

# Operation Anthropoid: The Cost of Communication

Luke Marsalek

Junior Division

Historical Paper

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## **Process Paper**

Before even starting my History Day project, I had known about Operation Anthropoid. I heard stories of the heroic parachutists and had even visited the crypt at which the Czech assassins and five other parachutists were killed. I became very intrigued by this story, especially due to my family's Czech heritage, and so when the time came for choosing a topic for History Day, Operation Anthropoid was an easy selection. I chose it for three main reasons: my genuine interest in Anthropoid, family's Czech heritage, and its relation to the theme of communication. Communication is pivotal in Anthropoid as there are many great instances of communication, including the assassination (communication that Heydrich's car was approaching), Karel Čurda's betrayal (communication of information to the assassins), and the reason Operation Anthropoid was carried out.

This information about communication in Anthropoid was provided by my resources. About a third of my resources were books, which proved very valuable as they bestowed quality information. These books limited my use of easier and less informative sources as I already had an abundant amount of information. I also used a fair number of newspaper articles that helped me understand the reaction to the assassination. These resources helped me understand the full scope of Operation Anthropoid and create my project.

Creating my project paper, especially drafting, proved to be quite difficult because I like to write a lot. When I turned in my first draft, I was a thousand words over the word limit and I hadn't even finished the entire paper. It was very difficult and frustrating to cut such a large

amount of words and information that I thought were essential to the story. However, I enjoyed the writing process to a certain extent.

Another part of the creation process that was difficult was establishing my historical argument. My historical argument was that Operation Anthropoid was ill conceived and sent mixed messages, largely because of its underestimating of the brutal costs and reprisals, but communicated to the Western Allies that the Czechs were still resisting Nazi Germany occupation. It was difficult to come up with this argument in a large part because I felt this paper was to inform and not to argue an idea or be an argumentative entry. I realized that this needed a point or a main idea and I needed to completely change my view on how to write this paper. However, even if extremely flawed, this assassination is still a very significant part of history because of how powerful and important this assassinated figure was to the Nazi plans. It was also significant in history because of how it proved that no Nazi was invincible and by the brutal reprisals caused by Anthropoid especially Lidice, which gave the Allied powers more determination and reason to fight. This was a huge part of Czech history and despite these devastating reprisals and a flawed plan, the actions and good intentions of the Czech assassins were still incredibly brave and will be remembered.

Operation Anthropoid was the code name of a World War II mission to assassinate Reinhard Heydrich, a high ranking Nazi official and the Reich Protector of occupied Czechoslovakia. It was planned by the exiled Czech government and carried out by two Czech agents, Josef Gabčík and Jan Kubiš. The primary goal of the assassination was to communicate to the Allies that the Czech people were still resisting, while inspiring the Czechs to liberate themselves from German occupation during World War II, and it did partially achieve that goal. However, Operation Anthropoid was ill-conceived, largely because its planners did not fully anticipate the brutality and human cost of the Nazi reprisals. As with any intelligence operation, different kinds of communication were important in Operation Anthropoid, but the message it was intended to send and the messages that resulted from it were mixed.

## **I. Nazi Occupation of Czechoslovakia**

Throughout the 1930s, complaints arose from the Sudeten Germans (ethnic Germans living in Czech lands), who felt alienated and oppressed by the Czechs (Venezia 6). Adolf Hitler used these grievances as an excuse to annex and occupy the Sudetenland. Germany eventually annexed Czechoslovakia entirely, forcing the Czech president, Edvard Beneš and the Czech government into exile in England, and violating the Munich Agreement, which permitted the first annexation (Venezia 6-7; Burian 7). Konstantin von Neurath became the Reich Protector of The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and this occupation of Czechoslovakia would lead to Operation Anthropoid (Terry and Waring 60).

From the start of the occupation, Nuerath sought to prevent Czech rebellion while promoting the fabrication that the Czechs still governed their lands (Albright 208 and Zander

118). Despite some sympathetic efforts, Czech resistance still emerged, as Nazi occupation was still murderous and brutal (“Europe under Occupation”). Early on in the occupation, Czech resistance was limited to small acts, such as symbolic protests, and little German retaliation took place (Czechoslovakia Ministry of Foreign Affairs 115). However, Beneš began to communicate with the Czech people through broadcasts, ordering heavy blows to the Nazis (Albright 116-17). These broadcasts led to increased resistance and violence by the Czech people (Czechoslovakia Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Resistance groups, communication channels, and radio contacts were established (Albright 210-11; Venezia 10-11). However, little experience and few weapons limited Czech resistance (Albright 216).

While Nuerath preferred an approach that respected the Czechs and their traditions, Hitler deemed his approach ineffective and too generous, and appointed a new Reich protector, Reinhard Heydrich, in September of 1941 (Albright 221; Zander 119). He was an arrogant and intellectual individual who had risen up Nazi ranks, while developing a reputation of cruelty, brutality and risk taking (Gerwarth xvii-xx ; Curry: “The Heydrich Equation” 32; Semerdjiev 57). Shortly after assuming rule as Reich Protector, Heydrich began his reign of terror by declaring martial law and ordering mass arrests and executions (Burian 25). These brutal actions established fear in Czechs as they grew accustomed to life under a “master of suppression.” (CIA 33 ). At the same time, Heydrich improved working conditions, rations, and pay in an attempt to balance his brutality (*The Assassination of Heydrich* 18:34-18:25). In addition to this balancing act, Heydrich started to gradually “Germanize” the Czech people (Czechoslovakia Ministry of Foreign Affairs 131). This elaborate plan was working as Czechs started collaborating with the Nazis and resistance decreased (*The Assassination of Heydrich* 18:08-18:03).

## II. The Operation

By October 1941, President Beneš was negotiating with Western Allies about the invalidation of the Munich Agreement and the restoration of Czechoslovakia's pre-Munich borders (Burian 31). Beneš' proposal was declined due to lack of Czech resistance against Nazi occupation, putting Beneš in need of dramatic sign of resistance that would make the Western Allies reconsider their decision (Burian 31). He came up with the idea of assassinating a high ranking Nazi officer, such as Heydrich. Despite the expectation of brutal reprisals, Beneš thought it was a way to communicate to the Western Allies that the Czechs were resisting, prove that no Nazi was untouchable, and unite the Czech resistance to free Czechoslovakia from occupation (Burian 31; MacDonald 119). This assassination plan was given the name Operation Anthropoid, and two Czech soldiers, Josef Gabčík and Jan Kubiš were chosen to carry out this mission (Burian 31).

Kubiš and Gabčík had already been trained as parachutists at SOE (Special Operations Executive) training centers located in the British countryside (Burian 20 and Venezia 16). Both men had graduated from basic training, focused on physical and physiological endurance, communications training, and parachute jumps (Burian 20-21). After selection for Anthropoid, both men graduated from special training focused on handling explosives, and "improving their skills in Morse code and orientation in unknown territory" (Burian 37). They also underwent training in navigating Prague and withstanding hostile integration (CIA 7). Furthermore, during this time, the assassination itself was discussed (Venezia 18). Gabčík would carry out the assassination with a sten gun, while Kubiš would act as back-up and complete the assassination with explosives should Gabčík fail (MacDonald 124). Czech agents and SOE experts agreed that

the men should attack Heydrich's car, preferably at its slowest point (MacDonald 124). The time and placement of the attack would be decided by the Czech agents once in the Protectorate (MacDonald 124).

On the night of December 28, 1942, the Anthropoid team of Kubiš and Gabčík departed Britain and was air-dropped into the Protectorate (Burian 44; Venezia 18). Also on the flight were groups Silver A and Silver B, whose missions involved restoring communication between London and Czechoslovakia (Ivanov 44-45; Burian 44). Promptly after landing in Czechoslovakia, Kubiš and Gabčík discovered that they had been dropped in the wrong location (Nehvizdy instead of Plzen), due to the heavy snowfall (Burian 44 and Ivanov 18). To add to their woes, Gabčík sustained a severe ankle injury during the landing (Venezia 20). Despite these setbacks, the men moved into various safe houses under the care of Marie Moravec in early January (Venezia 20). Kubiš and Gabčík also were able to communicate with London through a communication link set up by Silver A (Zander 124; Albright 343). Over the next four months, the men worked to determine the location and date for the assassination.

The men first developed a schedule of Heydrich's day and regular movements (Ivanov 99 and Zander 124). They gave extra attention to the country road between Prague Castle and Panenské Břežany, Heydrich's private residence (MacDonald 150; Albright 342). They observed that Heydrich disdained a vehicle escort and enjoyed being driven fast (*Assassination of Heydrich* 7:06 -7:12). This led them to designate the location for the attack: a hilly stretch that led to a sharp hairpin turn on V Holešovičkách street, which would force Heydrich's car to slow down and make it considerably easier to attack (Burian 58 and Ivanov 98). This location ("Kobylisy turning") was near a tram station, providing a superb excuse to wait in one place for long periods of time as they still needed to examine "the exact times at which Heydrich left

Panenské Břežany and reached the Castle in Prague” (Venezia 22 and Ivanov 99). Around this time, Josef Valčík, a member of Silver A, joined Kubiš and Gabčík (Venezia 22). Valčík would play a crucial role in the attack by using a mirror to flash and redirect sunlight to communicate to Kubiš and Gabčík that Heydrich’s car was approaching (Venezia 22; *Assassination of Heydrich* 12:05-12:08).

As the Czech resistance learned of the agents’ preparations, they feared major reprisals. They communicated with London, advising against the mission, and asking for its cancellation (Zander 125; Venezia 23). However, no cancellation occurred, and Kubiš and Gabčík chose May 27th as the date for the assassination, based on information that Heydrich would go to a conference in Berlin on this particular day ( *Assassination of Heydrich* 12:15-12:25).

On the morning of May 27th, Valčík assumed his position whilst Kubis and Gabcik waited for his signal and set their bicycles in position for escape (*Assassination of Heydrich* 12:58-13:00 and MacDonald 171). Due to Heydrich’s delayed departure, the wait for the car was longer than anticipated (*Assassination of Heydrich* 13:03-13:06). By 10:30, Heydrich’s Mercedes, driven by SS-Oberscharführer Johannes Klein, was spotted by Valčík, who flashed the mirror to communicate Heydrich’s approach. Kubiš, (bearing a briefcase of bombs) and Gabčík (clothed in a raincoat concealing the Sten gun) took their positions on opposite sides of the road (MacDonald 171).

As the car took the turn, Gabčík dropped his raincoat and ran into the road. He aimed his Sten gun and pulled the trigger, but the gun jammed, leaving Gabčík in a vulnerable position (MacDonald 171; Venezia 27-28; Gerwarth 10). Immediately upon noticing Gabčík, Heydrich, who presumed there was one assassin, arrogantly ordered Klein to stop the car, wielding his pistol in an attempt to handle this attack himself (MacDonald 171; Gerwarth 10). This proved to



be a foolish decision as Heydrich's preoccupation with Gabčík gave Kubiš the perfect opportunity to throw one of his special bombs into Heydrich's Mercedes (Burian 64). However, Kubiš misjudged the distance between himself and the car, and the bomb landed near the rear wheel (Gerwarth 10). The explosion penetrated the Mercedes while ripping out the right door and sending shrapnel into Kubiš' face (Burian 64). Once the noise of the explosion had died, Heydrich and Klein sprung from the car with drawn pistols, ready to square off (MacDonald 171; Gerwarth 11). Klein pursued Kubiš, who was able to escape via bicycle despite a serious head wound, while Heydrich pursued Gabčík (Venezia 28-29). However, as Heydrich was exchanging shots with Gabčík, he collapsed in anguish (Zander 126). Klein continued the pursuit of Gabčík, chasing him into a butcher shop where Gabčík used a pistol to shoot Klein in the leg and escape (MacDonald 172). Heydrich was hurried to Bulovka hospital, where an X-Ray revealed a ruptured diaphragm, broken rib, and horsehair as well as bomb splinters inside his spleen. Immediate surgery was required in which the surgeon would "inflate his left lung, extract the tip of a fractured rib, suture the torn diaphragm, and remove the spleen" (Albright 348).

As Heydrich went through the operation, German-controlled broadcasts communicated the assassination attempt to the general public. The Nazi radio reports expressed outrage about the attack on prominent Nazi leadership and predicted that this "wounding" of Heydrich wouldn't prove to be fatal ("Terror Broods Over Czechs"; Gerwarth 11; "'Butcher' Heydrich Wounded In Prague"). However, the Nazi's' communication of the seriousness of Heydrich's injury differed from several newspapers revealing that the wounding was "grave" ("Terror Broods Over Czechs"; Brigham, "Heydrich of Gestapo Hurt"). It was also feared that the attack would result in "mass executions of innocent people on a scale unprecedented even in this war" ("Mass Reprisals Expected"). These expected Nazi reprisals began that very day. When Hitler

was informed of the attack, he ordered the execution of 10,000 Czechs, although this order would later be revoked (Venezia 32). Nevertheless, the Nazis declared a state of civil emergency and martial law, raided houses, and offered 10,000,000 crowns for information assisting the arrest of the assassins (Brigham “Heydrich of Gestapo Hurt”; “Butcher” Heydrich Wounded In Prague”; “Terror Broods Over Czechs”). The Czech population learned of these measures through Prague radio and other radio broadcasts (Brigham “Heydrich of Gestapo Hurt”). Materials of the assassins were displayed and many potential suspects underwent interrogation, as the search for the assassins began (Albright 355).

As these events were unfolding, the condition of Heydrich began to worsen, as supposed blood poisoning and infection set in (Gerwarth 13). Eventually, Heydrich fell into a coma. By the morning of June 4, 1942, the “Butcher of Prague” was dead, as were approximately 180 Czech citizens, executed for offenses loosely involved with the assassination (Brigham “HEYDRICH IS DEAD; CZECH TOLL AT 178”). Like the deceptive radio reports about his wounding, the autopsy report failed to reveal his cause of death (Steiner 146-47). The Nazis had lost their second most powerful leader, architect of the “Final Solution,” and their second most powerful Nazi.

### **III. The Aftermath**

The loss of Heydrich enraged Hitler and sparked his decision to obliterate a Czech town, Lidice, which he believed was connected to the Czech resistance. On June 9 the Nazis razed the town, slaughtered the men and sent the women to concentration campus. The children were either deemed “Germanizable” or gassed (Burian 72; MacDonald 186; “Lidice”). Two weeks later the Nazis also razed the village of Lazaky (“Lezaky Second Lidice”). Although the Nazis

attempted to erase the towns from history, nations around the world would remember the names of Lidice and Lazaky (“LIDICE THE IMMORTAL”).

During this time of terror, Kubiš, Gabčík, and Valčík, along with four other paratroopers, were hiding in the crypt of St. Cyril and Methodius Cathedral in Prague (Burian 76). The crypt proved to be a magnificent hiding place because the Nazis did not raid churches (MacDonald 179; Terry and Waring 62). They spent nearly two weeks in the cold, dreary place, hearing the terrible news of Nazi reprisals (Albright 357). Eventually, they devised a scheme of escape to London, which they planned to undertake on June 19 (Albright 357). However, pressure and self interests proved too strong for Karel Čurda, a parachutist of the Out Distance team, who betrayed his fellow comrades by revealing all he knew to the Nazis including the identities of the assassins as Kubiš and Gabčík and other members of the Czech resistance (MacDonald 192). Through torture of other resistance members, the Nazis learned the hiding place of the assassins (*The Assassination of Heydrich*).

By early morning of June 18th, hundreds of SS and Gestapo troops surrounded the church and made their way into the sanctuary (Albright 360). A two hour battle ensued between the Germans and three parachutists, including Kubiš, who were on lookout, but eventually the influx of German troops proved to be too strong and all three were killed (Albright 360). The Germans, suspecting there were more parachutists including the other assassin, questioned a priest of the church, who revealed that more parachutists were hiding in the crypt (MacDonald 194). In attempts to preserve the parachutists’ lives for questioning (and presumably torture), the Germans brought in Karel Čurda and others to persuade the parachutists to surrender (MacDonald 194). They also attempted to force the parachutists out of the crypt by flooding it with water and tear gas, but the parachutists were able to withstand these measures. Finally, the

Germans stormed the crypt (MacDonald 194-195). Seeing the hopelessness of their situation, the four parachutists used their remaining bullets to kill themselves (Albright 362). The deaths of these seven parachutists were communicated by the Nazis as a triumph (“Nazis ‘Identify Slayers’”) Brigham “Heydrich Killers Slain, say Nazis.” However, the Nazis secretly saw these events at the church as a failure, and continued their reprisals.

#### **IV. Costs and Benefits**

When looking back on Operation Anthropoid, it is difficult to determine whether it was a success or failure. However, we can consider its benefits and costs. One main benefit was that the Munich Agreement was revoked and Czechoslovakia returned to its pre-Munich borders following the war. Beneš had successfully communicated through the assassination that the Czechs were still resisting and that no Nazi was invincible. However, the most significant benefit that changed the course of the war was that Czechoslovakia gained worldwide sympathy and attention from the assassination’s reprisals. These reprisals, especially Lidice, were labeled as “Nazi atrocities” and became a symbol of the need to turn the tide in this war. These atrocities provided the Allies with more determination and reason to fight, as shown in the statement by American Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox: “If future generations ask us what we were fighting for in this war we shall tell them the story of Lidice” (Hauner 88).

However, these reprisals were extremely costly for Czechoslovakia and its resistance. By the end of these brutal reprisals, around 5,000 Czechs had died as a direct result of the assassination (Terry and Waring 62). Yet despite warnings against the assassination, Beneš underestimated how severe these reprisals would be and selfishly put his interests of gaining back land before the best interests of the people. Beneš also underestimated the impact that these

reprisals would have on the Czech resistance. He thought that this assassination would force the Czechs to unite to free their country from Nazi rule. Instead, the reprisals communicated a different message to the Czechs: that resistance led to terrible consequences. As a result, the Czech resistance was utterly destroyed and collaboration with the Nazis increased (Dalton 503). The human cost and the Nazi's ability to suppress further resistance will unfortunately forever tarnish the bravery of the Czech agents and Operation Anthropoid.

## Bibliography

### Primary sources

Albright, Madeleine with Bill Woodward. *Prague Winter: A Personal Story Of Remembrance And War, 1937-1948*. E-book, HarperCollins Publishers, 2012.

This publication is an autobiography that gives a full perspective of living during the time of Anthropoid. This resource also gives a vast amount of information and further benefits the knowledge of the topic.

Brigham, Daniel T. "HEYDRICH IS DEAD; CZECH TOLL AT 178." *New York Times*, 5 June 1942, pp. 1, 13. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times*, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/106423380/fulltextPDF/4EDB6D1AAB4D4D35PQ/9?accountid=351>. Accessed 14 Dec. 2020.

This resource was beneficial as it portrays precisely how information of Anthropoid was reaching Americans and how the Nazis were controlling this information via a blackout. It also portrayed assumptions about the president of the Protectorate of Bohemia Moravia, additionally, the jubilation of the Czech Officials following Operation Anthropoid.

Brigham, Daniel T. "Heydrich Killers Slain, Say Nazis, As Ultimatum to Czechs Expires." *New York Times*, 19 June 1942, pp. 1, 7. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times*, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/106403535/fulltextPDF/3AA354E39F6C4823PQ/2?accountid=351>. Accessed 15 Dec. 2020.

This resource was beneficial as it demonstrated the interpretation of the executions and deaths of the figures responsible for Operation Anthropoid. As well, this resource described the Prague Radio and its importance of relaying information regarding Anthropoid.

Brigham, Daniel T. "Heydrich of Gestapo Hurt; Big Reward Up for Assailant." *New York Times*, 28 May 1942, pp. 1, 3. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times*, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/106432052/pageviewPDF/D81E794CC53E49FEPQ/1?accountid=351>. Accessed 14 Dec. 2020.

This resource was beneficial as it revealed how the Berlin and Prague radios communicated the Germans immediate actions following Anthropoid. It also portrayed how while Heydrich's condition was grave, he was thought to not be in danger of losing his life.

"'Butcher' Heydrich Wounded in Prague." *Dundee Courier*, 28 May 1942, p. 3. *British Library Newspapers*,  
[https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=44&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=10&docId=GALE%7CJE3229242886&docType=Article&sort=Pub+Date+Forward+Chron&contentSegment=ZBLF-MOD1&prodId=BNCN&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CJE3229242886&searchId=R3&userGroupName=mnastolaf&inPS=true](https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=44&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=10&docId=GALE%7CJE3229242886&docType=Article&sort=Pub+Date+Forward+Chron&contentSegment=ZBLF-MOD1&prodId=BNCN&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CJE3229242886&searchId=R3&userGroupName=mnastolaf&inPS=true). Accessed 6 Jan. 2021.

This resource is a newspaper article which shows how the news of the assassination attempt, and Nazi measures taken because of the assassination attempt, were communicated to the Czech citizens.

"Nazis 'Identify' Slayers." *New York Times*, Jun 23, 1942, p. 4. *ProQuest*,  
<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/historical-newspapers/nazis-identify-slayers/docview/106383003/se-2?accountid=351>. Accessed 4 Jan. 2020.

This resource is a newspaper article detailing the Nazis' communication by reporting to the world of what the Czech agents were and did. The Nazis even went as far as to call them "terrorists."

Dalton, Hugh. *The Second World War Diary of Hugh Dalton 1940-45*. London : J. Cape in association with the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1986.

This publication is the World War II diary of Hugh Dalton, who established SOE (Special Operations Executive). This was the special forces group that trained Jan Kubiš and Josef Gabčík for Operation Anthropoid.

"Lezaky Second Lidice." *Aberdeen Journal*, 26 June 1942, p. 1. *British Library Newspapers*,  
[https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=517&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=119&docId=GALE%7CJA3238636255&docType=Article&sort=Pub+Date+Reverse+Chron&contentSegment=ZBLF-MOD1&prodId=BNCN&pageNum=6&contentSet=GALE%7CJA3238636255&searchId=R4&userGroupName=mnastolaf&inPS=true](https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=517&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=119&docId=GALE%7CJA3238636255&docType=Article&sort=Pub+Date+Reverse+Chron&contentSegment=ZBLF-MOD1&prodId=BNCN&pageNum=6&contentSet=GALE%7CJA3238636255&searchId=R4&userGroupName=mnastolaf&inPS=true). Accessed 6 Jan. 2021.

This resource is a newspaper article that details the razing of the village Lezaky. The title of this article refers to the village as the "Second Lidice."

"LIDICE THE IMMORTAL." *New York Times*, Jun 12, 1942, p. 20. *ProQuest*,  
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This resource is a newspaper article about the town of Lidice that briefly describes the Nazis actions toward this town. It mainly gives a reaction to the leveling of this town and describes how the name of Lidice will never be forgotten due to these events.

"Mass Reprisals Expected." *New York Times*, May 28 1942, p. 3. *ProQuest*.  
<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/106413379/pageviewPDF/94A6C92D76E4CA6PQ/51?accountid=351>. Accessed 26 Dec. 2020.

This resource is a *New York Times* article detailing that a Czech government source fears there may be mass reprisals following the wounding of Heydrich. This Czech government source also speculates that the attack on Heydrich was based either on Heydrich's announcement of reorganizing the administrative set-up in Bohemia-Moravia or in protest of Heydrich's draft of young Czech youth for war service on the Russian front.

Photograph of damage to Heydrich's car after the assassination. May 27, 1942, *C.T.K* (Czech News Agency). In *The Assassination of Heydrich* by Miroslav Ivanov, Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1973, plate 5.

This resource is a photograph of the damage inflicted on Heydrich's Mercedes by the bomb thrown by Jan Kubiš.

Photograph of Jan Kubiš and Josef Gabčík: the Czech assassins. December 18, 1941, *Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Image archive of the Prussian Cultural Heritage). In *Hitler's Hangman* by Robert Gerwarth, Yale University Press, 2011, plates 3a and 3b.

This resource is a pair of photographs of the two Czech assassins. This photo was taken shortly before the two men were dropped into the Protectorate.

Photograph of the Nazis attempting to flood the crypt and drown the Czech parachutists. June 18, 1942, *C.T.K* (Czech News Agency). In *The Assassination of Heydrich* by Miroslav Ivanov, Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1973, plate 15.

This resource is a photograph of the Nazis attempting to flood the church's crypt and drown the remaining Czech parachutists. This attempt proved to be unsuccessful as the Czech parachutists were able to push the hoses out using a ladder, which is also shown in the picture..

Photograph of the Nazis identifying the bodies of the dead Czech parachutists. June 18, 1942, *C.T.K* (Czech News Agency). In *The Assassination of Heydrich* by Miroslav Ivanov, Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1973, plate 21.

This resource is a photograph of the Nazis identifying the bodies of the Czech parachutists outside of the church on the pavement. Karel Curda, whom is indicated by an arrow, helps them with this identification.



"Terror Broods over Czechs." *Hull Daily Mail*, 28 May 1942, p. 4. *British Library Newspapers*, [https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=44&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=13&docId=GALE%7CEN3223156579&docType=Article&sort=Pub+Date+Forward+Chron&contentSegment=ZBLE-MOD1&prodId=BNCN&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CEN3223156579&searchId=R4&userGroupName=mnastolaf&inPS=true](https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=44&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=13&docId=GALE%7CEN3223156579&docType=Article&sort=Pub+Date+Forward+Chron&contentSegment=ZBLE-MOD1&prodId=BNCN&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CEN3223156579&searchId=R4&userGroupName=mnastolaf&inPS=true). Accessed 6 Jan. 2021.

This resource is a newspaper article that describes the terror being installed in the Czech people. It also describes the warnings by the Czech radio of the Nazi reprisals.

"The 'Butcher' Is Dead." *Aberdeen Journal*, 5 June 1942, p. 1. *British Library Newspapers*, [https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=86&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=45&docId=GALE%7CJA3238634942&docType=Article&sort=Pub+Date+Forward+Chron&contentSegment=ZBLF-MOD1&prodId=BNCN&pageNum=3&contentSet=GALE%7CJA3238634942&searchId=R11&userGroupName=mnastolaf&inPS=true](https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=86&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm&currentPosition=45&docId=GALE%7CJA3238634942&docType=Article&sort=Pub+Date+Forward+Chron&contentSegment=ZBLF-MOD1&prodId=BNCN&pageNum=3&contentSet=GALE%7CJA3238634942&searchId=R11&userGroupName=mnastolaf&inPS=true). Accessed 6 Jan. 2021.

This resource is a newspaper article that was published at the time of Heydrich's death. It briefly gives a short background of Heydrich and later goes on to talk about the executions of the Czechs as a Nazi reprisal.

## Secondary Sources

Burian, Michal, Aleš Knízek, Jiří Rajlich, and Eduard Stehlik. *Assassination - Operation Anthropoid 1941-1942*. Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic, 2002. *Ministry of Defense & Armed Forces*, [https://www.army.cz/images/id\\_7001\\_8000/7419/assassination-en.pdf](https://www.army.cz/images/id_7001_8000/7419/assassination-en.pdf). Accessed 30 Dec. 2020.

This publication gives a detailed description of Operation Anthropoid and Silver A and B. It provided more knowledge in general but particularly about the training of the Czech parachutists.

Czechoslovakia Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Czechoslovakia Fights Back: a Document of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs*; Introduction by Jan Masaryk. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. *HathiTrust*, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89100005214>. Accessed 2 Jan. 2021.

This publication gives a through history of the Czech resistance from before the war to the assassination of Heydrich. It describes the rule of Heydrich and discusses Operation Anthropoid, as well as the resistance before Heydrich.

Curry, Andrew. "The Heydrich Equation." *World War II*, Sep/Oct 2011, pp. 30-39. *ProQuest Research Library*, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/fea96c42-ab2f-4320-8e80-b3e7cd245db2>. Accessed 15 Dec. 2020.

This resource communicates the position of the Czech Republic at the time prior to Anthropoid and the deciding factors as to the reason that Operation Anthropoid took place. It also displays the character of Reinhard Heydrich and how precisely his overconfident attitude and demeanor was the cause of his fate. Furthermore, it communicates in great detail about the attack itself and the events succeeding it.

"Europe Under Occupation." *World War II Reference Library*, edited by Barbara C. Bigelow, et al., vol. 1: Almanac, UXL, 2000, pp. 131-156. *Gale In Context: World History*, [https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.hclib.org/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Reference&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=45&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=42&docId=GALE%7CCX3411800016&docType=Event+overview&sort=Relevance&contentSegment=History-World-Misc&prodId=WHIC&pageNum=3&contentSet=GALE%7CCX3411800016&searchId=R1&userGroupName=hennepin&inPS=true](https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.hclib.org/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Reference&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=45&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=42&docId=GALE%7CCX3411800016&docType=Event+overview&sort=Relevance&contentSegment=History-World-Misc&prodId=WHIC&pageNum=3&contentSet=GALE%7CCX3411800016&searchId=R1&userGroupName=hennepin&inPS=true). Accessed 2 Jan. 2021.

This resource describes Nazi Germany occupation on several countries including Czechoslovakia. It describes the goal of Nazi Germany in these occupied countries and mentions Anthropoid events several teams.

Gerwarth, Robert. *Hitler's Hangman*. Yale University Press, 2011.

This publication gives a broad overview and all the intangibles of Reinhard Heydrich. The publication describes Heydrich's death in precise detail and displays his objectives and goals in the Protectorate.

Hauner, Milan. "Terrorism and Heroism: The Assassination of Reinhard Heydrich." *World Policy Journal*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2007, pp. 85–89. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/40210095](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40210095). Accessed 15 Dec. 2020.

This resource refers to debate of heroism and terrorism in Operation Anthropoid and Tyrannicide in context. The resource also discusses whether it was too high a price and the objective that Benes had for Operation Anthropoid.

Ivanov, Miroslav. *The Assassination of Heydrich*. Translated from the French by Patrick O'Brian. Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1973.

This publication gives insights from many people who were intertwined or played a role in Operation Anthropoid. It was extremely helpful as it provided in-depth information on the

Czech agents and how they were able to carry out their mission with the help and residence of many people.

Jaggers, R.C. "The Assassination of Reinhard Heydrich". *Central Intelligence Agency*, 2007,  
[https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol4no1/html/v04i1a01p\\_0001.htm](https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol4no1/html/v04i1a01p_0001.htm). Accessed 12 Dec. 2020.

This resource of the CIA provides an extremely thorough depiction and understanding of Anthropoid and provides vital information. It also debates about if the consequences could possibly cancel out the negatives of Anthropoid.

"Lidice." *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, edited by Israel Gutman, Macmillan Reference USA, 1990. *Gale In Context: World History*,  
[https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.hclib.org/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Reference&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=45&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=12&docId=GALE%7CBT2339203022&docType=City+overview&sort=Relevance&contentSegment=ZXAG-MOD1&prodId=WHIC&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CBT2339203022&searchId=R3&userGroupName=hennepin&inPS=true](https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.hclib.org/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Reference&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=45&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=12&docId=GALE%7CBT2339203022&docType=City+overview&sort=Relevance&contentSegment=ZXAG-MOD1&prodId=WHIC&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CBT2339203022&searchId=R3&userGroupName=hennepin&inPS=true). Accessed 6 Jan. 2021.

This resource provided further and solid information about the leveling of the town of Lidice and the events of Operation Anthropoid. It also offered a brief description of the leveling of the village Lezaky.

MacDonald, Callum. *The Killing of SS Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich*. Macmillan, 1989.

This publication gives an extremely thorough history of Operation Anthropoid from the events leading up to Anthropoid to the Nazi reprisals and beyond. It also included pictures that will be used in the final product.

"Reinhard Heydrich." *Encyclopedia of World Biography Online*, vol. 20, Gale, 2000. *Gale In Context: World History*,  
[https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.hclib.org/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Biographies&resultListType=RESULT\\_LIST&searchResultsType=MultiTab&hitCount=14&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=1&docId=GALE%7CK1631007521&docType=Biography&sort=Relevance&contentSegment=ZXAG-MOD1&prodId=WHIC&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CK1631007521&searchId=R4&userGroupName=hennepin&inPS=true](https://go-gale-com.ezproxy.hclib.org/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Biographies&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=MultiTab&hitCount=14&searchType=BasicSearchForm&currentPosition=1&docId=GALE%7CK1631007521&docType=Biography&sort=Relevance&contentSegment=ZXAG-MOD1&prodId=WHIC&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CK1631007521&searchId=R4&userGroupName=hennepin&inPS=true). Accessed 2 Jan. 2021.

This resource is an encyclopedia entry of a broad biography of Reinhard Heydrich. It discusses mostly Heydrich's beginnings before becoming Reich Protector and his Jewish ancestry rumors.

Semerdjiev, Stefan. "Reinhard Heydrich: A Devil with Many Faces." *World War II*, vol. 21, no. 8, 12, 2006, pp. 57-60. *ProQuest*,  
<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/magazines/reinhard-heydrich-devil-with-many-faces/docview/222323786/se-2?accountid=351>. Accessed 31 Dec. 2020.

This resource is an article that describes Heydrich's fighter piloting career. It was beneficial in providing further background information that helped me understand Heydrich's position and situation during World War II.

Steiner, Ivo. "The Autopsy of Reinhard Heydrich." *Forensic science, medicine, and pathology*, vol. 10, issue 1, 2013, pp. 144-147. *ProQuest*,  
<https://www-proquest-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/books/autopsy-reinhard-heydrich/docview/1492690238/se-2?accountid=351>,  
 doi:<https://link-springer-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/content/pdf/10.1007/s12024-013-9483-x.pdf>. Accessed 6 Jan. 2021.

This resource is an article that gives a run-through of Heydrich's autopsy report. It also describes some of the unusual features shown in the report such as the autopsy being performed early.

Terry, Keyana, and Scott Waring. "Expanding historical narratives: Using SOURCES to assess the successes and failures of Operation Anthropoid." *Social Studies Journal*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2017, pp. 59-71,  
<http://pcssonline.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/SSJFall17Updated.pdf#page=59>. Accessed 9 Dec. 2020.

This resource displays how to get the most out of resources and develop detailed point of views on topics, focusing on Operation Anthropoid. It provides a superb way to process and use information to better understand a topic. It also provides a brief and general overview of Anthropoid.

*The Assassination of Heydrich: Infamous Assassinations. Films On Demand*, Films Media Group, 2007,  
[https://fod-infobase-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/p\\_ViewVideo.aspx?xtid=57552](https://fod-infobase-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/p_ViewVideo.aspx?xtid=57552). Accessed 21 Dec. 2020.

This resource is a documentary detailing Operation Anthropoid. It provides visual evidence and re-enactments to provide a better understanding of the attack.

Venezia, Robert. "The Failure of Operation Anthropoid: The Cost of Resistance", M. A. Thesis Kean University, Ann Arbor, 2013. *ProQuest*,  
<https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.stolaf.edu/dissertations-theses/failure-operation-anthropoid-cost-resistance/docview/1400481085/se-2?accountid=351>. Accessed 3 Jan. 2021.

This resource is a Master's Thesis that provided a strong argument of Operation Anthropoid being a failure. It gave a useful overview of the topic and provided further information.

Zander, Patrick G. *Hidden Armies of the Second World War: World War II Resistance Movements*. Santa Barbara, California, Praeger, 2017.

This resource addresses resistance in World War II and provides a brief yet detailed chapter on Operation Anthropoid. It discusses the Czechs' need to prove themselves in the war and gives a general overview on Anthropoid.