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Contribution of Editor Věnceslav Švihovský to the formation of the national consciousness of Russian Czechs

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On the basis of personal estate of editor Věnceslav Švihovský, the author describes his life and work in the years 1875–1957, especially in the formation of national consciousness of Russian Czechs.

Key words: *national consciousness; Russian Czechs; Věnceslav Švihovský*

According to the first Russian census, 50 thousand Czechs lived in the Tsarist empire in 1897, 27 thousand of whom in the Volhynia Governorate. One of the centres of the Czech life in Russia was Kiev, the seat of the Governor General of the Southwest Region including the Governorates of Kiev, Volhynia and Podolia. Here, in addition to Czech entrepreneurs and workers, also Czech intelligence was concentrated, whose goal was to maintain the Czech national consciousness of Russian compatriots. They obtained space for this after the political release brought about by the first Russian Revolution of 1905–1907. At this time, the Czech lawyer from Kiev, Václav Vondrák, founded the first Czech newspaper called the “Ruský Čech”, which opposed the Tsarist absolutism from liberal democratic positions and defended the rights of non-Russian nationalities. The two-year publishing of the newspaper “Ruský Čech” was followed by Czech autodidact Věnceslav Švihovský in 1911, who had come from Volhynia and begun to publish the Czech newspaper “Čechoslovan” in Kiev.

His parents, along with his older brother František arrived in Volhynia in 1868 and settled in Hlinsk in the Rovno District, where the Czechs

purchased the estate of Polish owner Weselowsky. Švihovský's father was a skilled furrier and cap maker, but also bought a small plot of land. Here, on 12th / 27th July 1875, son Věnceslav was born. After an envious Ukrainian muzhik lit their house, they moved to Odessa, but suffered from poverty and starvation there. Eventually they returned to Volhynia; only older son František remained in Odessa and attended training in the botanical garden of the University of Odessa to become a gardener.¹

After a failed attempt to get training as a brewer in the Czech brewery in Olšanka in Zhitomir, Věnceslav left for Nikolayev in the Kherson Governorate in 1891, where his brother had meanwhile set up his own garden centre. Brother František had many friends in the circles of opposition intelligence, who mainly included the returnees from the Siberian exile. They were banned from Odessa, and therefore gathered in Nikolayev. Under their influence Věnceslav externally studied and graduated from six classes of Alexander secondary school in Nikolayev. In a secret social democratic educational group, Věnceslav got acquainted with the later Bolshevik People's Commissar of Foreign and Military Affairs, Lev Bronstein Trotsky.

For his political unreliability he could not continue his studies at the Academy of Mining and returned to Volhynia, where he worked as a private tutor. Then an idea came to his mind – to issue a Czech newspaper for Russian Czechs. In order to get well prepared for this challenging task, he went to study journalism in Paris, where he remained for nine years. He worked as a private clerk and attended lectures at the Faculty of Law, the School of Political Sciences and the School of Journalism. Later he became acquainted with the local Russian and Czech colony, where he gave lectures. From 1902, he worked as a correspondent for Czech and Russian newspapers and magazines. In the Russian Club he met future Czechoslovak president Edvard Beneš and contributed to his befriending with the future First Lady of Czechoslovakia, Anna (Hana) Vlčková (Benešová).

In 1908 Švihovský left Paris and went to Prague, where he joined the editorial staff of *The Time*, published by Tomáš G. Masaryk. Then, after ten years away from home, he returned to Volhynia, where he converted to the Orthodox Church and married Ludmila Šmolíková. Along with Czech businessmen Václav Klich and Jindřich Jindříšek he formed a cooperative to issue Czech publications in Kiev. He became a director and editor of the new Czech newspaper, the “Čechoslovan”, whose first issue was published in January 1911. The newspaper endeavoured for

¹ The Archive of Pavel Tarnavský, Švihovský's autobiography 'From My Life'.

Czechs in Kiev and Volhynia to act together with progressive liberal democratic parties against Russian nationalists and the clerical monarchist Union of the Russian People. The motto of this newspaper was "Everything for the Czech branch in Russia". The newspaper aroused great success not only in Kiev, but also with Volhynian Czechs. During the Balkan wars, the "Čechoslovan" was issued twice a week, later on once every other day. The efforts to publish a daily newspaper were prevented by the First World War, when on 30 December 1914 Švihovský was forced to stop its issuance. In 1915 only the Sborník Čechoslovan and two issues of the magazine Česko-ruská jednota were published. The publication of Čechoslovan was restored only in February 1916 and in December 1917 the number of published copies reached 15 thousand. The last issue of Čechoslovan was released at the end of January 1918 before the occupation of Kiev by Germans. In 1917–1918 writer Jaroslav Hašek² also published his short literary essays in Čechoslovan. In one of his essays he claimed that Joseph II had written in his notes: "The Czechs are lazy and disobedient subjects; they have to be forced by the lashes to fulfil their duties"³. Švihovský in Čechoslovan supported Masaryk's anti-Austrian resistance. He also informed about Masaryk's stay in Kiev, for example about his speech at the meeting of the Kiev Commercial Institute on 23 November 1917 concerning the ideology of the war at that time. During the one-hour-long speech delivered in Russian, he portrayed the world importance of the war and emphasized the democracy of the plan of the allies to liberate small nationalities.⁴

At the constituent 1st Congress of the Union of Czech Associations in Russia in Moscow in February 1915, he drafted a resolution accentuating the Slavonic and international importance of the liberation of the Czech nation and restoration of the Czech state. On the basis of the resolution of the Moscow Congress, a Czech magazine of the same title was to be issued under editors V. Švihovský and Bohdan Pavlů in St. Petersburg instead of Švihovský's "Čechoslovan". Švihovský, however, withdrew from the initial agreement. At the Easter 2nd Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Associations from 12 to 20 April (25/4–2/5) 1916 Švihovský became a member of the Union committee. But after the February revolution at the 3rd Congress of the Union in 1917 he had to step back to the political background together with other leaders of the Russian

² *Čechoslovan*, 1917, no. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 16, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53; 1918, no. 1, 2, 3.

³ The same, no. 53, p. 2.

⁴ The same, no. 51, p. 12.

Czechs. In “Čechoslovan”, he supported Ukrainian efforts to reach independence. After the establishment of Czechoslovakia, he was appointed a Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission in Prague, where – among other things – he tried to meet the needs of Ukrainian Czechs.

After the demise of the Ukrainian People’s Republic he remained in Prague, where he established a press office Centropress, the task of which was to explain Czechoslovak policy to European newspapers. In this sense, he served as a Chairman of the Polish-Czechoslovak Press Agreement, Bulgarian-Czechoslovak Press Agreement, Baltic-Czechoslovak Press Agreement, and Small Press Agreement (Yugoslavia, Romania, Czechoslovakia) concentrated in the Central Board of the Czechoslovak press. In May 1938, he was elected an associate member of the Economics Department of the Slavonic Institute.⁵

Great attention was aroused by Švihovský’s sixtieth birthday in 1935. The Chairman of the Senate of the National Assembly František Soukup wrote to him from his holidays in Nice: “Right now I am rushing to most sincerely congratulate you on this jubilee. You know, dear boy, how much we love you from the bottom of our hearts, and wish you many more years of new precious and fruitful work.”⁶ To the best wishes of the Inspector General of the Armed Forces General Jan Syrový Švihovský replied: “Who would have thought 20 years ago, when we had talked in the semi-dark room in Volodymyr Street (in Kiev – editor’s note) about the Czech Group, that today’s Inspector General of the Armed Forces of Czechoslovakia would wish happy birthday to the editor of Čechoslovan!”⁷ In response to congratulations of Bohumil Bradáč, the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the National Assembly, Švihovský expressed his appreciation that “the first dignitary after the President in the Republic, the head of the National Assembly of our free state, valued this work.”⁸ The Vice Chairman of the Senate, Václav Klofáč, wrote to V. Švihovský: “You have an important mission to fulfil for us and I therefore wish you many more years of good health and success.”⁹ Švihovský promised that “If I am strong enough, I will keep working for the things that are so precious to all of us and to which we have devoted a greater part of our lives”.¹⁰

⁵ The Archive of Pavel Tarnavský, the letter of Slavonic Institute to V. Švihovský of 1 June 1938.

⁶ The same, the letter of the Chairman of the Senate to V. Švihovský of 29 July 1935.

⁷ The same, letter of V. Švihovský to J. Syrový of 25 July 1935.

⁸ The same, letter of V. Švihovský to B. Bradáč of 25 July 1935.

⁹ The same, letter of V. Klofáč to V. Švihovský of 25 July 1935.

¹⁰ The same, letter of V. Švihovský to V. Klofáč of 25 July 1935.

V. Švihovský received congratulatory letters also from the social-democratic Minister of Welfare, Jaromír Nečas, writer Marie Majerová, and the President's Chancellor Přemysl Šámal. For his work he was decorated with a number of domestic and foreign awards, among them the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Medal for the 1st Resistance, the Polish Officer's Cross "Polonia Restituta" of the 4th degree, the Yugoslavian Grand Cross of St. Sava of the 2nd degree with a star, the Grand Cross of the Romanian Crown of the 2nd degree with a star, the Commander Cross of the Romanian Star of the 3rd degree, and the Latvian Commander Cross of the 3rd degree.¹¹

After the foundation of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in 1929, Švihovský became its Vice Chairman. The work of the Institute was interrupted during the Nazi occupation, but after the war Švihovský became its Chairman (1946–1949). As in 1919 he led the delegation of Volhynian Czechs to President Masaryk, in 1946 he led a similar delegation to President Beneš. The topic of the discussion was the speeding up of Czechoslovak-Soviet negotiations on re-emigration.

In 1947 he was the main organizer of the 4th Masaryk Day of Czechoslovak Compatriots, where he gave a final speech: "In gratitude to fellow countrymen, who – as the first ones – provided support to T. G. Masaryk in his struggle, the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute was built as a place tasked by the nation to take care of its people scattered throughout the world. After Munich, the Institute was among the first victims as a significant holder of innovative efforts of democratic Czechoslovakia. There are numerous victims of fascist terror also among compatriots... The Foreign Institute intends to build in Prague a dignified centre for compatriots from all around the world to manifest the connection of home with Czechs and Slovaks beyond the borders... We want compatriots to draw from rich and immortal Czechoslovak traditions and resources and to be our helpers and supporters of Czechoslovak affairs before the world public."¹²

Under the leadership of V. Švihovský the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute was involved in the re-emigration of 200 thousand foreign compatriots in 1946–1949 and renewing contacts with Czechs and Slovaks abroad. After the post-February purges, he had to leave the function of the Chairman of the Institute and retreated to privacy, where he devoted himself to the history of Russian Czechs.

¹¹ The same, list of awards of V. Švihovský.

¹² *Czech Dialogue*, 2003, no. 3.

Actions of the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment aimed at removing educational differences between the former Partitions of Poland in the Second Polish Republic

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After 1918, the schooling authorities started to build of a national school system in Poland with proper legal acts (acts, edicts, and circulars). These pertained to such crucial issues as the establishment of school administration, the curricula, the rules of maturity exams, the establishment of state schools, and the implementation of obligatory schooling. The particular legal acts made it possible to systematically introduce the solutions to the organisation of schooling and to pedagogical practice. The legislative solutions were the first step in the removing of the differences between the former Partitions of Poland. That was not easy, because it was necessary to overcome the differences that were superimposed by the occupation governments as well as those developed by Polish society in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century.

Key words: *Second Polish Republic; schooling system; legal acts*

Having regained independence, Poland inherited a number of differences between the schooling systems and the curricula of the former Partitions. The differences were related to the realisation of the fundamental aims of school education, such as obligatory schooling and common access to education. The particular levels of education would vary in duration and name. The availability and state of school buildings as well as teachers' qualification had a major influence on the school system of the Second Polish Republic. Developing an idea of how the young generation should be educated was crucial. Education needed to relate to the traditions of the times of the Partitions as well as the contemporary social and political reality.

We will consider November 1918 a symbolic date in the analysis of educational problems. The date marks the end of the education system

controlled by foreign governments and the beginning of a new historical period: one in which education became the responsibility of the Polish government. Nevertheless, the above statement needs to be complemented and explained in detail.

The year 1914 and the outbreak of World War I are important to the schooling system. It was then that intensive work on the future schooling system began. The initiatives originated in Warsaw. The initiated discussions and the proposed legislative solutions were intended to lead to the establishment of a national schooling system. However, it was only with the act on education of March 11, 1932 that the unification processes were concluded. In the years 1915–1916, in the lands of the former Kingdom of Poland (then under German and Austrian occupation) emphasis was put on secondary school education. Grammar schools, real established under the Russian government still functioned. The curriculum remained unchanged after August 1915. It was then that the work on secondary schooling and the curriculum was undertaken by the Secondary Schools Section of the Public Enlightenment Department. The Section functioned as part of the Warsaw-based Citizens' Committee, which was dissolved on February 16, 1916 by the German government. In the Austrian partition, similar initiative was organised by the Central Schooling Bureau, which was also dissolved in May 1916.

At the beginning of 1916, analogous actions of the occupation governments affected the Wilno-based Education Committee. The aim of the organisation was to establish new Polish primary schools in the Partition controlled by Russia.

In the first years of World War I, the National Schooling Council (*Rada Szkolna Krajowa* – RSK) in Galicia did not participate in the work aimed at the creation of the future Polish education system. People's schools, department schools, teacher training seminars (for men and for women), grammar school functioned in Galicia. The autonomy of Galicia allowed for the development of curricula of people's and secondary schools. These were, of course, based on Austrian regulations. Galicia joined in the works on the future education system at the turn of 1916 and 1917.

On January 14, 1917 the Provisional Council of State was organised, and it delegated the problems connected with schooling the Department of Public Enlightenment and Religions, transformed on January 17 into the Department of Religions and Public Enlightenment. The first act of the newly-established Department was entitled "Provisional regulations of primary schooling in the Kingdom of Poland"¹. The act set the legal bases

¹ Konarski, K. (1923): *Dzieje szkolnictwa w b. Królestwie Kongresowym* [History of Education in the Former Kingdom of Poland]. Kraków, p.18.

for the first level of education in the areas mentioned in its text. On October 1, 1917 the Department of Enlightenment took over the management of schooling under German occupation, and on November 1 – under Austrian occupation.

Simultaneously with the actions of the Department, made into the ministry of education in December 1917, the National Schooling Council and teachers' organisations of Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland joined in the work on the future schooling system.

Representatives from the Prussia-controlled Partition also took part in the discussion on the future organisation of schools and the curriculum. Elementary schools and secondary schools, including 9-grade gymnasiums and 6-grade pre-gymnasiums, traditional or real, functioned in this Partition. Furthermore, there were higher real schools, real schools, and teacher training seminars. There were also 10-grade secondary schools and higher secondary schools for girls.

Since the Autumn of 1917/1918 the conditions of the schooling system in the former Kingdom of Poland would become more stable, which, in turn, influenced the schooling system and the education system after 1918. They included:

- The proposition and discussion during the meetings of teachers' organisations of the former Kingdom of Poland with the teachers from the Austrian and the Prussian Partitions of the basic concepts of the future schooling system, the ideas of education, as well as the curricula and teaching methodology,
- Establishment of new teachers' organisations, or the increase in the power of those established formerly,
- In spite of the difficulties caused by the war, in the years 1916–1918 a number of new elementary and secondary schools was organised and the first stage of their nationalisation was concluded,
- Teachers' seminars were reorganised and developed, and it was ensured that their character was Polish,
- The first legal regulations were written and introduced, some of which remained in force in the independent state of Poland.

However, it also needs to be noted that in 1918–1920 the ministry of education was only able to directly manage the schools in the areas belonging to the former Kingdom of Poland.

In other regions the influence of the ministry was limited.

Apart from the Kingdom, it was also the Austrian Partition, especially Lwów and Kraków, that had a major contribution to the newly-organised Polish schooling. The model of the organisation of the schooling system was adopted in Galicia. This was particularly visible in gymnasiums and

school books. Teachers and school administration employees from this region provided great help in the integration and unification of the education system. Nevertheless, there were certain impediments to this process. These resulted from, among others, the bureaucracy, organisational structures, curricula, and teaching methodology shaped under the Austrian rule, which were a hindrance in the creation of a unified schooling and education system in Poland. The employees of the RSK and the departmental inspectorates were usually reluctant to recognise the authority of the central schooling administration in Warsaw. In the former Galicia, the reorganisation of the schooling system and its inclusion in the national education system was a slow process. It was for this reason, among others, that the spokespersons of the RSK proposed that all the districts be granted autonomy in organising their schools.

Considerable progress in the integration of schools in Galicia was made in the years 1920–1921. In February 1921 the RSK was dissolved. From then on, the schooling system of the former Austrian Partition would develop according to the same standards as that in the former Kingdom of Poland. Nevertheless, numerous original features of its organisation, didactics, and education remained throughout the entire interwar period.

The difficulties encountered in the organisation of the schooling system in the former Prussian Partition were of an entirely different nature. There, the considerable problems related to education resulted from the ongoing fighting between Poland and Germany.

The process of the Polish nationalisation of the schooling system in the former Prussian Partition was originally initiated in the Poznań voivodeship. It was on April 19, 1919 that new curricula were introduced in Polish schools in this region on the basis of the edict of Poland's regency government².

In the Gdańsk Pomerania, schools were supervised by the Department of Education at the Lower Commissariat of the Head People's Council in Gdańsk which functioned from November 1918 to February 10, 1920, when the Polish government took control of the entire Pomerania. Since July 1919, i.e. since the decision of the Allies to include a part of the Pomerania in the state of Poland, the local communities would contact their fellow countrymen from the Poznań voivodeship, the former Kingdom of Poland, and the Austrian Partition³.

² The act of August 1, 1919 established the Ministry of the Former Prussian Partition, and the Department of Religions and Public Enlightenment organised education as part of this body.

³ Trzebiatowski, K. (1970): *Szkolnictwo powszechne w Polsce w latach 1918–1932* [State Schooling in Poland in 1918–1932], Wrocław–Warszawa; *Oświata i szkolnictwo polskie*

Poznańskie voivodship and Pomerania were the regions where the implementation of common schooling was the most effective, reaching 94,7% of children in 1922/1923.

The decisive factors in this process were:

- efficient school system inherited from the former rulers,
- satisfactory state and location of school buildings,
- the habit of sending children to school, shaped during the Partitions,
- the work of highly qualified Polish teachers from former Galicia and the former Kingdom of Poland after 1918
- a wide teacher training programme.

Conflicts between the teachers newly-arrived from other regions and the methodological supervisors from the West impeded the integration of the schooling system of Poznańskie voivodship and Pomerania.

Eventually, by the act of the Council of Ministers of January 10, 1921, the schooling system of the former Prussian Partition was excluded from the authority of the Ministry of the Former Prussian Partition and it was from then on supervised by the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment (Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego – MWRiOP)⁴.

The region to remain the longest under Prussian rule was Silesia, where a proper organisation of a Polish education system started in 1921/1922.

The problems with the inclusion of the lands of the former Russian Partition in the national education system were entirely different. First of all, it ought to be emphasised that the state of schooling in the eastern borderlands was considerably worse than in other regions of Poland. The negative phenomena included: the weak school network, the lack of school buildings and Polish teachers, even those without necessary qualifications, the low position of schools in the local communities, and the common undermining of the value of education of children and youth. Because of these major problems, the work on the education system had to be intensified. However, in 1919–1922 this had to be done without any help from outside the region. Since October 1919 the issues related to education were supervised by the Public Enlightenment Section (until July 1, 1920)⁵. At the same time, the legal acts issued by the Commissar General of Eastern Borderlands were decisive in the development of the schooling system in north-eastern regions. These included, among

na Pomorzu Zachodnim w I poł. XX w. 1900–1939 (1961) [Polish Schooling System and Education in Western Pomerania in the First Half of the 20th Century 1900–1939], Poznań.

⁴ Dz. Ustaw RP 1921, Issue 7, pos. 38.

others, the “Commune self-government act” of September 26, 1919, and the “City self-government act” of February 4, 1919⁶, which regulated the finances of the school system. What is more, a provisional act of the Commissar General of Eastern Borderlands was issued. The act was in force in the entire territory governed by the Civil Administration of Eastern Borderland (Zarząd Cywilny Ziem Wschodnich – ZCZW) and it included a number of regulations pertaining to teaching Polish language in schools with ethnic minorities, the rules of establishing non-Polish schools, the obligation of the communes to finance state schools, etc⁷. The problems of the schooling system in Central Lithuania were delegated to the Department of Education of the Provisional Governing Commission. The expenditures on schooling and education would amount to 20% of the budget of Central Lithuania. Nevertheless, the problems of the schooling system remained immense, and despite the financial costs no immediate results could be expected.

The unification started by the department of education after 1918 encountered a number of issues related to the differences between the state of schooling systems in the particular regions and the educational traditions and the attitude of the society towards schools and education that had been shaped for years.

What were the problems that needed to be addressed and solved through effective unification in the Second Polish Republic?

1. The first stage was the assumption of the schooling of Polish citizens as well as the members of ethnic minorities by the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment. The process lasted until the second half of 1922, i.e. until the moment when all the Polish lands were within the borders of the state of Poland. The subjection of the entire schooling system to the ministry of education allowed for the unification of the nomenclature and the structure of all the levels of education: state schools, gymnasiums, teacher training seminars, etc. The ministry also introduced obligatory curricula and textbooks.

⁵ Zarzecki, L. (1921): *Szkolnictwo i oświata na Ziemiach Wschodnich (w okresie od 1-go października 1919 r. do końca lipca 1920 r.)* [Schooling and education in the Eastern Borderlands (from October 1, 1919 to the end of July 1920)], *Przegląd Narodowy*, Issue 1.

⁶ Hartleb-Wojciechowska, Z. (1937): *Rola i zadania samorządu na terenie województw wschodnich* [The role and the prerogatives of the self-government in eastern voivodships], *Rocznik Ziem Wschodnich*.

⁷ On the basis of the order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army of May 12, 1919 “On the organisation of the Civil Administration of Eastern Borderlands”, *Dz. Urz. ZCZW 1919 Issue 3*, pos. 15; *Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1919 Issues 12–13*, pos. 1.

The first document of independent Poland that was relevant to the organisation of common schools was the curriculum for one- and two-grade schools of four or five divisions, issued in 1918. The curriculum defined the organisational outline of common schooling in the country. While in the case of secondary schools the organisation, the curriculum, and the names of the grammar school were commonly accepted, in the case of the first level of education there remained some unregulated nomenclature. This tendency was particularly prominent in the eastern borderlands. The names of schools, such as people's, elementary, parish, and beginners' schools were typically sanctioned in the documents issued by local governments. The name "common school" was introduced in the 1922 Act on the establishment, maintenance, and building of public common schools⁸. (The act went into effect with the executive edict of May 30, 1923). Apparently, however, there must have been some doubts as to the organisation of common schools, because in 1925 an edict of the MWRiOP regulating a number of organisational problems of schooling⁹ and defining the term "common state school" was published.

In order to unify the schooling system at the secondary school level, a number of legal regulations was introduced. It was the statute of maturity examinations of January 19, 1920¹⁰ and the following documents related to it: the September 19, 1919 circular on accepting new students in secondary schools and the fees¹¹, and the April 27, 1920 circular on the dates of the start and the end of the school year and the maturity examinations¹². The regulations pertaining to, among others, the unification of the names of the types of secondary schools included the crucial edict of the MWRiOP of April 22, 1920 on granting

⁸ The act of 17 February, 1922, Dz. Urz. WRiOP 1922 Issue 18, pos. 143.

⁹ Edict on the execution of the Act of July 31, 1924, including certain decisions on the organisation of schooling, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1925 Issue 3, pos. 30.

¹⁰ The statute of maturity examinations Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1920, Issue 2, pos. 15. It differed from the statute published at the end of 1917, because it introduced two types of maturity examinations: the regular exam – organised in state schools and private schools with necessary permissions, and the external (extended) exam – for students of schools without the necessary permissions, Araszkievicz, F. A. (1972): *Szkola średnia ogólnokształcąca w Polsce w latach 1918–1932* [General lyceums in Poland in 1918–1932], Wrocław.

¹¹ Circular on accepting new students in secondary schools and the fees, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1919 Issues 10–11, pos. 15.

¹² Circular on the dates of the start and the end of the school year and the maturity examinations, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1920, Issue 14, pos. 97.

- private general lyceums the rights of state grammar school¹³. The last of the mentioned edicts not only made it possible for the ministry of education to formally supervise private secondary schools, but it also made it obligatory for the schools applying for full or partial permissions to introduce the state school curriculum and to observe the regulations pertaining to teachers' qualifications.
2. The first of the actions taken were related to the management of schooling. The act on provisional school authorities of June 4, 1920¹⁴ was the first unifying regulation. The state was thus divided into the so-called school districts, governed by chief education officers, who were the school authorities of the 2nd instance. The chief education officers were responsible for carrying out the decisions of the ministry of education on the lower level. Unfortunately, the boundaries of the school districts of the Second Polish Republic would change, which made it difficult to continuously attain educational goals¹⁵.
 3. Yet another crucial problem was the introduction and the realisation of the 7-years-long obligatory schooling in the entire Second Republic of Poland. At first, the edict of the Chief of State of February 7, 1919¹⁶ was only in force in the territory of the former Kingdom of Poland. In 1920 it was introduced in the Poznań and Pomeranian voivodeships¹⁷. In the eastern regions of the former Russian Partition, in the Wilno, Nowogród, Poleskie, and Wolhynia voivodeships, the edict was introduced in 1928¹⁸. The edict was a crucial legal act, because in the former Russian Partition schooling had never been obligatory before. The edict on obligatory schooling "would at the same time provisionally regulate certain organisational problems of common

¹³ Edict of the MWRiOP of April 22, 1920 on granting private general lyceums the rights of state gymnasiums, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1920, Issue 8 pos. 59.

¹⁴ Dz. Ustaw RP 1920, Issue 20 pos. 304.

¹⁵ For example, in the 1922/1923 school year the country was divided into 12 school districts (with 11 district educational authorities and the Enlightenment Department of the Silesian Voivodeship Office in Katowice). In the 1932/1933 school year there were 8 district educational authorities and the Enlightenment Department in Katowice. Edict on school districts of July 7, 1932, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1932, Issue 9, pos. 98.

¹⁶ Monitor Polski 1919 Issue 167; Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1919 Issue 2, pos. 3.

¹⁷ In the Poznańskie and Pomeranian voivodships the edict of the minister of the former Prussian Partition on obligatory schooling was in force since May 10, 1920, in Upper Silesia: edict of the Opolski District of October 11, 1912, in Śląsk Cieszyński: the act of May 14, 1869 and the edict of the Austrian Minister of Religions and Education of September 29, 1905, and for the southern territories: the act of May 23, 1895 on the establishing and organisation of public people's schools and children's attendance therein.

¹⁸ Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1929 Issue 7, pos. 117

schooling”¹⁹, for example, it stated that whether a common school (of 1 to 7 grades) was established in a region was to depend on the number of children living there.

4. The act on building public common schools of February 17, 1922²⁰ regulated the problems related to school buildings. In relation to the act, the circulatory of April 6, 1922²¹ was published by the ministry of education; the document stated that communes were to finance 50% of the building costs, while the remaining 50% was financed from the so-called subsidy of the State Treasury.

The act on the subject of the permissions granted to commune authorities to temporarily occupy school buildings²² was greatly beneficial to the organisers of schooling. The edict of the ministry of education on the introduction of the act allowed for a temporary occupation of a building in the case when “not all of the children obliged to attend common schools can study”²³.

5. The training of teachers employed in common and secondary schools was of particular importance.

The edict of the Chief of State of February 7, 1919 stated that a 5-year teacher training seminar was to be obligatory for all those willing to work in education. Furthermore, the articles 23–27 introduced the so-called first and second examinations for teachers. The MWRiOP developed the “Curriculum for state teacher training seminars”, which was published in 1921 (2nd edition in 1926). The curriculum set high standards for the candidates. It was assumed that in order to be accepted into the seminar one had to be a graduate of a 7-grade common school. However, there were few highly organised schools. Most schools only had 4 grades. That is why it was necessary to either lower the standards of the seminars, or to create schools in which the education of the candidates could be completed. The second solution was chosen. The so-called “preparandy” – one- or two-years-long courses for children aged 12–15 – were organised. The idea dates back to the times of the Austrian Partition: in Galicia such courses were available in 1871 and 1872.

¹⁹ Trzebiatowski, K.: Problem powszechności nauczania w Polsce w latach 1918–1931 [The problem of obligatory schooling in Poland from 1918 to 1931], *Rozprawy z dziejów oświaty* [Discourses from the history of education], Vol. XII, p. 52.

²⁰ Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1922 Issue 18, pos. 143.

²¹ Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1922 Issue 12, pos. 113.

²² The act on the subject of the permissions granted to commune authorities to temporarily occupy school buildings in the commune to organise common schooling of August 8, 1923, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1923 Issue 87, pos. 677.

²³ Edict of the MWRiOP of October 23, 1923 on the execution of the act of August 8, 1923, Dz. Urz. MWRiOP 1923 Issue 20, pos. 182.

The teachers who started or continued their work in 1918 had diverse qualifications. They were graduates of: 1. Seminars: Polish – state and private in Galicia, the former Kingdom of Poland, and Wilno, seminars taught in German or Russian, 2. Universities: Polish and those in which foreign languages were used, 3. Grammar Schools, 4. Various European teacher training schools, 5. Schools for women, including boarding schools for girls.

That is why the ministry of education conducted a detailed analysis of the general education and pedagogical skills of teachers. It was made obligatory for those, whose qualifications did not meet the standards of Polish schools to complete their education.

Because of all the efforts of the MWRiOP, by 1928 all the teachers in the state schooling system had necessary general and pedagogical education. In the same year, the Edict of the President of the Republic of Poland “On professional qualifications required to teach in public and private common schools” of March 6, 1928²⁴, and the edict of the MWRiOP of December 14 introducing a practical examination, the so-called second teacher’s examination, necessary to achieve the status of the so-called stability in the profession, went into effect²⁵.

The above general outline presents a picture of the efforts made by the MWRiOP to unify the schooling system. Nevertheless, “paradoxically, the great interest in the problems of schooling, as well as their political character, used to paralyse the works on the unification of the system and providing it with a basis”²⁶. Many concepts pertaining to, e.g., the organisation of schooling were presented until the first years of the 1930s, but none of them were fully implemented.

It was only with the acts “On the organisation of schooling” and “On private schools and on scientific and educational departments” of March 11, 1932 that a new organisation of the education system was introduced. The system would include: preschools, common schools, general lyceums, vocational secondary schools, teacher training secondary schools. The document sorted out and unified the organisation of Poland’s schooling system and legal regulations pertaining to education. The “On the organisation of schooling” act addressed, among others, the problem of supplementary education for

²⁴ Dz. Urz. RP 1928, Issue 28, pos. 258; Issue 53, pos. 512.

²⁵ Dz. Urz. MWRiOP of January 10 1928 Issue 12 (208), issued on the basis of art. 7 of the edict of the President of the Republic of Poland of March 6, 1928.

²⁶ Sadowska, J. (2000): Reforma szkolnictwa prywatnego 1932 roku [The reform of private schooling in 1932]. *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* [The Historical and Educational Review], Issues 3–4, p. 58.

those younger than 18 years of age and the unconditionally obligatory character of schooling. The act divided vocational schooling into three levels: the lower level, the grammar schools, and the secondary schools, and it integrated vocational schooling for women into the system. Allowing the graduates of all secondary schools an access to higher education was a considerable advantage of the act. The legal solutions introduced by the 1932 act were aimed at making effective use of financial resources and generating an influx of well-educated employees into the economy, the administration, and culture. The act was aimed at educating good citizens of the Republic.

Following the organisational changes, the ministry of education prepared changes to the curriculum on the particular levels of education. The learning content, or more precisely, the learning and education content, constituted an essential element in the building of a new society based upon a defined system of values, in which the state played an important role. This was to be one of the ways leading to removing the differences between the former Partitions, although this process was not completed during the interwar period.

For example, it took considerably longer to unify the schooling in the Silesian voivodeship. The Legislative Sejm granted Upper Silesia autonomy by issuing the organic statute of July 15, 1920²⁷, which is why the schooling system of the region was supervised by the Department of Public Enlightenment at the Silesian Voivodeship Office, instead of the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment. The national regulations pertaining to the organisation of schools, the curricula, and teachers' qualifications were introduced gradually in the years 1922/23–1928/29. At the same time the Silesian government kept some systemic differences, such as 4 hours of classes of religion a week, and “the so-called organic union between the position of the organist of the local parish with the position of school headmaster (in small schools, established during the Prussian Partition) in Upper Silesia”²⁸ as well as common schools of 8 grades and obligatory schooling starting at the age of 6. The act introduced by the Silesian Sejm in March 1926, which banned married women from paid labour, constituted yet another difference. The

²⁷ Dz. Ustaw RP 1920 Issue 73, pos. 497 and subsequent amendments: 1921, Issue 26, pos. 146; Issue 69, pos. 449; Issue 85, pos. 608.

²⁸ Glimos-Nadgórska, A. (1999): Szkolnictwo powszechne województwa śląskiego i problemy jego unifikacji [Common schooling in the Silesian Voivodship and the problems of its unification]. In: *Granice i pogranicza. Historia codzienności i doświadczeń doświadczeń* [Borders and Borderlands. The History of Everyday Life and Experiences], Białystok, p. 79.

regulation was annulled in April 1938. In the years 1929/20–1930/31 common schools with 7 grades and the 187 class hours – a solution typical for the entire state of Poland – were introduced, albeit not without certain difficulties. Following the aforementioned decisions, the curricula and learning content developed by the MWRiOP were gradually accepted by the Silesian Sejm and introduced in schools.

The unification of the Upper Silesian schooling system was to be completed on the basis of the Jędrzejewiczowski act of 1932. However, the Silesian Sejm rejected “the possibility of introducing the Jędrzejewiczowski act pertaining to the schooling system reform in the Silesian Voivodship” in 1933²⁹. In spite of this decision, voivod M. Grażyński issued a number of edicts and circulars aimed at completing the unification of the Silesian schooling system. That is why when in April 1937 the Silesian Sejm passed the act of March 11, 1932 it was a mere formality. Only the aforementioned differences were kept.

Starting in 1918, the ministry of education would restrict its actions aimed at the unification of schooling to the lands of the former Kingdom of Poland. The prerogatives of the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment would expand when new regions were incorporated into the independent state of Poland. The unification of schooling was not an easy process. Although everyone declared their interest in the problems of education, there were many conflicts and political debates. It is certain that it was not possible to fully overcome the differences in the attitudes of the inhabitants of the former Partitions towards education during the interwar period.

In spite of the difficulties and impediments, the work of the ministry of education aimed at unifying the schooling system can be considered a success of the Second Polish Republic.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 80.



Contribution of orders and institutes of consecrated life of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church to the formation of national consciousness of Ukrainian children and youth

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The history of the Ukrainian nation, its cultural and spiritual inheritance is the bright example of the selfless mission of the Ukrainian church. In the end of XIX – beg. XX the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church played the most important role in the formation of national consciousness, deepening of the inner world, cultural rise of the Ukrainian nation on the territory of West Ukrainian lands.

Key words: *orders and institutes; Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church; Ukrainian children and youth; national upbringing; national consciousness*

Cultural-historical step of the Ukrainian nation, in large measure, is stipulated by active cultural and educational activities of the Ukrainian Church. The main historic preconditions, in consequence of which the Church became the treasury and centre of national-cultural development of our nation, were its rite of spreading of native language, fundamental correspondence to mentality, supporting and deepening of ethnic spirituality of the Ukrainian nation. By virtue of the building of temples; development of annalistic tradition, iconography, choral chant, church music, theology, the Church not only enriched national-cultural treasury of the Ukrainian people, but also created conditions for borrowings of the progressive western spiritual acquirements. Since time immemorial the Church has been the initiator on the Ukrainian lands and always supports the development of education, upbringing, art, and culture.

Church leadership initiated foundation of special monastic orders and institutes of consecrated life for the realization of spiritual development, cultural and educational activity, salutariness, social support and guardianship. Formation of new monastic orders was caused by urgent

necessities of the Ukrainian nation and therefore it provided the close interconnection of the nation and the Church. Hence, the activity of monasticism (as a carrier of spiritual and material culture of the Ukrainian nation) is closely connected with its history.

The close connection of Ukrainian monasteries with the reality of that time was the condition and, simultaneously, the reason of the fact that even their primary religious (in accordance to aim) activities were often acquiring public character. Their activities became a social utility, having essential results not only for religious, but also for socio-political, cultural life of the nation.

Monasticism appeared on the Ukrainian lands with the introducing of Christianity. Newly built monasteries of the highest rank, such as Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, Pochayiv Lavra and Dermansk monastery, soon became notable cultural centres of Kyiv Rusia. Here libraries were gathered, a lot of scriptoriums for the rewriting of books were created, and first chronicles were written. All of these monasteries followed the rules of Saint Basil the Great.

Among many directions of the activities of Ukrainian institutes of consecrated life (i.e. publicistic, missionary, charitable), from the time of the Kyivan Rus towards nowadays, cultural and educational activities have been playing particular role. It is difficult to overestimate the contribution of religious sisters and fathers to the practice of the building up and development of the Ukrainian school-system. Educational institutions of different level, such as preschool institutions, orphan's schools, public and professional schools, gymnasiums and lyceums, which had been formed of their initiative, became national cultural centres and institutions of the formation of spiritual-rich, highly intellectual people.

In the end of XVI a new situation arose in spiritual life of Ukraine. A considerable national-cultural excitement arose among the Ukrainian nation after the adoption of the union with Rome (The Union of Brest in 1596). There were needs of the defence of belief, which caused the speeded up development of theological and religious-political literature, preaching's activities, church law, book printing. Together with these things, as a Ukrainian historian Mykhaylo Hrushevsky said, 'cultural and educational activities suddenly are waking up'; literary, educational, and scientific circles are gathering around monasteries. Literature (especially polemical literature), publicism, education, book printing, translation, engraving, painting, and architecture are starting to develop on the high, qualitative level. National, literary language is also forming. Everything of this was the worthy response to those, who had dispraised Ukraine to the national death and objected a possibility to have its own national culture.

This poverty national-cultural jump was made, to a great extent, by virtue of the Ukrainian monasticism¹.

Till the end of XIX century (90s) only the Basilian Order was in the bosom of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. The main task of the Basilian Order was a question of youth's education. However, a lot of monasteries were closed, because Austrian government did not contribute to the development of Ukrainian monasticism.

In 1882 Rome reacted to the crisis of monastic life by carrying out reform in Dobromyl (The Dobromyl Reform)². It became a precondition of the renewal and an impulse to the intensification of the activities of Basilian Fathers³. There were the following evidences of this: the opening of a gymnasium and a missionary institute in Buchach; the opening of a theological seminary in Lviv; active teacher's works in theological seminaries in Peremyshyl and Stanislav.

Monastic unions were appearing more active on the western Ukrainian lands in the end of XIX- beg. XX c. Monasteries, which quickly spreaded on the western Ukrainian lands, especially in Galicia (see Table 1), soon became not only notable cultural, educational, or religious but also charitable centres. J. Ostashevskyi pointed out: 'Monasteries were becoming seats of trade, art and science; inexhaustible cultural centre, protection and defence of the poor, hospitals of human pretensions'⁴.

The reform of the female branch of Basilian Order was carried out at the beginning of XX century. As a result the Sisters of St. Basil the Great began to develop more constantly as well as educational activities of sisters⁵.

The nuns made great efforts to open preschool institutions, orphan's schools, but the most important their achievement was the opening of primary and professional schools, where subjects were taught in native language. They also opened teacher's seminaries, gymnasiums and lyceums in Lviv, Stanislav, Yavoriv, and Drohobych. These institutions were systematically obtaining recognition and this is the evidence of a high level of the educational process in these schools.

Because of well-planned and organized educational process, Basilian schools became the centres, where Ukrainian female intelligentsia was brought out. Their female school-leavers were achieving intellectual

¹ Колодний, А. М. (1999): *Історія релігії в Україні*. Київ, Вид. Т-во «Знання».

² Iwanowicz, I. (1885): *Über die Historische Bedeutung des Basilianerordens in Galizien*. Leipzig, p. 9.

³ Jackowski, H. (1884): *Bazylianie i reforma Dobromilska*. Kraków, p. 10.

⁴ Обов'язок суспільної праці (1938). In *Мета* 52, p. 2.

⁵ Jabłńska-Deptuła, E. (1976): *Zakony diecezji Pzemyskiej 1772–1938*. In *Nasza Przeszłość* 46, p. 246.

Table 1. Chronology of the development of monasticism in Galicia.

№	Name	Year of foundation	Amount of centres	Amount of people
1	Basilian Fathers	17 c.	49	6866
2	Basilian Sisters	19 c.	26	300
3	Studite monks	5 c.	10	225
4	Sister Servants	1892	124	711
5	Josaphat Sisters	1894	25	100
6	Myrrh-Bearing Sisters	1910	3	94
7	Josaphat Sisters	1911	10	40
8	Sisters of the Most Holy Family	1912	8	50
9	Redemptorist Fathers	1913	9	151
10	Sisters of Charity	1926	?	?
11	Studite Sisters	1921	7	71

development as well as spiritual growth. National values, which were engrafted to the female-pupils, secured the formation of national consciousness and a sense of patriotism.

Working on moral and religious upbringing of the Ukrainian nation, Basilian Fathers were also paying great attention to the publishing. In 1887 the Publishing House of the Basilian Fathers in Zhovkva (with the support of A. Sheptycky) began to publish the religious magazine "Misionar" (Missionary)⁶, which was coming out once a month in the native language. The circulation of this periodical reached approximately 40 000 copies. Besides, some magazines for the youth, such as "Nash Pryatel" (Our Friend), scientific magazine "Zapysky ChSVV" (Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni) or The Notes of the Order of St. Basil the Great) and other religious literature in Ukrainian, were publishing there. National upbringing and religious development of the Ukrainian youth were secured by their active participation in Marian Society, which was organized by Basilian Fathers.

In the end of XIX century, in Galicia, there was an exigency in the formation of a new monastic organisation, because of the crisis situation, which arose in the sphere of guardianship and upbringing of Ukrainian children. The activities of this organisation were expected to concentrate in the riverbed of the upbringing and guardianship of the Ukrainian children and youth. That is why, in 1892 a new institute of consecrated life of Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate⁷ was organized in the village of Zhuzhel of

⁶ Зінько, В. (1997): Жовківський "Місіонар" на тлі української католицької преси. In *Місіонар* 6, p. 7–9.

⁷ *Тебе Бога хвалім.* (1992): Рим, p. 13.

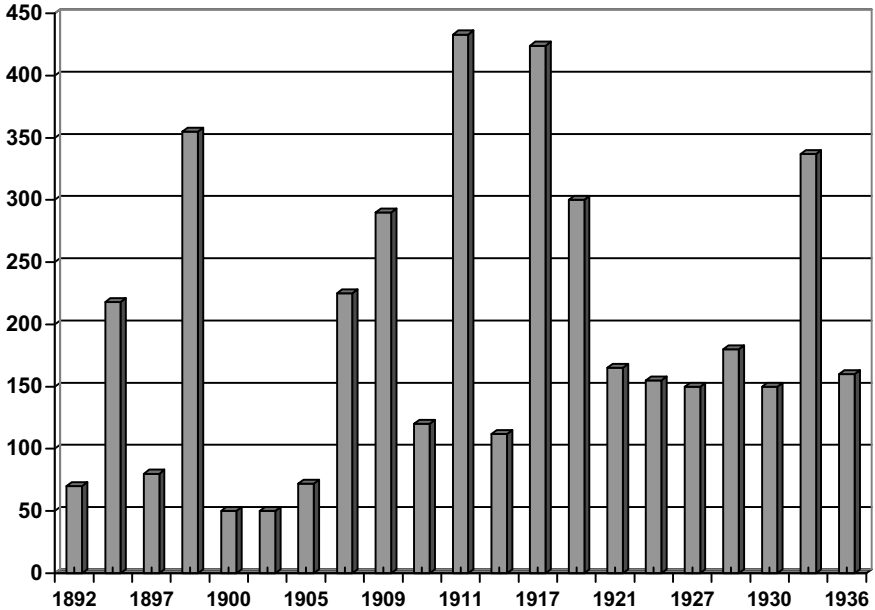


Diagram 1. The amount of children in tutorial-educational institutions of Sister Servants in Galicia (1892-1936).

Sokal district. It was pointed out in the constitution of this institute that its priority tasks were the establishment of preschool institutions and orphan's schools as well as looking after the beggars in the countryside. Tutorial and educational institutions of Sister Servants became the centres of cultural and spiritual development of the Ukrainian children. Here they received moral and spiritual upbringing and formed their national consciousness. Sister Servants also educated rural inhabitants. They organized theoretical and practical studies in needlework, sewing and other female work for them. They also delivered interesting lectures with encouragement to prayers, expansion of 'good books', as well as helping sick people. In 1930 only on the territory of Stanislav eparchy Sister Servants conducted educational activities in 25 settlements⁸. It is graphically shown on Diagram 1, where also number of children who were in such institutions is pointed out.

Great contribution to the development of the Ukrainian monasticism was made by the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. He paid great attention

⁸ *Шематизм Всего клира греко-католической Епархии Станиславівської на рік Божий 1930.* (1930): Станславів 1930, p. 167–171.

to the improvement of education and upbringing of the Ukrainian nation, returning to the eastern ecclesiastical tradition, combination of church and national interests. The numbers of tutorial centres for orphans, preschool institutions, gymnasiums, lyceums, summer camps, grant's funds were opened by the virtue of his patronage. Andrey Sheptytsky concurred to open the Ukrainian national museum, to redeem a lot of exhibits, works of art and music, written by talented Ukrainian artists. Hence, the patronage of this distinguished person increased not only the level of national consciousness of the Ukrainian nation of that time, but also preservation and enrichment of cultural acquirement of the Ukrainian nation.

For the realization of spiritual mission and cultural-educational activities, the Metropolitan Andrey initiated the renewal of the Studite monasticism. This order was renewed after the model of the first (on the Ukrainian lands) monastic community of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. The first centres of this order were opened during 1898–1899s in Krystynopol and during 1901–1902s in Olesk⁹. In the suburb of Lviv the Monastery of Studite monks was opened in 1901¹⁰. The results of the educational activities of this order were the foundation of the special library in Lviv, numbers of preschool institutions, orphan's schools and professional schools. For instance, the Studite monks supported two orphan's schools in Lviv and village of Univ (Region of Peremyshlyany). There was a professional school attached to the Univ orphan's school, where near 40 orphans learned different trades. The publishing house of the Studite monks was also very fecund. They printed spiritual-informative magazine 'Jasna put' (Bride way), paper 'Prominchyk sontsya lyubovi' (The ray of sun's love) and other periodicals and literature, which was effective means of religious upbringing and formation of national consciousness of the Ukrainian youth¹¹.

The Studite Sisters also conducted active educational activities and educated rural Ukrainian inhabitants. During 1924–1939s nuns organized several preschool organizations, four orphan's schools, each of them counted approximately 25 children. The nuns also worked as nurses in hospitals; did sewing, embroidering, weaving; worked with the youth in reading halls¹². They directed their activities on the rise of spiritual level

⁹ *Монаший устав Св. Теодора Студита на Україні.* (1995): Рим, р. 3.

¹⁰ Сениця, П. (1973): *Світильник істини. Джерела до історії Укр. Катол. Богословської Академії у Львові 1928–1929–1944.* Торонто–Чикаго, р. 170.

¹¹ Студити (1938). In *Український Християнський календар.* Львів, pp. 48–54.

¹² Лаба, В. (1990): *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький.* Люблін, р. 40.

and national-cultural revival of the native nation. During the Second World War, the Studite Sisters were hiding in their orphan's schools even Jewish children, though it was very dangerously for them. But in such way they showed the high level of the deep Christian love and charity.

One more monastic union, founded in 1911 (on initiative of Andrey Sheptytsky) was the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (CSsR or Redemptorists Fathers). Ukrainian Redemptorists or the Order of the Most Holy Redeemer, founded after the model of Belgian union, was called for the mission works. However, developing their activities on the Ukrainian lands, Redemptorists Fathers opened even own gymnasium in Lviv. Besides philosophical-theological studios, attached to their monastery, were also functioning.

Close to the orders and institutes of consecrated life mentioned before, great contribution to the cultural-educational development and national rise of the Ukrainian inhabitants of Galicia was made by such monastic communities as Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph (Josephite sisters), Congregation of the Sisters of St. Priest and Martyr Josaphat (Josaphat sisters), Congregation of the Sisters Myrrh-bearers under the Protection of St. Mary Magdalene (Myrrh-Bearing sisters), Congregation of the Vincentian Sisters of Charity (Sister of Charity), Congregation of the Most Holy Family.

The Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph was founded in honour of Saint Joseph the Spouse in the village of Cebliv near Belz. They directed their activities on the glorifying of God and national revival of the Ukrainian nation. The activities of the Josephite Sisters were realized by organising and conducting of preschool institutions in native tongue; supporting guardianship on the orphans; founding of special orphan's schools, where children were receiving religious and national upbringing; acquainting rural girl with norms and rules of Christian life, care of patients and their preparation to the devout death, decorating of churches¹³. The list of the centres of educational activities of Sisters of St. Joseph on the lands of Peremyshl, Sambir and Sian eparchies (with the pointing of the amount of children who studied there) is shown in Table 2.

The Congregation of the Sisters of St. Priest and Martyr Josaphat was founded in 1911 (in honour of Saint Hieromartyr Josaphat Kuntsevych). The nuns organized preschool institutions and orphan's schools, took care of sick and old people. In spite of little amount of Josaphat Sisters in monasteries, they conducted wide successful cultural-educational and tutorial activities. For instance, only six nuns of Busk monastery made

¹³ Центральний державний історичний архів України у Львові, ф. 408, оп. 1, спр. 261, а. 1.

Table 2. Preschool institutions and orphan's schools of Sisters Iosafatok on the territory of Peremyška, Sambirska, and Sianicka eparchy in 1938–1939.

№	Locality	Type of institution	Amount of children there	№	Locality	Type of institution	Amount of children there
1	Boianec	2	30–40	9	Mokrotyn	2	55
2	Vyshtachi	2	35–45	10	Potelych	2	60
3	Vysocko	2	30	11	Sebechiv	2	60
4	Variash	2	50	12	Surohiv	2	45
5	Dykv	2	30	13	Chlibchany	2	70
6	Zhuzhil	1		14	Cebliv	2	50–60
7	Zhuravycia	2	30	15	Javoriv	2	40
8	Zabolotci	2	35		All		650

efforts to support a separate preschool institution; to teach the youth to sew and to embroider; to take care of sick people¹⁴. Sisters managed not only to form working skills, but to provide spiritual rise and to develop national self-awareness of the youth.

The Congregation of the Sisters Myrrh-bearers¹⁵ was one more female religious institute, which worked in the sphere of national revival and conducted educational and charitable activities. It was founded in 1886 by the father Julian Dacy. Their tasks were not only to give material and moral help to those who needed it, but also to supply their spiritual rise and to consolidate national identity as well as to support them in case of necessity¹⁶. Before the Second World War this community had three centres and accounted 94 sisters¹⁷.

The Congregation of the Vincentian Sisters of Charity was founded in Galicia in 1926. Apart from its direct duties to take care of sick and infirm people, they also conducted cultural-educational activities. In particular, on the territory Archyeparchy of Lviv, they supported a charity school for unemployed maids, a tailor's school and took care of orphans and sick people¹⁸. In 1938 the Sisters looked after patients in hospital named after Metropolitan Sheptytsky, supported a charity school for girls and a hostel for female pupils¹⁹.

¹⁴ Центральний державний історичний архів України у Львові. ф. 408, оп. 1, спр. 260, а. 2.

¹⁵ Кубійович, В. (1980): *Енциклопедія українознавства*, т. 4. Париж–Нью-Йорк, р. 1539.

¹⁶ *Спомини про сестру Анну Стадник зі згромадження сс. Мироносиць*.: Жовква, р. 15.

¹⁷ *Нарис історії Василянського чину Святого Йосафата*. (1992): Рим, р. 346.

¹⁸ *Шематизм греко-католицького духовенства Львівської архієпархії на рік 1930*.: Львів 1930, р. 160.

¹⁹ *Шематизм греко-католицького духовенства Львівської архієпархії на рік 1938*.: Львів 1938, р. 93.

The Congregation of the Most Holy Family also conducted activities. They brought up children in four preschool institutions on the territory of Stanislav eparchy²⁰.

In spite of diversity in the monastic unions, differences in their statutes and aims, all of them were working for one common goal, i.e. spiritual renewal, national revival and cultural rise of the Ukrainian nation. However, in spite of high results of monastic work, its disinterestedness, vital necessity for the Ukrainian nation in 1946, i.e. after the liquidation of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church by the Soviet Power, all Greek-Catholic monasteries were destroyed by force.

Under conditions of the independent Ukrainian state, monastic communities renew their activities in the channel of spiritual-moral and national upbringing of children and the youth. However, the absence of the following actions and lost traditions became substantial obstacles on the way of broadening of directions and amounts of tutorial-educational and cultural activities of modern monasticism. Simultaneously, the necessity of such work, owing to the force of increasing and complication of social-pedagogical problems still remains very real.

The history of the Ukrainian nation, its cultural and spiritual inheritance is the bright example of the selfless mission of the Ukrainian church. In the end of XIX – beg. XX the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church played the most important role in the formation of national consciousness, deepening of the inner world, cultural rise of the Ukrainian nation on the territory of West Ukrainian lands.

For the realization of the spiritual-educational mission of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church separate monastic organizations were founded. The tasks of the reformative (Basilian Fathers and Sisters), renewed (the Studite monks) and newfounded (the Sisters Servants, Studite Sisters, Sisters of St. Josaphat, Sisters of St. Joseph the Spouse, Redemptorist Fathers and Sisters, Myrrh-Bearing Sisters etc.) monastic institutes were the consolidation of religious and moral values as well as the formation of national consciousness of Ukrainian children and the youth and diverse charitable activities.

National upbringing was a priority sign of educational process of tutorial and educative institutions (such as orphan's schools, shelters, preschool institutions, primary and professional schools, gymnasiums, lyceums, hostels) which were organized by the monastic orders and institutes of consecrated life.

²⁰ *Шематизм всего клира греко-католицької Єпархії Станиславської на рік Божий 1938.*: Станиславів 1938, р. 190.

By virtue of the patronage of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky the National museum was opened in Lviv, which became the cultural treasury of the Ukrainian nation. Not only national cultural monuments were saved, but also the environment for the saving and development of national traditions was formed, thanks to the museum's activities.

The activities of educational and tutorial institutions, which were functioning under the leadership of the religious, were stopped because of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church by the Soviet Power. Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and its communities of consecrated life renewed their activities under the conditions of independent Ukrainian state. However, due to the absence of the following actions and lost traditions, the scales of educational and charitable activities of monasticism has not reached high amounts up to present days, in spite of urgency in such works.

Civil education in the theory and practice of Women's Civil Work Association in the Second Polish Republic

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One of the main aims of Women's Civil Work Association (Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet) (1928–1939): the largest and the most influential women's organisation of the Sanation political camp in Poland in the interwar period, was the creation of a new model of a woman citizen and forming and educating women, in concordance with ideological and political ideas of the Sanation (the state-forming idea of J. Piłsudski), to be “a new type of citizens”, aware of their rights and duties, who take an interest in the affairs of the state and who take an active stance towards the strengthening of the new independent state. The Association tried to achieve this aim by organising various forms and methods of civil education, setting up and running various educational, supportive, an economic institutions, which made it possible for the Association to bring into effect its ideas, including the main goal, that is, the creation of a modern, active, and responsible woman citizen.

Key words: *citizen; civil education; forms and methods of civil education*

During the interwar period Women's Civil Work Association (Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet: ZPOK) was one of the largest and most influential women's organisations of the Sanation camp in Poland. At its height the organisation had 31,000 members¹. It was established on March 25, 1928 and it was active nonstop until the outbreak of World War II.

The association presented a clear political and ideological stance. Its political character was manifest in its attempts to increase the awareness

¹ Zofia Moraczewska states (cf. Almanach. Kalendarz Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet. Rok 1932. [Almanach. Calendar of Women's Civil Work Association. Year 1932]. Warszawa: 1932, p. 9) that in 1932 ZPOK had over 50,000 members. The figure appears grossly exaggerated. According to the most recent findings made by J. Dufurat the number of registered members was only slightly higher than 31,000.

and political independence of women in the Sanation movement. "The stance of ZPOK on political matters was consistent with the intellectual attitudes of the Sanation camp, which became manifest first and foremost in the adherence to the 'will and thought' of J. Piłsudski and incorporation of state ideology"², i.e., the main aim of ZPOK was to develop the ideas of J. Piłsudski that were fundamental to the contemporary Polish state. Making life political, a Sanation slogan, was particularly popular with the activists of the Association, because it was consistent with the image of the woman as a healer of public life. The image was being constructed since the beginning of the Second Polish Republic. Women were supposed to contribute to building a state based on "a truly democratic system that calls out to all the equal citizens to work creatively for the good of the state"³. In this appeal the activists saw a chance for women to become fully fledged citizens by fully participating in the public life that women theretofore had had no influence on⁴.

That is why the idea of civil education of women was the greatest goal of ZPOK. They aimed to create "a new type of Polish woman citizen", who is aware of her rights and civil duties, who is interested in the problems of the state, who is independent, feels responsible for the state and participates in the efforts "to increase the ethical, cultural, economic, and social standards"⁵. Zofia Moraczewska⁶ would claim that "to call oneself a true citizen one must learn to make his everyday work, regardless of where he performs it and with what tools, a creative link in a great entirety and one must learn to put the good of the people before his own needs"⁷.

The model of citizenship promoted by ZPOK was consistent with the state ideology propagated by the Sanation camp. This ideology emphasised the superiority of the state as an independent and objective

² Chojnowski, A. (1996): *Moralność i polityka. Kobięce lobby w Bezpartyjnym Bloku współpracy z Rządem* [Morality and politics. Women's lobby in the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government]. In *Kobięta i świat polityki w niepodległej Polsce 1918–1939* [Women and the World of Politics in the Independent Poland of 1918–1939]. Warszawa, p.166.

³ Moraczewska, Z. (1928): *Nasz program* [Our Programme]. *Praca Obywatelska*, Issue 1, p. 4.

⁴ Dufnat, J. (2013): *W służbie obozu marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego. Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet (1928–1939)* [In Service to the Camp of Marshal Józef Piłsudski. Women's Civil Work Association 1928–1939]. Kraków–Wrocław, p. 168.

⁵ Z Kongresu Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet [From the Congress of Women's Civil Work] (1938). *Kobięta w Pracy*, Issue 9; *Statut Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet* (1931) [Statute of Women's Civil Work Association]. Warszawa.

⁶ ZPOK founder and chairman until 1933.

⁷ Moraczewska, Z. (1932): *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet* [Women's Civil Work Association]. Warszawa, p. 12.

entity, with its own awareness and laws. In this conception of the state it was an institution superior to society with its structures, social divisions, and social awareness⁸.

In relation to these assumptions the activists of the Association would frequently emphasise that the theretofore educational ideas were no longer meaningful in an independent state. One of the ZPOK leaders, a member of the Head Office (Zarząd Główny), Ludwika Wolska wrote: “the era of the independence before the Partitions failed to create a citizen in the positive and modern understanding of the term. (...) What is more, the negative attitude towards the occupation governments, a specific relation to the authorities, great effort put into maintaining national identity without any thoughts and feelings towards our own state, which was at the time nonexistent, left the masses – and not only the uneducated masses – with certain difficulties in shaping a positive attitude towards the state and an emotional and intellectual connection with the state organism”⁹.

At the same time the Association undertook to implement a new model of women’s civil education, consistent with the main aims of the state. Hanna Pohoska¹⁰ wrote that: “our idea must lie in the education of a citizen who is aware of his duties to the state, who is capable of fulfilling these duties, and who possesses an inner will/imperative to fulfil the duties”¹¹.

Pohoska developed the assumptions and the ideological basis for civil education as promoted by ZPOK. She would claim that “the family, the school and all the organisations in the Polish state that work for the good of the society and the state ought to be involved in civil education”¹², and that “our aim should be to achieve perfect harmony in enlightening citizens by these three means. There must be a perfect harmony in defining the goals as well as the selection of the methods in civil education”¹³. That is why all of these educational environments were

⁸ Paruch, W. (2005): *Myśl polityczna obozu piłsudczykowskiego 1926–1939* [Political Thought of the Camp of Józef Piłsudski]. Lublin, p. 100.

⁹ Wolska, L. (1932): *Wychowanie państwowo-obywatelskie* [State and Civil Education]. Warszawa, p. 3.

¹⁰ A leader of ZPOK, its chairman from 1936 to 1938. In the years 1931–1933 she was head of the Civil Education Commission with the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment that worked on the reform of school curricula.

¹¹ Pohoska, H. (1932): *Wychowanie obywatelskie* [Civil education], *In Almanach. Kalendarz Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet. Rok 1932*. [Almanach. Calendar of Women’s Civil Work Association. Year 1932]. Warszawa, p. 20.

¹² The same, p. 22.

¹³ The same, p. 22.

assigned proper aims, tasks, and methods of civil education. Greatest emphasis was put on the tasks and methods of civil education typical of social and political organisations.

According to Pohoska, civil education begins in the family environment, when a child “learns about the world around it, starts to speak and to address others as individuals. If the child is not taught to take others into consideration, if it is not taught to be responsible, our later civil and educational work shall be made extremely difficult”¹⁴. Pohoska states that the role of the family is essential and “it is not diminished even later, when the child is in its school years. What the youth hear at home, what opinions they hear on matters of the society and the state, is often stronger than the influence of the school, often in the negative sense. In few cases will the influence be positively good or bad, that is, the family hardly ever educates a child to be for or against the state. The family is typically indifferent to matters of the state and has no conscious influence on children in this context. One must bear in mind, however, that such indifference is, in fact, unconsciously against the state, and if it is connected with the interests of the family being considered superior to those of the state, and if the laws of the state are ignored, than an anti-state attitude may be shaped”¹⁵.

In civil education at school (with the institution understood as “a unit of social life”), according to Pohoska, there need to be different forms and rules. “The school must be aware of the fact that it is a social group and the interests of this group, that is, education of children and youth, ought not to be superior to those of the entirety: the state. The school is established to undertake a planned and pure educational effort. (...) The civil and educational work of schools needs to be closely connected with teaching and upbringing. Schools have a unique chance to fulfil the ideals of civil education. They benefit from the curricula, and by working on the curricula they instil perseverance, agility, and dedication to work. (...) At the same time, social feelings, the love for the fellow man, the ideas of humanitarianism and solidarity can develop. However, all of this ought to be connected with the good of the Polish state, that is, the supreme good”¹⁶. Simultaneously Pohoska emphasises that the educational task must be carried out at all levels of education. She wrote that “school is to be understood as the entirety of education of children and youth, from nurseries to universities. That is because only a coherent education in all

¹⁴ The same, p. 22.

¹⁵ The same, p. 23.

¹⁶ The same, p. 23.

these types of schools can create a coherent attitude of the citizens towards the state. There cannot be any differences. The educational ideal needs to be the same starting with the first level of schooling (including nurseries) and ending with the last one. In any other case every school shall create a different citizen, citizens of the first, second, and third class, which is unacceptable in a democratic state: in a state that is intended to consist of citizens and citizens only. That does not mean that there cannot be any ethnic, religious, political, and social differences between the citizens: to the contrary, the citizens may be, as Marshal Piłsudski proposed, a rainbow of opinions ranging from the darkest violet to the reddest red, as long as the attitude of 'the self' towards the state is pure and subordinate"¹⁷.

The third area of educational work that Pohoska defined are social and political organisations. She emphasises that one must realise that for a number of these organisations "civil education is not a goal: to the contrary, they tend to see civil education as the teaching of some social or political doctrine! We must oppose such understanding of education. A particular social or political doctrine must raise its followers, it is its God-given right and the fundamental condition for its, development, however, it only has this right if it forgets not about the duty to educate Polish citizens, who should be ready to keep the side of the state in case of its conflict with the doctrine. It is obligatory to promote state education for all these organisations that are based on the state, that include people of various social and political attitudes. Nevertheless, if we delved into the ideology of our political opponents as well as supporters and find within them an ultimate political plan, then, except for those against the state itself, we would find one core idea: the good of the Polish state. On this basis a common educational and civil ground for all the political options ought to be established. The role of the supporters of the state, that is, those who through their social and political work present the state as a value higher than the interests of social groups, is to convince other groups that they should stand on a common ground of civil education for the sake of the common good that they serve"¹⁸.

Pohoska also notices the necessity to form proper civil attitudes; she wrote: "when we raise the structure of our statehood after years of enslavement, we must raise such structure in the souls of the citizens, as well. This cannot be done in any other way than through a powerful new

¹⁷ The same, pp. 23–24.

¹⁸ The same, p. 24.

¹⁹ The same, pp. 19–21.

educational ideal in the souls of our teachers and parents, and in the awareness of the entire society. An emotional regeneration of the entire Polish nation needs to take place. The mentality must be changed from that of slaves to that of free men. (...) our idea must lie in the education of a citizen who is aware of his duties to the state, who is capable of fulfilling these duties, and who possesses an inner will/imperative to fulfil the duties. The latter is manifest every day through one's love, veneration, and respect for the State. The three conditions: awareness (understanding), and will, or emotion, are fundamental to the creation of a civil spirit"¹⁹.

It is the idea of Pohoska that an aware citizen, i.e., a citizen meeting "the three conditions", is an individual who is "independent and creative, (...) an individual who must take an active stance towards the ideas of respect and necessity: an individual who can rule and who can obey"²⁰. The author of "Civil Education" emphasises the essential role of an individual's responsibility in fulfilling the role of a citizen: "an individual ought to understand that his responsibility increases when he manages the strength and efforts of others. And to the contrary, an individual subordinate in his work is more responsible for his efforts, so he needs to be helped in his work, rather than interfered. These are some fundamental rules of social life, especially a social life within an organisation. An individual who has received civil education needs to have a deep understanding of the common good and he must be deeply convinced of that one's own good needs to be sacrificed for the good of others. The belief that the common good is not a sum of the goods of all individuals is the basis of civil morality. That is because a different understanding leads to egoism, to subordination of the good of the society to individual issues and needs"²¹. What is more, Pohoska claims that a citizen is obliged to "to try and understand the political, social, and economic structures of the contemporary Polish state: he should be engaged in politics, which does not mean that he has to be a member of a party – it is necessary that he has a deep interest in the life of the state, and takes an active, rather than passive, stance towards the phenomena around us"²².

Pohoska clearly defines the civil awareness of a group, at the same time defining the very notion of a group. She wrote: "a group can be a family, an association, a community of people aware of their

²⁰ The same, p. 21.

²¹ The same, p. 21.

²² The same, p. 22.

distinctiveness and of purpose (...). The members of the group ought to be deeply convinced that they can, and that they sometimes have to make their own interests subordinate to the interests and the needs of the group, however, the interests of the state can never be subordinate to those of the state. Every group, without any exceptions, must serve the state and its good in every respect"²³.

Pohoska is convinced that "an individual who has received civil education needs to have a deep understanding of the common good and he must be deeply convinced that one's own good needs to be sacrificed for the good of others"²⁴. Moraczewska explained that it is only he "who sees the State as his precious home, whose happiness is entirely connected with the happiness and the development of the state, it is only he who can really call himself a citizen in the full sense of the term!"²⁵.

Joanna Dufurat points out that being active in politics was one of the requirements of the promoted image of a "new female citizen". The activity was to consist in taking an interest in current political affairs, and voting. The leaders of the Association would underline that participating in elections was one of the most important civil duties to be fulfilled by women²⁶. However, greatest emphasis was put on the value of women's social activity in the model of women's citizenship propagated by the Association. Leokadia Śliwińska, one of the leaders of the organisation, claimed that social work that encouraged a proactive stance and initiative among the members of ZPOK was to constitute an essential element in the process of civil education understood as a way of shaping the morality of the members and raising their sense of self-esteem²⁷. Śliwińska stated that "to educate a citizen means to teach him to develop the values of everyday life so that each moment becomes a part of the common good. That means that social work ought to be developed so that it is well-thought-out and loved and introduces an order of justice and good where there used to be ignorance and harm. That means to create strength in place of weakness"²⁸.

In the image of an active woman citizen developed by ZPOK great importance was attached to, as J. Dufurat properly points out, "feminine

²³ The same, p. 22.

²⁴ The same, p. 21.

²⁵ Moraczewska, Z. (1929): Wydział Uświadomienia Obywatelskiego [Department of Civil Awareness], *Praca Obywatelska*, Issue 3.

²⁶ Dufurat, J.: op. cit., p. 172.

²⁷ Śliwińska, L. (1933): Obowiązki członkiń ZPOK [Duties of the members of ZPOK]. *Praca Obywatelska*, Issue 24, p. 4.

²⁸ Dufurat, J.: op. cit., p. 172.

nature” and the competences related to the traditional social roles of women, that is, those of mothers and wives. These roles give women’s citizenship a unique value in the life of the nation and the state²⁹.

At the same time, bringing up the society was one of the duties of modern, active women citizens. Women citizens were to take care that “Polish society is raised to a high level, that ethics, in the broad understanding of the term, unconditional honesty in public and private life, a deep sense of honour, civil courage, righteousness in the choice of methods, and nobleness in action were in the blood of the contemporary generation and became the qualities of all the citizens of Poland”³⁰. Women also need to “carry the values of order, harmony, selflessness in politics, ability to make creative efforts, and a healthy social instinct”³¹.

Dufurat points out that the domination of social work in the efforts of the ZPOK members was a necessity. It resulted from the way that their leaders believed that there was a connection between the little interests that women held in public affairs and their livelihood. Women were poor, they had too many responsibilities on their homes and families, they lacked leisure time and education³². That is why care for a proper development of women’s education, increasing their professional skills, combating discrimination on the labour market, and establishing supportive institutions had to become a crucial element of the process of women’s civil education³³. Moraczewska admitted: “we are aware of the fact that to allow all women to reach such a high level they must be raised from the hopeless dullness and immensely hard labour of everyday life. They need support in carrying the burden of maternity, which often takes up all their strength, they need to be protected from the lawlessness of marriage, family, and professional relationships (...). Once they are free of the burdens that drive them to the ground it will be easier for them to learn to think like true citizens”³⁴.

The beliefs of the leaders were reflected in the structure and the programme of the Association which combined the work of the society and the state with everyday efforts to strengthen the social and economic position of women.

²⁹ The same, pp. 172–173.

³⁰ Moraczewska, Z. (1932): *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet* [Women’s Civil Work Association]. Warszawa, p. 11.

³¹ Odezwa [Proclamation] (1930). *Prosta Droga*, Issue 36, p. 1.

³² Dufurat, J.: op. cit., p. 173.

³³ The same, p. 173.

³⁴ Moraczewska, Z. (1932): *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet* [Women’s Civil Work Association]. Warszawa, p. 11.

In practice, ZPOK was a social organisation whose mission was to “pull up” women, who were mostly uneducated, by encouraging them to become engaged in public affairs. That is why it was one of the forms of the activity of the Association to organise readings and lectures on social and civil problems, and to set up educational centres, day rooms, to organise training courses, and to publish newspapers and magazines. Specialist and legal advice centres were run for women and girls looking for work or with private and family life problems. Help and support centres were established³⁵. In relation to their original understanding of the idea of civil education, the members of the Association made vast efforts in day rooms, Labour Circles, and numerous methodology courses; they organised public readings and conducted discussions on the general matters of the state in which masses of women of all social groups in Poland participated. They would constantly strive for self-improvement, and they raised their intellectual, moral, and civil standard.

To bring their ideas into effect, the Association took on an original organisational structure: the basic local and organisational Units were organised in towns and villages. They were, in turn, combined into Poviats Associations at the poviat level. At the level of voivodships the Poviat Associations were combined into Voivodship Associations. These would report directly to the Head Office in Warsaw, which, in turn, was divided into departments dealing with all the matters of the life of the state and the society. The work was carried out by the specialised Departments. Offices analogous to the Departments of the Head Office were organised with the Boards of Voivodship Associations, Boards of District Associations, and the Units.

In total there were 8 Departments at the Head Office: the Department of Civil Education, Women’s Affairs, Care for Mothers and Children, Economic Production, Rural Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Press, and the Financial Department. From the perspective of the aims of the Association, that is, bringing into effect the ideal (model) of a woman citizen, the Department of Civil Education was the most important one³⁶.

The Civil Education Department organised and ran: education, readings, discussions, instructor training courses, training courses, day rooms, clubs, Labour Circles, libraries for instructors, reading rooms, travelling instructor training courses, and vocational schools. The Department developed the civil awareness of its member and prepared

³⁵ Chojnowski, A.: op. cit., p. 167.

³⁶ *Almanach. Kalendarz Związku Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet. Rok 1932.* (1932). [Almanach. Calendar of Women’s Civil Work Association. Year 1932] Warszawa, p. 229.

them for social and political work. The educational and civil efforts of the Department were mostly undertaken in the day rooms ran by the institution, where courses, lectures, discussions, and practical Labour Circles were ran, following a curriculum of state education as a logical entirety³⁷. That is how the work in day rooms became one of the most developed forms of the educational and civil work of ZPOK, which aimed to educate and form new citizens. It became the main area of the activity of ZPOK; it had first-rate educational qualities, and it made it possible to simultaneously influence “the mind, the emotions, and the will of an individual, to develop his personality, and to prepare him for an active role in social life”³⁸. The work in day rooms was carried out by Offices of Civil Education in the entire country.

The curriculum of civil education in day rooms was defined by an activist of the Association, Ludwika Wolska, in a brochure published in Warsaw in 1934 titled “Civil education in social organisations”. According to Wolska, the aim of civil education in day rooms was to form a citizen who “understands the value of the Polish state, knows about the life of the state, and who is aware of his life duty to increase the power and might of the state through independent, individual effort, who is aware that fulfilling this duty is his responsibility before future generations, and who can properly assess the gravity of honour and good name, and, as a result, who constantly, consciously, and free willingly makes his own interests subordinate to those of the State. Nevertheless, the basic condition in the education of a good citizen is the moral value of an individual”³⁹. Wolska pointed out that the main goal of the work in day rooms was to “educate the heretofore passive and unaware girls and women to be thoughtful, loyal, and active citizens”⁴⁰. That is why the members of the Association used the day rooms to pass down “civil knowledge” and to form “proper civil attitudes and civil action”⁴¹.

³⁷ Moraczewska, Z. (1933): *Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet* [Women's Civil Work Association]. Second edition. Warszawa, p. 12.

³⁸ Praca świetlicowa. Instrukcja dla świetlic Z.P.O.K. (1934). [Work on day rooms. Instructions for ZPOK day rooms] Warszawa, p. 3.

³⁹ Praca świetlicowa..., op. cit., s. 8–9.

⁴⁰ The same, p. 5.

⁴¹ The same, p. 4.

Cursed with patriotism. The educational potential of enslavement (Polish society in the Russian Partition of Poland in the first half of the 19th century)

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The paper presents the educational space of Polish homes and schools during the Partitions of Poland, with emphasis on its crucial role in the process of integration of the young generation, the birth of solidarity among them, and shaping their national and civic identity. Especially the Enlightenment ideas of the Commission of National Education (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej – KEN) that were to be found in the course books of the Wilno Educational District from 1803 to 1832 made it possible to perpetuate the model of patriotic education originated in family homes.

Key words: *Russian Partition of Poland, patriotism, Polish school, family, Russian press*

The title of the paper appears provocative, although it is consistent with the trendy assumptions of postmodernism, namely:

- rejection of ideals and authority,
- dissemination of relativism,
- undermining of values.

In this case, the times of the Partitions of Poland, which are typically associated with enslavement and martyrdom treated as “untouchable good” and “sacredness” of the nation, seem to be easy to be appropriated by this type of culture (civilisation).

However, in the context of history of education, I am reluctant to negate the importance of the events of that period and I do not want to undermine the hitherto findings of historians or the ideals and values that were crucial for the contemporary society. I do not wish to find any advantages of the Partitions, I do not wish see them as causes of “progress and modernisation”¹. This would be a misunderstanding,

¹ The interview of Dorota Wodecka with J. Sowa titled “Imaginary Poland”, published in “Magazyn Świąteczny” of “Gazeta Wyborcza”, which contains a number of controversial

because removing the unnecessary cult of martyrs or myths from history is one thing, and a complete deconstruction of everything that pertains to the human condition and the condition of the society is another.

That is why I would like to address the problems of the educational space in families and schools which, in the context of the Partitions, are typically discussed from the perspective of repressions and the fight for Polish identity. I would like to emphasise the importance of this space in the integration of the young generation and the formation of their national and civic identity.

One needs to bear in mind that some of the most important Polish political and educational reforms (Commission of National Education: Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, KEN, Constitution of May 3, 1791) were carried out in the times of the enslavement. Also the outstanding works of Polish messianic Romantic poets: Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Krasiński, Norwid were created then. These facts had a substantial influence on the political and social condition of many generations of Poles. Especially the ideas of the Commission of National Education reminded people of their responsibility for the country and the nation, care for the well-being of citizens, and observance of law. The schools that functioned in the Taken Lands, occupied and incorporated into the Russian Empire at the end of the 17th century, would continue to teach students these values almost until the end of the 1820s. They were the last generation educated with the use of the course books and curricula developed by KEN. Although the Wilno Educational District used to declare its loyalty to Russia, the tradition of the Commission instilled the ideas of freedom and the fatherland in young people. They were taught how to fight and die for Poland, and heroic ancient Romans were their role models. The boys attending the schools in the Wilno district would often introduce the attitudes and views shaped by their families into the new environment. The parents, and especially grandparents, remembered independent Poland. During the last years of the free state some of them were engaged in creating the new model of enlightened nobility, consisting of citizens aware of their duties towards the community and the country. It was from their influence that the children acquired their first visions and notions connected with the fatherland and freedom, and learned unambiguous attitudes towards the occupiers.

The secondary schools of the Wilno district faced no major obstacles in implementing the KEN curriculum, and they promoted enlightened

statements, among others: "The Partitions meant progress and modernisation for Poland, in many aspects" [Retrieved on: 08. 11. 2013]

ideas that could never be accepted by Petersburg and an education model that was in many cases compatible with what the children were taught in their families. In 1803 the list of subjects for poviats schools included, among others, Russian, Polish, geography, history, and “instructions on the duties of a man and a citizen”, and in grammar schools also history of the world, introduction to political economics, and advice “to study and to translate works that shape hearts, that instil a proper understanding [...] of the duties of a citizen”².

Since the University of Wilno was as a unit superior to the schooling system of the district, it was possible for the university to avoid introducing major changes to the curricula and the course books. It was only in 1817 that the decision to remove certain subjects was made, including political economics, and a special Committee formed to control education in Russia was to secure “the unity of knowledge, faith, and government”³.

The list of course books that were theoretically to be altered certainly included *Grammar* by Onufry Kopczyński, a Piarist. The 1807 and 1815 editions of the book, published in Wilno, were practically reprints of the KEN editions⁴. The author used many examples to teach children the notion of the fatherland: for instance, to illustrate the lesson on parts of speech he quoted Horatio’s “it is sweet and honourable to die for the fatherland”, and in the lesson on syntax a reference is made to the legendary Roman leader Coriolanus, who “having accomplished much for the fatherland [...] went into exile”⁵. When discussing “proper names”, nomenclature from the geography of Poland was used: “Warszawa – a city”, “Poland – a country”, “Wisła – a river”⁶.

The selection of texts presenting the types of speeches: from political ones and Sejm addresses to courtroom speeches and sermons, prepared by Paweł Chrzanowski, a Piarist and a professor of Polish and Latin literature⁷, must have been a cause of great excitement among

² Kornilov, I. (1879): *Sbornik materialov dlja istorii prosveščenijsja v Rossji*, Vol. 2. Sankt Petěrburg, pp. 189–247.

³ Beauvois, D. (1991): *Szkołnictwo polskie na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich 1803–1832* [Polish Schooling System in Belarussian and Lithuanian Lands 1803–1832], Vol. 2: *Szkoły podstawowe i średnie* [Elementary and Secondary Schools], Rome–Lublin, pp. 307–308, 328–329.

⁴ Kopczyński, O. (1778–1783): *Gramatyka dla szkół narodowych* [Grammar for National Schools], Vols. 1–3, Warszawa.

⁵ Kopczyński, O. (1807): *Gramatyka dla szkół narodowych na klasę I* [Grammar for the 1st Grade of National Schools], Wilno, pp. 9, 11, 84.

⁶ The same, pp. 21–22.

⁷ Chrzanowski, P. (1816): *Wybór różnych gatunków mowy wolnej ze stosownymi uwagami* [Selection of Various Genres of Rhetoric with Necessary Notes], Warszawa.

young students in the Russian Partition. The choice was aimed at shaping patriotic and civic attitudes of the young generation and at integrating them around the idea of freedom related to the best of traditions of KEN. When studying the principles of Sejm addresses boys read the best speeches of the MPs in the sessions of the Great Sejm. One can only imagine the students' reactions to the address of Aleksander Linowski of Krakow Voivodeship, quoted by pr. Chrzanowski: "The people who, in their desire of liberty, begin by throwing off the foulest of yokes, I shall call people close to happiness [...]"⁸. And so must have been the young people moved by a sermon of Piotr Skarga in which he predicted the fall of Poland: "You shall be [...] without your Fatherland, without your Kingdom, you shall be miserable, despised, indigent exiles [...]. You shall serve you enemies [...] and they shall place a yoke of iron around your necks"⁹.

The notions of fatherland, nation, freedom, constitution, and exile, employed in the texts of Kopczyński and Chrzanowski, must have had a powerful influence on students. It is certain that history played a leading role; however, in the contemporary secondary schools great importance was placed on Antiquity, which is why the opportunities to fulfil this role were limited. History of Poland was typically taught in the last grade, which limited the boys' knowledge of the chronicles of their country, especially taking into account that not all of them completed their education. That is why teachers used the history of Antiquity to lecture on the problems of patriotism and citizenship, as was the case with other subjects. *Historia książąt i królów polskich* [History of Princes and Kings of Poland] by Tadeusz Waga, a Piarist, was used for a long time to teach the history of Poland in the Wilno Educational District. The course book was used in the schools of KEN¹⁰, however, it was not valued highly. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's *Śpiewy historyczne* [Historical Songs], published in 1816, offered a much more compelling form¹¹. The book presented leaders, kings, and some events from the history of Poland. The series of poems, preceded by the *Bogurodzica* hymn, was a hornbook of patriotism, especially because their author was a legend, a hero of the past era as a graduate of the Knights' School (Szkoła

⁸ The same, pp. 120–121.

⁹ The same, p. 246.

¹⁰ *Historia książąt i królów polskich krótko zebrana przez X. Tadeusza Wagę...* (1806) [History of Princes and Kings of Poland Briefly Narrated by pr. Tadeusz Waga...]. Warszawa.

¹¹ *Śpiewy historyczne z muzyką i rycinami Juliana Ursyna Niemcewicza* (1816) [Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's Historical Songs with Music and Drawings]. Warszawa.

Rycerska), a political activist during the Great Sejm, Kościuszko's aide-de-camp in the 1794 uprising, and Kościuszko's fellow prisoner in the Peter and Paul Fortress. His words from the last chapter titled "Comments on the fall and the character of Polish Nation" were a lesson of patriotism: "in our times [...] we saw our youth take up their arms with utmost enthusiasm [...] to repel the aggressors. [...] Our ancestors always loved her, for she was magnificent, she was the land where they received so much freedom and so many benefactions [...]. The love of the fatherland is a common trait and virtue of our nation"¹².

A new history course book written by Józef Miklaszewski also contained patriotic and civic messages. Its third edition was published in Wilno in 1832, that is, in the period when the position of history as a school subject was threatened. The very date printed before the introduction: May 3 (1820) had a clear overtone, and the content left no doubts as to the character of the book: "From among the subjects of national education, a precise knowledge of the history of one's own country is important and necessary for every Polish citizen"¹³.

At the same time, *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu* [A Pilgrim in Dobromil] by Izabella Czartoryska, published in 1818 in Warsaw as a history course book for common people, enjoyed great popularity. The book contains stories about Polish kings, princes, and saints, told by a narrator who might be a former soldier in the 1794 uprising, now residing in a village near Kraków. He emphasises "Poles' bravery and devotion to the fatherland"¹⁴. One of the stories taught children a prayer for the fatherland, and the text was concluded with an address to priests to always "finish the Mass with a patriotic call to the gathered people"¹⁵.

Lessons of natural and political law, political economics, and rights of nations, contained in the course book written by pr. Hieronim Strojnowski and published for KEN in 1785, were of crucial importance in development of civic and patriotic attitudes of secondary school students. The questions of freedom, nation, independence, justice, and constitution that students could not mention openly were addressed in the course book, discussed in class, and described in students' notebooks.

¹² The same, pp. 433–434.

¹³ Miklaszewski, J. (1823): *Rys historii polskiej od wzniesienia się monarchii aż do ostatniego upadku i rozbioru kraju* [Outline of the History of Poland from the Rise of the Monarchy to the Final Fall and the Partitions of the Country]. 3rd edition. Wilno, p. III.

¹⁴ *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu, czyli nauki wiejskie z dodatkiem powieści z 40 obrazkami* (1919) [A Pilgrim in Dobromil, or, Village Teachings with Stories and 40 Pictures]. Warszawa, Przedmowa [Introduction].

¹⁵ The same, pp. 174–175.

During the lecture on the rights of nations they would learn that “all nations are sovereign and independent of all other nations [...]. In this regard [...] all nations are equal [...]”¹⁶, and that “every nation has the right to use its strength to defend itself against the aggression of other nations”¹⁷. In the last paragraph the last question was addressed, as well, and clear reference to the contemporary state of affairs was made: “A nation in a state of war [...] has every right to use its strength and weapons to defeat the armed and fighting enemies! [...] The law of war [...] allows not an individual nor an eternal enslavement [...] of the people taken prisoner in war, nor the dependency or enslavement of the entire defeated nation, nor a part of it”¹⁸.

The information that was officially accepted for the Wilno Educational District would reach the students without any obstacles until July 1823, when the Novosiltsev committee arrived in Wilno to conduct an investigation in relation to the events that had taken place on May 3 in a gymnasium. They would concentrate on the curricula and the course books. Political law raised their highest objections. Initial calculations showed that in the previous 20 years in all the gymnasiums in the districts there had been 2,500 students taking classes in this subject in the 5th grade¹⁹. The explanations of the headmaster of the Wilno Gymnasium that “not all the students of the 5th grade put much effort into the subject”²⁰ did not persuade Novosiltsev to change his decision: political studies were removed from the curriculum. The decision was justified as follows: “[...] the studies, taught in all the schools, form an army of unlawful individuals [...] and since they are obligatory, the ideas that they propose are instilled in everyone”²¹.

Beginning with September 1, 1824 history of the Antiquity and the world as well as geography were substituted for the lessons in law²². A few months later, the course books of Strojnowski, Kopczyński, and Chrzanowski were removed from the list of books allowed to be used in schools. In October of the same year lectures in history of Poland were banned, along with the course book of Miklaszewski²³. That is how

¹⁶ [H. Strojnowski], *Nauka prawa przyrodzonego...* (1785) [Lessons in Natural Law...]. Wilno, §3, pp. 240–241.

¹⁷ The same, §5, p. 244.

¹⁸ The same, §20, pp. 335–337.

¹⁹ Lithuanian State Historical Archives [LVIA], f. 567, ap. 2, b. 1327, k. 162.

²⁰ The same, k. 110.

²¹ Beauvois, D., op. cit. p. 356.

²² LVIA, f. 567, ap. 2, b. 1374, k. 431.

²³ LVIA, f. 567, ap. 2, b. 1469, k. 22.

Novosiltsev made an attack on the problems of nation and patriotism included in course books and disseminated through the didactic and educational process.

The trial of the Philomates and Philarets initiated because of the events in the Wilno Gymnasium became the cause of “subversive” demonstrations of the district’s youth, among others in the towns of Kiejdany, Kowno, Poniewież, Świśtocz, and Kroże. The “harmful spirit” that manifested itself among the students was a proof that not only there were “harmful and dangerous” curricula implemented in schools, but also that there was a student solidarity born because of them.

The sentences that were pronounced in 1825 in the trial of university and secondary school students in Wilno predicted further repressions, and the changes in the curricula initiated the Russification in the schooling system. After more than 50 years since the first Partitions of Poland, Russia needed additional 30 years to acknowledge the successfulness of their actions. However, the society became an impediment, as its members were brought up in the ideas of freedom as well as responsibility for the state and the nation. Inspired by Horatio’s verse: “it is sweet to die for the fatherland”, they would engage in conspiracies, rebellions, secret societies, and uprisings. Young people also used to take up the responsibility of educating further generations of young Poles by teaching patriotism and sacrifice for the fatherland on the basis of their own example.

Russian 19th century press contains substantial information about how the generations that were educated in the Russian Partition of Poland before 1830 passed the values that they had learned at home or at school down to their children and grandchildren. In the contemporary Empire the image of a Pole as a “false patriot” was thus promoted. Since their early childhood Poles were to have been instilled with contempt towards everything that was Russian, and they would reinforce their attitudes by reading banned works of literature.

During the January Uprising, “Vilenskij vestnik” published an article in which it was claimed that the source of the hostility and anti-Russian sentiments lay in the atmosphere of the multigenerational Polish homes and the specific methods of education used there. The author explained that in every Polish home “there is a drawing of some Russian officer in epaulettes and next to it there is one of Kościuszko or some other leader in plain clothes, so that it is very simple for a child to tell the two apart. When a child starts making its first steps, its mother, sister, or brother, or any other family member, starts to repeat the following game every day, as a lesson. They raise the child in their arms to the level of the first

portrait and they say: 'Bad! Bad!' and they make the child spit on it. Then they move on to the next picture and they say: 'Good! Good!' and make the child kiss it. Once the child is well-trained, it crawls to the portraits by itself and repeats the lesson [...]". As the author claims, the next step of teaching Poles hostility towards Russia is school education. It is then that, with the assent of the family, "the youth learn by reading patriotic texts, particularly those written by Mickiewicz, a nobleman from Nowogródek, who is filled with hatred of Russia, and who is talented, which makes the subversive character of his works all the more powerful"²⁴.

After many years such image of Poles was still being perpetuated by Russian press, which makes one convinced that the patriotic education during the times of Partitions that was realised in family homes and schools, and after the uprisings at home only, was always of crucial importance to Poles. Vasilij Kunin's account of the demonstrations that took place in Wilno before the January Uprising, published in "Ruskaja Starina" monthly in 1893, may serve as an example. 30 years after the described events, the author attempts to find the cause of the anti-Russian demonstrations of the youth and he finds them in the "irresponsible" Polish families, which are proud that their sons "throw themselves into every demonstration"²⁵.

In the discussed articles published in Russian press, as well as many earlier ones, Russian readers are presented with the image of a "Polish rebel", a disloyal subject, whose liberation demands are pathetic and contemptible. Simultaneously, contemporary Poles saw the same texts as the result of the patriotic and civic attitudes of their parents and grandparents which had been shaped at the turn of the 18th and the 19th century by the ideas in the KEN curriculum, which were subsequently to be found in the curricula and the course books in the Wilno Educational District.

²⁴ Volgin, A.: Pisma na rodinu, „*Vilenskij vestnik*” 1866, Issue 19.

²⁵ Kulin, W. P. (1893): Iz zapisok vilenskogo starožila. Dva epizoda iz žizni Vilenskoj gimnaziji v 1861 godu, „*Ruskaja starina*” Vol. 79.



Czech national awareness in Moravia in the revolutionary years 1848/1849

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This study focuses on the process of the gradual shaping of Czech national awareness in Moravia from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards when the necessary conditions for the development of improved mutual relations between the Czech (Slavic) population in the two Lands of the Czech Crown – Bohemia and Moravia – were slowly being formed. Moravia faced a number of handicaps to the development of a national revival in comparison with Bohemia, the most significant of which was the relatively high degree of Germanisation of the land. A change to the image of Moravia came in the revolutionary years 1848/1849, when Czech national awareness spread to broader sections of society in Moravia. The view of Bohemia held by the Moravians underwent significant change and a period of increasingly intensive political and cultural contact between the two lands arose.

Key words: *national awareness; nationalism; shaping of modern Czech nation; provincial patriotism; Slavism; constitutional connection; the “spring of nations”; the work of civic associations*

Let us first remember the words of the distinguished Moravian poet Jan Skácel, who worked for many years in Brno, who said the following on the issue of Moravia a number of decades ago: “*Moravia is a remarkable country if only for the fact that it exists and does not exist.*” These few words hold the key to the fundamental question: *Are the people of Moravia Moravians or Czechs?* This topic has been the subject of much discussion (of varying levels of intensity) for almost two centuries. Many views have been expressed on the issue of the identity of the people of Moravia (Moravians – a group in which the local Germans also included themselves) and much debate held on their relationship with the Czechs and on the history of the constitutional position of the Margraviate of Moravia within the Lands of the Czech Crown. The principal subject of interest to the historians up to the end of the

eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century was investigation of the essence and transformation of the provincial awareness of the Moravian aristocracy and their relationship to the Czech aristocracy.

With the emergence of a modern national awareness associated with the industrial revolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was necessary for this movement to be placed in the framework of the great political, social and cultural changes that had set society into motion. It ceased to be an issue merely within the aristocratic environment, but became a process in which other sections of the population, particularly the middle class, educated people and the emerging political classes, were gradually involved. The term nationalism became widely used for this turmoil in society which brought with it the idea of the nation. Today, we generally associate this term with a dangerous force threatening order and political stability accompanied by excesses occurring in the name of the nation. Nationalism, as we know, has not, however, given rise only to negative phenomena such as jingoism, racism, aggressiveness and destructive militant notions of the exclusiveness of one's nation associated with militarism, but in its beginnings played its part in the formation of modern democratic society. In the first half of the nineteenth century, it was associated with the democratic and cultural aspirations of a middle class that was becoming emancipated which can be called a national movement (also popularly referred to as a national revival), representing a purely intellectual affair that was instrumental to the development of culture and education among the broad masses of the population.

An understanding of the development of national awareness in Moravia must be based on analysis of the history of the Czech national revival in Moravia, whose modest beginnings can be found at the end of the eighteenth century. This emerging national movement played a decisive part in the development of Czech society in Moravia, where the dominant political, economic and social position had been held, until this time, by the German minority. The population of Moravia in these years was about 1,700,000, of which seventy percent spoke the Czech language.¹

The idea that the province formed an independent entity that was not part of a Czech-Moravian identity was widespread in Moravia; any talk of

¹ A detailed investigation of the socio-political situation in Moravia up to the year 1848: Řepa, M. (2001): *Moravané nebo Češi? Vývoj českého národního vědomí na Moravě v 19. století* (Moravians or Czechs? Development of Czech National Awareness in Moravia in the 19th Century). Brno, pp. 7–76.

a wider entity generally had Slavism in mind. What bound Bohemia and Moravia together was, first and foremost, the Czech language (though the Moravians usually referred to it as “Slavic”), though the importance of this factor was in decline as Moravian dialect forms had permeated into the language, followed by the Czech saints – Wenceslas, Ludmila, Vojtech, Procopius and John Nepomuk. Language and history were, then, considered the foundation of Czech-Moravian kinship.

Moravia faced a number of handicaps to the development of the shaping of modern Czech nation in comparison with Bohemia. Most important was the absence of a centre for the national movement in the way that Prague was for Bohemia (the largest Moravian cities Brno and Olomouc tended rather to compete against each other), followed by the influence and attraction of the capital city Vienna and the associated strong degree of Germanisation in the largest Moravian towns (Znojmo, Jihlava, Uničov, Šumperk and Šternberk, in addition to Brno and Olomouc). These towns tended to copy life in the nearby metropolis Vienna; Brno was even sometimes referred to as a suburb of Vienna, while Olomouc stood at the forefront of Pan-German nationalism in Moravia. The Moravian countryside, which had not experienced a great national awakening, could not act as a centre of a national revival with its predominance of a Czech-speaking population with strong dialect influences. The rural population was not affected by a historical awareness and remained apart from the course of cultural events. The situation among the aristocracy and the middle class was just as problematic. This left merely the intelligentsia, though this was generally German or Germanised; Moravia lacked a leading figure of the national revival of the like of Josef Dobrovský or Josef Jungmann in Bohemia. The penetration of the Czech language into the theatre, journalism and literature also lagged behind. All of this caused Moravia to undergo a rather different development in terms of the question of a deepening of national awareness and to lag behind Bohemia by a number of decades. Perhaps the only advantage held by Moravia in this area was the larger proportion of Catholic clergymen among the propounders of the national revival. It must be emphasised that historical awareness was the basis for the development of national awareness throughout the entire nineteenth century in Moravia, as national awareness is, first and foremost, awareness of a common past, and this was extremely weak here. The concepts of homeland and nation were entirely alien to the unpropertied and uneducated population of Moravia.

The first revivalist generation in Moravia was dominated by a “provincial patriotism”, often with a deeply ingrained distrust of

“Hussite” Bohemia by “Catholic” Moravia. The national movement in Moravia took on the form of “Moravianism” based on the patriotism to the provincial estates of the Moravian aristocracy which jealously guarded the political and administrative “independence” of Moravia and asserted a vision of “no constitutional connection with Bohemia”. In contrast to the Czechs, the Moravian aristocracy retained a far greater influence in the land in 1848 than the aristocracy in Bohemia. There was said to be just one nation in Moravia – the Moravian nation – divided by language into German and Slavic (Czech) “tribes”.

Slavism was a strong intellectual movement in Moravia in the first half of the nineteenth century. The idea of a great Slavic nation (community) covering an extensive part of Central, Eastern and South-eastern Europe took hold among patriotic intellectuals and reinforced their resistance to the strengthening German nationalism.

The relationship between the Czechs and the Moravians was made difficult by a number of disputes and often by a sense of jealousy caused by a feeling that the Czechs ignored and underestimated the Moravians. This was also reflected in the linguistic area, in which efforts were made to incorporate Moravian dialects into standard Czech. Views were expressed on the Moravian side, in contrast, that Moravia was the heart of the Czechoslovak Lands and was charged with the task of acting as an intermediary and a link between the Czechs and the Slovaks. Generally only Czechs (i.e. from Bohemia) living in Moravia were responsible for cultural relations between the Czechs and Moravia before 1848. Bohemian Prague only gradually became a cultural model for the majority of Moravian patriots. National life in the two Lands of the Czech Crown developed in relative isolation from one another, however.

The shaping of modern Czech nation did not grow into a national movement in Moravia as it had in Bohemia even in the eighteen forties, but remained restricted to individuals or small centres such as the Augustinian monastery in Old Brno, for example (we might mention the two distinguished names of F. M. Klácel and the founder of genetics J. G. Mendel).²

For the people of the Habsburg Monarchy, the end of the eighteen forties saw a long-awaited release from the existing restrictive political situation. The spring of 1848 brought partial liberalisation (the adoption of a constitution, a weakening of censorship) which politicians and

² Čapka, F. (2003): *Morava. Stručná historie států (Moravia. A Brief History of States)*. Prague, pp. 102–106. Also: Čapka, F. (2001): *Dějiny Moravy v datech (The History of Moravia in Dates)*. Brno, pp. 125–139.

journalists, in particular, took advantage of. Rallies were held and civic associations constituted. Even Moravia was affected by the revolutionary spirit of the “spring of nations”, though considerably less than and rather differently from Bohemia. No dramatic events took place in Moravia (and its important centres Brno and Olomouc) of the kind that took place in Bohemia, and in Prague in particular (the constitution of the “Saint Wenceslas Committee”, the petitioning of the emperor, the constitution of a National Guard, the Slavic Congress and the subsequent June Uprising in Prague). During this revolutionary period, the Moravian politicians concentrated largely on the demarcation of Czech-Moravian relations. The unrest among the workers at a number of places in Moravia had a generally socio-economic subtext.

The first impulse towards stirring up discussion in Moravia on the scope of its independence was the demand for the constitutional connection of Bohemia, Moravia and (Czech) Silesia expressed in Prague by representatives of the “Saint Wenceslas Committee” on 11 March 1848 in a petition addressed to Emperor Ferdinand I in Vienna. On the position of Moravia, the petition spoke of the Moravians as the “native brothers of the Czechs” and demanded the same rights for them as the Czechs had.³ Its authors sought support for the text of this petition in Moravia. Because it had been written without consultation with the Moravian Provincial Diet, however, it met with a lukewarm, even negative, response here as the Moravian functionaries took the chosen procedure as a deliberate oversight of attitudes in Moravia and an attempt by the Czechs to decide the fate of Moravia behind their backs. The representatives of the Moravians at the last Moravian Provincial Diet of the Estates emphasised the necessity of maintaining Moravian autonomy in particular in reference to the “higher principle”, i.e. the principle of freedom. Only in the following months did the idea of freedom come to be overshadowed by the interests of the growing Czech and German movements.⁴ Their longing for freedom was closely accompanied by

³ Note the following fundamental part of the petition relating to Moravia: “*Moravians, brothers of the Czechs, with whom they have lived in alliance since ages past, and who therefore recognise the same needs as they, ask the following: 1. For them to be accorded the same rights as those won by the Czechs..., in respect of both the system of provincial government and the system of local government. 2. For Moravia to remain independent regardless of this level of rights... 4. For the members of the Czech and Moravian assemblies to come together for joint debate. 5. For the Czech and Moravian nation to guarantee each other civic freedom and national equality.*” For more detail see: Čapka, F.: *Dějiny Moravy v datech (The History of Moravia in Dates)*, op. cit., p. 140.

⁴ Colours on ribbons or flags became the outward sign of national radicalisation; at the beginning of the spring of 1848 the white colour (the colour of freedom) was still used

demands for autonomy.⁵ They took a decisive stand against the connection of Bohemia and Moravia, as in their opinion Moravia was an independent land belonging exclusively to the union of the Habsburg monarchy.

A special address to the emperor in Vienna was formulated at the *Moravian Provincial Diet* in the middle of April 1848 (as a response to the separate talks of the “Czechs with Vienna”) containing a protest against the Prague petition that had demanded the “merging of the estates of the two lands”, and expressing a contrasting demand for Moravian autonomy within the Austrian Empire.⁶ The Czech constitutional viewpoint (the Prague petition) was defended by merely a section of the Moravian journalists and intellectuals and by around two hundred local representatives, mainly from central Moravia. The Moravian Germans, on the other hand, were firmly against it and adopted an address to the emperor in Olomouc on 19 March in which they demanded the connection of Moravia to the German lands of Austria, saying that otherwise “the Moravians would become slaves after being joined with Bohemia”.

The elections to the Pan-German “Frankfurt” assembly that took place in the border lands and the ethnically mixed Czech-German areas of

by everyone. Gradually those holding the German ideals began to wear black, red and yellow, Austrian patriots began to wear black and yellow, while Czech and “Slavic” patriots wore red and white.

⁵ The last Moravian Provincial Diet of the Estates was held in Brno on 30 March 1848; it was comprised of lords, knights, church dignitaries and representatives of the royal towns. The majority of the 69 deputies present were members of the aristocracy and representatives of the Catholic Church (mostly Germans). The towns (also largely represented by German deputies) held seven votes. From 14 April, the diet was expanded to include a further thirty deputies from seven royal towns in Moravia (Brno 10, Olomouc 7, Jihlava, Znojmo and Uničov 3 each, Uherské Hradiště and Kyjov 2 each). For more detail see: *Ibid*, p. 141. The new constitutional Moravian Provincial Diet met in Brno on 31 May 1848. It was made up of 261 deputies, of whom 124 were Slavs-Czechs; it is known as the “peasant diet” in view of the large number of deputies from rural towns and villages. For more detail see: Janák, J.: *Návrh moravského zemského zřízení z roku 1848 o složení zemského sněmu* (Proposal of the Moravian Provincial System of Government of 1848 for the Composition of the Provincial Diet). In Janák, J. (2007): *Morava v národním a politickém ruchu 19. století* (*Moravia in the National and Political Turmoil of the 19th Century*). Brno, pp. 11–21.

⁶ The given address also stated that “*the Margraviate of Moravia has always been a land separate from and independent of Bohemia, in spite of the fact that there has always been a close bond here in view of their shared nationality. Connection with Bohemia would be a violation of the Moravian constitution and the independence of the land... The Margraviate of Moravia would, however, support the related Czech Kingdom in view of the preservation of a strong and friendly union and the similarity of their nationalities and languages, so long as this is not to the detriment of the independence of the land.*” *Ibid*.

Moravia in May 1848, which were characterised by an atmosphere of increasing German nationalism and contributed to a growth in Czech-German antagonism, can be seen as a certain turning point in the strengthening of Czech national awareness in Moravia. The Moravians began to feel the danger of Slavic denationalisation from the Germans among their fellow citizens more intensely. The Moravian Germans, who were strong both politically and economically, represented the greatest obstacle to the joining of Moravia and Bohemia; the Moravian Jews, who were heavily Germanised, were in agreement with the Germans on this matter. From the middle of 1848 onwards, it became increasingly clear that cracks were appearing in the coexistence of the Czechs and the Germans as represented by a provincial awareness of belonging to the same land, i.e. Moravia, and these cracks gradually widened into a situation of conflict. The factors that had unified them thus far now ceased to be priorities in the newly forming civic society in Moravia. The two nationalities split into sides with widely differing opinions. The ideas of nationality and national awareness took hold to the detriment of provincial interests.

Awareness of the fact that the Czech-speaking Moravians formed a different community to their German fellow citizens aroused greater interest in Bohemia among the Moravians. The years 1848 and 1849 provided the Czechs and the Moravians with a number of opportunities to come together. The first such official contact between the patriotic elites of the two lands came at the beginning of June 1848 at the *Slavic Congress*. Even though this Slavic summit did not prove a success, it was a significant aid to the development of national awareness. Representatives of the Moravian patriotic community (around a hundred delegates out of the total number of around 340 participants) were able to meet up here with the elite of Czech social, cultural and (the emerging) political life. A “spirit of national unity between the Moravians and the Czechs” was asserted at joint talks. Wishes for unification still came from Prague more than from Moravia, and evoked considerable indignation among the Moravian Germans.

The *Imperial Diet* proved far more favourable soil for shaping Czech national awareness. The Czech Moravians had ceased to seek allies in the German deputies from Moravia, looking now to the Czech deputies from Bohemia. Moravian politicians abandoned their provincial viewpoint and began to focus more on a broader national (Czech) politics. The newly established association of Moravian compatriots contributed to this in Vienna. Co-operation between Czech and Moravian politicians continued at the Imperial Diet in Kroměříž, to where its proceedings had

moved from Vienna in November 1848. They met up in a joint Slavic grouping that included the Moravian section. Kroměříž and the entire Haná region were alive with these extraordinary events and became the centre of Czech life in Moravia. Various festivities, rallies and marches (although initially organised primarily in honour of the presence of Emperor Ferdinand) provided significant momentum for Czech-Moravian rapprochement and a deepening of national awareness. This was fully reflected in the draft text of a new constitution put forward by the principal representative of the Czech national movement in these years, the historian František Palacký, at a meeting of the constitutional committee on 23 January 1849. This paper proposed the division of the Austrian Empire into eight groups of countries according to national criteria; one part was to be comprised of the Czech Lands (i.e. Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, though without the German borderlands) and Hungarian Slovakia. This proposal documented the view that the division of the Czech Lands according to nationality was practically impossible. The events of the following days in March 1849, however, put an end to this proposal; the Kroměříž Diet was dissolved and a centralist constitution forced upon the Austrian Monarchy.

The foundation of patriotic institutions in Prague provided a model for the Moravians to strengthen patriotic feeling. The fact that the Moravian press began to depict the Czechs as people close to the Moravians made a great contribution to the development of national awareness – the Czechs were most commonly referred to as *brothers* (or *blood brothers*), Moravia as their *sister*. Sometimes the word *twins* was used. In spite of this, however, it must be said that Moravians still did not usually refer to themselves as Czech in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The first patriotic organisations in Moravia were the “*Slavic Lindens*” which performed mostly civic and cultural educational work; the first such Slavic Linden was established in Olomouc at the end of May 1848. This association is often called the first political association in Moravia, whose primary stated aim was close co-operation with Bohemia and the constitutional connection of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, including the cultivation of Slavic mutuality.⁷

Czech Moravia was, however, still lacking a centre of the kind represented by Prague and its National Committee in Bohemia. The Slavic Lindens scattered around Moravia were not able to form a central

⁷ For a clarification of this issue see also: Malíř, J. (1990): *Morava na předělu* (K formování národního vědomí na Moravě v letech 1848–1871) (Moravia at the Turning Point – The Shaping of National Awareness in Moravia in the Years 1848–1871). In *Časopis Matice moravské* (The Journal of the Moravian Foundation), pp. 345–363.

body of any kind. The newly constituted Moravian Provincial (“peasant”) Diet was unable to fulfil the role played by the National Committee in Prague. Czech Moravia also lacked the kind of personalities that Prague could boast (F. Palacký, K. Havlíček). Moravia’s strengths were splintered between Brno and Olomouc. The association constituted in Brno at the beginning of June 1848 under the title *Jednota moravská (The Moravian Union)*, which aimed to contribute to book publication for Czech-speaking Moravians, tried to act as a certain kind of substitute for a central Moravian institution. The *Národní jednota sv. Cyrila a Metoděje (The National Union of Saints Cyril and Methodius)*, which aimed to “awaken and reinforce national awareness”, set itself a similar goal in the middle of April 1849. The union saw the means for fulfilling this goal in the publication of books and magazines, the foundation of libraries, and the development of Czech education.⁸

The revolutionary years 1848–1849 began to change the face of Moravia. Social conditions relaxed for the Czech national movement in Moravia, and people were freely able to become acquainted with ideas such as nation, homeland and national awareness. Journalism helped the national awareness to penetrate into broader sections of society, though represented primarily by the population of the towns and the rural intelligentsia. Its penetration into wider civic society would still have to wait. Nevertheless, the years 1848 and 1849 changed the view of the Czechs held by the Moravians fundamentally and strengthened Czech national awareness and a sense of fellowship with the Czechs. Two facts assisted these developments: 1. heightening Czech-German antagonism led to Czech-Moravian rapprochement, and 2. increasingly intensive political and cultural contact between the Czechs and the Moravians.⁹ Czech national emancipation, which culminated in October 1918 in the declaration of Czechoslovak independence and, shortly afterwards, the Czechoslovak Republic, was subsequently founded in the emerging ideals of cultural independence and political state sovereignty in the two Lands of the Czech Crown.

⁸ An image of Moravia in eighteen forty-eight is provided by: Macůrek, J. (1948): *Rok 1848 a Morava (1848 and Moravia)*. Brno.

⁹ For more detail see: Řepa, M.: op. cit., pp. 77–105.



Discussion about education in the Parliament of the Second Polish Republic

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In the Second Polish Republic two main concepts of education were defined: national education, represented the National Democracy (Narodowa Demokracja), and state education, proposed by the Sanation camp: the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem – BBWR). These two concepts were confronted in the addresses of the MPs and senators in the parliament of the Second Polish Republic which pertained to the legal bases of the education system. However, developing a consensus regarding the education of the young generation in a society divided along national, religious, and political lines turned out to be difficult. It can be proposed that neither Roman Dmowski earlier, nor Józef Piłsudski later managed to fully implement their concepts of education.

Key words: education; the concept of state education; the concept of national education,; Parliament; Second Polish Republic

Discussions and arguments about the education of young generations date back to times immemorial. They are a part of the history of civilisation, and they take place on numerous levels: philosophical, ideological, political, economic, and social ones. The discussions ensue in family homes, public and government institutions, and the media. In democratic states, the Parliament becomes a natural setting for the debates on the education of future generations¹.

In the Second Polish Republic there were 1037 sessions of Sejm and 342 sessions of the Senate. They started with the first Legislative Sejm (1919–1922) of the independent state of Poland, and ended with the

extraordinary session of Sejm and the Senate which took place on September 2, 1939, after the Nazi aggression. The work of the Senate of the Polish Republic began on November 28, 1922. Its sessions were held considerably less often than those of Sejm. The parliamentary sessions were accompanied by sittings of Sejm committees, which were an “introduction” to debates in Sejm. Throughout the years 1918–1939 the political scene was constantly changing. There were several dozens of political parties and groups that made up diverse constellations in the Parliament. Especially in the parliamentary democracy prevalent until 1926 the political parties played a decisive role in the legislative and the executive. Depending on their power and prominence in different political alliances, the parties would influence the decisions of the parliament and the educational policy of the government through their delegates². After 1926, when the Sanation led by Józef Piłsudski took the power, the role of the Parliament was limited, and the importance of the executive increased. However, in spite of the legal and administrative limitations pertaining first and foremost to the political parties of the opposition, and the difficult conditions in which they had to work – which is reflected in, among others, the numerous interpellations of the Members of Parliament – political parties remained active until the end of the Second Polish Republic.

The political parties and groups, along with the teachers’ organisations and pedagogues who cooperated with them, tried to use the pedagogical thought from the times of the Partitions to develop a fundament for the education of the young generation, which was to be included in their programmes. In the Second Polish Republic two main concepts of education were defined. They were: national education, represented generally by the National Democracy³, and state education, represented

² Since 17. 11. 1918 in the Second Republic of Poland there were 29 cabinets with 18 prime ministers. Some of them would occupy the position a number of times, e.g. Wincenty Witos was the prime minister three times, and Kazimierz Bartel five times. Professors Antoni Ponikowski and Julian Nowak as well as Janusz Jędrzejewicz and Kazimierz Bartel were simultaneously prime ministers and ministers of Religions and Public Enlightenment, which served to increase the importance of this Ministry.

³ National Democracy (Narodowa Demokracja – ND, commonly called “endecja” because of the abbreviation) or the national movement (ruch narodowy). The term National Democracy applies to the entire national democratic camp, which included not only the formal political structures, but also numerous organisations and economic, social, cultural, sports, and women’s societies and associations. The national democratic camp constituted a wide political circle joined by ideological, organisational, and personal connections. Political groups (People’s National Union – Związek Ludowo-Narodowy, National Party – Stronnictwo Narodowe) were at its core. Roman Dmowski (1864–1939) was a co-founder and the main ideologue of the movement.

by Sanation⁴. The latter idea appeared later, in 1927. The concept of national education was formed during the times of the Partitions and it would evolve after the regaining of independence. Its supporters proposed the role models of “a man as a citizen, a hero, a good worker” (S. Szczepanowski) and “the citizen soldier” (Z. Balicki), as well as the idea of “service to God and the Fatherland” (L. Zarzycki)⁵. In the parliament, the national democratic camp was represented by People’s National Union (Związek Ludowo-Narodowy), which was transformed into the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe) in 1928. The idea of state education relied upon the concept of a society conscious of the importance of the state and the *raison d’état*, social solidarity, and the cult of labour⁶. In the years 1928–1935, the main political organisation of the Sanation camp was the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem – BBWR), which consisted of all pro-Sanation political parties: Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna – PPS), Polish People’s Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe – PSL) “Wyzwolenie”, Peasant Party (Stronnictwo Chłopskie), Christian Agrarian Party (Chrześcijańskie Stronnictwo Rolnicze). In 1937, a renewed attempt was made at an integration of the Sanation camp into the Camp of National Unity (Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego – OZN).

The debates about schooling in the Legislative Sejm were mostly devoted to creating legal bases for the unification of the curricula and the administration of the education system in the entire state, developing the standards of teachers’ work, education, and wages, as well as solving the problems of the financing of schooling related to the multiple currencies and hyperinflation. Although the themes related to the ethos of education were not a frequently addressed in the speeches of the MPs, they were not altogether ignored. They were an issue for the right wing politicians, following the idea of national education. It was only with the works on the

⁴ Sanation (Sanacja) – an informal name of the political camp of Józef Piłsudski (1867–1935), functioning from 1926 to 1939, and formed in relation with the slogan of “moral sanitation” of the public life in Poland coined by its leader. The slogan was used before and during the coup d’état of May 1926.

⁵ Chojnowski, A. (1979): *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921–1939* [Concepts of the National Policy of the Polish Governments in the Years 1921–1939]. Wrocław.

⁶ Jakubiak, K. (1994): *Wychowanie państwowe jako ideologia wychowawcza sanacji* [State Education as the Educational Ideology of the Sanation]. Bydgoszcz; Magiera, E. (2001): *Ideał wychowania państwowego w II Rzeczypospolitej* [The idea of state education in the Second Polish Republic]. In: *Przemiany edukacyjne w Polsce i na świecie a modele wychowania* [Educational Changes in Poland and the World and Models of Education]. Kraków.

March Constitution of 1921 pertaining to religion, education, and schooling that arguments regarding obligatory religion classes (favouring the Roman Catholic denomination) in schools and religious schooling, supported by the MPs of People's National Association (Związek Ludowo Narodowy – ZLN), National People's Union (Narodowe Zjednoczenie Ludowe – NZL), National Christian Workers' Party (Narodowo Chrześcijańska Partia Robotnicza – NChPR). The representatives of this camp would emphasise that religion is an essential element of national education, based on Christian values. The members of PPS and PSL "Piast" argued that "schools should first and foremost educate good Polish citizens, rather than followers of various religious denominations". They proposed that the latter element would be dominant in religious schools. At the same time, it was not argued that religion classes be banned from schools altogether: it was only their obligatory character that was questioned⁷. The resulting compromise led to the removal of religious schools, while the obligatory religion classes remained in state and local-government schools. Intense arguments on these issues took place in Sejm with the ratification of the 1925 Concordat. Article 13 was a source of the greatest controversies. The article confirmed and broadened the decisions of the March Constitution (art. 120) pertaining to the obligatory character of religion classes in all public schools except universities. Private schools also had to run such classes, if they wanted to keep their public school rights. Although the regulations of the art. 13 pertained only to teaching religion at school, rather than religious education or the religious character of schools, a discussion about the supposed "threat" of religious schooling and clericalist society was initiated by the left wing parties and minorities of Communist origin⁸. The question of children from non-religious families and religious minorities was to be solved by an executive act⁹.

In Sejm of the first term (1922–1927) the struggle for the introduction of national education as a dominant element of the education system was

⁷ Transcript of the 181st session of Legislative Sejm of 4. 11. 1920, columns 31–36; 188th Legislative Sejm session, 23. 11. 1920, columns 58–63.

⁸ Transcript of the 187 SU session, 24. 03. 1925, columns 94–269, and 92 Senate sessions, 23. 04. 1925, columns 383–442. Speeches of the MPs: K. Czapiński (PPS), Z. Piotrowski (PPS), J. Putka (PSL "W"), and senator J. Woźnicki (PSL "W"), MP: T. Błażejowicz (ChD) and senator M. Thulie (ChD).

⁹ Except for the circular of the MWRiOP of 05. 01. 1927 pertaining to, among others, the establishment of interclass and interschool groups of children for religion classes (which was hardly ever carried out), no practical legal and administrative solutions were introduced.

initiated in 1925 with the educational reform project of the Minister of Religions and Public Enlightenment Stanisław Grabski¹⁰. The project limited the access of vocational schools graduates to higher education. It was developed by the Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment (Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego – MWRiOP)¹¹ by a close group of co-operators and since it was never consulted with teachers, and the Left was strongly opposed, it was impossible for it to be introduced. It was on the Sejm agenda on November 3, 1926, and it was sent to the Education Commission, which did not discuss it, because the Commission's make-up was changed.

After the coup d'état of May 1926 the Sanation camp took the power. Once the political situation became stable, the works on an educational ideology and schooling system reform began. Because it was believed that the education of youth may change reality, slogans promising the building of the a new society were used to gain popularity among the public. In 1927, the term "state education" was coined. Speeches of Sanation camp MPs emphasise the necessity to bring up new citizens loyal to the state with its symbols and power, including the personality cult of J. Piłsudski. It was stressed that all citizens need state education, including ethnic and religious minorities, which were never to be a part of national education. The idea of state education would, therefore, address the crucial problem of ethnic minorities. The representation of these minorities in the subsequent terms of Sejm was increasingly numerous and active.¹²

The nationalists were hypersensitive to issues concerning ethnic minorities and they could not comprehend the rights that the minorities were granted with the Treaty of Versailles and the compromise of the March Constitution. This was reflected in, among others, the borderlands acts, i.e. the so-called "lex Grabski", with their strong nationalist tendencies¹³. To address the allegations of the ethnic minorities, S. Grabski wrote: "it is

¹⁰ Stanisław Grabski (1871–1949), Legislative Sejm and the 1st term Sejm MPWRiOP minister in the cabinets of Władysław Grabski, Aleksander Skrzyński, Wincenty Witos.

¹¹ Ministry of Religions and Public Enlightenment (Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego – MWRiOP) consisted of 2 departments, dealing with problems of religions and education.

¹² In the 1st term Sejm the national minorities bloc had 89 MPs (20% of all representatives). It included Ukrainians, Russians, Germans, and Jews. It was even more numerous in the Senate (24%). The number decreased in the subsequent terms of the Sejm, because some oppositional Ukrainian and Belarussian MPs were arrested after the coup d'etat of May 1926.

¹³ The so-called borderlands acts were mainly penned by S. Grabski. They included the act of 31. 07. 1924 with its decisions on the organisation of schooling for the Ukrainian,

necessary for the Polish state school in the Polish state to educate non-Polish youth as good Polish citizens, just like Polish youth. They should, therefore, be given the Polish culture of the spirit, the love of Polish literature, art, the cult of Polish national heroes, and the pride in being a part of the Polish state”¹⁴. The subsequent actions of the MWRIOP caused diverse reactions: some would perceive them as an attempt at a unification of the schooling system, others, in turn, would see them as repressive towards national and religious minorities. The number of the so-called urgent propositions and interpellations undermining the policies of the cabinet was rising rapidly. It was claimed that the constitutional and Treaty rights securing freedom of religion and upbringing in one's own language, tradition, and culture were being violated¹⁵. The interpellations addressed various cases where it was impossible for people to bring up their children in the religion and culture of the parents. This included the ban to promote minority cultures in minority languages, the obligation to work and attend school during religious holidays, violation of religious celebrations, and the lack of respect for the traditions of ancestors. Complaints on the imposing of the Polish national ethos were also included. The interpellation by K. Daczka and R. G. Piesch, MPs from the German Union parliamentary club, about the problem of respecting the parents' right to make decisions about the upbringing of their children¹⁶ as well as the numerous interpellations of Ukrainian and Belarussian MPs complaining about the obligatory Roman Catholic religion classes that children from Orthodox and Greek Catholic families had to attend, and the obligatory education in Polish schools may serve as examples¹⁷.

Lithuanian, and Belarussian minorities of the Lwowskie, Stanisławowskie, Tarnopolskie, Wołyńskie, Poleskie, Nowogródzkie, and Wileńskie voidvodships and the Grodzieński and Wołkowskyjski districts of the Białostockie voivodship. Dz. U.RP, 1924, Issue 79, pos. 766.

¹⁴ Grabski, S. (1927): *Szkoła na ziemiach wschodnich. W obronie ustawy szkolnej z 31 lipca 1924 r.* [Schools in the eastern borderlands. In the defence of the schooling act of July 31, 1924]. Warszawa, p. 8.

¹⁵ The collection stored in the Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw includes over 10,000 interpellations. According to A. Ajnenkiel and A. Gwiżdż the number amounts to only 2/3 of all interpellations, mostly of the MPs. Ca. 500 of them pertained to general issues related to schooling and education. In compliance with the Sejm statutes, they were directed to the MWRIOP and other ministries. The majority of the interpellations were proposed by MPs of the ethnic minorities bloc. The interpellations reflect the most painful social problems of the time.

¹⁶ Interpellation no. 465 of 21. 04. 1923 submitted by K. Daczka and R. G. Piesch during the 33rd session of Sejm on 23. 11. 1928, column 4.

¹⁷ E.g. interpellation no. 162 of 21. 04. 1923 submitted by MPs of the Ukrainian Club during the 33rd session of Sejm on 23. 11. 1928, column 4.

In general, the Sanation camp did not reject or negate the idea of national education, however, they would emphasise the anachronistic character of the ideology shaped under foreign occupation. It was claimed that these ideas were useless in the new, independent state; the state that was also still weak, multinational, and inhabited by members of multiple religious denominations. In such a society, the preferences of one particular nation or religion could not be accepted. Therefore, it was proposed that it was necessary to rise above the national conflicts for the sake of the common good of all citizens. This led to an attempt to reform the education system. Throughout 1926–1928 projects of the reform were being developed by Kazimierz Bartel and Gustaw Dobrucki, ministers of the MWRiOP in the cabinet of Józef Piłsudski. Although the projects were well-received by teachers, they were never legislated. This was a result of the lack of political and economic stability of contemporary Poland. Also, there was no political will to initiate a discussion about these project in Sejm.

The cabinet's act on the organisation of schooling written by Janusz Jędrzejewicz, minister of the MWRiOP, was an expression of a stabilisation of the schooling system. After a heated debate, the act was passed by Sejm on February 26, 1932, and by Senate on March 11, 1932¹⁸. The essence of the legal changes introduced by the act lay in the transformation of schools from teaching institutions to educating ones. The aim was to be realised through the promotion of a social, citizen, and patriotic ethos. J. Smulikowski claimed that state education was a synthesis of this ethos, because it took into account the "regional mosaic" of Poland¹⁹. Even though Janusz Jędrzejewicz would initially propose that national education was, in fact, nationalistic education, which is why was it was unacceptable in a country where ethnic minorities constituted 31% of the population, he eventually changed his views, perhaps under the influence of his colleagues. Jędrzejewicz stated that "no aspect of state education is contradictory to national education"²⁰. The discussion on the project of the act which first took place in the Education Commission, where it was sent after the first reading, and then in the Parliament was covered by daily and professional press²¹. That is

¹⁸ With the date March 11, 1932. The act on the organisation of schooling, Dz. U. Issue 38 of 07. 05. 1932, pos. 389. Janusz Jędrzejewicz (1885–1951) – pedagogue, politician, minister of the MWRiOP, member of the Sanation camp.

¹⁹ Stenographic record of the 60th session of Sejm of 24. 02. 1932, columns 94–96.

²⁰ Jędrzejewicz, J. (1930): Wychowanie państwowe [State education]. „Zrąb”, vol. 3, pp. 314–316.

²¹ Kurier Poranny, Gazeta Polska, Kurier Lwowski, Kurier Warszawski, Robotnik, Przegląd Pedagogiczny, Zrąb.

why people could follow the debate day to day, and even participate in it by pressuring the MPs. A representation of all the levels of schooling was invited to one of the Education Commission sessions. The academic teachers had the most negative opinion of the Commission. The project was introduced by J. Smulikowski, MP, and 18 MPs joined the discussion in Sejm, most of whom were teachers and education activists²². The representatives of the National Club and the ethnic minorities were highly critical of the idea of state education. In his address, Stanisław Strzetelski of the National Club accused the Sanation camp, which was in power at the time, of trying to change the political system through educational ideology. The MP claimed that the ideology “was based upon the idea of a ‘pure’ state”, which, as foundation, was “formal, shallow, superficial”. He stated that the results could be “risky and dangerous”, because instead of a well-thought-out programme there was only the following “the forms of government that happen to be trendy today”, and the “ideology [was] a huge misunderstanding”. “All within the state, all for the state, all through the state – this fascist slogan is also popular with the Sanation camp in Poland”²³. The BBWR MPs would also concentrate on the idea of state education. They had positive opinions about it and they expressed their hope that the act may promote social advancement of graduates of gymnasiums and lyceums as well as vocational schools. As Maria Jaworska stated, the latter were to constitute a “new type of intelligentsia”. Representatives of national minorities, in turn, heavily criticised the idea of state education. They perceived it as similar to national education and they were afraid that the education system would become extremely unified and that their children would, as a result, lose their national identity (Milena N. Rudnicka-Łysiak, Emil Sommerstein, and Izaak Grúnbaun). The discussion in the Senate was similar, and the senators supported their colleagues from the parliamentary clubs. Eventually, even J. Jędrzejewicz was dissatisfied with the reform. It was his opinion that the implementation of the reform contorted the idea of state education. After 1935, the enactment of the new constitution, the

²² Among them there were members of the National Club: Tadeusz Bielecki, Stefan Z. Dąbrowski, Jan Kordecki, Tadeusz Lech, Stanisław Stroński, Stanisław Strzetelski, MPs of BBWR: Gabriela Balicka, pr. Jan Czuj, Maria Jaworska, Kazimiera Marczyńska, Stefan Mękowski, Bolesław Pochmarski, the Ukrainian Club: Milena Natalia Rudnicka-Łysiak and Sergiusz Chrucki, the Jewish Club: Emil Sommerstein and Izaak Grúnbaun, the Communist Parliamentary Fraction: Chil Mordechaj Rosenberg, and the Christian Social Club: pr. Szczepan Szydelski.

²³ Stenographic record of the 61st session of Sejm of 26. 02. 1932, columns 24–66, the address of S. Strzetelski, MP.

death of Piłsudski, the radicalisation of the Sanation camp, and the crisis of the ideology of state education, a new concept was sought. The former soldiers of the Polish Legions supported the idea of military education. The resolution proposed in Sejm on February 18, 1938 by Jakub Hoffman: a former soldier of the Polish Legions, a teacher in common schools, and a secretary in the Education Commission, which postulated the formation of a committee that was to develop an idea of school education, was the last act of the debate. The resolution was not passed²⁴.

The annual heated debates on the preliminary budget of the MWRiOP were an occasion to discuss the ethos of education in the parliament. The ministry would attempt to secure sufficient funds to finance the basic aims of the educational policy as well as the cultural needs of different social groups. It was during the debate on the MWRiOP budget for 1932/33 (i.e. in the year when the act on schooling was being implemented) that S. Stroński, MP of the National Club, heavily criticised the project as well as the very idea of state education. To address the criticism, minister Janusz Jędrzejewicz spoke and defined state education as “citizen education, as it teaches one to subordinate one’s individual good to the common good, that is, the good of all citizens. It teaches one to be able to make sacrifices and to serve; just like religious education, it postulates that there is something more valuable than the good of an individual, that there are some higher values, superior to the individual, that the common good, expressed by the state, is superior to all individual needs that may be contrary to it. State education is grave and austere, it has a noble cause, and it can and it should unite all citizens, regardless of their social class, personal property, or worldview. It teaches about the common good, about cooperation, about organised work, and about living in a community. It teaches that people should be prepared to defend the community against destructive forces from outside and from within. It dares to request people to make sacrifices, even to sacrifice their lives, but not for the sake discipline, commands, or fear, but for the sake of the common good, a common ideal”. When he raised the grave and somewhat pompous question: “Who dares to say that state education understood in this way is harmful and shallow? Who, being honest and earnest, dares to mock the slogans of state education, to treat them as mere novelties?”, it was swiftly answered by a National Democratic MP: “if it is understood in this way, then no one”²⁵. Apparently, he was not able

²⁴ Resolutions, i.e. supplementary acts of Sejm that made it obligatory for the government to take the proposed actions. J. Hoffman’s resolution was rejected during the 76th session of Sejm on 24. 02. 1938.

²⁵ Stenographic record of the 49th session of Sejm of 5. 02. 1932, column 38.

to convince everyone, because S. Strzetelski (National Club) severely criticised the proposed act during the debate that took place three weeks later.

It was a parliamentary tradition that prime ministers would give exposés. They typically presented their plans pertaining to the particular ministries. Usually few words were said about education, and sometimes none. These bland and banal speeches were hardly memorable. However, if questions of schooling and education were addressed, they were typically legal, organisational, and financial problems. Prime ministers would make some general remarks on the patriotic education of the young generations, mentioning the ideals and the legacy of the Commission of National Education (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej – KEN)²⁶. The addresses were made by representatives of opposing political camps, who used to accuse their opponents of appropriating and distorting the educational ideals of KEN. In the speeches of the MPs and the members of the cabinet the historical context was often used as an illustration and justification of the proposed theses.

M. Ossowska defines ethos as the lifestyle of groups sharing common traditions and values²⁷. The dissemination of an artificially created ethos, related to the idea of state education or national education, turned out to be difficult, if not impossible, in a society divided along national, religious, and political lines. It can be proposed that neither Roman Dmowski earlier, nor Józef Piłsudski later managed to fully implement their concepts of education. From 1937 to 1939 there were certain tendencies in the Sanation camp to seek cooperation with the National Democrats in relation to education. However, the idea was never realised. Nevertheless, this time was not wasted, because in spite of the interpretative debates led by the ideologues of the opposing political camps, the values on which education was to be based were never questioned. What is more, families, the Catholic church, and youth organisations played an essential role in education. World War II verified both the concepts of education, and the generation the same age as independent Poland showed their patriotic, public-spirited, and heroic

²⁶ Commission of National Education (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej – KEN) was established in Poland after the Jesuit Order was dissolved in order to deeply reform schooling and education. It was active from 1773 to 1794. It was a central education authority, dependent only on the king and Sejm. Commission of National Education was the first educational institution with the prerogatives of a modern ministry of education in Poland as well as entire Europe.

²⁷ Ossowska, M. (1986): *Ethos rycerski i jego odmiany* [The chivalric ethos and its types]. Warszawa.

attitude. Their fight against the German and the Soviet occupiers is written in history's pages. Anna Pawełczyńska, a member of the generation of peers of the Second Polish Republic, describes the times: "in interwar Poland there was a unique cooperation of families, schools, parishes, scout teams, and sport teams. Unlike the older generations [living in the Partitions of Poland under foreign occupation – author's note], or the nowadays generations, we weren't subject to contradictory ideas being forced down our throats. The values learned in our families were not mocked. It is not easy to teach someone to be dutiful, but it is easy to teach one to ignore their duties. It is very difficult to establish cooperation, but it is very easy to disorganise and to destroy. It is difficult to educate a responsible person, but it is easy to bring up a demanding individual. We didn't want much from Poland, we wanted to serve her"²⁸.

²⁸ The interview of Jacek and Michał Karnowski with professor Anna Pawełczyńska, a sociologist of culture, a soldier of the Home Army, a prisoner of Auschwitz: *Wojna przeciw Polsce trwa* (2014) [War against Poland goes on], In „*w Sieci*”, Issue 2(58), 2–7 January 2014, p. 27.

The forming of the ethnic identity of Hutsul highlanders

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The forming of ethnic identity is one of the basic aims of education. First and foremost, it consists in creating bonds with the local community. The factors that are favourable to the forming of one's identification with the region are social norms, history, traditions and customs, regional art, language, folktales and legends, handicraft and forms of everyday life, etc. The mentioned paper briefly presents the ways in which the ethnic identity of one of the most fascinating and unique ethnic groups of the Carpathians the Hutsul highlanders of Eastern Carpathians is formed; and the factors that influence their identity.

Key words: *the Hutsul region; Hutsuls; cultural heritage; ethnic identity*

Ethnic identity is a cluster of socio-cultural traits that differentiate a particular community/group from other groups, i.e., from “strangers”. An ethnic group is connected by common ancestry (myths, legends), history, land (even in the case of resettlement a connection with the land of the ancestors is retained), language (or dialect), religion and beliefs, culture, and social relationships.

Robert Szwed, who deals with the problems of identity, mentions a relationship between the questions of ethnicity with a particular country. He states that “ethnicity as a foundation of socio-cultural identity arises first and foremost from a conviction that the country that individuals identify themselves with is of a crucial importance. It is, at the same time, (...) a belief that we have a unique connection with a country and that the connection is of a normative character, and that feeling this connection is a moral duty for all the members of a community. This specific connection and the accompanying convictions constitute a foundation of national culture, which is reflected in the notion of the fatherland. (...) The fatherland is the fundamental correlative of a nation. A nation can be formed on the condition that there is a sufficiently broad cluster of contents which constitute a symbolic universe of national culture”¹. Therefore, an ethnic group is typically a part of a larger unit, such as

a fatherland, a nation, a state, and the culture created by an ethnic group is a part of national culture. That is the case because there are certain qualities of regional culture that influence and encompass broader communities, which is why some of its elements constitute values which can be accepted not only by the inhabitants of a particular region, but by the members of an entire nation/country, as well. It should, however, be emphasised while that ethnic identity does not necessarily have to be connected with national identity it will always be related to one's place in a social group, with its own relations.

Identifying with an ethnic group may result from strong relationships formed naturally in childhood, it may be incidental and arise from historic conditions, or it may be the result of a conscious decision that is expected to allow one to realise one's intentions. When analysing the process of the forming of ethnic, socio-cultural identity one notices a certain regularity, namely, "we first identify with a land, within which we can realise our pursuits and create our identity. Because of the elements of local, regional culture, the nearest surroundings, meaningful locations, events, objects, we become rooted, we feel 'at home'"². The process of identification, therefore, may take place successively since the day one is born, or it may start at any time in one's life. The basis of the forming of ethnic and socio-cultural identity is the acceptance of the culture of a particular community and perceiving it as "my own".

Family, school, the Church, professional, peer, cultural, and educational groups contribute to the forming of an individual's identity. "Each of them makes reality meaningful in a particular way, it makes reality comprehensible from its own perspective which is at the same time limited and internally justified"³. The higher the number of the groups and the factors that influence an individual, the wider the knowledge and the deeper the acquisition of a given culture should be.

The forming of identity requires a historic and cultural foundation, i.e., traditions, prejudice, rules, beliefs, emotions, temperament, political and legal institutions, moral and aesthetic convictions, and philosophical systems. "(...) Socio-cultural identity presents a mechanism of a unique connection between the past and the present within the cultural heritage of a group that is accepted or rejected by communities. Cultural heritage

¹ Szwed, R. (2003): *Tożsamość a obcość kulturowa. Studium empiryczne na temat związków pomiędzy tożsamością społeczno – kulturalną a stosunkiem do obcych* [Ethnic Identity and Strangeness. Empirical Study of the Connections Between Socio-Cultural Identity and the Attitude Towards Strangers]. Lublin, Wydawnictwo KUL, p. 62.

² The same, p. 54.

³ The same, p. 55.

and culture in their broad understanding constitute at the same time a means of intergenerational and interpersonal communication"⁴. The cooperation between different generations is one of the most effective ways of passing down cultural heritage, which is to be understood as "that which we can contemporarily relate to, that which we see as 'eternal' in our culture, (...) it is an inheritance from earlier generations". The heritage includes "all the cultural goods inherited from the past that we can relate to in our everyday lives, that we can use, and that we believe we need to function every day"⁵.

When our ethnic identity is being formed we relate to the so-called local heritage, which is small and important for a local community. It encompasses, among others, the dialect, traditions and rituals, events that influence the life of the group, as well as craft, cuisine, legends and folktales, children's stories, art, clothes, games, and beliefs⁶. These elements constitute folk culture. Throughout the ages, under the influence of the passing generations, it has been subject to "... various processes, changes, and alterations that made them the mosaic that we can now see in the world around us. Some of them have disappeared, some have changed their character, and some are still alive today"⁷. As R. Szwed argues, tradition and heritage are the connection between the past, the present, and future⁸.

Socio-cultural identity is realised in cultural, ethnic, religious, and social aspects. Nation, culture, religion, and "conscious participation in the management of the environment that makes up the 'little fatherland' of an individual"⁹ are, therefore, essential.

The factors¹⁰ that form the socio-cultural identity include first and foremost:

- connections with the land, i.e., the village, the town, the region, which is in many cases stronger than one's identification with the country,
- ideological and political identity (a citizen of a state, a citizen of Europe, of the world, or a Hutsul highlander)
- belonging to a religious community (which used to be associated with nationality, e.g. a member of the Orthodox or the Greek Catholic church is a Ukrainian, and a Roman Catholic is a Pole); the parish is also close to the local community, which makes the role of the parish priest essential.

⁴ The same, p. 59.

⁵ *Edukacja regionalna* (2006) [Regional Education]. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo PWN, p. 193.

⁶ The same, pp. 194–195.

⁷ The same, p. 189.

⁸ Szwed, R.: op. cit., p. 59.

The bonds with an ethnic group are also influenced by places, objects, events, and people that are believed to be important for a region and its inhabitants. These elements make up the cultural heritage of a region, and at the same time they are one of the foundations of socio-cultural identity¹¹. It needs to be emphasised that it is especially the people and the events that may invoke associations and identification with a region, a village, a town, or with a country, when their significance is of a general social character. The existence of people or characters that are important to an ethnic community facilitates the creation of personal models that are crucial in the education of young generations.

A character that the highlanders of the Carpathians would often identify with is a brigand and an outlaw. He was glorified in legends and even made the protector of villages and entire Carpathian regions. Oleksa Dowbusz¹², a ringleader of a band of brigands, has in the eyes of the Hutsuls¹³ become the synonym of freedom, justice, and independence of the oppressive landowners. He made the inhabitants feel safe, which increased their connection with the place where they lived. The brigand was a role model in the moral and the physical aspect. The highlanders strongly believed that such a perfect individual could have only been formed by life in the mountains and supernatural forces. Such conviction increased the bond between the highlanders and the region and its community.

It was typical that the members of a particular local community became role models, objects of identification, and moral authorities that were a source of much needed knowledge and support, and who were also responsible for passing down traditions. That is why they played a crucial role in forming people's identities¹⁴.

Language was one of the reasons why the inhabitants of the particular regions of the Carpathians identified with a given ethnic group. The communities were independent in their language, however, when one compares the dialects of Carpathian highlanders one may find many

⁹ The same, p. 129.

¹⁰ The list of factors is based on: Szwed, R.: op. cit., pp. 130–134.

¹¹ Szwed, R.: op. cit., p. 146.

¹² Oleksa Dowbusz (born 1700 in Pęczeniżyn, died 1745 in Kołomyja) – a character in Hutsul songs and legends, a leader of a band of brigands active in Pokucie in 1739–1745. Carpathian villagers believed him a hero avenging their oppression by taking away the possessions of the rich and distributing them among the poor. In reality, he would rob manor houses as well as towns and villages. He died at the hands of a Hutsul from the village of Komacz, because the brigand had seduced his wife.

¹³ Hutsuls – highlanders inhabiting a region in Eastern Carpathians, now a part of Ukraine.

¹⁴ *Edukacja regionalna*, op. cit., pp. 76–77.

words that are very similar in their sound and meaning, which may be a proof of their common origins. In the case of the Hutsul region, one of the ethnic regions of the Carpathians, the language used there was quite distinct. The old saying: "in every cottage a different tongue" may serve as a proof of the great differences. That is why, in spite of the strong identification that the Hutsuls had with their region, it is clear that since the settlements were distant from each other, the language was shaped within families and small communities.

So was the case with music and highlanders' songs. To the basis of similar melodies and lyrics Carpathian highlanders in different regions added different instruments, e.g. an accordion, cymbals, and they altered the rhythm and the melodic lines. However, the changes were not substantial enough to make it impossible for multiple bands to play together, as can be heard at the International Festival of Highland Folklore in Zakopane during the "Music of the Carpathians" concert, where Carpathian highlanders from different countries perform melodies from the entire region of the Carpathians together, without prior rehearsals. Nevertheless, some individuality of the music from the Western and from the Eastern Carpathians can be observed. The music of the Hutsuls is quite distinct, with its melodies, rhythm, songs, and dances. What is more, there are also some differences in musical details within the Hutsul region, which is reflected in the analogous saying: "in every village a different song". Music can encourage the establishment of a system of social communication within a given ethnic group. The Carpathian community is characterised by a specific communicative code, in which musical instruments such as trembitas can be employed. These were used to give signals that could be emitted from mountain tops and heard on the slopes and in the valleys, where the highlanders' cottages were situated. Thus, they played the role of a social communicator. In this way, the villagers and the herders who pastured their sheep and cattle in the mountain tundra were informed of natural dangers, someone's death, and celebrations. This specific form of information transfer increased the bonds between the receivers and their regions and its other inhabitants.

Clothes were yet another element that formed identity. The dress is typical of the entire region of the Carpathians, however, as in the case of language and music, each village managed to develop a number of distinctive features, which allow for a precise identification of the ancestry of individual inhabitants. The elements that tend to vary are, e.g., headwear, sashes, ribbons, the colours of embroidery or parts of clothes, the placing of patterns, etc. In the Hutsul region the local specifics are

clearly visible in men's and women's shirts. The differences are in the patterns, their placing, and the colours that vary between the everyday clothes and the ones worn for wedding parties. The latter were distinct in every region¹⁵. The colours used in the villages make it possible to tell the ancestry of each highlander: cherry – Riczka, Jaworów, green and brown – Werchowyna, violet – Worochta, golden – Kosmacz, blue – Jasinia, blue and black and light green – Kutý, dark red – Pistryń¹⁶. Differences of similar character were also found in other details of the highlanders' dress. On the basis of the clothes one could, therefore, learn where a person was from. The aforementioned distinctiveness can be seen in the embroideries on the clothes of all the ethnic groups of the Carpathians.

The works of folk handicraft are also unique. Objects for everyday use as well as those used during holidays inform of people's backgrounds and connection with their region, because the basic materials from which the objects were made were typically collected in people's immediate environment. Dishes were made of clay or wood. Clothes were sewn in wool, hodden, and leather, and they were adapted to the severe climate¹⁷. The colours of the handiwork and the techniques of production were shaped through many years. Independent of the typical features, conditioned by traditions, climate, nature, and works they were used for, the objects had forms characteristic of the particular villages. Towns and villages would specialise in given regional products, such as *lyźniki* (wool blankets) – the village of Jaworów, pottery – the town of Kosów, etc.

It is doubtless that traditions and rituals are factors that connect people with their regions. They are practised, first and foremost, during holidays and family and local celebrations (Christmas, Easter, wedding receptions, funerals, blessing of fields). It was during the holidays and celebrations that families were close together, which contributed greatly to the creation of bonds that form ethnic identity.

Apart from dialects, clothes, and traditions, identity was also shaped by legends and folktales. Until the end of the 19th century they were told, and it was only as late as the 20th century that they were written down. "They are fragile, because they are usually based on undocumented events or they function independently of any real events, they may be altered so that the original meanings cannot be deciphered, and if they are not told they lose their power. (...) the knowledge of folktales, legends,

¹⁵ *Гуцульщина. Історико – етнографічне дослідження* (1987). Київ, Наукова Думка, p. 194.

¹⁶ The same, p. 195.

¹⁷ The same, p. 190.

and stories is not only a proof of the wisdom of an individual, but also (...) of the level and character of a person's participation on the socio-cultural system. As in the case of characteristic places and objects and meaningful persons, the legends and stories root the individual in local culture and they make the operative system of meanings understandable". They speak of "the specifics of the community and the relationships between groups. They allow individuals to navigate in the symbolic space and reinforce their socio-cultural identities"¹⁸. Fairytales, folktales, and legends played an educational and an identity-forming role. They spoke of social norms, the behaviours that were accepted by a community and those that were rejected, and of human traits, emotions, beliefs, etc. Thus, it is doubtless that they helped to establish a feeling of community and identification with an ethnic group.

Identity is formed throughout one's entire lifetime¹⁹. It was, therefore, crucial that people of all ages participated in the social and cultural life of the local communities. Keeping traditions alive, songs, dances, wearing regional clothes on different occasions, and listening to legends and folktales established and reinforced one's bonds with the ethnic community and region. Nevertheless, one ought to bear in mind that the awareness of Hutsul highlanders was also influenced by the work of Polish and Ukrainian intellectuals at the turn of the 19th and the 20th century²⁰. It allowed Hutsuls to join in the fight for their rights and it made the Hutsul traditions and culture known to the general public. The value of the region was emphasised and promoted the Polish and Ukrainian scientific and popular scientific literature as well as fiction, which presented a somewhat idealised image of the inhabitants of the Carpathians. Nevertheless, it is certain that such literature contributed to the promotion of the region and it taught Hutsuls to respect themselves, with their individuality and folk wisdom. The ethnic identity that was formed dozens of years ago made the Hutsuls a strongly consolidated and original group from the Carpathian region. They managed to preserve the entirety of their rich and unique cultural heritage.

Apart from the factors discussed above, the aforementioned intergenerational transfer constituted a basis in the forming of the Hutsul ethnic identity. The transfer took place within families and local communities. It is reinforced by the work of regional organisations and associations. The Hutsul Association (Towarzystwo Huculszczyzna) plays

¹⁸ Swed, R.: op. cit., p. 155.

¹⁹ *Edukacja regionalna*, op. cit., p. 70.

²⁰ *Гуцульщина...*, op. cit., p. 259.

an important role in the community of Hutsul highlanders. Its members live in Hutsul towns as well as all the cities where the Hutsuls made their way to live, among others, in Lwów and Kijów, and outside Ukraine, e.g. in Canada. The Association organises meetings, and promotes indigenous culture with the help of the folk music bands that its members perform in. The Association also publishes books that disseminate knowledge about the region and the literary works of its inhabitants.

Folk art, which has been created for generations, is one of the most important elements shaping regional identity, because the villagers have had contact with it for ages, even though it was noticed rather late: in the period when serfdom was abolished and land was given to the peasants, i.e. in the 19th century. Contemporary folk art is essential in forming the identities of the inhabitants of the Carpathians: the Hutsuls and well as those from Podhale, Bukowina, etc. The clothes, the music, the language, and the traditions are only a few of the elements that bring together the old and the young inhabitants of these regions. They are taught to love culture and art since the earliest age, and children have the opportunity to grow up and live every day in an environment that has been shaped for ages by their ancestors. Perhaps for some the folk art of the Carpathians is merely a source of income connected with tourism, nevertheless, it is certain that for many indigenous inhabitants of the Hutsul region the tradition and the art of their people are essential values that they cherish to pass them down to the younger generation. They are the values that make it possible to instil in people the feeling of dignity and belonging to a social group.

Nowadays it is more difficult to decipher the information transferred through traditional folk clothes, because these have been changed by fashion and stylisations. The Hutsuls, who are proud of their cultural heritage, try to preserve as much of the symbolism of old as possible. Identification with the traditional dress has now taken on a new form, as regional elements are used in everyday fashion, and the local motifs have become national. So is the case with regional cuisine, dishes ornamented with Hutsul patterns, and even elements of the regional architectural style. This does not discredit the people of the Carpathians, to the contrary, it allows them to be proud of the cultural heritage of their ancestors, which is why it is possible for them to preserve their strong regional identity. Contemporarily, the identity is also promoted in preschools and schools through authorial curricula and course books. The "Hucuteczka" preschool that was established in Iwano-Frankiwsk thanks to the initiative and pedagogical work of Tamara Hrycaj, a secondary school in Jaworów near Kosowo started and ran by Petro Łosiuk, and the handiwork

workshops in Kosowo and Wyżnica that aim at closely preserving the colours and the pattern of the original regional handiwork, may also serve as examples of education in the Hutsul spirit. It is not only in the schools that young people are trained in traditional Hutsul art and handiwork, which is why this art can be preserved. The awareness of ethnic heritage is shaped since childhood, which is why the young generation identify with the region of their ancestors and they are proud to call themselves Hutsuls.

Religious celebrations (holidays, baptisms, first communions, weddings, funerals), public, local, and private meetings (varnishing days, festivals, family celebrations) are used to form the Hutsul identity. Traditions are kept and efforts are made to preserve them in the smallest details, just like they were observed tens and hundreds of years ago. For example, sheep are pastured with the use of a traditional equipment, cheeses are made with old methods, and old species of sheep, mountain cows, and Hutsul horses are being recreated and bred.

To sum up, it may be stated that ethnic identity is formed first and foremost by one's immediate environment, in which one is brought up, and the objects of material and spiritual culture that are created there. These are, in this case, the folk culture. The elements of folk culture that are present in everyday life allow one to identify with the region. However, since on the larger scale those elements are also a part of national culture, they constitute a connection between the ethnic group and the country. The stronger the bond with the local culture, the more powerful the emotional connection between an individual and the region and the country. This can be easily observed in such regions as the Carpathians, as the discussed Hutsul region. Regional culture makes people aware of who they are and where they come from. It makes it possible to establish bonds with the close environment, and the strength of these bonds helps to prevent losing one's national roots during emigration. This is exemplified by the Hutsul community in Canada. The cultural heritage of this ethnic group is not merely as source of nostalgia and homesickness, but it also becomes an incentive to care for one's culture, although it may be "strange" in the new environment. This allows the young generations to maintain ethnic identity and the heritage of their ancestors, regardless of where they have to live.



The results of the work of the Polish-Czechoslovakian Legal Cooperation Commission pertaining to the legal situation of children – the Polish perspective

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The paper presents the changes of family law regulations in Poland after World War II which aimed to adapt the first unification of the regulations that had taken place in 1945–1946 to the social reality. That is why in 1948 the Polish-Czechoslovakian Legal Cooperation Commission was established. The Commission was to develop a project of regulations to be introduced in Poland and in Czechoslovakia. The results of the works of the Commission include: Act on family law (went into effect on January 1, 1950 in Czechoslovakia) and the Family Code (went into effect on October 1, 1950 in Poland). Both the legal acts were highly similar in their structure as well as the employed legal solutions. In her paper the author concentrates on the regulation of the legal situation of children in Poland's Family Code, because it is her belief that this regulation aimed to make equal the legal situation of legitimate and illegitimate children. These problems were regulated in an identical way in both countries.

Key words: *Polish-Czechoslovakian Legal Cooperation Commission; parentage of a child; parental authority; legitimate and illegitimate children; codification of family law; unification of family law*

Introduction

When in 1918 Poland regained independence creating a unified legal system for the entire country became one of the basic priorities. The system was to function instead of the theretofore in force regulations of the foreign governments that had occupied Poland during the Partitions. However, the differentiation of the regulations of family law persisted the longest. It was only after the end of World War II that the pre-war novelisation projects were developed and in 1945–1946 four legal acts

regulating the problems of relations between family members were passed. They included: Marriage Law¹, Family Law², Guardianship Law³, Marriage Property Law⁴. The enumerated legal acts regulated the problems connected with the legal and formal aspects of starting a family and the functioning of families in the state of Poland, because it needs to be emphasised that until 1945 there was no coherent regulation pertaining to this area. In this way the four edicts replaced the legal regulations introduced after 1918, including the acts establishing selected institutions of family law, as well as the acts regulating the relationships between the Republic of Poland and various religious organisations, and the theretofore in force regulations of the earlier Civil Code of the Kingdom of Poland, Austrian Civil Code, Vol. 10 pt. 1 of the Collection of Laws⁵. The construct defining the legal situation of children in 1946 was based on pre-war projects⁶, which were to a great extent inadequate because of the social changes that Poland has undergone after WWII. The stigmatization of illegitimate children that was sanctioned with the edict of 1946, refusing married mothers the right to sue for

¹ Edict of 26. 09. 1945, *Prawo małżeńskie* [Marriage Law], Dz. U. 1945 Issue 48 pos. 270, introduced by the edict of 25. 09. 1945 *Przepisy wprowadzające prawo małżeńskie* [Regulations introducing the marriage law], Dz. U. 1945 Issue 48 pos. 271.

² Edict of 22. 01. 1946, *Prawo rodzinne* [Family Law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 48 pos. 52, introduced by the edict of 22. 01. 1946 *Przepisy wprowadzające prawo rodzinne* [Regulations introducing the family law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 48 pos. 53.

³ Edict of 14. 05. 1946, *Prawo opiekuńcze* [Guardianship Law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 20 pos. 135, introduced by the edict of 14. 05. 1946 *Przepisy wprowadzające prawo opiekuńcze* [Regulations introducing the guardianship law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 20 pos. 136.

⁴ Edict of 29. 05. 1946, *Prawo małżeńskie majątkowe* [Marriage Property Law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 31 pos. 196, introduced by the edict of 29. 05. 1946 *Przepisy wprowadzające prawo małżeńskie majątkowe* [Regulations introducing the marriage property law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 31 pos. 197.

⁵ Cf. edict of 25. 09. 1945 *Przepisy wprowadzające prawo małżeńskie* [Regulations introducing the marriage law], Dz. U. 1945 Issue 48 pos. 271, edict of 22. 01. 1946 *Przepisy wprowadzające prawo rodzinne* [Regulations introducing the family law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 48 pos. 53, edict of 14. 05. 1946 *Przepisy wprowadzające prawo opiekuńcze* [Regulations introducing the guardianship law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 20 pos. 136, edict of 29. 05. 1946 *Przepisy wprowadzające prawo małżeńskie majątkowe* [Regulations introducing the marriage property law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 31 pos. 197. The enumerated edicts include a detailed list of legal acts or parts thereof, revoked with the 1945-1946 reform of family law.

⁶ Radwański, Z. (1985): *Problemy kodyfikacji prawa rodzinnego* [Problems of the codification of family law]. In Błęszyński, J. – Rajska, J. (eds.): *Rozprawy z prawa cywilnego. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Witolda Czachórskiego* [Discourses in Civil Law. Book in the Memory of Witold Czachórski]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, p. 49.

a denial of paternity, establishing the legal relationship of a child with the mother and her family exclusively, defining the father's role in merely economic terms, and constructing the regular denial of a child's parentage from a marriage with the burden of proof placed on the mother were all an expression of the inequality of the roles of a child's parents. Because of the aforementioned inadequacy of the legal regulations to social life the works on a new legal act were soon undertaken. The act was to be a comprehensive regulation of the problems of the family in Poland.

The works of the Polish-Czechoslovakian Legal Cooperation Commission

In July 1948, the Permanent Polish-Czechoslovakian Commission was established. Its aims included the defining of the basic institutions of the future codes of both the countries⁷. The works of the Commission were not based on a formal agreement between the states, which is why its decisions were not binding for the legislative⁸. However, the stance of the Commission regarding the development of substantively coherent Polish and Czechoslovakian projects of family law codes was commonly accepted. As a result, at the beginning of 1949 Poland and Czechoslovakia initiated a cooperation aimed to uniformly regulate the problems of family law in their own internal acts⁹. The cooperation resulted in the project of a family code drafted in December 1949 in Polish and Czech. An act on family law was penned on its basis in Czechoslovakia on December 7, 1949. It went into effect on January 1, 1950. In Poland the Family Code was passed on June 27, 1950, and it went into effect on October 1 of the same year¹⁰. Both the legal acts were

⁷ Szer, S. (1966): *Prawo rodzinne* [Family Law]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, p. 9.

⁸ Winiarz, J. (1985): Kodyfikacja prawa rodzinnego i opiekuńczego PRL [Codification of family and guardianship law of the People's Republic of Poland]. In Bleszyński, J. – RAJSKI, J. (eds.): *Rozprawy z prawa cywilnego. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Witolda Czachórskiego* [Discourses in Civil Law. Book in the Memory of Witold Czachórski], Warszawa, PWN, p. 78.

⁹ Szer, S. (1949): Współpraca polsko-czechosłowacka w dziedzinie prawa cywilnego [Polish-Czechoslovakian cooperation in civil law], *Demokratyczny Przegląd Prawniczy*, Issues 8–9.

¹⁰ Ignatowicz, J. (2000): *Prawo rodzinne* [Family Law]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, p. 24; Act of 27. 06. 1950. Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950, Issue 34, pos. 308.

based on the same social assumptions, they included similar or identical definitions, and they even included a similar number of editing units (the project – 90 articles, the Czechoslovakian act – 90 paragraphs, Polish Family Code – 91 articles)¹¹. The fundamental rules introduced by the regulation included: (1) secularity of marriage, (2) equality of men and women, (3) taking marriage and the family under state protection, and (4) equality of legitimate and illegitimate children. The last aspect is particularly important to the author of this paper. It should be noted that inasmuch as in the problems connected with the secularity of the institution of marriage, divorce premises, the names of the wife and the husband, adoption, and child support there were certain minute differences between the regulations¹², the problems connected with parentage were regulated in an almost identical way, which is why the legal situation of children was made equal in both countries, regardless of the marital status of their parents.

The Polish-Czechoslovakian Legal Cooperation Commission made the decision to remove all differences between the legal position of legitimate and illegitimate children, starting the exclusion of the terminological differentiation between “legitimate/illegitimate children” that was to be found in the Family Law of 1946, as well as the structural differentiation reflected in the regulation of their legal status in two separate departments. The Commission used the term “parents” and “children” in constructions pertaining to the institutions of a child’s parentage and parental authority. In the further part of the paper I present the regulations connected with these institutions¹³, and the discussion is based on the method of exegesis of the legal text in the form of the Family Law of 1946¹⁴.

¹¹ Szer, S. (1964): Współpraca polsko-czechosłowacka w zakresie kodyfikacji prawa rodzinnego (próba oceny) [Polish-Czechoslovakian cooperation in the codification of family law (an attempt of an evaluation)]. In Osuchowski, W. – Sośniak, M. – Walaszek, B. (Eds.): *Rozprawy prawnicze. Księga pamiątkowa dla uczczenia pracy naukowej Kazimierza Przybyłowskiego* [Discourses in Law. Book in the Memory of the Scholarly Work of Kazimierz Przybyłowski]. Kraków–Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, p. 355., Act on family law, Dec 7th 1950, Family Code, Dz. U. 1950, Issue 34, pos. 308.

¹² Szer, S. (1949): Współpraca polsko-czechosłowacka w zakresie kodyfikacji... op. cit., pp. 356–359.

¹³ Detailed description of the presumptions of parentage in Polish family law after WWII, active and passive legitimisation in the institution of proceedings is presented in Jurczyk-Romanowska, E. (2013): Instytucja pochodzenia dziecka w polskim prawie rodzinnym w latach 1946–1965 [Institution of parentage in Polish family law in the years 1946–1965]. *Wychowanie w Rodzinie* vol. VII (1/2013), pp. 295–330.

¹⁴ Edict of 22. 01. 1946, Prawo rodzinne [Family Law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 48, pos. 52, introduced by the edict of 22. 01. 1946 Przepisy wprowadzające prawo rodzinne [Regulations introducing the family law], Dz. U. 1946, Issue 48, pos. 53.

The legal situation of children in the Family Code of 1950

In relation to the establishment of paternity in the Family Code the term “presumption of paternity” is employed instead of “presumption of a child’s parentage from a marriage”, however, the construction of the discussed institution remained the same: “a child born during marriage or within three hundred days of its annulment or dissolving is considered the child of the mother’s husband”¹⁵. Simultaneously, in accordance with the former regulation, the problem of the conflict of presumptions was solved: “If a child is born within three hundred days of the annulment or dissolving of marriage, but after the mother enters into a new marriage, it is presumed that it is the child of the second husband”¹⁶ (Fig. 1). In such a case the legislator only specifies the definition that “there is a doubt as to the parentage of the child from either of the marriages”¹⁷, pointing to the precise duration of three hundred days after the dissolving of the first marriage¹⁸.

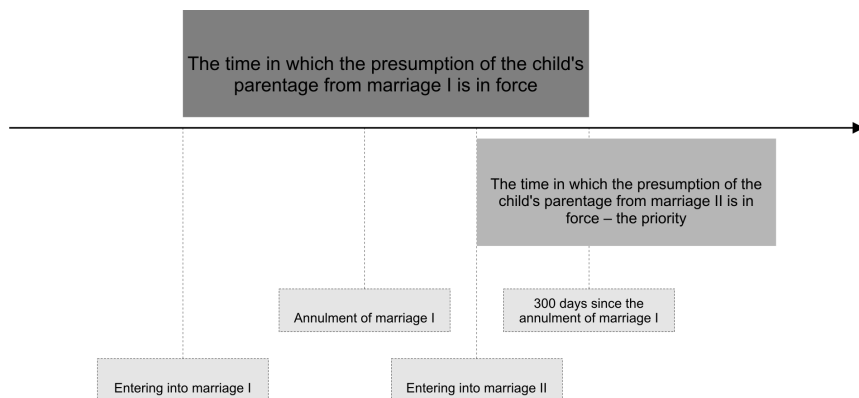


Fig. 1. A diagram presenting the exclusion of the probability of regular denial of the presumption of a child’s parentage from a marriage (the burden of proof lies on the mother’s husband). Source: Jurczyk-Romanowska, E. (2013): *Institucja pochodzenia dziecka w polskim prawie rodzinnym w latach 1946–1965* [Institution of parentage in Polish family law in the years 1946–1965]. *Wychowanie w Rodzinie*, vol. VII 1, p. 302.

¹⁵ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 42 par. 1.

¹⁶ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 42 par. 2.

¹⁷ Edict of 22. 01. 1946 Prawo rodzinne [Family Law], Dz. U. 1946 Issue 6, pos. 52, Art. 15 par 2.

¹⁸ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 42 par. 1.

The mother's husband had the right to institute the proceedings aimed to deny paternity, which could be instituted within 6 months of receiving the information about the wife having the child¹⁹, therefore, the time for the institution was made two times longer. A legal representative of the husband could also institute the proceedings if the father was fully incapacitated²⁰. However, the inheritors of the mother's husband could no longer institute the proceedings, which had been made possible by the Family Law of 1946. The proceedings were instituted against the mother and the child²¹. In the same way as in the Family Law of 1946, two types of denial were defined: regular denial, if the child was born within 180 days of the entering into marriage, and the denial in which it is required that a positive improbability of the wife's husband being the child's father be demonstrated, if the child was born between 180 days of the entering into marriage and 300 days since its dissolving (Fig. 2). The construction of regular denial was also slightly altered. In the Family Code it is stated that "to deny the presumption of paternity it is sufficient for the husband instituting the proceedings to deny paternity to declare that he is not the father of the child, unless he had an intercourse with the mother of the child between the 300th and 180th day before it was born or he had known that the mother was pregnant before entering into marriage"²². Therefore, having an intercourse with the mother within the period defined in the act or the knowledge about the pregnancy should exclude the possibility to use regular denial and only make it possible to use the denial with demonstration of improbability of paternity. That is why the burden of proof lay with the father. That is contrary to the previous regulation, where the Family Law stated: "it is sufficient to deny, even if the denial is not made probable, that the father had an intercourse with the mother of the child between the 300th and 180th day before it was born"²³. If the latter was the case then the necessity of making probable the paternity lay with the second side of court proceedings, that is, the mother and the child. Absolving the mother of the necessity of making probable the circumstances of the intercourse with the husband in the defined time was undoubtedly an expression of the improving legal situation of women in family law, however, what was even more important in this context was art. 51, in which for the first time the mother was granted the right to institute

¹⁹ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 48.

²⁰ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 48.

²¹ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 50.

²² Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 49 par. 2.

²³ Edict of 22. 01. 1946 Prawo rodzinne [Family Law], Dz. U. 1946, Issue 6, pos. 52, Art. 6 par. 2.

proceedings for the denial of paternity of her husband within 6 months of the birth of the child²⁴. Therefore the married woman did have this right, even if a man other than her husband was the father of the child. Regardless of the entity instituting the proceedings the denial of paternity was not possible after the child's death²⁵.

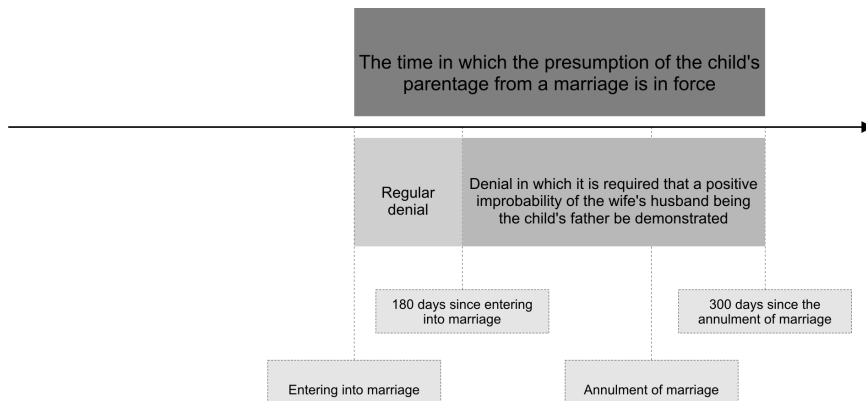


Fig. 2. A diagram presenting the two ways of the denial of the presumption of a child's parentage from a marriage; Source: Jurczyk-Romanowska, E. (2013): *Institucja pochodzenia dziecka w polskim prawie rodzinnym w latach 1946–1965* [Institution of parentage in Polish family law in the years 1946–1965]. *Wychowanie w Rodzinie*, vol. VII 1, p. 301.

In the Family Code of 1950 it was stated that the legal relationship between the father and the child could only be established in three ways: as the result of the employment of the presumption presented above, by the recognition of the child by the father, or by the establishment of paternity by a court. This regulation unified the system of presumptions, the circumstances necessary for its establishment and the available institutions of “legalisation”, “recognition”, and “equalisation” present in the previous act.

After the Family Code went into effect in 1950 a man could use the institution of the “recognition of the child” before the registry official or before the guardianship authority, however, it was always necessary for the mother to agree, unless the mother was dead, incapacitated or it was not possible to communicate with her due to substantial obstacles. Nevertheless, in the latter situation, after the obstacle was removed and

²⁴ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 51.

²⁵ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 52.

within 6 months of acquiring the information about her child being recognised, the mother could demand that the recognition be annulled, if the man was not the child's biological father²⁶. It needs to be noted that in the case of the former regulation the mother did not virtually have this right, and the recognition of the child was a one-party declaration of will that could even be included in one's last will²⁷. That is why, as a result of the passing of the new legal regulation mothers gained new rights connected with the formal paternity of their children. Another new solution was the inclusion of the *nasciturus*, i.e. the unborn child, in the institution of the recognition of the child²⁸. That was yet another step towards the decreasing of the social stigmatisation of illegitimate children. The new act also gave the father the right to annul the recognition of the child due to a fault in the declaration of will, which was defined in a much broader manner than the theretofore employed circumvention. The right, however, could only be invoked if he was not in fact the child's father, and within 6 months of the act of recognition²⁹.

The mother and the child had the right to institute court proceedings to establish paternity. In such a situation the presumption that the man who had an intercourse with the mother between the 300th and 180th day before the birth of the child was made³⁰, therefore, the construct of the presumption from 1946 was retained (Fig. 3).

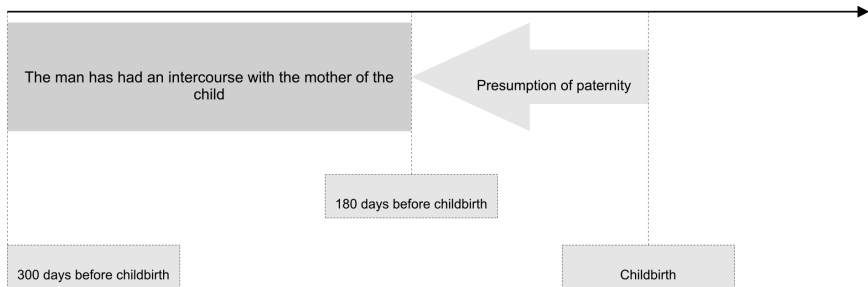


Fig. 3. A diagram presenting the presumption of paternity of an illegitimate child; Source: Jurczyk-Romanowska, E. (2013): *Institucja pochodzenia dziecka w polskim prawie rodzinnym w latach 1946–1965* [Institution of parentage in Polish family law in the years 1946–1965]. *Wychowanie w Rodzinie*, vol. VII 1, p. 303.

²⁶ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 44.

²⁷ Edict of 22. 01. 1946 Prawo rodzinne [Family Law], Dz. U. 1946, Issue 6, pos. 52, Art. 64 par 2.

²⁸ Act of 27.06.1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950, 34. 308, Art. 45.

²⁹ Act of 27.06.1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950, 34. 308, Art. 46.

³⁰ Act of 27.06.1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950, 34. 308, Art. 47.

The above analysis and the comparison of both the regulations suggest that the main change was related to the equalisation of legitimate and illegitimate children. This was reflected in the fact that their legal status became the same, including the regulations pertaining to their relationships with parents and to parental authority. Nevertheless, the construction of presumptions and the institutions of recognition and establishment of paternity in court remained relatively similar, with the exclusion of the rights of women and the prolonging of the period in which the institutions could be employed from 3 to 6 months. With one exception³¹, the regulation remained unchanged until 1965, when the Family and Guardianship Code³² was passed. This act is still in force in Poland, as amended. The aforementioned exception pertained to granting the child the right to institute the proceedings to deny its parentage from a marriage within three years of its coming into full age. In the proceedings to deny paternity the child was against the mother's husband, and in the case if he was dead or his whereabouts unknown, against the guardian established by the guardianship authority³³. Before the coming of full age the mother was the legal representative of the child in denial of paternity proceedings³⁴.

In the new regulation of the family law the greatest changes were made in the discussed institution of paternity and the dualism of the situation of legitimate and illegitimate children proposed in 1946, which was removed altogether from the Family Code of 1950. As a result, the consequences of the use of the legal presumptions of paternity were changed. From then on paternity was a relationship with the mother as well as the father, at the same time making it obligatory for both the parents to take care of the child and its possessions, its physical and spiritual development, and to try to raise and educate it so it could be prepared to work for the good of the society, according to its talents³⁵. It can be assumed that the last requirement was a clear expression of the political tendencies in the contemporary Poland. Both the parent were obliged to take up the responsibilities connected with providing for and raising the child. In the 1950 act a new regulation stating that fulfilling

³¹ Edict of 03. 06. 1953 O zmianie kodeksu rodzinnego [On the amendment to the family code] Dz. U. 1953 Issue 31, pos. 124.

³² Act of 25. 03. 1964 Kodeks rodzinny i opiekuńczy [Family and Guardianship Code].

³³ Edict of 03. 06. 1953 O zmianie kodeksu rodzinnego [On the amendment to the family code] Dz. U. 1953, Issue 31, pos. 124 art. 52.

³⁴ Edict of 03. 06. 1953 O zmianie kodeksu rodzinnego [On the amendment to the family code] Dz. U. 1953, Issue 31, pos. 124 art. 52.

³⁵ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950, 34. 308, Art. 35.

these parental duties could be fully or partly done through individual efforts made to raise the offspring³⁶. By removing the duality of children's legal situation the Family Code made it clear that the child ought to have its father's surname. It was only when the father remained unknown that the child was given the mother's surname³⁷. This regulation aimed to reduce the social stigmatisation of illegitimate children.

In the Family Code of 1950 it was also stated that until the child becomes of full age it remains under parental authority³⁸, which included the parents' rights and duties in guiding the children, representing them, and managing their possessions. Yet another indication pertaining to parental authority was the duty to take into account the good of the child and the good of the society³⁹. The latter is characteristic of the socialist system. In the case of any contentions between the parents it was necessary to relate to the opinion of guardianship authorities. This was connected with the problems of upbringing, representation, or managing the child's possessions⁴⁰. The guardianship authorities were also to solve contentions related to:

- limitation of parental authority – in the situation when the parents failed to properly fulfil their obligations,
- suspension of parental authority – in the case of a temporary obstacle in executing the authority,
- termination of parental authority – in the case of permanent obstacles in executing the authority, or in the case when the authority is abused or in the case when parental obligations are grossly neglected⁴¹.

It needs to be emphasised that according to the 1950 regulations both parents had the parental authority regardless of whether the child was legitimate or illegitimate. The decision terminating the authority of one of the parents was only made on the basis of his or her behaviour towards the child and the parent's life situation. There were no legal regulations that related the parental authority to one's marital status or any actions taken before an official or in court. Parental authority belonged to the mother and the father *ex lege*.

³⁶ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 39.

³⁷ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 36.

³⁸ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 53.

³⁹ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 54.

⁴⁰ Act of 27. 06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 55–58.

⁴¹ Act of 27 .06. 1950, Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code], Dz. U. 1950. 34. 308, Art. 60–61.

Recapitulation

When analysing the results of the work of the Polish-Czechoslovakian Legal Cooperation Commission from a historical perspective its evaluation is necessarily ambivalent. On the one hand, issuing one legal act regulating all the problems of marriage and family was an advantage. What is more, most of the proposed institutions were developed in the Family and Guardianship Code of 1964, which is still in force, with necessary amendments, of course. Most of the amendments pertaining to the legal situation of children were only introduced after the year 2000, that is, 50 years after the legal act analysed in the present paper was passed. When introducing the new regulation the Codification Commission declared: "... the attempt to develop such a grand act as family and guardianship law by two socialist countries together needs to be positively evaluated because it has been an opportunity for a fruitful exchange of experiences"⁴². The unification of the legal systems of two states in relation to a particular aspect of social relations excludes the possibility of a conflict of laws, which makes the legal exchange between the states more effective.

It is also from the social perspective that the changes in family law, especially those pertaining to the legal situation of children, were of crucial importance. That was because the legal bases for a social stigmatisation of illegitimate children were eliminated, and parental authority was awarded *ex lege* to both the parents, while at the same time it was made possible to limit, suspend, or terminate the authority if it was or could not be properly exercised.

Nevertheless, there was a number of evident shortcomings of the legal norms of the Family Code of 1950. One of them was certainly the laconism of the regulations. J. Winiarz claimed that "it is necessary for the legislative to keep certain proportions. There should not be too much casuistry, however, while avoiding casuistry one should not go to the extreme of lacking to sufficiently address the matter that needs to be regulated. And that was the case with k.r.⁴³ of 1950. That is why it is not an unjustified belief of many lawyers that the k.r. is a specific type of legal act which has few regulations and quite a few loopholes"⁴⁴.

⁴² *Uzasadnienie projektu kodeksu rodzinnego i opiekuńczego z 1962 r.* (1962) [Justification of the project of the family and guardianship code of 1962]. Warszawa, p. 40.

⁴³ K.r. – Kodeks rodzinny [Family Code].

⁴⁴ Winiarz, J.: op. cit., p. 79.

To recapitulate – many of the legal constructs employed in 1950 are still in force in today's Poland⁴⁵, however, due to the laconism of the forms and regulations of the Family Code it was necessary for the law to undergo further legislative processes. As a result, the practise of the organs executing the law was made into a legal act. This took place in 1964 following a few years of debates, both formal, within the Civil Law Department of the Codification Commission, and journalistic, in jurisprudential periodicals.

⁴⁵ Jurczyk-Romanowska, E.: *op.cit.*, pp. 295–330.



Teachers as social workers: a real challenge in the process of the integration of local communities from 1945 to 1956 as exemplified by towns and villages in Lower Silesia

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Teachers of all levels of the schooling system constituted one of the most numerous professional groups that were a part of the waves of settlers arriving in Lower Silesia. In the times when the “new” social, political, and cultural reality was being constructed in the Lower Silesia region the teachers would take care of basically everything, starting with preparing proper places for lessons to be ran, admissions of students into the particular classes, to preparing curricula according to the educational policy of the state and the requirements of the population of a given region, which was frequently a source of moral and ethical dilemmas.

Key words: teacher; social workers; integration; local communities; Lower Silesia; the period from 1945 to 1956

Changes in the boundaries of Poland that took place after World War II resulted in extensive migration. Migration to these lands was mostly related to motivations of an economic nature. That was because in central Poland the urban infrastructure and industry were destroyed, and towns and villages were overpopulated. As a result, more and more people would arrive in the western and northern regions.

In 1945, the schooling system in Lower Silesia was faced with a challenge of great importance. It was necessary to initiate educational and cultural activity along with the settlements and organisation of the regained lands. “Following farmers, workers, and craftsmen, who took into their hands the land and the industry, there came teachers, to bring lessons in the Polish language, to bring education and culture. Schools were consolidating and integrating the people in their combined effort to

develop these lands, to create normal conditions of life and work. Every day the schools contributed to reinforcing the Polish character of the region. Polish schools had to be built from scratch. The major problem included a lack of communication and constant migration”¹. Nevertheless, the school was one of the first established institutions.

A crucial moment in defining the aims of schooling, especially state schooling, and the requirements and responsibilities of school inspectors and teachers in relation to the creation of the new schooling system was the 1st Meeting of School Inspectors of the entire Lower Silesia, held on the 5th and the 6th of October 1945 in Wrocław. In his address Jan Dębski, the Superintendent of the Wrocław School District, emphasised that the primary responsibility of teachers is working in schools and for schools. The idea was supported with the rule: teachers for students, inspectors for teachers, superintendents for teachers and inspectors, and everyone for the youth².

The aims of the schools were defined as follows: “... the young generation ought to be taught and educated in such a way as to make the contemporary life of the Nation deeply meaningful, to allow Polish democracy to stand in the first row of free, democratic nations and to be equal to them in the cultural, social, political, and economic aspects. The teachers-educators must remember that democracy is not chaos, ignorance, and loose conduct, but that it requires great civic values, responsibility for the life of the community, work, and once again work for the good of the society. We must teach and educate, so that these goals are achieved. (...) We are responsible for making the best use of the meagre means at hand, so that Polish children may acquire solid knowledge and reliable education”³.

What is more, during the meeting the specific problems of Lower Silesia were discussed. The problems were to be taken into consideration by teachers in the process of the planning of didactic and educational work. “(...) Schools in Lower Silesia have a special purpose. Young people should not be left ignorant of the history, the natural resources, and the handicraft of the Polish nation of this Land that was subject to a Germanic invasion. I strongly advise my Colleagues to include the

¹ Dereń, E. (2010): *Edukacja nauczycieli szkół podstawowych na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1970* [Education of Primary School Teachers in Lower Silesia], Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Naukowe DSW, p. 40.

² The same, pp. 40–41.

³ Dębski, J. (1945): Organizacja szkolnictwa powszechnego na Dolnym Śląsku [Organisation of state schooling in Lower Silesia]. In *Dziennik Urzędowy Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego Wrocławskiego 1945 r.*, Issue 1, pos. 295, pp. 34–36.

regionalism understood in this way in the curricula of all school subjects. The youth need to become a part of this Land, to become its sons and daughters, to love it, and to decide to spend their lives here. That is why the organisation of the 1945/1946 school year was governed by the slogan: 'Every school age child in a Polish school'⁴.

Teachers as social workers – selected examples

"Teachers as organisers of schooling could work on behalf of school authorities, and initiate or co-initiate establishing new schools, according to the planned network of schools. The official course of the organisation of schools and school administration can be summarised as follows: superintendent – inspector – school headmaster – teacher. Immediately after the war it was not a rule"⁵. It was often that teachers arriving with a group of settlers organised schools by themselves, often in cooperation with the local population, long before school administration of a poviata town was established. Frequently the newly arrived teachers knew nothing about the government in the region and about the region itself; they were unable to use the local means transport, etc. It was only after a while, when schools were established, that the teachers would contact the school inspectors. One of the inhabitants of Pasiiecznik recalls the pioneering period of the school system: "Starting the school was not a government decision. It was the initiative of Mr. Drozdowski, which was supported by the local population and the local priest"⁶. Stanisław P., a settler soldier, adds: "Without the teacher the village would have been lifeless. It was the only glimmer of hope for a better future"⁷.

The effort that teachers made to involve others in setting up schools led to a bond of mutual understanding. Attention and awareness of the public were drawn to the realisation of a common goal, that is, the establishment of a school, which, in turn, increased the activity of the entire population, regardless of what region they originally came from, and this initiated public life. The role of the teacher usually consisted in

⁴ The same.

⁵ Kwilecki, A. (1960): *Rola społeczna nauczyciela na Ziemiach Zachodnich w świetle pamiętników nauczycieli osadników* [The Social Role of Teachers in the Western Lands in Light of the Diaries of Resettled Teachers]. Poznań, Wydawnictwo Instytutu Zachodniego, p. 41.

⁶ *Kronika Szkoły w Pasiieczniku, lata 1945–1946*. [Chronicle of the School in Pasiiecznik, 1945–1946].

⁷ The same.

organising and planning the combined effort. That is how setting up the school became a business of the entire town or village, it became a focus point of interest, and it constituted an essential factor in the process of the forming of the coexistence of people who had previously hardly known each other.

The local communities' interest in schools became manifest in mass participation in various school celebrations. The development of schools required constant cooperation of the community. That is why the effort of the school headmaster/teacher was directed towards organising parents' committees that were often the first official social organisations in a given area⁸. It was the teacher who used to inspire the work of the committee, and who used to emphasise the importance of cooperating with the entire population, especially parents.

Parents' committees were typically formed in state schools, and their work would be focused on school buildings and equipment. Furthermore, the parents felt responsible for the safety of their children in school as well as the proper functioning of the school itself. Parents would intervene if, for example, they were not satisfied with the hygiene in the school. A concerned parents' letter to the President of Jelenia Góra, which includes a request to conduct a sanitary inspection of State School No. 1, can serve as an example:

"To Mr. City President,

We kindly request you to send a sanitary inspection to school No. 1. Because in school No. 1 the lavatory is so dirty that our children cannot relieve themselves during the whole school day, and when they come home they are in pain, which has an influence on their health. Isn't the school Headmaster supposed to be responsible for sanitation in school? What are the duties of the school nurse, who obviously never visits the lavatory. We hope that Mr. President will issue a directive to solve these problems.

Concerned parents⁹"

Parents' committees would also support teachers in their implementation of schooling responsibilities pertaining to care for

⁸ Cf. Fudali, R. (2004): *Przemiany roli społecznej nauczycieli na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1945–1975* [Changes in the Social Roles of Teachers in Lower Silesia from 1945 to 1975], Zielona Góra, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, p. 196.

⁹ *Parents' letter to the President of Jelenia Góra requesting sanitary inspection in Primary School No.1 – original record*, Korespondencja różna w sprawach szkolnictwa 1945–1948 [Various correspondence pertaining to schools 1945–1948], Zespół akt Zarządu Miejskiego 1945–1950, sign. 415, Archiwum Państwowe w Jeleniej Górze [State Archives in Jelenia Góra] (hereafter: AP JG).

children. Special help was provided for poor students. It included free course books, meals, and summer camps. The funds came from various sources, however, the biggest subsidy was provided by the city.

Eugenia Skrzyszewska, head of the Department of Education at the Office of the delegate of the Government of Poland in Jelenia Góra, wrote thus of the action of sponsoring meals for children:

"(...) In the action of sponsoring meals for youth the citizens can be aided by the Social Services Department or by the Schooling Department which has certain funds for this end, apart from this, the responsibility to sponsor meals for children lies with the Parents' Committee.

In order to receive a subsidy to sponsor meals for children, a list of the young ones in real need of such meals ought to be submitted to the Schooling Department. The list should include a child's date of birth, father's occupation, and the sum that the Parents' Committee has for this end. (...)"¹⁰

The parents' committee in the Primary School in Pasiiecznik may serve as another example. Its work was, first and foremost, of the following character:

- 1) utilitarian (practical) – organising school events, games, plays, field trips;
- 2) cultural – organising games for children, sleigh rides, Christmas games,
- 3) help and support – technical and material help and support with, e.g., renovations in school (fixing the fence, the school field)¹¹.

Culture was yet another area in which the teachers of Lower Silesia were active. In the first years after the liberation, the schools were the centres of cultural life in the cities and towns. When the teachers organised various artistic events they made sure that they were not only attractive to the parents, but to the children, as well.

Inspiring the settlers' interest in culture was difficult at first, because originally in this community there were some strong ties within the groups that had come from the same regions. That is why these people would at first prefer to spend time among those of their own circle. The situation

¹⁰ Letter of the head of the Department of Education of June 11, 1946 to the headmaster of the Public State School No. 1 on the subject of subsidies for sponsoring meals for children from the poorest families, Zespól akt Zarządu Miejskiego 1945–1950, sign. 395, AP JG.

¹¹ Jasińska, K. (1997): *Rola szkoły w integracji społeczności lokalnej w latach 1945–60 na podstawie szkoły w Pasiieczniku* [The role of the school in the integration of the local community from 1945 to 1960 as exemplified by the school in Pasiiecznik], unpublished – Master's thesis supervised by prof. dr Mirosława Chamcówna, Wrocław, p. 52.

was certain to be improved because of the development of the network of schools, which would inspire people's social activity, regardless of their ancestry.

For example, in Jelenia Góra, an essential role in the development of cultural life was played by Władysław Kurbiel, the first head of the City Department of Education, who was at the same time an enthusiast of theatre. In cooperation with Farmers' Self-Help he started the People's Theatre in Jelenia Góra, which would soon stage a people's opera of three acts titled "Peasants' Blood" in the Lower Silesian Theatre. The premiere took place on July 20, 1946, and the opera was subsequently staged 57 times. In 1947 Władysław Kurbiel was appointed head of the Trade Unions' Community Centre, and in 1950: the Inspector of Education¹².

Yet another teacher who used to combine pedagogical work with social service and culture, etc. was Władysław Mróz. From 1946 to 1948 he ran the "Echo" choir, which would often perform on the Polish Radio¹³. Thanks to the great efforts of such teachers the number of amateur music bands, associations, and sport clubs in the vicinity of Jelenia Góra was rapidly increasing.

In the village of Biskupie "the teacher Stanisława Augustyn organised various artistic events in cooperation with youth. They performed for the inhabitants of the village, but not exclusively – they would often give ticketed shows in other villages and towns. The collected money was used to buy desks and a curtain for the day room, which was renovated in 1947"¹⁴.

The teacher Maria Zaborska took care of the artistic club of the Primary School in Laskowice. "On November 11, 1945, the whole village was invited to see the first performance held in the school – a contemporary student recalls. A play was staged, and we sang songs, for example 'How it was at war', and I recited the poem 'I, the child of war'. After my performance – and this is something I will never forget – all the people started singing: 'We won't forsake the land we came from'. People were moved to tears. The following year, the school artists with Mrs. Zaborska even went to perform in Zakopane"¹⁵.

¹² Cf. Koczwała, M. (1985): *Nauczyciele działaczami kultury* [Teachers as cultural activists], *Karkonosze*, Issue 11, p. 27.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 28.

¹⁴ *Report on the work of the school from 1945 to 1950 written by Jadwiga Krocak* – in the archives of the Primary School in Minkowice

¹⁵ Maria Siębor – an inhabitant of Laskowice – interview conducted in September 1991 by Bożena Pliszczyk for her dissertation supervised by Stefania Walasek, Wrocław 1992.

In Bystrzyca, Michał Wowkonowicz, the headmaster, made the following note in the school chronicle: "Except for the everyday hard work we organised a few events that were supposed to raise the spirit of the people. I will never forget the celebration of the 3rd of May in my school – it was so nice, and it took place on ancient Polish lands. In their high voices, the children recited only Polish poems about Polish schools, the love of the fatherland, working for the country. The beautiful celebrations that raised the Polish spirit included also Saint Nicholas Day, Polish Science Day, Nativity plays, the anniversary of T. Kościuszko, Forest Day, and the Day of Strenuous Work for Poland"¹⁶. The artistic efforts of the children were supervised by Maria Wowkonowicz and Maria Małowa.

In the case of the population of Pasiecznik celebrations of important events were the main and the most popular form of cultural life. They included celebrations of public and national holidays, events important for the community, historical anniversaries, etc. The celebrations held in schools played an essential educational role. They were highly emotional and intended to get the children engaged in all the problems of the adult generations. The joyful atmosphere and the feeling of friendship and community among the school children made it possible to uphold national traditions. They also strengthened the bonds between the students, the teachers, and the invited guests.

Jan N. recalls: "Until 1949 the 3rd of May celebrations were recognised by Mr. Drozdowski. They were also held in churches. It was as soon as in 1946 that a general picnic was held outside, and dances were organised for the whole village. All the students were carrying national flags and singing: 'Welcome, the dawn of May...' And on December 6 of the same year the teacher and the priest together with the parents celebrated St. Nicholas Day. There was a little food and dancing to accordion music. In 1947, apart from the traditional 3rd of May, there was a special celebration – the unveiling of the monument of the 2nd anniversary of the victory. It was a religious and patriotic celebration. After the Mass, a procession with an orchestra went to the monument, which was then blessed and unveiled. The raising of the monument was probably a common initiative of all the settlers. It was to be a sign of remembrance and admonition for future generations. The priest and the teacher were enthusiastic organisers of this work"¹⁷.

From the narrative of Maria M. One may learn: "There were always great celebrations of the 1st of May. We would get prepared for them at

¹⁶ *Kronika Szkoły w Bystrzycy z lat 1945–1970* [Chronicle of the School in Bystrzyca from 1945 to 1970], p. 5.

¹⁷ Interview with Jan N. In Jasińska, K.: op. cit. p. 77.

school. Entire families went to the poviata in decorated carts. Nobody was allowed to work in the fields – it was the Labour Day”¹⁸. These words are confirmed by Stanisław P., also an inhabitant of Pasiiecznik: “The entire village went in carts decorated with flags and birch twigs. There was marching around the market square, and a representative of the poviata read out an address”¹⁹. In the 1950s, the celebrations of the public holiday of the Victory Day on May 9 were always solemn. The day was celebrated by the entire population of the village, and especially by the settlers from the military, during an assembly in the school, and then in front of the monument. Maria M. recalls: “May 9 was a great celebration, and watches were held in front of the monument by scouts and by veterans”²⁰. Stanisław P., in turn, describes the celebration as follows: “Everyone was happy with the spark of the Polish spirit in the western regions. The students brought flowers and held a watch. In 1956 flags for the school were bought with GRN²¹ funds. After 1956 the school would take care of the monument, because there weren’t many veterans left”²².

To recapitulate, it was the work of amateur theatres and school choirs that played an important role in integrating school children and local communities. Learning new songs, choosing and preparing the programme, and performing during school celebrations or meetings with the local population constituted a unique opportunity to establish social relations. What is more, the audience appreciated such artistic activity, which is why it was often that the students made trips to other villages and towns to perform. The tickets were not expensive, but they provided some income that could be used to buy, e.g., equipment for the school and the classrooms.

It needs to be noted that after 1949 most celebrations were of a propagandistic character. What is more, from 1949 to 1955 in the entire schooling system efforts were made to include the new political and

¹⁸ Interview with Maria M., *ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁹ Interview with Stanisław P., *ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁰ Interview with Maria M. In Jasińska, K.: *op.*, *cit.* p. 77.

²¹ Commune National Council (Gromadzka Rada Narodowa – GRN) – organ of the lowest level of the government. A commune consisted of a few villages. Active from September 25, 1954 to December 31, 1972. The institution had the following goals: supporting the development of farming, addressing the housing, social, and cultural needs of the population, ensuring that the population fulfil their duties towards the state, creating economic plans and plans of the development of the commune, maintenance of local roads, the logistic network, the services network, and the social, cultural, and housing infrastructure. ([http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rada_narodowa_\(PRL\)](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rada_narodowa_(PRL))) (retrieved: 25. 01. 2014).

²² Interview with Stanisław P. In Jasińska, K.: *op. cit.*, p. 77.

ideological ideas based on Leninism in the curriculum²³. Teachers were forced to make difficult choices. On the one hand, the Party strictly enforced a course of social and political work based upon a political course chosen for the schools. On the other, some of the teachers perceived this fact as dangerous to the students. Henryka Chmurzyńska recalls the first years of her work in Jelenia Góra:

“My work in the school wasn’t restricted to giving lessons. It was as soon as 1945 that I organised a team of girl scouts that was based on the pre-war programmes and traditions of the scouting movement. Of course, the entire team would go to church. I had some problems because of this. In 1947 I was accused of spreading religious indoctrination among the students and of forcing the scouts to attend the Holy Mass. That is why I was transferred to School No. 4 in Jelenia Góra. I stopped working with scouts. I only returned to scouting after 1957”²⁴.

It also needs to be mentioned that there was quite a significant group of teachers who used to actively participate in the works of various social organisations of political and economic character. They would actively implement the curriculum developed according to the political ideology of the ruling party during the courses for the illiterate and in classes ran in day rooms in places of work. What is more, they also took part in the decision making process as counsellors. These teachers contributed greatly to the development of the cooperative movement in their regions. The results and the effectiveness of their efforts could be measured by the level of proper implementation of educational goals that were greatly determined by the politics of the state.

²³ Iwanek, M. (1989): Szkolnictwo podstawowe i średnie [Primary and secondary schools]. In Kwaśny, Z. (ed.) *Jelenia Góra. Zarys historii miasta* [Jelenia Góra. Outline of the History of the City]. Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, p. 397.

²⁴ Plucińska, E. (ed.) (1998): *Uczyli, walczyli, budowali: wspomnienia nauczycieli tajnego nauczania* [They Taught, They Fought, They Built: Memories of the Teachers in Secret Education]. Jelenia Góra, Wydawnictwo Wojewódzkiego Ośrodka Metodycznego, p. 17.



Political Aspects of CEE-Countries Participation in American Anti-Terrorism Campaign (2001–2011)

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The paper deals with the political moments of CEE countries participation in American anti-terrorist and military efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq. In the course of these events, it accentuates the bilateral relationships between four countries of Visegrad group with the USA, with the focus on the participation of Poland and Czech Republic that presented some different, although controversial patterns of support of American policy. The paper clearly shows the remoteness of international terrorist threat in the region that is irrelevant with active participation of the region in outer campaigns in Asia, with dubious rationale and consequences. As a result this paper is the attempt to consolidate the conclusions of other (predominantly local) works on the issue, but also to generalize this issue from the historical perspective; and is the additional contribution to the whole picture of American anti-terrorist campaign in the first decade of XXI century. Thus the background of terrorism in the region is contemplated through the context of American anti-terrorist policy along with the reforms of anti-terrorist system of these states after “September 11”. Indeed, main point of the work is the comparative approach to analyzing the contribution of Poland and Czech Republic to the anti-terrorist campaign.

Key words: USA; anti-terrorist; terrorism; CEE; Poland; Czech Republic

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of new XXI-st century the escalation of terrorism prompted the comprehensive anti-terrorist campaign by the United States. But history showed that this wave of terrorism also touched the Western Europe. So the recent decade could be called the terrorist decade as the anti-terrorist discourse was prevailing in many parts of the world. The counter-terrorist actions turned out to be the important part of modern security system, and captured the attention of UN, USA, EU and other prominent actors in the world arena. The issue of terrorism

prevention or reducing it to the appropriate level became the foremost task of nowadays security conceptions and strategies. The different law-enforcement, intelligence, cooperative, financing, and military mechanisms were contemplating as the solution of the new urgent problem. So once in the background of history the subject of terrorism became apparent driving force and stimulus of many changes in the leading democratic countries. Some regions due to this wave of terrorism appeared the new hotbed of conflicts, as it happened in Afghanistan and Iraq.

In this time the Central-Eastern Europe had its own agenda, as it had own transformative democratic and integrative changes, and seemed to be far from such controversial issue as terrorism. But even this "unterrorist" territory was absorbed by the common wave of terrorism hysteria, as the terrorist issue was introduced to the policy discourse and documents that led to practical engagement in anti-terrorism measures. Such policy quickly became controversial enough, especially concerning military efforts, visible in anti-terrorist and quasi-anti-terrorist actions (in Afghanistan and Iraq). This situation poses additional challenge due to some paradox that, disengaged to the terrorism region, partially appeared at the forefront of comprehensive anti-terrorist campaign. But such this approach was finely adjusted to the historical memory of these countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia), that were familiar with "enemies of communism", and then with stark disapproval of communism itself, and now acquired the new image of enemy.

Thus this paper explores the connections of anti-terrorist posture of CEE-countries with the American counter-terrorist policy in the period of 2001–2011. It accentuates the political issues of the topic, without detailing into the military and technical matters of bilateral cooperation of this region with the USA. So paper contemplates such issues as: the terrorism awareness and environment in the region, anti-terrorist policy of V4-countries and its connections with the relevant policy of the EU and the USA. The last issue appeared the main for the paper due to the controversial nature of cooperation of Central-Eastern Europe with the USA in the military context of the counter-terrorist policy. As a result, this study is projected to test the pros and cons (gains and losses) of such approach in the obvious context of subjective and short-sighted vision of the issue at the regional level, and to compare the results of the cooperation among these countries.

This subject appeared very interesting as for political, but also for historical science. Among the background works for the paper it should

be noted about publications of C. Adamczak¹, J. Janicki², V. Řiháčková³, A. Gogolewska⁴, M. Mares⁵, S. Kamiński⁶, K. Recawek⁷, G. Lederer⁸, A. Spencer⁹, which are dedicated to the different issues of the topic among the academic, as well the administration community, that proves the theoretical and practical significance of such paper. Most of these authors are of local origin that underlines prevailing local interest to the topic, despite international nature of contemplated issues. The study is also based on the primary sources (reports to the UN, sociological surveys, political statements and declarations by local, European, and American leaders). Thus this paper presents distinct image in general picture of the American anti-terrorist policy after the September 11, attacks.

The research is confined by 2001–2011 chronologically due to the escalation of the issue in the 2001, and have eventual time limit of 2011, when the American authorities eliminated the main person of contemporary terrorism (Osama Bin Laden). These events appeared the natural frontier of so called “war on terror” that embraces such events as September 11 attacks, Afghan (2001) and Iraq (2003) war, and also influenced the anti-terrorist reforms in the EU after terrorist wave in 2004–2005. Indeed the main discussion is revolved about the first part of this period, when the terrorist issue was prevalent in international discourse. By logic, homogenous Central Eastern European countries should have a few connections to these events, but were engaged directly to the global anti-terrorist campaign. First of all, four countries of

¹ Adamczak, C. (2007): Poland's Engagement in the Global War on Terrorism. In *Strategic Level Political and Military Implications*, U.S. Army War College, www.dtic.mil

² Janicki, J.: The United States and Poland: Coalition of the Willing and Beyond In *Tamkang Journal of International Affairs*. p. 69–102.

³ Řiháčková, V. (2006): *Counterterrorism policies in Central Europe*. EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy, www.europeum.org

⁴ Gogolewska, A. (2005): *Polish war on terror: external roots, internal dynamics and ambitions to become global player*; www.dcaf.ch

⁵ Mareš, M. (2008): *Consequences of EU enlargement for terrorism? European Expert Network in Terrorism*. Issues conference. Leiden: Centre for Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Leiden University, Campus the Hague; <http://ispo.fss.muni.cz>

⁶ Kamiński, S. (2002): *Polska w międzynarodowej koalicji przeciwko terroryzmowi*. Warszawa (2011).

⁷ *Non-military aspects of security in V4 countries – prospects for co-operation*. Edited by Rekawec K. Warszawa: The Polish Institute Of International Affairs: V4Papers, No. 3.

⁸ Lederer, G. (2005): *Countering Islamist Radicals In Eastern Europe*: CSRC discussion paper 05/42, September 2005; www.investigativeproject.org

⁹ Spencer, A. (2006): *Counter-terrorism in New Europe*. In *International Public Policy Review*, Vol. 2, No.2, November 2006. p. 92-112.; <http://www.ucl.ac.uk>

Visegrad Group (except the Czech Republic to the some extend) were steady allies of the USA, taking part in military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Secondly, this region was at the core of integration to the NATO (1999), and then to the EU (2004). Thirdly, the most active ally of the USA in the campaign appeared Poland that is regional leader and biggest country of the region-so the main discussion and results in the paper is referred to this country. But it doesn't allow to call this paper the case-study of Poland, as the specific role and position of Czech Republic hinder the opportunity to make the unilateral conclusions for the whole region. Moreover, Czech Republic and Slovakia showed certain inertia in global anti-terrorism regime (resolutions), so it allows the researcher conclude only provisionally about similarities of anti-terrorist policy of region.

TERRORISM IN THE REGION: HISTORY, POLITICS, COUNTER-POLICY

In general the region is unfamiliar with the terrorism, but remembers empires and communist and empires rule. Thus, the absence of terrorism doesn't mean that region was without historical wounds. Oppositely, the region situated at the epicenter of geopolitical rivalry that produced the wave of hatred and xenophobia that stipulated the different irredentist and social movements that fortunately hardly applied to the terrorist methods. This aspect is more visible in Poland with some sporadic events. Its history knew the bombings against tsar rule (in Russian empire), nationalist bombings in the interwar period (1920-th), and similar events at the beginning of 1990s¹⁰. The absence of extremism in latter part of XX century was caused by unviolent approach of local anti-communist opposition, despite the support of some controversial international extremists by local communist regimes. In 1990-th after the dissolution of communist block, the Tamil, the Palestinian, the Kurdish and the Irish radicals unsuccessfully tried to establish the own bases in the region. That proves that region appeared in the sight of nationalistic terrorists due to the changes in the geopolitical map and relaxation of barriers to the international migration.

Hungary has also undergone some minor internal terrorist incidents. In 1998 the terrorist bombing in the Budapest took several lives and similar event lead to the injurements in 2003. The recent attacks against Roma population showed the feature of ethnic terrorism, uncommon for

¹⁰ Kamiński, S.: op. cit.; Gogolewska, A.: op. cit., p. 3.

democratic Europe. At the beginning of XXI century the nationals of this country also appeared the victims of terrorism abroad (in Kashmir, Iraq, London, Egypt, Turkey)¹¹. The last fact confirms the common threat of modern terrorism that is more visible in the case of Poland that, solely among region, had the victim in WTC terrorist attacks, as well as in Madrid and Bali explosions. In 2007 there was even incident with the intent to kill Polish ambassador in Iraq.

Other important factor of non-terrorist character of the region was its non-nuclearity. Despite the situation changed and Poland ascended to the nuclear programme in 2009, complementing three Czech nuclear plants, the control measures were finely adjusted to the dangers of possible terrorist connections. Among anti-proliferation measures it could be mentioned the detention of two Ukrainian and one Hungarian nationals in Slovakia with a kilogram of uranium in 2006 that reminds the similar event in Czech Republic in 1994.

Probably the main factors that determined the unterrorism nature of the region are their monoethnic societies, homogenous national structure, and especially the absence of gross Muslim minority in the CEE-states. For example, neighboring Belarus (50 thousands of Moslems) surpass Poland with its 25 thousands Arab community and 4 thousands of Tatars. The quantity of such community in other countries of region is even smaller: in Czech Republic – 10 thousand, Slovakia – 5 thousands¹², and no more than 20 thousands Moslem community in Hungary. It should be also mentioned that Slovakia even lack the mosque in its territory¹³ and Hungary do not have officially registered Moslem religious community. Such low religious profile is incomparable with the Moslem community in Germany (several million), Bulgaria (1 million), and even Ukraine (half of million). Indeed, the religious feature is very important in Poland, where the Catholicism is at the center of the national life and the historical memory. Thus, the Moslem proselytism in such countries as Poland is improbable, but due to the integration to multinational EU, such prospect is more obvious in other countries of the region. For example, unlike Poland, Czech Republic differs in light of religiosity as the fewest one.

The other internal factors distinctly determine the counter-terrorism environment in these countries. For example, Islamophobia and anti-semitism is partially strong factors there. The adjacent feature of local

¹¹ Marton, P.: Anti-terrorism in the Visegrad Framework: Less is More and Better. In *Non-military aspects...*, p. 20.

¹² Lederer, G.: op. cit., p. 10.

¹³ Rekawec, K.: The Threat of Terrorism to the Visegrad Group Countries. In *Non-military aspects...*, p. 26.

population is the low-level of respect of civil and personal rights during the conducting of counterterrorist measures. But in this respect it should be noted that there were no profound sociological survey of the issue, so the numbers in such research differ enormously concerning the public opinion on terrorism. Some authors even expressively show their skepticism about the urgency of regional counterterrorism. For example, Agnieszka Gorgolewska critically summarizes the terrorism issue in the higher level of society of Poland, pointing out to the lack of profound discussion about the problems. She concludes that "security awareness of Polish elites seemed stopped at the stage of NATO enlargement and development of friendly relations in the region"¹⁴. She also stresses that her country entered the Global War on Terror (official name of American anti-terrorist campaign) in hasty manner (without strategy, aims, reliable calculations) and without due analysis – the claim that must be applicable for the whole region. But it consequently did not hinder these countries to take part in controversial military campaign.

As it mentioned above the non-occurrence of terrorism is explained by controlled right-wing militancy, the absence of left-wing militancy and the absence of social and logistical basis for Moslem radicals. But the alliances with other western countries, especially the USA, made the countries direct object of terrorism potentially. Yet in 1998, Osama Bin Laden declared about duty to eradicate Americans and their allies, and Iraq seemingly aggravated the situation, taking into account the participation of Poland (2,200 troops), Slovakia (110 persons), Hungary (300 troops), and 200 Czechs (in British zone of command). That is also proved by the statement of Ayman Zawahiri (one of the leaders of Al-Qaeda) that called Poland twice and Hungary once – as the occupiers of Iraq. The information about Al-Zarqawi network in the region, and disproved Czech statements about the links of September 11 attacks and Iraq added additional controversy to the terrorism issue in the region.

MODES OF POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT OF COUNTERTERRORISM

Due to the absence of internal sources of terrorism, the external factors determined the external forms of counter-terrorist policy of the region, which was actively engaged in integration to NATO and EU, and in 2001 received the new global task – fighting terrorism. That is why; the

¹⁴ Gogolewska, A.: op. cit., p. 5.

September 11 attacks influenced the security sector of these countries and stipulated the adoption of the new security strategies that acknowledged the foremost character of new threat. But due to the unfamiliarity and remoteness of the new issues, the region applied the copycat strategy to the counter-terrorism, copying the conceptual basis from the USA and institutional capacity from EU. The last thing is revealed through that being the new members of EU, these countries took over the whole set of specific EU-mechanisms against terrorism and the first review of implementation process of these measures in 2004–05 gave rather positive appreciation concerning the Czech and Poland. But again popular anxiety at its peak in Europe (in 2005–2006) showed in-congruent scarce figures here. When the general European level of imminent terrorist danger surpassed the 10–14 %, the figures in V4-countries were less impressive: 2–5 % in Czech Republic, 2 % in Hungary, 3 % – in Poland, and 5–3 % in Slovakia. Moreover, despite the vision of this issue in the light of internal security, absolute majority of people (90%) considered these issues as the object of cooperative measures (unlike in the UK and Spain where the figures were a few higher than 60 %) ¹⁵.

EU brought the cooperative mechanisms in anti-terrorist actions that stressed on special action plans (programs), border control, document checks, sharing intelligence, finances monitoring, Europol, Eurojust, the competence of Special Coordinator (created in 2004), and even favored Poland by locating the center of European Border Agency in Warsaw. But institutional reforms and changes was not supported by special law against terrorism that was adopted for instance in neighboring Ukraine (2003).

As a result bureaucracy hindered much of the anti-terrorist activity. In Poland, it was the issue of personnel reduction in Internal Affairs Ministry, and its rivalry for mandate with Defense Ministry. At the competence level the main anti-terrorist entity in this country was Agency of Internal Security (AIS), but such competence mandate was faced with vague tasks and definitions, lack of relevant authority. In 2002 there were created the anti-terrorism center with coordinating mission, but also with lack of the authority. Other important entity (WIR10) with anti-terrorist mission existed only two years. Another anti-terrorist measures in Poland after September 11 comprised the creation of sanctions commission, ratification of anti-terrorist conventions, tightening export control, conducting anti-terrorist conference in November 2001 ¹⁶.

¹⁵ Řiháčková, V.: op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁶ Adamczak, C.: op. cit., p. 12.

Poland, after Iraq war, along with the USA, actively focused at the counter-proliferation of WMD, but through European mechanisms. For example, in 2008, Poland became a signatory of new European guidelines in this field (that was significant addition to the European strategy against terrorism, where the issue of proliferation of WMD was present). That year was also manifested by two other institutional events in Poland. The Government security centre was created within Interior Ministry that was empowered to analyze terrorist threat and handle crisis management. There was also created CAD (Counter-terrorist centre) that acquired the coordinating role in anti-terrorist system of Poland and should also analyze terrorist threats, as in Poland either in neighboring countries that impacted polish strategic security interests¹⁷. These creation of these institution and attention to WMD is the evidence of Polish aspiration to make the countering the terrorist one of the priority tasks, that was direct influence of American policy, despite the lowering of terrorist hysteria in the end of previous decade.

Unlike Poland Czech Republic chose more moderate approach to the support of global anti-terrorist campaign that more resembled the position of Baltic States. This country focused on the role of national action plan against terrorism. It also approved national security strategy as in the case of Poland. But leadership of the country showed pendulum effect toward the support of the USA, without steady and successive policy on issue. The obvious reason for that was the absence of terrorist threat for the country that led to strong neglecting the issue among populace and rather controversial declaration of government about "impossibility of absolute security". In the case of Security Information Agency (BIS) it could be seen groundless statement about the meeting between Mohamed Atta (main September 11 hijacker) and Iraqi representative in April of 2001. This agency was the main in the framework of Czech anti-terrorist bodies, along with auxiliary departments, financial police, central and local police, but also without support of specific anti-terrorist legislation. The less impressive is also the bilateral Czech agreements on terrorism, comparably with Poland, confined more to the EU countries. In the field of international anti-terrorist regime the Czech Republic also ratified relatively less conventions. Other Czech anti-terrorist efforts were indeed complemented by set of effective internal measures (tightening border control, security measures in Airports, sky-marshals to the USA

¹⁷ Report of the Republic of Poland on the resolution: „Measures to prevent terrorists from acquiring weapons of mass destruction” (A/RES/63/30); http://www.un.org/disarmament/WMD/SGReport_Terrorism/Docs/Poland.pdf

and Israel, protection of “nuclear sites”). But as in the case of Poland, Czech anti-terrorist system also lacked strict hierarchical structure and had vague competence.

The other two countries (Hungary and Slovakia) have more similarities with Czech Republic, but supported the USA steadier, especially in the field of military operations. In this context it should be noted that these countries as a Czech Republic was in process of transferring to volunteer armies. In Hungary it happened in 2004, one year before then in Czech Republic. In Slovakia this process was taken more time. In general, the anti-terrorist position of Hungary was defined by its proximity to the Balkans, so the task of border control appeared prevalent. The Slovakia also implemented the military approach to the international anti-terrorist activity that allowed getting new experience in relatively far regions, out of Europe.

Hungary and Slovakia also adopted new security strategies that were very similar in theoretical underpinning borrowed rather from the USA than EU, as it proved by focus on the acknowledgment of NATO as security. The security strategy of Slovakia singled out two main threats such as terrorism and WMD proliferation. The last issue was also projected to solve with disarming methods (due to the high risk of using WMD by terrorist)¹⁸ that could be ample reference to the Iraqi case. Hungarian security strategy also referred to the NATO (and EU) as the main cooperative means to counter terrorism, indicating the strategic threat on the part of combination of WMD and terrorism (that was early accentuated by Bush administration before war in Iraq). This strategy is also predominantly American-centric as it clearly supported the American military presence in the Europe¹⁹.

POLAND'S PRO-ACTIVE ROLE IN THE AMERICAN “WAR ON TERROR”

The manner of Poland-American relationships is defined by their history. With mighty neighbors, Germany and Russia, Poland was forced to seek another, more external ally. The key ally after Cold War appeared the USA that was connected with history of Poland from the times of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, through the policy of Woodrow Wilson, Cold War, along with such American policy-makers as Zbigniew Brzeziński who

¹⁸ Ondrejcsak, R. (2006): Security Policies of the Slovak Republic and Hungary – the “Limited Differentiation” in Central Europe. *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs*, Vol. XV, No. 3–4, p. 80.

¹⁹ The same, p. 81.

reflects the strength of Polish Diaspora in the USA. So it is no surprise that Poland was among the first ones that supported American policy after September 11. Polish leadership also organized the anti-terrorism conference for CEE region in November of 2001, where a lot of Bush rhetoric was reiterated by Polish president Alexander Kwaśniewski²⁰. This conference was the sign support of central European region of the USA in the hard times, especially on the part of Polish leadership. Then, Poland actively engaged in UN anti-terrorist regime, supporting WMD-terrorism initiatives and was also the place (Krakow), where Container Security Initiative (CSI) was first declared by American president. Most contradictory situation about Polish pro-American support appeared after the information (in the end of 2005) about the existing the secret detention American centers on Polish territory.

As a result at the beginning of XXI century the USA appeared "number one" ally for Poland, when the Polish state became the most steadfast ally of the USA at international arena on other hand. The main driving force of such engagement was Polish policy-makers, even with communist background, when the popular support was scarcer. In September 2001, the every second Pole considered that Poland could be the object of terrorist attack. The situation with Iraq campaign was even meager, mostly due to the absence of colonial history, as the society did not see it as necessary to intervene overseas. Only 30 % favored the invasion, whose quantity rose up after invasion (50 %), but then dropped even lower for the next three years²¹. So the Polish active engagement reflects its dichotomy at the background of strong national fears about terrorism. Even National Security Strategy of 2007 mentions terrorism 30 times²². But, despite the obvious anxiety about terrorism and even the fears of World War due to it, the issue itself did not find interest among political parties, that proves the conformist approach to the issue among policy-makers.

Poland definitely adopted the concept of American vision of terrorism and copied it to its own Security Strategy (2003) that proposed the holistic view of security in favor of terrorism and WMD threat. It was the exaggeration in some measure, but also probably the justification of Polish participation in Iraq – and the tool to play more active role in the world²³ but to be in larger risk of terrorism threat. As a result this

²⁰ *Warsaw Conference on Combating Terrorism (2001)*, November 6; <http://www.washington.polemb.net>

²¹ Adamczak, C., op. cit., p. 14.

²² *Transnational Terrorism (2008). Theoretical Approaches and Policy Discourse*, 12 November; <http://www.transnationalterrorism.eu>

controversy deteriorated the relations with France, Germany. The main rationale of such policy was desire of Polish leadership of political and economical gains, among which security guarantees, economic cooperation, financial support, Visa Waiver programme, and potential for growing state image were the prevailing. But public opinion required even more, so the following controversy around “anti-ballistic shield” and “black sites” came as no surprise. This situation also seemed to prove that EU is contemplated more as economic facilitator for Poland, than political or military force. The relatively positive moment for Poland in Iraq campaign was its army experience in real combat situation, whose practice was absent since the World War II. For five years, 15 thousands of Polish soldiers took part in security operations in Iraq (with more than 20 lost and about 100 injured), their military received new vehicles and weapons, applied the lighter infantry, new doctrines and field manuals, along with the changes in tactics and acquired experience in non-linear attacks and defense.

Polish approach clearly reflected in the words of W. Cimoszewicz that casting away the “passivity as the solutions” and satisfied the ambitions for Poland as strong regional leader as Poland ruled the whole divisions there with other nations under its command. But another declaration of Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz (Polish foreign minister) in July 2003 about the processing of oil field turned to be vain, so the economic gains in Iraq appeared void. Thus, military experience controversy also proves by the stark critique of Paul Bremer (command-in-chief in Iraq) that assessed low about the strength of Central European troops²⁴. It should be also mentioned the Afghan mission of Poles, who conducted security operations, revealed the dangerous materials, particularly doing mine-clearing there.

CZECH UNEVEN ENGAGEMENT IN AMERICAN ANTI-TERRORIST EFFORTS

Czech Republic appeared the most reluctant supporter of American anti-terrorist efforts among countries of the region, but its role in Iraq remained controversial, but not due to the loyalty to American policy. The

²³ Zaborowski, M – Longhurst, L. (2003): America's Protégé in the East? The Emergence of Poland as a Regional Leader. In *International Affairs*, 79, 5. p. 1009–1028.

²⁴ Wysakowski-Walter, J. (2011): Between Europe and America: Polish Choices for the 21st Century, March; <http://www.unilodz.academia.edu>

pace of support of American intervention in Iraq was not consecutive, its engagement there were modest, and disproved assertions of Czech leaderships about the meeting of Iraqi agents and "September 11" terrorist in Prague were the main contribution to it.

At the end of 2001, the Radio Free Europe appeared at the center of debate between Czech and American authorities. Despite the decision to relocate, the location remained unchanged, despite it could be the object for terrorists as the symbol of western propaganda in Near East (as the radio signal was directed exactly in that region from Prague). Besides Czech Republic was known supporter of Israel policy, that was also exploited in Moslem propaganda (and even by left- and right wing Czech radicals that tried sporadically to help Islamism organization, despite general anti-Moslem orientation of right-wing groups). The personal affinity also played role at that time as head of Czech state, despite the position of government and parliament, joined the camp of supporters of anti-terrorist operation in Iraq. At the start of 2003, outgoing president, and former dissident, Václav Havel signed "Letter of 8" (with other seven heads of European states), about the support of invasion into Iraq. It was the sign of strict pro-American position on the part of Czech president, as the successive leadership took more balanced policy that was visible at February (2003) summit, when Czech authorities withdrew controversial statement of Cyril Svoboda (Czech deputy prime minister) toward the EU, after the critique from so-called "Old Europe" (Western European countries, according to famous statement of Donald Rumsfeld at that times). The position of "Old Europe" was clearly visible in the case of J. Chirac, French president, who pointed at improper behavior of states-candidates for EU, which, for his mind, should be quiet, and even warned about the threat of barring of EU accession for central European states. As a result, these states were excluded from the European summit, where common position on Iraq was elaborating. This situation showed rift between old and new members of EU that was illogical and inappropriate, before the next wave of EU enlargement. It was the result of new member's aspirations to play active role in future EU, and more idealistic worldview favored to the USA policy.

But compromise decision was found, despite inter-state tensions and collisions. The Czech case was also relieved by change of president and its position toward American policy and by the fact that contradictions with Western Europe policy were slightest exactly in the case of Czech state. New president Václav Klaus (2003–2013) was against the invasion to Iraq and even had the verbal conflict with American ambassador. This position was the reflection of national Czech opinion that favored the

coordinating the policy with the EU (75%), unlike with the USA (37%). But American influence was significant, and in the end of March (2003), Czech president pleaded vaguely about the support the American coalition and stressed on the need of amplifying trans-Atlantic relationships. V. Klaus explained his position that he was against confrontation with US and dilemma between Europe and the USA during visit in Germany in April of 2003²⁵. Such statement was reiteration of early prime-minister statement, V. Špidla, about the position of Czech Republic in the midst of EU and the US. In the course of time the pro-American position of Czech Republic preserved as it supported pro-American approach about solely NATO defense structures in EU. In 2006 Czech Rep. took even more pro-American stance, supporting the idea of Antimissile Shield at its territory, but due to the public opposition and its failed ratification in parliament in 2008, and consecutive decision of Barack Obama to change its location, the plans were canceled.

Unlike the Iraq engagement, Czech Republic took relatively active participation in Afghanistan. The first round of security mission (ISAF) lasted in 2002–2005. Then, there were the missions of meteorological service (2004–2007), military and police in the Southern regions of the country (2007–2009). One hundred and twenty Czechs soldiers took part in anti-terrorist Operation Enduring Freedom (initial name of American anti-terrorist campaign) in 2004–2006. But more humanitarian orientation of Czech participation in Afghanistan was underscored by participation in Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Badakhshan (2005–2007) and in Logar (2008) province, which focused at administration, social work, and security²⁶.

CONCLUSIONS

New century along with the Euro-Atlantic integration brought new challenge for the region. Despite low level of terrorist threat to the region, obvious disinterest of the region in the eyes of international terrorism, there are reasons to say about terrorist danger in the Central Eastern Europe. The main reason is the active participation of countries of the

²⁵ Baum, D. – Marek, D. (2010): Czech Foreign Policy and EU Integration: European and Domestic Sources. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 8–9.

²⁶ Hynek, N. (2010): The Czech Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan: Context, Experience and Politics. *Defence Studies*, Volume 10, Issue 3, p. 413; <http://www.tandfonline.com>

region in American anti-terrorist campaign in the past and confirmed threat statements by leaderships of Al-Qaeda. The other conclusion of the research proves the absence of internal and reliable basis for terrorism in the region, the low level of compliance of counter-terrorist actions among the populace, and two-fold nature of regional actions against terrorism – that gripped the American counter-terrorism and European anti-terrorism. The first one proposed the militarized and severe response, the second – accentuated on the law-enforcement means and international cooperation. Most probably to the totalitarian past, the countries of region prevailed the military actions, as more visible and effective means that took place in relatively far Asian region, out of Europe borders. But, despite similar approach and basis, the countries showed different dynamics, especially visible in the case of Poland and Czech Republic that indicated different degree of support of American position, but both ones appeared controversial due to the connections to Iraq invasion. Position of CEE-countries (except hardly the Czech state) led to the obvious divide of Europe for “pro-American” and “pro-European” ones in 2003 before the biggest wave of enlargement, that probably appeared the trait of uncalculated policy of CEE-countries that had enough ambitions, and favored the distant ally than closer one. The appropriate anti-terrorist policy of region also shows about transfer of foreign patterns of policy in certain field, with very dubious rationale, that creating the vision about over-dependency on somebody’s policy.

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