

## ISRAEL IN THE FOREIGN AND INTERNAL POLITICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN THE 1960S AND BEYOND

The following documents, part two in a research project conducted on communist policy vis-à-vis the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia, focus largely on inter-party cooperation within the Soviet Bloc. As the past research has shown, there was a good deal of interaction among the communist countries when particularly urgent international issues emerged (e.g. the Hungarian party documents from the aftermath of the Six-Day War of 1967). Foreign policy was also one of the key determinants in the treatment of Jews in communist societies, and the Israeli issue shaped both policy and perception of Jews.

The following documents come from the National Archives (formerly the State Central Archives) and the Interior Ministry Archives in Prague. The former recently made public the papers of the President and the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Antonín Novotný (1946–1968).<sup>1</sup> His party secretariat collected all the important information about the state operations. The archival collection includes personal material (speeches, memoirs, correspondence) as well as international political issues. Document 1 was selected from this source and introduces one of the first issues to inspire inter-party consultations in the 1960s – the Eichmann trial in Israel. The Czechoslovak communist party's deliberations over the dilemma of providing Israel with material for the Eichmann trial illustrate the uneasy quest for unity among the countries of the Soviet Bloc.

The second half of the 1960s saw increased activity of the communist regimes and inter-party negotiations in relation to the Six-Day War. The Middle East conflict was the central theme at party congresses and several meetings of the Soviet Bloc in 1967. Voluminous material in the archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia documents intensive consultations of the communist states on the course of the Arab-Israeli conflict, military help to the Arab countries, and joint procedure of the socialist bloc, suggesting also comparison of "Jewish policy" of the different communist parties. While the Hungarian documents show an increasing concern about Jewish issue in socialist Hungary and its impact on the country's political stability, the Czechoslovak party documents do

1 Antonín Novotný (1904–1975): prominent member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, from 1953 the first secretary of the Central Committee, in November 1957 elected President of the Republic. In the period of the "Prague Spring" 1968 Novotný was forced to resign under public pressure.

not indicate the same level of attention with regard to consequences for domestic affairs. This, of course had to do with the relatively small size of the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia, and with the internal political crisis that was brewing at the time. The Czechoslovak communists touched the issue marginally. On 13 June 1967, following the Moscow consultation of representatives from the socialist countries, Antonín Novotný declared quite briefly and comfortably at the discussion in the Presidium of the Central Committee: "Our information shows that there are no pro-Israeli sentiments in our country, except for a few individuals. Our people soberly consider the development of the situation. It is worse that there are anti-semitic moods. This is not right. It is necessary for our newspapers, our propaganda, to act far more sharply and harshly, though reasonably."<sup>2</sup>

In fact, the Arab-Israeli War aroused a wide spectrum of responses on the part of the Czechoslovak public, ranging from sympathies for Israel as a small nation, which – just like pre-war Czechoslovakia – was threatened by a strong enemy, to truly anti-Jewish assaults reflecting antisemitic prejudices or manifestations of party-loyal positions. The party saw the situation as primarily resulting from incompetent propaganda work. In the elaborate resolution analyzing the situation after the Six-Day War and the plan of action (document 2 contains selected parts of the "Justifications" for this resolution) the party set its major task to shape public opinion at home through solid ideological propaganda. The scarce references to the "Jewish issue" not only reflect a relatively low concern about the conflict's importance for internal politics, but also give us a hint as to what the Czechoslovak comrades considered important to communicate to the Soviets and their other fellow socialists. While the whole resolution, numbering over thirty pages, was then sent to Moscow with a request for its approval, the passages of "purely internal character" were remarkably withheld (see Document 2).

One of the most immediate measures of the regime was severance of diplomatic relations with Israel and shutting down the Israeli Embassy in Prague. Although anti-Zionism never ceased to be a hallmark of the communist regime, June 1967 represents a turning point, since the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia once again came into sharper focus of the State Security<sup>3</sup> as a potential ally of a hostile country. Surveillance of Jewish citizens and "pro-Israeli elements" was intensified, and antisemitism was noted (Document 3).

After the defeat of the reform process in 1968 the party resolutely came to grips with its perceived enemies. During the 1970s and 1980s a growing number of so-called "object files" was established by the State Security, largely aimed at registering people of Jewish origin for suspected cooperation

with Israeli secret service and "international Zionism", i.e. with foreign Jewish and Zionist organizations (particularly the JOINT). These files mapped the suspects living in particular regions and districts, and served as groundwork for the nation-wide surveillance of the Jewish population with the cover name "SPIDER", which was published in volume III of the *CEU Jewish Studies Yearbook* (pp. 281–96). Again, some of the files resumed earlier projects against the "internal enemy" that State Security had carried out in the 1950s and 1960s. Although the majority of the material survives only in fragments (shredded by order of the Interior Ministry in December 1989), it is possible to reconstruct the way in which the regime's ideology and concrete forms of discrimination against the Jewish population evolved throughout the period. Document 4 comes from an object file registered at the Interior Ministry district of Most in Northern Bohemia in April 1985 under the subject "Zionism." The extant items span the period from the 1950s to the 1980s. The documents published here illustrate State Security's field work in the region in the advanced period of the "anti-Zionist fight", which laid particular emphasis on records and statistics.

2 National Archives/Prague, collection: Archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia – Presidium, file 34, archival number 36/1.

3 State Security (Státní bezpečnost) = the Secret Police

## DOCUMENT 1

**Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Antonín Novotný, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic<sup>1</sup>**

12 August 1960

Dear Comrade,

Lately the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been dealing intensively with the case of the Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann, who has recently been captured by the Israeli secret service in Argentina, where he was hiding from justice. The CSSR is naturally interested in Eichmann not escaping his just punishment and in his case becoming an impetus for further actions against still unpunished war criminals. It is common knowledge that Eichmann committed his crimes also on the territory of Czechoslovakia and a great number of Czechoslovak citizens fell prey to his homicidal activity. Some of the allied countries, where Eichmann administered mass extermination of Jews, e.g. the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and the Rumanian People's Republic, have similar interest as the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The Eichmann case has aroused a considerable response on the part of world public and brought forth the issue of pursuit of war criminals and the fulfillment of the Allied treaties about their punishment. According to the Allied treaties from the Second World War, particularly in accordance with the Moscow Declaration of the three major allied powers from 1 November 1943, the Nazi war criminals should be "sent back to the countries in which they committed their outrageous acts so that they can be judged and punished there according to the law of these liberated countries." It is evident that according to the principles of punishment of war criminals, primarily the countries on whose territory and against whose citizens Eichmann committed his crimes have the right of criminal prosecution and punishment of this war criminal.

In this context the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been dealing in great detail with the question of what position the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic should take regarding the fact that Eichmann is actually in the hands of the Israeli organs and is to be tried by an Israeli court. From a legal point of view an Israeli court cannot be authorized to judge Eichmann's crimes. An explicit recognition of the Israeli court's authority from the side of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other socialist states might be

considered to be a sanction of the conception that Israel has been systematically exercising, i.e., that Israel as a Jewish state has the right to act in the name of all Jews regardless of their citizenship.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs works on the assumption that the basic political directive for the procedure of the CSSR in the Eichmann case should be, on the one hand, the quest for consistent revelation of Eichmann's crimes and their punishment, as well as revelation of links between the Eichmann case and the politics of hiding and support of war criminals exercised by the ruling circles of the German Federal Republic; on the other hand, the principle that the CSSR should not take any action, which would mean our recognition of Israel's claim to try Eichmann for the crimes against European Jews.

Working on this assumption, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs so far has not answered Israel's request that the chairman of the Israeli committee for investigation of Eichmann's crimes be sent to the CSSR and that the Czechoslovak authorities provide the Israeli organs with cooperation when collecting evidential material against this criminal. As we know, the Hungarian People's Republic and the Polish People's Republic responded to the Israeli claim in a similar vein.

In order to ensure concordant procedure of the socialist states in the Eichmann trial the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has inquired through the Czechoslovak Embassy in Moscow about the position of the authorities regarding the possible actions to be taken by the socialist states. In this context we primarily pointed to two basic alternatives in determining our position:

- a) To work with the actual understanding that Eichmann is in an effective possession of the Israeli authorities and most probably will also be tried in Israel, and to avoid any kind of steps that would mean explicit recognition of Israel's right to judge him. At the same time, however, to allow selected evidential documents about Eichmann's crimes, which are at disposal in the CSSR, get to the Israeli court through unofficial channels, e.g. through the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters. Thereby we would give weight to accusations against Eichmann and by a simultaneous release of the documents we would withstand possible attempts to conceal, distort, and suppress them at the trial.
- b) To ask Israel for Eichmann's extradition to try him in the CSSR or another socialist country. It is of course necessary to consider that Israel would not extradite Eichmann. Even if our claim is not satisfied by Israel, we would at least prove our determination to pursue war criminals from the period of the Second World War and consistently implement the Allied treaties about their punishment. This would, however, bring certain dangers and disadvantages. By our claim we would in fact support Eichmann's defense, which will probably be based particularly on the challenge to Israeli jurisdiction; furthermore, we might provoke a similar claim from the German Federal Republic or another capitalist state and thus allow Israel to maneuver for the

<sup>1</sup>National Archives/Prague, collection: Archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia - Antonín Novotný II, carton 109, number 210-212.

purpose of gaining advantages. Besides, after rejection of our extradition claim, we would logically be obliged to take the position that Eichmann's conviction is illegal, which would be completely inappropriate.

When the Czechoslovak Embassy was sounding out the Soviet position, a number of bearings were not known yet and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was inclined to the second alternative, i.e. to demand Eichmann's extradition. The Soviet comrades promised to promptly study our considerations and inform us of their opinion.

In the meantime, the MFA has been informed about the position of the governments of the Polish Socialist Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic regarding the Eichmann case.

According to the Polish comrades, the PSR does not intend to ask for Eichmann's extradition as there is not the slightest prospect of success, also because such a procedure would mean taking part in the conflict between Argentina and Israel, and because such a claim might bring about a counter claim by the German Federal Republic, which is undesirable. Nevertheless, the Polish Socialist Republic has been collecting documents on Eichmann and his crimes, especially his collaborators, who are nowadays active in the German Federal Republic. The PSR is, however, avoiding any steps in the Eichmann case that would be binding in the future. Later on the PSR intends to hand the collected materials over to Israel, while publishing them simultaneously, and at the same time to inform the Israeli government that the PSR intends to undertake every necessary step against Eichmann in relation to his crimes against Polish citizens.

Recently the Ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Prague informed us that the Hungarian authorities have also been dealing with the question of what position to adopt regarding the fact that Eichmann is going to be tried in Israel. At the same time he submitted a document, from which considerations of Hungarian comrades are evident (a translation of the document is enclosed). Hungarian comrades have been dealing with the question of a possible request for Eichmann's extradition. They see in the extradition request political advantages; although at present they do not consider it appropriate to submit such a request. They think the extradition claim should not be submitted to Israel before the examination of this criminal is finished. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs finds disadvantages in such a procedure as it provides an entirely appropriate solution to the question about what position to take regarding the repeated Israeli requests for documents in the period before which Eichmann could have possibly been claimed [by us]. Similarly, the Hungarian comrades point to the impropriety of recognizing the legitimacy of the Israeli court and at the same time they mention the danger that might arise from our negative position regarding Israeli requests for material on Eichmann. They find a way out of the situation by recognizing the partial authority of the Israeli court with regard to Eichmann's crimes against people who became Israeli citizens or their relatives. As for providing the Israeli authorities with

documents, the Hungarian comrades do not object to the Israeli court receiving from Hungary the necessary evidence for proving Eichmann's guilt for crimes against present-day Israeli citizens. Therefore they plan to respond to the Israeli government's request for documents [by stating] that the Allies' treaties on judging war criminals apply to Eichmann, yet, here a partial legitimacy of the Israeli court can be acknowledged and therefore the Hungarian authorities are willing to deliver such material, which is not beyond the scope of this partial legitimacy. In return, the Hungarian authorities are going to stipulate that the Israeli investigative bodies hand over to the Hungarian People's Republic the prosecution file against Eichmann and allow the presence of an observer from the Hungarian prosecutor's office during the trial.

The Hungarian conception of partial legitimacy of the Israeli court does not have legal justification, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Regardless of the legal side of the matter, this conception is running into difficulties in the sense that Eichmann's crimes are virtually impossible to divide according to the citizenship of his victims, because Eichmann's major responsibility lies in his directive role in the extermination of Europe's Jewish population as a whole. The MFA concludes that it is not so necessary to enter into negotiations with the Israeli government as far as the document of the HPR suggests and that it is sufficient to unofficially deliver evidential material to the Israeli court without taking an explicit position on its legitimacy. This does not mean that in individual cases it is not possible to provide ordinary cooperation of the state authorities (e.g. courts when questioning the witnesses, authenticating various documents), although in principle it would be appropriate to stick to delivering material in an unofficial way, e.g. by the means of social organizations and the like.

Finally, the Hungarian comrades suggest that all steps of the socialist countries in the Eichmann case be coordinated at a collective consultation.

The MFA agrees, with objections indicated above, with the HPR's proposals, and finds it particularly useful to undertake consultations with the socialist countries, where all aspects of the matter can be considered and also other possible solutions can be taken into consideration; therefore the MFA is going to positively respond to the HPR's proposal to organize a joint session of the socialist countries. At the session or other bilateral consultations the MFA intends to move the focus of its considerations to an alternative, which, for the time being, does not consider requesting Eichmann's extradition, and which would allow for such a form of unofficial involvement of the CSSR in his trial in Israel that would not imply explicit recognition of the Israeli court's legitimacy on the part of the Czechoslovak government, but would unequivocally attest to our readiness to contribute in due measure to the revelation of Eichmann's crimes and his just punishment. Nevertheless, we do not exclude granting evidential material and testimonies by request at the Czechoslovak courts and participation of an unofficial Czechoslovak observer at the Eichmann trial. This position corresponds, according to the MFA, to the current state of affairs and probably

to the future procedure of all socialist countries as well. Therefore, the MFA is going to take this position at further consultations with friendly countries.

We kindly ask you, dear comrade, to express your approval of the proposed procedure.

With comradely regards,

Dr. Antonín Gregor,  
first Secretary of the Minister of Foreign Affairs

\* \* \*

To: Comrade Dr. Antonín Gregor, first Secretary of the Minister of Foreign Affairs

10 September 1960

Dear Comrade,

Regarding the proposed procedure in submitting evidential material on Eichmann, which you mentioned in your letter of 7 September, I recommend to keep the original directive and on principle not to consider handing documents on Eichmann over to Israel, not even unofficially through the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters.

However, it would be useful to prepare photocopies of the documents, which would then be published at a press conference, so that they will be available for press representatives as well as anyone else, hence also possibly for the Israeli authorities, if they show their interest.

With comradely regards,  
Koucký<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Vladimír Koucký (1920–1979): secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia dealing with foreign affairs (1958–1968).

## DOCUMENT 2

Resolution drafted at the 37<sup>th</sup> Session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia<sup>3</sup>

20 June 1967

### *Justifications*

Based on the discussion and decisions of the CC CPCz's Presidium session on 13 June 1967 about consultation of the first secretaries of the communist and workers' parties, and prime ministers of European socialist countries in Moscow, the committee established by the Presidium submits an assessment of the situation resulting from Israel's aggression against the United Arab Republic and other Arab countries, with the aim to draw some basic findings and definitely confirm conclusions for our own and joint procedure with other socialist countries in the immediate future. Another aim of the proposals is to give impetus to a fundamental study and elaboration of the momentous questions of the anti-imperialistic, anticolonial and national liberation movement and its attitude toward the socialist system and workers' revolutionary movement in capitalist countries. The material (excluding passages of purely internal character) is to be delivered to the Central Committee of the CPSU with a request for opinion (comment) on the assessment of the situation and a request for considering the appropriate way to secure a joint procedure of the socialist countries in important questions – in this case how to coordinate actions of political and material assistance to the United Arab Republic, Syria, and possibly also Algeria.

[...]

### *Basic lessons from the [Israeli] aggression and proposals for further steps*

The armed conflict in the Near and Middle East has shown that world imperialism, with the USA at the lead, is making use of all opportunities, wherever these turn up in the world, to attempt to stop the progress of nations' fight for freedom and independence, and to reinforce its position. It exploits the fact that the countries of the socialist system exercise policies of peaceful coexistence, spend enormous efforts to maintain peace in the world and to eliminate the dangers of war. Imperialism is trying, by means of subversion and coups d'état, to debilitate and discredit them in the eyes of the non-communist progressive world public and especially the

<sup>3</sup> National Archives/Prague, collection: Archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia – Presidium, file 37, archival number 37/28, file description: Situation in the Middle East and our position.

developing countries, which hesitate before deciding which way their further development will turn.

The socialist countries, hobbled in their possibilities by the subversive activity of the Chinese leadership, which is extremely harmful to the international communists and workers' movement, have found themselves on the defensive in the face of the imperialist powers' policy, which reflects primarily the fact that they, including the CSSR, do not have an elaborate and thus effective conception that would prevent the imperialist states' policy from obstructing progressive development in the world. It is necessary to consider the Arab countries' failure to oppose the Israeli aggression as a failure of the world powers of progress, the socialist countries included. It is therefore indispensable to draw appropriate conclusions from the experience and in the next phase of this fight to strive to limit the negative impact of the military failure, and create preconditions to gradually reverse the successes that Israel achieved by means of military power. It is possible to build on the fact that this attack did not enable imperialism to subvert the progressive regimes in the UAR and Syria; on the contrary, as long as the reactionary forces are prevented from seizing power, the UAR can develop faster, considering that the UAR leadership, as our first intelligence shows, has learned from the military failure, and the counterrevolutionary forces have been removed from positions of authority and replaced by more progressive ones.

The situation that has arisen makes it necessary for us to strive to reduce the impact of the Israeli military success to a minimum. It demands a fight for withdrawal of its army from the occupied territories and a return to the status quo before aggression, i.e. behind the ceasefire line of 4 June 1967.

The basis for rectifying the situation must be a gradual and long lasting solution to the overall situation at the Near and Middle East on an equitable basis, which would secure the rights of the Palestinian refugees and a solution to the disputed territorial problems in accord with the Charter and resolutions of the UN General Assembly.

At the same time it is necessary to encourage the Arab countries to exercise responsible and realistic politics, especially in the spheres of economic and social development, and to abandon the slogans calling for Israel's destruction, which place a powerful weapon in the hands of Israel's protectors and confuse the world public opinion, and to encourage them to take into consideration the real situation and recognize Israel's existence following an agreement about compensation for damage caused by Israeli aggression.

[...]

The current state of affairs requires a resolute procedure of the socialist countries on the international field in support of the Arab claims. With an interest in settling the situation in the Near and Middle East the Czechoslovak government expressed its approval of the Soviet initiative for convening a special session of the UN General Assembly and supports it completely. At the convention the Czechoslovak delegation will proceed in

co-ordination with socialist countries and other states in order to enforce a condemnation of Israel as an aggressor and to prepare the terms for Israel's withdrawal to the ceasefire line, while realizing that the second claim does not require unconditional implementation of the first one. Also it will be necessary to receive guarantees from Israel that it will cease to be the center of turbulence and aggression in this part of the world.

Support for the Arab countries will also be expressed in the bilateral contacts between the CSSR and countries of the third world, and some European and Asian capitalist states, especially within the framework of the UN and other international governmental and non-governmental organizations.

As the first political measure it is suggested to send, in the coming days, a personal plenipotentiary of the president of the CSSR to President Nasser. This plan will be implemented if the negotiations with Nasser's plenipotentiary Ahmed Fuad, who is to come to Prague in the coming days, prove fruitful.

The task of the plenipotentiary of the President of the CSSR is:

To elicit Nasser's intentions in solving the conflict with Israel, internal political and economic problems of the country and its international relations.

To express our position on the situation and its solution. To emphasize that according to our opinion Israel must not be allowed to stay in the territories that it conquered by aggression. In enforcing this claim the UAR and Arab countries can expect our full support. To explain, at the same time, why we have never agreed and would not agree to some Arab countries' demands for the destruction of the State of Israel.

We are willing to extend our help in the interest of sustaining progressive development of the country. However, we need to have guarantees of its effective utilization. Therefore we require an open statement on how Nasser and his colleagues would counter anti-Soviet and antisocialist sentiments and whether they will restrict the influence of and remove reactionary officials from important places in economic and political life, and in the army.

To emphasize during the negotiations with Nasser the necessity of a most serious consideration and learning lesson from the past mistakes, the necessity of consistently adopting realistic positions regarding the solution of the major questions and the importance of consultations with the friendly countries before he undertakes any important actions, above all those in the field of international politics.

To emphasize the importance of unity of the revolutionary powers in the country, and anti-imperialistic unity of the Arab countries, and to ask what steps the UAR is going to take in this respect in the immediate and more distant future, on the basis of the lesson learned from the course of the military conflict with Israel.

After discussing the political issues, basic questions connected to our assistance, and economic and business relations of both countries would be debated.

Depending on the results of the negotiations, a proposal for the overall conception of our further relations with the UAR will be submitted to the Presidium of the CC CPCz.

[...]

With a similar mission it is recommended to send comrade V. Pleskot, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the Syrian Arab Republic, as a plenipotentiary of the Prime Minister of the CSSR to the Prime Minister of the Syrian government Zuayyin. Depending on the results of the negotiations, a proposal of conception of our further relations with the Syrian Arab Republic will be submitted to the Presidium of the CC CPCz. At the same time the leading workers of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Economic Technical Administration will visit the UAR and Syria for concrete negotiations.

The Ministries of Foreign affairs, Foreign Trade, National Defense, and the State Planning Commission in cooperation with the international department of the CC CPCz will prepare material for negotiations for both plenipotentiaries.

In the interest of preserving the centers of progressive development in the Arab world it is necessary to provide primarily the UAR and Syria with comprehensive help. While providing the help it is necessary to consistently monitor guarantees of its maximal effectiveness.

As a result of the destruction of a great deal of weaponry of the Arab states and as a result of the Western states' position, above all the USA and England, in the military sphere, a situation has arisen, which creates favorable conditions for supplies of weaponry from the socialist countries to the Arab world.

When keeping effective procedure, Czechoslovakia could use this situation for at least partial compensation of the losses and unfavorable impacts, which must be reckoned with. In order to achieve this goal it is suitable to keep the following principles:

1. To primarily focus our help on accelerating [the delivery of] supplies of materials that have already been contracted and to try to arrange to put the weapons that were left in the Arab states back into operation by supplying spare parts, munitions, and possible assistance in repairs.
2. To convey to the UAR and Syria the fundamental willingness of the CSSR to keep helping in building the economy and defense; however, the possibilities of supplying the special material, based on the requirements of the UAR and Syria will be communicated after consideration of requirements of all Arab countries in accord with the possibilities of the Czechoslovak national economy.
3. The questions of free or only partially paid assistance, whether it be by supplies of military technology or sending experts, will be consistently considered in accord with the economic possibilities of the Czechoslovak national economy, and attendant expenses arising from this assistance will be taken into account.

4. The prospective free help will be limited only to the UAR, possibly to Syria on a smaller scale, while in all other states regular terms of payment will be demanded.
5. To exploit the fact that the Western Powers lent their help to Israel and to supply special technology in the Arab countries, which had previously been the sole domain of the Western countries.
6. To consider the possibilities of direct negotiations with some Arab countries (Kuwait and Libya) about possibilities of supplying special technology to the Arab countries, which are in a bad economic and financial situation.

[...]

The task of our economic organs is to explore and implement the possibilities of our active exploitation of the newly emerged situation in the Middle East for the benefit of our economic interests; among others for example to negotiate with the Arab countries about the possibility to deposit part of the foreign currency drawn from the Western banks in the Czechoslovak State Bank.

To actively support proposals in the organs of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid for the thorough and immediate coordination of economic help to the Arab countries.

The Israeli aggression against the progressive Arab countries and the complex situation that their progressive powers and European socialist countries got themselves into, the impact of this conflict on the position of the communist parties in capitalist countries and on the situation in the international communist movement, once again underlined the urgency of a world consultation of representatives from the communist and workers' parties.

Consultation on the issue of developing countries and national liberation movement in relation to the international communist movement should be one of the major questions of the next international consultation, which should consider the international situation and its development over the last years, and draw conclusions that would be adhered to by the whole movement regarding the questions of the fight against imperialism, the elimination of all forms of colonialism, sustaining progressive development in the world against the imperialistic strategy of exporting counterrevolution by local wars and other means (reactionary putsches) and obstructing our support for the progressive powers by the threat of nuclear war.

In this respect it will also be necessary to discuss the joint procedure of the communist and workers' parties towards the national democratic parties in power, and other progressive parties and organizations.

During negotiations with representatives of the comradely parties about the urgency of consultation and its program, we will emphasize the importance of discussion of the above-mentioned questions and exchange opinion on their solution.



We are primarily concerned about the basic question of how to confront the imperialistic attacks against the emerging centers of progressive development in various parts of the world. Within this framework it is necessary to elaborate a number of important questions, e.g. the concept of reinforcing the alliance of the socialist system and the national liberation movement, the concept of the political, military and scientific-technical help to developing countries, etc.

The material covering positions and proposals of our side would then serve as a basis for elaboration of a joint assessment and procedure of at least those comradely parties and socialist countries that signed the Moscow declaration of 9 June 1967.

It is recommended to assign the International Department (of the CC CPCz) to immediately start elaboration on these questions in cooperation with relevant departments and institutions, and submit them for discussion by 15 September 1967.

Considering our relatively rich contacts with the progressive Arab countries (political party, diplomatic, economic and technical relations) we had a relatively good picture of the situation in the countries and their weak points and flaws in various sectors. However, our cooperation lacked the aspect of an intensive, active effort to eliminate incorrect opinions and practice.

Only rarely do we respond to incorrect tendencies and damaging opinions, for which we account by the principle of non-involvement in the internal affairs of other countries and parties.

In the interest of supporting the progressive powers it will be necessary in our contacts to oppose, in a suitable way, incorrect opinions as well as practice that might reduce the efficiency of our assistance, and actively intervene in discussion especially in questions dealing with relations of the socialist camp and the third world as well as with the liberation movements.

The course of events in the territory of the Arab East that led to the Israeli aggression revealed defects and weak points in the activity of some authorities and insufficient political as well as moral preparedness on the part of our workers abroad.

It is also necessary to mention that the crises in the Near and Middle East have shown certain imperfections primarily in the intelligence work of all departments of the representative organs in the territory of the Near and Middle East. Also certain imprudence and unwariness has turned up in taking necessary emergency measures.

It is recommended that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Ministry of National Trade, and the Ministry of the Interior make an analysis of the causes of these defects and weak points and take measures that would prevent their recurrence both in the Arab countries and in other countries.

The reflection of the events in the Near East in our country has also revealed some of our weak points in influencing public opinion. While some

magazines (*Literární noviny*) systematically propagated [the view of] the state of Israel as peaceful, economically successful, democratic and progressive, our public was not sufficiently informed about developments in the UAR and Syria. Similarly, at the beginning of the Israeli aggression, information appeared primarily on radio and television under the veil of "objectivity" and necessity to oppose Western propaganda, which raised doubts about our assessment of the conflict's character as an act of Israeli aggression. This fact is, in some measure, related to the state of the cadres [of politically reliable personnel] in the media of mass propaganda.

It is recommended to assign the Ideological Department of the CC CPCz with the analysis of these flaws and suggest necessary measures.

Nowadays the content of our propaganda must be targeted primarily at strengthening the ideas of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity of the progressive powers. Explain the core of the conflict in the Near East, reveal the real nature of the State of Israel by concrete facts. Oppose the Zionist propaganda, but at the same time oppose antisemitism. For this purpose use the analysis of positions of both groups of the Communist Party of Israel. Oppose the danger of defeatism and feelings of helplessness among the progressive citizens and contempt for the developing countries and their importance in the anti-imperialistic fight.

In the intra-party life consistently make sure that the reports at the members' meetings of the CPCz basic units express solely opinions that are in accord with the position of the CC CPCz regarding all questions discussed. For this purpose the organizational-political department of the CC CPCz will ensure that in the basic units of the CPCz only referees sent by higher party authorities will do the reporting.



## DOCUMENT 3

Central Administration of the State Security - Daily Reports 1967<sup>4</sup>

26 June 1967

*Information on the Israeli problematics*

On 16 June 1967, the Israeli diplomats left the territory of the CSSR by plane. On the same day they were to continue their journey from Austria to Israel. The Embassy building and residence was handed over to the Swedish Embassy for supervision. Security guard Meir handed over the entrance key and room keys to two Swedish diplomats, who made an inventory.

The consul of the Swedish Embassy, Lådrach, was interested in the residence building. The security guard Meir told him that the buildings will still be in the possession of the Israeli government for the next three months. Time will tell what lies ahead. They hope to come back again. He recommended that Lådrach wait three months to see [how] the situation [unfolds].

Before their departure from the CSSR the chargé d'affaires visited the Old-New Synagogue and conveyed to the attendees that he is there for the last time, and criticized the position of our government regarding the situation in the Middle East and said that this year 2,700 Israeli tourists were to arrive in Czechoslovakia, but nobody will come. He himself will never come back to the CSSR.

To the Embassy's personnel he expressed satisfaction with their work, but he objected to financial compensation for the legal three-month notice period, since the severance of diplomatic relations and the consequent loss of employment occurred from the side of the Czechoslovak authorities.

The departure of the Israeli diplomats itself went off in a hurry, everybody sought to buy goods, mainly electrical appliances, with Czechoslovak currency.

After reading the article in *Rudé právo*<sup>5</sup> Shalev did not comment on its content; he was dejected and consoled his wife, who broke down in tears.<sup>6</sup> He did not even say goodbye to the Czech personnel.

Responding to questions of applicants for Israeli visas, the Israeli Embassy announced that in this matter they will henceforward have to turn to their representation in Vienna. The visa question will not be dealt with by the foreign embassies in Prague, which will represent them only in state matters vis-à-vis the Czechoslovak government.

<sup>4</sup> Archives of the Ministry of the Interior/Prague, collection: Central Administration of the State Security - Daily Reports, May - August 1967.

<sup>5</sup> *Rudé právo* (The Red Right) - daily, organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

<sup>6</sup> Isaac Shalev, secretary of the Israeli Embassy in Prague.

In the Jewish religious community, according to its secretary H., the sympathies of the great majority of employees of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities are with Israel. This position resulted in the rejection of the statements of the USSR and some other socialist countries about the act of Israeli aggression. This week one of the main items on the agenda of the party meeting at the State Jewish Museum, where two members of the organization are employees of the Council of the Jewish Religious Communities, will be "The Situation in the Middle East."

During the religious service in the Jerusalem Synagogue, a member of the Council's representation, Dr. J. G., held a speech, after which he congratulated the Israeli government on its victory in the name of all Jews in the CSSR and ensured the employees of the Israeli Embassy of the loyalty of all Jews in Czechoslovakia.

In the Jerusalem Synagogue, a member of the National Theater Opera and one of the most active organizers of the Jewish youth, A. S., recited a prayer especially for the State of Israel. He suggested writing a protest article against the article about the activity of the Israeli diplomats published in *Rudé Právo*. As he said, he is going to be the first one to sign. Further, he proposed that the chief rabbi send a written protest to the highest places. He harshly criticized the attitude of our authorities, why they do not publish how many Czechs, party members included, have stayed abroad illegally. They say that this year alone seventy people have stayed in Vienna.

Approximately 50 Jewish youth met on 10 June 1967 at the Jewish Town Hall to demonstrate against the Czechoslovak authorities' attitude towards Israel. Another meeting of the Jewish youth, approximately 80 people, took place on 17 June 1967, where the head of the Prague community K. took account of the Jewish youth's meeting. He said that next meetings will start in September this year and Jewish history will be on the program. When one of the youth asked a question related to the article in *Rudé Právo* about the Israeli diplomats' activities towards the Jewish Religious Community and the Jewish youth, K. answered to all the attendees that the youth's activity is legal and permitted by the relevant Czechoslovak authorities (comment: according to the information of the religious section of the Ministry of Culture and Information permission to organize the Jewish youth was not granted). He asked them to tell their parents not to worry about them doing anything unauthorized.

18 August 1967

*Information about responses to the military conflict between Israel and the Arab states among the people of Jewish origin in Eastern Slovakia*

At the beginning of the act of Israeli aggression against the Arab states people of Jewish religion living in Eastern Slovakia displayed considerable

concerns and fear. They supposed Israel would be destroyed and in this connection they denounced the representatives of the Arab states, especially the President of the UAR Nasser. Also they feared for the lives of their relatives in Israel. Further, they were afraid of their future in the CSSR, because they supposed that the possible success of the Arab states against Israel would influence the attitude towards citizens of Jewish origin in form of various reprisals (offences, display of antisemitism at work and the like).

Citizens of Jewish origin were mistrustful of the declaration of the Moscow consultations of the socialist states. They maintained the position that the USSR currently cannot take any action as it has to count on China, which is looking for pretence for a military conflict with the Soviet Union in order to enforce its territorial claims against the USSR.

During the whole course of events in the Middle East people of Jewish origin pointed to the tendentiousness of our press in providing information about the Middle East. They condemned particularly sharply the publication of an article about the activities of the Israeli diplomats in the CSSR, which they considered to be an impetus for antisemitic sentiments of other citizens against Jews. They deplored the position of our government, which supported the Arab countries even though the communist parties were banned and progressive forces eliminated there, while in Israel the legal communist party is even represented in the parliament. They objected to the fact that in the years 1947-1950 Israeli soldiers were trained in our republic, we supported Israel in other ways as well, and nowadays we consider it to be an aggressor and support the Arab states. Out of this they concluded that we were forced to make the same politics as the USSR, which wanted to gain economic and political influence in the UAR in order to get oil and thus boycott the Western states, which have extracted oil there thus far.

People of Jewish origin expressed a very bad opinion about the President of the UAR Nasser, whom they consider a fascist and compare to Hitler.

They expressed their opinions on the course of fighting in the Middle East according to developments of the military situation. The military successes of Israel aroused enthusiasm among the people of Jewish origin. Most of these people are confident that Israel waged a just fight for its rights and preservation of the state. They ascribed Israel's military successes to the military equipment of the Israeli army with the most modern arms, including nuclear ones, and also to the moral condition of the Israeli army and its superiority over the Arab units, the support of Israel by the capitalist countries, etc. They consider it to be right for Israel to keep the occupied territories regardless of the declaration of the United Nations and the Security Council.

In connection with the severance of diplomatic relations between Israel and the socialist states they condemn our government, which as the first one following the USSR "was obliged to" sever relations [with Israel]. They positively assess the attitude of the Rumanian government, which did not sever diplomatic relations with Israel. There are also opinions that Israel, as

a result of the severance of diplomatic relations, will not lose anything, because it did not gain anything from them anyway, while foreign currency and tourists had flowed into Czechoslovakia from Israel. Citizens who have relatives in Israel are interested in which state will represent Israeli interests in the CSSR.

The Jewish religious community is afraid of reprisals against people of Jewish religion, who had relations with the Israeli Embassy in Prague.

Other citizens have been predominantly identifying themselves with the declaration of our government and the description of Israel as an aggressor. There is full support for the Arab countries. However, some people have also shown antisemitic sentiments, for example that Jews should have been exterminated long ago because they are a great danger for Christians, and the like. Some people were disappointed that Israel won, even though we provided the Arab countries with our military help.

As we found out, people of Jewish origin were meeting in the course of the conflict at the Jewish religious community, visiting one another in their apartments, regularly listening to foreign broadcasting, and informing one another about news in the situation.

By checking the people who exhibited behavior of Jewish bourgeois nationalists, interesting information on some of them was acquired. The most serious ones were acquired on M. F., the manager of a drugstore in Košice, who kept contacts with employees of the Israeli Embassy in Prague and Budapest, and keeps contacts with leading functionaries of Jewish organizations in capitalist foreign countries.

At the time of the military conflict F. was in Israel for a private visit. Already before the outbreak of the conflict he sent a letter to his colleague K., in which he enthusiastically informed him about military preparations in Israel, and expressed his confidence in Israel's victory over the Arab states. After his return from Israel he cheerfully kept his coreligionists apprised of the course of the battles and the triumph of Israel, which fought for a just cause. He holds President Nasser responsible for the outbreak of the military conflict in the Middle East; if he did not exist and if the USSR did not support the Arab countries, there would be peace in the region. When describing the situation he referred to Israelis as "ours," for example that "our" (i.e. Israeli) soldiers were better than the Arab ones, etc.

As the agency detected, F. sent a letter to the former secretary of the Prague Israeli Embassy K. Y. to Israel by a still unrecognized person, who was in Budapest.

At the time of the military conflict a letter was sent from Košice to the address of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union signed by G. L., the director of the ceramic factory in Košice. He is a person of Jewish origin. The writer of this letter protested against the declaration of our government about Israel as an aggressor, which is not concerned about its existence or nonexistence as a Jewish state that is constantly oppressed. G. L. denied before the party organs that he is the author of this letter. (Relevant measures are taken by the State Security of Košice.)

## DOCUMENT 4

**Current Situation in the Fight against Zionism in the North Bohemian Region<sup>7</sup>**

11 October 1983

Secret Police Administration  
Ústí nad Labem  
2<sup>nd</sup> Section

One of the most important ideological tasks put forth by the 16<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is the uncompromising and aggressive fight against bourgeois and revisionist ideology. In organizing ideological sabotage against the socialist community, the imperialist circles increasingly used Zionism and its ideological basis, Judaism. Zionism, which arose in the period of transition from capitalism to imperialism, is nowadays a militant, expansionist ideology and practice of the Jewish monopolistic grand bourgeoisie.

The major trends of its political practice are currently represented by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism; other distinct features also include nationalism, racism, chauvinism, and religious extremism.

The current international Zionism is represented by the World Zionist Organization, its branches as well as other organizations that act in accordance with the interest of the Zionist government of the State of Israel.

An important place in the plans of the Zionist organizations is occupied by the socialist states including the CSSR, which is ranked by the Zionist organizations as a highly suitable target. These assessments results, on the one hand, from the history of the Jewish communities in our territory, and, on the other hand, from the current situation, in which persons of Jewish origin occupy important economic and state functions, and are highly concentrated in science, culture, health care. On the basis of the assessment of the situation, the 30<sup>th</sup> Congress of the World Zionist Organization, which took place in December 1982, determined the major directions of activity, aiming to preserve Judaism and bring about the further penetration of Zionism into the territory of the CSSR.

These major directions include obtaining a position in the religious sphere, among the youth, intelligentsia, and artists; preventing assimilation among persons of Jewish origin, achieving positions of power in the state organs. The accomplishment of these aims is carried out through various means including Hebrew instruction, providing illegal trips to Israel. What emerged from the decisions of the World Zionist Congress is that persons

of Jewish origin must not come into conflict with the laws of the country in which they live, and should maintain good relations with other religions.

So-called "Cultural Zionism" is used to penetrate into the cultural sphere; some of its features can already be traced in the "Věstník" (Bulletin) published by the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech Socialist Republic. In 1981 an agreement was concluded between the Council and the JOINT, on the basis of which the Council has been receiving annual financial subsidies. As will be indicated below, this activity can also be considered part of the action of the Zionist organizations against the CSSR.

The fight of the Secret Police against Zionism is directed in two basic directions (Judaic and non-Judaic spheres).

*The Judaic sphere*

By operational means it has been found out that the synagogue congregation in the district of Louny is made up of 10 people, 8 of whom come from Žatec. Ever since the death of the Orthodox and pro-Zionist oriented B., who sought to manipulate the atec congregation, no negative Zionist displays have been observed.

The synagogue congregation in Chomutov currently has a total of 11 members; in 1980 the pro-Zionist and antisocialist family of Dr. R. moved out of the North Bohemian region. Recently H. L., a very active and pro-Zionist person, died. The synagogue congregation's activity itself is minimal. The synagogue congregation in Litoměřice has a total of 12 members; no negative information has been detected. The synagogue congregation in Most has only 8 members, and there is also no negative information. A similar situation has been observed in the synagogue congregation in Děčín.

The strongest synagogue congregations are active in Ústí nad Labem, Liberec and Teplice. The synagogue congregation in Teplice has about 120 members, however only 15-20 people participate actively in the congregation life; the others formally pay dues.

One of the most active pro-Zionist people was cantor S. G.; since his death the congregation has no cantor and all of his activity including the liturgy is performed by Ch. K., the head of the synagogue congregation. Ch. K. is a typical representative of the Judaic sphere, but he is a very crafty and pro-Zionist person. Outwardly, he acts loyally to the socialist regime and his work in the synagogue congregation is appraised very well also by the religious secretary of the District National Council in Teplice.

However, according to operational information Ch. K.'s activity can be considered as the implementation of the decisions of the world Zionist organizations, i.e. not to come into conflict with the laws of the country in which the person of Jewish origin lives. Evidence of this is the operationally obtained information that Ch. K. refused to accept a convert to Judaism as a member of the synagogue congregation and among the people he trusts he explained that the person in question might be a police plant.

<sup>7</sup> Archives of the Ministry of Interior/Prague, collection: Object Files in Ústí nad Labem, registration number 23925, subject: Zionism.

In addition to being chair of the synagogue congregation, Ch. K. serves as the head of the clergymen's collegium at the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Prague. Owing to the lack of other more appropriate people it was impossible to prevent his appointment to the position, even with the use of influential agents. In 1982, through his contacts at the Council, K. obtained a recreational retreat on the territory of the German Federal Republic, where he however fell seriously ill and was confined to bed most of the time.

There is another important official in the synagogue congregation of Teplice, B. L., who works as a correspondent for the Council's Bulletin. He was also selected by the Council for a recreational retreat in the German Federal Republic. He publicly engages in the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship and for that reason he endeavors not to draw attention to his activity in the Jewish religious community. There are no important findings for other persons; most of them, however, have a negative attitude toward the socialist regime, listen to ideologically subversive news media and have heightened interest in all news connected to the events in the Middle East. These people also speak about so-called "state antisemitism," which is an issue that is of primary interest to all Zionist organizations and is exploited against the countries of the socialist camp.

There is a similar situation in the synagogue congregation in Ústí nad Labem, which has about forty members. In the past the Jewish intelligentsia, in particular from the rank of physicians, exerted quite a large influence on the synagogue congregation; at present we have been successful in gradually eliminating these influences, although some individuals repeatedly try to revive the activity of the synagogue congregation. Recently these tendencies have been detected again with Dr. S. T. and A. K. According to the operational information though, their activity is largely motivated by efforts to gain personal advantages such as foreign recreational retreats organized by the Council of Jewish Religious Communities, and a share of the subsidies provided for Council by the JOINT. The spiritual leader of the synagogue congregation, H. H., is very active as well; his work can be assessed similarly to that of K. in Teplice.

The organization in Liberec is the last very strong synagogue congregation on the territory of the North Bohemian region, numbering about 80 members; this organization shows tendencies similar to those detected in the aforementioned synagogue congregations.

In the course of the dissolution of the synagogue congregation in Varnsdorf, it was suggested that its members be transferred to the synagogue congregation in Liberec. According to our operational findings only five or six people from the original 19 members of the synagogue congregation in Varnsdorf have availed themselves of this option.

So far the activity of the synagogue congregation in Liberec has been limited to formal membership and payment of dues. In the future, with the help of the agency and operational means it will be necessary to create conditions so that these people gradually cease working actively in the synagogue congregation of Liberec altogether.

The Judaic basis, which is nowadays represented largely by synagogue congregation members, amounts to elderly people aged 60 to 80. The younger generations, relatives of these people, often figure in the membership lists of the synagogue congregations, their parents pay their dues, but they themselves do not perform any activity; however, it is necessary to process the basis, as the consciousness of Jewish solidarity persists with them [here] as well.

Since 1981, when the JOINT started to operate on the territory of the CSSR, there has been an increasing interest in maintaining the work of synagogue congregations.

In 1983, for example, the amount of 100 Tuzex Crowns<sup>8</sup> was paid on the occasion of the Pesach feast to seven people in Liberec, nine in the district of Teplice, one each in the district of Ústí nad Labem, Chomutov, and Louny. The amount of 50 TC was paid to 39 people of the North Bohemian region. According to an operational analysis these were the most active members of the synagogue congregations, who observe religious practice in the community. Smaller amounts were sent directly to five people in the North Bohemian region by the Czechoslovak Jewish Aid Trust in London, the head of which is Oto Adler. In this way the JOINT and other Zionist organizations fight the assimilation of people of Jewish origin, and for this purpose they have at their disposal lists of people of Jewish origin. This activity is connected to the JOINT's efforts to maintain the Diaspora and serves as support for the ideological sabotage on the territory of the socialist states.

According to the operational information gathered at the 10<sup>th</sup> Administration of the Corps of National Security (CNS) in Prague, the JOINT's employees who come to the CSSR display an open interest in individual people of Jewish origin and their activity.

### *The Non-Judaic sphere*

Based on the command of the 10<sup>th</sup> Administration of the CNS Prague, and within the framework of operation "SPIDER," we have mapped the people of Jewish origin in the spheres of culture, mass media, healthcare, and education, which was to be completed by 30 June 1981.

The mapping detected a number of pro-Zionist people of Jewish origin who had not been registered within the Judaic sphere as they did not participate in synagogue congregations for various reasons.

The people in question are representatives of the "Jewish intelligentsia," who work as agents of Zionism and distance themselves from the Judaic sphere primarily to preempt registration of their Jewish origin. These people, some of whom occupy quite high positions, adhere to the doctrines of Zionist organizations about the "uniqueness of the Jewish nation" and

<sup>8</sup> Tuzex Crowns - convertible currency vouchers used in special shops.

attempt to pursue "cultural Zionism." They lend help to one another in taking positions in various spheres, make illegal groups, get involved in the opposition and establish contacts with the centers of ideological diversion abroad.

From the cultural sphere we can give here the examples of T. T., an actor in the State theater of Zdeněk Nejedlý in Ústí nad Labem, M. H., head of the actors' company in the Theater of F. X. Šalda in Liberec, Z. B., music teacher at The Park of Culture and Rest in Liberec, the stepsister of Goldstücker.<sup>9</sup>

In the sphere of healthcare the highest concentration of these people is in the Regional Institute of National Health in Ústí nad Labem, the District Institute of National Health in Liberec; considerable groupings can also be found in the health institutions in the district of Děčín and Litoměřice.

By issuing warning, we solved the case of the head of the Health Institute of the national company Medical Supplies in Ústí nad Labem, who irresponsibly treated materials containing state secrets. The person in question was inclined to Zionism and had rejected membership in the CPCz upon entering the position.

Negative findings about pro-Zionist opinions have been collected in other spheres as well. The chairwoman of the criminal senate at the district court in Ústí nad Labem expressed approval of the genocide of the Palestinians in Lebanon carried out by Israel. Further it was detected that she has professed her pro-Zionist opinions before her colleagues ever since the break-out of the Israeli-Egyptian conflict. From the perspective of the world Zionist organizations the CSSR is considered a suitable object for penetration both from a historical view and in view of the current concentration of people of Jewish origin in science and culture, and in the economy and state positions as well.

For this reason the Zionist organizations display an increased interest in the CSSR, and although their activity takes various forms, the major aims do not change.

This is evidenced by the filming of the "Barbara Streisand Musical" in the North Bohemian region in 1982.<sup>10</sup> The entire scenery of the film had to be installed at a selected place as the original objects did not fit the film's purpose at all. A number of people of Jewish origin, drafted by the employees of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities as extras, were transported from Prague every day. However, it is worth mentioning regarding the setting, that the place chosen was close to military sites.

Furthermore, we must not forget that the Theresienstadt Memorial is located in the North Bohemian region, and regular remembrance ceremonies are held there by the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the

presence of people of Jewish origin from the whole Czech Socialist Republic. The representatives of Jewish communities of both the socialist and capitalist states regularly participate in these events. Also the employees of capitalist countries' embassies are interested in the above-mentioned site.

Ever since the agreement about financial subsidies was concluded between the JOINT and the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the CSSR, Theresienstadt has been frequently visited by large groups of foreign tourists, people of Jewish origin particularly from the USA. On the basis of our operational information it is assumed that among those participants of the large excursions there are also Israeli citizens who travel with documents of another state.

In the course of the last two years the ZWST [Die Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland] has organized holidays and retreats for members of the synagogue congregations from the CSSR on the territory of the German Federal Republic in Bad Neuheim and Bad Sobornheim close to Frankfurt am Main.

As mentioned above, from the North Bohemian region, Ch. K. from Teplice, but also a few other people, took part in these recreational retreats. Although the ZWST endeavors to give the impression of an entirely apolitical organization, the participants in these retreats are influenced in the spirit of Jewish solidarity in a non-coercive but quite effective way. In the course of these retreats they have the opportunity to get in touch with citizens of Israel or to stay in Israel temporarily. Considering the interest of people of Jewish origin in these foreign stays and considering the fact that the participants are not only the elderly and severely ill, we should pay more attention to this issue.

The decisions of the 30<sup>th</sup> Congress of the World Zionist Organization in 1982 and the current operational situation in the fight against Zionism attest that the attempts by world Zionism to penetrate into the socialist countries is going to become more and more intensive. The world Zionist centers consider the present period to be a preparatory phase, the goal of which would be to build material and political conditions for the penetration of Zionism into the socialist states and the recruitment of new adherents among people of Jewish origin.

On the basis of these intentions, the 10<sup>th</sup> Administration of the Corps of National Security held a nationwide consultation in Prague on 28 September 1983, about the problematics of Zionism, which set the major tasks that will be included in the yearly executive plans in the line of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Section.

In order to improve the counterintelligence activity in this sphere, the head of the Secret Police Administration in Ústí nad Labem summoned a regionwide consultation, at which you will be informed about the tasks that are to be accomplished in the fight against Zionism.

<sup>9</sup> Eduard Goldstücker (1913–2000): literary historian, critic; one of the protagonists of the Prague spring of 1968. During that time he was the chairman of the Czech Writers' Union and deputy vice-chancellor of the faculty of philosophy at Charles University.

<sup>10</sup> The exteriors for *Yentl* (1983) were filmed in Roztyly, Žatec, and Prague in July–August 1982.

## APPENDIX

**Improvement of the Current Concept of Elaboration of the Zionism Issue in the Judaic and Non-Judaic spheres**

Secret Police Administration  
Ústí nad Labem  
2<sup>nd</sup> Section

11 October 1983

Considering the current operational situation in the problematics of fight against Zionism and the presumptive trends of the enemy's hostile activity, the following major tasks have been set:

- I. The primary task for the next period is to build a basic database within the framework of operation "SPIDER," i.e. to map people of Jewish origin in all spheres of social life in the CSSR with documentation of their origin, and to create a regionwide register at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Section of the Secret Police Administration in Ústí nad Labem.
  - Reassessment of the current operation "SPIDER" and its expansion along the new methodology will be accomplished by the Secret Police districts by 30 September 1984.
  - Starting in 1984, by two deadlines of 31 May and 30 November, the Secret Police districts will send information about the situation and any changes that occur while the card index of people of Jewish origin in the districts is updated.
- II. Tasks in the Judaic sphere:
  - 1) Detect channels of contact and relation of the Czechoslovak citizens to the Zionist centers abroad and document their hostile activity in the territory of the CSSR.
  - 2) Pay special attention to the arrival of Israeli citizens who were awarded exemption for a stay on the territory of the CSSR by relevant state organs.
  - 3) Discover and document the hostile activity of foreign Zionist centers, particularly the JOINT, in their work on the territory of the CSSR with the goal of discrediting them and preventing them, by legal means, from doing further work.
  - 4) Gradually restrict financial and material supplies from the foreign Zionist centers for Jewish corporations.
  - 5) Detect people of Jewish origin who are receiving financial and material subsidies from abroad or support distributed by the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech Socialist Republic.
  - 6) Document machinations of the synagogue congregations' functionaries while selling Jewish property, machinations with mem-

bership subscriptions and abuse of these resources. Discuss the findings with the 11<sup>th</sup> Section of the Secret Police Administration in Ústí nad Labem and use [these findings] to discredit [the functionaries].

- 7) In cooperation with the religious affairs experts in individual districts and drawing on the agents' network, promote loyally thinking people of Jewish origin as functionaries in the Jewish community, and inhibit the JRC's actions of cultural and national character, in which Jewish national "superiority" and feelings of solidarity with other Jews living in Israel and Diaspora are strengthened. Discuss the findings and suggestions for measures at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Section of the Secret Police Administration in Ústí nad Labem.
- 8) Effect consistent counterespionage among the Jewish youth aimed at isolating young Orthodox Jews from the pro-Zionist Jewish youth, which often sees membership in the Jewish community only in financial terms.
- 9) When searching, gauging, examining, and recruiting new candidates for secret cooperation, focus particularly on young Orthodox Jews, who would be suitable types not only for various functions in the Jewish community but also for the long-term fulfillment of tasks abroad and studies at the state rabbinical seminary in Budapest.
- 10) Look for and document the attempts of the people of Jewish origin to engage in illegal Hebrew and Yiddish instruction, detect the initiators and members of the so called "apartment circles," at which the pro-Zionist youth meets.
- 11) The Secret Police district in Teplice will concentrate on the surveillance of people of Jewish origin who visit the State spa at Teplice and show interest in the activity of the local synagogue congregation. Measures in the State spa at Teplice will be carried out in cooperation with departments dealing along the line of health service and the 1<sup>st</sup> Section of the Secret Police Administration.

*Tasks in the non-Judaic sphere*

- 1) Trace and discover hostile activity by people of Jewish origin, particularly demonstrations of Zionism, Jewish nationalism, and gather data on these people within the relevant operation files in accordance with the needs of counterespionage.
- 2) Prevent pro-Zionist people from working in leading positions in the mass media, the cultural sphere, and in health services.
- 3) Search, discover, and document illegal meetings of the people of Jewish origin dealing with hostile activity against the CSSR and other socialist countries. Take measures to impede their activity.
- 4) Search and document links between people of Jewish origin working in the media, cultural sphere, and health services, people of Jewish origin

abroad and foreign Zionist centers; put their relations and contacts with individual Jewish religious communities under surveillance.

- 5) Discover links between people of Jewish origin working in various spheres of social life and prevent them from helping each other climb to higher social positions.
- 6) The Secret Police District in Litoměřice, in cooperation with the allied department of the 1<sup>st</sup> Section of the Secret Police Administration, will guarantee the surveillance of foreigners of Jewish origin arriving at the Theresienstadt Memorial and ascertain the interests of these people. In the above-mentioned place, they will pay attention to the employees of foreign embassies and accredited journalists from capitalist countries that show an interest in questions related to the work of the Jewish religious communities on the territory of the CSSR.
- 7) In view of the specificity of gathering data in the fight against Zionism in the non-Judaic sphere cooperate closely with relevant departments dealing with individual targets.
- 8) Reassess the existing agents' apparatus of these departments from the perspective of its potential and ability to meet the tasks in the non-Judaic sphere.
- 9) Increase the number of secret collaborators among people of Jewish origin who have the possibility to mingle among the target group and garner their trust. Concentrate on the recruitment of influential agents through which other people of Jewish origin could be influenced.
- 10) Assign the existing agents' apparatus with target groups or prepare conditions for their placement among target groups.

#### IV. APPENDICES