The piece claimed that Czechoslovak students were the singular student group that criticized their "Arab colleagues."[101] By the anniversary of the '67 War, pro-Israel students had organized their own protest, where they urged passersby to sign their petition to resume foreign relations with Israel.[102]

Image 5.1. A poster purportedly hanging in the Syrian Arab Student Union dorm.
Source: N.S., *Student* 4, no. 25 (1968): 5.

From this point on, Israel appeared in almost every issue of *Student*, mostly through extensive features published by Alexandr Kramer from Israel. These pieces often emphasized affinities between Czechoslovakia and Israel, particularly by highlighting how Czech Jews

[101] N.S., *Student* 4, no. 25 (1968): 5.
[102] "Non-jewish Czechoslovakian Youths Demonstrate for Recognition of Israel," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency,* June 10, 1968.

brought Czechoslovak values to Israel.[103] Kramer's reportage encouraged reader responses reaffirming the pervasiveness of Israel support. A Prague doctor, for example, insisted that from among his acquaintances only one agreed with the state's position on Israel and "spoke of 'stinking Jews'" (for him, the two went hand in hand). He professed that he was an Israel sympathizer, not as a Jew, but as a Czechoslovak: "our problem—the same as Israel's problem—is the problem of the small nation, which wants to be independent, proud, and wants to build its happiness on moral principles..."[104] Israel's kindred national character and goals provided the readers of *Student* with a common political language of "small nationhood."

This shared political language was repeated in other letters. Seven signatories of "the Workers of Terezín Memorial Historical Department" responded specifically to foreign minister Jiří Hájek's recent refusal to renew diplomatic relations with Israel. They were "widely disappointed" (along with "the greater part of our public") that Hájek had rejected the possibility of renewing diplomatic relations. In less than two columns, they covered the full gamut of Czechoslovak arguments for Israel sympathy: the "unequivocal" (*jednoznačný*) association of Israel with aggression, severed diplomatic relations were not reflective of the "interests of the Czechoslovak state" or "harmony with the Marxist position towards the international question," the right of small nations to protect themselves from the "extermination (*vyhlazení*) of their citizens," Israel's relationship to "the horrible precedent of the era of Hitlerism," and disbelief in an all-powerful "international Jewry."[105]

Student activists soon had the opportunity to learn even more about Israeli perspectives. In early July, Ladislav Mňačko, with the help of other young journalists and the Israeli

[103] Alexandr Kramer and Avigdor Dagan, "Jsme pro přátelství s Československem," *Student* 4, no. 26 (1968): 1. Alexandr Kramer, "Byl jsem v Gaze," *Student* 4, no. 27 (1968): 3-5. See also Alexandr Kramer, "Jerušalajim," *Student* 4, no. 31 (1968): 4-5.
[104] Dr. Karel Šrámek, "Svaz přátel Izraele," *Student* 4, no. 30 (1968): 2.
[105] Pracovnící historického oddělení památníku Terezín, "Izrael—ČSSR," *Student* 4, no.26 (1968): 4.

government, began to organize a trip for student leaders (along with young journalists, publicists, and writers) to go and work on Israeli kibbutzim. The group of approximately thirty volunteers left on August 4th, their travel paid for in entirety with the profits from Mňačko's book *Aggressors*. Among the journalists, publicists, and writers were Peter Pithart, a young editor at *Literární listy*, and his family; Helena Klímová (the wife of author Ivan Klíma) and her young son; and Petr Chudžilov, another editor of *Literární listy*. The student leaders included Martin Vaculík (son of the well-known writer Ludvík Vaculík, whose "2000 Words" declaration would become the direct impetus for the invasion of Czechoslovakia at the end of the month); Luboš Holeček and Jiří Müller, two of the most outspoken leaders in the student movement; and the students who organized the June petition to resume diplomatic relations with Israel.[106] Their motivations included general curiosity, disagreement with the party's continued "monopoly over all decision-making," and the desire to express the sympathies of the broader Czechoslovak public for Israel.[107]

They stayed at kibbutzim Shomrat and Kfar Masaryk, which had been settled by Czech and Slovak immigrants in the West Galilee. Helena Klímová was quoted multiple times in the international Jewish press for saying that being in Israel "was like first love." The same press sources reported that Israel was a "symbol of freedom" to these Czechoslovak students.[108] Kramer's last feature in *Student* was on kibbutz Kfar Masaryk, and it reinforced the enigmatic

[106] Alexandr Kramer, *Student*'s editor, was already in Israel. Other students were Zděněk Touš, Ivan Hartl, Jaroslav Bašta, Michal Staša, and Jaroslav Suk. Other journalists included Eda Kriseová and Jana Smolanová. See "Petr Pithart," in *Vítězové? Poražení?* vol. 1 in Miroslav Vaněk and Pavel Urbášek, eds., (Praha: Vydal Prostor, 2005), 751; Petr Pithart, "Moje setkání se židovstvím," *Petr Pithart*, March 3, 2006, http://www.pithart.cz/archiv_textu_detail.pp?id=303. Originally given as a lecture at the Jewish Museum in Prague. For more on Holeček and Müller, see Bren, "1968 East and West."

[107] Tamara Deutscher, Chris Farley, Ivan Hartel, Jan Kavan, Jan Šling, Marian Šling, eds., *Voices of Czechoslovak Socialists* (Merlin, 1976): 6; "Jiří Müller," in *Vítězové? Poražení?* vol. 1 in Miroslav Vaněk and Pavel Urbášek, eds., (Praha: Vydal Prostor, 2005), 583; Klíma, *My Crazy Century*, 243.

[108] "Radio Review: The Poor Old Gentleman," *The Jerusalem Post*, August 9, 1968; Ya'acov Friedler, "Czech Student Group 'Does its bit' Here," *The Jerusalem Post*, August 8, 1968, 2.

romanticism of Israel. Though he tried ardently to give a clear picture of kibbutz life by describing daily activities and even counting the number of buildings, workers, cows, and weight of agricultural yield, the essence of the kibbutz was still elusive and experiential, a "communist society in the middle of a prospering capitalist country, yet it doesn't belong to either. A kibbutz is…just a kibbutz."[109] At the same time, the "in-betweenness" of the kibbutz condition gave Czechoslovak readers a point of commonality with kibbutzniks. Like the kibbutzniks, Czechoslovak reformers thought of their own "third way" socialism during the Prague Spring as a political philosophy somewhere in between Soviet communism and unchecked capitalism. Perhaps this sentiment was expressed best by student volunteer Ivan Hartl, who told the *The Jerusalem Post* that, "by working a month for Tel-Aviv, I feel that I am working for Prague."[110] In a matter of weeks, this sense of solidarity between Tel-Aviv and Prague was reinforced by the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of Prague.

On August 20, only one day before Warsaw Pact tanks would cross Czechoslovak borders, the group saw "Czechoslovak vehicles, cars, armored transporters…200 meters from the [Israeli] border" that had been sent to aid Syria. "It was a depressing experience," Pithart later commented, "we were ashamed…we said, we [too] could be occupiers." This feeling passed, however, when Soviet tanks crossed Czechoslovak borders the following day, aided by the Warsaw Pact countries of Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Hungary. The intention was to return Czechoslovakia to the pre-reform status-quo. "The news in Israel was dramatic," Pithart said, "because they lived through it, they experienced it themselves a year ago."[111] Moreover,

[109] Alexandr Kramer, "Kibbutz Kfar Masaryk," *Student* 4, no. 32 (1968): 1, 4-5.
[110] Friedler, "Czech Student Group," 2.
[111] "Petr Pithart," 752.

being in Israel when the Soviet Union invaded cemented their feeling of mutual understanding between Israel and Czechoslovakia. Although they were offered asylum, most returned.[112]

Back in Prague, several circulating rhetorical tropes suggested that Czechoslovaks were like "Jews" after the invasion. Posters equating 1968 to 1938 and graffiti swastikas (labeled with the names of the five participating Warsaw Pact powers) adorned the walls and the streets.[113] On August 26, *Student* ran the title "Will We Wear Stars of David?" above quotes from the Polish daily *Trybuna ludu* and the East German *Neues Deutschland* claiming "Zionist elements" were responsible for "counterrevolution" in Czechoslovakia.[114] "For the third time in my short life," Mňačko wrote of accusations against him, "I am a Jew."[115] Blatant suspicion of "Zionist" intellectuals lasted for the duration of normalization (the process of returning to the pre-reforms status quo).[116]

In some cases, parallels were invoked between Czechoslovakia and Israel on the eve of the '67 war. Ivan Svítak, a Czech philosopher, wrote about a poem called "Hands of Goliath" that circulated after the invasion, attributed to the pseudonym "Jan David" (likely a combination of one of the most common Czech names and Goliath's David), likening Czechs to David against a Soviet Goliath. Only one year earlier, this same metaphor was used around the world to

[112] "Czech Students Offered New Immigrant Status if Decide to Stay in Israel," *Jerusalem Telegraphic Agency*, August 30, 1968. See also "Jiří Müller."
[113] Josef Koudelka, *Invasion 68: Prague* (New York: Aperture Foundation, 2008), 115, 168, 186-7, 250-52.
[114] "Budou se nosít davidovy hvězdy?" *Student*, August 26, 1968.
[115] Mňačko, *Siedma noc,* 40.
[116] For example, Pavel Kohout was so ardently decried as a "Zionist" that *The New York Times* incorrectly reported him as a "Jewish author" (and corrected themselves a week later). "Prague Bars Trip by Jewish Author," *The New York Times*, January 7, 1970, 5; Paul Hoffman, "Jews in Czechoslovakia Fear Rise of Anti-Semitism in Party," *The New York Times*, January 14, 1970, 11. For more, see also footnote 5.

describe Israel against a more powerful Egypt. [117] Many made this parallel apparent by declaring "now I understand [Israel]" or "now I know what an aggressor is."[118]

Resistance to the state's anti-Israel policy was linked to the literary, cinematic, and theatrical phenomena in several ways. First, the community of individuals who were outspoken in their disapproval of the state's attitude towards Israel were core members of the literary, cinematic and journalistic community who spent much of the preceding decade concerned with promoting or circulating narratives that highlighted the Jewish experience. Second, the rhetoric of parallel experience—comparing the Munich Agreement to the eve of the '67 War and the common bond of Czechs with Jews—shared commonalities with interpretations of Jewish narratives in film, literature, and theater. At the same time, cultivation of sympathies for Israel often relied upon weaponizing the state's own rhetoric and using it against the state or Arabs in the Middle East. Israel remained so important as a foreign policy issue in part due to the symbolic role it had assumed in 1967, but also because of the anti-Zionist campaign in Poland.

The experience of the invasion and the presence of student kibbutz volunteers in politics then cemented these sympathies through the normalization period and into the post-communist period. Many of the student volunteers became involved in the dissident movement. Most were Charter 77 signatories. Many became part of the post-communist political atmosphere, if not directly, through the indirect means of being a part of the broader intellectual elite that formed

[117] Ivan Sviták, *The Czechoslovak Experiment, 1968-1969* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 202.
[118] The first quote is attributed to "a woman journalist" in Israel by the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*. The second quote comes from an unnamed "depressed friend" to Ladislav Mňačko. Comparisons between Israel and Czechoslovakia appear often in both Mňačko and Petr Pithart's books on the invasion (Pithart's is not biographical, but the fact that he interprets Israel consistently into the domestic Czechoslovak crisis is notable). Both Pithart and Mňačko's books had to be published first by foreign presses, and Pithart's under a pseudonym. See "Czech Kibbutz Becomes Haven for Non-Jewish Czech Visitors to Israel," *Jerusalem Telegraphic Agency*, August 23, 1968; Mňačko, *Siedma noc*, 20; Petr Pithart, *Osmašedesátý* (Praha: Rozmluvy, 1990).

the post-communist political order.[119] They carried their political sympathies with them, and several of the symbols from 1968 have persisted to the present—references to Munich and Israel's "right to protect itself" appeared as recently as 2012 during protests against Gaza's attacks on Israel. Later that year they were repeated when the Czech Republic became the only European country to vote against the UN resolution to recognize Palestine as a non-voting member state.[120] In addition, many normalization policies served to cement the importance of authors who emigrated after 1968. As the Conclusion will show, the categorical banning of those who emigrated (including Arnošt Lustig, Ladislav Mňačko, and many others) functioned pragmatically to cement their works and their opinions as morally righteous and politically popular in the post-communist period.

[119] Petr Pithart, for example, was Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia from 1990-1992, then became a Senator, acting as President of the Senate twice. Jiří Müller became one of the most well-known Czechoslovak political prisoners of the 1970s, and became a prominent member of several post-communist educational foundations. Jaroslav Bašta was active in the lustration process. Eda Kriseová was banned from practicing journalism in 1972, and later became Havel's biographer. Ivan Hartl helped to produce the first Plastic People of the Universe studio album. In addition to these kibbutz volunteers, most of the rest, including Kramer, Klímová, and Suk were Charter 77 signatories. See "Petr Pithart;" "Jiří Müller;" Klíma, *My Crazy Century*, 342; "Zemřel;" Rosenberg, *The Haunted Land*, 74-75; "Kde domův moj? Ivan Hartl—můž, který neexistuje," *Knihovna Václava Havla*, http://www.vaclavhavel-library.org/cs/index/kalendar/420/kde-domov-muj-ivan-hartl-muz-ktery-neexistuje; "Jaroslav Suk," *Česká pozice*, http://www.ceskapozice.cz/u/jaroslav-suk .

[120] Libor Dvořák, "V Egyptě se možná blíží rozuzlení nejnovějších bouří," *Český rozhlas,* Dec 3, 2012, http://www.rozhlas.cz/cro6/stop/_zprava/1145394; "Izraelský premiér Netanjahu v Praze, *iDnes,* Dec 5, 2012, http://zpravy.idnes.cz/izraelsky-premier-netanjahu-v-praze-d7s-/domaci.aspx?c=A121204_170738_domaci_jw; Jan Charvát "Prahu navštívil izraelský premiér Benjamin Netanjahu," *Radio Praha,* Dec 06, 2012, http://www.radio.cz/cz/rubrika/udalosti/prahu-navstivil-izraelsky-premier-benjamin-netanjahu; Josef Kubeczka, "Zprávy," *Český rozhlas*, November 25, 2012, http://www.radio.cz/cz/rubrika/bulletin/zpravy--3170 .

Conclusion

In 1969, Karel Kozelek was facing the most important task of his career. He had risen quickly in the ranks. In 1963, he had been appointed head of the University Library from his post as head of the Economic Division. In 1969, he was appointed head of a commission to direct a new library project: to cleanse the library system of now "objectionable" works that had been deemed responsible for Czechoslovakia's dalliance with reform politics during the Prague Spring. Over the three years that it took to refine the list of banned books, Kozelek was promoted to the head of the National Library. Essentially, the National Library, with Karel Kozelek proudly standing as its head, would do its best to erase the literary and intellectual legacy of the 1960s in its entirety.[1]

Some decisions were easy. Authors who emigrated after the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia were categorically placed on Kozelek's "List of Eliminated Literature and Banned Authors."[2] Other decisions were more difficult. Kozelek fretted over a familiar name: Jiří Weil. After his hard-fought right to publish, would Weil be banned, condemned again to erasure within the annals of Czechoslovak literary history? It seemed Jiří Weil's posthumous career was coming to an end.[3]

By the final version, Weil had been spared the fate of many of his colleagues who wrote about Jewish experiences. Most authors found themselves on the list as "Emigrants and Exponents of Right-Wing Power." The absence of Weil's name on the "List of Eliminated Books," which the

[1] "Zápis ze zasedání Ústřední meziresortní komise pro řízení prověrky knihovních fondů knihoven jednotné soustavy [15. května 1973]," Folder "Zprávy o průběhu prověrky 1973-1990," SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ; "Zápis z porady vedení SK ČSR dne 1.10.1970," Folder "10 porada vední," Box Zápisy z porad vedení SK 1967-1968, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ.
[2] "Směrnice," and "Zásady pro hodnocení tiskovyn se závadným politicko-ideovým obsahem," Folder "Směrnice MK ČSR 1969 o tenizi fondům," Box 1, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ.
[3] Handwritten sheets, Folder Koncepty, Box 3, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ.

National Library finally completed in 1972[4] and was the definitive guide to this new retroactive censorship measure, however, did not save Weil from the same fate as the rest of his colleagues who wrote about Jewish themes. Weil, like the vast majority of writers and filmmakers who focused on Jewish narratives in their works, would not be published again until after the collapse of communism.[5]

A large number of authors were placed on the "List of Eliminated Books and Objectionable Authors" because they emigrated nearly immediately; the invasion seemed to mark a return to the anti-Semitism of stalinism.[6] Most authors fell into this category of "Emigrants," though some were labeled "Exponents of right-wing power" (Hana Bělohradská), and a few others were placed on the list of "Authors of ideological and politically objectionable works" (including two black humor books about the Holocaust, Jan Martinec's *When Kohn met Rabinowitz*, and J.R. Pick's *Society for the Protection of Animals*).[7] The Slovak library produced an additional, independent list, that included some Slovak specific writers, including the translator of Sholem Aleichem.[8]

Functionally, being left off the list hardly improved authors' chances to publish Jewish narratives. Only seven Czech or Slovak authors managed to successfully publish works about Jews between 1972, when the list was completed, and the collapse of communism. The reasons for being allowed to continue publishing were varied. Some, like Norbert Frýd, had always kept

4 "Seznam zastaralé a nevhodné literatury [April 12, 1973]," Folder "Směrnice MK ČSR 1969 o tenizi fondům," Box 1, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ.
5 In some cases, libraries returned Weil's works anyway, even though his name was technically not on the list. "K3 Jihočeský," Folder Seznamy vyřazované literatury podle kraju, Box 9, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ.
6 Heda Margolius-Kovalý describes this feeling well. Kovlály, *Under a Cruel Star,* 185-191.
7 "Seznam zastaralé a nevhodné literatury [April 12, 1973]," Folder "Směrnice MK ČSR 1969 o tenizi fondům," Box 1, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ. For how authors were labeled, see "I. Autoři emigranti a exponenti pravicových sil v létech 1968/1969," Folder "Různé materiály k seznamům úvody aj.," Box 3, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ. For reasons for individual works, "Oddíl č. III. Čeští autoři – jednotlivé titulky," Folder "Různé materiály k seznamům úvody aj.," Box 3, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ. *When Kohn met Rabinowitz* was banned for containing "Anti-Russian anecdotes."
8 Folder Seznamy vyřazené literatury, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ

ideologically in line with the communist regime. Ladislav Fuks was likely forced into being an informant with the StB, at least in name. The ever-popular *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness* was published four more times in Czech and twice more in Slovak. Ota Pavel had never published about the experience of being Jewish prior to 1970, which perhaps helped him to evade suspicion from the authorities. These authors published only eight new titles and seven of them belonged to two authors, František Langer (published posthumously) and Ota Pavel.[9] Overall, this suggests the approval of a few specific authors and texts. It is possible that publishers were intentionally allowing a few token works about Jews in the wake of the anti-Zionist campaign to counter international charges of anti-Semitism (a practice in Poland at the time).[10]

In spite of these few authors' varying degrees of success, narratives about Jews in the Czechoslovak cultural sphere were ultimately decimated. Jewish narratives in film suffered similar blowbacks. In the decade between 1958 and 1968, 41 authors published books about Jews and nine directors completed films about Jews. That number shrank to five authors and one director in the decade after 1972, when the cultural terms of normalization were finally decided.[11] In 1970, the Central Office of the Czechoslovak Film made a new development plan, recognizing how important film was in shaping communist culture.[12] Directors either emigrated or were punished by being having their output strictly monitored, being relegated to television, or both.[13] Kafka was

[9] For these publications, see Appendix A, Section 1. Ladislav Fuks had a file as an informant that was destroyed in 1989. Svazek reg. č 19380 PH, krycí název "Lád'a svázek kategorie "A" (agent), "D" (důvěrník), který byl dne 7.12.1989 zničen, ABS, Prague, CZ.

[10] "Produkcja i Rozpowszechnianie filmów w roku 1968," Fund 1843, Kat. A 4/45, AAN, Warsaw. Poland banned four films about Jews, one of which, *Ascension Day*, was eventually briefly released to counter charges of anti-Semitism. Janusz Nasfeter's *The Long Night*, fared less well, going unreleased until the fall of communism, while Kawalerowicz's *Austeria*, was eventually made in the early 1980s. The fourth film was Aleksander Ford's *Korczak*, which was eventually made in Israel while he was in exile.

[11] Appendix A, Section 1 and Appendix B.

[12] "Téze o rozvoji Československého filmu do roku 1970," Folder 2, ÚŘ ČSF (kol. rady) R12/AI/5P/6k, NFA, Prague, CZ.

[13] Joseph Gelmis, "Czechs' Liberal Movies in Limbo," *The Washington Post*, September 15, 1968, E1; Antonín J. Liehm and Jan Němec, "Jan Němec," *The International Journal of Politics* 3, no. 1/2 (1973) 133-42; Drahomira Liehm and Zbyněk Brynych, "Zbyněk Brynych," *The International Journal of Politics* 3, no. 1/2 (1973): 78-92;

also again banned. Commentators recognized the link between socialist reforms and changes in the literary and cultural atmosphere.[14] German author Heinrich Böll, who happened to be in Prague during the 1968 invasion, titled his 1968 essay about the invasion "The Gun was Aimed at Kafka": "Outside the building where Kafka was born stood a tank," he wrote, "its gun barrel aimed at the bust of Kafka. Here, too, symbol matched reality."[15]

Indeed, the state was making the point remarkably clear: creating, circulating and discussing Jewish narratives played a significant role in the development of communist reform. Jewish narratives encouraged intellectuals, who were instrumental in defining the goals of the Prague Spring, to advocate for the importance of a political system where the vulnerable were protected, individuals felt free to speak and act against injustice, and society was able to admit and make amends for wrongdoings. In this new, post-reform moment, existentialism, pluralism, and societal self-criticism would no longer be allowed.

The accusations that reformers were "Zionists," which was now widely recognized among intellectuals as a shorthand for "Jew," reinforced the link between engagement with Jewish narratives and reform. Figures like Ladislav Mňačko, Pavel Kohout, Jan Kadár, and Eduard Goldstücker were labeled "Zionist," regardless of whether or not they were Jewish, because they had supported Israel after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War or promoted Jewish narratives to the Czechoslovak public.[16] It was clear to commentators in the West that these figures were labeled as

Antonín J. Liehm and Juraj Jakubisko, "Juraj Jakubisko," *The International Journal of Politics* 3, no. 1/2 (1973): 153-163; Macek, Kadár, 195-200; Antonín J. Liehm and Jiří Weiss, "Jiří Weiss," *The International Journal of Politics* 3, no. 1/2 (1973): 40-69.

[14] Bahr, "Kafka and the Prague Spring;" Tom Morris, "From Liblice to Kafka," *Telos* 24 (1975): 163-70; Liehm, "Kafka in East Europe;" Tynan, "Czech Films Excel."

[15] Heinrich Böll, "The Gun Was Aimed at Kafka," in *Missing Persons and Other Essays*, translated by Leila Vennewitz, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1994): 240.

[16] Pavel Kohout, for example, was so fervently decried as a Zionist that the *New York Times* described him as Jewish, even though he was not. See Chapter 5 for this episode. "Prague Bars Trip by Jewish Author," *New York Times*, January 7, 1970, 5; Macek, *Ján Kadár*, 195-6; Mňačko, *Siedma noc,* 40.

"dangerous" for their works and ideas.[17] The use of "Zionist" as a short-hand for a politically destabilizing enemy was likely related to the anti-Zionist campaign in Poland. At the same time, the anti-Zionist campaign in Poland was purportedly about preventing a "Prague Spring" in Poland.[18] The fact that being an intellectual in favor of reform marked one a "Zionist" and a "Jew" in both Poland and Czechoslovakia only seemed to confirm that Czechs and Slovaks were, in a sense "like Jews." As director Ján Kadár said in an interview after the 1968 invasion, "The consolation was that being a Jew was not a privilege of the Jews."[19]

Many intellectuals who went into exile went into a kind of limbo. It was unclear how long those in exile would have to leave Czechoslovakia, and in some cases, they seemingly got stuck in their 1960s work. Ladislav Grosman, for example, was still in talks to have a movie made of his novel *The Bride*, the last thing he published in Czechoslovakia, at Barrandov Film Studio after he had already left for Israel in 1969.[20] Then, he thought his novel would be made into a movie by an American film studio, United Artists.[21] As late as 1976, he thought the story would still be adapted in Czechoslovakia.[22] It wasn't until 1985 that it was finally made into the Israeli movie *The 17th Bride*.[23] Even escaping official national Marxist orthodoxy did not save Eduard Goldstücker from having to defend Kafka against accusations of being a "bourgeois reactionary." Goldstücker was

[17] See the United Artists poster in Macek *Ján Kadár,* 196; Gelmis, "Czechs' Liberal Movies."
[18] For works that make arguments about Czechoslovak inspiration for displays of resistance in Poland in 1968, see Petr Blažek, Łukasz Kamiński, and Rudolf Vévoda, eds., *Polsko a československo v roce 1968* (Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2006); Günter Bischof, Stefan Karner, and Peter Ruggenthaler, *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968*, The Harvard Cold War Studies Book Series (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2010); M. Mark Stolarik, *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 1968: Forty Years Later* (Mundelein, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2010).
[19] Ján Kadár in an interview with Antonín J. Liehm in 1971. Liehm, "Ján Kadár – Elmar Klos," *Ostře sledované filmy,* 128.
[20] Letter from Barrandov Film Studios [June 5, 1969], Folder Barrandov Film Studios, Korespondence přijatá, Box 19/97 (Korespondence), Ladislav Grosman Personal Papers, LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[21] Letter to Vojtěch Jasný [February 1, 1976], Folder Vojtěch Jasný, Korrespondence odešlaná, Box 19/97 (Korespondence), Ladislav Grosman Personal Papers, LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[22] Letter to Ján Kadár [November 25, 1969], Folder Ján Kadár, Korrespondence odešlaná, Box 19/97 (Korespondence), Ladislav Grosman Personal Papers, LA PNP, Prague, CZ.
[23] *Ha-Kala*, directed by Nadav Levitan (1985; Island City: Sisu Home Ent. 2004, DVD).

offered a professorial position at Sussex University, where he was publicly denounced as a "social imperialist" and "revisionist" by the Sussex University Marxist-Leninist Student organization for rejecting a student's Marxist critique of Kafka.[24] Perhaps motivated by this experience, he continued to repeat his arguments about Kafka from the Kafka Conference repeatedly over the next decades.[25]

Representations of Jews also, in a sense, ended up frozen in time. For the most part, the representations of Jews that emerged before 1972 were the only available representations for the rest of the communist period. Only four new literary works were published by Czech and Slovak authors and three movies (two of which were based on Ota Pavel's works, who wrote three of the new literary works) for the rest of the communist period.[26] In spite of the regime's attempts to control and limit the public's access to Jewish themes, the process was slow. It took the National Library three years to complete the definitive list of forbidden authors, and another three to collect all of the books from libraries and used book stores across the country.[27] Even when the project was completed in 1975, the over 65,000 copies of banned Jewish narratives (and books about Kafka) collected were just a tiny fraction of the total copies of these books potentially circulating among the Czechoslovak public.[28]

The long-term consequence of this state initiative was not to condemn these authors to obscurity. Authors, filmmakers, and theater producers were severely limited in publishing or

[24] Though the date of the letter is unclear, it discusses protests against the Warsaw Pact presence in Czechoslovakia, so presumably was within a few years of the 1968 Invasion. "An Open Letter to the Czechoslovakian Students from Sussex University Marxist-Leninist Students," Folder D - Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist #1), Box 1 – Political Groups, The Keep, Sussex, UK.
[25] For example, see Goldstücker, *The Czech National Revival*; Goldstücker, "Ten Year after the Kafka Symposium."
[26] See Appendix A, Section 1; Appendix B.
[27] "Inventurní soupis zásob knih, 1972," and "Zahraniční autoří," in Folder 4 - Seznamy vyřazevané literatury a zakázaných autorů, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ; "Seznamy vyřazované lit. podle resort," Folder 7, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ; Seznam zastaralé a nevhodné literatury [April 12, 1973]," Folder "Směrnice MK ČSR 1969 o tenizi fondům," Box 1, SK ČSR, OZF, NK Hostivář, Prague, CZ.
[28] Appendix F.

producing new narratives about Jews from 1972 to1989. At the same time, authors who had fallen out of favor after 1968 only became more interesting by virtue of their illicit status. When the "Dictionary of Banned Authors" was released in 1991, it included not only the majority of authors who wrote about Jews (some of which had not technically been banned), but also reviewers and those actively involved in advocating for renewed diplomatic relations with Israel.[29] In the collapse of communism, these figures were thus made all the more exciting by their prohibition. As Ruth Ellen Gruber has written on 1990s Czechoslovakia: "things Jewish were now recognized as potent symbols of new postcommunist freedoms."[30]

While this is true, it is only part of the story. Publishing Lustig, Škvorecký, or Grosman did become a new liberty after being forbidden for two decades. However, "things Jewish" that emerged after communism's collapse, particularly in the literary and theatrical world, were often not new at all. Numbers of literary works about Jews were not higher in the 1990s than in the 1960s, though they stayed at high levels with more consistency (See Figure 6.1). In fact, numbers of published books about Jews did not exceed peak numbers from the 1960s until after 2000. Writers from the United States like Saul Bellow, Philip Roth, or Bernard Malamud, who had made brief appearances in the 1960s, made up a significant component of new works published in the first years of post-communism.[31] Publication of foreign authors played a bigger role in the 1990s than it did in the 1960s, suggesting that Czech and Slovak writers were a more active and central part of creating Jewish narratives and Holocaust memory in the 1960s than the 1990s.

[29] Authors in the dictionary included Erik Kulka, Arnošt Lustig, Ladislav Grosman, Jiří Weil, Ota Pavel, Josef Škvorecký, Karol Sidon, Egon Hostovský, Arnošt Lustig, Ludvík Aškenazy, Hana Bělohrádská. Reviewers and commentators: Jan Grosman, A.J. Liehm, Gabriel Laub, Jiří Lederer, František Kautman. Israel commentators: Petr Chudožilov, Pavel Kohout, Stanislav Budín, Dušan Hamšík, Věra Šťovíčková, Petr Pithart, Viktor Fischl. Other relevant names: Alfred Rádok, Artur London, Heda Margolius Kovalý, Eduard Goldstücker. Jiří Brabec, ed. *Slovník zakázaných autorů, 1948-1980* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství: 1991).
[30] Gruber, *Virtually Jewish*, 25.
[31] Appendix A, Section 4.

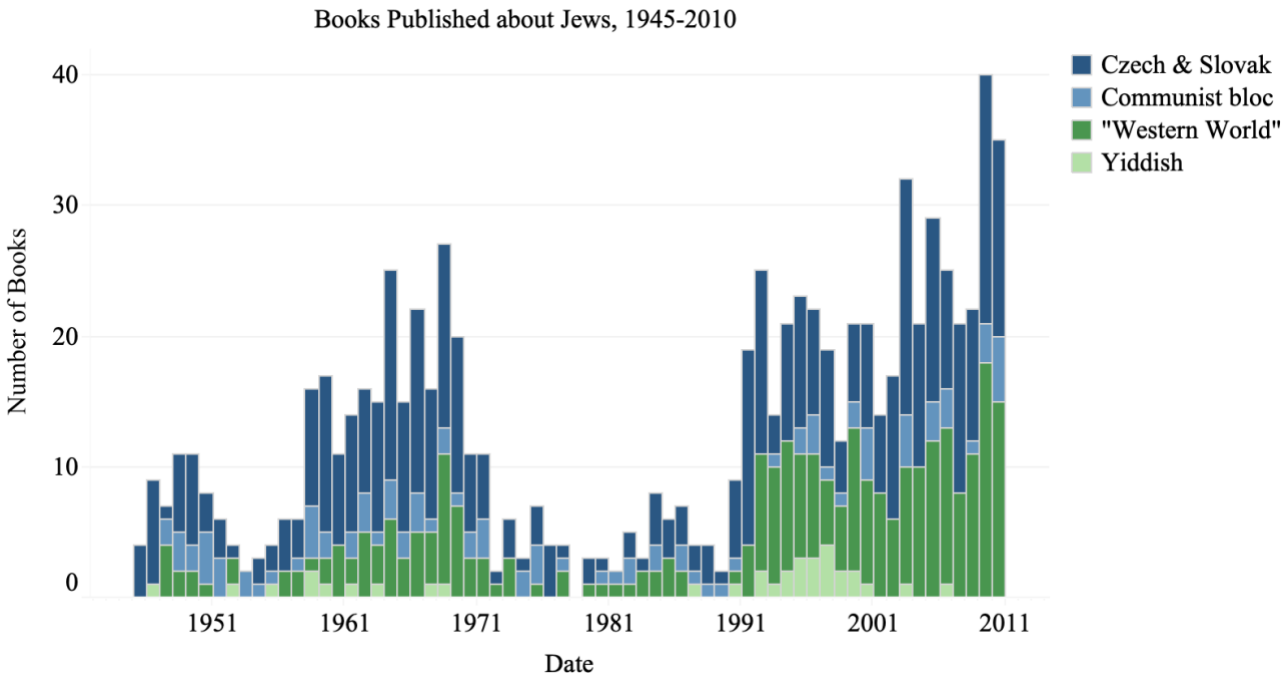


Fig. 6.1. Authors from the "Western World" and those that wrote in Yiddish make up a significantly higher portion of the published books about Jews in the first post-communist decades. Source: Appendix A, Section 4.

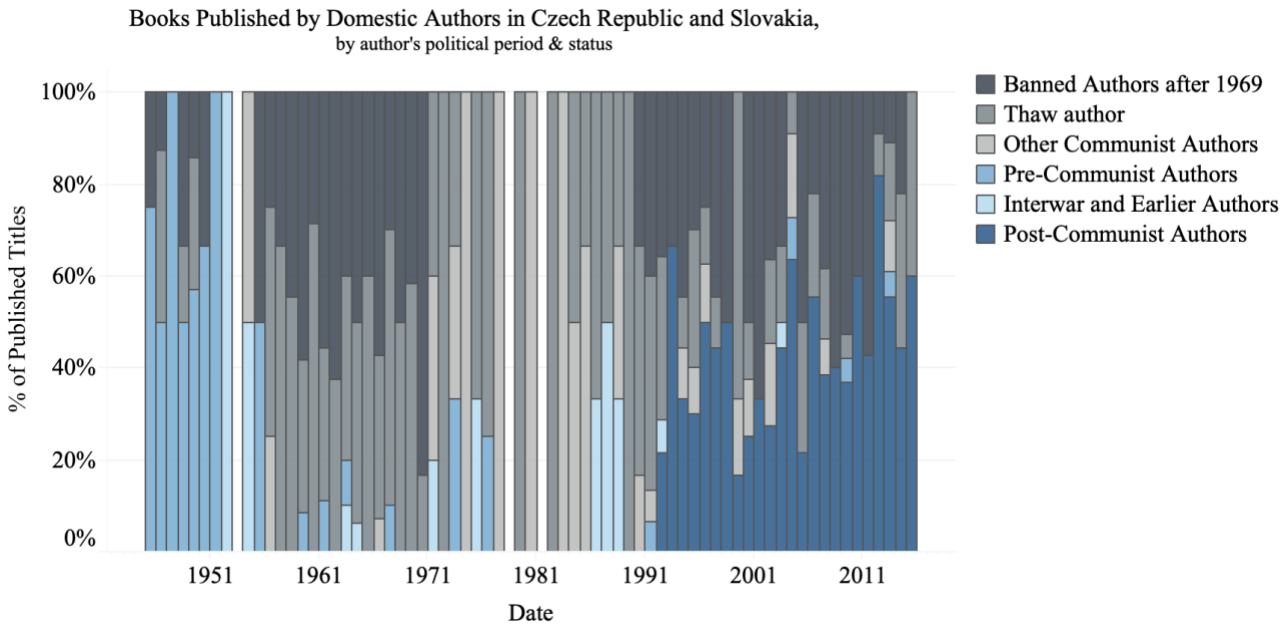


Fig. 6.2. Thaw authors (banned or not) were responsible for the majority of literary works about Jews well into the post-communist period.* Source: Appendix A, Section 4; Appendix E.

*Thaw authors refers to those whose careers either began or developed from 1958-1969. This is why a few texts from the pre-1949 period (mostly those of Jiří Weil) are labeled "Thaw author." Though he had an interwar career, he primarily succeeded in publishing his "Jewish" texts in the Thaw. "Other Communist Authors" primarily refers to those published for the first time in 1970s and 80s, but also those who managed to publish in the 50s before 1958.

The impact of the 1960s becomes even clearer when we examine the domestic authors who *were* published in the post-communist period. At least 50% of titles published in the post-communist period every year were written by banned or Thaw authors (some works were new, published while in exile). It was not until 2012 that works by new authors regularly exceeded works by authors who came to prominence or first started publishing about Jewish experiences in the Thaw. In other words, the outpouring of interest in Jewish literary works in the post-communist period was largely motivated by a re-discovery of 1960s authors who had gone largely unpublished in the 1970s and the 1980s (Figure 6.2). The number of works about Jews that circulated in the 1990s was not new or unprecedented, and neither were many of the texts (or the authors who penned them).

After books were re-published in the new, post-communist publishing houses, they were often adapted or re-adapted. Works like *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness*, *A Prayer for Katherine Horowitz*, *Mr. Theodor Mundstock,* and *The Cremator* were re-adapted as television films or plays.[32] Literary works that had been published in exile by Thaw authors got new adaptations.[33] *Romeo, Juliet and Darkness, Mr. Theodor Mundstock, Life with a Star,* and other texts originally penned in the 1960s became core texts for teaching the Holocaust in the Czech Republic.[34] Authors who wrote the adapted texts were the subject of numerous biographical and autobiographical

[32] *Romeo, Julie a tma,* dir. Karel Smyczek (Prague: Česká televize, 1997); "Romeo, Julie a tma," *Divadlo v dlouhé,* premiere February 2, 2019, accessed July 18, 2019, https://www.divadlovdlouhe.cz/repertoar/romeo-julie-a-tma/; "Modlitba pro Kateřinu Horovitzovou," *Divadlo pod Palmovkou*, premiere June 13, 2012, accessed July 18, 2019, https://www.i-divadlo.cz/divadlo/divadlo-pod-palmovkou/modlitba-pro-katerinu-horovitzovou ; "Spalovač mrtvol," *Divadlo Petra Bezruče*, premiere September 23, 2016, accessed July 18, 2019, http://www.bezruci.cz/hra/spalovac-mrtvol/; "Vojta Dyk tančí, zpívá, vzdoruje smrti. A komíny lágrů dýmají," *iDnes*, May 30, 2016, https://www.idnes.cz/kultura/divadlo/pan-theodor-mundstock.A160530_110252_divadlo_ts.

[33] "Nemilovaná," *Divadlo Kolowrat,* premiere October 19, 2017, accessed July 18, 2019, http://divadlo-kolowrat.cz/project/nemilovana/; "Arnošt Lustig: Nemilovaná - Divadlo K.H. Máchy," *Litomerický deník*, accessed July 18, 2019, https://litomericky.denik.cz/tipy/arnost-lustig-nemilovana-divadlo-k-h-machy-264244.html.

[34] Milan Mašát, "K uplatnění tematiky šoa v literárních čítankách po druhý stupeň základích škol," *Jazyk – Literatura – Komunikace* 6, no. 2 (2017): 71-5.

works, as well as interviews, in both print and television.[35] *Fiddler on the Roof* reappeared as soon as 1990 in České Budějovice.[36] It played for over a decade at Divadlo na Fidlovačce and in smaller cities throughout the Czech Republic and Slovakia.[37] Actor Jozef Króner, in spite of having been in numerous movies and plays throughout his career, is often remembered for his roles as Tevye and Tono.[38] Films like *The Shop on Main Street, Diamonds of the Night*, and *The Cremator* retained their place among the intellectual elite, becoming some of the hallmarks of the Czech New Wave and the subject of cinema studies research.[39]

Kafka also reappeared in 1990s Prague, though at first with less enthusiasm. Writing about Kafka's return in the *New York Times* in 1989, reporter John Tagliablue quoted Ivo Železný, the editor at Odeon, who was re-publishing Kafka's works in Czech: "People are not as fond of Kafka as at the end of the 1960s."[40] Kafka and other German-speaking Jewish writers had been identified as key bearers of Czechoslovak experience. After Kafka's official approval, writers and

[35] For a small sample, see Arnošt Lustig, *3x18: (portréty a postřehy)* (Prague: HAK, 2002); Aleš Haman, *Arnošt Lustig* (Jinočany: H&H, 1995); Karel Hvížď ala and Arnošt Lustig, *Tachles, Lustig: rozhovor s Arnoštem Lustigem* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 2010); Arnošt Lustig, *Okamžiky: Arnošt Lustig vzpomíníná na Otu Pavla* (Prague: Andrej Šťastný: 2003); Vondráčková, *Mrazilo-tálo*; Jan Poláček, *Příběh spalovače mrtvol: dvojportrét Ladislava Fuksa* (Prague: Plus, 2013); Aleš Kovalčík, *Tvář a maska: postavy Ladislava Fukse* (Jinočany: H&H, 2006); J. Rauvolf, M. Čech a P. Slavík, "13. komnata Arnošta Lustiga," *13. komnata,* Česká televize, October 24, 2017, https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/1186000189-13-komnata/209562210800003-13-komnata-arnosta-lustiga/; "Ladislav Fuks pohledem Vladimíra Drhy," *GEN*, Česká televize, September 25, 2018, https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/874586-gen/293839300010014-ladislav-fuks-pohledem-vladimira-drhy/.
[36] Zdeněk Ziegler, "Sumař na střeše," The International Poster Collection, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado, http://hdl.handle.net/10217/43821.
[37] "Fidlikant na streche," *Divadlo Andreja Bagara v Nitre,* premiered December 18, 1998, accessed July 21, 2019, http://www.dab.sk/inscenace/47-fidlikant-na-streche; "Šumař na střeše," *Divadlo na Fidlovačce*, premiered July 30, 1998, accessed July 21, 2019, https://www.i-divadlo.cz/divadlo/divadlo-na-fidlovacce/sumar-na-strese-2006.
[38] See Jozef Króner: Fidlikant na korze," *Tv oko* no. 36 (2008): 24, Folder 1, Jozef Króner collection, SFU, 02.07.2003, Bratislava, SK and Macková, *Osud tak chcel.*
[39] For a small sample, see Stanislava Přádná, Zdena Škapová, Jiří Cieslar, and Jan Dvořák, eds, *Démanty všednosti: český a slovenský film 60. let, kapitoly o nové vlně* (Prague: Pražská scéna, 2002); Škvorecký, *Všichni ti bystří mladí muži a ženy*; Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*. Liehm's *Closely Observed Trains,* a collection of interviews with film directors, which was published as individual articles in a special edition of *The International Journal of Politics*, and then translated into Czech in 2001 is another example of this. See Liehm, *Closely Observed Trains*; Liehm *Ostře sledované vlaky;* and footnote 13 for interviews and the edition of *The International Journal of Politics*. Of the 14 filmmakers featured in the journal, 6 had made films about Jews under Nazi occupation, another had made attempted unsuccessfully to adapt a film about Jews under Nazi occupation (Vojtěch Jasný), and another, Karel Kachyňa, would go on to adapt the two adaptations of Ota Pavel.
[40] Tagliablue, "Kafka's Homeland Lifts Its Ban," 19.

filmmakers utilized Kafka's expressionistic style in both novels and films about Jews that made the same basic argument that the organizers of the Kafka Conference had made: that to be Jewish was to experience alienation from your home and bureaucracy, and to be alienated was be a Czech or Slovak in the 1960s. Publishing Kafka, therefore, may lost some of the weight of the 1960s, but when Kafka did return, there was a strikingly familiar element. Kafka's reappearance in post-communist Prague has been all about re-inscribing Kafka into the city landscape, largely into the Jewish quarter. Many of Kafka's commemorative sites—his birthplace home, the memorial done by Jaroslav Róna, and the public square named in his honor—are there. Inscribing Kafka into the city of Prague meant re-articulating the arguments made at Liblice about the centrality of Kafka's Jewishness to Kafka's relationship to Prague, even if only implicitly. Kafka became a central component of Czech tourism, particularly in the Jewish Quarter.

These links between the 1960s and the re-discovery of Jewish culture in Czechoslovakia have remained hidden as the result of normalization. One of the major consequences of the 1968 invasion was a shift in dissent strategies. After 1968, intellectuals no longer believed in the possibility of reform, and shifted to dissidence. Though the regime reached out to the intelligentsia, many rejected their offers, especially initially.[41] Instead of pushing the boundaries of socialist politics from within, they pushed back against the socialist state from outside of the system. As time went on, veiled comparisons between Jews under Nazism and life under stalinism seemingly lost their pertinence, as political imprisonment and show trials of students, musicians, writers, and priests became current and pressing issues. After this marked shift in intellectual culture and priorities, the rise of public interest in Jewish culture did, indeed, seem to appear out of the blue.

[41] See Bren, *The Greengrocer and his TV*, 55.

The dramatic increase in circulation of Jewish narratives in 1960s Czechoslovakia was driven initially by a desire to recover Jewish narratives from the violent erasures of Nazism and stalinism. Because anti-Semitism was a hallmark of both Nazism and stalinism in Czechoslovakia, intellectuals who optimistically hoped for a new political future after stalinism quickly gravitated towards Jewish narratives as a way of shifting the political culture of communism. Normalization contributed to a third erasure. By assuming that Jewish culture could not exist as a socially and culturally impactful phenomenon before the post-communist period, scholarly literature has also, in a sense, contributed to a fourth erasure. The efforts that Jews and non-Jews put forward towards countering anti-Semitism and changing the political culture of communism through the creation and circulation of Jewish narratives have remained obscured.

There was also a darker side to the process of intellectuals embracing Jewish narratives. Jewish writers in particular (but also directors) played a significant role in promoting Jewish narratives in Czechoslovak intellectual circles. However, as more and more people stressed the centrality of Jews to understanding Czech and Slovak experience, commentators began to engage in a sort of rhetorical violence. It involved co-opting specificities of the experience being a Jew in 20th century Europe, imagining that the search for place, status as an outsider, and victimization at the hands of oppressive bureaucracies bound Czechs, Slovaks, and Jews together. This logic persisted, in spite of the fact that Jewish narratives were severely curtailed after 1972. As Milan Kundera put it in 1984, Jews bound Central Europeans together, like "intellectual cement, a condensed version of its spirit, creators of its spiritual unity. That's why I love the Jewish heritage and cling to it with as much passion and nostalgia as though it were my own."[42]

[42] Kundera, "The Tragedy of Central Europe," 35.

Appendix B

Feature Films about the Holocaust, 1945-1989

Film	Year	Decade	Country of Origin	Director
The Dunera Boys*	1985	80s	Australia	Ben Lewin
God Does Not Believe in Us Anymore*	1981	80s	Austria	Axel Corti
The Inheritors	1983	80s	Austria	Walter Bannert
Kassbach	1979	70s	Austria	Peter Patzak
Pebbles	1982	80s	Austria	Lukas Stepanik
Santa Fe	1985	80s	Austria	Axel Corti
38: Vienna before the Fall	1986	80s	Austria	Wolfgang Gluck
Welcome in Vienna	1986	80s	Austria	Axel Corti
Brussels-Transit	1980	80s	Belgium	Samy Szlingerbaum
Falsch	1988	80s	Belgium	Jan-Pierre and Luc Dardene
High Street	1976	70s	Belgium	Andre Ernotte
Stars	1958	50s	Bulgaria	Rangel Fulchanov
Transports of Death	1984	80s	Bulgaria	Borislav Punchev
Lucky Star	1980	80s	Canada	Max Fisher
Birds, Orphans and Fools**	1969	60s	Czechoslovakia	Juraj Jakubisko
The Boxer and Death	1962	60s	Czechoslovakia	Peter Solan
The Cremator**	1969	60s	Czechoslovakia	Juraj Herz
Death is Called Engelchen	1963	60s	Czechoslovakia	Jan Kadar and Elmar Klos
Diamonds of the Night	1964	60s	Czechoslovakia	Jan Nemec
Distant Journey**	1949	40s	Czechoslovakia	Alfred Radok
Dita Saxová	1967	60s	Czechoslovakia	Antonín Moskalyk
The Fifth Horseman is Fear	1964	60s	Czechoslovakia	Zbynek Brynych
A Prayer for Katherine Horowitz*	1965	60s	Czechoslovakia	Antonín Moskalyk
The Shop on Main Street	1965	60s	Czechoslovakia	Jan Kadar and Elmar Klos
Romeo, Juliet and Darkness	1959	50s	Czechoslovakia	Jiri Weiss
Transport from Paradise	1962	60s	Czechoslovakia	Zbynek Brynych
Exile*	1961	60s	Czechoslovakia	Jan Matějovský
Forbidden Dreams	1987	80s	Czechoslovakia	Karel Kachyňa
Night Overtakes Me	1986	80s	Czechoslovakia	Juraj Herz
Golden Eels*	1979	70s	Czechoslovakia	Karel Kachyňa
The Only Way	1967	60s	Denmark	Bent Christiansen

The Actress	1988	80s	East Germany	Siegfried Kühn
The Blum Affair	1948	40s	East Germany	Erich Engel
The Case will be postponed	1958	50s	East Germany	Herbert Ballmann
Chronicle of a Murder	1965	60s	East Germany	Joachim Hasler
The Fiancee	1980	80s	East Germany	Gunter Reisch and Cunter Rucker
Incident in Benderdath	1956	50s	East Germany	János Veiczi
Jacob, the Liar	1978	70s	East Germany	Frank Beyer
Lebende Ware	1966	60s	East Germany	Wolfgang Luderer
Lissy	1957	50s	East Germany	Konrad Wolf
Marriage in the Shadows	1947	40s	East Germany	Kurt Maetzig
Naked Among Wolves	1963	60s	East Germany	Frank Beyer
Professor Mamlock	1961	60s	East Germany	Konrad Wolf
Stars	1958	50s	East Germany	Konrad Wolf
Stiekle, Heinze, 15	1987	80s	East Germany	Michael Kann
The Valley of the Seven Moons	1967	60s	East Germany	Gottfried Kolditz
Naked Among Wolves*	1961	60s	East Germany	Georg Leopold
Murderers among Us	1946	40s	East Germany	Wolfgang Staudte
And Now, My Love	1974	70s	France	Claude Lelouch
Army of Shadows	1969	60s	France	Jean-Pierre Melville
A Bag of Marbles	1975	70s	France	Jacques Doillon
Black Thursday	1974	70s	France	Michel Mitrani
The Enclosure	1962	60s	France	Armand Gatti
Commando Mengele	1987	80s	France	Andrea Bianchi
Entre Nous	1983	80s	France	Diane Kurys
For Those I Loved	1983	80s	France	Robert Enrico
Gare de la Douleur	1984	80s	France	Henri Jouf
Goodbye Children	1987	80s	France	Louis Malle
Lacombe, Lucien	1974	70s	France	Louis Malle
The Last Metro	1980	80s	France	Francois Truffaut
Les Uns et Autres	1981	80s	France	Claude Lelouch
Mr. Klein	1976	70s	France	Joseph Losey
Natalia	1988	80s	France	Bernard Cohn
One Man's War	1981	80s	France	Edgardo Cozarinsky
La Passante	1982	80s	France	Jacques Rouffio
A Tear in the Ocean	1973	70s	France	Henri Glaeser
Special Section	1975	70s	France	Costa-Gavras
A Tear in the Ocean	1971	70s	France	Henri Glaeser

The Glass Cage	1965	60s	France	Philippe Arthuys and Jean-Louis Levi-Alvarès
The Two of Us	1967	60s	France	Claude Berri
The 25th Hour	1967	60s	France	Henri Verneuil
Confidence	1980	80s	Hungary	István Szabó
Mephisto	1981	80s	Hungary	István Szabó
The Revolt of Job	1983	80s	Hungary	Imre Gyongyossi and Barna Kabay
Somewhere in Europe	1947	40s	Hungary	Geza von Radvanyi
Temporary Paradise	1981	80s	Hungary	Andras Kovacs
25 Fireman's Street	1973	70s	Hungary	István Szabó
Adamah	1948	40s	Israel	Helmar Lerski
The Cellar	1963	60s	Israel	Natan Gross
Korczak	1975	70s	Israel	Aleksander Ford
The Martyr	1976	70s	Israel	Aleksander Ford
Tel Aviv- Berlin	1987	80s	Israel	Tzipi Tropé
The Wooden Gun	1978	70s	Israel	Ilan Moshenzon
The Summer of Aviya	1988	80s	Israel	Eli Cohen
The 17th Bride	1985	80s	Israel	Nadav Levitan
My Father's House	1947	40s	Israel	Herbert Kline
The Condemned of Altona	1962	60s	Italy	Vittorio De Sica
The Damned	1969	60s	Italy	Luchino Visconti
The Garden of the Finzi-Continis	1970	70s	Italy	Vittorio De Sica
General della Rovere	1959	50s	Italy	Roberto Rossellini
The Gold of Rome	1961	60s	Italy	Carlo Lizzani
History	1986	80s	Italy	Luigi Comencini
It was Night in Rome	1960	60s	Italy	Roberto Rossellini
The Gestapo's Last Orgy	1977	70s	Italy	Cesare Canevari
The Night Porter	1974	70s	Italy	Liliana Cavani
Open City	1945	40s	Italy	Roberto Rossellini
Sandra (Vaghe Stell dell'Orsa)	1965	60s	Italy	Luchino Visconti
Seven Beauties (Pasqualino Settebelezze)	1975	70s	Italy	Lina Wermuller
Nazi Love Camp 27	1977	70s	Italy	Mario Caiano
Bastille	1985	80s	Netherlands	Rudolf van den Berg
Charlotte	1981	80s	Netherlands	Franz Weisz
Ice Cream Parlor	1985	80s	Netherlands	Dmitri Frenkel Frank

The Shadow of Victory	1986	80s	Netherlands	Ate de Jong
And the Violins Stopped Playing	1988	80s	Poland	Alexander Ramati
Ascension Day	1969	60s	Poland	Jan Rybkowski
Austeria	1983	80s	Poland	Jerzy Kawalerowicz
Bad Luck	1960	60s	Poland	Andrzej Munk
Birth Certificate	1961	60s	Poland	Stanisław Różewicz
The Beater	1963	60s	Poland	Ewa a Czesław Petelski
Border Street	1948	40s	Poland	Aleksander Ford
The End of our World	1964	60s	Poland	Wanda Jakubowska
A Generation	1955	50s	Poland	Andrzej Wajda
Landscape after Battle	1970	70s	Poland	Andrzej Wajda
The Last Stage	1948	40s	Poland	Wanda Jakubowska
Long Night**	1967	60s	Poland	Janusz Nasfeter
People from the Train	1961	60s	Poland	Kazimierz Kutz
Postcard from a Journey	1983	80s	Poland	Waldemar Dziki
Samson	1961	60s	Poland	Andrzej Wajda
After Your Decrees	1984	80s	Poland	Jerzy Hoffman
White Bear	1959	50s	Poland	Jerzy Zarzycki
Kornblumenblau	1989	80s	Poland	Leszek Wosiewicz
Commissar	1988	80s	Soviet Union	Aleksander Askoldov
The Unvanquished	1945	60s	Soviet Union	Mark Donsky
Eastern Corridor	1966	60s	Soviet Union	Valentin Vinogradov
Goodbye, Boys!	1964	60s	Soviet Union	Michal Kalik
Sons of the Fatherland	1968	60s	Soviet Union	Latif Faiziev
The Boat is Full	1981	80s	Switzerland	Markus Imhoof
The Confrontation	1975	70s	Switzerland	Rolf Lyssy
Lisa, aka The Inspector	1962	60s	UK	Philip Dunne
Conspiracy of Hearts	1960	60s	UK	Ralph Thomas
Escape from Sobibor*	1987	80s	UK	Jack Gold
The Evacuees	1975	70s	UK	Alan Parker
Just a Gigolo	1979	70s	UK	David Hemmings
Odessa File	1974	70s	UK	Ronald Neame
Return from the Ashes	1965	60s	UK	J. Lee Thompson
Voyage of the Damned	1976	70s	UK	Stuart Rosenberg
And the Violins Stopped Playing	1988	80s	USA	Alexander Ramati
The Attic	1988	80s	USA	John Erman
The Big Red One	1980	80s	USA	Samuel Fuller

The Boys from Brazil	1978	70s	USA	Franklin J. Schaffner
Cabaret	1972	70s	USA	Bob Fosse
Child of our Time*	1959	50s	USA	George Roy Hill
The Diary of Anne Frank	1959	50s	USA	George Stevens
The Diary of Anne Frank	1980	80s	USA	Boris Sagal
Enemies, A Love Story	1989	80s	USA	Paul Mazursky
The Execution*	1985	80s	USA	Paul Wendkos
Exodus	1960	60s	USA	Otto Preminger
Forbidden*	1986	80s	USA	Anthony Page
Friendship in Vienna*	1988	80s	USA	Arthur Allan Seidelman
Hanna's War	1988	80s	USA	Menachem Golan
Hitler's SS: Portrait in Evil*	1985	80s	USA	Jim Goddard
Holocaust*	1978	70s	USA	Marvin Chomsky
House on Garibaldi Street*	1979	70s	USA	Peter Collinson
In the Presence of Mine Enemies	1960	60s	USA	Fielder Cook
Inside the Third Reich*	1986	80s	USA	Marvin Chomsky
Judgment at Nuremburg	1961	60s	USA	Stanley Kramer
Judgment at Nuremburg*	1959	50s	USA	George Roy Hill
Julia	1977	70s	USA	Fred Sinnemann
The Juggler	1953	50s	USA	Edward Dmytryk
Lena*	1987	80s	USA	Ed Sherin
The Man in the Glass Booth	1975	70s	USA	Arthur Hiller
Me and the Colonel	1958	50s	USA	Peter Glenville
The Marathon Man	1976	70s	USA	John Schlesinger
Morituri	1965	60s	USA	Bernhard Wicki
Music Box	1989	80s	USA	Costa Gavras
Murderers among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story*	1989	80s	USA	Brian Gibson
Nazi Hunter: The Beate Klarsfeld Story*	1986	80s	USA	Michael Lindsay-Hogg
The Pawnbroker	1965	60s	USA	Sidney Lumet
Playing for Time*	1980	80s	USA	Daniel Mann
The Producers	1967	60s	USA	Mel Brooks
The Serpent's Egg	1977	70s	USA	Ingmar Bergman
Rose Garden	1989	80s	USA	Fons Rademakers
The Scarlet and the Black	1983	80s	USA	Jerry London
The Search	1948	40s	USA	Fred Zinnemann
Ship of Fools	1965	60s	USA	Stanley Kramer

Singing in the Dark	1956	50s	USA	Max Nosseck
Skokie*	1981	80s	USA	Herbert Wise
Sophie's Choice	1982	80s	USA	Alan Pakula
To Be or Not to Be	1983	80s	USA	Alan Johnson
Triumph of the Spirit	1989	80s	USA	Robert M. Young
Incident in Vichy*	1973	70s	USA	Stacy Keach
Twist of Fate	1989	80s	USA	Ian Sharp
Operation Eichmann!	1961	60s	USA	R.G. Springsteen
The Only Way	1970	70s	USA	Brent Christensen
QB VII*	1970	70s	USA	Tom Gries
Wallenberg: A Hero's Story*	1985	80s	USA	Lamont Johnson
Judith	1966	60s	USA	Daniel Mann
Conspiracy of Hearts*	1956	50s	USA	Albert Hackett
The Wall*	1982	80s	USA	Robert Markowitz
War and Remembrance*	1988	80s	USA	Alex Grasshoff
Forced March	1989	80s	USA	Rick King
The Hiding Place	1975	70s	USA	James F Collier
War and Love	1985	80s	USA	Moshe Mizrahi
Korczak and the Children*	1961	60s	West Germany	Sam Besekow
The Serpent's Egg	1978	70s	West Germany	Ingmar Bergman
Land of the Fathers, Land of the Sons	1988	80s	West Germany	Nico Hoffmann
Angry Harvest	1985	80s	West Germany	Agnieszka Holland
Aren't We Wonderful?	1958	50s	West Germany	Kurt Hoffmann
The Children from Number 67	1979	70s	West Germany	Usch Barthelmess-Weller and Werner Meyer
David	1979	70s	West Germany	Peter Lilienthal
Death is My Trade	1976	70s	West Germany	Theodor Kotulla
Ein Stück Himmel	1982	80s	West Germany	Franz Peter Wirth
Escape Route from Marseille	1977	70s	West Germany	Ingemo Engstrom and Gerhard Theuring
Fear Not, Jacob!	1981	80s	West Germany	Radu Gabrea
Following the Fuhrer	1985	80s	West Germany	Erwin Leiser
Germany, Pale Mother	1980	80s	West Germany	Helma Sanders-Brahms
The House on Karp Lane	1965	60s	West Germany	Kurt Hoffmann
The Last Five Days	1982	80s	West Germany	Percy Adlon
Lili Marleen	1981	80s	West Germany	Rainer Werner Fassbinder

Long is the Road	1948	40s	West Germany	Herbert B. Fredersdorf and Marek Goldstein
Malou	1982	80s	West Germany	Jeanine Meerapfel
Marianna and Juliane (Die Bleierne Zeit)	1981	80s	West Germany	Margarethe von Trotta
Die Mitläufer	1985	80s	West Germany	Erwin Leiser and Eberhard Itzenplitz
The Marriage of Maria Braun	1978	70s	West Germany	Rainer Werner Fassbinder
Morituri	1948	40s	West Germany	Eugen York
Only a Day*	1965	60s	West Germany	Egon Monk
The Oppermanns*	1983	80s	West Germany	Egon Monk
Spider's Web	1989	80s	West Germany	Bernhard Wicki
Our Hitler, a Film from Germany	1978	70s	West Germany	Hans-Jürgen Syberberg
Raindrops	1982	80s	West Germany	Michael Hoffmann
Roads in the Night	1980	80s	West Germany	Krzysztof Zanussi
The Serpent's Egg	1977	70s	West Germany	Ingmar Bergman
The Tin Drum	1979	70s	West Germany	Volker Schlöndorff
Lebende Ware	1966	60s	West Germany	Wolfgang Luderer
The Wansee Conference	1984	80s	West Germany	Heinz Schirk
Waldhausstrasse 20	1960	60s	West Germany	John Olden
Heimat	1984	80s	West Germany	Edgar Reitz
100 Years of Adolf Hitler	1989	80s	West Germany	Christoph Schlingensief
November Moon	1985	80s	West Germany	Alexandra von Grote
Welcome to Germany	1988	80s	West Germany	Thomas Brasch
The Yellow Star	1980	80s	West Germany	Dieter Hildebrand
Witness out of Hell	1967	60s	West Germany	Zivorad Mitrovic
Banjica*	1984	80s	Yugoslavia	Sava Mrmak
Five Minutes of Paradise	1959	50s	Yugoslavia	Igor Pretnar
Hranjenik	1970	70s	Yugoslavia	Vatroslav Mimica
The Ninth Circle	1960	60s	Yugoslavia	France Stiglic
Occupation in 26 Pictures	1978	70s	Yugoslavia	Lordan Zafranović

* television movies.
** completed films that were subsequently banned.

+ For co-productions, I categorized by the nation of director, if applicable. On occasion, films are listed twice, when co-productions were also co-directed, or the director's national origin was

not the same as either of the countries of co-production (ex. *The Serpent's Egg*, Ingmar Bergman), the film is also listed twice.
++ Films of directors who emigrated and were not allowed return to their home countries (ex. Aleksander Ford), were listed in the country of production (usually country of director's emigration).

In order to verify the way in which Jewish experiences were addressed in these films, I cross-referenced each film listed in a resource text with synopses of the individual film's plot. There is, of course, a margin of error in this data. This may be a still-evolving project, but I believe my searching is thorough enough that any missing texts would not alter the main insights that I derive from this data.

See Chapter 1 for criteria made for inclusion in this list.

Source: Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows*; Haltof, *Polish Cinema and the Holocaust*; Gershenson, *The Phantom Holocaust;* Colombat, *The Holocaust in French Film*; Hames, *Czech and Slovak Film*; Loshitzky, *Identity Politics on the Israeli Screen*; Lichtner, *Film and the* Shoah; Gordon, *The Holocaust in Italian Culture*; Marcus, *Italian Film in the Shadow of Auschwitz*; Reimer and Reimer, *Historical Dictionary of Holocaust Cinema* (full citations in Bibliography).

Appendix E

Biographical Data on Authors, 1945-75

Name	Titles*	Birthdate	Birthplace	Jewish	Language
Arnošt Lustig	10	12/11/1926	Prague	Jewish	Czech
Ladislav Mňačko	3	1/29/1919	Valašské Klobouky	Non-Jewish	Slovak
Hana Bělohradská	1	1/12/1929	Prague	Non-Jewish	Czech
Věra Kalábová	1	7/20/1932	New York	Non-Jewish	Czech
Ludvík Aškenazy	3	2/24/1921	Český Těšín	Jewish	Czech
Ladislav Grosman	2	2/4/1921	Humenné	Jewish	Czech
Jiří Weil	8	8/6/1900	Praskolesy	Jewish	Czech
Jan Otčenášek	1	11/19/1924	Prague	Non-Jewish	Czech
Ladislav Fuks	4	9/24/1923	Prague	Non-Jewish	Czech
Ota Pavel	2	7/2/1930	Prague	Jewish	Czech
Josef Škvorecký	2	9/27/1924	Náchod	Non-Jewish	Czech
Karel Lágus	1			Jewish	Czech
Jose Polák	1			Jewish	Czech
Emil Knieža	2	9/19/1920	Nacina Ves	Jewish	Slovak
František Kafka	2	12/5/1909	Louňovice pod Blaníkem	Jewish	Czech
Josef Bor	2	7/2/1906	Ostrava	Jewish	Czech
Norbert Frýd	4	4/21/1913	České Budějovice	Jewish	Czech
Karol Sidon	2	8/9/1942	Prague	Jewish	Czech
Ota Kraus	4	9/7/1909	Klásterní Skalice	Jewish	Czech
Erich Kulka	7	1/18/1911	Vsetín	Jewish	Czech
Karl Freidrich	1				Czech
Jan Martinec	4	12/7/1915	Prague	Jewish	Czech
JR Pick	1	5/4/1925	Prague	Jewish	Czech
František Gottlieb	1	8/4/1903	Klatovy	Jewish	Czech
František Langer	2	3/3/1988	Královské Vinohrady	Jewish	Czech
Rudolf Jašík	1	12/2/1919	Turzovka	Non-Jewish	Slovak
Václav Pavel Borovička	1	9/8/1920	Prague	Non-Jewish	Czech
Jozef Lánik	2	5/10/1918	Trnava	Jewish	Slovak
František Kraus	3	9/14/1903	Prague	Jewish	Czech

Metoděj Havlíček	1	7/27/1893	Předklášteří	Non-Jewish	Czech
Hana Žantovská	1	5/4/1921	Prague	Non-Jewish	Czech
Milada Taterová	1	1/1/1929		Non-Jewish	Czech
Eduard Petiška	1	5/14/1924	Prague	Non-Jewish	Czech
Božena Patková	1	11/4/1907	Prague	Non-Jewish	Czech
Pavel Nauman	1	5/2/1907	Prague	Non-Jewish	Czech
Zdeněk Mareš	1	11/24/1931	Veselíčko u Milevska	Non-Jewish	Czech
Leopold Lahola	1	1/30/1918	Prešov	Jewish	Slovak
Arno Kraus	1	2/2/1895	Kolín	Non-Jewish	Czech
Pavel Hejcman	1	3/23/1927	Prague	Non-Jewish	Czech
Anna Auředníčková	1	1/22/1873	Prague	Jewish	Czech
Richard Feder	1	8/26/1875	Václavice	Jewish	Czech
Irma Semecká	1			Jewish	Czech
Mirko Tůma	1				Czech
EF Burian	1	6/11/1904	Plzeň	Non-Jewish	Czech
Václav Erben	1	11/2/1930	Náchod	Non-Jewish	Czech
Václav Berdych	1	6/12/1916	Potštejn	Non-Jewish	Czech
Juraj Špitzer	1	8/14/1919	Krupina	Jewish	Slovak
Ladislav Porjes	1	1/1/1921	Žilina	Jewish	Slovak
Eugen Löbl	1	5/14/1907	Holíč	Jewish	Slovak
Dominik Tatarka	1	3/14/1913	Plevník-Drienové	Non-Jewish	Slovak
Hela Volanská	2	12/5/1912	Łódź	Jewish	Slovak
Zdeněk Mareš	1	11/24/1931	Veselíčko u Milevska	Non-Jewish	Czech

* “Titles” refers to individual literary works authored about Jews.

Experiential Factors, Authors 1945-75

Name	War experience	Final Experience**	Socialist?	Status after '68
Arnošt Lustig	Concentration Camp	Multiple Camps	Yes	Émigré
Ladislav Mňačko	Concentration Camp	Partisans	Yes	Émigré
Hana Bělohradská	In School		Yes	Ideologically subversive
Věra Kalábová			Yes	
Ludvík Aškenazy	Soviet Union		Yes	Émigré
Ladislav Grosman	Concentration Camp	Hiding	Yes	Émigré
Jiří Weil	Cataloging confiscated equipment	Hiding	Yes	
Jan Otčenášek	In School		Yes	
Ladislav Fuks	In School		Yes	
Ota Pavel	Concentration Camp		Yes	
Josef Škvorecký			Yes	Émigré
Karel Lágus	Concentration Camp		Unknown	
Jose Polák	Concentration Camp		Unknown	
Emil Knieža			Yes	Émigré
František Kafka	Concentration Camp	Multiple Camps	Yes	
Josef Bor	Concentration Camp	Multiple Camps	Yes	
Norbert Frýd	Concentration Camp	Multiple Camps	Yes	
Karol Sidon	Hiding		Unlikely	
Ota Kraus	Concentration Camp	Multiple Camps	Unknown	Émigré
Erich Kulka	Concentration Camp	Multiple Camps	Unknown	Émigré
Karl Freidrich			Unknown	
Jan Martinec	Palestine	Czechoslovak Army Abroad	Yes	Ideologically subversive
JR Pick	Concentration Camp		Yes	Ideologically subversive

František Gottlieb	Palestine	Czechoslovak Army Abroad	Yes	
František Langer	Czechoslovak Army Abroad		Yes	
Rudolf Jašík	Soviet Union	Partisans	Yes	
Václav Pavel Borovička	In School		Yes	
Jozef Lánik	Concentration Camp		Yes	
František Kraus	Concentration Camp	Multiple Camps	Yes	
Metoděj Havlíček			Unlikely	
Hana Žantovská	In School		Yes	
Milada Taterová			Unknown	
Eduard Petiška	In School		Unlikely	
Božena Patková	Working		Yes	
Pavel Nauman	Working		Yes	
Zdeněk Mareš	In School		Yes	
Leopold Lahola	Concentration Camp	Partisans	Unlikely	
Arno Kraus	Working		Yes	
Pavel Hejcman	Working		Yes	
Anna Auředníčková	Concentration Camp		Unknown	
Richard Feder	Concentration Camp	Multiple Camps	Unlikely	
Irma Semecká	Concentration Camp		Unknown	
Mirko Tůma	Concentration Camp		Unknown	
EF Burian	Concentration Camp	Multiple Concentration Camps	Yes	
Václav Erben	In School		Yes	
Václav Berdych	Concentration Camp		Yes	
Juraj Špitzer	Concentration Camp	Partisans	Yes	
Ladislav Porjes	Concentration Camp		Yes	
Eugen Löbl	Exile government		Yes	Émigré

Dominik Tatarka	Working		Yes	
Hela Volanská	Concentration Camp	Partisans	Yes	
Zdeněk Mareš	In School		Unknown	

** Refers to subsequent experiences after the initial experience.

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