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## ARTICLES

## The Cooperative as a Form of Education in the Theory and Practice of the Work of Women's Organisations in the Second Republic of Poland<sup>1</sup>

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*The work of the SSK was integrally and consistently a part of the social and economic life of the 1930s in the Interwar Period in Poland. It was clearly ideologically oriented. By uniting women and promoting their activity the association served a supportive and educational role for hundreds of Polish women and families. Although the scope of the work of the organisation was not particularly broad, through the realisation of the ideas and the implementation of the form of the cooperative, the association contributed to the increase of the level of life of numerous Polish women in its social, economic, and cultural aspects.*

Key words: *the cooperative; women's organisations; the Second Republic of Poland; Women's Social Self-Help Association*

The cooperative as an idea and a unique form of social and economic activity has appeared for the first time in Polish lands during the times of the Partitions of Poland (mainly in the Prussian partition). During the Interwar Period, it has developed and matured, not only in its theoretical aspects, but also as an independent social movement, with ideas constituting its basis, as well as an independent sector of the economy (a third one, next to the private and to the public sector).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The expression "The cooperative as a form of education" has been borrowed from the title of a work by Professor Elżbieta Magiera *Spółdzielczość jako forma edukacji w szkolnictwie polskim Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939)*. [The cooperative as a form of education in Polish schooling in the Second Republic of Poland]. Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Magiera, E. (2011). *Spółdzielczość jako forma edukacji w szkolnictwie polskim Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej (1918–1939)* [The cooperative as a form of education in Polish schooling in the Second Republic of Poland]. Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, pp. 9–59.

The Polish cooperative thought was strongly ideologically diversified. One of its currents was neutral and holistic, developed theoretically mainly by Edward Abramowski. In their concepts, the representatives of the current would stress the social, educational, and cultural aspects of the cooperative, apart from the economic one. What was emphasised was the influence that the cooperative had on the formation of such features, skills, and attitudes as cooperation, responsibility, self-governance, altruism, being active; that is, the traits of the “new type of social person”.<sup>3</sup> The cooperative was to be “a school of social life, and contribute to the formation of a new society”.<sup>4</sup> It was to be a school, where the education of the cooperative members “was to inspire them to be active, to be brave, to give them a sense of orderliness, to persevere, to socialise, that is, these traits which ought to characterise a cooperative member”.<sup>5</sup>

What had a decisive influence on the development of the cooperative movement in Poland from 1918 to 1939<sup>6</sup> was the social and economic situation as well as social and political factors.<sup>7</sup>

The doctrine of state upbringing, which was promoted after 1926 by the political camp of the Sanation (in theory as well as pedagogical practice), included ideas aimed to “socialise a student, to prepare him to take up his civic duties and participate in the life of the state”. The cooperative upbringing was used, among other methods, to implement the aforementioned goals. The cooperative upbringing was meant to “reinforce pro-cooperative attitude characterised by cooperation, mutual help, independence, and being economically active”.<sup>8</sup>

The Polish cooperative movement of the Interwar Period was of a decisively social and political character, which is why it could be successful as an idea, an aim, a goal in the work of the various social, social and political, cultural and educational organisations, as well as women’s associations.<sup>9</sup> Numerous women’s organisations would stress in their programmes the need to implement and develop the cooperative movement in order to raise the level of material,

<sup>3</sup> Magiera, E. (2011). *Spółdzielczość jako forma edukacji*, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, pp. 94–95.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> In 1934 in Poland there were nearly 11 000 various forms of cooperatives (including: 3316 loan cooperatives, 2433 cooperatives of food producers, 1481 farming and trading ones, 913 cooperatives of milk producers, 210 workers’ and craftsmen’ cooperatives, 419 of various farmers, 166 of workers, 185 of mutual help, and 749 others). The cooperatives had, until 1934, 2 729 000 members. On the basis of: Steinowa, N. (1938). In “*Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*” [Journal of the Main Board of the Women’s Social Self-Help Association], Issue 2, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Magiera, E. (2011). *Spółdzielczość jako forma edukacji*, op. cit., pp. 50–53.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, p. 103.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, pp. 55–59.

economic, cultural, social, and political (civic) life of the masses of the society and women. They would lead a systematic educational and promotional work aimed to promote the ideas of the cooperative as well as theoretical and practical knowledge needed to establish and maintain cooperatives. The great number of publications issued by women's organisations,<sup>10</sup> their lectures, public readings, cooperative courses, training courses, conferences, self-education of the members of the cooperatives increased the level of people's social and cultural lives; the leaders of many organisations would notice in the cooperative an essential social, educational, and cultural factor. The significance of the cooperative in the formation of the traits of character, individual and social morality, selflessness, the preparation of women for public life, increasing the importance and stature of women in the life of the family and the society, was emphasised.<sup>11</sup>

The development of the cooperative movement, and the education connected with it, were dear (as aims) to the pro-Sanation women's organisations (including: Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet – ZPOK [Women's Civic Work Association], Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet [Women's Self-Help], Związek Pań Domu [Association of Homemakers], Towarzystwa Klubów Kobiet Pracujących [Society of Working Women's Clubs], Organizacja Przysposobienia Wojskowego Kobiet [Women's Military Training Association], The associations – Rodzina Wojskowa [Soldiers' Families], Rodzina Policyjna [Police Officers' Families]), who recognised the cooperative as a perfect form to realise their own ideological, social, and political aims. The majority of them would emphasise the importance of the cooperative in the society, ideology, and education. The cooperative was understood and treated as a unique form of education, thanks to which women could learn the social forms of work, solidarity, mutual help, and cooperation. The work in the various types of cooperatives was to inspire a sense of agency, the ability to take action, to be resourceful and independent, to organise one's individual and social economic life, as well as the willingness and readiness to help others.<sup>12</sup>

### **The Women's Social Self-Help Association**

One of the pro-Sanation women's organisations which would promote and implement in their social and educational work the ideas of the cooperative was the Women's Social Self-Help Association (Stowarzyszenie Samopomoc Społeczna

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<sup>10</sup> Some examples of journals of women's organisations: "Praca Obywatelska" [Civic Work] and "Prosta Droga" [Straight Way] issued by the Association of Women's Civic Work as well as "Biuletyn" [Bulletin] of the Women's Social Self-Help Organisation.

<sup>11</sup> Magiera, E. (2011). *Spółdzielczość jako forma edukacji*, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, pp. 89–90.

Kobiet – SSK). The association was established in 1935 out of the initiative of Zofia Moraczewska and her circle of members of ZPOK. Their inspiration was the conflict within the Main Board of ZPOK, growing since 1933, which was based in the disagreements between Moraczewska and the remaining leaders of the Association in their assessment of the political work of BBWR and their leaders (ZPOK was ideologically connected with this political movement). As a result of the increasing conflict on November 17, 1933 Moraczewska stepped down from her position of head of the Association, and following her defeat in the elections to the board in February 1935 she ultimately left the organisation.<sup>13</sup> On April 13, 1935 she formed a new, independent women's organisation of a social and educational character – the SSK. During the Organizational Convention of the SSK in Warsaw on May 12, 1935 the form and the character of the organisation were defined, as well as its aims and the scope of its activity. What was particularly emphasised during the sessions was that the SSK was to avoid entering into political relationships. The organisation was to focus on, first and foremost, organising mutual help in various areas of social and economic life, self-education of its members, taking care of children, inspiring the spirit of entrepreneurship, and promoting women's cooperative work.<sup>14</sup> The members of the Main Board of the SSK were also elected, among them: Zofia Moraczewska (head of the association until September 1939), Natalia Steinowa, Hanna Szaniawska, Janina Komornicka, Hanna Huszcza-Winnicka, and Kazimiera Żuławska.<sup>15</sup> After the convention Moraczewska began her work on creating the structures of the Association. It was only in October 1935 that the organisation began its work.

<sup>13</sup> *Zofia Moraczewska. Listy do siostry 1896–1933. Dziennik 1891–1895 (1950)*. Letters to her sister 1896–1933. Diary 1891–1895. Introduction and edition: J. Dufurat – P. Cichoracki. Wydawnictwo LTW. Łomianki 2018, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Florczak, I. (2003). Zofia Moraczewska (1873–1958). Kobieta-polityk II Rzeczypospolitej [Zofia Moraczewska (1873–1958). A woman and a politician of the Second Republic of Poland]. In "ACTA UNIVERSITATIS LODZIENSIS, FOLIA HISTORICA 77", p. 140; Also: Chojnowski, A. (1996). Moralność i polityka. Kobiecte lobby w Bezpartyjnym Bloku Współpracy z Rządem [Morality and politics. Women's lobby in the Non-Partisan Bloc of Cooperation with the Government]. In A. Szwarz – A. Żarnowska (eds.) *Kobieta i świat polityki w niepodległej Polsce 1918–1939* [Women and the world of politics in independent Poland 1918–1939]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, p. 175; Dufurat, J. (2013). *W służbie obozu marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego. Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet (1928–1939)* [In the service of the camp of marshal Józef Piłsudski. The Women's Civic Work Association]. Kraków–Wrocław: Avalon, p. 354.

<sup>15</sup> Among the activists of the SSK there were also Helena Kozicka, Janina Duninowa, Janina Paprocka, Janina Kruk-Strzelecka, Sabina Różycka, Maria Rychterówna, Leokadia Śliwińska. See: Dufurat, J. (2013). *W służbie obozu marszałka*, op. cit., p. 354; Also: Moraczewska, Z. (1940–1948). *Pamiętnik. Stowarzyszenie Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet* [A diary. Women's Social Self-Help Association], Biblioteka Narodowa [hereinafter BN], zespół Archiwum Moraczewskich, sygn. Rps 11489 II, p. 70.

Until the end of 1936, the SSK established nearly 40 circles in Poland. In the spring of 1939, the organisation had about 2700 members, with the circles in Warsaw being the most numerous.<sup>16</sup> In March 1937, in spite of the earlier declarations of avoiding political connections, the SSK made public their accession to the Camp of National Unity as a member organisation, which was decisive in defining the political face of the Association and its being a part of the government group until the outbreak of World War II.<sup>17</sup>

On October 4, 1936 in Warsaw the First Main Convention of the Members of the SSK took place.<sup>18</sup> The *Ideological Declaration* was accepted, in which the aims and the tasks of the association were defined: "The aim of the SSK is to work for the good and greatness of the Republic of Poland. Our goal is to serve Poland with all our strength, to unleash Her unique creative powers, to thus build Her greatness. We are always ready to stand in defence of the State and to focus the strength of the society thereon (...). We firmly believe that our society can awaken within itself, with full awareness and fully willingly, a moral strength, which will unify and strengthen the entire nation, allowing the State to develop in all ways possible. In our conviction, that the condition of the creation of such strength, are healthy social and economic relations, and that it is born of a profound civic

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<sup>16</sup> *Protokół I Walnego Zjazdu Delegatek SSK z 04 X 1936r* [The protocol of the 1<sup>st</sup> Main Convention of the Members of the SSK], Archiwum Akt Nowych [hereinafter AAN], SSK, sign. 7, p. 40; *Sprawozdanie z działalności SSK za okres 1 VI 1938 - 31 III 1939* [Report on the work of the SSK from 01. 06. 1938 to 31. 03. 1939], AAN, SSK, sign. 5, p. 47; "Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet" (1936), Issue 8, pp. 3-19; Dufurat, J. (2013). W służbie obozu marszałka, op. cit., p. 355. According to Z. Moraczewska until the end of 1937 there were 30 circles of SSK. In: Kielce, Łódź Dąbrowa Górnicza, Sosnowiec, Dębica, Katowice, Radom, Białystok, Brześć nad Bugiem, Skarżysko, Łuck, Wilno, Pionki, Kraków, Lublin, Olkusz, Końskie, Poznań, Kalisz, Lubartów, Lwów, Milanówek as well as 8 circles in Warsaw. On the basis of: Moraczewska, Z. (1940-1948). *Pamiętnik. Stowarzyszenie Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

<sup>17</sup> AAN, Zespół SSK, vol. 32, p. 5; Also: Chojnowski, A. (1996). *Moralność i polityka*, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>18</sup> During the convention a new Main Board of the SSK was elected, with Zofia Moraczewska as head of the board. The members of the board were: Janina Komornicka, Hanna Szaniawska, Irena Szydłowska, Natalia Steinowa, Kazimiera Żuławska, Henryka Witkiewiczowa, Janina Kruk-Strzelecka, Franciszka Kutnerówna, Sabina Różycka, Janina Żbikowska, Antonina Siedlecka. Heads of Sections were also elected: Helena Kozicka (Women's Civic Self-Education Section), Matylda Szelestowa (Family Self-Help Section), Adela Domanusowa (Economic Self-Help Section), Ada Kalusińska (Finance and Revenue Section), Danuta Kobyłańska (Section of the Young), Zofia Moraczewska (Press the Propaganda Section); The Court of the organisation consisted of: Henryka Pawlewska, Kazimiera Grunertówna, Zofia Zawisza-Kernowa, Maria Rychterówna, Wanda Lorentzowa. "Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet" (1936) Issue 9, p. 5; Also: Moraczewska, Z. (1940-1948). *Pamiętnik. Stowarzyszenie Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*, op. cit., p. 37.

consciousness of the entire society, created for cooperation and responsibility for the fate of the State, we desire:

1. conscious obedience and civic solidarity,
2. equality of all citizens in their rights and their duties,
3. respect for human dignity,
4. a fair and just assessment of individual values and contributions,
5. a significant realisation of the constitutional women's rights.

We desire the creation of such conditions in Poland so that:

1. every person capable of work can find employment,
2. remuneration for work is fair,
3. the protection of labour is properly organised and observed.

We will aim to reform our political system in the spirit of social justice, to reform it in a well-thought-out, gradual, and consistent manner.<sup>19</sup>

According to the Statute, the main aim of the SSK was "the organisation for new members, in common effort, mutual help in the areas of economy, caretaking, and self-education".<sup>20</sup> To achieve this goal the following resources and tasks were to be employed: "finding and establishing new structures of paid employment for the members; organising legal and medical counselling for the members; organising care for children and youth; conducting cooperation in education and self-education in the form of lectures, public readings, and open discussions, as well as reading rooms and dayrooms for the members".<sup>21</sup>

In introducing the ideological assumptions and the aims and tasks the SSK was supported by the specialist sections, organised with the Main Board: Family Self-Help, Women's Civic Self-Education, Press and Propaganda, Economic Self-Help, Revenue and Finance, and Section of the Young.

The help and education work aimed for the family was conducted by the **Family Self-Help Section**. Its work was organised into 4 general directions: 1) providing pedagogical help for the members of the SSK; 2) providing medical help; 3) providing legal counselling; 4) organising summer camps for the members of the SSK and their children. The Section had a number of subsections: the pedagogical subsection, whose aim was to provide upbringing and education advice; the medical one, organising free medical counselling provided by specialists, including gynaecologists, paediatrician, laryngologists; the legal subsection, organising free legal counselling provided by female attorneys

<sup>19</sup> Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet. Deklaracja ideowa [Women's Social Self-Help. Ideological Declaration], (1936). In "Nasza Praca. Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet", Warszawa, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Statut Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet [Statute of the Women's Social Self-Help Association], (Warszawa 1935). BN, sign.: ID 1935, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Statut Stowarzyszenia, op. cit., pp. 3-4.



cooperating with the SSK; and the summer camps subsection, whose task was to organise and conduct summer camps for members of the SSK and their children.<sup>22</sup>

The pedagogical subsection organised “Life Counselling Centres” with the local circles of the SSK, which were intended to “constantly keep watch over the private lives of the members, their concerns, pains, failures, and life problems; to always be able to find there clear advice, help, and moral support, or even intervention”<sup>23</sup> In the Counselling Centres women were educated in how to “rationally bring up children, how to educate them and where, how to organise married life so that it is not a hell of hopelessness, but a joyful privilege in life (...), how to keep the home clean, maintain personal hygiene, and to maintain normal married relationships when raising children”<sup>24</sup>

**The Women’s Civic Self-Education Section**, led by Helena Kozicka, was organised into the subsection of public readings, as well as the subsections of culture and discussion meetings. Its main aim was to shape civic, pro-state social stances, raising the general level of culture, increasing legal and political awareness in line with the ideological assumptions of the SSK. To realise these goals lectures, public readings, and discussions were held, organised in the circles of the SSK by the public readings subsection. Public readings were organised on the history of Poland, social and economic problems, as well as the questions of hygiene, households, cooperatives, and women’s problems. The Section would also establish libraries in many circles, and conduct courses for illiterate members. Only in 1936 226 discussions were conducted, including 87 on historical subjects, 16 on geography, 27 on literature, 87 on social issues (including women’s problems), 40 on current events, and 9 on legal issues.<sup>25</sup>

**The Propaganda and Press Section**, led by Zofia Moraczewska, dealt with forming ideas and political attitudes of the supervisory staff of the SSK, in line with the ideological direction of the Association. In the form of the so-called discussion evenings (discussion meetings organised weekly on the premises of the Main Board of the SSK in Warsaw) it was attempted to reinforce and “deepen the ideological unity” of the members of the organisation. “Starting with this

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<sup>22</sup> Szpilrajnowa, S. (1939). Sekcja Samopomocy Rodzinnej [Family Self-Help Section]. In “*Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*”, Issues 3 and 4, p. 11; Also: Luiderówna (1936). Konieczność zwalczania pokątnego pośrednictwa prawnego [The necessity to combat amateur. In “*Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*”, nr 9, pp. 6–7.

<sup>23</sup> Minchejmerowa, M. (1938). Zakładajmy Poradnie Życiowe dla Kobiet [Let us establish Life Counselling Centres for women]. In “*Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*”, Issue 2, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Minchejmerowa, M. (1938). Zakładajmy Poradnie Życiowe, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> “*Nasza Praca. Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*” (1936). Warszawa, pp. 6–7.

assumption – Moraczewska wrote – we undertake the work of negotiating and crystalizing the ideas of our members, by the way, initiating discussions on the subjects of the state, education, self-government, society, economy, and women's problems (...) first and foremost we aim to form a uniform attitude among those who have been elected by the members to hold supervisory positions in the organisation (...), these discussions shall facilitate harmonious, unified work with our members in the Circles in Warsaw and to provide referees, who are so desired by the SSK Circles all over the country".<sup>26</sup> The scope of the tasks of the Section included also support for the press organ of the SSK, which was the monthly "Bulletin of the Main Board of the Women's Social Self-Help Association", published since November 1935.

One of the most proper forms of collective work (social/economic, educational) was the cooperative, perceived by the members of the SSK as "a forge of characters and a school of solidarity".<sup>27</sup> The leaders of the Association would publicly claim: "it is our wish to unite the masses of Polish women in the cooperative movement, which may become a lever of the future order, based in the brotherhood of common effort".<sup>28</sup>

Education in the spirit of the cooperative movement as part of the SSK was realised by the **Economic Self-Help Section** and the subsections working as part of its structure: the subsection of women's vocational training, of vocational workshops, trade intermediation, and, most importantly, the cooperative subsection.

As part of the cooperative education, the Economic Self-Help Section advised to:

1. carry out psychological preparation of the members of the SSK as a necessary introduction to cooperative work (in schools and in the pedagogical lyceum),
2. lead, first and foremost, to the establishment of labour cooperatives, as a type of cooperative work that is the most suitable to the needs of the contemporary world of women, struggling under the burden of unemployment and poverty,
3. secure necessary funds by starting a cooperative bank of the SSK in order to distribute capital in the form of loans to the SSK cooperatives all over the country.<sup>29</sup>

As part of the conducted cooperative education action, the cooperative subsection organised cooperative courses. During the first course in cooperative education for members of the SSK, which took place in Warsaw between October

<sup>26</sup> Moraczewska, Z. (1936). Nasze wieczory dyskusyjne i ich znaczenie dla organizacji [Our discussion evenings and their significance to the organisation]. In "Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet", Issue 9, pp. 17–18.

<sup>27</sup> "Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet" (1936), Issue 9, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>29</sup> Moraczewska, Z. (1938). Sprawozdanie z konferencji kół SSK z 6 I - 7 I 1938 [Report from the conference of the SSK circles of 06-07. 02. 1938]. In "Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet", Issue 2, p. 1.

19 and 24, 1936 and was intended to increase the understanding and to promote the principles and ideas of the cooperative movement as well as presenting the directions of coordinated efforts, it was declared: "(...) to fully appreciate the idea of the cooperative, which all over the world as well as in our Poland is developing with impressive results – this means of raising the material and cultural level of broad working masses – our organisation in the programme of its civic work has placed the cooperative in the first position".<sup>30</sup> What was defined during the course were also the conditions of the popularisations and successfulness of the cooperative movement: "1) economic activity, the cooperative, ought to be free of politics, (...) there is no place for politics of this political party or other in the area of the economy; this area is "taboo" for the sake of the idea itself – in the cooperative there are no hidden aims, its own aim is great enough, it is important enough; 2) cooperative work ought to be characterised by ethics, (...) the ethics of the management, the purity of intentions and hands, because the public good, the social good, are also "taboo" and they are sacred; 3) the third main condition of the successfulness of cooperative work is professionalism, because life nowadays is too complex for it to be dealt with by dilettantes. Furthermore, it can be stated that the cooperative is an area of labour clearly calling for the participation of women: they may provide their care, thriftiness, meticulousness, and diligence".<sup>31</sup>

The fundamental goal of the Economic Self-Help Section was defined by the Statute as "organisation of self-help in the realm of the economy for its members, through common effort". It was attempted to achieve the goal by: establishing production and trade centres, founded on the ideas of the cooperative; conducting cooperative courses; women's vocational training and their preparation to work in the established cooperatives "adjusted to regional requirements";<sup>32</sup> which, as Maria Gryckówna wrote – "constituted a perfect means of education, got women accustomed to economic resourcefulness, turning them gradually from passive individuals (...) to brave and resourceful citizens, full of faith in their own strengths and the willingness to provide active help to the organisers of economic life in Poland".<sup>33</sup>

The Economic Self-Help Section was the most active in the Warsaw circles, together with its subsections. From June 1936 to the beginning of 1939 it would

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<sup>30</sup> Paprocka, J. (1936). Po "Kursie Przystosobienia Spółdzielczego" Samopomocy Społecznej Kobiet [After the "Cooperative Education Course" of Women's Social Self-Help]. In *Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*, Issue 9, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup> Paprocka, J. (1936). Po "Kursie Przystosobienia Spółdzielczego", op. cit., pp. 16–17

<sup>32</sup> Domanusowa, A. (1936). Samopomoc gospodarcza [Economic self-help]. In *Nasza Praca. Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*, Warszawa, p. 12; Also: *Sekcja Samopomocy Gospodarczej*. (1936). In *Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*, Issue 8, pp. 12–13.

<sup>33</sup> Maria Gryckówna, M. (1936). In *Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*, Issue 3, p. 15.

organise, as part of the broadly understood economic help for its members, vocational training courses, specialist vocational workshops, trade centres, and trade intermediation centres. The subsection of women's vocational training, whose aim was to "educate staff and as many women as possible to work in various professions, on the basis of the principles of the cooperative"<sup>34</sup> conducted a number of specialist courses, mainly in hand and machine knitting, weaving, and tailoring. During nearly two years about 50 women received training in machine knitting, half of whom would find employment in factories in Warsaw, and 13 in the knitting workshop of the SSK. Courses in hand knitting were completed by over 100 women.<sup>35</sup> Similar courses were conducted in numerous SSK circles all over Poland. The vocational workshops subsection, in turn, led by Natalia Steinowa, established and started in Warsaw its own knitting workshop, lace production, shoemaking workshop, weaving workshop, embroidery workshop, as well as a breakfast buffet in the office of the Social Insurance Organisation. What would develop with particular success was knitting, shoemaking, embroidery production, as well as the production of socks and stockings. The demand for these products was organised by securing orders from various social organisations, in Warsaw as well as other parts of Poland, private individuals, and government institutions. For example: in order to secure orders for the knitted products the leaders of the SSK started a cooperation with, among others, the Ministry of Military Affairs, the Women's Military Training organisation, scouts, the Winter Relief Fund. The products were sold in military factories, factories belonging to the state monopoly, as well as the stalls set up by the association on city markets.<sup>36</sup>

In the autumn of 1937 the cooperative subsection, ran by Natalia Heinowa, in agreement with the Labour Cooperative Association, organised the cooperative "Tailoring Emergency Service". As one of the largest Warsaw cooperatives, it would originally hire 15 persons, and by the end of the first half of 1939 nearly 30. The "Emergency Service" would mainly produce overcoats, ordered by, among others, the Winter Relief Fund for the "Winter Relief" action.<sup>37</sup> The "Emergency Service"

<sup>34</sup> Moraczewska, Z. (1940–1948). *Pamiętnik. Stowarzyszenie Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>35</sup> Domanusowa, A. (1939). *Sekcja Samopomocy Gospodarczej S. S. K.* In "*Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*", Issues 3 and 4, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Domanusowa, A. (1939). *Sekcja Samopomocy Gospodarczej S. S. K.* op. cit., p. 9; Also: Moraczewska, Z. (1940–1948). *Pamiętnik. Stowarzyszenie Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*, op. cit., pp. 51–53.

<sup>37</sup> Szwakopfowa, E. (1938). Śląsk – śladem kursu spółdzielczego S. S. K. [Silesia – on the traces of the cooperative course of the SSK]. In "*Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*", Issue 2, pp. 18–19; Also: Steinowa, N. (1939). *Sekcja Spółdzielcza.* In "*Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*", Issues 3 and 4, pp. 10–11.

as well as the other labour cooperatives of the SSK would formally and legally belong to the Revisory Association of the “Społem” Cooperative as an auditory and controlling institution.<sup>38</sup>

The trade and trade intermediation centres were organised and run by the trade intermediation subsection. The activists in this subsection, led by Katarzyna Perczyńska, organised a shop/wholesaler at the offices of the Main Board of the SSK in Warsaw, which would sell products made by the SSK workshops from all of Poland. The wholesaler would also purchase products at wholesale prices from state factories. Cooperation in this department was initiated with, among others, textile factories in Łódź, the People’s Industry Market in Łuck, and factories in Sosnowiec. The procured goods were subsequently sold through the SSK circles and in “Społem” shops. The products made in the SSK workshops were presented at the Poznań Trade Fair at the stalls of women’s labour.<sup>39</sup>

Actions of broadly understood economic help similar to those of the Warsaw SSK circles were undertaken SSK circles all over the country. For example, in Dąbrowa Górnicza courses in knitting, a weaving workshop, and a food shop were established and run; a canteen and a flower shop were in Kielce; knitting and handicraft courses in Lublin; a Low-Cost Handicraft Workshop, a laundry, sewing and tailoring courses in Lubartów; sale of food products made by members of the SSK circle conducted at their own stall in Łódź; workshops in slippers production, production of gloves for the military, underwear production, trade intermediation, and a fruit processing and juice production facility in Łuck; courses of sewing, tailoring, and handicraft in Olkusz; handicraft workshop in Poznań; courses of sewing, tailoring, knitting, and trade intermediation in Sosnowiec.<sup>40</sup> The SSK circle in Katowice would run a special tourist cooperative. In March of 1937 the “Przełot” cooperative was organised out of the initiative of Elżbieta Szwakopfowa as the “first cooperative Tourist House in Silesia.”<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Moraczewska, Z. (1940–1948). Pamiętnik. Stowarzyszenie Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, pp. 50–51.

<sup>40</sup> *Sekcja Samopomocy Gospodarczej*. (1936). In “*Biuletyn Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet*”, Issue 8, pp. 12–14; Także: Moraczewska, Z. (1940–1948). Pamiętnik. Stowarzyszenie Samopomoc Społeczna Kobiet, op. cit., pp. 27–28.

<sup>41</sup> Szwakopfowa, E. (1938). Śląsk – śladem kursu spółdzielczego S.S.K. op. cit., pp. 18–19; Also: Steinowa, N. (1939). *Sekcja Spółdzielcza*. op. cit., pp. 9–11.

# Science, Education and Periodical Publications of the Sorbs in the German Democratic Republic and Immediately Following the Fall of Communism

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*The political changes in 1989/1990 affected all of East German society, including in particular the country's ethnic Sorbs. Sorbian institutions that had enjoyed a relatively regular influx of financial resources in the GDR now found themselves in an uncertain situation. The new democratic and liberal society did not guarantee Sorbs their previous certainties in the fields of science, education, culture, and other areas. This article looks at selected institutions to provide an idea of how the transformation process took place. One educational institution that did not survive the collapse of the GDR is the Zentrale sorbische Sprachschule Milkel (Sorb.: Centralna serbska rěčna šula w Minakalu), which provided language instruction and an overview of Sorbian history and culture for many people who subsequently went on to work for Sorbian institutions. By comparison, one organization that weathered the changes was the Sorbian Institute, although the dissolution of the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR necessitated a change in legal form (e.V.). One new institution, whose main task is to distribute financing to the most important Sorbian organizations, is the Foundation for the Sorbian People. Smaller changes affected the Sorbian print media at this time as well.*

Key words: Sorbs; GDR; unified Germany; transformation of institutions

## Introduction

It has been nearly thirty years since the socialist GDR collapsed and became part of a unified German state. The former GDR's citizens found themselves living under the new conditions of a functioning democracy and market economy. Members of the Sorbian minority, too, had to come to terms with the changes in East German society after the autumn of 1989. In particular, this related to Sorbian organizations and institutions to which the socialist government, through its ministries, had guaranteed a nearly automatic flow of financial resources. The Sorbs' main umbrella organization for a large number of Sorbian institutions and associations remained the Domowina, whose functioning was the subject of much

debate after the autumn of 1989. Some Sorbian institutions were discontinued, while others were newly founded. Perhaps the most important date for Sorbian society in Germany was October 19, 1991, when the Foundation for the Sorbian People (Germ.: Stiftung für das sorbische Volk; Sorb.: Założba za serbski lud) was established upon a proposal by the minister-president of Saxony. The organization's website describes the foundation's tasks and objectives as follows: "The Foundation for the Sorbian People, as a joint mechanism of the German Federation and the federal states of Saxony and Brandenburg, works to preserve, develop, promote, and spread the Sorbian language, culture, and traditions as an expression of the Sorbian people's identity."<sup>1</sup> The Foundation for the Sorbian People thus became the most important source of financing for Sorbian institutions following the political and economic unification of the two German states.

To date, not many academic studies have taken a thorough look at the end of the East German state in relation to the Sorbian ethnic minority, especially with a view to the various areas of Sorbian life.<sup>2</sup> Previously published works have focused primarily on the Sorbian political movement during the *Wende*. For instance, the Sorbian historian Měrćin Kasper analyzed in detail the political activities of the Sorbs between 7 October 1989 and 3 October 1990. In particular, his book contains documents from this period.<sup>3</sup> Several other publications (written primarily by people with first-hand experience of the given events) also explored selected issues, in particular political life in Sorbian Lusatia.<sup>4</sup> The publications of two Sorbian authors with different views on the existence and final years of the GDR hold a special place among these works. These are the writings of the long-serving first secretary of the Domowina (and SED functionary) Jurij Grós,<sup>5</sup> which

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<sup>1</sup> <https://stiftung.sorben.com/stiftung/geschichte-und-finanzierung/> [12. 10. 2019].

<sup>2</sup> Monographic works include Pech E. (2012). *Ein Staat – eine Sprache? Deutsche Bildungspolitik und autochthone Minderheiten im 20. Jahrhundert. Die Sorben im Vergleich mit Polen, Danen und Nordfriesen*. Bautzen Domowina-Verlag; Kaleta P. (2017): *Lužičtí Srbové v lidové sněmovně. Nástin politického života Lužických Srbů v srbské Lužici v době NDR*. Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy.

<sup>3</sup> Kasper M. (2000). *Die Lausitzer Sorben in der Wende 1989/1990. Ein Abriss mit Dokumenten und einer Chronik*. Bautzen/Budyšin: Domowina-Verlag.

<sup>4</sup> These include a summary of articles published in the Sorbian-language magazine *Rozhlad*, see (2000). *Rozhlad* 50, no. 7–8, and the article: Pałys P. (2010). The Sorbs and "Přewrót we Němskeje." In Krákora P. et al. (ed.). *Obnova demokracie v Československu po roce 1989. Edice Erudica*. Praha: Nakladatelství Epocha, p. 298–309.

<sup>5</sup> Grós J. (1992). *Na wšěm wina je ta Domowina...? Pytanje za wotmołwami*. Budyšin: Ludowe nakladnistwo Domowina; Grós, J. (2004). *Staatsangehörigkeit: Deutsch. Nationalität Sorbe. Nicht nur Lebenserinnerungen. Über die Sorben, ihre nationale Organisation und die Nationalitätenpolitik in der DDR und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Schkeuditz: GNN Verlag; Groß, J. ([2009]). *Nach 20 Jahren nachgefragt. Betrachtungen zur Nationalenlage der Sorben*. Bautzen: Lausitzer Druck- und Verlagshaus GmbH.

contain his personal political views during that era, and the works of the historian and linguist Timo Meškank,<sup>6</sup> an uncompromising critic of communist-era Sorbian functionaries who among other things published the names of known figures of Sorbian political and cultural life who collaborated with the Stasi.

Our aim here is to describe selected institutions (primarily the Sorbisches Institut and the Zentrale sorbische Sprachschule Milkel) and various areas of Sorbian life (in the area of science, this includes a brief quantitative analysis of the languages of the articles published in *Lětopis* magazine) during the GDR era, with a special focus on the late 1980s and early 1990s.

### Science

Up to and including the interwar era, Sorbian science was practiced exclusively under the purview of the scientific association Maćica Serbska, which until 1937 also published the trade journal *Časopis Maćicy Serbskeje*, with articles written exclusively in the Sorbian language. The first true Sorbian scientific organization was not founded until 1951 in Bautzen, after the establishment of the GDR. The Institute for Sorbian Ethnographic Research (Germ.: Institut für sorbische Volksforschung; Sorb.: Institut za serbi ludospyt), which in 1952–1991 fell under the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften (after 1972, the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR). After German reunification, however, the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR ceased to exist, and its subsidiary institutions were dissolved, meaning that the central scientific institution of Sorbistics (Sorbian studies) found itself at risk as well. Thanks mainly to the fact that one of the

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The full text of Grós's memoirs is stored at the main Sorbian institution. See Serbski institut / Sorbisches Institut, Budyšin/Bautzen, Serbski kulturny archiw / Sorbisches Kulturarchiv, AS XI 7 B, Grós, J. Nic jenož žiwjenske dopomnjenki. 35 lět w načolnej funkciji w narodnej organizaciji, w Domowinje. Napisane w Budyšinje w lěće 2000; Grós J.J, Nicht nur Lebenserinnerungen. 35 Jahre in leitender Funktion in der nationalen Organisation, der Domowina. Bautzen im Jahre 2001/2002; Grós J. Moje nowinske wozjewjenja wot 28. oktobra 1989 hač do septembra 2005. Zbërku zestajał w lěće 2005.

<sup>6</sup> Meškank T. (2009). Nalěčo w nazymje. Serbja na proze lět 1989/1990. (1.– 2. džěl). *Rozhlad* 59, no. 11, pp. 402–406; no. 12, pp. 451–456; Meškank T. (2010). Nalěčo w nazymje. Serbja na proze lět 1989/1990. (3.–4. džěl), *Rozhlad* 60, no. 1, pp. 3–7, no. 2, pp. 3–10; Meškank T. (2011). *Kultura w službje totalitarneho režima*. Budyšin: Ludowe nakładnistwo Domowina [German translation of the Sorbian original: Meškank T. (2014). *Instrumentalisierung einer Kultur*. Zur Situation bei den Sorben 1948–1989, Bautzen: Domowina-Verlag]; Meškank, T. (2012). *bjez wčerašeho dnja njeje jutřišeho. zapiski & rozmołwy*. Praha, skriptum; Meškank T. (2016). *Sorben im Blick der Staatssicherheit. Die Akten der K 5 MfS der DDR 1949–1989. Mit Unterstützung des Sächsischen Landesbeauftragten für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR*, Bautzen, Domowina-Verlag; Meškank T. (2017). *wčerašeho dnja njeje jutřišeho. nastawki & dokumenty*. Lipsk, skriptum.



organization's main areas of research was in the field of a minority language (Sorbian), the Institut für sorbische Volksforschung was not shut down, but continued to function after German unification. It was necessary, however, to give it new legal status, and so, on January 1, 1992, the Institut für sorbische Volksforschung was transformed into the Sorbian Institute (Germ.: Sorbisches Institut; Sorb.: Serbski institut), a registered association (e.V.) established jointly by the Freistaat Sachsen and Land Brandenburg. The institute thus continued functioning under a new legal status, financed through the Stiftung für das Sorbische Volk.

After the Second World War, it was clear that this new Sorabistic institute would need its own scientific magazine, and so *Lětopis* was born in 1952 (the magazine was essentially the successor to *Časopis Maćicy Serbskeje*), published annually in three series: Reihe A: *Sprache und Literatur* (1952–1991), Reihe B: *Geschichte* (1953–1991), and Reihe C: *Volkskunde* (1953–1991). In the mid-1980s, a fourth series was added, Reihe D: *Kultur und Kunstwissenschaften* (1986–1991). In 1992, *Lětopis* changed its format: Instead of four separate series published annually, it was transformed into a unified magazine, published twice a year and containing all the branches of Slavistics from the earlier series. From the beginning, the magazine's articles were published in Sorbian and German, but room was also made for studies and articles in other Slavic languages (mainly Polish and Russian).

A statistical analysis of selected volumes<sup>7</sup> shows that in its first year (1952), series A published five articles, all in Sorbian. Series B and C began publishing in 1953, when series B published three articles, all in German, and series C published five articles in Sorbian (one was partially in German). It was almost certainly no coincidence that, because of censorship, articles on Sorbian history (series B) were from the beginning written in German, although some issues also included studies in Sorbian. If we look at the year 1986, when there were four series of this Sorabistic periodical, we see that Sorbian was in slow retreat. Of eight articles in series A, five were in German, two in Sorbian, and one in Polish. In series B, all twelve articles were in German; in series C all seven were in German; and of the twelve articles in the newly added series D, six were in Sorbian, four in German, one in Polish, and one in Russian.

What was the situation like in 1991, one year after German unification? Of seven articles in series A, three were in Sorbian, three in German, and one in Polish. Series B published seven articles (six in German and one in Russian), all seven articles in series C were (again) in German, and of the eight articles in series

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<sup>7</sup> The statistics include short informational articles as well as studies several tens of pages in length, but not news articles or reviews of books and scientific conferences.

D, three were in Sorbian and five in German. Of all twenty-nine articles from all four series published in 1991, twenty-one were in German and only six in Sorbian. This trend continued in subsequent years as well. If we look at the second issue from 1996, we find that it contained seven articles: five in German, one in Polish, and one in Ukrainian. Although the complete absence of Sorbian is an exception, it nevertheless confirms the earlier trend. What is more, only one article was on linguistics, while the remaining six were on history, culture, ethnology, or literature. The final studied issue (no. 1, 2019) published six articles: four in German, one in Sorbian, and one in Polish. This most recently published issue confirms the trend that has been apparent since the 1990s.

Especially around 2014, when the Sorbisches Institut underwent several changes, there was debate as to which direction the only professional Sorabistic periodical should take. Current developments in all branches of science indicate that the magazine's articles should be published primarily in German or English. But under no circumstances should Sorbian disappear from its pages – after all, what would the Sorbisches Institut be without this language! Articles in the field of linguistics should be published primarily in Sorbian, occasionally in German or English. Sorbian is clearly on the decline in the magazine, and so Sorabists writing in other Slavic languages should try to publish their papers in Sorbian. Today, as we near the end of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it is also important for every competitive scientific magazine to meet the criteria and standards required by most European scientific organizations and institutions. *Lětopis* is now in the ERIH PLUS database, but Sorabistics would certainly be helped if its editors succeeded in getting the magazine into the most important databases such as WOS and SCOPUS. The idea that it should be published only once a year has been abandoned for now.

### Schools and education

Thanks to Edmund Pech (Sorob.: Edmund Pjech), the topic of Sorbian education in the GDR is one of the best studied subjects.<sup>8</sup> In the 1990s, the changes following the collapse of the GDR necessarily affected Sorbian education as well. Various institutions and organizations in Sorbian national life that had existed during the GDR era could not be maintained after reunification. One of the Sorbs' most important and fundamental educational institutions in East Germany was the Zentrale sorbische Sprachschule Milkel (Sorob.: Centralna serbska rěčna šula w Minakatu), founded on 1 July 1953. This institution offered adult inhabitants of

<sup>8</sup> Pech E. (2012). *Ein Staat – eine Sprache? Deutsche Bildungspolitik und autochthone Minderheiten im 20. Jahrhundert. Die Sorben im Vergleich mit Polen, Danen und Nordfriesen*. Bautzen: Domowina-Verlag.

Upper Lusatia the chance to learn the Sorbian language and also Sorbian history and culture. Until 1956, the school fell under the Ministry of the Interior's Department for Sorbian Questions; from 1957 it fell under the Council of Bezirk Dresden. In 1960, the school, which initially offered instruction in three classes according to the level of language skills (A, B, C), was incorporated into the system for adult education in bilingual regions. An important goal was to produce bilingual graduates, but the division by level of knowledge was abolished. Students could take courses for an entire year and thus achieve education at the level of the earlier C class. However, it all depended on prior knowledge, and it was possible to complete the school in just half a year. The most common courses, nevertheless, were three weeks long. In the first ten years of its existence, the school had 623 graduates. One important factor for potential students was the fact that instruction was free of charge, and workers who attended courses here even continued to be paid by their employers.<sup>9</sup>

Starting in 1973, the school offered other Slavic languages as well (mainly Polish and Czech), and in 1976 it began to hold regular short courses on ethnic policy in which participants – members of parliament, local councilors, and employees of public institutions – were familiarized with the Sorbs' legal status in the GDR. Over the course of its existence, the school graduated 1,298 people from its language courses and 10,400 people from its short courses. Besides ethnic policy, other courses focused on interpreting for retreats of choirs, theater ensembles, folk artists' workshops, artist gatherings, and outdoor education events. In addition to its educational goals, the school also hosted various social events or concerts, making it a cultural center for Milkel and its surroundings. In late 1992, the Centralna serbska rěčna šula w Minakale was shut down after thirty-nine years, primarily for financial reasons.<sup>10</sup>

Despite its unquestioned political character, the Zentrale sorbische Sprachschule Milkel clearly educated thousands of people in the Sorbian language and on the political and cultural life of the Sorbs. It thus offered a chance to learn the Sorbian language to those Sorbs whose mother tongue was already German but who would have had difficulties learning the language of their ancestors on their own. Others who took advantage of these courses were ethnic Germans interested in working at Sorbian institutions because these offered attractive employment opportunities. The school also helped people with a solid foundation in Sorbian to improve their language skills. The school's closure in 1992 can be seen as a negative intervention into Sorbian social and cultural life, with especially

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Nukowa H. (2003). Před 50 lětami Centralna serbska rěčna šula w Minakale (CSRŠ) založena. *Rozhlad* 53, no. 7, pp. 242–243.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 243–244.

negative implications for the preservation of the Sorbian language as such. The most ideal possibility would probably have been to transform the organization in line with the new conditions in society in the 1990s.

On the other hand, the 1990s also saw the creation of new institutions and new projects that helped to spread Sorbian science and culture. One ingenious step undertaken by the Stiftung für das sorbische Volk came in 1996 when the foundation began to provide three scholarships every year for students or doctoral candidates from Slavic countries in order to spend two semesters at Leipzig University's Institut für Sorabistik studying Sorbian or reinforcing their knowledge of the language. The first three scholarship recipients (Kateřina Macháčková and Silvie Džiamová from the Czech Republic and Mariam Abdel Al from Poland) studied at the institute in the 1996/1997 school year. In the 1996/1997–2013/2014 school years, the scholarship was awarded to a total of forty-six people from nine countries (18 from Poland, ten from the Czech Republic, five from Bulgaria, four from Serbia, three from Ukraine, two from Slovakia, two from Russia, one from Slovenia, and one from Macedonia).<sup>11</sup> If we look at the list of scholarship recipients, we find that a large number remained in contact with the Sorbian language and with the field of Sorabistics, even if they do not directly work in Slavic studies. Some of them worked or still work for the Institut für Sorabistik in Leipzig (M. Abdel Al, T. Derlatka, K. Štumpf, S. Tomčík, E. Stefanova), three defended their doctorate at the institute (L. Jocz and V. Zakar, E. Deutsch), and one even did his habilitation there (L. Jocz). A not insignificant group of scholarship recipients found employment at Sorbian institutions in Saxony and Brandenburg (M. Szczepański, V. Zakar, J. Sokół, E. Deutsch).

The important thing, however, is that a large number of graduates from the two-semester scholarship program in Leipzig have not forgotten Sorbian studies and have included Sorabistic topics into their teaching and research activities at their academic places of employment. Examples include R. Bura, Z. Valenta, M. Šekli, D. Sokolović, and L. Jocz. The data also shows that the scholarships provided by the Stiftung für das sorbische Volk since 1996 have had a significant influence on developing or preserving Sorabistics as a field of Slavic studies in the recipients' home countries. Besides the Summer Courses in Sorbian Language in Culture, the scholarship program thus was of fundamental importance for the development of Sorbian studies abroad.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, interest in the Leipzig scholarship program

<sup>11</sup> More exact statistical data for the 2012/13 school year may be found in: Deutsch E. (2011). Wkład stypendystów Fundacji na rzecz Narodu Łużyckiego w rozwój sorabistyki. *Zeszyty Łużyckie. Tom 45. Łużycanie i inne mniejszości językowe, kulturowe i etniczne w Europie. Część I*. Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski, Instytut Sławistyki Zachodniej i Południowej, pp. 58–70; Deutsch E. (2013). Přínošk stipendiatow Založby za serbski lud k wuwicu sorabistiki. *Rozhlad* 63, no. 9, pp. 20–23.

<sup>12</sup> [http://stiftung.sorben.com/usf/%C3%9Cbersicht-Stipendiaten\(3\).pdf](http://stiftung.sorben.com/usf/%C3%9Cbersicht-Stipendiaten(3).pdf) [11. 5. 2016].

has declined in recent years. This none-too-positive trend has been apparent since 2011/2012, when the program only had two recipients three years in a row. In the 2014/2015 school year, nobody took advantage of the scholarship, although the situation began to improve somewhat in the following year. The program's most recent graduate is Tereza Hromádková (Czech Republic), who completed her two-month stay (she was the only scholarship recipient) in 2018/2019.

Interest in the Foundation for the Sorbian People's scholarship at Leipzig University's Institute of Sorbian Studies is no longer as high, nor will it probably ever be, as it was in the 1990s. Nowadays, students in Europe can choose from an almost unlimited range of universities anywhere in Europe, especially as part of the Erasmus+ program. The scholarship's organizers thus have to make their program more attractive, which they did not succeed in doing until 2018 when the stipend was raised to 800 euros a month. Despite somewhat stagnating recently, the three annual stipends for students from Slavic countries can be considered one of the most successful programs ever realized in the history of the Stiftung für das sorbische Volk.

### Periodicals

Sorbian periodicals were from the beginning subject to East German censorship and can thus be considered independent only in the post-1989 period. The Sorbs' main print publication during the GDR era was *Nowa doba*, subtitled *The News of the Sorbian People* (Sorb.: *Nowiny za serbski lud*) and published from January 1947 in Bautzen, initially on a weekly basis, twice-weekly starting in October of that year.<sup>13</sup> In July 1948 it switched to a thrice-weekly schedule, and in October 1955 it was made a daily paper. In 1948, it also added a German insert, *Nowa doba. Deutschsprachige Beilage*. The last issue of *Nowa doba* was published in December 1990, more than two months after German reunification. With just a few exceptions, all of its articles were in Upper Sorbian. In January 1991, it changed its name and began to appear under the traditional title *Serbske Nowiny*. In January 2005, the paper's editors, with their non-Sorbian speaking readership in mind, began to publish a German version titled *Monatliche Ausgabe in deutscher Sprache Serbske Nowiny*.

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<sup>13</sup> In 1947, *Nowa doba* published four issues of its monthly insert for young people, *Hłos młodźiny* (a later youth insert named *My* was published from October 1973 to December 1990), five issues of the insert *Nowa doba za džěći*, and five issues of the insert *Nowe Słowjanstwo*. In 1953–1956, the magazine published a special insert titled *Nowa doba we Wobrazach*. In addition, starting in 1948, the magazine published a monthly German insert, *Nowa doba. Deutschsprachige Beilage*. In 1990, the German insert was published every two weeks, first as *Sonderbeilage in deutscher Sprache Nowa doba* and then (starting in June) as *Spree Kurier*. The final issue of this insert was published at the end of October 1990.

In the immediate postwar period, the Sorbs of Lower Lusatia did not have their own newspaper. During this time, *Nowa doba* published only three issues (November and December 1947 and March 1948) of the Lower Sorbian *Dolnoserbški casnik*, subtitled *Pšiloga casnika “Nowa doba” za dolnych Serbow* (*Nowa doba* insert for Lower Sorbs). In June 1949, *Dolnoserbški casnik* changed its name to *Nowy Casnik* and was published as an insert in *Nowa doba* until 1955 (from late January 1954, the paper was published every two weeks). Starting in 1956, it began to be published under the auspices of the Domowina. In January 1957, it was made a weekly, published until 1989 with the subtitle *Organ Domowiny* (changed in 1990 to *Tyženiak Domowiny*). From 1991 until today, the paper has been called *Nowy Casnik. Tyženiak za serbski lud*.

Throughout the GDR era, both *Nowa doba* and *Nowy Casnik* were propaganda tools for promoting the policies of the SED and the National Front among the Sorbs, and this situation only began to slowly change in the mid-1980s. Some of the changes associated with Gorbachev’s perestroika and glasnost, although usually only the less visible ones, did make it onto the pages of *Nowa doba*. Heiko Kozel (born 1966), the son of the paper’s editor-in-chief Sieghard Kozel, has written about these tendencies,<sup>14</sup> one example of which was the editor-in-chief’s responses to readers’ questions at a meeting with the *Nowa doba* editorial board in Driewitz (Sorb.: Drěwcy) in early July 1987.<sup>15</sup> Similarly open viewpoints were also expressed in articles published by *nd.diskusja* in November 1988.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, in 1989 *Nowa doba* maintained its status as a pro-regime paper that reported dispassionately on the tense situation in the GDR and for a relatively long time stuck to official interpretations. In this regard, Michał Šořta has noted that the Sorbian paper was perhaps “more obedient than the German papers.”<sup>17</sup>

After 1945, Sorbian society also needed a magazine focused on teaching, schools, and education. In 1948, this need was filled by the circular *Serbska šula*. In 1952, *Serbska Šula* ceased to be printed as a circular, and in 1953 it became a magazine. From 1972, the magazine’s subtitle stated that it was published by the Domowina-Verlag (Sorb.: Ludowe nakładnistwo Domowina) on commission from the Ministry for People’s Education, a statement that remained on the magazine’s cover until October 1990. Except for a new ideological orientation, the magazine did not see any greater changes following German reunification. The GDR era also saw the publication of magazines for the education of Sorbian children. For instance, the Upper Sorbian *Płomjo*, subtitled *Magazine of the Free German Youth for Sorbian Children* (Sorb.: *Časopis swobodneje němskeje młodžiny*

<sup>14</sup> Kozel H. (2000). “Nowa doba” a pjerjestrojka. *Rozhlad* 50, no. 7–8, pp. 245–249.

<sup>15</sup> (4. 7. 1987). *Nowa doba* w a wo Nowej dobie. *Předženak*, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> (22. 10. 1988). *nd.diskusija. Předženak*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>17</sup> Šořta, M. (2000). *Nadběh a zakitowanje. Rozhlad* 50, no. 7–8, p. 251.

*serbske džěći*) began publishing in 1952. A Lower Sorbian magazine, *Plomje*, began to be published five years later, in 1957. Both children's magazines appeared on a monthly basis in the following years and even after German reunification, and they are still published today.

Ever since the 16<sup>th</sup> century the religious difference between Sorbian Protestants and Catholics has been an important part of their identity, and this description still applies today. Although the GDR era saw the emergence of a large group of atheists, the communist regime failed to eradicate religious sentiments from the lives of most Sorbs. After the Second World War, Sorbian priests' efforts at publishing their own periodicals resulted in the renewal, in December 1950, of two religious magazines that had been banned by the Nazis. Now published monthly, these were the Catholic Sorbs' *Katolski Posoł* (previously published from 1863) and the Protestants' *Pomhaj Bóh* (previously published from 1891). In 1956 *Katolski Posoł* began publishing twice monthly, and in 1993 it was turned into a weekly. *Pomhaj Bóh*, meanwhile, saw no changes in periodicity after the events of 1989. The Sorbs' main postwar periodical in the field of popular science was *Rozhlad*, which continued the tradition of the interwar magazine *Lužica*. Like all Sorbian periodicals, *Rozhlad* saw many changes in terms of content at the turn of 1989/1990, but its form (structure) remained mostly unchanged and it continues to be published as a monthly today.

From this overview of Sorbian print media, we can see that Sorbian newspapers and magazines did not undergo any revolutionary changes after the collapse of the GDR. *Nowa doba* and other print publications had to accept the new state of affairs in the GDR after the autumn of 1989, which was naturally reflected in the democratization of these publications. The main change in terms of form was the fact that the socialist daily *Nowa doba* changed its name to the traditional *Serbske Nowiny*, which had been banned by the Nazis before the war. All of the main periodicals continued to exist, but on the other hand no new ones were established either. One new addition to the world of Sorbian magazines during the transformation from socialism to democracy appeared before the revolution – the independent student magazine *Serbski student*,<sup>18</sup> whose existence the Domowina's representatives viewed with distrust and which they tried to bring under their control. The democratization of East German society in the second half of the 1980s had also influenced some young Sorbs, who felt the need to speak openly about issues in society.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> For more on this magazine, see Kaleta P. (2017). Die Zeitschrift "Serbski student" – eine Brücke zwischen Totalitarismus und Demokratie in der sorbischen Lausitz. *Lětopis* 64, no. 1, pp. 56–70.

<sup>19</sup> The author wrote similarly about the Sorbian press in the GDR era one part of his monograph: Kaleta P. (2017). *Lužičtí Srbové v lidové sněmovně. Nástín politického života Lužických Srbů v srbské Lužici v době NDR*. Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, pp. 48–53.

## Conclusion

The transformation of Sorbian cultural, educational, and scientific organizations and institutions in the reunified Germany in the early 1990s was not a simple process. Like the GDR's other inhabitants, the Sorbs were "thrown" into a democratic (but also competitive) environment without much preparation. Some institutions (such as the *Zentrale sorbische Sprachschule Milkel*) did not survive the changes, while others like the *Domowina* or the Sorbian Institute managed to weather the transformation, although the latter of the two was legally changed into an association (e.V.), a legal form sometimes associated with difficulties in German scientific life. The security that the East German state had provide Sorbian institutions through the regular influx of the necessary financial resources was gone. Today, it is the Foundation for the Sorbian People that has a decisive influence on financing, for it is responsible for distributing financial resources to Sorbian institutions and organizations, and this is not done automatically, as had been the case in the GDR. Newly founded and growing institutions include the Witaj Language Center (Germ.: *Sprachzentrum-Witaj*; Sorb.: *Rěčny centrum Witaj*), founded as a special department of the *Domowina* in 2001. Sorbian society and its main institutions had to change, as most clearly reflected by developments at the main scientific institution, the Sorbian Institute, whose personnel policies over the past five years have resulted in the gradual retreat of the Sorbian language.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> For examples, official meetings of the institute and its departments are usually held in German.



# On the Topic of Role Models for Young People in Visual Media and History Education: Czechoslovakia 1948–1989

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*The text of the paper aims to analyse selected educational patterns from contemporary visual media (Czechoslovakia 1948–89) – postage stamps, posters, comics or caricatures aimed at the target group of young people. For the totalitarian communist regime, the youth represented an easily educated bearer of ideas and the prospects of maintaining the regime in the generations to come. The didactic application of these patterns in history education represents a suitable alternative to media education.*

Key words: *communist regime; propaganda; youth; educational patterns; visual media; ideological indoctrination; Czechoslovakia 1948–1989*

## Introduction

The communist regime showed extreme interest in youth, as it represented an easily educated bearer of ideas and the prospects of maintaining the regime in the generations to come. A substantial part of the indoctrination was made mainly through political organizations, but other means, such as radio, press, film, literature or visual media also assisted in successful propagation. However, the degree and specifics of reception of individual visual media tend to be different in history education. While the photographs or posters provide a fairly readable picture of the observed historical phenomena, postage stamps, comic books and caricatures pose a research challenge to describe the topic and to be later applied in school education.

Especially non-democratic regimes, such as the Czechoslovak one in 1948–89, used to use visual media for their own propaganda. ‘Cult of personality’ of the leaders of the Communist Party and of the state was reinforced by the high volumes of printed materials. Cults with symbolic functions played a similar role; they referred to preferred professions, activities, economic intentions or organizations and their exemplary members recognizable by external attributes

and targeted on specific target groups. An unprecedented amount of space was provided to the purpose-oriented depiction of these educational role models for young people, but not only for the purposes of the above-mentioned power holding in the future. By this targeted propaganda it demonstrated legitimacy, which was logically followed by claiming a leading position in the society.

Even a cursory look at the monitored media suggests different approaches to ideologization: In the 1950s, the educational patterns of youth are straightforward and visionary, while approximately from the 1970s to 1989, there is an increasing number of behavioural tiers and actions with an indirect effect. The communist regime probably expected that this new tactic would be more convincing.

The text of the paper is restricted to and focused on these patterns and their suitable examples applicable in the history classes.

### Didactic characteristics of the media used

Didactically, the significance of these visual media can be seen in the natural preservation of the original form, whether they are placed in a textbook or projected in the course of a lesson. On the other hand, textual sources are routinely subject to adjustments to take into account the pupils' age and mental capacity. The contemporary artistic design of the postage stamps, comic books or caricatures thus more naturally evokes the historical atmosphere.<sup>1</sup>

It is not difficult to trace the original idea behind the use of postage stamps for propaganda purposes: everyone needs postage services; national borders are not an obstacle, so any topic can be effectively promoted not only at home but also in the world. Postal service users were primarily exposed to the effect of these persuasion strategies, followed by stamp collectors as the next target thanks to their passion for interest in postage stamps.<sup>2</sup> It can be easily explained why the interest in this media subject was expanded to historians, tutors and educators

<sup>1</sup> Rak, J.: *Das Bild der anderen in der tschechischen Karikatur 1848–1948*. In: Becher, P. – Džambo, J. (1997): *Gleiche Bilder, gleiche Worte. Deutsche, Österreicher und Tschechen in der Karikatur 1848–1948*. Munich, p. 9–13; Pernes, J. (2003): *History of Czechoslovakia through the eyes of the Dikobraz magazine 1945–1990*. Praha; (2007) *Die Destruktion des Dialogs: Zur innenpolitischen Instrumentalisierung negativer Fremd- und Feindbilder*. Darmstadt; Karl, P.: *Caricatures in the service of SdP. Satirical magazine "Der Igel" in the years 1935–1938*, In Rokoský J. – Veselý, M. (2013) (eds.): *Place and Memory. Transformations of society in the thirties to sixties of the 20th century*. Ústí nad Labem.

<sup>2</sup> The very supporting pillar of philately, which is based on the passion to discover imperfections, exceptionalities or shortcomings as a result of work of the team of designers and producers of the stamp is virtually completely omitted in this text for logical reasons. The paper does not fundamentally rely on professional philatelic terminology and also gives up on strict type designation of philatelic material used. Attention is limited to topics of political importance and their didactic reserves.

involved in teaching history (although it was not in a revolutionary way): Stamps represent a pictorial source and contain, similar to text sources, valuable information about the era when they were created. However, for knowledge of history they require the application of appropriate methods of source criticism and for our purposes also an adequate didactic implementation into the history teaching.<sup>3</sup> Logically, from the point of view of classification for educational purposes, they belong both to authentic means of teaching and at the same time to the media perceived by senses; and this is the area in which we include the aforementioned photographs, caricatures, posters, painting reproductions, etc. They also constitute a readable source illustrating which traditions and educational models the state body professes; the variable frequency of the subject on the timeline and its form can – in turn – imply the transformations this tradition has undergone.

In connection with the educational use of caricatures, it is advisable to remind ourselves of the well-known fact that they do not represent a documentary material but a concrete opinion. A one-sided point of view, or even a totally erroneous assessment of the reality contained in it, naturally places it alongside other visual media – comic books or the above-mentioned postage stamps.

Similarly, the effect of comic books in the public and non-scientific space is an extremely interesting topic element, although it is very little used in school practice and is still ignored by historiographic research. Comics (as opposed to, for example, film media) require active cooperation of the recipient, who must fill the story and time gaps between the boxes with his or her own thought processes. It means that he or she must contribute to understanding the storyline. The essence of comics forces them to reduction. Only selected moments are filled in the boxes, only selected details are drawn. But it is still a symbolism of places, objects, events and figures. Through the symbols, view angles, contour lines and colours, the experiences of comics characters are brought closer and provide emotions to the story.

Some comics seek historically faithful rendition of stories from the times long past. However, this is not done by depicting historical reality, but rather through artistic imagination. In such a case, they can stimulate the reader's historical consciousness.

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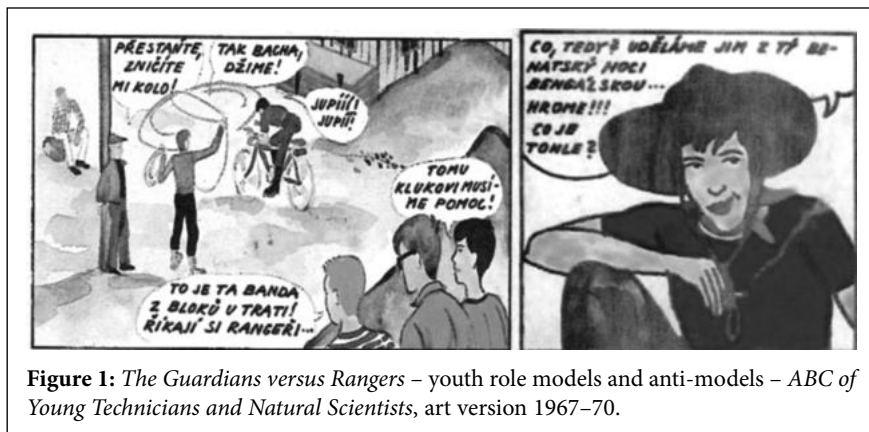
<sup>3</sup> The inspirational effect of using a postage stamp for classroom teaching lies, among other things, in its potential for an alternative extension of pupils' individual extracurricular hobbies. By promoting philately, we undoubtedly contribute not only to general education and the development of the pupil's history consciousness. When working with postage stamps, also professional and specific philatelic skills are developed and deepened. These – in turn – may support the development of some personal qualities, such as patience, a sense of aesthetics of sorting philatelic material, etc.

Of course, the relation between reality and fable varies considerably, and a systemic arrangement is desirable for meaningful analysis. This issue was, among others, dealt with by H. Pandel, who devised a typology of historically oriented comic books. The lowest level is occupied by the so-called *Funnies*, which only remotely indicate a possible reality and can be used just for the pupil's initial motivation. Higher levels follow with *Comicroman* reflecting real historical environment, *Epochencomic* with realistic depiction of a specific epoch with the absence of famous historical personalities, and *Comic-History*, which requires a certain level of historiographic quality.

Another group called *Quellencomic* uses a graphic artist – a witness of his or her time. The observed events are reflected in the comics genre, which is becoming a valuable source for teaching in the class. The absence of a history topic is therefore not an obstacle to historical use;<sup>4</sup> on the contrary, it is a good basis for the discovery-based learning of pupil researchers (young school-age researchers) and for the development of critical access to information. The following lines are based on *Quellencomic*. However, given the limited scope of the text and its maximum coherence, it was first necessary to adequately describe the offer of comic books for children and youth.

### Analysis and description of information sources used

Attention will be first paid to cartoon stories. In the extracurricular environment, comics represent an important part of historical culture and their



**Figure 1:** *The Guardians versus Rangers* – youth role models and anti-models – *ABC of Young Technicians and Natural Scientists*, art version 1967–70.

<sup>4</sup> Pandel, H. J. – Schneider, G. (2005) (eds.): *Handbuch Medien im Geschichtsunterricht*. Schwalbach /Ts., p. 349–353.

implementation into history education is therefore also useful. A comprehensive analysis of available sources revealed the most extensive cycles in the period under review. This characteristic was demonstrated by the stories of the so-called “Modrá pětka” (“Blue Five”) from the magazine *Pionýrská stezka* (*Pioneers’ Trail*), and “Strážci” (“The Guardians”) from the magazine *ABC mladých techniků a přírodovědců* (*ABC of Young Technicians and Natural Scientists*).

The marks of the ideological influence on the youth of the era are exemplarily composed of several layers and represented in a comic book cycle following the adventures of the Guardians; they were therefore eventually chosen as an example.

To begin with, let’s remind ourselves of their legendary predecessors – the five boys “Rychlé šípy” (“Fast Arrows”). Similar to them, also the Guardians are engaged in socially beneficial activities and encourage the youth to spend their free time “in the right way”: They voluntarily and for free clean up public areas, collect recyclable waste, help the elderly and lead younger children to proper behaviour. The list of positive activities includes their fight against smoking, alcohol and other addictive substances. They also help protect public property – in comic book episodes from the 1960s – they, for example, catch vandals damaging phone booths. Today, their cartoon adventures would depict the fight against sprayers.

The cartoon stories of the Guardians are intertwined by confrontation with a marauding gang of the “Rangers”.<sup>5</sup> In educationally informative stories, these adolescent urchins do not represent a simple analogy to an enemy gang (like “Bratrstvo kočičí pracky” (“Brotherhood of Cat Paws”) against Fast Arrows).

The Rangers gang members do not only embody the opposite of moral and voluntary qualities. Their names, behaviours (riots and brawls instead of adherence to rules) and external attributes (imitations of cowboy clothes) suggest “where” the negative social behaviour comes from (Fig. 1). In the Guardians’ stories, the critical attitude to the “capitalist West” was later supplemented by the negative character of a boy named Bertik, who defiantly wears “western” clothing from *Tuzex*, the store with foreign goods, and professes dubious moral values.<sup>6</sup>

The stories of the Guardians gained the distinctive character of the ideological indoctrination by describing their participation in the military game for pioneers (members of a state –controlled children’s organisation) prepared for them by the military (the “Military Exercise” episode) or in the “Combat Game” prepared by the *People’s Militia* (the “armed fist of the working class”). This impression culminates in the search of the Guardians for the “comrades” involved in the

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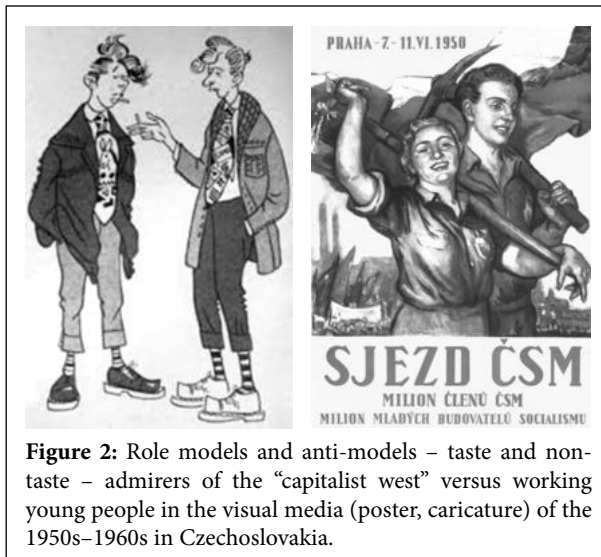
<sup>5</sup> The naming of the comic book *Rangers* in the context of the overall behaviour of the gang of adolescent urchins has a clear negative connotation, but historically the role has changed according to commonly available information. From armed groups fighting Indians to riot police, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Compare: *ABC of Young Technicians and Natural Scientist*, Volume 12/1982-83.

Communist coup d'état of February 1948.<sup>7</sup> This time, a direct participant in the coup at the local factory became an educational role model for the youth. A simple worker who helped to find and render harmless the owner of the company to be nationalized while he was stealing know-how with the intention of taking it to Western Europe. This episode convincingly demonstrates the thesis of reformulating official patterns into a language close to youth. It illustrates in a sophisticated way the visualisation of the abstract postulate of Marxism about the “legitimate victory of the working class”: The simple worker = the “exploited class”, defeats in the revolutionary days his “exploiter” – the factory owner. An idea was thus installed in the young recipient’s head about a vision of the communist transformation of the world.

The mission of the comic book episode is completed by contemporary ideological clichés in bubbles above the characters: “the reactionaries raise their heads; we will not let them break the Republic...”, etc.

In later stories from the early 1980s, the Guardians are increasingly portrayed with external attributes emphasizing political affiliation – red scarves and other uniform elements. As a result, as “normalization”<sup>8</sup> progresses, the group of



**Figure 2:** Role models and anti-models – taste and non-taste – admirers of the “capitalist west” versus working young people in the visual media (poster, caricature) of the 1950s–1960s in Czechoslovakia.

<sup>7</sup> Compare: *ABC of Young Technicians and Natural Scientist, Chronicle of the Guardians* 9–11/1982–83.

<sup>8</sup> Historical period. Its name comes from the need for the “normalization of the conditions” by the conservative communists after the Soviet invasion, i.e. from the negation of more progressive reforms of the communist regime during the so-called Prague Spring in 1968.

ordinary boys becomes an ideologically engaged group. The Guardians – role models of other pioneer groups.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most important means of modern propaganda undoubtedly includes posters that pass on a direct, simple and clear message to the public.

And this was the reason why children and youth constituted one of the frequent motives on propaganda posters, and at the same time represented an important target group for the posters. Children on posters were most often depicted in uniforms, standing at attention and with a hand outstretched for a pioneer greeting. By this, the importance of organization was underlined. An important element that can be seen on almost every poster is the portrait of a political leader (initially Klement Gottwald, often along with Stalin), who is placed against a red background. Dark red is usually complemented by other distinctive colours, such as yellow or blue. Flags and other ideological symbols are also present. Youth is portrayed as happy, proud and determined to build a new, better world under the auspices of communism.

Understandably, fashion also became one of the tools of youth re-education. Past trends were rejected as bourgeois relics. Since the new social arrangement proclaimed the working man at its forefront, the visual art in the public space corresponded to it. Poster design mainly depicted a young working man and corresponding models of work clothes. The invoked ideals of these garments, such as practicality or modesty, were portrayed in the communist state as a synonym of taste, while Western trends were considered tasteless. The intensified form of this “ideological struggle” was represented by caricatures directed against the so-called “pásek”.<sup>10</sup> The term “pásek” was used for non-conforming youth refusing to comply with enforced rules. In the satirical magazine *Dikobraz*, many artists, illustrators and lyricists got involved in the fight against those who preferred eccentric clothing, combed-up hair, western music or western dance trends.

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<sup>9</sup> The *Guardians* followed the genre model of their legendary *Fast Arrow* predecessors (from Series 3 as the *Chronicle of the Guardians*). Individual stories encourage young people to spend their leisure “in the right way”. They were published in *ABC*, the magazine for youth, popularizing science and technology (1967–70, 1972–73, 1981–84). Although it is one of the most extensive domestic comic book series – the fragmental period in which they were published does not guarantee a consistent assessment of the indoctrination of the era and the interpretation can therefore be formulated only with limited validity.

<sup>10</sup> In September 1953, Czechoslovak citizens could follow the court trial with a group of juvenile delinquents; propagandists took advantage of this trial to massively campaign against alien fashion, “Western” music genres, and the obscene dances of this group of the unyielding young people. The then authors and artists, Bohumil Štěpán, František Skála, Ondřej Sekora, Josef Žemlička, Ctirad Smolka and Jaroslav Malák, ridiculed them not only through caricatures of the “perverted” youth, but also in a continuing series of the humorous periodical *Dikobraz* during 1954.

Working clothes for housewives also posed a big topic; an extremely peculiar thing was the design of suits for the *Czechoslovak Youth Union* and the women of the *Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*. The resulting image in the visual media was affected by this fight – it demonstrated similar contrasts. (Fig. 2)

The contemporary issues of postage stamps were also meant to assure the recipient of the driving forces of the new society and ideological priorities. With a strong didactic accent, they presented – especially to young citizens – the working patterns of smiling miners with hidden meanings, such as: “Mining – heroic and honest occupation; socialist competition to meet the plan”; they also displayed blue-collar professions and equally optimistic workers in agricultural cooperatives. In this way they tried to support work ethics. There are also signs indicating the importance of physical fitness, but also women as the mothers of the families. Other stamps promote cults with symbolic functions: peace, tolerance and freedom. Unlike the Soviet stamps in the so-called perestroika period, however, there is no open criticism of the negative social phenomena that the communist leadership had to deal with – such as alcoholism. Similar to them, the propaganda of economic intentions on the postage stamps of the communist regime promoted the only imaginable model for the development of society. The foundation and congresses of the Czechoslovak Youth Union (ČSM), Socialist Youth Union (SSM) and Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ) were repeatedly reminded; they were depicted by young, happy and determined faces. Other themes included uniformed children and youth or members of mass leisure organizations managed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, demonstrating exemplary activities and behaviour (Fig. 3). Portraits of political leaders, mostly of V. I. Lenin, were repeated (1949 – twice 1954, 1960, 1970, but also in 1990!).

### **Didactic impulses for model analyses**

Being inspired by Pandel’s typology of comics, we can formulate a variety of general as well as completely specific didactic stimuli. Comparison with postage stamps and caricatures can be used as a wider version.

Tasks for pupils: First, find out the basic information about the information source. The author (his/her profession on the Internet, whether he/she is qualified in history, etc.); the content of the story. The relevant boxes can stimulate factual, contextual and/or attitude questions: Do you favour any of the characters? Why? Find arguments in favour and against. Define examples of suitable and inappropriate behaviour. Find boxes in the comic books to illustrate specific examples of positive and negative behaviour patterns. Examine and see if the comic books contain other examples of such exemplary behaviour, which in addition demonstrate political attitudes. Mark the external signs of the political affiliation of those depicted (pioneer scarves, etc.).



Decide which of the comic stories is trying to give you the most knowledge (write down some examples); which can most impress your attitudes and feelings; whether any of them criticizes violence, unhealthy habits, or risky behaviour in general: justify and illustrate it by examples.

Note the realism or stylization of the drawings. Note the colour presentation (warm, cool colours). Think about the possible reasons. Describe whether and how they influence the overall impression or your feelings. In comic book boxes, search to find objects, figures, gestures, or phenomena that play the role of a symbol. Complete in a creative way, fill in spaces or texts.

The main theme of the comic books followed is the story of a boy group. Isolated application in teaching would be problematic, but with help of other didactic media they offer a suitable tool for concretising the pupils' abstract ideas of ideological indoctrination by totalitarian regimes. Tasks: Compare specific boxes containing memories of communist workers with an extract of a text written by a historian. In different media, identify the forms of ideological influence on youth (posters, caricatures). Think about congruences and differences. Note the differences between contemporary and current evaluation. Think about the influence and significance of educational role models and anti-models for young people. Provide examples of comic book boxes, caricatures, or posters that depict



**Figure 3:** Postage stamps with educational promotion of the “right” activities of children and politically organized youth (Pioneer, SSM, ČSM) – vanguard of the Communist Party.

their particular form or behaviour. Quote the content of comic book bubbles, postage stamp text, or caricature commentaries to prove it. It is possible to conduct a controlled discussion with the pupils on the topic of the meaning and value of educational models; whether they are influenced by democratic and undemocratic development, or whether they are still of importance to us today.

The aim of a controlled discussion or dialogue with pupils is not to simply reject or identify. We compare opinions of the pupils with interpretations of historians, factual data, statistical data, and lists of the consequences of contemporary approaches. We discuss the possible effectiveness and limits of this form of education and ideological indoctrination.

Although the comics *Guardians* and *Chronicle of the Guardians*, postage stamps with educational models for youth and caricatures mocking admirers of the “capitalist West” were not primarily intended for education in the class, they can be used. Because readers rather lack the contemporary context, which cannot be ascertained only through classical teaching, we can entrust pupil researchers to process a number of simple factual, conceptual or contextual tasks. Under the guidance of the teacher they will use verified information sources where they compare the data and supplement or provide missing interpretations. Our aim is to develop pupils’ competences in the field of reflected critical discovery and evaluation of information and, as a result, to deepen history consciousness.

### Summary

Finally, it should be stressed that, understandably, the frequency, urgency and form of the messages provided by visual media were changing over the period under review. The extract presented here does not consistently cover the period observed – it adapts to what was offered – and its informative value is therefore limited. Comics and postage stamps, unlike caricatures and posters, represent an underestimated means of depicting the cultural and historical context such a phenomenon as indoctrination of the youth in totalitarian regimes and, at the same time, can complement the spectrum of commonly analysed media in the school environment.

Based on the description and analysis carried out, it can be stated that Stalin’s educational patterns for the youth of the 1950s act in a visionary and literal manner, while in the period of the so-called normalization of the 1970s and 1980s, they have more layers and act more covertly. The above findings generate further questions at the same time: For example, the contemporary effect of this indoctrination on the target group. The mentioned aspects, i.e. the changes in the media pressure and the effect, are therefore an interesting stimulus for further research into didactics and media education in teaching history.

# Development of the School System of the Czech Lands in 1918–2020. A View of the School Legislation after one Hundred Years of the Republic

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*The paper presents a chronological outline of the development of school legislation and the school system of the Czech Lands from 1918 to the present. Captured are changes after historical breaks, as well as efforts for gradual conceptual changes. The topics addressed are as follows: The development of the Czechoslovak education system after the establishment of an independent democratic state in 1918; its form during the Nazi occupation and during more than forty years of the communist government; and the way of searching for the form of Czech education after the fall of the communist regime in 1989.*

Key words: Czechoslovakia; Czech Republic; education; school system; legislation

## Introduction

In 2018, we commemorated one hundred years since the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. During the past one hundred and two years, our country has undergone a complicated development of changing regimes; we experienced a period of democracy, as well as communist and Nazi governments with all the associated characteristics. During this time, the whole of our society has changed fundamentally. Although education is a relatively static entity, it has also gradually changed, both through fundamental revolutionary interventions following regime changes and through gradual widely discussed (and more or less thoughtful) changes. In the following text I will try to briefly outline the development of the school system and most important school standards from the period of one hundred and two years of the Republic.<sup>1</sup> The text does not claim to be complete and exhaustive. Over a hundred years, countless laws, decrees, and other

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<sup>1</sup> Jireček, M. (2014). *Vývoj vyučovacího předmětu dějepis v letech 1918–2013*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

educational standards have been issued. I will try to briefly outline the most important tendencies in the development of Czech education. As a basis, I mainly used the *Bulletins of the Ministry of Education* (whose names changed over time as the name of the Ministry changed), where the basic legislative standards from this area were published.

### The First Republic

After the break-up of Austria-Hungary and the formation of independent Czechoslovakia (proclaimed on 28 October 1918), it was necessary to build the structure of the newly established state in all areas, including education. The basis of school legislation was taken over from the time of the monarchy. The organization of education was based mainly on the law of 1869 and its amendment of 1883.<sup>2</sup> Of course, the Republic tried to cut off ideologically from the previous monarchy – the paintings of the emperor or books that served the interests of the monarchy were removed.<sup>3</sup> The influence of the Catholic Church on schools was significantly reduced. Religion was preserved as a compulsory subject, but pupils could be exempted from attending it.<sup>4</sup> The female teachers were equalized with male colleagues; now, they could also teach in boys' schools, and the celibacy of female teachers was cancelled.<sup>5</sup> Emancipation was also apparent in the case of girls whose access to higher education was made easier. The state also addressed the education of minorities in nationally mixed areas. It was made possible to set up minority schools (including Czech ones in predominantly German areas) if a condition of a certain number of pupils was met.<sup>6</sup> An important progress in the discussion on the form of education was made at the Congress of Czechoslovak Teachers held in 1920.<sup>7</sup> Austrian law, however, remained the basis of education

<sup>2</sup> Říšský zákon o školách obecných změněný zákonem ze dne 2. května 1883 s nařízením a informací v příčině provedení ze dne 8. a 12. června 1883: s příslušnými zákony o obecných právech občanů, o postavení školy k církvi a o uspořádání poměrů mezináboženských: doplněn a objasněn rozsudky soudu říšského a správního, dále výnosy zemské školní rady: s obsáhlým abecedním seznamem věcným. (1883). Praha: Jindř. Mercy-ho.

<sup>3</sup> O prohlídce žákovských knihoven na školách obecných a měštánských. *Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty* (further *Věstník MŠANO*). (1918–1919). 1/1–6, 38.

<sup>4</sup> O vyučování povinnému náboženství. *Věstník MŠANO* 1/13, 214–215.

<sup>5</sup> O celibátu učitelek. *Věstník MŠANO* 1/1918–1919/9, 151; Zákon ze dne 24. července 1919, kterým se zrušuje celibát literních a industriálních učitelek na školách obecných, občanských (měštánských) v republice Československé. *Věstník MŠANO* 1/12, 197–198.

<sup>6</sup> Zákon ze dne 3. dubna 1919 o školách národních a soukromých ústavech vyučovacích a vychovávacích. (1918–1919). *Věstník MŠANO* 1/5, 75–77.

<sup>7</sup> Jůva, V. (2005). Historické konsekvence základní školy. In J. Maňák, T. Janík (Eds.), *Orientace české základní školy. Sborník z pracovního semináře konaného dne 20. října 2005 na Pedagogické fakultě MU v Brně*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 35.

until 1922, when the so-called “Small” Education Act came into force.<sup>8</sup> It set out the main points concerning the structure of the school system, which, however, was still based on the monarchy system to a large extent. In many respects, the Act did not meet expectations and was frequently criticized in the First Republic press.

After the establishment of the independent Republic, the powers of the existing laws of the Austrian part of the monarchy were extended also to Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia, which became part of the state and where the laws of the Hungarian part of the monarchy were still in force. The state of education in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia was not good.<sup>9</sup> An important role in the renewal and building of the local education system was played by Czech teachers who were sent there.<sup>10</sup>

According to the 1869 law, compulsory school attendance began at the age of six and lasted eight years. However, the 1883 amendment to the law introduced some alleviations. In Slovakia, compulsory school attendance after 1918 was temporarily only six years. The Small Education Act abolished these alleviations and compulsory school attendance was extended to eight years from 1927/28 also in Slovakia. During the First Republic, primary education was divided into two stages. The basis was a five-year elementary school (called a folk school in Slovakia). After its completion, pupils could continue their studies at the upper elementary school, at the middle school (civic) or at one of the secondary schools (grammar school, real grammar school, reform real grammar school or the so-called “reálka”). Then the selected students could continue their studies at universities.

In most cases, there were eight-year elementary schools in villages, and five-year elementary schools and three-year middle schools in towns and larger municipalities.<sup>11</sup> Three-year middle schools were supposed to provide higher general education than that provided by the elementary school to pupils from grade 6 to grade 8. The extension of the middle schools to four-year schools was discussed, but never realized. However, the so-called one-year training courses were added to some middle schools for pupils who wanted to supplement their education. These classes were not added to the middle schools in Slovakia, because there the middle schools were initially for four years. The upper elementary and

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<sup>8</sup> Zákon ze dne 21. srpna 1922, č. 226, jímž se mění a doplňují zákony o školách obecných a občanských. (1921–1922). *Učitelské noviny*, 36(24), 255–260.

<sup>9</sup> Pešina, J. (1933). *Školství na Podkarpatské Rusi v přítomnosti*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství; Ludové školstvo na Slovensku. (1920–1921). *Věstník MŠANO* 3/9, s. 70–71.

<sup>10</sup> Zákon ze dne 29. října 1919, jímž ustanovují se zásady, podle nichž lze učitelstvo škol obecných a občanských dočasně přikázati na kterékoliv služební místo v území Republiky československé. *Věstník MŠANO* 1/19, 384–385.

<sup>11</sup> Kuzmin, M. N. (1981). *Vývoj školství a vzdělávání v Československu*. Praha: Academia, 185.

the middle school provided different levels of education. In addition, elementary schools were often schools with classes grouped according to the number of pupils and teachers. The quality of elementary schools was often discussed; the quality of teaching staff of these types of schools also varied. This multi-dimensionality where elementary, middle and secondary schools existed side by side was criticized, and even from today's perspective must be seen as problematic, as the child's education was largely determined by where he or she was born. Criticism began to emerge already during the First Republic,<sup>12</sup> and a demand for a uniform school was often heard.<sup>13</sup> In the period of the First Republic, there were many other proposals requiring a change in the school system. But no fundamental change was made. It was only on the basis of the act on domain middle schools of 1935 that the middle schools were opened even in large catchment municipalities at the expense of upper elementary schools.<sup>14</sup> One of the proposals, which was realized, was the establishment of reform (experimental) schools.<sup>15</sup>

### Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

A number of changes in our education system were made already after the occupation of border areas following the signing of the Munich Agreement and the establishment of the so-called Second Republic. The number of interventions in education was then multiplied after the occupation of the rest of the territory by German troops and the proclamation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in March 1939. The education system in the Czech Lands (Slovakia became independent) underwent a number of changes in terms of both organization and content. The German occupation administration tried to significantly suppress the Czech education system, while a negative role was played by Emanuel Moravec, the Protectorate Minister of Education.

Significant changes were made in the form of the school system. From the beginning of the 1941/42 school year, the elementary schools with Czech as the language of instruction in the school districts where the middle school had been

<sup>12</sup> Chlup, O. – Uher, J. – Velemínský, K. (1933). *O novou školu*. Praha: Čin.

<sup>13</sup> Příhoda, V. (1928–1929). Jednotná škola. Její možnosti dnes a zítra. *Školské reformy* 10(1), 1–8.

<sup>14</sup> Zákon ze dne 20. prosince 1935, kterým se mění a doplňují zákony o zřizování a vydržování veřejných měštanských škol, o docházce do nich a o jejich správě. (1936). *Věstník MŠANO* 18/1, 2–8.

<sup>15</sup> Čeněk, J. (1924). *Z našeho pokusného školství*. Praha: Čsl. ped. ústav J. A. Komenského; Pražák, F. (1927). *Počátky české školy pokusné*. Praha: Kočí; Příhoda, V. (1930). *Racionalisace školství: funkcionální organizace školské soustavy*. Praha: Orbis; Šindelář, A. (1932). *Pražské pokusné reformní školy*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství; Vrána, S., & Císař, J. (Eds.). (1939). *Deset let pokusné práce na měštanských školách ve Zlíně*. Zlín: „Tisk“.

established were extended to eight grades in order to enable compulsory school attendance.<sup>16</sup> The elementary level of the elementary school was newly shortened by one year – from grade 1 to grade 4. About 60% of the population were supposed to complete compulsory school attendance at an upper elementary school (after its completion, it was possible to continue the studies at continuing schools). Another option was to study at the middle school. The middle school with Czech as the language of instruction was becoming the four-class school (one-year training courses were abolished) and thus included school year 5 to 8. The middle schools were changed to selective schools. A maximum of 35% of pupils could be admitted to the first class of middle schools (after their completion, it was possible to continue at vocational schools). Only a limited number of children were thus to receive higher education. The designation “middle school” was later replaced by the designation “main school”.<sup>17</sup> The third option was to study at one of the secondary schools. However, the number of secondary and vocational school pupils had been substantially reduced. During the Protectorate, the organization of secondary schools with the Czech language of instruction also changed.<sup>18</sup> From the school year 1941/42, there were only two types of secondary schools – real and classical grammar schools.<sup>19</sup> On 17<sup>th</sup> November 1939, Czech universities were closed.

The teaching of some subjects was restricted, the content of many subjects distorted; the teachers were re-trained in the Nazi spirit in the so-called Rankenheim courses (these characteristics mainly concerned the history lessons).<sup>20</sup> The permitted number of pupils in the classes of Czech schools increased; the number of classes was reduced; the schools were merged. The German language was gradually introduced at all types of schools as a compulsory subject. Subjects that commemorated the First Republic or those that could undermine respect for the German Empire were discarded from the school collections.<sup>21</sup> The use of a number of textbooks was stopped. All pupils in the

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<sup>16</sup> Vládní nařízení ze dne 14. srpna 1941 o nové úpravě obecných a měšťanských škol s českým vyučovacím jazykem. (1941). *Věstník MŠANO* 23/9, 282.

<sup>17</sup> Výnos MŠANO ze dne 27. srpna 1941, č. 105.179-I o přeměně označení „měšťanská škola“ na označení „hlavní škola“. *Věstník MŠANO* 23/9, 291.

<sup>18</sup> Výnos MŠANO ze dne 6. srpna 1941, č. 98.445-I o změně v organizaci středních škol s českým jazykem vyučovacím. *Věstník MŠANO* 23/8, 270–273.

<sup>19</sup> Váňová, R. (2009). Historický vývoj českého školství I. (do r. 1948). In J. Průcha (Ed.). *Pedagogická encyklopedie*. Praha: Portál, 43.

<sup>20</sup> Willinger, J. (1943–1944). Rankenheim – pohled zpět i kupředu. *Vychovatel v Čechách i na Moravě* 1(1), 17–20.

<sup>21</sup> Výnos MŠANO ze dne 11. září 1941, čís. 110.045/41-I/1, o úpravě obrazů a užívání jich při vyučování na školách národních, středních, učitelských ústavech a na školách odborného směru s českým jazykem vyučovacím. (1941). *Věstník MŠANO* 23/10, 334–336.

Protectorate were supposed to know the anthem of the German Empire.<sup>22</sup> The employees belonging to the Protectorate were supposed to salute with an outstretched right hand at playing the imperial anthems and on other occasions mentioned in the Regulation.<sup>23</sup> Another decree, however, governed that the use of this greeting was a matter of inner belief.<sup>24</sup> It was recommended to buy the brochure *Peace Work of Adolf Hitler* for school libraries and for pupils.<sup>25</sup>

Czech teachers and students were subjected to persecution during the war – they were expelled from schools, many of them were sent to forced labour or war production facilities; many experienced concentration camps, died in prisons or were executed.<sup>26</sup> In the schools, also Jewish pupils were subjected to harsh persecution. In addition to reducing the level of education, the Nazis also tried to influence the youth in an ideological way (the so-called *Curatorium for Youth Education* was established). A number of schools were moved to unsuitable buildings.

### Post-war period

After the liberation from the German occupation, it was necessary to eliminate the distortions and damage inflicted on the education system during the war. Basic opinions of (not only) school policy were formulated still during the war period in the so-called *Košice Government Programme*.<sup>27</sup> Schools were supposed to become accessible to the widest possible population. The relation to German and Hungarian culture was to be revised, Slavic orientation strengthened, and the relationship to the Soviet Union newly established (Russian should have been the first of all foreign languages; young people should have been “duly informed” about the Soviet Union). The schools should have been cleared of persons cooperating with the occupiers, and textbooks and books published during the occupation should have been removed. German and Hungarian schools were to be closed until the final decision.

Efforts to rectify the damage caused by war events in the field of education fully developed after the liberation of the Republic. Lessons at all types of schools

<sup>22</sup> Výnos MŠANO ze dne 9. dubna 1941 o hymnách Velkoněmecké říše. (1941). *Věstník MŠANO* 23/6, 190–193.

<sup>23</sup> Vládní nařízení ze dne 7. srpna 1942 o služebním poměru veřejných zaměstnanců. (1942). *Věstník ministerstva školství* (further *Věstník MŠ*), 24/9, 292–293.

<sup>24</sup> Výnos presidia MŠ ze dne 17. září 1942, č. 5914 pres., o pozdravu zaměstnanců školské správy. (1942). *Věstník MŠ* 24/10, 337–338.

<sup>25</sup> *Věstník MŠ*. (1942). 24/6, 255.

<sup>26</sup> Vacek, J. (1980–1981). Příspěvek k historii perzekuce českých vysokých škol v době nacistické okupace. *Společenské vědy ve škole* 37(3), 70–73.

<sup>27</sup> *Program první domácí vlády republiky, vlády Národní fronty Čechů a Slováků. Sběrka dokumentů*. (1945). Praha: Ministerstvo informací.



were resumed as early as in May 1945 (only universities were opened from the next school term only). For the temporary period, the teachers themselves were obliged to correct distortions in teaching. German language lessons were stopped. Capable pupils of grade 6 to grade 8, who had to stay in elementary schools during the war, were transferred to the middle schools. The expelled pupils returned to secondary and vocational schools.<sup>28</sup> A national congress of teachers was held in July 1945 to set up new requirements for education.<sup>29</sup> Of the defined requirements, the following were implemented: the university education of teachers<sup>30</sup> and the building of the *Research Institute of Education*.<sup>31</sup> Despite numerous discussions on this topic (this period is sometimes referred to as the period of “fights for a uniform school”),<sup>32</sup> the requirement of a uniform single school was not implemented. After the war, the position of the Communist Party became strong; it promoted transformation of education in the name of the ideas of popular democracy and the creation of an undifferentiated uniform school. The influence of the Communist Party on education was helped by the fact that Zdeněk Nejedlý was appointed a post-war minister of education. According to the ideology of this Party, education was supposed to be made available to the broadest levels of population.

After the liberation, pre-war types of schools were restored. The middle school attendance was prolonged to four years. For children aged 14 to 16, who completed their eighth year of elementary school attendance, a course was to be set up in the 1945/46 school year – unless they were educated at other schools.<sup>33</sup> In practice, a nine-year school attendance was thus introduced, but according to applicable law, it remained eight-year (courses were not compulsory, but the exemption from attendance had to be justified and approved<sup>34</sup>). In this period, general education schools were designated by three levels: 1st level (elementary school), 2<sup>nd</sup> level (lower secondary and middle school), and 3<sup>rd</sup> level (higher classes of secondary schools). During this period, the middle schools and the

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<sup>28</sup> Učitelstvu všech druhů škol a všem ostatním zaměstnancům školské a osvětové správy (1945). *Věstník ministerstva školství a osvěty (dále pouze Věstník MŠO)* 1/1, 5.

<sup>29</sup> Váňová, R. (2004). Václav Příhoda a jeho poválečné snahy o školskou reformu (1945–1948). In A. Vališová, et al., *Historie a perspektivy didaktického myšlení*. Praha: Karolinum, 77–87.

<sup>30</sup> Dekret presidenta republiky ze dne 27. října 1945 o vzdělání učitelstva and Zákon z 9. dubna 1946, kterým se zřizují pedagogické fakulty. (1946). *Věstník MŠO* 2/11, 203.

<sup>31</sup> Dekret presidenta republiky z 27. října 1945, kterým se zřizuje VÚP JAK. (1945). *Věstník MŠO* 1/1, 10.

<sup>32</sup> Walterová, E. (2011). Vývoj primární a nižší sekundární školy v českém kontextu. In E. Walterová, et al., *Dva světy základní školy? Úskalí přechodu z 1. na 2. stupeň*. Praha: Karolinum, 16–50.

<sup>33</sup> Obnovení právního pořádku na obecných a měšťanských školách a odčinění křivd, způsobených žákům těchto škol v době nesvobody. (1945). *Věstník MŠO* 1/5, 48–50.

<sup>34</sup> Přijímání žáků do měšťanských škol ve školním roce 1946/47. (1946). *Věstník MŠO* 2/10, 193.

lower secondary schools converged. In some places, organisation of these schools was unified.<sup>35</sup> At universities, pre-war students could complete their studies within shortened periods of time.

### After “Victorious February”

The Communist Party’s rise to power in February 1948 brought significant changes to our education system. The changes were reflected in the Education Act<sup>36</sup>, which came into effect on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1948. The Education Act introduced a uniform undifferentiated school for all children aged 6 to 15. The uniform school was supposed to get to the level of the former lower secondary school, so the education of the nation should have been raised to this level.<sup>37</sup> It is beyond any doubt that the Education Act brought the unification of various existing standards to the education system (e.g. differences between the Czech and Slovak school systems).<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the introduction of the uniform school had already been discussed during the First Republic. The principle of the uniform school can be regarded as democratic.<sup>39</sup> The problem is that when the law was being adopted, the idea of an internally differentiated school was not accepted.<sup>40</sup> The reason for this is that the uniform school was not established as a result of discussions or educational research, but by political power.

After the coup in 1948, a significant ideological abuse of education started to occur. The influence of the Soviet Union and Soviet pedagogy became apparent.<sup>41</sup> Increased emphasis was placed on teaching the Russian language<sup>42</sup> and the study of Soviet works. Marxist (Marxist-Leninist) ideology became the official ideology. In schools, the aims of communist education were to be followed and met. Political

<sup>35</sup> Jednotné školy druhého stupně (měšťanské a nižší střední). Přestup žáků ve školním roce 1945/46. (1946). *Věstník MŠO* 2/4, 76.

<sup>36</sup> Zákon ze dne 21. dubna 1948 o základní úpravě jednotného školství (školský zákon) (1948). *Věstník ministerstva školství, věd a umění* (further *Věstník MŠVU*) 4/9, 184–198.

<sup>37</sup> Nejedlý, Z. (1948). Projev ministra školství Z. Nejedlého. In *Školský zákon. Projev ministra školství a osvěty prof. Dr. Zdeňka Nejedlého a text zákona o základní úpravě jednotného školství*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství, 5–7.

<sup>38</sup> Chlup, O. – Kahuda, F. – Král, K. (1949). *Školský zákon*. Praha: Orbis, 35–36.

<sup>39</sup> Průcha, J. (2009). Historický vývoj českého školství II. (1948–1989). In J. Průcha (Ed.). *Pedagogická encyklopedie*. Praha: Portál, 46.

<sup>40</sup> Vánová, R. (2004). Václav Příhoda a jeho poválečné snahy o školskou reformu (1945–1948). In A. Vališová, et al., *Historie a perspektivy didaktického myšlení*. Praha: Karolinum, 86.

<sup>41</sup> Gottwald, K. (1949–1950). Po boku SSSR pevněji než kdy jindy. *Společenské nauky ve škole* 5/2, 49; Nejedlý, Z. (1949–1950). Dny československo-sovětského přátelství na školách. *Společenské nauky ve škole* 5(3), 97–99.

<sup>42</sup> 35. výročí Velké říjnové socialistické revoluce a Měsíc československo-sovětského přátelství na (1952). *Věstník MŠVU*, 8/27, 350.

education was supposed to permeate all subjects, by which the pupils' world view was to be shaped.<sup>43</sup> Active cooperation with the regime was required from teachers under the threat of punishment. The uniformity of the school system was to be ensured by nationalizing all schools. Religion was pushed out of schools.

The school system was fundamentally changed. The uniform system consisted of a kindergarten (3–6 years), a national school (i.e. the first-level school, 6–11 years), a secondary school (i.e. the second-level school, 11–15 years) and third-level schools (from 15 years of age, which included grammar schools, vocational schools and apprentice schools). Then universities followed. Nine-year compulsory education (6–15 years) was enacted. When pupils were enrolled at a selective school, their social and class origin was taken into account; the aim was to prepare “intellectual levels” associated with the working class.<sup>44</sup> During this period, curricular documents were filled with propaganda phrases.

### The way in the wrong direction

Another milestone in the history of education was the year 1953, when the new Education Act was issued.<sup>45</sup> Compulsory school attendance was shortened to eight years. This was justified by the needs of the economy and the need to provide all young people with secondary education in the future. Pupils were thus admitted to selective schools already at the age of 14, and to universities at the age of 17. The pace of building a socialist school was to be increased – ideological and political work of schools was to be enhanced, and schools were to become a radical tool for building a socialist and communist society. To achieve these goals, the experience of Soviet pedagogy was used.

The school system consisted of a kindergarten (3–6 years), two types of schools providing basic education – an eight-year secondary school and an eleven-year secondary school (the first eight years provided basic general education, three consecutive years were selective; grammar schools were abolished), vocational schools, apprentice schools, schools for youth with special needs and universities. Thus, the organizational unification of the first- and second-level schools took place; in the case of eleven-year secondary schools, it also applied to the third-level schools. The principle of a uniform school was to be promoted. Specific criteria for the admission of applicants to study at selective schools continued. Workers were also allowed to expand their education.

<sup>43</sup> Angelis, K. (1948–1949). *Společenské nauky v nových osnovách. Společenské nauky ve škole* 4(1), 2–5.

<sup>44</sup> *Závěrečné zkoušky na středních školách a přijímání žáků do výběrových škol třetího stupně* (1951). *Věstník MŠVU*, 7/8, 78.

<sup>45</sup> *Zákon ze dne 24. dubna 1953 o školské soustavě a vzdělávání učitelů (školský zákon)*. (1953). Praha: SPN.

Shortening school attendance without revising the curriculum resulted in excessive loads and overcrowded textbooks, causing the overloading of pupils and their consequent failures, after which they had to attend the same class again in the following year. We can identify many other problems in the school system during this period.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, this period was sometimes referred to as a “stain in the development of our education” and a “period of error”.<sup>47</sup> This again was caused by the fact that the changes were made from above – by political force – regardless of pedagogical considerations.

### **Efforts to redress and the way of further search within the socialist limits**

The changes that were made in our education system after the Education Act was issued in 1953 were subjected to frequent criticism. Further adjustments in education were thus called for. The basic principles of changes were outlined in the document “*On the topic of close connection of school with life and further development of education in Czechoslovakia*” from April 1959.<sup>48</sup> All-round and harmonious youth development was required; the same applied to an extension of compulsory primary education to nine years again, close links between the lessons, life and production (emphasis on polytechnical and vocational training, work education, combination of physical and mental work), opportunity for all children to receive full secondary education, the right career choice, or the development of workers’ studies. The aim of educating youth building socialism and communism was to continue.<sup>49</sup> The extension of compulsory education to nine years was also contained in a new constitution issued in 1960, noting the establishment of socialism.<sup>50</sup> Now all efforts were aimed at building communism, which also involved education and the school system.

On these bases, a new Education Act was issued in the same year.<sup>51</sup> Compulsory education was extended to nine years. The school system was thus changed again. Kindergartens were followed by a nine-year elementary school (6–15 years; the first stage lasted five years, the second stage four years). In places where there were no conditions for the establishment of all nine grades, elementary schools with only

<sup>46</sup> Mikulčák, J. (1968). Padesát let vyučování matematice v naší republice. *Matematika ve škole* 19(1), 21–23.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, 20.

<sup>48</sup> Hendrych, J. (1959). *O těsném spojení školy se životem a o dalším rozvoji výchovy a vzdělání v Československu: referát Jiřího Hendrycha na zasedání ÚV KSČ dne 22. dubna 1959 a usnesení ÚV KSČ ze dne 23. dubna 1959*. Praha: ÚV KSČ.

<sup>49</sup> Angelis, K. (1959). Nové cesty naší školy. *Dějepis a zeměpis ve škole* 1(6), 161.

<sup>50</sup> Ústavní zákon č. 100/1960 ze dne 11. července 1960. *Ústava Československé socialistické republiky*. (1960). Praha: Mladá fronta.

<sup>51</sup> Zákon ze dne 15. prosince 1960, č. 186 Sb., o soustavě výchovy a vzdělávání (školský zákon). (1961). *Věstník Ministerstva školství a kultury* (further *Věstník MŠK*) 17/1–11, 1–7.

lower grades could be established. It was possible to receive secondary education at secondary general education schools (from 1969 grammar schools), secondary vocational schools, vocational schools and apprentice schools. In addition, there were secondary schools for working people and company schools and institutes. The school system was roofed by universities.<sup>52</sup> Schools providing basic education were thus again separated from secondary general education schools. Competent children from “politically and class-conscious families” continued to be admitted to secondary schools. In contrast to this, the Education Act declared the possibility of acquiring secondary education by all those who showed interest in it and had the prerequisites for it. Attention continued to be paid to the educational activities of the school.<sup>53</sup> Every citizen was supposed to understand the connection between building socialism and defending the homeland. The whole educational process was to be penetrated by the military training.<sup>54</sup>

Since 1964, after the release of another resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party<sup>55</sup>, we could see a certain liberalization in the Czechoslovak education system. Voluntary differentiated teaching was introduced. Differentiation was supposed to imply an individual approach to pupils while observing collective teaching. The concept of the uniform school remained valid, but its principles were no longer to be equated with the requirement of uniformity for all pupils. From 1<sup>st</sup> September 1965, external differentiation of pupils was also made possible – gradually, for some classes and subjects, the establishment of study and practical classes or groups according to the level of pupils’ rational abilities and interest in further study and occupation was made possible.<sup>56</sup> Teaching of optional subjects and work of tutorial groups or interest groups were also to take place in the form of differentiated care for pupils of grade 6 to grade 9.<sup>57</sup>

Another manifestation of changes included the changes in the area of foreign languages. Russian language remained to be taught as a compulsory subject at all

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<sup>52</sup> Kovářiček, V. – Kovářičková, I. (1989). *Vývoj školských soustav v českých zemích*. Olomouc: PdF UP, 84–87.

<sup>53</sup> Ke zvýšení úrovně komunistické výchovy na školách I. a II. cyklu a na školách vysokých. Usnesení ÚV KSČ z 28. srpna 1962. (1970). In J. Trajer (Ed.), *Stranické a vládní dokumenty o škole*. Praha: VÚP, 115–147.

<sup>54</sup> Metodický návod pro brannou výchovu žáků 1.–9. ročníku základní devítileté školy (1976). *Věstník Ministerstva školství a Ministerstva kultury České socialistické republiky* (further *Věstník MŠ a MK*) 32/6, 126–129.

<sup>55</sup> K úkolům dalšího rozvoje školství a k výchově mládeže na školách. Usnesení ÚV KSČ z 22. října 1964. (1970). In J. Trajer (Ed.) *Stranické a vládní dokumenty o škole*. Praha: VÚP, 150–157.

<sup>56</sup> Pokyny pro poloodborné a pro diferencované vyučování na základních devítiletých školách (1965). *Věstník MŠK* 21/17, 169–173.

<sup>57</sup> Zřizování doučovacíh skupin na základních devítiletých školách. (1964). *Věstník MŠK* 20/30, 340–341.

schools. However, English, French, Spanish and German were also taught as optional subjects. At selected nine-year elementary schools and schools of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle, extended language teaching was experimentally introduced.<sup>58</sup> The establishment of not only classes, but also of schools with extended language teaching was allowed. In fact, selective classes or schools were thus created.<sup>59</sup> Another manifestation of changes was the experimental renewal of multi-year grammar schools and the establishment of other experimental schools.<sup>60</sup> The change in the education system was also reflected in the publication of the *Action Program of the Ministry of Education* after the January Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1968.<sup>61</sup> The program highlighted the distortions that had occurred in our school system, expressing the need to create conditions for a creative and free atmosphere in schools.<sup>62</sup>

After the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia when Czechoslovakia was occupied by the troops of the five Warsaw Pact states, education was also hit by normalization: “consolidation measures” were introduced<sup>63</sup>, the socialist character of education restored, and the Marxist-Leninist approach again fully applied. Some previous changes were criticized for their “inconspicuous deviation” from the goals of the socialist school system; it was criticized that what had occurred was “*the factual liquidation of teaching Marxism-Leninism at universities and underestimating and limiting civic education and the Russian language; the stirring up of nationalist and anti-Soviet sentiments among teachers, students and pupils; the reviving of Masarykism, the Štefánik legend, social democratism, and other suburban and bourgeois ideologies; and abandoning the principles of proletarian internationalism. Considerable part of teachers and tutors lost their class view of the social situation, ignoring the fact that our world is part of the world socialist system and as a sovereign socialist state, it can only develop within it.*”<sup>64</sup> Extensive purges were carried out within the teaching staff. Teachers were forced to participate in

<sup>58</sup> Pokusné zavedení rozšířeného vyučování jazykům na vybraných základních devítiletých školách a školách II. cyklu. (1965). *Věstník MŠK* 21/1, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Směrnice pro zavádění rozšířeného vyučování jazykům na vybraných základních devítiletých školách (1965). *Věstník MŠK* 21/35, 349–351.

<sup>60</sup> Organizační zásady pro činnost experimentálních škol (Čj. 41 955/61-II/4, dne 4. října 1961). (1966). *Věstník MŠK* 27/33–34, 373–375; Směrnice pro experimentální činnost pedagogických a jiných vědeckých institucí na školách a výchovných i vzdělávacích zařízeních. (1966). *Věstník MŠK* 22/4, 13–15.

<sup>61</sup> Akční program ministerstva školství. (1968). *Učitelské noviny*, 18(26), 5–7.

<sup>62</sup> Walterová, E. o. c., 38.

<sup>63</sup> *Poučení z krizového vývoje ve straně a společnosti po 13. sjezdu KSČ; rezoluce o aktuálních otázkách jednoty strany schválená plenárním zasedáním ÚV KSČ v prosinci 1970.* (1971). Praha: ÚV KSČ.

<sup>64</sup> Vývoj, současný stav a další úkoly československého školství. (1973). In Kujal, B., et al. (1979). *Třicet let československé jednotné školy.* Praha: SPN, 210.

“party or ideological-political education”.<sup>65</sup> Internal differentiation and optional subjects continued to be allowed, but the establishment of study and practical classes (dividing pupils according to their results) was prohibited.<sup>66</sup> Experimental multi-year grammar schools were cancelled.<sup>67</sup>

At that time, the teaching cycle also changed to an eleven-day teaching cycle, which was introduced since the 1967/68 school year.<sup>68</sup> Until that time, lessons had also taken place on Saturdays; newly, every second Saturday should have been free. A year later, the eleven-day teaching cycle was cancelled and a five-day teaching week was introduced instead.<sup>69</sup>

### The last phase of the communist rule over the field of education

An important milestone in the history of Czechoslovak education in 1976 was the publication of the document *Further Development of the Czechoslovak Education System*.<sup>70</sup> The main tasks included the improvement of the educational process, ensuring its connection with production practice (strengthening the polytechnic part) and with the life of society, and the modernization of the content and methods of school work. These changes were meant to modernize our education system (the so-called new concept of educational work). The experience and developments in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were to be taken into account. The socialist character of education was confirmed. The gradual introduction of ten-year secondary education for all and the gradual expansion of twelve-year secondary education were planned. These propositions were put into effect by the Education Act, issued in 1978.<sup>71</sup>

The form of the school system was changed. The main change was to shorten the basic education school attendance to eight years (the first level and the second

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<sup>65</sup> Zabezpečení ideově politického vzdělávání učitelů, výchovných i školských pracovníků škol I. a II. cyklu organizovaného ministerstvem školství ČSR ve školním roce 1972/73. (1972). *Věstník MŠ a MK* 28/8, 129–131.

<sup>66</sup> Organizační směrnice pro základní devítileté školy – změny a doplňky. (1970). *Věstník ministerstva školství, kultury a informací* (further *Věstník MŠ a MKI*) 26/8, 73–74.

<sup>67</sup> Vývoj, současný stav a další úkoly československého školství. (1973). Publish In Kujal, B., et al. (1979). *Třicet let československé jednotné školy*. Praha: SPN, 210.

<sup>68</sup> Směrnice o organizaci školního roku na školách I. a II. cyklu a na odborných učilištích. (1967). *Věstník MŠ a MK* 23/23, 203–204.

<sup>69</sup> Pokyny k práci škol a výchovných zařízení 1. cyklu v souvislosti se zavedením pětidenního vyučovacího týdne. (1968). *Věstník MŠ a MKI* 24/36, 431–432.

<sup>70</sup> *Další rozvoj československé výchovně vzdělávací soustavy. Projekt a důvodová zpráva*. (1976). Praha: SPN.

<sup>71</sup> Zákon ze dne 21. června 1978 o opatřeních v soustavě základních a středních škol. (1978). In *Sbírka zákonů. Československé socialistické republiky*, 14, vydaná dne 23. června 1978, 258–267. Retrieved from <http://aplikace.mvcr.cz/archiv2008/sbirka/1978/sb14-78.pdf>.

level comprised four grades each). The name “elementary nine-year school” was changed to “elementary school”. After completing the elementary school, pupils were obliged to continue at least two years of study at secondary schools (secondary vocational schools, secondary apprentice schools, or grammar schools). Compulsory school attendance lasted ten years (6–16). The optimum length of full secondary education was set at 12 years. These changes were accounted for by improved conditions in socialist society leading to faster intellectual development and maturity of children, expanding pre-school education, rational choice of curriculum, and the use of appropriate educational methods and forms.<sup>72</sup> All those streams of secondary education were supposed to be equal (secondary general and secondary vocational education were not to be differentiated; the content should have been integrated on the basis of polytechnical education).<sup>73</sup> Universities remained the peak of the education pyramid.

It was also possible to set up classes developing pupils’ gifts and talents in some subjects.<sup>74</sup> Later on, it was allowed to establish sports schools.<sup>75</sup> Experimental verification of the organization, forms and content of education was also made possible at schools.<sup>76</sup> Development of military education was supposed to be continued at elementary schools.<sup>77</sup> In 1984, a new Education Act came into force.<sup>78</sup> However, the existing system of schools was to be preserved.

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<sup>72</sup> *Další rozvoj československé výchovně vzdělávací soustavy. Projekt a důvodová zpráva.* (1976). Praha: SPN, 4.

<sup>73</sup> Směrnice ministerstva školství ČSR a ministerstva zdravotnictví ČSR, kterými se stanoví podrobnosti o středních školách, střediscích praktického vyučování a učňovských střediscích (1979). *Věstník MŠ a MK* 35/8, 109–129; Instrukce ministerstva školství ČSR ze dne 18. července 1985 a ministerstva zdravotnictví ČSR ze dne 25. července 1985, kterou se stanoví podrobnosti o středních školách. (1985). *Věstník MŠ a MK* 41/8, 114–126.

<sup>74</sup> Zákon ze dne 21. června 1978 o opatřeních v soustavě základních a středních škol (Č. 63/1978). (1978). In *Sbírka zákonů. Československé socialistické republiky*, 14, vydaná dne 23. června 1978, 263. Retrieved from <http://aplikace.mvcr.cz/archiv2008/sbirka/1978/sb14-78.pdf>.

<sup>75</sup> Směrnice ministerstva školství ČSR, č. j. 21 963/85-33 ze dne 15. července 1985 o školách pro mimořádně nadané a talentované žáky v oblasti sportu (sportovní školy). (1985). *Věstník MŠ a MK* 41/8, 97–105.

<sup>76</sup> Zásady pokusného ověřování organizace, forem a obsahu výchovy a vzdělávání v základních školách, v základních devítiletých školách, ve školách pro mládež vyžadující zvláštní péči a ve středních školách. (1980). *Věstník MŠ a MK* 36/12, 157–159.

<sup>77</sup> Metodický návod pro brannou výchovu žáků 1. až 8. ročníku ZŠ. (1983). *Věstník MŠ a MK* 39/7–8, 76–79.

<sup>78</sup> Zákon č. 29 ze dne 22. března 1984 o soustavě základních a středních škol (školský zákon). In V. Kovářiček (1986). *Soubor předpisů pro základní a střední školy*. Olomouc: PdF UP, 5–30.



### After the fall of the communist regime

The year 1989, when the Communist regime fell, became an important milestone for society as a whole, including education. After the revolution, a rapid reform of the whole school system was required. A number of changes was therefore made, some of which can now be seen as problematic.<sup>79</sup> A number of materials were prepared, dealing with the transformation and reforms of the education system.<sup>80</sup> Documents, however, mostly remained only in a proclamative form. No new Education Act was prepared. An amendment to the Education Act issued in May 1990 thus became the basic norm.<sup>81</sup> Compulsory school attendance was shortened to nine years; it was possible to establish private<sup>82</sup> and religious<sup>83</sup> schools, and the multi-year grammar schools were renewed<sup>84</sup>. This fact meant the end of the uniform school.

According to the amendment to the Education Act, the system of primary and secondary schools consisted of elementary schools, elementary art schools, apprentice schools, secondary vocational apprentice schools, grammar schools, secondary vocational schools and special schools. The elementary school had nine grades (the four-year lower grade was retained). However, only pupils who did not continue their studies at secondary school after completing the eighth year of elementary school continued their compulsory education in grade 9. In places where there were no conditions for the establishment of schools with all nine grades, an elementary school could be established with fewer grades. In order to develop the pupils' extraordinary gifts and talents, elementary and secondary schools could be set up under joint administration.

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<sup>79</sup> Spilková, V., et al. (2005). *Proměny primárního vzdělávání v ČR*. Praha: Portál, 15.

<sup>80</sup> Tupý, J. (2014). *Tvorba kurikulárních dokumentů v České republice. Historicko-analytický pohled na přípravu kurikulárních dokumentů pro základní vzdělávání v letech 1989–2013*. Brno: MU.

<sup>81</sup> Zákon ze dne 3. května 1990, kterým se mění a doplňuje zákon č. 29/1984 Sb., o soustavě základních a středních škol (školský zákon). (1990). *Sbírka zákonů České a Slovenské federativní republiky*, 30, 1990, 673–681.

Retrieved from <http://www.psp.cz/sqw/sbirka.sqw?cz=171&r=1990>.

<sup>82</sup> Vyhláška MŠMT ČR o soukromých školách ze dne 22. července 1991. *Sbírka zákonů České a Slovenské federativní republiky*, částka 68, 1991, 1602–1604. Retrieved from <http://www.psp.cz/sqw/sbirka.sqw?cz=353&r=1991>.

<sup>83</sup> Vyhláška MŠMT ČR a MZR ČR o zřizování a činnosti církevních škol a škol náboženských společenství. (1991). *Sbírka zákonů České a Slovenské federativní republiky*, částka 86, 1991, 2110–2112. Retrieved from <http://www.psp.cz/sqw/sbirka.sqw?cz=452&r=1991>.

<sup>84</sup> Pokyn MŠMT ČR pro zřizování tříd gymnázií s osmiletým cyklem (dále třídy osmiletých gymnázií) a tříd gymnázií s výukou předmětů v cizím jazyce (dále dvojjazyčných tříd) v pětiletém studijním cyklu (1991). *Věstník Ministerstva školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy a Ministerstva kultury České republiky (further Věstník MŠMT)* 47/3, 8.

After 1989, there were many other changes in education. A number of distortions and interventions introduced into the school system over the past 40 years were eliminated – schools were made apolitical, the aims and content of education were cleared of ideological passages, compulsory teaching of Russian language and military training were abolished, lessons of other foreign languages added; optional religious lessons were introduced, and some alternative pedagogical concepts and reform initiatives emerged.<sup>85</sup> On 1<sup>st</sup> January 1993, the existing state was divided into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, which means that also the area of education was divided.

### Searching for a new concept of Czech education

By the Act of 1995<sup>86</sup>, all elementary schools were compulsorily extended to nine-year schools (they had to be completed by all pupils who did not switch to multi-year grammar schools). The first level consisted of grades 1 to 5, the second level of grades 6 to 9 of studies. Compulsory nine-year school attendance was retained. Higher vocational schools were newly included in the network of schools.<sup>87</sup>

The so-called “standards” were developed for individual levels of education.<sup>88</sup> They were to replace curricula. These framework documents set out the objectives, content (the so-called core curriculum) and competences that pupils should acquire in schools. The standards formulated cognitive goals, but also skills, competencies, values and attitudes. The core curriculum was divided in the standards into educational areas and subsequently into educational fields that replaced traditional subjects. Based on the standards, educational programmes<sup>89</sup> were created, from which schools had to choose. The programmes differed in focus, concept and means to achieve the objectives.

With the advent of the standards and educational programmes, schools gained some autonomy in the choice of curriculum. For the level of elementary schools, the *Standard of Basic Education* was approved.<sup>90</sup> In connection with this

<sup>85</sup> Walterová, E. o. c., 41.

<sup>86</sup> Zákon ze dne 22. června 1995, kterým se mění a doplňuje zákon č. 29/1984 Sb.... (1995). In *Sbirka zákonů České a Slovenské federativní republiky*, částka 37, 1995, 1899–1906. Retrieved from <http://www.psp.cz/sqw/sbirka.sqw?cz=138&r=1995>.

<sup>87</sup> Pokyn ministra školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy ČR k zařazování vyšších odborných škol do sítě škol, předškolních zařízení a školských zařízení. (1995). *Věstník MŠMT* 51/12, 5.

<sup>88</sup> Tupý, J.: o. c.

<sup>89</sup> Pokyn ministra školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy, kterým se stanovují rámcová pravidla a postup při schvalování vzdělávacích programů základní školy. (1996). *Věstník MŠMT* 52/6, 8–9.

<sup>90</sup> Standard základního vzdělávání. (1995). *Věstník MŠMT* 51/9, 2–49.

document, educational programmes – *General and Civic School*<sup>91</sup>, *Elementary School*<sup>92</sup> and *National School*<sup>93</sup> – were approved in 1996–1997. Although there was a significant shift in the understanding of educational objectives, despite the proclamations, the definition of the curriculum remained in the form of detailed lists; “*the hopes that were placed in the Standard of Basic Education mainly by teachers striving for reforms were not fulfilled*”.<sup>94</sup>

### The emergence of a new curricular policy

Following a series of discussions on the form of Czech education, the *National Programme for the Development of Education* (the *White Paper*) was published in 2001.<sup>95</sup> It outlined the main principles of education: Respect for differences and needs of pupils, development of thinking, competences, attitudes, values and personal qualities of pupils, preparation for life in a changing world, the need for pupils not to be divided into selective schools, etc.<sup>96</sup> The document called for the introduction of two levels of curricular documents – state and school. In 2004, a new Education Act was adopted.<sup>97</sup> The main features of the school system remained unchanged.

A fundamental novelty codified by the Education Act is the introduction of two levels of documents. At the national level, they are constituted by Framework Educational Programs (FEPs) for individual stages of education (they define binding frameworks and specify requirements for these stages). The FEPs do not place emphasis on curriculum, but on learning outcomes – universal development of children is to be achieved not only in a cognitive area, but also in the sphere of competencies, attitudes and values. Educational content in the FEPs is divided into the so-called educational areas and subsequently into the educational fields, on the basis of which individual schools divide educational content into teaching subjects. In the FEPs, the curriculum is further structured into individual thematic

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<sup>91</sup> *Vzdělávací program Obecná škola. Pojetí obecné školy. Učební osnovy obecné školy.* (1996). Praha: Portál.

<sup>92</sup> *Vzdělávací program Základní škola včetně osnov Ekologického přírodopisu, Osnov volitelných předmětů, Úprav a doplňků, Učebních plánů s rozšířeným vyučováním.* (1998). Praha: Nakladatelství fortuna.

<sup>93</sup> *Vzdělávací program Národní škola. Vzdělávací program pro 1.–9. ročník základního vzdělávání.* (1997). Praha: SPN.

<sup>94</sup> Spilková, V.: et al., o. c., 18.

<sup>95</sup> *Národní program rozvoje vzdělávání v České republice: bílá kniha.* (2001). Praha: Tauris.

<sup>96</sup> Walterová, E. o. c., 45.

<sup>97</sup> Zákon o předškolním, základním, středním, vyšším odborném a jiném vzdělávání (školský zákon). (2004). In *Sbírka zákonů České republiky*, 190, 2004, 10 262–10 324. Retrieved from <http://aplikace.msmt.cz/Predpisy1/sb190-04.pdf>.

areas and is understood as a means of achieving the so-called expected outputs. These represent the required learning outcomes and are binding; at the FEP level, the curriculum is set as recommended (it becomes obligatory only at the choice of the school). Time allocations are also only outlined in the Framework Educational Program. A *Framework Educational Program for Primary Education* was created for elementary schools.<sup>98</sup>

At the school level, the new system of documents is represented by the so-called School Educational Programmes (SEPs), which individual schools had to create on the basis of the respective FEPs, taking into account the conditions and needs of specific schools. The Education Act thus enshrined a multi-level creation of basic curricular documents. The new system of documents replaced the traditional curricula (or educational programs). This resulted in the increase of school autonomy, but also of its responsibility for the quality of education. Elementary schools started gradually to teach according to their respective SEPs from the school year 2007/08.

FEPs are continually supplemented and updated; if changes are made, schools must bring their SEPs into line with the amended FEPs. The elementary education FEPs were gradually supplemented by the so-called *Standards of Basic Education*.<sup>99</sup> The Standards specify the content and intensity of binding expected outputs – they set the minimum level of knowledge and skills the pupils should achieve at the end of the first and second level of primary education (i.e. in grade 5 and grade 9). They should help teachers to fulfil their educational goals and provide support for pupil assessment. The Standards also constitute the basis to learn educational outcomes across all the schools. As of 1<sup>st</sup> September 2017, another novelty in the Czech education system occurred: the last year of pre-school education became compulsory in the Czech education system.

### In conclusion

Just as the political situation and the life of the people of the Czech Lands was changing – sometimes slowly and sometimes dramatically – from 1918 until the present, the school system and legislation also changed. For almost half of that time, it was influenced by the ruling totalitarian regime (whether Nazi or Communist). I have described a number of changes that were made in the education system of the Czech Lands after the regime changes; I have also captured efforts for conceptual changes. It is obvious that it was the process of trying to find how the school system and relevant laws should look like. The question is whether the ideal state can be achieved. After all, even the current form

<sup>98</sup> *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání*. (2005). Stařeč: Infra.

<sup>99</sup> Standarty RVP ZV. Retrieved from <http://www.nuv.cz/t/zarazeni-standardu-do-rvp-zv>

of our education is widely criticized. Last year, we commemorated the thirty years since the so-called Velvet Revolution when the Communist regime was overthrown. The Czech Republic is experiencing a unique situation in the form of a stable democratic society (already now lasting more than a decade longer than the entire existence of the First Republic). So, we have a unique opportunity to continue our quest for the ideal form of our education system. It is quite obvious that it will be a path with many intersections and obstacles.

# Inclusion of Talented Children (Pupils) In the Current Czech Education System<sup>1</sup>

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*When searching for an educational space allowing a deeper insight into the issue of inclusion in the Czech Republic, we chose a gifted pupil during his compulsory school education among the inclusion users. We are primarily interested in pupils with extraordinary intellectual abilities. In many aspects, the status of these pupils is comparable to the situation of other groups of pupils with special educational needs (SEN), as confirmed by relevant findings of both our and foreign researchers. Our focus is primarily on the broader, rather than just cognitive, issue of inclusive education. Using the example of the risks associated with the unequal social development of the gifted child, we attempt to point out the complexity and interconnectivity of the social and cognitive dimension of the child's development. We assume that the goal of inclusion is a healthy and developed personal social competence, allowing the individual to overcome the obstacles resulting from his/her diversity and enabling him/her to develop his/her educational potential, to participate fully in society and to have access to all its resources.*

*Key words: intellectual giftedness; social competence; inclusive education; school; school actors; risk factors; institutional support; research findings; partial research results*

## Background

The subject of social pedagogy is the issue of education examined in relation to the influence of the social environment (family, school, formal and informal peer groups, local and regional environment, media, civic associations and organizations).<sup>2</sup> Naturally, social pedagogy also studies the issues of inclusive

<sup>1</sup> This article has been created within the GACR project Roads towards 21<sup>st</sup> Century Inclusive School: An Ethnographic Approach GA19-13038S, 1/2019–12/2021.

<sup>2</sup> Gulová, L., Střelec, S. (2017). Social Education and Social Work as an Inspirational Resource of Teacher Training. *Czech-polish historical and pedagogical journal*. Brno: Masaryk University, Faculty of Education, 2017, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 21–30.

education and training, interpreting them as a social process that promotes equal educational opportunities for children, enabling all children to attend compulsory education in a heterogeneous pupil group, where an individual approach is also applied as a key educational principle. Other principles of inclusive education consist of an emphasis on cooperation, trust in the natural desire of each child to learn, openness to otherness, tolerance, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Each child has unique characteristics, interests, abilities and educational needs. Inclusion is founded on the forms of school education, teaching and organization that meet the developmental and learning needs of all pupils. The pedagogical concept of inclusion is characterized by self-responsibility, recognition of individuality and heterogeneity, cooperation and solidarity, which are currently considered to be characteristics of a high-quality modern school.<sup>4</sup>

The current education system should provide conditions suitable for the entire spectrum of pupils; develop the gifted children without neglecting the less gifted ones; support the weakest pupils; and create the appropriate conditions for the education of the SEN pupils. The School Act characterizes these pupils as disadvantaged pupils needing supporting measures to fulfil their educational needs. It is the school's responsibility to ensure that each pupil develops satisfactorily in a desirable way through education tailored to their individual educational abilities. The friendly and welcoming atmosphere should encourage pupils to study, work and develop desirable interpersonal relationships, and provide them with the space, motivation and other conditions for both active learning and activities that help to fully develop their personalities.<sup>5</sup>

To meet these goals, a social health of the individual is necessary, as well as a healthy human community respecting the declared values and supporting the measures aimed at fulfilment of these goals.<sup>6</sup> The term "relationship" is a universal sign and determinant of social health. Here we distinguish three levels (dimensions) of social health – intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social level.<sup>7</sup> On the intrapersonal level, social health is perceived as an internal transformation of personality expressing the person's relationship to oneself, and includes self-acceptance, self-control, autonomous acceptance of social roles, needs, values and

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<sup>3</sup> Gulová, L. – Kurovski, M. – Šíp, R. – Denglerová, D. – Sedláková, M. – Trapl, F. (2018). *Inklyuziya – vikliki ta perspektivi. Nethneniya z Chehii*. 1. vyd. Praha: KUFŘ.

<sup>4</sup> Tannebergerová, M. (2016). *Průvodce školní inkluzí*. Praha: Wolters Kluwer ČR.

<sup>5</sup> *Act No. 561/2004 Coll. On Pre-school, Basic, Secondary, Tertiary Professional and Other Education (The Education Act)* as amended.

<sup>6</sup> See for example *Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child* and following legislative and school documents.

<sup>7</sup> Štřelec, S. (2015). K podpoře zdravého sociálního vývoje nadaných žáků. In *Škola a zdraví v 21.století: sborník za roky 2014 a 2015*. Brno: MU, pp. 456–467.

the like. On the interpersonal level, social health is understood as an expression of a certain level of relation to other people. As far as it concerns a pupil, this term includes, for example, the ability to cooperate with classmates, to respect the opinions of others, to cooperate in solving common tasks, the skills to communicate with comprehension, the disposition to friendship and partnership. The third level of relationships is the social level, in a broader (civic) sense, including, for example, reflecting the consequences of the person's behaviour and acts on the life of social groups and the society as a whole. Social cohesion is one of the key conditions of quality of life. In the school and social environment, respectively, social health is associated with the concept of social competence of a person. In relation to the school environment, the pupil's social health is reflected in the Framework Educational Programs through the pupil's key competences, namely social, personal and civic competences.<sup>8</sup>

As mentioned above, when searching for an educational space allowing a deeper insight into the issue of inclusion, we chose a gifted pupil among the inclusion users. In this case too we had to narrow the study subject. We are primarily interested in pupils with extraordinary intellectual abilities. Under school legislation, children diagnosed as intellectually gifted are among the group of pupils with specific educational needs. While the educational needs of, for example, children with physical disabilities are now clearly defined (barrier-free access, compensatory aids, teaching assistant, etc.), the needs of gifted children are not always satisfactorily met. They are often not given enough attention. Their school results are often mistaken for not needing any extra or special care. This approach can easily dim the emerging extraordinary intellectual potential. Children (pupils) with extraordinary intellectual talent have a very difficult position in the school and family environment. Their extraordinary talent is often also accompanied by some of the other developmental disorders. A special case in this context is represented by children with Asperger syndrome, who can also be gifted pupils.

A pupil is considered extraordinarily intellectually gifted if he/she has a high level of one or more intellectual abilities compared to their peers. The pupil's extraordinary talents, including his/her educational needs, are detected by a school counselling facility in cooperation with the school that educates the pupil. A sensitive approach of both parents and teachers is necessary for a healthy and successful development of the child's talents. The potential of giftedness itself is in practice insignificant if the gifted child is not sufficiently motivated to develop it. Talented children are naturally interested in studies and new findings. This learning motivation can be reinforced or attenuated by external factors, including

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<sup>8</sup> For example *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání*. Praha: Výzkumný ústav pedagogický, 2005 and other modifications of this document.



the positive or negative effects of school and parents. Children, who understand new things faster than others and are able for example to effectively use the knowledge, seek relationships and apply them to solve other problems, may not find the usual teaching methods and procedures useful. It is therefore necessary to look for new ways when trying to ensure that the gifted child has sufficient educational incentives that helps to develop his/her potential.

### **Common reasons for difficult socializations of gifted children**

Professional literature dedicated to the education of gifted children provides considerable knowledge of the problem framework accompanying the education of gifted children in pre-school period and then at the first and second level of school education. As mentioned above, the problems concern three areas: self-perception, perception of others and perception of external factors influencing the formation of personality traits. As for the perception of others, gifted children hear and have to contend with two types of reactions from their surroundings and the social environment. On the one hand, they receive praise and rewards, on the other hand a reaction full of jealousy, envy, resentment and misunderstanding. Gifted children may begin to feel guilty about their talent. This feeling can be manifested either by being self-contained or by rude and negative or aggressive behaviour. The children notice the differences between themselves and other peers, and they may tend to separate themselves from the group, distancing themselves psychologically and emotionally. It is therefore important that such an insecure child finds assurance and support in their immediate environment. If a gifted child does not meet the high expectations of others and feels that he/she is not performing optimally and acceptably in all areas, he/she can easily slip into doubt and feeling of inferiority. This is called gifted child depression.<sup>9</sup>

A summary of the strengths and weaknesses in the development of gifted children is presented by J. T. Webb (1993). The author approaches the identification of the gifted children's problems from two points of view. He sees their origin both in the child's personality, and their interaction with the external world. He identifies the first group of these problems as endogenous, i.e. causes are based on the child's personality. These include:

- Uneven development of individual psychic functions. Uneven development may not only concern the conflict between intelligence and emotion, but may include, for example, asynchronous development of cognitive abilities and fine motor skills. Fine motor skills often develop later on in these children, so many

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<sup>9</sup> Mcmann, N., R. – Oliver, R. (1988). Problems in Families with Gifted Children: Implications for Counselors. *Journal of Counseling & Development*. Vol. 66, No. 6, pp. 275–278.

of them have difficulties writing or drawing when entering school. Immature motor skills often affect the child's skills such as self-care, etc.

- Perfectionism. The child sets high goals and wants to be perfect in everything. In this context, there is a distinction between the positive influence of perfectionism, which is related to the performance orientation of the child, who wants to continue to improve and takes occasional setbacks as a matter of course, which motivates him/her to pursue further. This kind of perfectionism is prevalent among gifted children. Perfectionism can be adversely manifested in a child as fear of possible errors, which leads to neurotic tension, lack of self-confidence and consequently low performance.
- Avoidance of risks. Increased ability to estimate potential pitfalls and risks can lead to lower performance than expected when performing various activities.
- Multipotentiality. Greater abilities in various areas can lead to indecision (anxiety) about the right choice for further study or professional direction.
- Issues with negative self-image. Lack of self-knowledge and inability to distinguish one's strengths and weaknesses is considered a possible cause. Some experts encounter this cause in gifted pupils whose high intellectual capacity is not associated with a particular interest in any area or activity. Others report that the inadequate self-image is based on feelings of difference in relation to their peers.<sup>10</sup>

Another cause of issues in gifted children is described by J. T. Webb (2002) as exogenous, i.e. causes arising from interaction of the child with his/her environment. This group often includes:

- Relationships with peers. Children with „adult“ interests and exceptional abilities find it difficult to gain friends among their peers. Gifted children therefore usually seek friends among older children, but also among average children, or they remain isolated.
- Relationships at school. The originally positive characteristics of a gifted child may develop into problematic behaviour due to an inappropriate educational approach. An interest in problem solving and intellectual activity can cause the child to reject the teacher's style of work, discuss teaching methods, and criticize classmates. The gifted child may become unpopular among teachers and classmates.
- Relationships in family. The family in which the child grows up can be a serious source of emotional problems if the parents fail to appropriately manage the gifted child, their relationship with him as well as with his siblings.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Webb, J. T. (1993). Nurturing Social – Emotional Development of Gifted Children. In *International Handbook of Research and Development of Giftedness and Talent*. Oxford: Pergamon.

<sup>11</sup> Webb, J. T. (2002). *Guiding The Gifted Child: A Practical Source for Parents and Teachers*. Scottsdale: Gifted Psychology Press. Citováno podle Hrnčárová, M. (2006). *Psychologické aspekty rodičovství rozumově nadaného dítěte*. Diploma Thesis. Brno: Masaryk University, pp. 25–32.

As far as integration of specific personality traits is concerned, other important conceptual support structures are referenced by experts. This includes typology of gifted children. M. Novotná (2012) referencing other authorities in the field<sup>12</sup> considers the following typology most common:

- Successful gifted child – a child who learns very well, the school achievement is excellent without significant difficulties, he/she is able to deal with adults, behaves well, is conformable, is able to follow instructions and adapt, sets a good example for others...
- Highly creative gifted child – a child who is constantly experimenting and trying to create and discover something new. The child finds it difficult to adapt to any rules, especially to the school system, and wants to change the rules. He/she is always correcting adults, questions them, finds it difficult to control himself/herself, causes conflicts...
- Autonomous gifted child – the child tends to be very independent and usually handles everything alone, without the help of others. He/she takes the school system of work as a necessity and tries to use it for his/her own education on his/her own terms. The child has a positive self-concept and self-esteem and can take risks...
- A gifted child disguising his/her abilities – passive, non-assertive, quiet, timid child. Doesn't want to show his/her true abilities and masks them to be accepted by classmates and surrounding people.
- Demanding gifted child – the child is very dissatisfied and bored in the standard school environment that does not suit him because it does not satisfy his/her desire for education. Tends to be stubborn and critical, expresses his/her feelings, requires constant attention of the teacher, disrupts lessons or does not participate at all.
- A „wrecked, failed“ gifted child – such a child usually protests against everyone and against everything. The child always opposes adults, parents, teachers, but also peers. He/she suffers greatly from the classical school system, showing his/her constant dissatisfaction. The child has difficulties with self-acceptance and feels that nobody understands him/her.
- A gifted child with a developmental disorder (the so-called „twice exceptional“) – most often it is a specific developmental learning disorder –

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<sup>12</sup> E.g. Betts, G. T.; Neihart, M. (1988). Profiles of Gifted and Talented. *Gifted Child Quarterly*. Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 253–284; Laznibatová, J. (2001). *Nadané dieťa – jeho vývin, vzdelávanie a podporovanie*. Bratislava: IRIS; Portešová, Š. (2007). Rozumově nadané dítě se specifickými poruchami učení ve školním kontextu – problém nebo výzva pro učitele? In *Pedagogika*, 2007, Vol. 62, No.1, pp. 47–56; Hrnčárová, M. (2006). *Psychologické aspekty rodičovství rozumově nadaného dítěte*. Diploma Thesis. Brno: Masaryk University; Hříbková, L. (2005). *Nadání a nadaní*. Praha: Charles Univeristy; and others.

such an individual may suffer of such disorder or any physical handicap or suffer of emotional disruptions while being exceptionally intellectually gifted.<sup>13</sup>

### Role of gifted child's parents

As a rule, parents are the first to identify that their child differs in some of their extraordinary abilities from other children, and thus they become discoverers of their talents. These findings are surprising for many of them, accompanied by positive expectations, confusion, and helplessness and, in some cases, problematic educational decisions.<sup>14</sup>

Kearney (2008) notes that while children from most families go through normal developmental stages, families of intellectually gifted children have very different experiences. Gifted children may experience uneven cognitive, social, emotional and physical development in their childhood. With some exaggeration it is possible to say that intelligence of an adult and the emotions of a child in a single child's body is certain to lead to some difficulties. The same author further states that such asynchronous development puts the gifted person out of normal development patterns from birth. Asynchronous development can also disrupt the entire family system and the socio-cultural environment of the surrounding environment. Parents of gifted children often find themselves in a position of a „multi-level mediators“, who not only have to monitor the asynchronous development within the child, but also act as mediators and counsellors of the child in their social circles and at school, until the child's individual pattern of development reaches cultural standards.<sup>15</sup>

The basic problem for parents of gifted children is the question of what happens to their child when two or more different developmental levels clash. Parents often witness situations where their child's advanced intellectual and linguistic development encounters, for example, inadequate levels of social behaviour. First, they have to recognize and accept the actual child's developmental pattern, while unusual, is natural for their child. They must address and respond to all development components at once. The family needs to be

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<sup>13</sup> Novotná, M. (2012). Identifikace nadaných. In Štáva, J. – Novotná, M. – Janda, M. – Věchtová, G. – Dan, J. – Škrabánková, J. *Příručka pro práci s nadanými žáky*. Ostrava: VŠB – Technická univerzita Ostrava, pp. 17–18.

<sup>14</sup> Štřelec, S. – Frimlová, L. (2016). Rodiče nadaných dětí v situacích pedagogického rozhodování. In Malach, J. – Matysková, K.. *Sborník příspěvků XII. ročníku mezinárodní konference Pedagogická diagnostika a evaluace 2016*. Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, Pedagogická fakulta, pp. 73–83.

<sup>15</sup> Kearney, K. (2008). Life in The Asynchronous Family. In *Hong Kong Academy for Gifted Education*, GEN/AR/006.

constantly aware of not only the rapidly changing zone of proximal development - at the physical, emotional, social and intellectual levels, but also recognize collisions or discrepancies as they occur and address them. The asynchronous development of an intellectually gifted child can radically change the child's position in the family system, for example when a younger sibling's success surpasses that of the older one. Accelerating the school attendance of a gifted child, which is becoming increasingly popular, can also represent a potential minefield of asynchronicity in the family. Although acceleration may be the best educational option for a gifted child, the family must be very sensitive to the perspectives and views of other children.<sup>16</sup>

During the upbringing of their child, parents may encounter a period when the child loses enthusiasm, is not interested in school, and his/her internal motivation decreases. This is called by J. R. Whitmore (1980), and others after him, *underachievement*.<sup>17</sup> It is a discrepancy between the child's abilities and his/her performance. It may occur suddenly or it might be a long-term problem, and may have mild to severe symptoms. Such children with reduced performance may display many possible manifestations and characteristics. There may, for example, be a noticeable difference between oral and written expression, poor grammar skills, reduced level of effort in activities, the children often do not complete homework or school tasks. They become very self-critical and therefore do not take risks and avoid new things. At the same time, they set unrealistically high goals for themselves. They may have problems interacting with classmates and participating in group tasks. Children often hide their talents by escaping into their inner space and closing themselves, becoming dreamers, or on the contrary appearing naughty, disturbing and disobedient.<sup>18</sup>

Garn, A. C., Matthews, M. S., Jolly, J. L. (2010) assume that the development of positive forms of motivation is based on the ability of the social environment surrounding the child to support his/her basic human needs – such as desire to self-regulate one's behaviour, to develop a sense of competence and belonging to others, to understand the environment and effectively integrate within, etc. When parents and teachers are able to create such a stimulating environment, they support the child's autonomy. The importance of the child's autonomy support from parents is indisputable and opens up a lot of possibilities for the child,

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<sup>16</sup> Kearney, K. (2008). Life in The Asynchronous Family. In *Hong Kong Academy for Gifted Education*, GEN/AR/006.

<sup>17</sup> Whitmore, J. R. (1980). *Giftedness, conflict, and underachievement*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, c1980, xiii; Montgomery, D. (2009). *Able, Gifted and Talented Underachievers* [online]. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chichester: John Wiley.

<sup>18</sup> Montgomery, D. (2009). *Able, Gifted and Talented Underachievers* [online]. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chichester: John Wiley. [cit. 2013-04-06].

encourages problem-solving, reduces disproportionate pressure and offers new perspectives.<sup>19</sup>

In summary, factors affecting the development of underachievement are often defined as internal and external. The internal causes are based on the child's personality: motivation, personal characteristics and specific learning disabilities (most often dyslexia and ADHD). External influences are associated with the effect of the social groups that the child encounters, with the assessment from others, interest of the environment, and the challenges imposed on the child from the surrounding environment.

### **Educational strategies for gifted pupils**

It is not possible to compile an exhaustive set of universal recommendations for the education of gifted children (pupils). Every child is unique and educators need extensive awareness of the child's differences, knowledge of the relevant findings of special pedagogy, tolerance, passion, creativity and willingness to seek and apply unconventional practices in the educational activities of teachers, parents, grandparents, extracurricular tutors etc. Without any doubt, working with gifted children (pupils) is particularly demanding for all involved. It may be made more effective by:

- Positive and supportive relationship between child, parent and teacher – providing a framework for the safe development of the child.
- Meaningful stimulation, providing opportunities to learn and support the child's specific interests, including those requiring special conditions, resources and aids.
- The amount of experience and practice that a child has the opportunity to gain if he/she wants.
- Providing material and appropriate study environment to achieve high study motivation and creative expression of an individual. For all this, good relationships between school and the family of the pupil must be maintained.
- Providing materials and environment for the child to use and experiment with.
- Identifying potential more general and specific areas where talent could be manifested.
- Parents' and teachers' sensitivity to the needs of the child; they should know when to intervene and when rather not.
- Avoiding labelling and categorizing the child.

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<sup>19</sup> Garn, A. C. – Matthews, M. S. – Jolly, J. L. (2010). Parental Influences on the Academic Motivation of Gifted Students: A Self-Determination Theory Perspective. *Gifted Child Quarterly* [online]. Vol. 54, No. 4, pp. 263–272.

- Providing real emotional support. Real emotional support and love are not terms with the same meaning. Parents may cause lot of damage in the name of love – for example being uncritical about the child, raising the child in an authoritative way, suppressing the child's interests etc. Therefore it is right to provide the gifted child with an appropriate level of recognition and praise if he/she achieves success or makes the desired effort. It is also important to provide feedback to help the child to both improve and adequately correct his/her attitude towards others.
- Just like ordinary children, gifted children with emotional problems generally perform below their actual abilities. Therefore, it is always necessary to treat the child with respect, leaving the child with the opportunity to make his/her own decisions, thus helping him/her to build responsibility for his/her own decisions, as such an approach is a prerequisite for fulfilling the child's potential abilities.<sup>20</sup>

Since 2004, the Czech Ministry of Education has been supporting the implementation of the “Concept of Care for Exceptionally Gifted Pupils in School Counselling Facilities” from the state budget. There is a working group of psychologists and special educators from counselling centres working within the project with adequate representation of all regions of the Czech Republic. Each region has its own coordinators. Since then, there has been an increase in the number of professionals in the Czech Republic who seek information to help them identify gifted children and try to create appropriate conditions for them by working with schools that are more specialized in the care of gifted children. Other measures supporting gifted children have also been implemented. The Education Act, as amended, for example allows headmasters to create groups for gifted pupils where pupils of the same or different school years are educated in certain subjects. In accordance with the development of their school knowledge, the education of gifted pupils can be extended beyond the limits set by the relevant curriculum, or they can participate in the higher school year's lessons. With the agreement of the headmasters of the respective schools, gifted pupils can at the same time have fellowship in another school of the same or a different kind. The education of an extraordinarily gifted pupil may take place according to an individual educational plan, etc.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Střelec, S. – Frimlová, L. (2013). K systemizaci problémů provázejících výchovu nadaných dětí (žáků). In Bartoňová, M. – Vítková, M. et al. *Vzdělávání žáků se speciálními vzdělávacími potřebami VII. (Education of Pupils with Special Educational Needs) VII.* Brno: Paido, pp. 91–102.

<sup>21</sup> Act No. 561/2004 Coll. of 24 September 2004 on Pre-school, Basic, Secondary, Tertiary Professional and Other Education (Education Act), as amended. *Directive No. 27/2016 Coll. Directive on Education of Pupils with Special Educational Needs and Gifted Pupils.*

Another way of providing such support is the MEYS subsidy program for 2014–2020 to strengthen the interest and motivation of gifted pupils by linking school and extracurricular activities such as summer schools, camps, research activities with participation in adequate scientific projects; and linking the offer of activities for gifted pupils also through the activities of regional networks for gifted children.<sup>22</sup>

## Conclusion

From the MEYS point of view, the support provided to gifted pupils appears to be clear and sufficient. In educational practice, the situation is far from clear, especially when inclusion is concerned. Several examples show the institutional cohesion of the Czech education system and its weak (vulnerable) points. We rely mainly on research findings of several Czech research teams: Straková, J., Simonová, J., Friedlaenderová, H. (2019); Gregor, D., Martinková, P., Drabinová, A., Chvál, M., Straková, J. (2017) and others.

The first and one of the main problems interfering with inclusion is differentiation in the primary education system.<sup>23</sup> Taking into account, for example, the fact that some gifted pupils leave mainstream elementary schools for multi-year grammar schools, this trend also has negative inclusive consequences. Research findings state: "...differentiated system does not lead to overall more effective education: the average results in the differentiated and undifferentiated system are the same, but pupils in the selective classes perform better and pupils in non-selective classes perform worse than in the joint education. This is, among other things, due to the different educational experiences of pupils in selective and non-selective classes. While the separation is disadvantageous for pupils in non-selective classes, pupils in the selective classes find it beneficial. They have more academic subjects, more enthusiastic and knowledgeable teachers, better learning climate..."<sup>24</sup>

Between 2012–2016, educational development of representatively selected pupils from higher grades of elementary schools and lower grades of grammar school were compared. The research confirmed better results and socio-economic status of pupils at grammar schools, but the increase in knowledge in basic

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<sup>22</sup> See <http://talentovani.cz/system-podpory-nadani/krajske-site>.

<sup>23</sup> Pupils in the Czech Republic can complete their compulsory education at regular elementary schools, at elementary schools with extended teaching of some subjects, at six or eight-year grammar schools or at special schools (for pupils with specific disabilities).

<sup>24</sup> Straková, J. – Simonová, J. – Friedlaenderová, H. (2019). Postoje odborné a laické veřejnosti k inkluzivnímu vzdělávání v kontextu obecných postojů k vnější diferenciaci. *Studia paedagogica*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 85.



subjects (mathematics, Czech language) was comparable in both educational programs.<sup>25</sup>

Both our and foreign researches<sup>26</sup> confirm that this differentiation increases, most of all, inequalities that exist among pupils from different socio-economic status (parents education, social status of the family, ethnic aspects, material and other circumstances). In this context, the fact that the family environment has a fundamental impact on the pupil's educational career, from entering compulsory education to university education, appears as unquestionable. A significant number of parents make extraordinary efforts to ensure that their child escapes from the "trap" of inclusion to a selective school during compulsory education. Here dwells one of the confrontational surfaces related to the broader concept of inclusion: „If society accepts inclusion of pupils with disabilities or social disadvantages, but at the same time allows pupils with better cognitive abilities or better family backgrounds to go to selective classes, the system will continue to be unfair and the situation will not significantly improve for disadvantaged pupils.”<sup>27</sup> Premature differentiation, described as differentiation taking place before the 15 years of age, is not favourable not only for the mentioned cognitive reasons, but also because of the important aspect of the formation of social relationships between the pupils in terms of intrapersonal, interpersonal and social cohesion.

The topic of inclusion in the Czech Republic has escaped beyond school and has become a subject of public interest. Events of the school year 2016/2017 contributed to this in their own way. In this year, the system of support for pupils with special educational needs was significantly modified. The MEYS document on joint education called Basic Information on Joint Education declares “joint education of all pupils in mainstream education wherever it is in their interest, and support of every pupil in need, including entitlement to full payment of support measures thus granted.”<sup>28</sup>

The regulation met with great resistance from both the professional and lay public. For example, critics questioned the usefulness of educating pupils with disabilities with healthy pupils in mainstream schools and argued that these pupils

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<sup>25</sup> Gregor, D. – Martinková, P. – Drabinová, A. – Chvál, M. – Straková, J. (2017). Tisková zpráva o přidání hodnotě výčetných gymnázií na základě zjištění longitudinálního výzkumu CLOSE.

<sup>26</sup> For example Clark, C. – Dyson, A. – Millward, A. – Robson, S. (1999). Theories of inclusion, theories of schools: Deconstructing the „inclusive school“. *British Educational Research Journal*, 25(2), pp. 157–177; Straková, J. – Simonová, J. (2015). Výběr základní školy v ČR a faktory, které jej ovlivňují. *Sociologický časopis / Czech Sociological Review*, 51(4), pp. 587–606.

<sup>27</sup> Straková, J. – Simonová, J. – Friedlaenderová, H. (2019). Postoje odborné a laické veřejnosti k inkluzivnímu vzdělávání v kontextu obecných postojů k vnější diferenciaci. *Studia paedagogica*, Vol. 24, No.1, p. 84.

<sup>28</sup> MEYS. (2018). Základní informace ke společnému vzdělávání. Available at [www.msmt.cz](http://www.msmt.cz), page 1.

would have better conditions for education in special schools and that their inclusion in mainstream schools would have detrimental consequences for them and their classmates. Some teacher organizations, the media<sup>29</sup> and a number of politicians led by the President of the Republic joined the protest against joint learning. The Ministry of Education responded to the resistance by trying to explain its intention and expected impacts thereof. Thus, the idea of inclusive education is not only confronted with the long tradition of special education and traditional teaching organization, but also with the differentiation of the education system, which has an impact on educational inequalities. Note that world has been focused on inclusive education and wider public has been aware of the issue since 1990s, especially after the UNESCO conference in Salamanca.<sup>30</sup> On this occasion, nearly a hundred countries declared the right of the SEN pupils to be educated in mainstream schools, which are expected to adapt their environment and approaches to the needs of these pupils. In this context, experts noted that the practical consequences of inclusion should not only be the changes in traditional forms of special education aimed solely at pupils with certain types of disabilities, but most of all the inclusion should lead to shaping and developing new structures and methods in mainstream schools. The fundamental argument is respecting the fact that pupils' learning difficulties arise not primarily from the pupil's deficit, but from the inappropriate response of the school, caused by the organizational characteristics of the mainstream education, where teachers work mainly routinely, applying strategies that are suitable for most pupils, which limit the possibility of a response from diverse pupils. The shift towards inclusive education therefore requires the organization of school education in a way that allows it to adapt to the full spectrum of pupils. It assumes that schools will allow teachers to work in teams to jointly solve problems that arise from the diversity of pupils in the classroom.<sup>31</sup> Inclusive schools differ from non-inclusive schools not only in the attitudes of teachers, but also in their structure and methods.

Both Czech and foreign researchers agree that the practical consequence of inclusion should be to restructure the entire education system to strengthen mainstream education in favour of joint learning and reducing inequalities between all pupils.

We conclude our study with a brief presentation of one of the positive examples of inclusive practice: *Researchers from the Department of Social Education who are*

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. Klapka, D. (2016). Prolínání mocenských diskursů v týdeníku Učitelské noviny: Sociální inkluze romských žáků v českém školství. *Pedagogická orientace*, 26(2), 203–227.

<sup>30</sup> UNESCO (1994). The Salamanca statement and framework for action on special needs education. Paris.

<sup>31</sup> Clark, C. – Dyson, A. – Millward, A. – Robson, S. (1999). Theories of inclusion, theories of schools: Deconstructing the „inclusive school“. *British Educational Research Journal*, 25(2), pp. 157–177.

currently working on the Czech Science Foundation research project, within which this text has been composed, have completed the first phase of data collection, which ran from January to June 2019. We have the first results from observations in schools and partial analyses from interviews with school actors. One of the selected schools, a small rural school, has set a great example of working with SEN pupils, in this case, gifted pupils. In the last few years, there were a total of five talented boys, whose talent the school not only diagnosed, but also created an environment where the pupils could develop without any barriers, as evidenced by their further study career. The school approached these pupils individually, addressed their specific needs, communicated and cooperated with parents and other professionals in great details. The situation of each child was discussed by a team of educators and also with the whole class and school team. The teachers did not hesitate to undergo various trainings and receive further education and were strongly motivated by the school management to work with the SEN children. The school also sought the Fair School certificate, which it successfully defended several times.

This was in great deal achieved thanks to the former headmistress of this school, whose openness to otherness and sensitivity to pupils' needs was highly inspiring. Several examples of this school's practice are described below: After a few days in the first grade, one of the pupils (who had been diagnosed with Asperger's syndrome) progressed to the upper grade and is currently studying at the Bishop Grammar School, where was described as an outstanding pupil last year. The management of the rural school together with the teachers showed a high level of sensitivity to the child's talent, which is rather rare in our environment. The research shows the example of another boy who transferred to a higher grade of the rural school from a Brno school, where he had a number of absences, conflicts with teachers and overall poor position. The management of the rural school was able to discover very soon the potential of the child who, despite his talent for mathematics and physics, had never participated in an elementary school's competition for talented children ('Olympiáda') and was regarded a rather problematic child at his original school. Because of his really extraordinary talent, the pupil currently studies simultaneously a high school and a university, and is preparing to study abroad.

The headmaster has accumulated a lot of experience in supporting talented children in the school environment in a completely inclusive spirit. Besides gifted children, the classrooms also incorporate children with mental handicap. The situation is certainly not easy and, as partial research results show, not all teachers fully identify with inclusive processes at school. Despite these facts, the school managed to embark on the path of inclusion, among other things by working with

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<sup>32</sup> Štech, S. (2018). Inkluzivní vzdělávání – obtížné zvládnání „rozmanitosti“ v praxi. *Pedagogická orientace*. 2018, Vol. 28, No. 2, p. 396.

*talented children and including them in the school environment. The research also points out the important role of school management in these situations.*

How to conclude? Consider the situation of parents whose children need specific approach and support from school, teachers and society during compulsory education. In their child's case, this support was found by professional diagnostics to be necessary and feasible at an accessible elementary school. Based on this, parents hope for the positive educational outcomes of their child. All pupils are entitled to quality foundations of their further education, career and life. A modern state with a democratic, solidarity (selfless) society should be able to meet these natural and legislative requirements. The responsibility lies not only with parents and schools, but also with the political willingness and, consequently, with the conditions that enable these goals to be put into practice. Above we have mentioned some of the systemic and procedural barriers, but it is often forgotten what demands are placed on teachers, their professional background, specific methodological training, increased demands on their lessons preparations, collaboration with parents, teacher assistants, school management, participating teachers, etc. Teachers also need adequate support to successfully meet these above-standard requirements.

We therefore fully agree with the views and concerns of the Minister of Education S. Štech (2018), corresponding with our previous data: „ ... joint education, as it has been launched, does not generally meet with unambiguous resistance. Nevertheless, it is evident that the debate on inclusion is for some time going to be quite controversial; even the existing support for joint education can drastically fall unless administration is simplified, lower number of pupils in a class is ensured, and high quality, clear information and most of all, training in teaching heterogeneous classes, is provided. What now represents an anchor can quickly turn into a reason for strong rejection (because of reduced funding, weakened support measures, etc.). Statistics for the last ten years show that joint education of SEN children with other pupils can not be cancelled or stopped. Now it's a matter of getting closer to real inclusion. Such complex change can never be 'ready-made'. Crucial, therefore, will be our flexible response to non-functional elements and ensuring adequate conditions and real participation of pupils with SEN included in mainstream schools. Only then can the idea of inclusive education be accepted.<sup>32</sup>

## Czech Medieval Codifications: The Code of Vladislav (1500)

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Krafl P. (2020). Czech Medieval Codifications: The Code of Vladislav (1500). *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 12/1, 69–73.  
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*Legal culture in the Czech lands was based on customary law. The nobility did not trust codification efforts of the Bohemian kings Přemysl Ottokar II and Wenceslaus II. Wenceslaus' codification efforts were finally executed only in the sphere of special laws. Charles IV, King of Bohemia and Roman Emperor, tried to publish the Maiestas Carolina code in 1355. The last law code was written under King Vladislav II Jagiellon in 1500 ("Vladislavské zřízení zemské" / "The Code of Vladislav"). The essay follows the article "Czech Codifications in the High Middle Ages" published in 2014 and closely introduces the Vladislav Code.*

Key words: Czech medieval law; Bohemia; codification; the Code of Vladislav

### I. Introduction

For centuries, legal culture in the Czech lands was based on customary law, appended with the rulers' law-making acts. The nobility did not trust the rulers' codification efforts that emerged in the last third of the thirteenth century (the kings of Bohemia Přemysl Ottokar II and Wenceslaus II). Another attempt to codify Bohemian land law came in the mid-fourteenth century: Charles IV, King of Bohemia and Roman Emperor (1346–1378), tried unsuccessfully to promulgate a code written in Latin (Maiestas Carolina, 1355). Just like Wenceslaus II, he met with resistance from the nobles and the bill failed to become a valid legal code.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Krafl, P. (2014). Czech Codifications in the High Middle Ages. In Maffei, P. – Varanini, G. M. (eds.). *Honos alit artes. Studi per il settantesimo compleanno di Mario Asheri. Il cammino delle idee dal medioevo all'antico regime. Dirrito e cultura nell'esperienza europea*. Reti Medievali E-Book 19/III. Firenze, pp. 237–244; Bláhová, M. (2006). Počátky kodifikace zemského práva v Čechách [Origins of codification of the land law in Bohemia]. In Barciak A. (ed.). *Kultura prawna w Europie Środkowej*. Katowice, pp. 80–81; Malý, K. V. (ed.) (1994). Kodifikace – mezníky právních dějin [Codifications – breaking points in the history of law]. *Prameny a nové proudy právní vědy*, nr 14. Praha, pp. 44–46.

The negative attitude of the Czech aristocracy to writing an official land law changed under the rule of Vladislav II Jagiellon (1471–1526) in the 1480s. The higher aristocracy – the nobility – sought restoration of their positions in the state diminished by the Hussite revolution. The revolutionary accomplishment of the Hussite movement was the establishment of the active participation of royal towns in the Bohemian land assembly. This newly-gained status of towns became a target of attack by the nobility; codification of the land law was to be used as a tool. The Code of Vladislav was established in 1500.<sup>2</sup>

## II.

The Code of Vladislav is the last code of the Bohemian medieval period (hereinafter referred to as VC).<sup>3</sup> The connection of codification with the nobles' efforts to eliminate the political role of royal towns has already been mentioned. The idea to restrict the rights of royal towns reappeared in 1484, when the towns' complaint about the denial of the third vote in the land assembly resulted in the king and his council's appeal to submit the privileges which confirmed the third vote. The towns, however, found no convincing argument to support their case and no privileges were conferred. The noblemen realized that by accentuating the purely legal aspect of the conflict, they could easily deny towns the third vote. An official collection of the land law, which would evidently specify nothing about the towns' political rights, would constitute a concerted attack from juristic positions. Moreover, as the nobility frequently pushed even royal power into the background in the fifteenth century, this initiative would strengthen its position against the king. The political benefits of the code were so great that they overshadowed the nobility's traditional distrust of codification and the fear of the restriction of their right to freely make the law. Moreover, in a situation in which the municipal court

<sup>2</sup> Malý, K. V. (ed.) (1994). *Kodifikace – mezníky právních dějin*, pp. 47–48; Janišová, J. – Janiš, D. (2016). *Moravská zemská zřízení a kodifikace zemského práva ve střední Evropě v 16. a na začátku 17. století* [Moravian law codes and the codification of provincial law in Central Europe in 16th and at beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century]. Praha, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Editions: Palacký F. (ed.) (1862). *Zřízení zemské království českého* [Law code of the Kingdom of Bohemia]. Archiv český, Vol. 5. Praha, pp. 5–266; Kreuz, P. – Martinovský, I. (edd.) (2007). *Vladislavské zřízení zemské a navazující prameny (Svatováclavská smlouva a Zřízení o ručnicích)*. Edice [The Code of Vladislav and related sources (St. Wenceslaus' Covenant and Constitution on Rifles). Edition]. Dolní Břežany. Kreuz, P. (2001). *Edice zemských zřízení a ústavně historických pramenů k dějinám českých zemí v raném novověku (1500–1619)* [Editions of law codes and constitutional historical sources on history of Czech Lands in Early Modern Times]. In Malý, K. – Pánek, J. (eds.). *Vladislavské zřízení zemské a počátky ústavního zřízení v českých zemích (1500–1619)*. Praha, pp. 267–269, 278–280.

as the supreme judicial forum had not worked since 1437, a demand to strengthen the legal order and stabilize the judicature became acute.<sup>4</sup>

In 1487, both of the higher estates (the higher nobility and the lower nobility) proposed an initiative to compile the findings of the land court and the privileges in a code. However, only a register of the noblemen's traditional demands towards the king and the royal towns was produced.<sup>5</sup>

The nobility revived the issue of creating a code at the May 1497 land assembly. There, among other things, a resolution to compile and print old and new findings from the land court in a single public book was adopted. The assembly approved a number of articles, from which a large proportion (about two thirds) were adopted in the VC. The towns threatened to boycott the land assemblies; the noblemen took advantage of this and started to invite the royal towns to the assemblies only when it suited them. The towns' resignation did not pay off; the creation of the law code became an exclusive and undisturbed matter for the noble and knightly estates. In 1499, Vladislav II summoned the lords and knights to Prague Castle to look at the findings of the land court and choose articles necessary for the codification. The selection was entrusted to an editorial commission of seventeen members. At an assembly held in Preßburg (in old Czech Prešpurk, today Bratislava) in the first half of November 1499, the commission members submitted several sets of older and newer findings from the land assembly and land court (the so-called *Zuostanie prešpurské*). The Code of Vladislav was finally completed in 1500. A land assembly held in March 1500 approved the completed manuscript, appended it and recommended it for printing. The main contributor to the final version of the manuscript was Albrecht Rendl of Oušava, assisted by Petr of Šternberk and Zdeněk of Šternberk.<sup>6</sup>

The final elaboration of VC proceeded without heed to the towns' opinions. The authors of the text gave the right to make decisions on issues of an all-land importance at the land assembly only to the higher and lower nobility (together with the king); in *Zouostanie prešpurské*, the right had explicitly been given to all three estates. The royal towns were to make decisions only in matters that concerned them. Representatives of the nobility did not even care about the king's

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<sup>4</sup> Martinovský, I. (2001). Vznik a počátky Vladislavského zemského zřízení [The origin and outset of Vladislav's Code]. In *Vladislavské zřízení zemské a počátky ústavního zřízení v českých zemích (1500–1619)*, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> Martinovský, I. (1979). Okolnosti vzniku Vladislavského zřízení zemského [Circumstances of the origin of Vladislav's Code]. *Ústecký sborník historický*, p. 109; Martinovský I. (2001). Vznik a počátky, p. 88; Janišová, J. – Janiš, D. (2016). *Moravská zemská zřízení*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Martinovský, I. (1979). Okolnosti vzniku, pp. 118–121; Martinovský, I. (2001). Vznik a počátky, pp. 89–90; Janišová, J. – Janiš, D. (2016). *Moravská zemská zřízení*, p. 53; Vinař, O. (1997). Albrecht Rendl z Oušavy [Albert Rendl of Oušava]. *Heraldika a genealogie*, vol. 30, nr 3–4, pp. 163–166.

approval in the final edition of the code. The king resided in Hungary; he did not come to Bohemia and the editors did not bother to submit the final proposition to him. They were sure of his approval and did not regard it necessary.<sup>7</sup>

The main content of the code is the procedure in the land court, its verdicts, the protection of the court, and the enforceability of its verdicts. There are also provisions on the lower land court, the chamber court, the court tribunal, and the burgrave court. VC pays great attention to the land officials, but is not much concerned with lower components of the administration (on a regional level). Little attention is paid to holding assembly sessions. In private matters, we find provisions regarding family law (the position of woman, widows, and orphans, and guardianship), the right of heritage (escheat, testament, fellowships, *nedil*), and obligatory law (property liability, out-of-court repossession, pledges, immovable collaterals). The criminal law specifies punishments for criminals and the competence of the nobility and royal towns. The clergy was subject to various restrictions in procedural law and property law. Many articles in VC deal with the serfs and have, of course, a restrictive character.<sup>8</sup>

As regards the form and origin of the individual articles, the VC is a collection of court findings, parliamentary resolutions and royal recounts, mostly performed at assemblies. The formulation of the individual articles is based on the so-called general findings and special findings (the general findings had a general binding, were abstractly formulated, and involved a permanent regulation of specified legal relations; the special findings were court verdicts in particular cases). The wording of the special findings was modified and adapted to the form of general findings. Three hundred and seventy-eight findings were adopted in VC; two thirds include their time of origin. Of these findings, more than one hundred originated between 1496 and 1500, another hundred between 1485 and 1495.<sup>9</sup> The characteristic features are superficiality and a lack of system. Some of the articles appear twice, in identical or almost identical wording. Articles in the original version of VC are not

<sup>7</sup> Martinovský, I. (1979). *Okolnosti vzniku*, p. 121; Martinovský, I. (2001). *Vznik a počátky*, p. 90; Janišová, J. – Janiš, D. (2016). *Moravská zemská zřízení*, p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> Martinovský, I. (1979). *Okolnosti vzniku*, pp. 123–124; Kreuz, P. – Martinovský, I. (edd.) (2007). *Vladislavské zřízení zemské a navazující prameny*, pp. 49–50; Janiš, D. (ed.) (2005). *Práva a zřízení markrabství moravského z roku 1545 (Pokus moravských stavů o revizi zemského zřízení)*. Historický úvod a edice [The law and code of the Moravian Margraviate of 1545 (The Moravian Estates' attempt to revise the law code). Historical preface and edition]. *Prameny dějin moravských*, Vol. 9. Brno, p. 38; Malý, K. (2001). *Ochrana vlastnictví ve Vladislavském zřízení zemském* [Protection of property in the Code of Vladislav]. In Malý, K. – Pánek, J. (eds.). *Vladislavské zřízení zemské a počátky ústavního zřízení v českých zemích (1500–1619)*. Praha, pp. 207–215.

<sup>9</sup> Janiš, D. (ed.) (2005). *Práva a zřízení markrabství moravského*, p. 37; Janišová, J. – Janiš, D. (2016). *Moravská zemská zřízení*, pp. 54–55.



numbered. They were numbered in 1527 by Roderik Doubravský, who translated them from Czech into Latin for Ferdinand I., King of Bohemia.<sup>10</sup>

The entire VC was read and approved by attendees of a land assembly held in February 1502; an entry in a memorable register read that it was approved by the king, who approved of it on his own behalf and on behalf of his chamber, which also incorporated the royal towns. The towns were not invited to the assembly. The Code of Vladislav was an officially drawn-up collection of laws; it only became a code after the king's authorization and the ruling of the Bohemian land assembly in 1502.<sup>11</sup>

### III. Conclusion

Codification efforts contradicted the essence of Bohemian law, which was customary. Adoption of the king's written code would have limited the role of the nobility in forming the law and making the law at the land court. The nobles were provoked by the fact that it was to be exclusive. The initiative of Charles IV thus failed.

In the end, the actual nobility initiated establishment of the law code in the 1480s. The motives behind their initiative were purely political. The last code of the Bohemian medieval period and at the same time the first valid law code was the Code of Vladislav. This codification stood at the beginning of a new epoch in which law codes played the role of a basic source of law, unlike in the preceding centuries, when law books, private compilations of customary law, were essential. Nevertheless, the resistance of towns to the Code of Vladislav, its imperfection, and dynamic juridical development soon led to the need for its extension.

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<sup>10</sup> Kreuz, P. – Martinovský, I. (edd.) (2007). *Vladislavské zřízení zemské a navazující prameny*, p. 48; Janišová, J. – Janiš D. (2016). *Moravská zemská zřízení*, p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> Martinovský, I. (2001). *Vznik a počátky*, pp. 90–91; Kreuz, P. – Martinovský, I. (edd.) (2007). *Vladislavské zřízení zemské a navazující prameny*, pp. 51, 54.

## Polish Schooling in Ukraine at the Turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

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*Poles who have resided in the lands of the nowadays Ukraine for centuries have always made efforts to organise Polish schooling. Unfortunately, times were not always favourable to their work, and the circumstances, especially the political situation, have made the education of Polish children impossible to a significant degree. How far the hostile actions of politicians could go has been proven at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when, since the 1920s, Poles were virtually deprived of national schooling. It was only after the formation of independent Ukraine in 1991 that the Polish society could commence their efforts to organise comprehensive education in the Polish language. Attempts were made to develop education in various organisational forms and on various levels, establishing Polish-language public schools, as well as Polish-language classes, extracurricular lessons in Polish, Polish language courses, Polish language courses, e.g. organized through Catholic and Polish associations. These actions have been accompanied by numerous problems of economic, political, and legal nature, as well as the shortage of teaching staff. This paper presents the process of the reactivation of Polish schooling at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> century within the borders of the independent Ukrainian state.*

Key words: *Poles in Ukraine; Polish schooling in Ukraine; teaching Polish; reform of education; independent Ukraine*

Education in Polish in the Ukrainian lands has a long history and it is connected with Polish settlements in these lands. However, Poles did not always enjoy the opportunity to develop their schooling, in the past centuries, and including the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in which the development of Polish education encountered a number of difficulties, limitations, and prohibitions. There were 31 Polish secondary schools registered in the lands of nowadays Ukraine in 1918, which had 5536 students. There were also 9 vocational schools with 425 students, and 1247 primary schools with 73 688 students. 1800 teachers were employed with these institutions. The University College initiated its work in Kiev, and Polish landowners and intellectuals who resided and owned land in Ukraine donated

funds and buildings to the Polish schools.<sup>1</sup> However, the circumstances of Polish schooling began to change significantly since the 1920s. Throughout the 1920s and the 1930s, the communist authorities used schools for ethnic minorities as a tool for Sovietization and indoctrination in the spirit of Russian nationalism. The Polish autonomous region of Markhlevshchisna may serve as an example: schools were treated there as the most effective institution to educate society to be loyal to the Soviet government.<sup>2</sup> When the experiment was conducted Polish schools were not dissolved “because the Bolshevik regime aimed to use Polish schools to win the support of Poles.”<sup>3</sup> Political indoctrination encompassed the entire didactic and educational activity in schools as well as other educational institutions.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Polish community in Crimea also had their chance to receive education in their native tongue. In the 1920s there were two institutions teaching reading and writing to the illiterate where the training was conducted in Polish, and there were two Polish schools, in Sevastopol and Simferopol, with Polish as the language of instruction, with 70 students and 3 teachers.<sup>4</sup>

Because the attempt of soviet education in Polish schools did not produce desired results finally all the schools and Polish educational and cultural institutions were closed. Teachers and priests faced repressions, deportation, and even death, which led to the shortage of teaching staff, which can be experienced even today.

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<sup>1</sup> Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży uczącej się w szkołach z polskim językiem nauczania na Białorusi, Ukrainie i w Republice Czeskiej – studium porównawcze* [The sense of identity of Polish youth studying in Polish-language schools in Belarus, Ukraine, and Czech Republic – a comparative study]. Toruń, pp. 124–126; Sierkowa J. (2006). *Szkolnictwo polskie na Ukrainie. V Forum Oświaty Polonijnej, Oświata polonijna na początku XXI wieku – stan i perspektywy* [Polish schooling in Ukraine, The 5<sup>th</sup> Forum of Polish Immigration Education – the state and the perspectives]. Kraków, [http://www.wspolnota-polska.org.pl/index.php?id=o\\_Vfor02](http://www.wspolnota-polska.org.pl/index.php?id=o_Vfor02).

<sup>2</sup> The region of Markhlevshchizna existed in the years 1925–1935. Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży ...*, op. cit., pp. 126–127; Iwanow M. (1991). *Pierwszy naród ukarany: stalinizm wobec polskiej ludności kresowej (1921–1938)* [The first punished nation: the Stalin rules and the Polish inhabitants of the eastern borderlands of the former Republic of Poland]. Warszawa – Wrocław; Kulesza A. *Nieudany eksperyment – Polskie rejony autonomiczne w Związku Sowieckim* [A failed experiment – the Polish autonomous regions in the Soviet Union], [http://www.naszawitryna.pl/jedwabne\\_47.html](http://www.naszawitryna.pl/jedwabne_47.html).

<sup>3</sup> Osadczy W. (2003). *Polacy na Ukrainie dzisiaj. Informator* [Poles in Ukraine today. A catalog.], pt. II. Lublin – Warszawa, p. 54. At the beginning of the 1930s, there were over 400 schools in Markhlevshchizna.

<sup>4</sup> Gadomski A. (2004). *Szkolnictwo polskie na Krymie* [Polish schooling in Crimea]. In *Polacy na Krymie* [Poles in Crimea]. ed. Fr. Walewander E. Lublin: Instytut Badań nad Polonią i Duszpasterstwem Polonijnym KUL, p. 160.

The dissolution of Polish schools and the lack of the opportunity to teach in Polish, combined with the threat of persecution and deportation were the reasons why it was only possible for Polish culture to survive in the East, only there where the soviet authorities still allowed Polish schools to function, that is in Lvov, where even during the occupation there was secret schooling, where pre-war Catholic and lay female professors would teach.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout the soviet rule, the education of ethnic minorities was perceived as an obstacle in the ideological training of the soviet society, which is why all the educational institutions for Poles had not the slightest reason to exist.<sup>6</sup> After World War II only the Poles in the following three Soviet Republics could receive education in Polish: the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (the Vilnius region), the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Lvov), and, temporarily, the Belarussian Soviet Socialist Republic (1948 – Grodno, 1949 – Brest on the Bug), that is only in the lands of the former Republic of Poland. Both in the Vilnius region and Lvov there was an education in Polish available on the primary and secondary level.<sup>7</sup> Ultimately, all the Polish schools in USSR were closed, except for one primary and one secondary school in Lvov. Secondary level education in the USSR was provided by 10-grade secondary schools. Unfortunately, not all Polish-language schools had 10 grades. Formally, therefore, it was not possible to receive secondary education in Polish. The teaching staff in Polish-language schools were educated in the Pedagogical Institute in Vilnius. Because of such severely limited opportunities, the demand for education in Polish was great, however, Poles were widely dispersed among the various republics, which made it difficult to provide all the interested with access to not only Polish schools, but even classes with Polish as the language of instruction.<sup>8</sup>

It was only after the establishment of independent Ukraine in 1991 that the Polish communities could commence their attempts to organise comprehensive education in Polish. It was assumed that the education ought to be conducted in diverse organisational forms and on various levels, encompassing Polish public schools as well as classes with Polish as the language of instruction, extracurricular lessons in Polish, and language courses conducted by, e.g., Catholic communities and Polish organisations.<sup>9</sup> In order for these efforts to be implemented they

<sup>5</sup> Paluch J. M. (2013). *Wczoraj i dziś. Polacy na Kresach* [Yesterday and today. Poles in the Eastern Borderlands]. Kraków, p. 221.

<sup>6</sup> Gadomski A. (2004). *Szkolnictwo polskie...*, *op.cit.*, p. 162.

<sup>7</sup> Hut P. (2014). *Polska wobec Polaków w przestrzeni poradzieckiej. Od solidaryzmu etnicznego do obowiązku administracyjnego* [Poland and Poles in the post-soviet areas. From ethnic solidarity to administrative duty]. Warsaw, p. 239.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

needed to be supported by proper legal regulations, also at the level of the central government.

While it is true that as early as 1990 an agreement was reached between the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Poland and the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, which was intended to support the development of education for the Polish minority, no substantial actions were undertaken to organise Polish schools until Ukraine gained its independence in 1991. The functioning of schooling for the Polish minority in Ukraine was legally regulated by two acts: “The treaty between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine about good neighbourhood, amicable relations, and cooperation” of May 18, 1992, and “The agreement between the government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of Ukraine on cooperation in the realms of culture, science, and education” of May 20, 1997. The problems of teaching Polish, cooperation between schools, universities, and scientific institutions are discussed in the documents. The right to learn Polish and to study in Polish was guaranteed in the documents, as well as the right to speak Polish freely, to access information in Polish, and to establish Polish educational, cultural, and religious organisations and institutions.<sup>10</sup> In spite of the legal regulations, the establishing of Polish schools was far from easy. The efforts of the inhabitants of some of the cities and towns would take years, for example, in Horodok it took 10 years. The “Polonia” association, who would supervise this work, supported parents in proving that the number of ethnically Polish children in a particular city or town is sufficient to organise a Polish school, Polish classes in Ukrainian schools, or to construct a new school.<sup>11</sup>

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the educational activity of Poles residing in Crimea also increased, mainly thanks to the Crimean Association of Poles in Simferopol, with departments in many cities of the peninsula. A significant number of inhabitants, not only ethnically Polish, expressed their willingness to learn Polish, which was taught, among others, in Sunday schools in Sevastopol, Kerch, Eupatoria, Yalta, as well as two higher schools in Simferopol (the International Slavic University and the Vernadskiy Tauric National University). In

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<sup>10</sup> Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży...*, op.cit., p. 127; *Traktat między Rzeczypospolitą Polską a Ukrainą o dobrym sąsiedztwie, przyjaznych stosunkach i współpracy* [The treaty between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine about good neighbourhood, amicable relations, and cooperation], <http://www.msw.gov.pl/bpt/documents/8074.pdf>, *Umowa między Rządem Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej a Rządem Ukrainy o współpracy w dziedzinie kultury, nauki i oświaty* [The treaty between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine about good neighbourhood, amicable relations, and cooperation], <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/DetailsServlet?id+WDU20000030029#>.

<sup>11</sup> Koprowski M. (2011). *Kresy we krwi* [The Eastern Borderlands in blood]. Warsaw, pp. 71–72.

spite of such high interest in the Polish language, there was not a single Polish school in Crimea, and there were no Polish philological studies at the universities. During summer holidays the people learning Polish were provided the opportunity to learn the language and the culture. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, teaching in Polish started at the International Slavic Institute (20 students in a year) and at the Tauric National University, there were lectures in the basics of Polish for students of Russian and Ukrainian philology. Only the Secondary School 7 in Simferopol received the permit of the school authorities to teach Polish. Ethnically Polish students as well as representatives of other nationalities would take part in these lessons to learn the Polish language, history, and culture.<sup>12</sup>

In the end, it was possible to organise the teaching of the Polish language in Ukraine in diverse forms and on all the levels of education, from kindergartens to universities, as well as weekend schools, parish schools, and many types of courses for children, youth, and adults. Thanks to these solutions these were various forms of teaching Polish functioning within the Ukrainian education system, such as schools with Polish as the language of instruction, bilingual schools with classes in Polish, schools with lessons in Polish, with Polish introduced as the native language in the local education system (as a second or third foreign language), schools with lessons of Polish as facultative courses and interest circles.<sup>13</sup> There were not many independent Polish schools in Ukraine. The main obstacle in their creation was the low level of Polish language skills among the ethnically Polish communities, especially in the eastern and central parts of the state of Ukraine.

Since the 1990s the interest in learning Polish was visibly and gradually increasing. Attempts to meet the needs of the people willing to learn were undertaken by Catholic parishes, local schools, and Polish organisations, which established the so-called points of teaching Polish. These points were aimed to first and foremost develop the interest in Polish language and Polish literature among children and youth, to teach to use Polish in speech and writing, to familiarise the young generation of Poles residing in Ukraine with the history and geography of Poland as well as Polish traditions, customs, and folk and religious songs, and to promote active participation in Polish life in Ukraine. It was one of the most popular forms of learning, which is proven by the fact their number exceeded 230 in 2009.<sup>14</sup> One of the institutions supervising the teaching of Polish was the Union of Polish Teachers in Ukraine (Zjednoczenie Nauczycieli Polskich na Ukrainie - ZNPnU).

It ought to be noticed that learning Polish was becoming more and more popular every year. Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the number of

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<sup>12</sup> Gadomski A. (2004). *Szkolnictwo polskie...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–164.

<sup>13</sup> Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości...*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> Osadczy W. (2003). *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–130.

Ukrainian schools introducing teaching Polish as a foreign language for all students, regardless of their ethnicity, was growing systematically. Language courses were organised, as well, which were attended by children, youth, and adults, often from diverse ethnic backgrounds.

An optimistic phenomenon was the constant development of education in Polish. In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in four Ukrainian kindergartens (3 in Lvov and 1 in Horodok Podolskiy), there were 4 Polish groups.<sup>15</sup>

Even at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two schools in Lvov with Polish as the language of instruction received the status of 11-grade comprehensive education schools, and after the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century Polish students gained the opportunity to study in a primary school in Strzhelzschiska as well as comprehensive education schools Mostsiska and Horodok Podolskiy. Lessons in Polish were introduced in 13 bilingual schools in, among others, Dovbish, Khmelnytskyi, and Kamenets Podolskiy; there all the subjects were taught in Polish in grades 1–4, and in grades 6–11, when the transfer to teaching in Ukrainian was completed, the students would study at extracurricular courses of Polish language as well as history and geography of Poland. The condition of organising Polish classes was the enrolment of at least 8–10 children. The teaching would be concluded with the so-called Polish maturity exam. In 14 schools Polish was taught facultatively (as one of the foreign languages), the grade was on the school diploma and it was one of the conditions of being promoted to the next grade. There was also an exam in Polish at the end of primary and secondary school.

The most popular forms of learning Polish included the weekend schools, available for all age groups. They were mainly organised by Polish associations, and the learning space was provided by local schools, parishes, community centres, monasteries, and Polish organisations. Apart from the language, one could also learn about the literature, history, geography, music, and culture of Poland; religion lessons were also conducted. The number of the schools and their students would grow gradually and proportionally to the increase of the interest in the Polish language in Ukraine.<sup>16</sup>

At 24 Ukrainian higher schools, including the Khmelnytskyi National University, the University in Kamenets Podolskiy, and the Holy Spirit Higher Religious Seminar in Horodok, students had the opportunity to learn Polish on

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<sup>15</sup> Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości...*, op. cit., p. 128; <http://www.lwowkg.polemb.net/?document=186>.

<sup>16</sup> Szymański K. (2015). Nauczanie Polaków na Ukrainie i Ukraińców polskiego pochodzenia w Polsce [Teaching Poles in Ukraine and Ukrainians with Polish roots in Poland]. "Kurier Galicyjski", May 25, <http://www.kuriegalityjski.com/inedx.php/polskaukr/623-nauczanie-polakw-na-ukrainie-i-ukraincw-polskiego-pochodzenia-w-polsce>.

language courses, and at the Kiev and Lvov Universities, there were special Polish courses organised as part of Slavic philology. The teachers working at Ukrainian universities were delegated there by the Ministry of Science and Higher Schooling of the Republic of Poland. At the end of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, they worked in, among others, universities and polytechnics in Ivano-Frankovsk, Kiev, Sumy, Mikolaiv, Lvov, Dnipropetrovsk, Human, Odessa, Tcherkasy, and Mariupol.<sup>17</sup>

The children of Poles residing temporarily in Ukraine and children of Polish ethnicity with high proficiency in Polish would study at the School Consultation Point at the Polish Embassy in Kiev, which was called the Polish school. It would function 4 days a week in the afternoon and in the evening, and lessons were given there on all the levels of education: primary and lower and higher secondary ones.<sup>18</sup>

The level and the engagement of the population with Polish roots would vary greatly between East and West Ukraine, because the Poles residing in West Ukraine had much higher language competences<sup>19</sup>, which was the result of, first and foremost, political factors and the repressions against the Polish minority in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the greater ease of contact with Poles and Poland. Apart from the aforementioned opportunities to maintain relationships with Polish culture in West Ukraine, there was also a higher demand for institutionalised forms of learning Polish.

The work of Polish schools, associations, and points conducting the teaching of Polish could materialise, to a significant degree, thanks to various institutions and organisations from Poland, among which one ought to mention the “Help for Poles in the East” Foundation, the Semper Polonia Foundation, the “Polish Community” Association, Polish Schools Abroad, the Centre of Polish Language and Culture for the Polish Diaspora and Foreigners at the Maria Skłodowska-Curie University in Lublin, and the Polish Teachers’ Centre in Lublin.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży...*, op. cit., p. 133; <http://www.nauka.gov.pl/szkolnictwo-wyzsze/sprawy-miedzynarodowe/jezyk-polski-za-granica/lektoraty-jezyka-polskiego-za-granica/>.

<sup>18</sup> Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży...*, op. cit., pp. 130–131.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>20</sup> “Help for Poles in the East” Foundation - [http://www.pol.org.pl/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=24&Itemid=64](http://www.pol.org.pl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=24&Itemid=64); the Semper Polonia Foundation – <http://www.semperpolonia.pl/programy/ex-libris-polonia>; the “Polish Community” Association – <http://www.wspolnota-polska.org.pl/index.php?id=wnioswp>; Polish Schools Abroad – <http://www.spzg.pl/index.php/menu-gorne/kierowanie/podreczniki/>; the Centre of Polish Language and Culture for the Polish Diaspora and Foreigners at the Maria Skłodowska-Curie University in Lublin - <http://www.cjpk.umcs.lublin.pl>; and the Polish Teachers’ Centre in Lublin <http://www.pcn.lublin.pl/pcn/intro.php>



In spite of the agreements between the governments, the teaching of Polish in Ukraine would encounter numerous problems, among which one ought to mention, first and foremost, the lack of fully qualified teachers. Because of the high demand for Polish lessons combined with the shortage of teaching staff, Polish priests and nuns, mainly from the Roman Catholic Church in Ukraine, became involved in the process. The Polish Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher Schooling, as well as non-governmental organisations, would also attempt to remedy the situation.<sup>21</sup> A partial solution was the decision made by the Polish Ministry of National Education to support the Polish communities in Ukraine by delegating teachers from Poland there. Since 1991 the Central Teacher Training Institution (Centralny Ośrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli – CODN) would delegate the willing and properly qualified educators to work in schools, classes, and Polish language centres, and the trips were organised by the Team for the Polish Diaspora,<sup>22</sup> established with the former organisation.

As a result of the actions undertaken by the Polish state, the first teachers from Poland began their work in Ukraine in the school year 1990/1991, and the highest number of teachers would arrive in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>23</sup> The number of teachers, which would fluctuate between 38 and 46 since the year 2000 was to decrease at the end of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>24</sup>

Among these teachers, there were not only the teachers of Polish language, but also those of Russian as well as other specialisations. Their main aim was nevertheless to teach Polish and allow Poles to “regain” their native tongue.<sup>25</sup> Few of them had the opportunity to work in Polish schools. Most of the teachers would work with Polish language workshops and Polish classes.

Among the teachers making the decision to go abroad two age groups were prevalent. The first group consisted of retired pedagogues with enormous experience, the other of university graduates seeking professional challenges.

The difficulties faced by Polish schools in Ukraine included lack of course books for the particular school subjects to be taught in Polish, which led to the necessity to use course books in Ukrainian, as well as the unregulated financial questions of the renovations of school buildings, as well as providing schools with equipment and cleaning products.<sup>26</sup>

The state of schooling for the Polish minority in Ukraine would also lead to certain doubts and objections with reasons connected with, among others, the

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<sup>21</sup> Grabowska B. (2013), *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży...*, op. cit., p. 131

<sup>22</sup> Osadczy W. (2003), *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży...*, op. cit., pp. 131–132.

<sup>24</sup> Hut P. (2014). *Polska wobec Polaków...*, op. cit., p. 251.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.248.

<sup>26</sup> Osadczy W. (2003). *Polacy na Ukrainie...*, op. cit., p.68.

ethnic background of the students and the limitations of the national character of the Polish schools. For example, in Lvov there were more and more non-Polish students in both the Polish schools, and in the Zhytomyr region, with a 95%-Polish population, a Polish school was established in Dovbish, however, the institution was soon changed into a Polish-Ukrainian one, and in Horodok Podolskiy, where a school was built for Poles with Polish funds, a Ukrainian was nominated the principal, who decided to introduce Polish only in grades 1–4, and in higher grades, Ukrainian was the exclusive language of instruction. According to the inhabitants of Horodok, the school ceased to be Polish and gradually became Ukrainian.<sup>27</sup> What is more, the students learning in Polish could continue to study in Ukrainian higher schools or go abroad, to Poland. However, if one were to come back to Ukraine with a Polish university diploma, one would have to bear the costs of validating the document.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the aforementioned problems, the development of Polish school infrastructure in Ukraine in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was still supported by the Polish government. In 2000 the Polish side undertook a number of investments for Polish-language education, and the “Polish Community” Association would actively join in the efforts by, for example, transferring funds for renovations of school buildings, the adaptations of buildings for future schools, and the construction of schools. Attempts were made to support different institutions, however, the highest investments were made into schools with long traditions and in large Polish communities (Lvov).<sup>29</sup> Thanks to the support of the Polish government Polish schools and classrooms were equipped. “Children received course books and all the necessary learning materials. What is more, the Polish side would finance summer camps and trips to Poland as far as it was financially possible.”<sup>30</sup>

The official evaluations of the Polish side would clearly show, however, that the development of Polish schooling in Ukraine did not happen efficiently and without problems. In the “Report of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Kiev” pertaining to the situation of Poles at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century it was emphasised that the material situation of the schools with Polish as the language of instruction was difficult (the schools were to a large extent underfinanced), there were obstacles created by local authorities when attempts were made to establish schools with Polish as the language of instruction with funds of the Republic of Poland, the obligatory teaching of a large group of school subjects in Ukrainian, which was the result of the directive issued by the Ukrainian Ministry

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<sup>27</sup> Paluch J. M. (2013). *Wczoraj i dziś...*, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>28</sup> Hut P. (2014). *Polska wobec Polaków...*, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149 and 252–253.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 288.

of Education and Science, which made it mandatory to intensify the teaching of Ukrainian because of the national Ukrainian system of internal supervision of maturity exams in order to even out the chances of students when applying for places at universities.<sup>31</sup> The dissolution of the local school authority, because of the lack of funds, and the cancellation of the teaching of Polish in a number of schools in the Tarnopol region (in Stariy Skalat, Polupanovka, and Halushtschintse).<sup>32</sup> To sum up, it ought to be pointed out that the reactivation of Polish schooling did not happen smoothly and without problems. Its state was much better in western and central Ukraine. However, the outbreak of the armed conflict between Ukraine and Russia in 2014 put an end to the development of education for the Polish minority in East Ukraine. The state of the institutions and the situation of Poles in the Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Lugan, and Crimea region have changed totally as a result of the annexation of Crimea and warfare.

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<sup>31</sup> The directions in which the teaching in Polish was to be limited in schools with Polish as the language of instruction were carefully laid out in 34 points of the document. Among others, instruction of all school subjects in Ukrainian once a week was introduced, and Ukrainian history, geography of Ukraine, physical education, and national defence were taught in Ukrainian exclusively. The number of lessons of Ukrainian was increased by one for grades 2–5, and the teaching of math in grades 7 and above was to take place in Ukrainian as well as Polish. Grabowska B. (2013). *Poczucie tożsamości młodzieży...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–134.

<sup>32</sup> Originally children would learn Polish four hours a week, in 2008 the number was reduced to one hour, and subsequently the teaching was stopped altogether. *Ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

## The Situation in Subcarpathian Rus in 1919 as Reported By the Czech Officials

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*The article focuses on various aspects of the situation in Subcarpathian Rus raised and analyzed in the reports of the Czech officials, who visited the Subcarpathian region during 1919. Most Czech officials stated the vital need for a far-sighted and responsible policy in this strategically important region. In their reports to Prague, most Czech officials divided the local Rusyn intelligentsia in Subcarpathian Rus into pro-Russian and local orientations, and recommended Czechoslovak authorities to rely on and to provide support for the representatives of the local orientation as more preferable for Prague interests in that region.*

Key words: *Rusyns; Subcarpathian Rus; Czech officials; national policy; language issue*

Rusyn-populated areas south of the Carpathian Mountains, which by the end of the First World War were part of the Hungarian kingdom, became part of a newly-born Czechoslovak Republic during 1919, which was fixed by Treaty of Saint-Germain signed at the castle of St. Germain-en-Laye just outside of Paris on September 10, 1919 as part of the Paris Peace Conference. According to articles 10 and 11 of the treaty, Czechoslovakia agreed to provide this territory with “the greatest degree of autonomy compatible with the unity of the Czechoslovak state... The autonomous territory was to have its own governor and an elected diet with legislative functions in specific areas.”<sup>1</sup>

During the very first months of Czechoslovak rule over Subcarpathian Rus, representatives of local Rusyn intelligentsia and public sent numerous petitions to central authorities in Prague demonstrating their loyalty to Czechoslovakia and a sense of belonging to the Russian culture. As one petition signed by local Rusyn peasants and sent to the Presidential Administration in Prague on March 8, 1919 put it, “we want to be a part of the Czechoslovak Republic, but to remain Russians

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<sup>1</sup> Magocsi, P. R. (2005). Treaty of St. Germaine. In P. R. Magocsi, I. Pop (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture. Revised and Expanded Edition*, University of Toronto Press, p. 497.

in cultural terms.”<sup>2</sup> Since Subcarpathian Rus was of great geopolitical importance for the Czechoslovak Republic and at the same time was distinguished by the complexity of interethnic and interreligious relations, Czechoslovak officials were frequent visitors to that area in 1919 trying to work out optimal regional policies.

On October 7, 1919 Junior Lieutenant of 66<sup>th</sup> Czechoslovak infantry regiment Šimon Palajda filed a report to Czechoslovak Ministry of Defence, later forwarded to the Presidential Administration. In his report the Czech officer noticed that the Carpatho-Russian public in Subcarpathian Rus was divided into two major parts, which he characterized as “Russian party” and “Rusyn – Pro-Hungarian party”. In words of Junior Lieutenant Palajda, the “Russian party” represented “ordinary people, in the first place local peasants. Russian peasants in Carpathian Rus always aspired to the Russian book and Russian culture. Local peasants secretly visited Russia to meet fraternal people and learn their traditional faith... Hungarian government made its best to assimilate Carpatho-Russian people and was especially successful in assimilating large part of the local intelligentsia...”<sup>3</sup> Opposite party of so-called “Rusyns – Magyarones” was characterized by the Czech officer as a party of Magyarized Carpatho-Russian intelligentsia and Greek-Catholic priests, most of whom were ardent supporters of Hungary. In words of Palajda, the Greek-Catholic priests preferred to communicate among themselves exclusively in Hungarian since they considered Carpatho-Russian “to be a language of primitive and uneducated common people.”<sup>4</sup> In his reports to Prague Palajda expressed an idea that the Czechoslovak government had to support the “Russian party” since, in his opinion, in case of support of “Rusyn – Magyarone party” local Carpatho-Russian peasants could lose confidence in the Czechoslovak authorities.<sup>5</sup>

Having mentioned a number of concrete examples of successful Hungarian propaganda in the Subcarpathian region, Junior Lieutenant Palajda indicated that numerous Hungarian officials, who preserved their jobs in local administration, were involved in various anti-Czechoslovak activities and promoted irredentist pro-Hungarian movement in Subcarpathian Rus. In that connection, Palajda recommended to rely on the representatives of the “Russian party” either from Subcarpathian Rus or from neighbouring Galicia and to appoint them to the places of officials.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Archiv Kanceláře prezidenta republiky (AKPR), f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č. 4, sign. PR I/4, karton 1, Županský úřad v Užhorodě, resoluce rolníka Kyrila Prokopa. Užhorod, dne 8 března 1919.

<sup>3</sup> AKPR, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č. 19, sign. PR I/19, karton 1, Ministerstvo národní obrany – zprávy podporučíka Palajdy.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem.

Dr. Otokar Růžička, Secretary of Czechoslovak Ministry of Post and Telegraph in his report sent to his Ministry in Prague on November 12, 1919, painted quite a different picture of the situation in the Subcarpathian region. At the very beginning of his report Dr. Růžička, who visited Subcarpathian Rus in early November 1919, noted the extreme complexity of the situation in the region, „rapidly growing chaos“ and a real danger for Czechoslovakia to lose this strategically important region bordering with Hungary, Poland and Romania. Unlike Junior Lieutenant Palajda, who recommended Prague authorities to rely on the representatives of the local Russophile intelligentsia, Dr. Růžička, on the contrary, pointed out that activists of the „Russian party“ were prone to a pro-Hungarian position. In the words of Dr. Růžička, „representatives of Russian orientation are not distinguished by love and devotion to Czechoslovakia. Rather, they just imitate their loyalty to the Czechoslovak Republic while their agitation among the people indicates the opposite...“<sup>7</sup> In his opinion, „local orientation among Rusyn intelligentsia“, including A. Voloshyn and G. Zhatkovych, „is most appropriate to the interests of Czechoslovakia.“<sup>8</sup>

Dr. Růžička paid special attention to linguistic preferences of different groups among Rusyn intelligentsia stating that „Russian orientation uses Russian literary language while local orientation uses Little Russian language, that is a local dialect with the Russian spelling.“<sup>9</sup> Referring to the experience of his personal contacts with the local population, the secretary of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Post and Telegraph concluded that „in practice“ local Rusyn better understands Czech than Russian literary language.

It is interesting, however, that G. Zhatkovych, recommended by Dr. Růžička as one of the best representatives of the „local orientation“ politically appropriate for Prague was rather negatively characterized by Junior Lieutenant Palajda in his report to Czechoslovak Ministry of Defense on October 7, 1919. In words of Palajda, “the personality of Dr. Zhatkovych was absolutely unknown in Carpathian Rus until the revolution... During the first meeting in Uzhgorod Zhatkovych spoke to local people in Slovak-Rusyn dialect spoken in Šariš and Zemplin regions... Already at the first meeting, numerous voices of local Rusyns were heard dissatisfied with the fact that he did not speak proper Russian.”<sup>10</sup>

Even more critical reviews of representatives of the “Russian direction” in Carpathian Rus were contained in the reports of engineer Jaromír Nečas, an

<sup>7</sup> AKPR, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č. 20, sign. PR I/20, karton 1, Ministerstvo pošt a telegrafů – úprava poměrů v Rusínsku.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>10</sup> AKPR, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č.19, sign. PR I/19, karton 1, Ministerstvo národní obrany – zprávy podporučíka Palajdy.

activist of the Czech Social Democratic Party and a well-known political publicist who worked for some time in the apparatus of the first governor of Subcarpathian Rus G. Zhatkovych. In his lengthy reports to the Office of the President of the Republic in Prague, J. Nečas sharply criticized the representatives of the “Russian direction” in Carpathian Rus for what he perceived as “forcible imposing the Russian literary language on the population” and the separation from the ethnolinguistic realities of the Carpathian region. Some high-ranking Czech officials in Subcarpathian Rus were severely criticized by Nečas for what he described as “excessive Russophilia”.

In his extensive report filed to the Office of the President of the Republic on November 2, 1919, J. Nečas indicated that “the current regional government in Uzhgorod introduces a foreign, incomprehensible Great Russian language throughout the entire territory of Rusinia. This complicates the already confusing language issue and stimulates the negative reaction of the Carpathian Rusyns. Local people do not understand government newspapers “Russkya zemlya” and “Russkoe slovo”. Only officials from Galicia and Bukovina employed by our government can understand and speak the Great Russian language.”<sup>11</sup>

In his next report sent to the Office of the President of the Republic on November 20, 1919, J. Nečas voiced sharp criticism over Head of Czechoslovak civil administration in Subcarpathian Rus Dr. Brejcha, who, in words of J. Nečas, “surrounded himself with a camarilla of old Russians from Galicia and Bukovina and acted against the representatives of the local orientation.”<sup>12</sup> Having accused local Carpatho-Russian politicians of the Russian orientation that their political program was “reactionary, chauvinistic and intolerant of others,” Nečas called on official Prague to fully support “the local direction, which corresponds to the thinking and mentality of the intelligentsia.” Also, J. Nečas recommended Prague authorities to pursue the policy of “benevolent neutrality” in relation to the Ukrainians and “to refrain from introducing literary Russian language into the schools and administrative bodies in Subcarpathian Rus.”<sup>13</sup>

It is worth of noting that those above-mentioned reports filed by J. Nečas a personal letter of similar content directly to President Masaryk was sent on October 9, 1919 by A. Voloshyn, one of the leading politicians of Subcarpathian Rus of the Ukrainian orientation. In his letter to President Masaryk, A. Voloshyn criticized local supporters of “Moscow orientation” for what he perceived as “the imposition of the Russian literary language on the local population” and voiced

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<sup>11</sup> AKPR, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č. 25, sign. PR I/25, karton 1, Ing. J. Nečas – školská otázka.

<sup>12</sup> AKPR, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č. 26, sign. PR I/26, karton 1, Zpráva ing. J. Nečase o poměrech na Podkarpatské Rusi.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem.

criticism of the activities of the Head of local civil administration Dr. Brejcha, who, in his opinion, provided extensive support to local Russophiles.<sup>14</sup> In addition, Voloshyn made a far-reaching conclusion about the danger of “Moscow propaganda” not only “for our people, but also for the whole republic.”<sup>15</sup>

The consistency in time and the similarity of the arguments used in the reports of J. Nečas and in Voloshyn’s letter suggest that there was a coordinated action by J. Nečas, A. Voloshyn, and their supporters and like-minded people with the aim of influencing Czechoslovak policy in the Carpathian region. As further development of events showed, this action proved to be successful. In one of his reports to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Defense in November 1919, Junior Lieutenant Palajda mentioned J. Nečas’s relations with A. Voloshyn and with leaders of the Ukrainian movement, in particular, with K. Levitsky.<sup>16</sup>

In future, the policy of Prague regarding Subcarpathian Rus was more oriented on the recommendations of J. Nečas. It should be noticed that J. Nečas made a successful political career in Prague. During the 1920s he worked in the Office of the President of the Republic, overseeing issues related to Subcarpathian Rus and having a serious impact on the practical policies of the Czechoslovak authorities in this region. This circumstance largely explains the official Prague’s policy of “soft Ukrainization” of the Rusyns in the Subcarpathian region in the 1920s, which was most clearly manifested in the field of culture and education.

While Czech officials carefully studied the extremely difficult situation in Carpathian Rus, trying to determine the vector of optimal politics for Prague in the region, Rusyn politicians and the public quickly became disappointed in the realities of Czechoslovak politics. Contrary to the initially high expectations of the Rusyn leaders from the entry of Carpathian Rus into Czechoslovakia after the Great War, their dissatisfaction with the policies of the Czechoslovak authorities began to appear already in the spring of 1919. Thus, Dr. A. Beskid, Chairman of the Carpatho-Russian People’s Council in Prešov, in his address to the Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic K. Kramář, was already indignant on April 14, 1919 over what he described as “suppression of the natural rights of the Russian people on their own land.”<sup>17</sup> Dr. A. Beskid criticised local Czechoslovak officials for what he perceived as “chauvinism”, “lack of knowledge of the local population” and “discrimination of the Rusyn people.”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> AKPR, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č. 18, sign. PR I/18, karton 1, Augustin Vološin – zpráva o zasedání Rusínské Národní Rady.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>16</sup> AKPR, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č. 19, sign. PR I/19, karton 1, Ministerstvo národní obrany – zprávy podporučíka Palajdy.

<sup>17</sup> AKPR, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č. 6, sign. PR I/6, karton 1, Dr. A. Beskid, předseda Národní rady v Prešově, poměr k obyvatelstvu.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem.



The government of the Czechoslovak Republic took seriously the complaints of A. Beskid and during its meeting on May 5, 1919 noting the need “to treat the Carpatho-Russian people with extreme caution and protect them,” instructed the Minister of the Interior to address the Minister for Slovak Affairs V. Šrobar with a proposal to thoroughly investigate A. Beskyd's complaints.<sup>19</sup> In addition, V. Šrobar was invited to entrust subordinate local officials with „maximum attention to the nationality, customs and language of the population under their control.“<sup>20</sup>

Growing dissatisfaction with the situation of Rusyns in Czechoslovakia was expressed by the newspaper “Amerikansky Russky Viestnik”, the leading organ of American Rusyn Diaspora in the USA. While in February 1919, “Amerikansky Russky Viestnik” welcomed the plan to include the Subcarpathian region in Czechoslovakia and spoke positively about plans for the broad autonomy of Rusyns in the Czechoslovak state,<sup>21</sup> in October 1919, “Amerikansky Russky Viestnik” criticized the inclusion of the Western parts of Rusyn-populated areas into Slovakia and abuses of local Czechoslovak officials. Later this leading newspaper of American Rusyns was especially negative about educational policy of Prague in Subcarpathian Rus, which was criticized by “Amerikansky Russky Viestnik” for what it perceived as “soft Ukrainization” of Rusyns in local school system.<sup>22</sup> Leading newspaper of American Rusyns was particularly negative not only about the educational policy of the Czechoslovak administration in Subcarpathian Rus, but also about Prague personnel policy, which provided preferences to Ukrainians from Galicia.<sup>23</sup>

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Despite some negative aspects, being part of interwar Czechoslovakia had generally positive consequences for the Carpathian Rusyns. Professor P.R. Magocsi rightly believes that the progress in Subcarpathian Rus during its incorporation into Czechoslovakia was achieved, first of all, in the field of education and culture, because unlike the Hungarian government, which sought to magyarize Rusyns, Prague inclined to raise the cultural level of the Slavic population in the easternmost province of the Czechoslovak Republic.<sup>24</sup> While in 1900, as part of

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<sup>19</sup> AKPR, f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv.č. 10, sign. PR I/10, karton 1, Presidium Ministerské rady – poměry v Příkarpatí.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>21</sup> *Amerikansky Russky Viestnik* (1919), Homestead, PA, 6 februara, № 5, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Amerikansky Russky Viestnik* (1919), Homestead, PA, 16 oktobra, № 40, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Amerikansky Russky Viestnik* (1922), Homestead, PA, 31 marta, № 14, p. 1–2.

<sup>24</sup> Magocsi, P. R. (2015). *With Their Backs to the Mountains. A History of Carpathian Rus' and Carpatho-Rusyns*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, p. 205.

Hungary, the illiteracy of the population in the Hungarian Rus was about 70%, then by 1930 the illiteracy rate dropped down to 42%.<sup>25</sup> A number of experts on the history and culture of the Carpathian Rusyns reasonably connect the stay of Subcarpathian Rus as part of interwar Czechoslovakia with the “second Rusyn national revival”. It will not be an exaggeration to state that Subcarpathian Rus in the Czechoslovak period of its history became the object of a rather successful and at the same time moderate modernization project, which demonstrated its greatest successes in the cultural and educational spheres.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

# The Treatment of the Munich Agreement in British and German Textbooks: Content Analysis and Comparison

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*This paper presents the results of a qualitative content analysis and comparison of British and German history textbooks for secondary schools, focusing on the textbooks' treatment of the Munich Agreement. The research explored the overall concept applied to the treatment of this subject, the length of the text, the selection of factual data, the use of historical sources (including iconographic sources), types of learning tasks, the use of various didactic elements (cartograms, diagrams, timelines), and topics for problem-based and project-based teaching. The results of the analysis show that the topic of the Munich Agreement is treated much more thoroughly in the British textbooks – in terms of the quantity of information, the use of didactic resources stimulating critical thinking and argumentation skills, problem-based teaching, creative activities and inquiry-based activities; the controversial policy of appeasement lies at the centre of attention. By contrast, the German textbooks mostly restrict themselves to brief factual information, with only a limited number of educational activities.*

*Key words: subject-specific didactics; multi-perspectivity; content analysis; comparison; British and German textbooks; Munich Agreement*

## 1. Contemporary relevance of the issue and current state of research

In 2018, the Czech Republic commemorated the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signature of the Munich Agreement, which not only had a major impact on events in the former Czechoslovakia, but also made a substantial contribution to the tragic events that were to unfold throughout Europe in the subsequent years. Besides taking a scholarly historiographic view – investigating the course of events and the contemporary context based on the study of historical sources – it is also very important to examine the specific historical narratives presented by school textbooks. The manner in which history is presented to school students as part of teaching has a fundamental impact on the younger generation's perception and awareness of history, as well as influencing how they perceive and evaluate key events from European history today.

History textbooks published in various European countries present different perspectives on the same historical events and processes; there is no single, identical “shared” image of a particular event. This fact reflects the principle of multi-perspectivity developed by Robert Stradling;<sup>1</sup> in Stradling’s view, one of the most important tasks of subject-specific didactics is to understand and respect diverse evaluations of a shared past, including historical controversies and conflicts. It is therefore essential to compare the image of history depicted by Czech textbooks with teaching materials published in other countries, and to explore the key features of the presentation of historical events, the interpretation of these events, and the facts which the authors of these texts foreground and consider most salient.

Content analysis of history textbooks published in the Czech Republic and other countries (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the UK, France, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, etc.) forms an integral part of subject-specific didactic research in the Czech Republic. During the past two decades and more, such analyses have often been conducted for international textbook committees, primarily the *Czech-German Textbook Committee* and the *Czech-Polish Working Group for School Textbooks*. Research of history textbooks covers a relatively wide range of topics, focusing primarily on the following areas:

- the image of selected European nations and their histories in Czech history textbooks; the main focus is on the Central European region and on milestone events in the shared history of border regions (e.g. the Czechoslovak-Polish dispute over the Těšín/Cieszyn region in 1919–1920);<sup>2</sup>
- the presentation of key periods of history and specific historical events and figures in history textbooks from the Czech Republic and other countries (e.g. the figure of Charles IV, chapters covering the communist era);<sup>3</sup>
- the reflection of certain social phenomena and their historical development and transformation (everyday history, gender-related topics, multiculturalism).<sup>4</sup>

The subject explored in this paper has previously been investigated by two scholarly studies. In 2002, Denisa Labischová published the results of a content

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<sup>1</sup> Stradling, R. (2003). *Multiperspektivita ve vyučování dějepisu: příručka pro učitele*. Praha: MŠMT.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of publications on the image of European nations in history textbooks, see Gracová, B. (2007). Empirické výzkumy v didaktice dějepisu u nás, jejich potřebnost a význam. In *IX. Sjezd českých historiků*. Pardubice – Praha – Ústí nad Labem: Sdružení historiků České republiky.

<sup>3</sup> Konieccka-Śliwińska, D. – Machalek, M. (eds.) (2018). *Historické mezníky v současných polských a českých školních učebnicích*. Poznaň: Instytut historii; Gracová, B. – Tomášek, M. (eds.) (2016). *Obraz období „socialismu“ v českých a polských učebnicích*. Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita.

analysis of British and American textbooks focusing on their presentation of the history of the Bohemian Crown Lands (the territory of today's Czech Republic). The study covered developments from the early Middle Ages up to the partition of Czechoslovakia in 1993; considerable attention was devoted to the Munich crisis in 1938. The author found that the writers of textbooks published in the UK between 1995 and 2000 focused mainly on Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement. In some of the textbooks, appeasement was illustrated directly using case studies taken from the situation in Czechoslovakia during 1938; students were thus able to compare and evaluate the conflicting views of various contemporary politicians and journalists, and to develop their own individual stance. From a purely quantitative perspective, the textbooks gave slightly more arguments evaluating Chamberlain's approach to the Czechoslovak crisis in a positive light, though there was a clear effort to present a relatively balanced selection of arguments both for and against his policy. The study showed that textbooks published in the UK devoted more space to the Munich Agreement than Czech secondary school history textbooks, and one positive finding of the research was that while Czech textbooks published during the second half of the 1990s were mostly restricted to a chronological presentation of factual data, the British textbooks were based mainly on the interpretation of historical sources, including learning tasks which required higher-level cognitive functions.<sup>5</sup>

The second scholarly study of direct relevance to the subject explored in this paper was presented by Zdeněk Beneš in October 2003 at an international conference in Prague entitled *The Munich Agreement – The Path to the Destruction of Democracy in Europe*. Beneš carried out a monothematic analysis of Czechoslovak and Czech history textbooks focusing on the Munich Agreement of 1938; his research explored 37 textbooks, which were analyzed and compared diachronically over the period from 1948 to 2002. The analysis produced several interesting findings. During the immediate post-war years, and during the period

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<sup>4</sup> Gracová, B. (2010). Ženská tematika na stránkách nejnovějších českých učebnic dějepisu. In *Žena jako subjekt a objekt dějepisného vyučování*. Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, pp. 27–38; Gracová, B. (2006). Ženská tematika v současných českých dějepisných učebnicích. In Vaculík, J. – Němec, J. (eds.) *Problematika sociálních skupin ve výuce společenskovedních předmětů*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, pp. 144–151; Labischová, D. (2015). Analiza genderowa brytyjskich i niemieckich podręczników historii. In *Kobieta i mężczyzna – dwa światy, jedna przestrzeń*. Warszawa: DiG, pp. 641–650; Labischová, D. (2015). Genderová dimenze zahraničních učebnic dějepisu: obsahová analýza edukačního média. *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd*, 29/1, pp. 95–110.

<sup>5</sup> Labischová, D. (2002). Obraz Čechů a českých zemí v anglických a amerických dějepisných učebnicích. *Historica. Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Ostravské univerzity*, 9/2002, pp. 151–179.

of “normalization” (the hardline political crackdown that followed the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968), the textbooks predominantly depicted the Munich Agreement as a highly traumatic development, an unforgettable act of betrayal (mainly from Hlinka’s far-right Slovak People’s Party, which “despised” the Soviet Union). However, during the second half of the 1970s, some textbooks presented a more sober, factual view of the events, taking into account the historical context (developments from 1936 onwards, including Czechoslovakia’s deepening international isolation). Since the collapse of communism in 1989, the authors of textbooks have tended to view the events of Munich primarily as a “memento”; the Czechoslovak Communist Party is no longer the focus of attention, and instead the textbooks emphasize the moral aspects of the Czechoslovak government’s acceptance of the dictates of the Munich Agreement, including the political and economic consequences that ensued from this course of action.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Aims and methodology of the research

The aim of the research presented in this study was to determine how the circumstances surrounding the signature of the Munich Agreement in September 1938 are presented in history textbooks designed for upper secondary students in two European countries, specifically the United Kingdom and Germany. The analysis focused on the extent and scope of the presentation, the interpretation and evaluation of the events, as well as on the didactic methodologies used – such as the formulation of learning tasks and the use of iconographic materials, contemporary historical documents, explanatory diagrams, mental maps, etc. In the case of the British textbooks, it was also possible to trace changes in the content and didactic conception of the presentation since the previous research carried out in 2002.<sup>7</sup>

The methodology involved non-quantitative content analysis;<sup>8</sup> this method has also been applied in other studies with a similar focus.<sup>9</sup> The research is based primarily on a qualitative approach, analyzing the following criteria:

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<sup>6</sup> Beneš, Z. (2004). Mnichov v československých a českých učebnicích dějepisu. In Němeček, J. (ed.). *Mnichovská dohoda. Cesta k destrukci demokracie v Evropě*. Praha: Karolinum, pp. 294–302.

<sup>7</sup> Labischová, D. (2002). *Obraz Čechů a českých zemí*, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Gavora, P. (2000). *Úvod do pedagogického výzkumu*. Brno: Paido, p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> See the selected publications listed above.

1.	presence of separate chapters devoted to the Munich Agreement
2.	scope/length of the treatment of the Munich Agreement
3.	selection of specific factual data (dates, names etc.)
4.	overall evaluation of the causes, consequences and importance of the events
5.	absence or misrepresentation of historical information
6.	use of historical sources of various provenances
7.	choice of iconographic material
8.	use of didactic elements, e.g. cartograms, diagrams, mental maps, timelines
9.	types of learning tasks
10.	topics for problem-based, inquiry-based and project-based teaching

Criteria 1–7 cover the content of the textbooks, while criteria 8–11 concern didactic and methodological aspects. The research incorporated 10 British<sup>10</sup> and 13 German<sup>11</sup> history textbooks, mostly published in the period 2006–2014. The

<sup>10</sup> Brodtkin, A. (2009). *Modern world. History B*. Edinburgh: Heinemann; Clayton, S. (2009). *History in Progress. 1901 to Present Day. Book 3*. Edinburgh: Heinemann; Evans, D. – Jenkins, J. (2008). *Years of the Third Reich and Post-War Germany*. London: Hodder Education; Ferriby, D. (2009). *History B. International Relations: Conflict and peace in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*. Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes; Ferriby, D. (2009). *History B. Twentieth Century. Depth Studies*. Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes; Kerr, J. A. (2005). *History: course notes, book I. Intermediate 2 & higher*. St. Andrews: Leckie & Leckie; McAleavy, T. (2002). *Twentieth Century History. International Relations since 1919*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Waugh, S. – Wright, J. (2007). *The World at War 1938–1945. GCSE Modern World History for Edexcel*. London: Hodder Murray; Wilkes, A. (2007). *GCSE History. 20<sup>th</sup> Century Studies*. Haddenham: Folens Publishers; Wilkes, A. – Ball, J. (2009). *Technology, War and Identities. A World Study After 1900*. Haddenham: Folens Publishers.

<sup>11</sup> Baumgärtner, U. – Weigand, W. (2008). *Horizonte 9. Geschichte Gymnasium Hessen*. Braunschweig: Westermann; Baumgärtner, U. – Weigand, W. (2011). *Horizonte 9/10. Geschichte Gymnasium Hamburg*. Braunschweig: Westermann; Berger, v. d. Heide, T. (2010). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3. Niedersachsen*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Berger, v. d. Heide, T. (2014). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3. Differenzierende Ausgabe*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten 3. Deutschland, Europa und die Welt von 1871 bis zur Gegenwart*. Bamberg: C. C. Bruckners Verlag; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2010). *Das waren Zeiten 4. Deutschland, Europa und die Welt von 1871 bis zur Gegenwart*. Bamberg: C. C. Bruckners Verlag; Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 4*. Stuttgart – Leipzig: Ernst Klett Verlag; Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 9. Gymnasium. Ausgabe Sachsen*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Geus, E. (2011). *Horizonte 9. Geschichte Realschule Bayern*. Braunschweig: Westermann; Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4, Klasse 8*. Berlin: Diesterweg; Rauh, R. – Jäger, W. (2011). *Grundwissen Geschichte. Sekundarstufe II*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Regenhardt, H.-O. (2014). *Forum Geschichte 9. Vom Imperialismus bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis. Band 4*. Paderborn: Schöningh Verlag.

selection of textbooks was guided by the availability of titles in the library of the *Georg-Eckert-Institut/Leibnitz-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung* in Braunschweig, Germany. The textbooks were designed for students at upper secondary level; in the case of the German texts, the selection also attempted to cover a relatively large number of federal provinces (Länder), as each province has its own education system and a particular publishing house issues different (regionally specific) sets of textbooks for use in different provinces.

## 2. Results of the content analysis of British and German history textbooks

### 2. 1 The British textbooks

The British textbooks analyzed for this study covered a relatively wide range of different timeframes; this reflects the relatively low level of central control over the content of textbooks in the United Kingdom. Some of the textbooks focus on the period from 1901 to the present day, or from 1919 to the present day; others cover only the period from the early 1920s to the end of the Second World War, though one of the textbooks focuses solely on the narrow period from 1938 to 1945. This wide degree of variation is reflected in the varying degrees of detail with which the events surrounding the Munich Agreement are presented; most of the textbooks contain a relatively lengthy chapter devoted purely to the Munich crisis (6–8 pages)<sup>12</sup>, while others limit their treatment to just two pages.<sup>13</sup> However, all the analyzed publications assign considerable importance to the Munich Agreement and the circumstances surrounding it, and in most cases it forms the subject of a separate chapter – or at least a subchapter presenting a broader range of political developments in Europe during the late 1930s. Analyzing the titles of the chapters, two trends are evident: either the chapter title includes the word Munich or refers to the Czechoslovak situation in 1938 (*Munich and the destruction of Czechoslovakia*<sup>14</sup>, *The Czech Crisis, 1938*<sup>15</sup>, *The Sudetenland, September–October 1938*<sup>16</sup>), or the title refers to the policy of appeasement (*Appeasement and the countdown to conflict*<sup>17</sup>, *Why did Chamberlain's policy of appeasement fail to prevent the outbreak of war in 1939?*<sup>18</sup>, *Was appeasement the right policy?*<sup>19</sup>).

<sup>12</sup> All the British textbooks with the exception of the two listed in footnote 13.

<sup>13</sup> Brodtkin, A. (2009). *Modern world*, op. cit.; Clayton, S. (2009). *History in Progress*, op. cit.

<sup>14</sup> McAleavy, T. (2002). *Twentieth Century History*, op. cit., pp. 68.

<sup>15</sup> Evans, D., Jenkins, J. (2008). *Years of the Third Reich*, op. cit., pp. 391.

<sup>16</sup> Ferriby, D. (2009). *History B. Twentieth Century*, op. cit., pp. 30.

<sup>17</sup> Wilkes, A., Ball, J. (2009). *Technology, War and Identities*, op. cit., pp. 74.

<sup>18</sup> Ferriby, D. (2009). *History B. International Relations*, op. cit., pp. 37.

<sup>19</sup> Clayton, S. (2009). *History in Progress*, op. cit., pp. 34.



In terms of the selection of factual data, most authors note the existence of a large German population in the Sudetenland; the most frequent figure given is 3 million Germans living in these border regions of Czechoslovakia (though in one case the figure of 3.5 million is given<sup>20</sup>). Factual information is generally presented in a concise manner, listing the names of historical figures, precise dates and detailed descriptions of events. These descriptions focus more on the actions of the great powers than on the situation within Czechoslovakia itself. For example, only three of the analyzed textbooks give the name of the Czechoslovak President (Edvard Beneš), and he is mentioned primarily in connection with Czechoslovakia's alliance with the UK, France and the USSR, as a result of which "Hitler knew that taking over the Sudetenland would not be easy."<sup>21</sup> A more frequently mentioned figure from Czechoslovakia's political scene (mentioned 6 times in total) is Konrad Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten German Party (SDP). The publication *Years of the Third Reich* represents an exception among the British textbooks in the volume of factual information it presents; due to its relatively narrow focus, the book presents a very detailed description of the Sudeten crisis, whose scope and volume of information (precise dates, names and places) are comparable to Czech secondary school textbooks. In order to enable students to understand the wider context, this textbook presents the establishment of the independent Czechoslovak Republic after the First World War, consisting of the provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, part of Silesia, Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia. It then describes the democratic system of the new state, addresses its problematic ethnic composition (with a particular focus on the situation of the Sudeten Germans), traces the foundation of Henlein's Sudeten German Party in 1933 and its success in the 1935 elections (winning 44 parliamentary seats), the so-called "Karlsbad demands" of April 1938, the growing pressure exerted on Czechoslovakia by Hitler, the Runciman Mission in August 1938, the meetings in Berchtesgaden and Bad Godesberg, the negotiations in Munich on September 29, 1938, and the consequences of the Munich Agreement for Czechoslovakia – including the loss of 2 859 000 hectares of land and 30% of the country's iron and steel production.<sup>22</sup>

All the analyzed textbooks focus on Chamberlain's policy of appeasement. Some of the texts situate this issue within a chronological account of events during the latter half of the 1930s, while others devote a separate chapter to appeasement, offering a thorough explanation of the policy including citations from historical sources and evaluations by historians. For example, the textbook *History: course notes* states that although most historians consider Germany's aggression to have

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<sup>20</sup> Ferriby, D., *History B. International Relations*, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Evans, D. – Jenkins, J. (2008). *Years of the Third Reich and Post-War Germany*, pp. 391–396.

been the main cause of the Second World War, some experts hold the opinion that the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain bears a large part of the responsibility due to his policy of appeasement, which ultimately emboldened Hitler. The authors of this textbook note that this policy remains controversial even today, and is still a subject of debate among experts.<sup>23</sup> The clearest presentation of the policy of appeasement is given in the publication *Modern world*, which presents four arguments in favour of the policy (sympathy for Germany, as some people in Britain felt the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles were too harsh; a desire for peace after the experiences of the First World War; the idea of protecting Czechoslovakia and Poland from the threat of Stalinist communism; and the need to gain time to equip the British armed forces, which were not yet ready for war) and three arguments against appeasement (Chamberlain's underestimation of Hitler and his conviction that appeasement would satisfy the Führer and ensure he made no additional future demands; the moral problem inherent in violating international agreements; the squandering of an excellent opportunity to stop Hitler before he became too powerful). However, all these issues are presented in the form of a secondary explanatory text (the arguments are not supported by specific source materials), and prominence is given to arguments justifying the policy of appeasement.<sup>24</sup> A similar didactic approach (i.e. a secondary text not accompanied by historical sources) is used in the textbook *Technology, War and Identities*, though in this case the arguments for and against appeasement are given equal weight (4 for, 4 against).<sup>25</sup>

However, the analysis reveals that with the above-mentioned exceptions, most of the British textbooks use authentic historical sources, which are systematically and thoughtfully integrated with various (often conflicting) interpretations of appeasement. Based on citations from contemporary politicians, journalists and other historical figures, as well as the opinions of present-day historians, students have the opportunity to gain a multi-perspectival view of the events of Munich, and to compare, assess and evaluate the various arguments in order to form an opinion on how convincing these arguments are. For example, in the textbook *History B. International Relations*, students read and compare excerpts from a speech given by Hitler in 1938, Chamberlain's radio broadcasts of September 22 and October 1, 1938, commentaries in the press (the Daily Express on September 30, 1938 and the Yorkshire Post in December 1938), Churchill's speech to the House of Commons in October 1938, and expert interpretations by the American historian William Shirer, written in 1959.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Kerr, J. A. (2005). *History: course notes*, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>24</sup> Brodtkin, A. (2009). *Modern world*, op. cit., pp. 45–46.

<sup>25</sup> Wilkes, A. – Ball, J. (2009). *Technology, War and Identities*, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>26</sup> Ferriby, D., *History B. International Relations*, op. cit., p. 31.

Besides textual sources, the analyzed textbooks also feature iconographic sources, among which historical photographs play a leading role. The photograph of Chamberlain returning to London after the Munich negotiations at the end of September 1938 is used repeatedly; indeed, the textbook *The World at War 1938–1945* displays this photograph as the main image on its front cover.<sup>27</sup> Neville Chamberlain is also pictured in separate portrait photographs showing him as a statesman embodying the policy of appeasement.<sup>28</sup> Only one of the textbooks reproduces a photograph from the Munich conference itself, showing the German, Italian and British representatives at the negotiating table (though the French representative Édouard Daladier is absent).<sup>29</sup> The response to the political situation that followed the Munich Agreement among Czechoslovaks on the one hand and Sudeten Germans on the other hand is represented in a photograph of a weeping woman, her face expressing great sadness, giving the Hitler salute to the German troops arriving in the Czechoslovak border regions in October 1938,<sup>30</sup> and in a photograph of the German population enthusiastically welcoming the troops (girls in German folk costumes presenting the soldiers with bouquets of flowers).<sup>31</sup> Only one textbook shows these two photographs side by side in order to emphasize the contrasting moods of the two parts of the population.<sup>32</sup>

The British didactic tradition in history teaching typically uses historical caricatures (political cartoons) as an aid to understanding. However, only half of the textbooks use this specific type of historical source in their treatment of the Munich crisis. All the caricatures selected by the authors present a critical, mocking attitude to the short-termist policy of appeasement applied by the British and French representatives at Munich, which was based on their belief that the concessions would satisfy Hitler, and that small Central and Eastern European countries could thus be “sacrificed” to ensure peace in Western Europe.<sup>33</sup> Czechoslovakia itself is the focus of two caricatures: one is the well-known cartoon

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<sup>27</sup> Brodtkin, A. (2009). *Modern world*, op. cit., p. 44; Ferriby, D., *History B. International Relations*, op. cit., p. 39; Waugh, S. – Wright, J. (2007). *The World at War 1938–1945*.

<sup>28</sup> McAleavy, T. (2002). *Twentieth Century History*, op. cit., p. 72; Wilkes, A. – Ball, J. (2009). *Technology, War and Identities*, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>29</sup> McAleavy, T. (2002). *Twentieth Century History*, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>30</sup> Waugh, S. – Wright, J. (2007). *The World at War 1938–1945*, op. cit., p. 14; McAleavy, T. (2002). *Twentieth Century History*, op. cit., p. 68;

<sup>31</sup> Waugh, S. – Wright, J. (2007). *The World at War 1938–1945*, op. cit., p. 14; McAleavy, T. (2002). *Twentieth Century History*, op. cit., p. 72; Wilkes, A. – Ball, J. (2009). *Technology, War and Identities*, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>32</sup> Waugh, S. – Wright, J. (2007). *The World at War 1938–1945*, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>33</sup> McAleavy, T. (2002). *Twentieth Century History*, op. cit., pp. 69 a 73; Brodtkin, A. (2009). *Modern world*, op. cit., pp. 46; Ferriby, D. (2009). *History B. International Relations: Conflict and peace in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, op. cit., p. 40.

by the British artist David Low “*What, no chair for me?*”<sup>34</sup>, depicting Hitler, Mussolini, Daladier and Chamberlain seated above a globe and below a map of Czechoslovakia, while Stalin is left standing next to them (published in the *Evening Standard* on September 30, 1938), and the other is a cartoon by the same artist, entitled “*What’s Czechoslovakia to me, anyway?*”, showing a British citizen sitting in a chair and reading about the Munich crisis in a newspaper.<sup>35</sup>

By far the most frequently used type of iconographic material in the British textbooks is the cartogram (i.e. maps depicting specific historical situations, in which geographical content is reduced in favour of other illustrative content). The large majority of the analyzed textbooks contain such images, but there are substantial differences among the individual cartograms. The most prominent differences are in the geographical scope of the maps; some present the overall geopolitical situation in Europe as a diachronic series tracing key developments in the second half of the 1930s (the expansion of Hitler’s Germany in 1933–1939, including milestone events such as Germany’s rearmament from 1933 onwards, the occupation of the demilitarized Ruhr region in 1936, the Anschluss of Austria in March 1938, the occupation of the Sudetenland following the Munich Agreement in October 1938, the occupation of the remaining parts of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, and the invasion of Poland in September 1939)<sup>36</sup>, while other cartograms focus purely on Czechoslovakia after the Munich Agreement, depicting the territories lost to Germany (the Sudetenland).<sup>37</sup> The cartograms also differ in the level of detail they present,<sup>38</sup> as well as in their factual accuracy (Fig. 1 shows considerable distortions).

<sup>34</sup> Ferriby, D. (2009). *History B. Twentieth Century*, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>35</sup> Kerr, J. A. (2005). *History: course notes*, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>36</sup> Wilkes, A. – Ball, J. (2009). *Technology, War and Identities*, op. cit., p. 74; Ferriby, D. (2009). *History B. International Relations: Conflict and peace in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, op. cit., p. 36; Waugh, S. – Wright, J. (2007). *The World at War 1938–1945*, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Brodtkin, A. (2009). *Modern world*, op. cit., p. 43; Kerr, J. A. (2005). *History: course notes*, op. cit., p. 88; Evans, D. – Jenkins, J. (2008). *Years of the Third Reich and Post-War Germany*, p. 393.

<sup>38</sup> The least detailed cartogram is published in Ferriby, D., *History B. International Relations*, op. cit., p. 30. It shows only the borders between European countries; the only cities shown are Munich, Danzig (Gdańsk), Vienna and Berlin; the only information on Czechoslovakia is the word “Sudetenland” in the northern border regions, which are not clearly delineated.



Fig. 1. A distorted presentation of cartographic information (substantial distortion of the international borders in Central Europe in the late 1930s).<sup>39</sup>

Some of the textbooks also incorporate statistical data. These include the results of public opinion surveys conducted on samples of British citizens in March and October 1938 inquiring whether they would be in favour of Britain offering assistance if Czechoslovak territory were to be occupied by Hitler's Germany (the majority of respondents were not in favour) and asking whether they believed Hitler's assurance that he had no more territorial ambitions in Europe (92% of respondents did not believe him).<sup>40</sup> Students can also work with the results of two surveys conducted in 1937 asking respondents whether they supported global disarmament (most were in favour) and asking whether they would be prepared to volunteer for military service if war were to break out (most rejected this idea).<sup>41</sup>

The British textbooks only sporadically feature didactic elements used to organize key factual information and to highlight and systematize core concepts – such as diagrams, mental maps and timelines. Only one of the textbooks contains a mental map exploring the central concept of *appeasement*, to which eleven conceptually related statements are appended (e.g. that France in the 1930s was

<sup>39</sup> Wilkes, A. (2007). *GCSE History*, op. cit., p. 196.

<sup>40</sup> Ferriby, D. (2009). *History B. International Relations: Conflict and peace in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>41</sup> Wilkes, A. (2007). *GCSE History*, op. cit., p. 199.

weak, that there were large German minorities living in Czechoslovakia and Poland, that British public opinion was anti-war, that the Treaty of Versailles was too harsh on Germany, etc.).<sup>42</sup> Only one textbook contains a timeline tracing the global path to war, in the form of a bumpy road with collapsing bridges and milestones in 1931 (the Japanese invasion of Manchuria), 1933 (when Germany walked out of a disarmament conference and withdrew from the League of Nations), 1934 (Hitler's first, unsuccessful, attempt to annex Austria), 1935 (Germany's announcement of its rearmament, Italy's invasion of Ethiopia), 1936 (the re-militarization of the Ruhr, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War), 1937 (the bombing of Guernica, Hitler's detailed plan to conquer Russia and Eastern Europe), 1938 (the Anschluss of Austria, the annexation of the Sudetenland), and 1939 (the occupation of the remaining territory of Czechoslovakia, the invasion of Poland).<sup>43</sup>

Learning tasks and their formulation are undoubtedly the most important tool for managing the learning process. The analysis shows that a very dominant role in the British textbooks is played by tasks seeking to activate students' higher cognitive functions rather than merely reproducing the material taught. In all the analyzed textbooks, a central role is played by questions which encourage students to evaluate arguments for and against the policy of appeasement based on historical sources and the opinions of historians. There are also tasks related to the cartograms and other iconographic materials presented in the textbooks (for example, students are asked to explain how the Anschluss of Austria helped to strengthen Germany's position and which country was most threatened by the Anschluss).<sup>44</sup> A somewhat surprising finding is that although some of the textbooks include caricatures (political cartoons), none of them presents a systematic list of questions encouraging students to analyze the caricatures in detail and to interpret them (including an interpretation of the artist's intentions and political stance). There are also questions which develop critical thinking, primarily based on comparing and analyzing photographs (e.g. students are asked to judge the appropriateness of the caption below a photograph of a weeping woman giving the Nazi salute, "Inhabitants of the Sudetenland welcome the German troops" – a caption which was published in several sources)<sup>45</sup>.

Among the educational activities supporting students' creativity in the analyzed British textbooks are an activity in which students create five different newspaper headlines about the signature of the Munich Agreement – one for

<sup>42</sup> Waugh, S. – Wright, J. (2007). *The World at War 1938–1945*, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>43</sup> Kerr, J. A. (2005). *History: course notes*, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>44</sup> Ferriby, D. (2009). *History B. International Relations: Conflict and peace in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>45</sup> Waugh, S. – Wright, J. (2007). *The World at War 1938–1945*, op. cit., p. 14.

a British newspaper supportive of the UK government, and others for a Czechoslovak newspaper, a German newspaper, a British newspaper critical of the UK government, and an American newspaper (the USA was neutral at the time).<sup>46</sup>

## 2. 2 The German textbooks

It is evident at first glance that the German textbooks devote considerably less space to the Munich Agreement than their British counterparts. Very frequently the topic is incorporated into a wider-ranging chapter tracing the development of Germany's foreign policy between 1933 and 1938 or 1939 (*Nationalsozialistische Außenpolitik 1933–1938*<sup>47</sup>, *NS–Außenpolitik bis 1939*<sup>48</sup> etc.), in which the treatment of the Munich crisis is restricted to just two or three paragraphs. An exception is the textbook *Von...bis 4*, which presents a somewhat more detailed description of the situation in Czechoslovakia in 1938, covering an entire page of text in the subchapter *Erst das Sudetenland...*, part of the chapter entitled *Die Kriegsgefahr ist akut*.<sup>49</sup> However, some sets of textbooks present the Munich Agreement even more briefly than the other German texts; the coverage of the Agreement may be restricted to a single sentence,<sup>50</sup> or it may form part of a table setting out the key steps in Germany's foreign policy from 1933 to 1939 (the table in question contains 11 historical events).<sup>51</sup>

With regard to the selection of factual information, the main focus of attention is on the position of the German community in the Sudetenland. Most of the textbooks do not give a specific figure for the number of Germans living in Czechoslovakia; there are four exceptions, which cite figures ranging from 3 to 3.5 million.<sup>52</sup> Some of the textbooks emphasize the demands for self-determination voiced by Germans living in the border regions of Czechoslovakia, pointing out that many of them were inclined towards anti-Czech Nazi propaganda because minority communities in Czechoslovakia had restricted rights.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Wilkes, A. (2007). *GCSE History*, op. cit., p. 197.

<sup>47</sup> Baumgärtner, U. – Weigand, W. (2011). *Horizonte 9/10*, op. cit., p. 194.

<sup>48</sup> Geus, E. (2011). *Horizonte 9*, op. cit., p. 164.

<sup>49</sup> Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis*, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>50</sup> Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 4*, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>51</sup> Rauh, R. – Jäger, W. (2011). *Grundwissen Geschichte*, op. cit., p. 185.

<sup>52</sup> Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2010). *Das waren Zeiten 4*, op. cit., p. 158 – 3 million; Baumgärtner, U. – Weigand, W. (2011). *Horizonte 9/10*, op. cit., p. 195 – 3.2 million; Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis*, op. cit., p. 136 – 3.5 million, Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4*, op. cit., p. 52 – 3.5 million.

<sup>53</sup> Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 4*, op. cit., p. 72; Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4*, op. cit., p. 52; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2010). *Das waren Zeiten 4*, op. cit., p. 158.

Most of the analyzed German textbooks place the events leading up to the signature of the Munich Agreement within the context of the policy of appeasement pursued by Britain and France; only one textbook mentions the existence of the Berlin-funded Sudeten German Party, the mouthpiece for the Sudeten Germans' demands for autonomy.<sup>54</sup> Some textbooks give the precise date of the signature of the Agreement (September 29, 1938),<sup>55</sup> but the description of the events surrounding the Agreement is generally brief, bordering on skeletal.

As has already been mentioned, the only major exception to the relatively scant coverage of the Munich Agreement is the publication *Von...bis 4*, which gives a much more detailed account of the course of the historical events. It mentions the Runciman Mission (though without mentioning Lord Runciman by name), President Edvard Beneš's declaration of martial law in areas with a majority German population in 1938 (it is the only textbook to mention Beneš by name), and the discussions between Hitler and Chamberlain – here, surprisingly, although Chamberlain's fear of war is mentioned, it is not situated within the context of the policy of appeasement (indeed, unlike the other German textbooks, this publication does not mention the concept of appeasement at all). The authors further state that after the signature of the Munich Agreement, the Czech population was expelled from the border regions, Slovakia gained autonomy, more rights were granted to Poles and Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia, and Emil Hácha became the new President (it is the only German textbook to feature all this information).<sup>56</sup>

Partly due to the relatively small quantity of factual information in the German textbooks, there are no cases of factual inaccuracies. The textbooks generally do not present a synthetic evaluation of the Munich crisis; only the textbook *Horizonte* states that it still remains a matter of debate whether it was unavoidable for other countries to negotiate with Hitler to the detriment of Czechoslovakia, or whether they should have taken a much tougher stance. This evaluation demonstrates the differences between regionally specific variants of the same textbooks; the versions of *Horizonte* published for use in Hessen, Hamburg and Bavaria all share the same factual explanation, but the Bavarian version lacks the above-mentioned evaluation of the policy of appeasement.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2010). *Das waren Zeiten 4*, op. cit., p. 158.

<sup>55</sup> Funken, W. – Koltowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 9*, op. cit., p. 110; Berger, v. d. Heide, T. (2010). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3*, op. cit., p. 43; Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis*, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>56</sup> Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis*, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>57</sup> Baumgärtner, U. – Weigand, W. (2008). *Horizonte 9. Geschichte Gymnasium Hessen*, op. cit., p. 131; *Horizonte 9/10. Geschichte Gymnasium Hamburg*, op. cit., p. 195; Geus, E. (2011). *Horizonte 9. Geschichte Realschule Bayern*, op. cit., p. 165.



The German textbooks include a relatively small number of historical sources pertaining directly to the Munich crisis – whether textual documents or iconographic materials – and most of the textbooks lack such sources entirely. Only one textbook gives students the opportunity to analyze, interpret and compare foreign-language historical sources (written in English), specifically an excerpt from the Manchester Guardian newspaper with the headline “London’s welcome” (October 1, 1938), informing readers of Chamberlain’s return to Britain, and part of Churchill’s speech delivered on October 5, 1938 (“Czechoslovakia recedes into the darkness...”).<sup>58</sup>

More frequently, the German textbooks include photographs – though these are generally not integrated with the learning tasks, instead performing a solely illustrative function. They include the well-known photograph of Chamberlain at the airfield on his return from Munich (September 30, 1938)<sup>59</sup> or a photograph of the German troops entering the Sudetenland (October 1, 1938) accompanied by a brief text stating that the German population in the Sudetenland felt economically and politically disadvantaged, which was the reason why Hitler’s agitation fell on fertile ground.<sup>60</sup> Other types of iconographic sources, such as caricatures (political cartoons) or political posters – which are frequently used in German history textbooks – are not featured in the sections dealing with the Munich Agreement.

Similarly, most of the analyzed textbooks lack geographical information in their cartograms. Four publications contain maps showing the expansion of German territory up to the outbreak of the Second World War, delineating the Sudeten territories acquired by Germany.<sup>61</sup> The textbook *Von...bis 4* is the only German textbook to include a separate cartogram showing Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1930s, depicting the national communities living within the state and giving population numbers (7.2 million Czechs, 3.5 million Germans, 2.5 million Slovaks, plus numbers of Hungarians, Ruthenians and Poles).<sup>62</sup> However, here too the cartograms are not integrated with learning tasks for students which would provide a didactic guide for working with these sources.

With regard to learning tasks related to the Munich crisis, six of the analyzed textbooks at least contain several questions and tasks. Students are asked to

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<sup>58</sup> Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten 3*, op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.; Baumgärtner, U. – Weigand, W. (2008). *Horizonte 9. Geschichte Gymnasium Hessen*, op. cit., p. 131; *Horizonte 9/10. Geschichte Gymnasium Hamburg*, op. cit., p. 195.

<sup>60</sup> Baumgärtner, U. – Weigand, W. (2008). *Horizonte 9. Geschichte Gymnasium Hessen*, op. cit., p. 131; *Horizonte 9/10. Geschichte Gymnasium Hamburg*, op. cit., p. 195.

<sup>61</sup> v. d. Heide, T. (2010). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3*, op. cit., p. 42; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten 3*, op. cit., p. 166; v. d. Heide, T. (2014). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3*, op. cit., p. 42; Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis*, op. cit., p. 137.

<sup>62</sup> Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis*, op. cit., p. 137.

express an opinion on whether the policy of appeasement was justified,<sup>63</sup> to explain why most Germans living in Czechoslovakia supported Hitler's policies,<sup>64</sup> to compare the different positions of Chamberlain and Churchill on the basis of sources,<sup>65</sup> to draw a timeline and mark on it the main steps in Germany's foreign policy between 1933 and 1939, and to explain the relevance of the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>66</sup> In rare cases, the textbooks encourage multi-perspectivity and creative activities, asking students to form groups and write newspaper reports on the annexation of the Sudetenland from the perspective of Czechoslovakia, Germany and Britain.<sup>67</sup> The principle of multi-perspectivity also forms the basis of a discussion topic, as students are asked to speak about various statements by Hitler, Chamberlain and Stalin and to explain the situation from the Czech point of view in accordance with the statement "we were betrayed"<sup>68</sup>

### Conclusion

Present-day textbook didactics is based on the principle that there does not exist any single view of historical events that is shared by all European countries, and that historical narratives in different countries are substantially influenced both by a country's historiographic and didactic traditions and also by its specific historical experience. This principle is clearly reflected in the findings of the research presented in this paper. Summarizing the results of the content analysis and comparison, it can be stated that the British and German history textbooks display substantial differences in their presentation of the Munich crisis and the Munich Agreement. British textbooks devote considerable space to this topic – often a separate chapter of up to eight pages. Here the central concept is the policy of appeasement, which continues to be controversial even today; the British textbooks also include numerous historical sources (both textual and iconographic) presenting arguments for and against this policy. Students have access to varied didactic elements encouraging multi-perspective interpretation, comparison, evaluation, critical thinking, discussion and argumentation, as well as creative activities (e.g. writing newspaper headlines). By contrast, the German textbooks present the events of Munich solely within the context of Nazi Germany's foreign policy ambitions, mostly restricting their treatment to just two or three paragraphs of text and presenting only very brief information focusing

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<sup>63</sup> Baumgärtner, U. – Weigand, W. (2008). *Horizonte 9*, op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>64</sup> Heide v. d., T. (2010). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3*, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>65</sup> Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten 3*, op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>66</sup> Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 4*, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4*, op. cit., p. 42.

mainly on the demands of the Sudeten Germans. The German textbooks likewise contain only a limited number of historical sources, didactic elements, learning tasks and questions for discussion. The findings of the analysis indicate that the authors of the British and German textbooks assign different levels of importance to the situation in Czechoslovakia during 1938 within the broader context of European history, and their treatments of these events accentuate different dimensions and contextual factors.

## Investigation and Political Processes with Soldiers in Czechoslovakia (1948–1989)

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*The basic approach of the author was to place issues into the context of the political development of Czechoslovakia after the events of February, 1948. The applied research confirmed the theory that political delinquency of member of military personnel formed a unique class. The worst crimes of the founding period were the core of the author's focus. This period can be characterized by political trials made as thought-out systems of illegalities organized by the bodies of military justice. Afterwards, the persecutions continued but only in an individual and more selective way. The author used original historical sources which are common for contemporary history.*

Key words: *legal history; anti-state activity; military justice; military persons; investigation*

A number of arguments have been proposed claiming that the 1948 to 1989 political point of view had been applied throughout those years when there was an assessment of the delinquency of soldiers in various forms. However, the system of political processes with soldiers did not always apply in the same way throughout the period analyzed. In this respect, it is important to indicate the time period of this system at the intersection of different points of view.

The auto-stereotypical view is an assessment of the early 1980s, when military counter-intelligence alone evaluated the thirty-five years of its post-war existence. In no case have analysts refused a targeted system of prosecution of politically uncomfortable soldiers in general. However, they admitted that, by 1951, certain specific members of the 5<sup>th</sup> Division of the General Staff and of the Main Information Administration committed illegal activities, particularly in the investigations for which prosecution and convictions were initiated.

In the following years, this negative trend was not promoted by the military counter-intelligence authorities.<sup>1</sup> Contemporary specialized works recall that in

<sup>1</sup> Security Services Archive, Prague, fund VKR, Overview of military counter-intelligence development, reference number 0310/17-1978, Prague 1980, p. 126.

the years 1948 to 1950 the defense intelligence authorities carried out a large system of provocations, as well as the subsequent artificial construction of anti-state crimes against the military, civilians, individuals and groups. Agents and provocateurs were deployed against the accused during investigations and imprisonment.<sup>2</sup>

The most severe manifestations of systematic persecution in the army in the form of criminal repression ended with the arrival of Alexander Čepička as the Minister of National Defense (in April 1950). Even after the establishment of the military counter-intelligence under the subordination of the Ministry of National Security, selective use of brutal physical violence took place during investigations, with the participation of Soviet advisors. The system of unlawful interception continued, including telephone calls, violating secrets, production of artificial evidence and even house arrest. Czech author František Hanzlík considers the case of the so-called “Group of Czechoslovak officers” the last trial created with soldiers. This group included officers and high-ranking generals from army structures, educational and party apparatus. Without doubt, it is at least appropriate to mention the hero of the so called *second resistance*, general Karel Klapálek. The final sentences were delivered in November, 1954.<sup>3</sup>

Opinions among historians on the course of these political processes in the army vary. It is evident during this period to see a shift from pure allegations of anti-state action to an approach where military security and judicial authorities attempted to use “regular” criminal behavior in general for political persecutions. There is a typical example of the criminal prosecution of the USSR Hero, (later) general Richard Tesařík (1915–1967).<sup>4</sup> He was detained and prosecuted from December 1953 to August 1954 on the basis of the decisive role of military counter-intelligence and military prosecutors. Tesařík caused a traffic accident due to negligence, injured a pedestrian and lost the classified documentation. However, the accusations of injuries due to negligence, failure to provide assistance, and threatening state secrets were largely political. Either a presidential amnesty was subject to these crimes, or he was not convicted in the final verdict.

This unsuccessful effort by military counterintelligence to prove to the Hero of the USSR an anti-state actor was based on gaps in his personal life as well as a somewhat eccentric lifestyle. The actual cause of Tesařík's investigation was

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<sup>2</sup> Especially the former Czechoslovakian members of Royal Air Force became a specific group of victims of political persecution. In more detail Vyhliđal, M. (2018). *Generál Jan Reindl (1902–1981). Letec, zpravodajec, účastník protinacistického odboje a velitel leteckých instruktorů v Egyptě. Svět křídél*, Cheb, pp. 59–78.

<sup>3</sup> Hanzlík, F. (2015). *Diskriminace a perzekuce vojáků v Československu v letech 1945–1955*, Powerprint, Praha, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> In more detail Hanzlík, F. (2017). *Utajená vazba Hrdiny SSSR. Životní osudy Richarda Tesaříka v období poúnorových perzekucí v armádě 1948–1954*. In *Securitas Imperii I*.

apparently his criticism of the Minister of National Defense, Alexander Čepička, which constituted a conflict with the communist power. The author of this paper also dealt with the case of soldiers Vladimír Cagášek and Alois Porteš,<sup>5</sup> who escaped from active service in the military and were executed in Prague on August 9, 1966. However, they are considered the last military individuals to be executed in post-war Czechoslovakia in a process with political undertones.<sup>6</sup> However, even in their case, the boundary between general and political delinquency cannot precisely be defined, as the first can serve as an argument for realizing the second.

Prosecution for politically motivated crimes, of course, did not convict soldiers even during the following period of normalization. A lieutenant colonel, PhDr. Jiří Sedlák, CSc., comes easily to mind as an instructive example. He was a teacher at the Antonín Zápotocký Military Academy in Brno. In April 1969, he lectured at the Regional Prosecution Office in Brno and also took part in a meeting of the communist party street organization in Ivanovice na Hané. From his impression of the August occupation of 1968, he expressed public doubts about the alliance with the USSR, the hegemony of the working class in the state and questioned the historical significance of February, 1948. Furthermore, he criticized Chairman Klement Gottwald, the Czechoslovak communist nomenclature and to the same degree evaluated J. V. Stalin, L. Brežněv and, in general, rejected the invasion of Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia.

His personal bravery did not remain unanswered and, on December 10, 1971, a public trial by the Senate of the Higher Military Court in Tábor was held in Brno. Sedlák was unconditionally convicted to 10 months imprisonment and placed in custody at the first remedial-educational group.<sup>7</sup> He satisfied the facts of the crimes of defamation of the republic and its representative (§ 102–103 of the Criminal Code), as well as defamation of the state of the world socialist system and its representative (§ 104 of the Criminal Code).

From the above it is reported that the processes with the soldiers for their alleged or actual anti-state activities had the mass character of an illegal system during the period 1948–1953. During this time their investigations were carried out by the intelligence bodies under the auspices of the Minister of Defense or the Ministry of Interior and especially the military components of the State Prosecutor's Office at the State Court. In the mid-1950s this system was eliminated. Politicizing the delinquency of military personnel was often

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<sup>5</sup> Security Services Archive, Prague, fund Investigating Files, V-7998 MV, reference number Skr-77-142-65, Cagášek Vladimír and company. Resolution ČVS: Skr-77-142/1965.

<sup>6</sup> Pejčoch, I. (2011). *Vojáci na popravišti. Vojenské osoby, popravené v Československu z politických důvodů v letech 1949–1966 a z kriminálních příčin v letech 1951–1984. Svět křidel*, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Procházka, S. – Novotník, J. (2009). *Vzpomínka po 40 letech. Tribun EU*, p. 57.

ubiquitous. However, it has always been concerned with each of its individual investigated cases. During the years of 1948–1951 this process took the shape of an illegal system that was influenced by the general line of criminal policy. This means that the cases of unlawfulness were focused upon searching out the “enemy” at all costs.

The pre-trial stadium usually began by arresting the suspected soldier by members of the Defense Intelligence Agency (5<sup>th</sup> HIS Department, HIS). These arrests were then testified and, on the basis of interrogation information and the gathering of material evidence from house searches, the investigative bodies drew up a criminal indictment. This became the basis for a subsequent trial. In the absence of sufficiently proven evidence at the court hearing, in the case of the defendants, lawyers entered the process and began to act as defense experts in the field of defense intelligence. In the event of contradictions or evidence of an emergency, their expert opinion was decisive.

With the institution of the State Court and the State Prosecutor’s Office, senior military prosecutors and senior military courts were involved in the jurisdiction to hear the less difficult cases of anti-state delinquency. At the service of the state court and the state prosecutor’s office, military judges and officers of the judicial service were temporarily assigned under Section 4 and 13 of the State Court Act. Somewhat atypically for the proceedings before the state court, the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1873 (and not the 1912 Military Code of Criminal Procedure) were used. In particular, this was a provision on the process at the regional court level.

The investigative judge in the military section of the State Prosecution did not actually intervene in the investigation process and his role in general became mostly formal. However, the State Prosecutor’s Office sent cases to practice, so these were often delegated to investigating magistrates. The investigating magistrate often simply mechanically repeated the interrogations already made by military intelligence. Thus, the criminal notification and accompanying documentary materials, which originated with the defense intelligence authorities, were decisive. The military section of the state prosecutor’s office then filed an indictment directly with the State Court. Criminal records commonly concerned firearms, explosives, ammunition, or documents containing classified information. Due to the *specificity* of the military issue, conflicts often arose between the military and civilian components of the State Prosecutor’s Office and the state court.

The State Prosecutor and court authorities mainly handled the most difficult cases of treason and spying. However, according to the Act on the Protection of the People’s Democratic Republic, a soldiers’ criminality was also discussed on the level of the Supreme Military Tribunal. These included the less serious accusations of sedition, association against the republic, the spread of false and alarms, the

disclosure of state secrets to unauthorized persons, negligent preservation of state secrets and insulting constitutional authorities. Prosecutors in the Senior Military Prosecutor's Office often directly contacted the military intelligence officer with requests for additional information they needed to file an indictment. In particular, this included information on the moral or political orientation of the prosecuted soldier and was transmitted via personal contact.

In the process of investigating and discussing the anti-state criminal activities of soldiers, the Justice Department of the Ministry of the National Defence held the supreme position in governing and as an administrative body of military justice. The Department would also act as a control body over military prosecution and military courts. This was primarily the Criminal Law Division of the justice department, which included the so-called *Criminal Group*. The group monitored and registered the activities of military judicial authorities or issued administrative, technical and organizational instructions. It only rarely debated pardon requests. In relation to the reform of substantive and procedural criminal law in 1950, the reorganization of the justice department and its transformation into the main judicial administration of the Ministry of the National Defence took place.

The Criminal Law Division and the Criminal Group disappeared and the prosecutor's and judicial offices were established instead.<sup>8</sup>

Although the preparatory proceedings in the modern criminal process contain many guarantees of conforming to law, the authorities that carry them out are still provided with a number of opportunities for their violation. The reason for this is clear. The principle of public prosecution is widely circumvented here. During the period of greatest unlawfulness, the issue of distinguishing the so-called administrative protocols and protocols as a result of the court hearing is a crucial issue in this respect. The administrative inquiries of armed troops were primarily carried out by the investigative bodies of the military defense intelligence units. At the time of the top political processes in the army, members of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff provided this function.

The legal conditions for this act were not entirely clear and an assessment of the nature of the act must be taken into account in the act itself. It can generally be noted that the administrative inquiry served as a basis and support for the facts set out in the criminal indictment.

Instructive in this respect is the case of Claudius Šatana, a major of the Czechoslovak Army. He was a member of the second anti-fascist resistance and was executed on charges of espionage on October 7, 1950. On the 26<sup>th</sup> January of the same year, the chief of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff sent an action at law to the military department of the State Prosecutor's Office in Prague. Criminal notification on the qualification page contained no further details, which

<sup>8</sup> Hanzlík, F. – Pospíšil, J. – Pospíšil, J. (1999). Sluha dvou pánů. Vizovice, p. 156.



were able to actually specify the article of the Act on the Protection of the People's Democratic Republic. It may have been defined as imprisonment without legal reason.

This document contained four sections; personal data, criminal offenses, grounds for suspicion and aggravated circumstances. Attached to this was an order to arrest from October 7, 1949. The reasons for the criminal indictment consisted of the circumstances in which Mr. Šatana, during the years 1946 to 1949, communicated with the indefinitely assigned Western Military Deputy various data which the Czechoslovak Army defined as subject of a state secret. Only from the context can we conclude that these were US representatives. He kept a gun in his apartment, but without official permission for a firearm.

Especially concerning was the fact, that he was a senior officer with specific status, who must have known the severity of revealing data concerning secret military capability. An aggravating fact was his statement in September of 1949, according to which he was determined to live abroad. Only his family relationships in Czechoslovakia discouraged him from this plan. From the point of view of the alleged spying activity, the prosecution was precisely supported by the aforementioned administrative interrogation protocol drawn up by the investigative bodies of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff. It is quite probable that the Šatana's testimony was forced by torture. The key document was, even though it was forced at the pre-trial stage without a legal basis, undoubtedly unlawful.<sup>9</sup>

In another instance, the general lack of merit of his pre-trial hearings was fatal to General Heliodor Píka, because he underestimated their substance during this period of unlawfulness. Due to the psychological pressure and tendency of protocols of the investigating magistrate, dr. Karel Vaš, General Píka signed the wording in the protocols. He vainly believed in an independent court hearing. However, the Criminal Court of the Prague State Court did not give him the opportunity to conduct his defense. The so-called administrative interviews of witnesses of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department's bodies were of great importance for the further conduct of the proceedings.

When Píka's file was handed over to the State Prosecutor's Office in Prague on December 8, 1948, it was clear that the investigating judge, Karel Vaš, had basically merely copied the administrative protocols of witness testimonies made by the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff before preparing a criminal complaint. Both true and untruthful facts were found by counter-military intelligence, therefore military justice had, without much doubt, assumed and recognized the evidence as relevant for further proceedings.

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<sup>9</sup> Security Services Archive, Prague, fund Investigating Files, investigating material V 5977, MNO HŠ – 5<sup>th</sup> Department. Case: major Claudius Šatana – criminal notification.

Karel Vaš published a comprehensive monograph in 2001, attempting to defend his role in the Píka case. Formally and legally, this was a comprehensive text. However, he completely overlooked the non-legal aspects of the entire case, which decisively contributed to the general conviction. The argument by Dr. Vaš is made that, in the administrative questioning, Heliodor Píka denied the blame, but he did so in a protocol written by the investigating magistrate and was convicted in a “lawful” way.<sup>10</sup>

There was not much change in this practice even after the creation of the Main Administration of the Counter-Intelligence Service. This paints an accurate picture of the criminal indictment that military counter-intelligence addressed to the General Prosecutor’s Office in Prague in the case of Josef Musil et al.

General Musil’s career, as Reicin’s successor at the head of the 5<sup>th</sup> Division of the General Staff, faithfully reflected the course of repression and the overall atmosphere of the time. The *initiator* of political processes in the army had become a *victim* as part of a hunt for the whole branched “ban” of the conspiratorial center of Rudolf Slansky. The document of July 14, 1953 failed to deal with the legal specification of the reported anti-state crime. A group of six former military intelligence officers were charged with committing various forms of treason, spying, sabotage, and military betrayal. Their moral profile in connection with the prosecution of soldiers after the 1948 events in 1948 was beyond any debate.

However, criminal notification of military intelligence was conceived as a rhetorical exercise on class contradictions in the post-war world. The prosecuted officers were introduced as agents of Gestapo and world imperialism, J. B. Tito’s associates and a mix of former Austro-Hungarian or bourgeois soldiers actively working on all fronts against the USSR. However, from the point of view of the interpreted indictment, it is obvious that the prosecution predominantly relied on the interrogations of more than fifty witnesses.<sup>11</sup> In addition to this, the problem of the lack of independence in the expert examination was clearly found.

The judicial and expert activity of members of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff became an important part of the political processes with soldiers after 1948. Even though the expert was a member of military intelligence, he was significantly influenced by knowledge gathered during the course of court hearings in the context of various disputed technical points. Disturbingly, defendants were able to disrupt the concept of the puppet process. Most of these experts were equipped with legal education and were focused on the process of gathering evidence and completing criminal records.

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<sup>10</sup> Vaš, K. (2001). *Moje perzekuce v právním státě aneb epochální výlet české justice do 50. let XX. století*. Praha, p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> Security Services Archive, Prague, fund Investigating Files, investigating material V 2457. Musil Josef and company. List of witnesses, p. 32–35.

Their competency was, for example, the assessment of military documents found during house searches for armed military purposes, particularly in terms of their secrecy. The institution of experts had approximately the same content as the present structure of criminal proceedings. They acceded to a maximum of two, if the facts of the case required their specific expertise. Experts were not to be interrogated as witnesses, nor should they be members of the court, and their professional opinions were formally a standard means of proof. The choice of experts was primarily dependent upon the investigating judge. In criminal proceedings with the military men, it was preferable to invite experts from the cadre of soldiers. The superiors of such experts could deny their inclusion in the case if it threatened the interest of their service. In the hands of the investigating magistrate, experts then were sworn in and allowed to work with the case file.

Experts of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff were defined in this way. The 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff tried to modify the general provisions of legislation in order to be more effective (or abusive) for the prosecution of anti-state activities.<sup>12</sup> To this end, it issued its own undated interim directive on military expert opinions, the origin of which can be indirectly determined until 1946.<sup>13</sup>

Of course, this was a secret document that, in its essence, formulated special requests for “intelligence” in cases of spying, marauding, sabotage or other cases that might disrupt the state’s defenses. In these cases, defense officers acted as the most experienced specialists under the directive. Their expert opinions could be oral or written and were devoted to various procedural subjects – the public prosecutor, the investigating magistrates or the court. Expert reports in the field of military intelligence concealed any possibility of abuse by being kept confidential or secret in the file.

Upon completion of the search, a military person could be prosecuted and, therefore, it was not recommended to include in the report any sensitive information that could be divulged to the detriment of the state’s defenses. This meant that military intelligence officers were able to write the desired conclusions without full justification in the text of the opinion. The written expert report in the field of military intelligence was divided into five parts – introduction, general part, specific part, analysis of documents and determination of damage. For more complex cases, two experts were recommended to be appointed. One military

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<sup>12</sup> Security Services Archive, Prague, temporary fund 302, inventory number 302-539-10. Prosecution of military personnel and cooperation of military counter-intelligence, MNO – 5<sup>th</sup> Department, reference number 23 294, restricted, 1949. p. 41–42.

<sup>13</sup> Security Services Archive, Prague, temporary fund 302, inventory number 302-541-2. Temporary directive for military expert opinions, MNO – 5<sup>th</sup> Department, registration number 49, secret, 140 pages, undated.

intelligence officer and a second military specialist (for example, in the field of arms service, military inventions, etc.). The most important part of the assessment was considered the final part in terms of determining or assessing the amount of the damage.<sup>14</sup>

Thereby this method a very basic dilemma was solved, which was understood to be damage in the field of anti-state military delinquency. The discussion of the importance of the amount of damage for the legal qualification of the case was directly related to the question of the application of specific facts. The provisions on military betrayal, pursuant to Section 6 of the 1923 Protection Act of the Republic and the provisions of Section 272 of the Military Criminal Code of 1855 (concerning non-treatment of service regulations) were considered of key importance in this regard. Those facts have already been the subject of the foregoing interpretation.

In the case of military betrayal, the lawyers of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff argued that the amount of the damage did not affect the legal qualification and the determination of the level of the penalty rate. It was reflected in the overall legal assessment only as a general aggravating circumstance. This was not the case of the loss of military files pursuant to Section 272 of the Military Criminal Code. This difference, according to the current criminal terminology, was in its essence the difference between a threatening delinquency, for the completion of which it is sufficient to induce a real danger or a threat to the legitimate interest and a delinquency whose legal character has become the cause of real harm or damage.

The estimate of the damage caused was perhaps the biggest problem for experts, especially in the case of spying committed by soldiers. Criminal files often did not contain specific indications that the classified information was revealed. At other times, the situation in the established search was aimed at demonstrating that classified information was revealed to strangers, but it was not possible to find out what classified information it was. Sometimes, only the disclosure of information from public sources was demonstrated, and elsewhere they are revealed not to a foreign state, but only to a certain interest or political organization.

Also very important was the qualification of leaked information to military, either political or economic. Military experts or military justices did not agree on the basis of whether harm can be understood – if only in the sense of material damage or damage threatened abstractly understood interests of the defense of the republic as a legal estate. Within the military court, they held the view that the damage represented the costs that must be paid by the military administration to replace lost or stolen items. This was, in essence, a completely absurd conclusion

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<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, pp. 108–121.

and was also very quickly rejected by the Supreme Military Tribunal in the judgment, P 276/26/11 of May 14, 1927.

The damage under this decision was not only that to property as expressed in money, but also damage to other legal assets, such as the military security of the state or the interests of military service. Otherwise, criminal responsibility would be difficult to grasp, as for example in the case of disclosure of information concerning mobilization preparations against a hostile state or organization.

The opinion of military-intelligence officers in 1946 was therefore based on the fact that the military expert first assesses the military damage, namely in terms of the defense interests of the country and only then the damage to the state-owned property, to the army or to the military administration. A former lawyer explained in his testimony from May of 1950 how military expert opinions emerged under the direction of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department. The practice of military expert Major Štěpán Pecka was revealed, who worked as an expert at the military and civil courts in the context of the State Court. He did not disclose the sensitivity of the case and sent a brief summary to the Chief of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department for each report.

Military expert opinions were mostly drawn up during the trial of a particular anti-state matter. They were always based on a specific template where the introduction to the international political situation and methods of hostile intelligence services was repeated again and again and the specific data merely added to the file. Major Pecka copied the practice of the state court when, for example, the information numbering the inhabitants of a particular city was also considered secret. If this number was compared with older demographic data in a hostile alien population as related to the growth of the population, the rate of growth of industrial production could be estimated.

This cannot be described otherwise than as an extensive and criminalizing approach. There was a practice in the state court whereby an expert was invited to the jury's deliberation before judgment was delivered, in order to underline the contradictory and dangerous nature of the accused conduct. There was also the direct invitation of a legal expert to these meetings, when he emphasized the interest of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department to the protection of the state secrets of the USSR.<sup>15</sup> Later Lt. Colonel Pecka warned the Chief of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department that he had to attach to the criminal notification the documents that were actually classified by the interrogation authorities, because especially in the case of an already invalid document, he had great difficulty in the court proceedings to certify that these documents were indeed secret.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Military Historical Archive, Prague, fund MNO, inventory number 1670, signature 11/4, carton 453, reference number 00317-DS/53. Finding of former lawyer of 5<sup>th</sup> Department – statement, p. 3–4.

<sup>16</sup> Hanzlík, F. (2003). *Vojskové obranné zpravodajství v zápasu o politickou moc. 1945–1950*. Praha, p. 222.

The case against General Píka demonstrates the role of military expert opinions in political processes. In his case, the so-called “Zadina Expert Opinion” was created, with the aim of punishing Píka to an absolute sentence. For the purpose of this evidence, there was the fact that Colonel Karel Zadina shot himself in 1968. That was during the period of the review of lawlessness and the beginning of judicial rehabilitation. His expert opinion played a key role in the original criminal proceedings, which was also reflected in the conviction that claimed the expert opinion was broadly and logically justified. The opinion took a close look at the details that emerged during the main trial. The court recognized the expert opinion as *perfect* and took it into account as the basis for the construction of a death penalty.<sup>17</sup> However, injustice was not uncovered in a situation when it formally looked like “legal” justice.

Evidence from such an opinion *could* not be objectively correct. All of these facts, in summary, already paved the way for open violations of legality.

On August 29, 1951, the chief of the Main Justice Administration (Ministry of National Defence), Jaroslav Kokeš, signed a special report for the Minister of National Defense. This document summarizes the investigation against certain former military-intelligence officers. Regarding the illegality of the Reicinš “gang,” many official papers were created during the campaign against Rudolf Slánský. But this unique report expresses the convincingly brutal nature of the entire system. Former members of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff, were prepared for the purpose of removing inconvenient persons these judicial murders.

On the basis of their investigative methods, several investigated persons committed suicide and military-intelligence officers committed other crimes, while military lawyers (civil lawyers in uniforms) covered their activities. Their names, Vieska, Tichý and Vaněk, are expressly mentioned. The investigation of the Lower Military Prosecutor’s Office in Prague revealed a massive violation of the entrusted service’s power, especially sadistic investigative methods. Behind the main initiators of evil was mentioned the name of Captain František Pergl, who managed a “well-known” prison and sadistically “prepared” arrested soldiers for interrogation. Lieutenant Colonel Karel Bohata, as Deputy Chief of the Interrogation Department, used systematically brutal physical and psychological violence for interrogations.

Finally, Colonel Richard Mysík headed the special investigation unit and entered the history of military justice as the main proponent of a monstrous system of provocations. This man, without any hindrance, prepared illegal provocations against the soldiers on the basis of which they were arrested, investigated and imprisoned. Then the agent-provocateur disappeared from the case in the decisive

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<sup>17</sup> Vaš, K. (2001). *Moje perzekuce v právním státě aneb epochální výlet české justice do 50. let XX. století*. Praha, p. 49.

moment or was otherwise “expelled.” Criminal files then spelled out the criminal act without a shadow of the provocation and as a wholly self-inflicted crime.<sup>18</sup> The names, persons and main areas of their illegal activities will serve as a guide for the following interpretation. Only the order will lead from provocation, through illegal detention to brutally conducted interrogations, to follow the time-sequence of the pre-trial proceedings before the filing of the complaint.

Most of the provocations against military or civilian persons was made by generals Reicin and Musil, roughly between 1948 and 1950, when their crimes grew to dozens of events. The first step of provocation was to deliver falsified postal items to selected soldiers from their colleagues, who had left the republic and the army for the West, to hostile capitalist countries. The addressee of the delivery of the consignment from the authorities of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department either notified the same authorities or failed to do so. If not, there was a pro-active reason for arrest and investigation, or compromise and acquisition of cooperation.

Another “proven” procedure was the direct arrest of the soldier or group, while the military intelligence officers placed the artificially produced counter-prints, leaflets or official writings of classified character in a private dwelling. The most advanced level of provocation was the organization of counter-resistance groups, where the provocateur created an artificial illegal group of military or civilian persons for anti-regime actions that either *did not take place* or were only partially successful and managed.

The most “famous” such action was Musil’s construction under the cover label “God’s Mills.” Lieutenant colonel Josef Hruška was working under the leadership of the Chief of the Search Group, Colonel Richard Mysík, who penetrated into the already existing “Truth Wins” group and incorporated into it the maximum of military personnel. Since 1947, Hruška had worked under Mysík’s command in the National Socialist Party and reported from party meetings, for which he received regular material and financial rewards. In the summer of 1948 Hruška, under Mysík’s Command, entered the “Truth Wins” organization, reported on, organized and directed its activities.

In December of 1948, Mysík had Hruška arrested and, in the subsequent trial, Hruška was convicted of treason and spying and sentenced to death. Within the arrests and activities of the “Truth Wins” Group, Hruška also contacted general Karel Kutlvaš, military commander and hero of the Prague Uprising. Kutlvaš received a life sentence from the state court for a provoked resistance activity.

The destiny of Lieutenant Colonel Hruška is an example of how the system of provocations could destroy a provocateur who knew too much about the

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<sup>18</sup> Military Historical Archive, Prague, fund Alexej Čepička, carton 32, archival unit 216 – MNO, HIS, OBZ. Information about investigating against former members of military counter-intelligence, reference number 002034 HSS, p. 1–2.

lawlessness. His case only demonstrates the mechanism with which Colonel Mysik as a “provocative champion” cooperated with his search team in inciting provocations, basically with all defense intelligence agencies, as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> (intelligence) Department of General Staff. The suggested style of work was given the special slang name “mysikovština.”<sup>19</sup>

Occasionally though, provocations showed elements of unprofessionalism and “championship” could not be discussed. For example, at the beginning of 1949, there occurred the arrest of a civilian employee, Mrs. Veselá. In her handbag, the military-intelligence officers stashed two secret writings, copying paper and a false passport, which Mysik’s officer created for the purpose of compromise and provocation. The investigating bodies of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department knew about the provocation and Mrs. Veselá was coerced to confess. She was detained by State Security in the Prague Prison in Pankrác. Members of the State Security soon reported to the military-intelligence officers that the secured passport was no longer valid after the deadline, unconfirmed, and Mrs. Veselá was unable to successfully leave the capital. Even so, nothing changed in her drawn-out final conviction.

The second fundamental stage of lawlessness was the restriction of the personal freedom of the investigated military personnel. The prison was situated on Kapucínská Street 2 in Prague 4 in Hradčany, near the legendary Loreta, the famous “Domeček.” The most senior position was held by Captain František Pergl. Here the imprisoned persons had to undergo all imaginable physical and consequently mental suffering, often for long periods. After 1949, the use of physical violence against investigated persons became quite regular, resulting in many injuries such as broken teeth, ribs or eardrums. Captain Pergl defended the provision of medical care and prisoners were provided a cure of tenohtaline, the application of which resulted in bodily weakness and severe diarrhea. Medical treatment was provided only in case of imminent death.

The machinery of violence, however was not so evenly distributed and exceptions were the such as in the case of Major Jaromír Nechanský and his illegal intelligence. Military prosecutor Lieutenant Colonel dr. Vieska intended to make a large and public trial from his case and encouraged the military-intelligence officers to avoid physical violence upon him. There was a danger that Nechanský<sup>20</sup> would not have remained silent in a public hearing at the court. But he did not escape entirely, because he had to sleep in a bright light with his hands on the

<sup>19</sup> Hanzlík, F. – Konečný, K. (2009). *Čs. vojenský exil pro obnovu demokracie v Československu po únoru 1948*. Brno, p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> Military Historical Archive, Prague, fund Alexej Čepička, carton 32, archival unit 216 – MNO, HIS, OBZ. Questioning of Dagmar Marešová, female typist of 5<sup>th</sup> Department, p. 9–10.



blanket, and was regularly both hungry and cold.<sup>21</sup> It is remarkable, that the abuse of armed soldiers was not an excess only for individuals, but a purposefully built system of illegality.

Sometime during January of 1949, the chief of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department invited captain Pergl for a personal interview, because he knew him very well from his past military career. Pergl warned Musil about his character defects because he knew his personal sadistic tendencies. Pergl told him about his inclinations and the danger that he would then be condemned and imprisoned as a result of crossing his authority. General Musil did not comment on these facts, because he needed such a cruel guard for the abuse of prisoners. "Domeček" paid for a particularly brutal place, where the system of abuse of prisoners after 1948 arose as the first, even before the "civil" prison for political prisoners in Prague-Ruzyně.

The jungle of illegality, however, stopped in May of 1951, when an action against this device was ordered by the Chief of Justice Department of the Ministry of Defense, the general of military justice, Jaroslav Kokeš. Representatives of the General Military Prosecutor's Office participated in these activities. Military-intelligence officers made sovereign rights to their investigative prison, so inspection could only take place in the form of a night visit.<sup>22</sup> Before this powerful intervention, the system was maintained by a system of covering its own illegality. In court proceedings before a court of law, one of a number of accused, Captain Václav Padevět, mentioned that he and his co-defendants were hit brutally and daily. František Pergl was in danger of arrest and investigation. But his superiors described him as an exemplary prison officer. So, the practice of torture in custody and investigations continued undisturbed until the spring of 1951.

Finally, the interpretation arrives at the third stage of the "work" of military-intelligence officers, where the product was illegal evidence, denying the principle of finding material truth in criminal proceedings. It was essentially a repetition of physical and psychological coercion during a custody in "Domeček." The aim of logging such testimony was in line with the intent of the investigators or the designers of that political process. Interrogation Group ("R" – department or "E" – group) of the 5<sup>th</sup> Department of the General Staff had the worst reputation in this respect. In this group there were two lieutenant colonels – the chief, Ludvík Souček and his deputy, Karel Bohata.<sup>23</sup>

In some cases, the investigation lasted more than one year and the case came to the court after the manipulation with proofs and the damages for justice were

<sup>21</sup> Šolc, J. (2008). *Znamení trojského koně. Životní příběh majora Jaromíra Nechanského*. Praha, p. 178.

<sup>22</sup> Kratochvíl, J. (1990). *Žaluji I. Svědectví a myšlenky o deformacích stalinské justice v Československu*. Praha, p. 83.

<sup>23</sup> Bártová, M. (2016). Ludvík Souček, přednosta výslechové skupiny 5. oddělení Hlavního štábu MNO v letech 1949–1951. In *Sborník Archivu bezpečnostních složek*, p. 115.

irreversible. For example, for Karel Bohata, the richness of sadistic interrogation methods was firmly coupled with the incompetence of the interrogator, because he had a very bad memory. Every piece of information had to be repeated at least three times and sometimes it was not enough to memorize. That's why it was not hard for him to construct false testimony or confession according to his own ideas, because he could remember the real information very well.

The results of investigations or provocations were then often tampered with by Bedřich Reicin himself. He, for example, decided whether failure of soldier was notified as an anti-state crime or it was classified with discipline, as another general criminal notification, or to get a compromised military person to intelligence or information activity for defense intelligence. Illegality during the investigation often received another surprising dimension. Military-intelligence officers often appropriated the property of those investigated and carried out various machinations with cars, flats, etc.<sup>24</sup> In such situations, the realities of investigated crimes can be rightly and successfully disputed. However, even in the process of subsequent rehabilitation, there was no complete correction of any violation of the law.

The political trials as a show of violence and injustice are forever connected with the regime of the Communist Party. They broke all possible rules of the Czechoslovak legal order, which held power during their duration. They did not solve the question of who was guilty or not. They served as a tool for the political fight against the non-communist elements of Czechoslovak society. A very important part of it included the Czechoslovak armed forces, consisting of military personnel of all ranks. The Communist Party wanted to have all soldiers under pressure and total domination. Various opinions were not respected at all. Victims of violence from military the area wanted to obtain full satisfaction, especially after 1956. This year was the starting point for attempts that were focused on a brave reformation of the Soviet system in the USSR and all countries under its power.

There were five commissions established by the Communist Party. Only a very small number of victims were rehabilitated and very few individuals were granted partial rehabilitation. Illegally punished military staff had not been assigned to a position corresponding to their qualifications. Moreover, in the process of revision, new accusations were made in the next wave of political processes. For example, the Kolder Commission (active from September 1962 to April 1963) received more than 7000 applications for basic review of various cruel judgments. Only 263 of those cases were examined by the commission in real terms. On the

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<sup>24</sup> Military Historical Archive, Prague, fund Alexej Čepička, carton 32, archival unit 216 – MNO, HIS, OBZ. Information about investigating against former members of military counter-intelligence, reference number 002034 HSS, p. 3 of enclosed report.

other hand, according to one special estimate, during the years 1948–1952 “only” 1169 persons were convicted by the State Court, while many cases of military persons (with political subtext) were judged by purposefully built military courts.

There was a radical change in attitudes and access to all victims of political persecutions of the 1950's during the reform process of 1968/1969. Its main success in the elimination of lawlessness was Act No. 82/1968 Coll., on judicial rehabilitation, which took effect from August 1, 1968. Rehabilitation under this Act referred to so-called anti-state crimes, which in particular meant crimes against the republic under the First Chapter of the Criminal Codes of 1950 and 1961 and criminal offenses related to them. Judicial rehabilitation was based on an individual review.<sup>25</sup> The year 1968 meant only partial rehabilitation of soldiers punished in the founding period of communist power and it was fully stopped and restricted by the *normalizatores* after 1970.

A definitive and decisive step toward re-compensation of repressions was made by the new political regime after the November events in 1989. There was the new Rehabilitation Act No. 119/1990 Coll. and the military tribunals and prosecutors re-invigorated their effort. On January 10, 1990 an order was issued by the Minister of National Defense No. 7, which was related to political, occupational and moral rehabilitation of professional soldiers and civil servants of military administrative and workers of state-owned enterprises in the Federal Ministry of National Defence, who had been prosecuted for their political and civic attitudes during the period 1948–1989.

The degree of illegality is proven by the result of rehabilitations until 1992 by the example of the Higher Refilling Command in Brno (local rehabilitative agency). Out of total of 682 officers, 546 met the conditions of rehabilitation.<sup>26</sup> That means 80 per cent. Political persecutions were not individual faults, but the use of a planned discriminatory system.

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<sup>25</sup> Military Historical Archive, Prague, fund MNO, year 1970, carton 388, inventory number 1534. Implementation of the Act No. 82/1968 Coll. in practice of military prosecution office, reference number 092/70 taken from 10th March 1970.

<sup>26</sup> Procházka, S. – Novotník, J. (2009). Vzpomínka po 40 letech. *Tribun EU*, p. 98.

## The Role of Professor Władysław Semkowicz and the Jagiellonian University in Promoting Polonophilia in Slovakia in the Interwar Period<sup>1</sup>

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*The interwar relations between Czechoslovakia and Poland were tense for almost twenty years. Problems were caused not only by border disputes. In this situation, the interest of young Slovak intelligence in Polish culture and science began to increase in the early 1920s, which was supported by Warsaw, in its efforts to undermine the position of Prague. A well-known Slovakophile, Professor Władysław Semkowicz played an important role in supporting young Slovaks. His largest impact on Slovak-Polish relations was his patronage of visiting Slovak students at the Jagiellonian University. Semkowicz's efforts gradually bore fruit. Many of the programme participants promoted Polish literature, art and history after their return home. This Polonophilia was not limited to the cultural sphere but also had an effect on politics. At the end of 1938, the Polish territorial claims against Slovakia severely disappointed the Polonophiles. Nevertheless, there were a number of Slovaks who kept their contacts in Polish cultural circles and continued to have pro-Polish sentiments even after the country's defeat in September 1939.*

Key words: *Slovak-Polish relations; 1918–1939; polonophiles; Władysław Semkowicz; Jagiellonian University*

Slovak-Polish relations after the First World War were determined by the different positions from which the two nations started. While the Poles had their own state, the Slovaks played “second fiddle” in the Czechoslovak Republic despite officially being part of the declared state-forming Czechoslovak nation. Furthermore, the large population, strong national consciousness and historical traditions of the Poles made them one of the well-established nations. The Slovaks

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had only just emerged from the long and difficult period of Magyarisation<sup>2</sup> and their everyday problems were completely different from those of their northern neighbour. To put it simply, while the restoration of their own state made the Poles a subject in international politics, the Slovaks remained more of an “object”.

In the period immediately before and after obtaining independence, the foreign policy objectives of Czechoslovak and Polish representatives were very close. During the war, they were united by the aim of defeating the axis powers, establishing their own states and creating new political conditions in Central and Eastern Europe. This common goal encouraged their cooperation and temporarily suppressed their differing political visions of the post-war situation.

As far as Slovakia was concerned, the Poles were initially unconcerned about its annexation to Czechoslovakia, but gradually changed their views despite signing the peace treaties of Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Trianon. There was a similar change in the question of borders. Before the First World War, Polish political representatives had not made any claims against Slovakia (as part of the Kingdom of Hungary) but this changed later under the influence of the “Krakow Centre”.

When two West Slavic states were established in Poland and Czechoslovakia after 1918, there was immediate conflict in the industrial Cieszyn Silesia and in the Spiš and Orava regions. Poland’s dissatisfaction with the settlement made at the ambassadorial conference in Spa in 1920, which was particularly favourable to Czechoslovakia in the Cieszyn region, led to nearly two decades of frosty relations between Warsaw and Prague. Although Poland won a much larger share of the disputed territory in Spiš and Orava, it was not very enthusiastic about the result, and representatives close to the “Krakow Centre” expressed severe disappointment.

Although the border issue was of key importance in the interwar period, there were other problems that added to the tense atmosphere between the states. Both of them aspired to establish and lead a coalition of Central European states. The aim was to create mechanisms that would protect them against states that might threaten their independence. Poland, as a central power wedged between two great powers to the east and west tried to compensate for this disadvantage from the very beginning by associating with the small neighbouring states from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It was Prague, however, that was more successful in building security systems, making the largest contribution to the establishment of the Little Entente comprising Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. The aim of this alliance was to deter Hungarian revanchism against its members.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The forced assimilation of non-Hungarian nations during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> Dąbrowski, D. (2010). Rozbitie alebo rozpad? Poľská politika voči Československu a otázka maďarských aktivít s cieľom revízie hraníc na Podkarpatskej Rusi. In Bystrický, V. et al. (eds.), *Rozbitie alebo rozpad?: historické reflexie zániku Česko-Slovenska*. Bratislava: Veda, p. 254.

Poland criticised Czechoslovakia not only because it was a rival for power in the region but also because it established relations with states that were hostile to Polish interests. The main threat was Soviet Russia, but the two countries also had different attitudes on Ukrainian issues. Warsaw was afraid that Prague was trying to create a “Czech-Russian corridor” by pushing its borders as far east as possible. The Poles were also annoyed by Czechoslovakia’s support for Ukrainian émigrés. From Prague’s point of view, Polish support for Hungarian revanchism was equally unacceptable.

These foreign policy objectives were decisive for Polish attitudes to Slovakia in the interwar period. The Polish side did not see Slovakia as an equal partner but as a means to destabilise Czechoslovakia, the country’s rival in the Central European space. Slovakia was crucial to Poland’s plan to block the creation of any “Czech-Russian corridor”, and it hoped that it could find points in Slovakia or in Subcarpathian Ruthenia where it could create a common border with Hungary, which would open the way for Warsaw to project power further south. This was something of a gamble from Poland’s side because its policy undermined the foundations of the Versailles system, which had restored Poland’s statehood. On the other hand, Poland and Hungary had interests in common in the Central Europe: an anti-Russian, anti-Bolshevik attitude and opposition to Czechoslovakia. Warsaw thus expressed open support for Hungary’s revisionist plans, saying that Trianon had hurt Poland as well as Hungary.

This is the context in which the Polish assistance to Andrej Hlinka (1864–1938) in travelling to the Paris peace conference in autumn 1919 must be considered. Anything that would weaken the Czechoslovak state was welcome in Warsaw. When Piłsudski found out that Hlinka had not come to him to ask him to take Slovakia under his protection but only wanted passports, he was very disappointed.<sup>4</sup>

Educated Slovak youth began to take an increased interest in Polish culture, art, history and science in the early 1920s. Professor Władysław Semkowicz played an important role in supporting young Slovaks together with the journalist and politician Feliks Gwiżdż and others. They initiated and organised contacts between Slovak and Polish academic and intellectual circles and advocated for the provision of internships for young Slovak scholars at Polish universities.<sup>5</sup> The Jagiellonian University in Krakow had the most sought-after places.

The attention that young Slovaks, especially the autonomist generation, paid to Poland and Polish-Slovak rapprochement between the wars was motivated mainly

<sup>4</sup> Orlof, E. (1999). *Stosunek Polski do Słowacji (1918–1920)*. In Koryn, A. (ed.), *Odrodzona Polska wśród sąsiadów 1918–1921*, Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN – Mazowiecka Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczno-Pedagogiczna w Łowiczu, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> Gniazdowski, M. (2010). *Slovenský autonomizmus v polskej politike v 30. rokoch*. In *Česko-slovenská historická ročenka*, pp. 245–246.

by the desire for their northern neighbour's support in resisting Prague's centralising tendency and promotion of a Czechoslovak identity. As an ambitious Slavic nation with a close language and religion, it fascinated educated Slovak youth. Poland made efforts to tap into this potential and to cultivate it and exploit it to its advantage.

The group that was most active in this respect was the aforementioned Krakow Centre led by Władysław Semkowicz (1878–1949), who joined Poland's oldest university from Lvov in 1916 and three years later had become a full professor. He focused mainly on Polish medieval history and the auxiliary sciences of history.<sup>6</sup> Semkowicz's activities relating to Slovakia gradually formed into two channels. The first was to promote the annexation to Poland of areas in Spiš, Orava and Kysuce inhabited by Goral people, while the second was the intensive development of stronger links and cooperation between Slovakia and Poland.

At the end of 1918 he became involved in the activities of the Tatra Society,<sup>7</sup> which sought to acquire border territories in northern Slovakia that the Poles believed had originally been inhabited by a Polish population. In 1919 the society became the Polish National Committee for the Defence of Spiš, Orava, Kysuce and Podhale,<sup>8</sup> in which he served as treasurer and archivist. He was also actively involved in its publication and propaganda activities. In the same year, the committee's general meeting shortened its name to Defence of the Southern Border.<sup>9</sup> Semkowicz became the manager of its head office and the chairman of its Krakow branch. Besides propaganda work, he was deeply involved in formulating Poland's demands at the peace conference. He served as an expert advisor to the foreign ministry on issues relating to the Polish-Czechoslovak border.<sup>10</sup> He favoured large-scale demands. A plebiscite was agreed by the supreme council on September 28, 1919 but would be limited to the population of the Námestovo and Trstena districts in Orava and the districts of Spišská Stará Ves, Stará Lubovňa and a part of Kežmarok district in Spiš. Both sides made efforts to win the local population to their side, but they proved to be pointless because the issue was

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<sup>6</sup> Semkowicz Władysław Jan. In: Chodery, J. – Kiryka, F. (eds.), *Słownik biograficzny historii Polski L–Ż*, Vol. I, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Zakład nadodowy Ossolineum, 2005, p. 1362.

<sup>7</sup> Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie w Krakowie.

<sup>8</sup> Polski Narodowy Komitet Obrony Spisza, Orawy, Czadeckiego i Podhala.

<sup>9</sup> Obrona Kresów Południowych.

<sup>10</sup> Trajdos, M. T. (2001). Władysław Semkowicz a Slovensko. In Čičaj, V. (ed.), *Rozprawy k slovenským dejinám. Zborník príspevkov k nedožitému 75. výročiu narodenia Pavla Horvátha*, Bratislava: Slovak Academic Press, s.r.o., pp. 277–278; Władysław Aleksander Semkowicz. In *Internetowy polski słownik biograficzny*. <<https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/wladyslaw-aleksander-semkowicz#text>>, [cit. 10. 02. 2020]

ultimately decided not by a plebiscite but by international arbitration.<sup>11</sup> Neither side was satisfied with the outcome even though Poland received more than 20 villages with around 25,000 inhabitants in Spiš and Orava, territory that had never previously been part of Poland. Later, Semkowicz's memoirs would describe his feelings about the failure to realise his vision of acquiring whole Poprad basin: "I hadn't cried so much since my father died."<sup>12</sup> He blamed the failure on the Polish government because it had underestimated the importance of the Polish-Slovak border. As a protest, he refused to accept the Order of Polonia Restituta.<sup>13</sup> He never gave up his efforts to obtain the territorial gains he envisaged in northern Slovakia. The defunct committee was replaced by the Society for the Southern and Western Border,<sup>14</sup> in which Semkowicz became vice-president in December 1920 and led the section dedicated to the Polish-Slovak border. In 1922 he became a member of the Polish-Czechoslovak committee for the solution of the Javorina question.<sup>15</sup> At the turn of the 20's and 30's, the society underwent another transformation when it merged with the Union for Defence of the Western Border<sup>16</sup> and he became vice-president of the Lesser Poland section. In addition to this function, he was an honorary member of the Polish Tatra Society and honorary president of the Spiš-Orava Union.<sup>17</sup> His contribution to the struggle to obtain border territories from Slovakia included "revival campaigns" that were intended as a covert means of "awakening" the Polish consciousness of Slovak Gorals. In 1934 the Krakow branch of the Society for Assistance of Foreign Poles<sup>18</sup> established a Committee for Cultural Assistance for Poles in Czechoslovakia<sup>19</sup> where Semkowicz engaged intensively in such activities.<sup>20</sup>

As mentioned previously, his activities concerning Slovakia also included efforts to strengthen cultural ties between the Polish and Slovak nations. Although he presented this as a non-political project, the opposite was actually the case. The aim was to emancipate the Slovaks and release them from dominance by the

<sup>11</sup> Matula, P. (2007). Úloha cirkvi v zápase o národnú identitu obyvateľstva severného Spiša a Oravy v rokoch 1918–1939. In *Človek a spoločnosť*, Vol. 10, no. 4, <<http://www.saske.sk/cas/archiv/4-2007/04-matula.html>>, [cit. 01.02.2020]

<sup>12</sup> Bartlová, A. (2008). Slovensko-poľské vzťahy v medzivojnovom období. In: Kázmerová, E. – Orlof, E. (eds.), *Slovensko-poľské vzťahy 1918–1945 očami diplomatov*, Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, p. 49.

<sup>13</sup> Trajdos, M. T. (2001). Władysław Semkowicz a Slovensko..., pp. 277–278.

<sup>14</sup> Towarzystwo Kresów Południowych i Zachodnich.

<sup>15</sup> Semkowicz, W. (1923). Prawa Polski do Jaworzyny. In *Ziemia*, Vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 3–11.

<sup>16</sup> Związek Obrony Kresów Zachodnich.

<sup>17</sup> Związek Spisko-Orawski.

<sup>18</sup> Towarzystwo Pomocy Polonii Zagranicznej.

<sup>19</sup> Komitet Pomocy Kulturalnej dla Polaków w Czechosłowacji.

<sup>20</sup> Trajdos, M. T. (2001). Władysław Semkowicz a Slovensko..., pp. 278–279.



Czechs, with the goal of establishing an independent Slovakia with strong ties to Poland. In the mid-1930s his vision aligned with the ideas of the Polish foreign minister Józef Beck (1894–1944). Semkowicz expressed his Slovakophile tendencies in the Slavic Society, where he became a member of the leadership in 1927 and later its vice-president and president.<sup>21</sup> He also supported the activities of the Society of Friends of the Slovaks in Memory of Ludovít Štúr<sup>22</sup>, which was founded in Warsaw by Senator Feliks Gwiżdż (1885–1952)<sup>23</sup> in 1936.

His largest impact on Slovak-Polish relations was his patronage of visiting Slovak students at the Jagiellonian University, which even had a Slovak Students' Association.<sup>24</sup> He took the initiative in raising bursary funds for these students. They were paid by the Polish Ministry of Faith and Public Education<sup>25</sup> based on documents that Semkowicz prepared.<sup>26</sup> From 1934 the foreign ministry took over the funding.<sup>27</sup> Dozens of Slovak students attended Krakow and other Polish universities thanks to Władysław Semkowicz. For most of them, the experience of the country and its culture developed into a long-term pro-Polish orientation. A minority managed to maintain perspective despite their sympathies and did not fall into uncritical admiration.

One of the first students to receive a bursary was František Hrušovský (1903–1956), who would go on to become an important Slovak historian. In 1923, while a student at Charles University in Prague,<sup>28</sup> he took part in a trip to Poland that so charmed him that he decided to seek a way to spend more time there. In mid-May 1923, he wrote a letter to Professor Semkowicz asking for assistance in obtaining a bursary to attend the Jagiellonian University. The keen Slovak student wrote that he had long wanted to get to know the Slovaks' Polish brother nation, whose history had always interested him. Since he also wanted to know its great culture and rich literature, he had decided to teach himself the language, as evidence of which his letter was written in Polish.<sup>29</sup> Professor Semkowicz granted

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 280–281.

<sup>22</sup> Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Słowaków.

<sup>23</sup> Majeriková, M. (2007). *Vojna o Spiš*. Krakov: Spolek Slovákov v Poľsku/ Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, pp. 77–79.

<sup>24</sup> Władysław Aleksander Semkowicz. In *Internetowy polski słownik biograficzny...*

<sup>25</sup> Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego.

<sup>26</sup> Kowalski, R. (2015). Od očárenia ku sklamaniu František Hrušovský a jeho styky s Poľskom v rokoch 1924–1939. In *Verbum historiae*, Vol. 3, no. 1, p. 61, <[https://www.fedu.uniba.sk/fileadmin/pdf/Sucasti/Katedry/KH/Verbum\\_Historiae/VH\\_1-2015.pdf](https://www.fedu.uniba.sk/fileadmin/pdf/Sucasti/Katedry/KH/Verbum_Historiae/VH_1-2015.pdf)>, [cit. 01. 02. 2020].

<sup>27</sup> Trajdos, M. T. (2001). Władysław Semkowicz a Slovensko..., pp. 283–284.

<sup>28</sup> Kowalski, R. (2015). Od očárenia k sklamaniu. František Hrušovský a jeho styky s Poľskom v rokoch 1924–1939..., p. 57.

<sup>29</sup> Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, Manuscripts Section of Special Collection Department (BJ-CR), sign. 9582, František Hrušovský's letter to prof. W. Semkowicz, May 13, 1923, pp. 202–203.

his request and Hrušovský was able to spend the 1923/1924 academic year at the Faculty of Arts of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. Two young Slovaks also studied with him: Mikuláš Stano (1903–1962), who would become an important translator from Polish, and Andrej Germuška (1902–1992), the future governor and deputy.<sup>30</sup> Besides the money granted by the ministry, Semkowicz arranged additional support for them amounting to 15,000,000 Polish marks.<sup>31</sup> The professor had high hopes for the Slovak youth. He expected that in the near future they would become ambassadors of Polish culture and initiate a real, not just a declared rapprochement between the two nations.<sup>32</sup> In a letter addressed to the National Cultural Fund in Warsaw,<sup>33</sup> he wrote with conviction that Slovak youth left the precincts of the Jagiellonian University full of enthusiasm for Poland and the bursary programme was achieving evident results and political benefits. He said that they were raising awareness of Polish literature so that it would be translated and popularised in Slovakia.<sup>34</sup> The Polish ethnographer and geographer Marian Gotkiewicz (1901–1972), who also supported the annexation of territories in Spiš and Orava to Poland, later recalled the first visiting Slovak students: “All of them were fervent supporters of the priest Andrej Hlinka, fighting for Slovak autonomy... They were all Polonophiles and avoided controversial issues like Spiš and Orava. I often met them at Professor Semkowicz’s... I quickly made such good friendships with the Slovak students that I wrote fewer and fewer articles about Spiš and Orava. Of course, I had no doubt that those were Polish lands, but I started to look at them through Professor Semkowicz’s eyes as real friends of Poland who would explain to their fellow countrymen that the claims of the mistreatment of their nation by Poland in the years 1920–1924, based on the transfer of tiny pieces of Spiš and Orava, were untruthful.”<sup>35</sup>

Gotkiewicz continued to follow Professor Semkowicz’s guidance on Slovak-Polish relations thereafter. When a group of Slovak students from Comenius University arrived in Krakow in 1929, the professor advised Gotkiewicz to welcome them in Slovak and dictated exactly what to say to them. His speech should express admiration for Slovakia and its people, as well as a call for the two

<sup>30</sup> BJ-CR, sig. 9584 III, Mikuláš Stano’s letter to W. Semkowicz, 26 February 1925, p. 54.

<sup>31</sup> Kowalski, R. (2015). *Od očarenia k sklamaniu. František Hrušovský a jeho styky s Poľskom v rokoch 1924–1939...*, p. 61, 1 million Polish marks were at the end of October 1923 – 16 Czechoslovak crowns (Kč), in mid-November 22 Kč, in late November 10 Kč.

<sup>32</sup> Trajdos, M. T. (1999). Władysław Semkowicz wobec Słowacji. In Orlof, E. (ed.), *Od poznania do zrozumienia. Polacy, Czesi, Słowacy w XX wieku*, Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyzszej szkoły pedagogicznej, pp. 109–127.

<sup>33</sup> Fundusz Kultury Narodowej.

<sup>34</sup> Kowalski, R. (2015). *Od očarenia k sklamaniu. František Hrušovský a jeho styky s Poľskom v rokoch 1924–1939...*, p. 61.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64.

nations to establish stronger ties. All problems came from the Czechs and Czechoslovakism.<sup>36</sup>

New Slovak students came to the Jagiellonian University every year thanks to Professor Semkowicz, who paid the bursaries directly. Their number gradually increased. While just 3<sup>37</sup> came in 1930, 4 years later there were 6<sup>38</sup> and in 1935 the number had already doubled.<sup>39</sup> The interest of Slovak students in residence in Krakow naturally attracted the interest of the Czechoslovak authorities. They noticed the first bursary recipient, František Hrušovský, and as a result his return home was not the most pleasant. They searched his home on December 5, 1923. A variety of notes and documents were confiscated. He was also instructed to attend court on 31 December 1923 to give a more detailed explanation.<sup>40</sup> Mikuláš Stano also experienced complications when, without any explanation, the ministry of education refused to recognise his studies at the Jagiellonian University.<sup>41</sup> The students who participated in the bursary programme in 1934 were also investigated by the police. They were also threatened with the loss of their exemption from boarding fees because of their stay in Poland.<sup>42</sup> Jozef Kirschbaum (1913–2001), who participated in the programme in Krakow in 1935, experienced similar complications. He also had problems getting credit for the semester.<sup>43</sup>

The Czechoslovak Consulate in Krakow closely monitored the situation. Although they thought it was senseless to take action against the Slovak participants in the programme, they saw Professor Semkowicz as potentially hostile to Czechoslovakia. In the opinion of the consul, Artur Maixner (1899–1971), since Semkowicz worked in the academic environment, he was surely aware of rules of study and that full-time students must not put off seminar and pre-seminar work without the consent of the university authorities or else be at risk of losing the semester. Instead of recruiting programme participants through the rector's office of Comenius University, Semkowicz recruited them privately, mainly through Władysław Bobek (1902–1942), a teacher of Polish in Bratislava. Semkowicz explained this practice in his own words as being designed "to stop any spies getting in", by which he may have meant a Czech or a pro-Czechoslovak Slovak. According to Maixner, he made no outward expression of

<sup>36</sup> Trajdos, M. T. (2001). Władysław Semkowicz a Slovensko..., pp. 284–285.

<sup>37</sup> The Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Czech Republic, Prague (AMZV), f. Politické zprávy, Krakov 1931–1937 (PZ), Report for October 1930, p. 14.

<sup>38</sup> AMZV-PZ, Report for 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter 1934, p. 31.

<sup>39</sup> AMZV-PZ, Report for 1<sup>st</sup> quarter 1935, p. 32.

<sup>40</sup> BJ-CR, sig. 9582 III, F. Hrušovský's letter to W. Semkowicz, December 21, 1923, pp. 204–205.

<sup>41</sup> BJ-CR, sig. 9584 III, Mikuláš Stano's letter to W. Semkowicz, February 26, 1925, pp. 53–54.

<sup>42</sup> AMZV-PZ, Report for 4<sup>th</sup> quarter 1935, pp. 27–28.

<sup>43</sup> BJ – CR, sign. 9583 III, J. M. Kirschbaum's letter to W. Semkowicz, November 1, 1935, p. 30.

hostility to Czechoslovakia, but he was good at exploiting disagreements between Czechs and Slovaks.<sup>44</sup>

Semkowicz's efforts to support Slovak students and closer Slovak-Polish relations gradually bore fruit, though perhaps not in such a strong form as he had hoped. Many of the programme participants promoted Polish literature, art and history after their return home. They translated Polish works into Slovak, set up cooperation with Slovak societies and institutions and organised school trips, lectures and discussions. This Polonophilia was not limited to the cultural sphere but also had an effect on politics, as members or supporters the Hlinka Slovak People's Party (HSLP) looked for support in Poland for their struggles with Prague. The HSLP had a Polonophile faction led by the journalist and parliamentarian Karol Sidor (1901–1953), who maintained contacts with Polish politicians. In 1933 the HSLP even adopted a resolution calling for close cooperation with Poland.<sup>45</sup> Shortly before the Munich Agreement was signed the deputies of the HSLP Karol Sidor and Jozef Tiso (1863–1947) presented on September 29, 1938 "The Declaration of a Union Between Slovakia and Poland" at the Polish legation in Prague. In case of disintegration of Czechoslovakia Slovak autonomist leaders looked to Poland for guarantees of Slovakia's integrity and security and opted for a union between Slovakia and Poland.<sup>46</sup> At the end of 1938, the pro-Polish Slovak cultural elite was exposed to difficult trials and dilemmas. The Polish territorial claims against Slovakia severely disappointed the Polonophiles and stirred up hostility in Slovak society against their northern neighbour. In some, a pro-Polish passion transformed into strong anti-Polish sentiment (e.g. Karol Murgaš)<sup>47</sup> or coldness (František Hrušovský)<sup>48</sup>, while others kept a critical distance (Jozef Kirschbaum).<sup>49</sup> Semkowicz's Slovakophilia also entered a critical stage in the late 1930s. The failure to agree with the Slovaks on

<sup>44</sup> The Slovak National Archives, f. Krajinský úrad – prez., k. no. 263, Report of Czechoslovak consul in Krakow A. Maixner to Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague, May 24, 1935, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> *Slovák*, Vol. 15, no. 114, 19 May 1933, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Jesenský, M. (2014). *The Slovak-Polish Border 1918–1947*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 85; Segeš, D. – Hertel, M. – Bystrický, V. (eds.), *Slovensko a slovenská otázka v poľských a maďarských diplomatických dokumentoch v rokoch 1938–1939*. Bratislava: Pro Historia, p. 320.

<sup>47</sup> Karol Murgaš (1899–1972) was a representative of a radical fraction in the HSLP, see Čarnogurský, P. (1992). *14. marec 1939*. Bratislava: VEDA, p. 160; Murgaš, Karol. In *Biografický lexikón Slovenska VI, M–N*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2017, pp. 631–632.

<sup>48</sup> Šimončík, J. (2003). Denník dr. Františka Hrušovského, predsedu Delimitačnej komisie československo-poľskej roku 1938. In *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia III*, p. 328.

<sup>49</sup> Matula, P. (2019). Jozef M. Kirschbaum a jeho vzťah k Poľsku. In *Verbum historiae*, Vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 88–99.

changes to the border in Spiš, Orava and Kysuce was a great disappointment for him and his Polish followers.<sup>50</sup>

Nevertheless, there were a number of Slovaks who kept their contacts in Polish cultural circles and continued to have pro-Polish sentiments even after the country's defeat in September 1939 (e.g. Karol Sidor, Pavol Čarnogurský<sup>51</sup>, Stanislav Mečiar<sup>52</sup>, Mikuláš Štano and others). Many of the Slovak Polonophiles had connections to the people's party regime and therefore went into exile after the Second World War. The post-war international system in which Czechoslovakia and Poland were under the influence of the Soviet Union created a completely different socio-political situation from what had existed in the interwar period, which had been so favourable for the development of Polonophilia in Slovakia.

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<sup>50</sup> Trajdos, M. T. (2001). Władysław Semkowicz a Slovensko..., p. 300.

<sup>51</sup> Pavol Čarnogurský (1908–1992) was a Slovak politician and a member of the Slovak Parliament (1938–1945), see Čarnogurský, Pavol. In *Biografický lexikón Slovenska II, C–F*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2004. pp. 107–108.

<sup>52</sup> Stanislav Mečiar (1910–1971) was a literary historian and a representative of Slovak scientific and cultural institution Matica Slovenska, see Mečiar, Stanislav. In *Biografický lexikón Slovenska VI, M–N*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2017, pp. 319–320.

## Czechoslovak Assistance with the Development of Military Technical College in Cairo (1959–1977)

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*The paper presents Czechoslovak-Egyptian cooperation in the field of military education in years 1958–1977. The article deals mainly with the assistance of the Military Academy of Antonín Zápotočký in Brno in establishing and building Military Technical College in Cairo with regard to important events of that period (for example Arab-Israeli Wars and occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968). The article is based on sources from Czech military archives.*

Key words: Czechoslovakia; Egypt; Military Academy of Antonín Zápotočký in Brno; Military Technical College in Cairo; military education

In April of 1958, the Czechoslovak Minister of Defense turned to his Egyptian counterpart with the following request: “Your Excellency, I would be very thankful to Your Excellency for submitting the UAR<sup>1</sup> application to the Czechoslovak Government of the Republic with regard to the assistance in the organization and establishment of the Academy of Military Sciences in Egypt, which will include sections for armaments, electronics and tanks.” Since the following year, Czechoslovakia began building a military college for the needs of the Egyptian army. The broadly focused and all-around complicated process came to an end in 1977.

Communist Czechoslovakia played a specific role as the arms exporter to various states politically close to the Soviet Union. In 1948, Czechoslovak arms supplies essentially saved Israel from the invading armies of its Arab neighbors. However, the hopes of turning Israel into a new Soviet satellite were not met, so the interest of the USSR turned to its Arab adversaries in the region. Another possible ally for the expansive efforts of the Soviet bloc was Nasser’s Egypt. On the basis of a positive decision from Moscow, the Czechoslovak authorities in October of 1955 decided to supply arms to Egypt and, under Soviet patronage, began extensive military-technical assistance to the Nasser regime.

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<sup>1</sup> United Arab Republic

There is no need to mention the necessity of a military school for every modern army. This was especially true for Egypt, in which the overwhelming majority of army leaders came from the army. The question of a college became intense. Since 1955, Egyptians had explored options for Czechoslovak participation in specialized courses. Since infiltration into the Egyptian armed forces was a goal of Soviet leadership, Czechoslovakia responded positively to the Egyptian plea. At the end of 1956, instructors from the VAZ Academy of the Antonín Zápotocký Military Academy in Alexandria began to work in Alexandria. The Egyptians enjoyed these courses so much that they decided to turn to the Czechoslovak development of such a university.

As further support for Nasser's regime, it was highly desirable from the point of view of the Soviet Union's policy and its interests in the Middle East that nothing should stand in the way of further cooperation. Assistance to Egypt by the Soviet bloc states in the development of the former's armed forces became a priority in the bipolar world, which was to be given the greatest attention by the Moscow leadership and Soviet satellites, including Czechoslovakia.

### **Emergence of an independent Military Technical College in Cairo**

On the basis of the decision of the communist party in Czechoslovakia, a plan for the construction of a separate university in Egypt was adopted. The Czechoslovak VAAZ would be the model for the future school. Teachers were also to be sent to Egypt from the Academy in Brno. General Josef Zuska became the first commander of Czechoslovak experts in the construction of the Military Technical College (MTC).<sup>2</sup>

The first group of Czechoslovaks arrived in Cairo during February of 1959. A small group of students began studying there. After the school was moved to more robust buildings, the number of students and Czechoslovak experts increased.

As early as the 1960s, Czechoslovak assistance in the construction of the MTC entered a crisis. The place of gen. Zuska was taken over by Lieutenant Colonel Oswald Vašíček, who did not have the proper experience with the development of such a school. The task thus exceeded his capabilities and, in addition, there were serious conflicts with the Egyptian school senior administration.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Central Military Archive– Administrative archive of Czech republic's Army Olomouc (VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc), fond 538 – VAAZ, karton 421, Kontrakt 40-66-32.

<sup>3</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 421, Contracts.; SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 418, Materiel from methodic employment for evaluation of action at MTC. Talk of Lt. Svatopluk Slaviček – „Method of employment at MTC“, pp. 3–4.

### Development of MTC in the first half of the 1960s

It was not until 1962 that the MTC, by the decree of the President of the Republic, was embedded in the system of Egyptian higher education and thus received the right to award such academic degrees as BSc, MSc. and Ph.D.<sup>4</sup> The MTC was built according to the Czechoslovak concept and, in essence, corresponded to the needs of building contemporary modern armies, although it was characterized by a number of specifics of the Arab world.<sup>5</sup> For predominantly atheistic Czechoslovak teachers, for example, religious holidays caused some stress. Outside of the Ramadan, the lectures were often disturbed by shorter but more frequent Bajrams. There was also a mosque near the school that students could attend at any time to pray.<sup>6</sup>

The MTC was not limited to Egyptian students. After the establishment of the Egyptian-Syrian Union in 1958 (UAR), the school began to accept Syrian students. However, according to the memories of Czechoslovak teachers, relations between the Egyptians and the Syrians were not the best and there were pressures to increase the failure rate of Syrian students.<sup>7</sup>

In order to calm the situation within the Czechoslovak group, a new leader arrived in Egypt, Gen. Jan Bělohoubek. At the time of his arrival, teaching at the MTC took place in 19 departments and, for the time being, in one specialization. Czechoslovak teachers occupied the majority of positions in most departments.<sup>8</sup>

The areas where Czechoslovak experts did a great deal of work were the mandatory practices of Egyptian cadets in both manufacturing and military services. Here we must take into account the fact that any requirement for manual work by the students was rejected once the school began to function.<sup>9</sup>

The education of the Egyptian pedagogical corps was a tricky issue. At that time in Czechoslovakia, several members of the Egyptian Army successfully

<sup>4</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 415, Administrative letter EAR.; VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 418, Materiel from methodic employment for evaluation of action at MTC. Czechoslovak cooperation in the development of MTC, pp. 1–2.

<sup>5</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 418, Materiel from methodic employment for evaluation of action at MTC. Report of leader of Czechoslovak experts at MTC about the results of action at MTC and about experience from its implementation, pp. 14–15.

<sup>6</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 415, Experience and knowledge acquired during the activities at MTC in Cairo.

<sup>7</sup> ABS, f. ZSGŠ, a.č. 81, Vašíček Osvald, Appendix č. 1 k čj. 007101.

<sup>8</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 420, Report on the change of Czechoslovak leadership at MTC in Cairo; VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. personal reports of soldiers, personal file of Genlt. Ing. Jan Bělohoubek, Proposal for reserve replacement.

VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 420, Report on the change of Czechoslovak leadership at MTC in Cairo.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



completed their Ph.D. Other Egyptians studied in the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>10</sup>

### 1967 – A Milestone year in the development of MTC

The second half of the 1960s, when Egypt closely co-operated with the USSR, provided ideal conditions for cooperation with Czechoslovakia. The Egyptians implemented a number of measures that the Czechoslovaks welcomed and characterized as “steps on the path of non-capitalist development.”<sup>11</sup>

The conflict with Israel affected both Egypt and MTC. After long-running tensions, on June 5, 1967, Israel attacked targets in Egypt and Syria via air strikes. Within a few hours, Israeli pilots had destroyed most of the Egyptian Air Force. Subsequent war operations led to the complete defeat of the Egyptian army. At MTC there were holidays at that time, so most Czechoslovak experts and their families were in Czechoslovakia. However, the conflict was reflected in a significant decline in the number of Egyptian teachers. Immediately after the fighting, the Egyptian side explored the possibilities of further supplies of war fighting materiel. That effort was successful and until 1971, agreements were concluded with a total volume of more than 3 billion CZK.<sup>12</sup>

1967 also became a particular dividing point in the development of the MTC. Czechoslovak experts, whose numbers peaked between 1966 and 1968, still covered most of the educational processes at this time. Simultaneously, postgraduate studies were introduced to the MTC. Nevertheless, this period was characterized as a stage of the quantitative and qualitative growth of the school in the preparation of expert staff for the needs of the Egyptian army. Two-level study was dropped and the educational process was aimed toward five-year study, as at VAAZ.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> VÚA v SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 419, Position and recommendations of Czechoslovak delegation with regard to common cooperation debated with the commander of MTC Gen. M.I.H. Selim from 23 June to 12 July 1965.

<sup>11</sup> Brož, I. (2010). *Arabsko-izraelské války 1948–1973*. Praha: Epocha, p. 198.; VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 419, Contemporary state of development at MTC and main tasks of this development, p. 4.; Ivan Brož (1938–2012) author of non-fiction literature participated at MTC during the years 1963–1966 in the role of interpreter.

<sup>12</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 419, Contemporary state of development at MTC and main tasks of this development, s. 4; VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 416, Stanovisko VAAZ report PV ČSSR (VTA Káhira).

<sup>13</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 418, Materiel from methodical employment to evaluation of action at MTC. Report of leader of Czechoslovak experts at MTC about the results of action at MTC and about experience from its implementation, pp. 14–15.

### August 1968 – Beginnings of personnel crises

In the summer of 1968 the process of reformation in Czechoslovakia was aborted by violent occupation. Previous liberal tendencies were also manifested in the Czechoslovak army, and for those in the army who had been working in essentially capitalist Egypt, these tendencies were very strong. It was obvious that the new pro-Moscow leadership in Prague would soon carry out extensive purges in both Czechoslovak society and the army. In Egypt, Gen. Josef Vosáhlo had arrived for this purpose. He belonged to the younger generation of Czechoslovak generals of pro-Russian leaning and soon began purging his subordinates in Egypt.

A large number of contracted Czechoslovak experts, either directly in Cairo or at home in Czechoslovakia, joined various protests against the invasion and, for these reasons, their presence abroad and in the army became impossible. As a result of staff cleansing among Czechoslovak educators, there would emerge a general shortage of teachers to cover teaching in Egypt. The public sector – civilian universities, scientific institutions and the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences – required attention in Czechoslovakia.<sup>14</sup>

### Kvantitative perspective of actions at MTC<sup>15</sup>

Kvantitative perspective of actions at MTC <sup>15</sup>										
School year	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Number of experts	36	68	75	85	141	151	161	202	191	154
School year	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>
	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Number of experts	191	154	157	171	164	172	168	149	75	29

<sup>14</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. 538 – VAAZ, kart. 420, Service-political analysis of situation development at MTC from January 1968 to te end of June 1970.

<sup>15</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. Military Academy of Antonín Zápotocký in Brno (VAAZ), f. 418, Materiel from methodical employment to evaluation of action at MTC.

## The Yom Kippur War

In 1973, Jaromír Machač became the head of Czechoslovak teachers at the MTC. He received reports that the MTC was being constantly criticized by the army for its lack of research. Czechoslovak leaders interpreted these voices as a preparation of the armed forces for a possible war.<sup>16</sup>

After a period of tension, on October 6, 1973, the Egyptian army crossed the Suez and inflicted serious losses upon Israeli forces. After two days of war, Israel's position improved but its image of invulnerability had been shattered. Despite the disruption of air communication with Cairo, the Egyptian Minister of War insisted upon teaching in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades at MTC to begin on October 13, 1973. The problem was that at least one third of Czechoslovaks were absent from Cairo. Their tasks were then taken over by their Egyptian colleagues.<sup>17</sup>

After the war ended, Czechoslovak experts proposed that the school seize the equipment used by both the Egyptians and the Israelis in the war. Czechoslovaks were interested mainly in American weapons. The official reason was presented as the necessity to modernize the teaching process.<sup>18</sup>

The results of the war were also reflected by the leadership of MTC, who realized the necessity of engineer specialization, and decided to establish it in two forms, Mechanical Field Engineering and Structural Field Engineering. In connection with the experience of recent battles, the administration also called for the establishment of a specialization in Electronic Warfare. This, however, exceeded the actual possibilities of the Czechoslovak party and, therefore, the Egyptians had to rely on the Soviets.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. VAAZ, k. 419, Report on change in leadership at MTC – Káhira; Ibid, f. 421, Report on the situation at MTC; VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. Personal correspondence of soldiers, Personal report of Jaromír Machač, Personal report – Service in the new CSR Army.

<sup>17</sup> Zídek, P. – Sieber, K. (2009). *Czechoslovakia and Near East in years 1948–1989*. Praha: Ústav mezinárodních vztahů, pp. 81–82; Wanner, J. (2002). *Krvavý Jom Kippur*. Praha: Libri, pp. 161–162, 167, 287; VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. VAAZ, k. 416, Zpráva z MTC – adjustment to contract; Ibid, k. 421, Report on activities from 1. September to 15. November 1973.

<sup>18</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. VAAZ, f. 416, Report from MTC – proposal of contract adjustment; Ibid, Report on the activities of experts at MTC in Cairo. Proposal for organization structure at MTC. proposal of contract adjustment n. 17 year 1974/75; Ibid, Czechoslovak leader at MTC debates Egyptian Minister of War.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, Report from MTC – proposal of contract adjustment.

### Departure of Czechoslovak teachers

Following a meeting in July of 1974, the Minister of War received proposals by Czechoslovak experts on strengthening the military character of the school. But the promised support vanished. At the request of the Minister, a committee dealing with the further development of the school was at least established. Based on agreement between Gen. Machač and Commander of MTC, the committee began working on a draft for ten-year plan of cooperation. The plan ought to reflect requirements for the establishment of an engineer specialization and specialization in the fight against radio-technical means.<sup>20</sup>

The Yom Kipur War of October 1973 became an important landmark in Anwar Sadat's Egyptian politics. As a result of its consequences, reforms were to begin and Egypt, through its new "open door policy," began economic and political liberalization, coupled with an overall pro-American orientation. While the Eastern Bloc, headed by the Soviet Union, tried to maintain its position in the Middle East, it was unable to effectively cope with the gradual change. The new course of Egyptian politics was also reflected within the army and at the MTC.

With the new leadership of the school, the relationship gradually changed with the Czechoslovak group. The presence of a group of Czechoslovak workers, as citizens of the eastern bloc and largely Communists, on the territory of Egypt had become an unpleasant fact that might complicate relations with the West. Moreover, the situation evolved to a point where Czechoslovak teachers could be replaced by Egyptian teachers.<sup>21</sup>

The circumstances escalated in 1976, when President Sadat denounced the Soviet-Egyptian agreement on friendship and cooperation, concluded in late May of 1971. The situation in Egypt deteriorated both for the Soviets and Czechoslovak teachers at the MTC, and there was clearly a cooling of mutual relations.<sup>22</sup>

The signs of an early change occurred in June, 1977, when Egyptian officials rushed to withdraw several dozen Egyptian students from Ph.D. studies in Czechoslovakia.<sup>23</sup> In July of 1977, the leadership of Czechoslovak workers at MTC

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<sup>20</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. VAAZ, k. 416, Report on activities of leader of Czechoslovak experts at MTC in Cairo; *ibid.*, k. 418, Materiel from methodic employment to evaluation of MTC action.

<sup>21</sup> Author's archive (AA), recording of interview with Svatopluk Slaviček 11. 3. 2008; VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. VAAZ, k. 416, Report on the activities of Czechoslovak experts at MTC in Cairo 3. March 1976.

<sup>22</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. VAAZ, k. 416, Reports from MTC year 1976; Bareš, L. – Veselý, R. – Gombár, E. (2010). *Dějiny Egypta*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, p. 684.

<sup>23</sup> VÚA – SA AČR Olomouc, f. VAAZ, k. 416, k. 418, Materiel from methodic employment to evaluation of MTC action.

was told that the contract would not be renewed from the Egyptian side. At the same time, the date for leaving Cairo was established as 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1977.<sup>24</sup>

After this date, all Czechoslovaks left the school and all the functions were taken over by the Egyptians. This date ended the most important action of its kind, upon which Czechoslovakia had participated.

### Conclusion

Czechoslovakia, as a Soviet satellite, participated in the development of an Egyptian military college from 1959 to 1977. Moscow and the Czechoslovak leadership understood its participation as an absolute priority at the MTC Military Technical College, becoming a unique opportunity to influence the Egyptian armed forces and thus their Egyptian partner. For this reason, economic interests faded into the background and were outweighed by political interests. It is certain, however, that over the course of 20 years, the Czechoslovak side had managed to establish and bring to life a school that functions to this date and remains an important military-scientific institution in the Middle East.

The presence of Czechoslovaks at MTC in Cairo was not the sole action of Czechoslovakia in this kind of endeavor. Another such case was the teaching at the military technical academy in Poll-i-Kharkhi, Afghanistan. In the mid-1960s, VAAZ prepared a project documentation for the development of a military school in Syria, and in the following decade the documentation for the military joint school in Syrian Homs and for the Air Force Technical Academy in Libya. Experiences from Egypt served the Czechoslovak experts well during the years 1978 to 1985, when they taught at the Military Technical College in Baghdad.

The data for the research was collected mainly in the archives in Prague (Central Military Archive of Czech republic's Army) and its branch offices in Prague and Olomouc.

The work mainly used materials stored in the Central Military Archives in Prague (Central Military Archives of the Army of the Czech Republic) and its branches in Prague and Olomouc.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, Action VTA – termination; Report on activities of leader of Czechoslovak experts at MTC 22. April 1977.

## International Relations of Sokol Brno I Association between 1862 and 1914

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*This paper describes the history of the Sokol organisation in Brno, especially the international outreach of Sokol Brno I, and charts the beginning of the national emancipation movement and the organisation's growing ability to promote its own policies in the framework of wider European relations. The paper analyses the conditions for the development of foreign ties, the growing confidence of the Sokol movement and its ideas.*

Key words: *Gymnastic association Sokol Brno I; Moravia; the Sokol movement*

Czechs started their “own national foreign policy” during the revolutionary year of 1848. At that time, it extended to the region of central and eastern Europe. This ambition was curtailed by formidable obstacles presented by the impending unification of Germany in the West and the conservative Russian Empire in the East. The Czechs thus looked for greater security within a reborn Habsburg monarchy. When the Bohemian Sokol Community was founded in Prague on 24 March 1889, one of its first trips abroad led to France, where a Sokol delegation visited the 1889 World's Fair in Paris, without any particular aims. Three years later, a Sokol delegation left for Nancy with much greater confidence and expectations.<sup>1</sup> The Brno association did not participate, however, due to the different conditions for establishing Czech-language gymnastics associations in Bohemia and Moravia. The notes from the trip came to Brno much later through the widow of the Rector of Masaryk University.<sup>2</sup> Sokol was not the only sports organisation pursuing gymnastic and educational activities – other

<sup>1</sup> Kolář F. (1998). Sokolové – “průkopníci česko-francouzského přátelství”. In Waic M. *Sokol, jeho vznik, vývoj a význam*. Praha, pp. 5–9.

<sup>2</sup> Brno City Archives (AMB), collection R 77, inventory No. 1523, sign. Vp 5, Výprava Sokolstva do Francie 1889.

sports/gymnastic organisations in Bohemia and Moravia were also trying to build international ties.

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Literary historian Arne Novák defined three main pillars of the Sokol ideology as laid down by Tyrš: “romantic nationalism of the German Turnverein”,<sup>3</sup> decent and harmonious ideal of Greek kalokagathia” and “patriotic liberalism”. The German Turnverein (Turner) movement<sup>4</sup> was founded by Pastor Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (a putative descendant of Czech emigrés) and since it was widely considered to be a champion of democracy, it became the model for Sokol.<sup>5</sup>

Jindřich Fügner saw Turner exercises during some of the festivities organised in the early 1860s in Coburg, Berlin or Leipzig. The first German sports and tourist clubs, the fencing club in Hannover, Regatta in Hannover, the Austrian Alpenverein and the gymnastic magazine *Deutsche Turnzeitung* all served as inspiration to the Sokol movement. At the beginning, Miroslav Tyrš did not oppose mutual visits; he himself often participated in public gymnastic exercises of the Turnverein in Prague. Shortly after the establishment of Sokol Prague, he invited Turnverein representatives from Berlin and Leipzig to visit the Sokol gymnasium.<sup>6</sup>

Classical heritage became a natural part of Czech National Revival, whose new humanism adopted the Greek ideal of harmony of reason, emotion and will. This revival of Classical heritage also carried the seeds of future Czech civic society. Miroslav Tyrš built on this element by introducing the idea of building a mass movement to teach citizens to live in freedom. Indeed, this was, according to the revivalists, a necessary requirement for individuals to develop their best mental and physical potential for their own good and good of the whole community.<sup>7</sup>

In the same period when the Classical notion of kalokagathia, as expanded on by Miroslav Tyrš, laid the foundation of social life associated with the future of the Czech state, the first gymnastic associations began to appear as part of a pluralist systems of gymnastics and sports.<sup>8</sup> The founding of the Czech gymnastic association named Sokol in Prague (called Gymnastics Association of Prague before 1864) on 16 February 1862 thus marked the beginning of organised sports

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<sup>3</sup> The German nationalism, born from the resistance against the French occupation during the Napoleonic Wars, became a role model for the Czech National Revival.

<sup>4</sup> For this reason, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk originally criticised the movement as “a purely German idea transplanted to the Czech lands from Germany and embellished by Czech national eclecticism”.

<sup>5</sup> Sak R. (2012). *Miroslav Tyrš: sokol, myslitel, výtvarný kritik*. Praha, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Strachová M. (2013). *Sport a Český svaz tělesné výchovy po roce 1989*. Brno, p. 18.

in Bohemia. In the same general period, a Moravian gymnastic association was founded in Brno; however, due to administrative delays, its statute was only approved on 2 December 1862. It is of note that organised gymnastics in Brno started two months earlier than in Prague.<sup>9</sup>

The effort to establish gymnastics in Brno was spearheaded by Jan Helcelet, whose personal credo of “beauty, truth and freedom” overlapped with the Sokol ideas. As a physician, Helcelet paid equal attention to physical and mental health throughout his whole life. Nevertheless, he founded the association for different reasons. The two main objectives of the Brno association consisted in educating the Moravian teachers of physical education to support sports and gymnastics throughout the country and cultivating physical education as a means to maintain the individual's health and physical fitness. Hence, Jan Helcelet's notions of organised gymnastic association were not based on a single idea as was the case of Sokol Prague. The association in Brno did not have a unified idea behind it,<sup>10</sup> nevertheless, it did adhere to Greek kalokagathia and stood in opposition to Christian asceticism.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, the Brno association was facing problems with inadequate premises and lack of equipment. From its founding to spring 1863, it used the premises of the Hergsell Gymnastics Institute; no exercises were organised in the summer.<sup>12</sup> The association shortly became active again in winter 1863–1864, but ceased its activities in the spring.

The ideological basis of the association was only built and specified later alongside the growing national movement. Sokol ideas were for the first time reflected in its name: in 1864, the Brno gymnastic association adopted the name Sokol from its counterpart in Prague. This was done with the aim of boosting the sense of solidarity among members of the Sokol movement in the Czech lands. However, the association's long term problems – hostility of Brno authorities, financial difficulties, lack of premises and scarce membership<sup>13</sup> – persisted and the association was forced to close down in January 1867.

<sup>9</sup> The first gymnastic exercises of Sokol Brno were held on 15 January 1862. The statute was approved only on 2 December 1862, which is why this date is considered to be the founding date of the association. Zapletal V. *Počátky Sokola brněnského 1862–1871*. In Zapletal V. – Kožík F. (1948). *Dějiny Sokola Brno I, 1862–1887*. Brno, pp. 18–22; Cf. Waic M. *Tělovýchova a sport*. p. 26; Červená R. *Počátky brněnského Sokola*. p. 217–257. For up-to-date history of the association see: Strachová M. (2020). *Dějiny Sokola Brno I*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

<sup>10</sup> This would be documented by leaving out Article 9 on the symbol of the Prague association, i.e. a falcon in flight. Zapletal V. *Počátky Sokola brněnského 1862–1871*. In Zapletal V. – Kožík F. (1948). *Dějiny Sokola Brno I*, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> Kabelík J. (1910). *Korespondence a zápisky Jana Helceleta*. Brno, p. 70.

<sup>12</sup> For more details on the premises of the Brno association see Červená R. (2008). *Výbudování stadionu Sokola Brno I. Sokolské tělocvičny v letech 1862–1929*. BMD 21, p. 181–205.

<sup>13</sup> The already low demand for exercise was further weakened by the cholera outbreak brought to Brno during the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. The first cases of cholera appeared in



It was the political situation that led the Czechs to participate in national awareness events and movements.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, the conditions in Brno were suitable thanks to the opening of Slovanské gymnázium (*Slavic Grammar School*) which brought Czech-speaking youth to the city. A new public assembly law had also been adopted.<sup>15</sup> Everything seemed to indicate that the time was right to re-establish the gymnastic association on newer, firmer ideological foundations. The leading figure of the re-established Sokol Brno was Ctibor Helcelet, the son of Jan Helcelet, who had been in touch with the growing idea of the Brno association from its inception. He also had experience obtained in the Prague association.<sup>16</sup> Ctibor Helcelet could not get to Brno earlier since he started his studies of law in Krakow, Poland, on 15 April 1866. After obtaining his degree from the Faculty of Law on 27 June 1867, he took up the position of court clerk in Těšín; however, he resigned his office after a year of service. He then joined the Alois Pražák's law office in Brno as a trainee attorney-at-law. At the same time, when Ctibor Helcelet came to Brno the Turners were preparing to open a new gymnasium near Špilberk.<sup>17</sup> Ctibor Helcelet later tried to apply the experience gained in Sokol Prague in Brno.

However, the situation still was not easy for the Czech gymnastic association since the events of 1863–1867 made the German inhabitants of Brno more suspicious of outward manifestations of Czech patriotism.<sup>18</sup> Despite the difficulties, the gymnastic association was re-established in Brno on 23 September 1868 when its statute was approved and the association adopted the name Tělocvičná jednota Sokol v Brně – Sokol Gymnastic Association in Brno. Its first gymnasium was created in the basement of Florián Zedník's house. Only then, with the arrival of Ctibor Helcelet, the right conditions arose to enable the local Sokol organisation to push for its own independent policy.

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Komárov and the epidemic had spread around the whole city by 18 July. The total of 2,767 persons in Brno contracted the disease, of which 1,436 died.

<sup>14</sup> Malíř J. K počátkům národních sporů v Brně v letech 1863–1867: od rakouského patriotismu k nacionalismu. In Jordánková H. (2016). *Alis volat propriis*: sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu Ludmily Sulitkové. Brno, p. 475.

<sup>15</sup> Act No. 135/1867 of the Imperial Collection of Laws, on the right of assembly.

<sup>16</sup> He joined Sokol Prague already in November 1862. His activities were closely observed by his father Jan Helcelet. By the end of 1863, Ctibor Helcelet became a trainer of gymnastics and fencing. "We hereby certify that brother Ctibor Helcelet has taught gymnastics and fencing in the Sokol Prague association and in doing so has demonstrated extraordinary enthusiasm for and knowledge of all fields of gymnastics. For this reason, we sincerely recommend him to our brothers in Brno." Groh V. – Jandásek L. – Krejčí A. (1940). *Letters of Dr. Miroslav Tyrš to Ctibor Helcelet*. Praha, No. IV., p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> For more on Turnhalle, see Kroupa J. (2015). *Dějiny Brna 7*. Uměleckohistorické památky, historické jádro, Brno, pp. 640–641.

<sup>18</sup> Malíř J. K počátkům národních sporů. In Jordánková H. (2016). *Alis volat propriis*. p. 476.

The main shortcoming preventing the association from pursuing its own interests was the lack of an organisational framework of the Sokol associations. The first centralising attempts led to the organisation of regional assemblies already in 1884, which adopted the template created by the German Turners. In 1871, the Association of Sokol Administrative Districts was formed to unite all Moravian associations under one roof. Since 1872, the Moravian Association of Sokol Administrative Districts (*Sokolská župní jednota Moravská*) was not able to function due to persecution by the authorities.<sup>19</sup> An attempt to change the situation took place on 17 September 1879 when its representatives met in Brno (12 people representing 7 associations). Nevertheless, the association was forced to remain inactive for 6 more years. The political thaw of the 1880s allowed the representatives of three associations (in Brno, Prostějov and Vyškov) to reactivate regional activities on 25 May 1885.<sup>20</sup> However, a higher organisational component was still missing. In Bohemia, independent foreign outreach was enabled by the aforementioned formation of the Bohemian Sokol Community on 24 March 1889. The same thing only happened in Moravia at the general meeting of 4 October 1891 in Prostějov, where the decision was made to form the Moravian-Silesian Sokol Community (MSSC). The statute, however, had to be redrafted twice before the Austrian Imperial and Royal Ministry of the Interior accepted it by its decree No. 16 666 of 8 August 1892, thereby permitting the transformation of the Moravian Association of Sokol Administrative Districts in Brno. In 1892, it was thus possible to form the highest organisational component in Moravia; the mayor's residence in Brno became its seat. However, the newly adopted statute differed significantly from the statute of the Bohemian Sokol Community (BSC). The mission of MSSC was to cultivate gymnastics by fostering a closer union and mutual support among the individual associations. It is not surprising that the wording of the statute was not well received by the BSC which perceived it as a separatist project aimed at hindering the union of all Czech-language Sokol communities in the Czech lands.<sup>21</sup> In 1898, when BSC attempted to centralise all Sokol associations in the Czech lands under its administration, two opposite groups formed in Moravia. One favoured the merger, the other wanted to wait and see. These tendencies first clearly manifested in 1903 when the MSSC board voted to dissolve itself and merge with BSC, but the committee opposed the decision. The members of the committee

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<sup>19</sup> The Lower Austrian administrative district was only allowed to hold its founding general meeting on 18 March 1873.

<sup>20</sup> Kožík F. Do prvního pětadvacetiletí 1872–1887. In Zapletal V. – Kožík F. (1948). *Dějiny Sokola*, pp. 124–125, 185–186.

<sup>21</sup> AMB, coll. R 77, inv. No. 979, Mašek F. (1909). *Snahy o zřízení ústrojí českého sokolstva*. Praha, pp. 64–65.

believed in the importance of Brno as the centre of Sokol activities in Moravia.<sup>22</sup> The pressure on MSSC from BSC finally led to the resolution whereby MSSC recommended that the Moravian administrative districts join the BSC. However, it also issued a statement that reflected its scepticism about the process: “Nevertheless, we continue to believe that dissolving the current regional Sokol organisations and centralising Sokol administration is not in the interest of the Sokol movement and we reserve the right to promote our opinion in the framework of BSC.”<sup>23</sup> Regardless of this attitude, all Sokol administrative districts (called *župa(s)* in Czech) in Moravia became part of BSC as of 1904.<sup>24</sup> During the entire existence of the Brno association, foreign delegations continued to visit Moravia. In 1899, there were two such visits: one by the Lower Austrian administrative district to Lednice and the other visit by Bohemian associations headed for Třebíč and Macocha.<sup>25</sup>

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As in Prague, where the founders of Sokol were inspired by foreign examples and did not oppose mutual visits between competing, mainly German associations, Brno representatives, too, were taking note of positive role models regardless of their origin.<sup>26</sup> As it later turned out, the relationship with the German citizens of Brno would be rather difficult. Despite initial friendly contacts, both national communities were forming their own separate clubs and administrative districts. Over time, this process increased mutual animosities.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, in the whole period the interest in the abroad was high in Brno, which is documented also by the subscriptions to foreign periodicals and newspapers used for the education of the association's

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<sup>22</sup> “. . . the statute of the Bohemian Sokol Community does not reflect the needs of Sokols in Moravia. The statute betrays excessive centralism and absolutism; Brno should be the centre of the Sokol movement in Moravia” AMB, coll. R 77, inv. No. 979, Mašek F. (1909). *Snahy o zřízení ústrojí českého sokolstva*, p. 70.

<sup>23</sup> AMB, coll. R 77, inv. No. 979, Mašek F. (1909). *Snahy o zřízení ústrojí českého sokolstva*. p. 71.

<sup>24</sup> The Haná administrative district was an exception and only joined on 13 May 1906.

<sup>25</sup> AMB, coll. R 77, inv. No. 1357, sign. Pp 24/2, Výroční zprávy a jubilejní tiskoviny 1886–1905, Výroční zpráva za správní rok 1899.

<sup>26</sup> Ctibor Helcelet studied French in Porrentruy, Switzerland, at the request of his father, Jan Helcelet. “Once again, I am writing to you in Czech so that you do not forget the language . . . It is important to learn and know French, in writing and in speech – I hear it is worth 20,000 gold pieces; . . . do not neglect your German and the German style either.” Helcelet J. (1932). *Father's letters to his son*. Brno, pp. 21–25. Cf. Sak R. (2012). *Miroslav Tyrš: sokol, myslitel, výtvarný kritik*. Praha, p. 65.

<sup>27</sup> Waic M. (2008). *Německé tělovýchovné a sportovní spolky v českých zemích a Československu*. Praha, p. 38.

members.<sup>28</sup> Members of the Brno association first officially met in uniforms with Prague Sokols at the christening ceremony of the flag of the “Moravan” Choir in Kroměříž in August 1865.<sup>29</sup> In May 1867, the attention shifted to abroad. At that point, Czech representatives embarked on their demonstrative journey to Moscow and members of the Brno association had high, unrealistic hopes for the trip. After the visit, the Governor of Moravia Adolf von Poche noted that Pan-Slavism had become widespread in the society.<sup>30</sup> The idea of Slavic unity was manifested not only with regard to Tsarist Russia, but increasingly also in relation to the South Slavic nations and their struggle for national liberation. The Brno association's ties are best documented by its public events – either in the form of various ceremonies and festivities or in the form of public gymnastic exercises. One such event took place from 2 to 4 July 1887 when the Brno association was celebrating the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its establishment with the participation of delegations from the USA,<sup>31</sup> Bohemia and Vienna. The public gymnastic exercise to celebrate the occasion took place in Brejch's garden in Nová street.<sup>32</sup> The gymnastic skills of Jindřich Reegr from the Vienna association attracted most attention.<sup>33</sup> *Moravská orlice* (the Moravian Eagle, a newspaper) reported on the event and its importance.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The association had subscribed to, inter alia, *Turnzeitung* (Leipzig) since 1870. In 1871, it also subscribed to *Vlast* (Dresden) and *Neue Jahrbücher für Turnkunst*. In 1886 it took *Sokol americký*, *Le Gymnaste*, *Przewodnik gimnastyczny*, *Zeitschrift für das österreichische Turnwesen*, and *Jahrbuch der deutschen Turnkunst*. MZA, coll. G 106, card 224, *Výroční zprávy Brno I 1869–1947*; Janovský O. *O naší vzdělávací činnosti v minulém století. Zprávy Sokola Brno I. Měsíční zpravodaj Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I. 9, 1932, Vol. 8, p. 178–179.*

<sup>29</sup> AMB, coll. R 77, inv. No. 1119, *Sborník sokolský*, ed. Tyrš M. – Čermák F. (1968). Praha, pp. 140–141.

<sup>30</sup> For more details, see Malíř J. *K počátkům národních sporů v Brně v letech 1863–1867: od rakouského patriotismu k nacionalismu*. In Jordánková H. (2016). *Alis volat propriis*: pp. 465–477.

<sup>31</sup> Josef Vladimír Dostál, director of Tyrš gymnastic association in Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Rudolf Hurt of Chicago; Štěpán Kostlán of Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Rose of San Francisco, California; Karel Stuhlík of Chicago. Kožík F. *Do prvního pětadvaceti let 1872–1887*. in: Zapletal V. – Kožík F. (1948). *Dějiny Sokola Brno I.* p. 183. The USA was among the first countries where Czech Sokol clubs successfully established themselves. For more details, see Ruffini M. – Sivulka J. (2005). *Die historische Entwicklung der Sokolbewegung in Böhmen und Mähren im 19. und in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts in Bezug auf das deutsche Turnen. Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde durch den Promotionsausschuss Dr. phil. der Universität Bremen*. Bremen, pp. 121–122.

<sup>32</sup> Moravian Land Archives (MZA), coll. G 106, card 224, *Výroční zprávy Brno I. 1869–1947*, Zezula J. *Život Sokola Brno I. v tělocvičnách*. In *Vlastní silou!* (1929). Brno, pp. 29–31.

<sup>33</sup> MZA, coll. G 106, card 224, *Výroční zprávy Brno I. 1869–1947*, Novotný J. *Naše oslavy. Zprávy Sokola Brno I. Měsíční zpravodaj Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I. 9, 1932, Vol. 8, pp. 166–167.*

<sup>34</sup> *Jubilejní slavnost Sokola brněnského, Moravská orlice*, Vol. 25, No. 150, 05. 07. 1887, p. 2.

Another proof of external relations consists in the public appearances of members of the Brno association abroad, or appearances of foreign delegations in Brno.<sup>35</sup> Shortly after its founding, in summer 1893, MSSC decided to organise a gathering of Sokols in Brno, the *slet*. The Brno association was exclusively responsible for organising the event. However, the *slet* did not take place due to the official ban and it is thus impossible to determine which foreign delegations would have attended. It is possible that the association had got the inspiration to organise the *slet* from abroad, since already in 1892 the Brno association was represented on a *slet* in Lviv, then a Polish city, by a team made up of: Gotthard Bič, Jan Dvořák, Jaroslav Elgart, Václav Stočes and Anton Walter; the representation was headed by Antonín Hyánek.<sup>36</sup> Said *slet* took place on 5 June 1892 under the auspices of Sokol Lviv in the Kiliňského park (now Stryjski park).<sup>37</sup>

The early setback did not mean that the association resigned on the idea to organise its own Sokol *slet*. Therefore, after the first setback, the Brno association attempted to organise its first Sokol *slet* on 1 July 1894); the extensive preparations included provisions for the participants, including from abroad. For this reason, the Brno association contacted other affiliated associations in Bohemia, Slovenia, Poland and Lower Austria. At the last moment, when the *slet* organisation was in full swing, the event was banned by the Imperial and Royal Police Directorate in Brno. The complaint against the procedure filed by the association was completely ignored.<sup>38</sup> The association did not resign on public appearances and used the opportunity to at least appear at the event organised by the Lower Austrian administrative district in Vienna.

When the association was celebrating its 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1902, it combined it with a public appearance of the Rastislav administrative district. Aside from greetings from Bohemia and Poland, the guests also included Salvator Albancsi, director of Zadar *pedagogium*, with his wife. The public event was supposed to at least partially substitute for the as-of-then unrealised Sokol *slet* in Brno.<sup>39</sup> The close ties to Poland continued and representatives of Brno were not missing from the 4<sup>th</sup> Polish *slet* in 1903. According to sources, the Brno association sent five

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<sup>35</sup> Numerous publications document the interest in South Slavic countries, Poland and Lower Austria. AMB, coll. R 77, inv. No. 1356, Výroční zprávy a jubilejní tiskoviny 1869–1884.

<sup>36</sup> AMB, coll. R 77, inv. No. 1357, sign. Pp 24/2, Výroční zprávy a jubilejní tiskoviny 1886–1905, Výroční zpráva za správní rok 1892.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., inv. No. 1343, Památník IV. sletu Sokolstva Polského ve Lvově r. 1903, Lviv 1904, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., inv. No. 1357, sign. Pp 24/2, Výroční zprávy a jubilejní tiskoviny 1886–1905, Výroční zpráva za správní rok 1894.

<sup>39</sup> Slet sokolský župy Rastislavovy v Brně na paměť 40letého jubilea Sokola Brněnského. *Moravská orlice*, Vol. 40, Issue 178, 5 August 1902, p. 2. The officials noted in the annual report: “We would wish nothing more than for Brno, like the royal city of Prague, to also host a Sokol *slet*.” Ibid., Výroční zpráva za správní rok 1902, p. 11.

athletes to Lviv for the *slet*. However, the same source indicates that the association did not remember the *slet* fondly, despite the fact that František Pouchlý came up second in the category of individuals and the Polish organisers welcomed the team warmly.<sup>40</sup> The association felt harmed by the loss of the third place in the category of teams, which resulted from annulling points awarded to Jan Kříž. The letter sent in 1903 by the MSSC to the Polish Association where it requested remedy or explanation was left unanswered.

At the beginning of 1904, an elite team was selected to represent the association at the *slet* in Ljubljana, Slovenia. The team consisted of Jan Foltýn, František Kříž, Jan Kříž, Jan Mojžíš, František Pouchlý and Josef Zezula, with And. Černocký as substitute, and trained almost daily. The last of said members was also appointed as deputy chief. Since the trip was rather expensive, the administrative committee decided to pay for it. The selected team ended up third among 23 competing teams.<sup>41</sup>

Two years later, in 1906, Sokol Brno I did not actively participate in the *slet* held in Zagreb, Croatia. Nevertheless, the administrative district was represented by Peregrin, Fiša, Josef Fleischer and Karel Hlavica. The association noted its absence caused by the change of the date of the *slet* and a lack of gymnasts who were serving in the military at the time.<sup>42</sup> The already united Czech Sokol Community took part in a parade held on 2 September where members appeared together with their Croatian colleagues.<sup>43</sup> The Brno association returned to Zagreb in 1911 when the Union of Slavs met at the *slet*. Sokol Brno I was represented by Peregrin Fiša.<sup>44</sup> Aside from this event, representatives of the association met with the delegation of the CSC which visited Olomouc and Uherské Hradiště from 3–5 June.<sup>45</sup> In addition, on 22 February 1911, Josef Seidl participated on behalf of the Brno association at a qualification race in Prague held for the purpose of assembling a team for an international competition in Turin. After returning from Turin, he helped with the training of more complicated

<sup>40</sup> Entuzjastycznie przyjmowani przez polskie społeczeństwo, z którym zespalają ich oddawna węzły ściślej przyjaźni narodowej i sokolej. [...] Lwów znał i pamiętał Czechów jeszcze z pierwszego Złotu w r. 1892. Fama o nich przetrwała aż do Złotu IV., to też każdy pragnął szczerze widzieć Czechów, ćwiczących na przyrządach. For the course of the *slet*, see AMB, coll. R 77, inv. No. 1343, *Památník IV. sletu Sokolstva Polského ve Lvově r. 1903*. Lwów, 1904, pp. 50, 85, 116–117.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., inv. No. 1357, sign. Pp 24/2, Výroční zprávy a jubilejní tiskoviny 1886–1905, Výroční zpráva za správní rok 1904, pp. 6–7.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., Výroční zpráva za správní rok 1906, pp. 20.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., inv. No. 1349, První hrvatski svesokolski slet v Zagrebu 1906.

<sup>44</sup> AMB, coll. R 77, inv. No. 1390, Slet Sokolstva v Zagrebu 1911, pp. 79–82.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., inv. No. 1358, Upomínkový list na zájezd České obce sokolské na Moravu 1911.

figures using the horizontal bar, still rings, parallel bars and the vaulting horse.<sup>46</sup> Representatives of Sokol Brno also met with foreign guests at Sokol *slets* in Prague.<sup>47</sup> Friendly relations with the Austrian Sokol are documented by visits and mutual transfers of members or the fact that some members of the Brno association lived in Vienna. The extraordinarily warm relations manifested again in 1913 during the celebration of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Vienna association.<sup>48</sup>

The ill-fated *slet* of the Czech Sokol Community held in Brno on 27 to 28 June 1914<sup>49</sup> under the auspices of the municipal councils of Královo Pole, Husovice and the municipal assemblies of Židenice and Žabovřesky on the premises of the former military training ground in Královo pole stands out due to its historical importance. The *slet* was interrupted by a tragedy – the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg, in Sarajevo in Bosnia. The event marked a violent end to the promising and developing ties with Serbia. The dramatic events that followed the *slet* were long remembered by the participants.<sup>50</sup> The subsequent participation of Sokols in the newly formed Czechoslovak Legion during World War I captures the definition of war as a continuation of politics by other, non-peaceful means.<sup>51</sup>

Generally speaking, up until the establishment of independent Czechoslovakia, Sokol *slets* and trips abroad contributed to the promotion of Sokol ideas and of Slavic nations within the Habsburg empire themselves, especially the Moravians. Czechoslovakia's independence did not change the situation, but enabled further

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., inv. No. 1358, sign. Pp 24/2, Výroční zprávy a jubilejní tiskoviny 1906–1912, Výroční zpráva za správní rok 1911.

<sup>47</sup> At the Sokol slets in Prague, Sokol Brno I officials could meet their foreign colleagues six times before the outbreak of World War I: in 1882, 1891, 1895, 1901, 1907 and 1912. Kozáková Z. (1994). *Sokolské slety: 1882–1948*. Praha; Cf. *Všesokolské slety*, Praha 1938.

<sup>48</sup> "... in the name of our association, I thank you for the remarks at the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary sent by your chief; we also thank the gymnasts and the two brothers (Kříž and Jos. Secell) who we could welcome here. Their brotherly love shall be fondly remembered by us all..." AMB, fund R 77, Inv. No. 709, File 109, Printed Documents related to Sokol 1914, Vienna Letter XV, no date. Of the notable transfers, there were e.g. František Hlaváček of the Vienna association who came to Brno in 1904. MB, fund R 77, Inv. No. 1357, sign. Pp 24/2, Annual Reports and Anniversary Prints 1886–1905, Annual Report for 1904.

<sup>49</sup> The date was set to 28 and 29 June 1914, see Čejka J. Sokolský slet v Brně roku 1914. In *Forum Brunense*, Brno 1994, p. 140; Ibid., Brněnský sokolský slet roku 1914. In *První světová válka a česká společnost*. Brno, 1994, p. 62.

<sup>50</sup> Vzpomínka srbského sokola na brněnský slet, *Lidové noviny*, Vol. 42, Issue 313, 23 June 1934, p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> Der Krieg ist eine bloße Fortsetzung der Politik mit anderen Mitteln. Clausewitz Carl von (2004). *Vom Kriege*, Erfstadt.

recognition of these international ties by granting national distinctions and honours to leading representatives of foreign delegations.<sup>52</sup>

In the same period, the competing Orel (*Eagle*) sports organisation (whose relations with Sokol ran the gamut from ideological opposition to a certain degree of respectful tolerance) also recognised the importance of international ties. Similarly to the Sokol association, the Orel branch in Brno also focused on building links with South Slavic nations. It is thus of little surprise that the 3<sup>rd</sup> Moravian Orel *slet* in Kroměříž, which took place on 11 August 1912, also welcomed delegations of Slovenian and Croatian Orel associations. The ties the Brno Sokol association had in the United States largely due to Czech expatriates (mostly economic migrants) were mirrored by Catholic Czech-Americans as well. For this reason, the Orel *slet* was also attended by representatives of the Catholic Sokol from the US. The next year, Orel – encouraged by its previous successes – organised a large trip to Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia. It should be noted that representatives of the Brno Sokol association often travelled to the same destinations.<sup>53</sup>

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The Andrassy Note sent by the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister to President Wilson on 28 October 1918 was perceived by the public as an instrument of surrender of Austria-Hungary. The Moravian public learnt of the situation only on the next day, 29 October 1918. People started gathering in the streets of the Moravian capital, where most patriots assembled at Rudolfská (now Česká) street near the Lidové noviny newspaper offices. The declaration of independence of the Czechoslovak Republic meant a radical change in circumstances, not only for the Sokol movement. Encouraged by its success, Sokol gained self-confidence and presented itself as not just Czech, but a Slavic movement as well. Contacts with South Slavic countries were strengthened by long-term co-operation and engagement. Very successful representation (it is of note that the first Czechoslovak gold medal was won by member of Sokol Brno I)<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> E.g. the Order of the White Lion was awarded to: Lazar Car, chairman of the Yugoslav Sokol organisation (1926, Yugoslavia); delegates at the 8<sup>th</sup> Sokol *slet* in Prague in 1926: Miroslav Ambrožić (1927, Yugoslavia) and Alfred Louis Berthemey (1927, France); Charles Cazalet, president of the French Gymnastic Union (1927, France); delegates at the Prague Sokol *slet* of 1932: Ivan Bajželj (1933, Yugoslavia) and Władysław Belina-Prażmowski (1933, Poland) – see the State Decorations Holders Lists maintained by the Office of the President of the Czech Republic at <<https://www.prazskyhradarchiv.cz/cs/archivkpr/statni-vyznamenani/seznamy-nositelu-statnich-vyznamenani>>, retrieved on: 2019-06-17.

<sup>53</sup> Papež J. K pochopení smyslu Orla slouží jeho dějiny. In *Orel*, Issue 18, 2000.

<sup>54</sup> Bedřich Šupčík, winner of a gold medal in rope climbing at the 1924 Summer Olympics in Paris.



at various international competitions show the direction of the Brno association's policy.

Over the course of the independent Czechoslovak Republic era, the international ties of the Brno association aligned with Sokol's nationwide trends.

### Conclusion

Despite its different background, the Brno association never ceased attempting to diligently build ties with similar associations abroad. Despite early professional interest in the German minority and its activities in Brno, the relations cooled until the two groups completely split and animosities arose between them as a result of Sokol's growing confidence and concerns on the part of the German citizens of Brno.

Sokol's circumstances were made difficult early on by the hostility of Brno authorities, mostly controlled by the Germans. Sokol thus started embracing Pan-Slavic ideas which compelled it to seek ties with the South Slavic nations. These bonds were strengthened by mutual visits and public appearances. In addition, the Brno association also maintained ties with related associations in Bohemia, Poland, Austria and the USA. Since the 1890s, the association's foreign outreach was managed as part of the Moravian-Silesian Sokol Community. The early hostility on the part of public authorities prevented the merger of the Bohemian Sokol Community with its counterpart in Moravia. After the political thaw and changes in the organisation, however, the Moravian leaders realised the benefits of independence and wanted to maintain it in the following period. The unification of the Moravian associations with the Bohemian Sokol Community only took place at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From then on, they followed its policy, which was not limited exclusively to Eastern and Southern Europe.

Brno always enjoyed good relations with Vienna. From the point of view of the associations in the Margraviate of Moravia, Bohemia itself was also perceived to lie "abroad". This was related to multiple study visits by Bohemian Sokols in Moravia and the fact that they were influenced by new ideas and procedures. Since the founding of MSSC, the Brno association had tried to organise its own Sokol *slet* as the main event of this kind in Moravia and an opportunity to strengthen ties with foreign colleagues. This goal was only achieved shortly before the outbreak of World War I. The shooting in Sarajevo marked not only the death of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie, but also an early end of the Sokol *slet* in Brno and, for a long time, an interruption of all foreign ties of Sokol Brno. This was part of the reason why Brno Sokols decided to continue politics by other means and started signing up for the nascent Czechoslovak Legion. The situation after the war changed radically, not only for Sokol.

## The Wives of the Moravian Margrave John Henry of Luxembourg

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*The article focuses on three Moravian margraves personalities, wives of margrave John Henry of Luxembourg, and summarizes their activities in the years 1350–1375. The paper deals also with a special love episode, that Moravian margrave John Henry experienced with the nun Elisabeth, a daughter of the duke of Těšín.*

**Key words:** *Moravian Luxembourgs; Moravian margrave John Henry of Luxembourg; Margaret of Opava; Elisabeth of Těšín; Margaret of Habsburg; Elisabeth of Oettingen*

The Moravian margrave John Henry of Luxembourg was married four times in his life but only three of his wives became margraves of Moravia. In an effort to expand his influence, John of Luxembourg, the king of Bohemia, decided for his younger son John Henry to marry to Margaret, the daughter of the Carinthian duke Henry, in his childhood. However, their marriage ended in a scandalous divorce, what was surely spoken of at most of the European courts then. The complicated situation of the divorce of John Henry of Luxembourg and his first wife Margaret of Tyrol lasted for several years. Their marriage was officially ended in the middle of the year 1349.<sup>1</sup>

The Bohemian king John of Luxembourg made a decision that his younger son John Henry would be the Moravian margrave, as stated in his last will of the year 1340. Nonetheless, John Henry became a margrave three years after the king's death.<sup>2</sup> On 26<sup>th</sup> December 1349, John Henry accepted the Moravian margraviate in the fief from his brother king Charles in Prague.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For more details: Miethke, J. (2004). Die Eheaffäre der Margarete „Maultasch“, Gräfin von Tirol (1341/1342). Ein Beispiel hochadliger Familienpolitik im Spätmittelalter. In A. Meyer, C. Rendtel, M. Wittmer-Butsch (Eds.), *Päpste, Pilger, Pönitentiare. Festschrift für Ludwig Schmugge zum 65. Geburtstag*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 353–391.

<sup>2</sup> *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*. Pars IV (1892), J. Emler (Ed.), Praha: Sumtibus regiae scientiarum societatis Bohemiae: Prostat apud bibliopolam Ed. Valečka, 320–323, no. 819. And e.g. Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*. Halle: s.n., 45–46; Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava: 1310–1423*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 43–44

The new Moravian margrave stayed in Prague for several days and after 4th January he went to Brno accompanied by the king. They arrived in Brno probably before 17<sup>th</sup> January 1350. At that time, the new Moravian margrave Margaret of Opava was also present there.<sup>4</sup>

### Margaret of Opava

Unfortunately, the exact date of the marriage of John Henry of Luxembourg and his second wife, Margaret of Opava, is not precisely known. The wedding took place probably at the turn of the years 1349 and 1350.

According to the chronicler Beneš of Weitmile, John Henry married Margaret the following year after having received the Moravian margraviate in fief. That means the wedding may have happened at the very beginning of the year 1350.<sup>5</sup>

After arriving in Brno (between 5<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> January), Margaret of Opava was always referred to as a Moravian margrave.<sup>6</sup> Some researchers believe the marriage

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and p. 50; Spěváček, J. (1979). *Karel IV.: Život a dílo (1316–1378)*. Praha: Svoboda, 149–150; Spěváček, J. (1982). *Král diplomat: Jan Lucemburský 1296–1346*. Praha: Panorama, 235; Šusta, J. (1946). *Karel IV.: otec a syn: 1333–1346. České dějiny II/3*. Praha: Jan Laichter, 340–342.

<sup>3</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*. Siebenten Bände (1858–1864), P. Ritter von Chlumecky, J. Chytil, V. Brandl (Eds.), Brno: In Commission bei Nitsch & Grosse, 679–684, no. 980 and ibidem p. 684–689, no. 981 (see below as CDM VII). See also *Archivum Coronae Regni Bohemiae*. Tomus II (1928), V. Hrubý (Ed.), Praha: Ministerium scholarum et instructionis publicae, 59–62, no. 60 and CDM VII, 564–567, no. 775. And for more details Elbel, P. (2012). Markrabě Jošt, olomoucké biskupství a olomoucká kapitula. In L. Jan and coll. (Eds.), *Morava v časech markraběte Jošta: K 600. výročí zvolení posledního Lucemburka z moravské větve římským králem a jeho úmrtí*, Brno: Maticе moravská pro Výzkumné středisko pro dějiny střední Evropy: prameny, země, kultura a občanské sdružení Jošt Moravský, 37–38 or Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 56.

<sup>4</sup> On 4<sup>th</sup> January 1350 was John Henry still in Prague. See *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*. Achter Band (1874), V. Brandl (Ed.), Brno: Verlag des Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, p. 1, no 2 (see below as CDM VIII). And Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 48. From the city treasury were paid 60 groschen to a messenger (the king's barber), who reported the birth of king's son (born on January 17<sup>th</sup>). And 16 groschen were paid for a wine for margrave Margaret. See *Knihy počtů města Brna z let 1343–1365* (1935), B. Mendl (Ed.), Brno: Československý státní ústav historický, 182 (see below as *Knihy počtů města Brna*).

<sup>5</sup> *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*. Tomus IV (1884), J. Emler (Ed.), Praha: Nákladem Nadání Františka Palackého, 519–520 (see below as FRB IV).

<sup>6</sup> Margrave Margaret received wine as a gift from the burghers of Brno (*Knihy počtů města Brna*, 182). Dieter Veldtrup believes that Margaret could have been called a margrave after her engagement (before marriage), but it is unlikely (Veldtrup, D. (1988). *Zwischen Eherecht und Familienpolitik. Studien zu den dynastischen Heiratsprojekten Karls IV. Studien zu den Luxemburgen und ihrer Zeit*, Bd. 2. Warendorf: Fahlbusch/Hölscher/Rieger, 352). Josef Šusta also supports the idea of marriage later than January 1350, on the basis of a letter from John of Lichtenberg to archbishop Balduin (Šusta, J. (1948). *Karel IV. Za císařskou korunu 1346–1355. České dějiny II/4*. Praha: Jan Laichter, 225).

took place in the last days of the year 1349, after the appointment of John Henry as the Moravian margrave.<sup>7</sup> It may be true that the marriage might have been concluded before 26<sup>th</sup> December 1349. The fact that John Henry would become a margrave, was certainly well known. Nevertheless, an official ruler of Moravia was certainly more interesting as a son-in-law for the duke of Opava.

According to the chronicler Mathyas of Neuenburg the Bohemian king Charles did not know about the marriage at first and was angry when he heard the news. But this notion can be rejected by the following fact. The monarch spent several days in Brno with the couple, and as we know, John Henry always followed political plans of his older brother.<sup>8</sup>

In a letter from John of Lichtenberg designated probably to the archbishop of Trier, Balduin, there was more formal information concerning the marriage. The author described the latest events, including the marriage of the margrave John Henry. The letter was not dated, but it is probable, it was written around the middle of the year 1350.<sup>9</sup>

Nonetheless, complications caused by the fact that the Luxembourgs did not apply for a dispensation to marry in time because of the close familial kinship (both were great-grandchildren of the Bohemian king Přemysl Otakar II.) emerged soon. According to Milena Flodrová, the wedding was for this very reason only modest, consequently, the marriage generally came to light later. Furthermore, at the congress in Norimberk (which John of Lichtenberg attended), the marriage was discussed behind the scenes as a “*spicy novelty*”.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> CDM VIII, p. VI; Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 48; Spěváček, J. (1979). *Karel IV.*, 450; Válka, J. (1991). *Dějiny Moravy I.: Středověká Morava*. Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 88. Or Baum, W. (2007). *Margarete Maultasch. Ein Frauenschicksal im späten Mittelalter zwischen Eros und Politik*. Klagenfurt, Wien: Kitab-Verlag, 137.

<sup>8</sup> See *Monumenta Germanie Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. Nova Series, Tomus IV. Die Chronik des Mathias von Neuenburg (1924-1940), A. Hofmeister (Ed.). Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 444. And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*. Diploma Thesis, Charles University, Faculty of Arts. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 27.

<sup>9</sup> See *Monumenta Germanie Historica. Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*. Zehnter Band (1979-1991), M. Kühn (Ed.). Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 133, no. 169. In a letter author wrote about the peace between the nobility of Frank and Swabia with representatives of Swabian cities (May 1350) and about the congress in Norimberk (Easter 1350). See *Regesta Imperii VIII. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV. 1346–1378* (1877), J. F. Böhmer (Ed.). Aus dem Nachlasse Johann Friedrich Böhmer's herausgegeben und ergänzt von Alfons Huber. Innsbruck: Wagnersche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 103-104, no. 1291b. And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, s. 27–28.

<sup>10</sup> Flodrová, M. (1995). „Královský“ a „markraběcí“ dům v Brně. *Brno v minulosti a dnes: sborník příspěvků k dějinám a výstavbě Brna* 13, p. 86, note 69; Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 27–28.

The pope Clemens VI. deputed the bishop of Olomouc John Volek to grant the dispensation in August 1350. After the marriage the king Charles IV. applied for an exemption for his brother. The Czech monarch did not forget to emphasize that the margrave and his wife realized the impediment of close familial kinship and would live separately until the dispensation was granted. The pope agreed and ordered the couple to set up two chapels to be supported by 40 gold coins each year.<sup>11</sup>

The record from the year 1350 (the gift of wine for the Moravian margrave Margaret) is the first documented report of Margaret of Opava in her new role.<sup>12</sup> The tailor of Bohemian queen Anne also arrived in Brno at the same time as stated. Regrettably, the reason for his arrival was not mentioned. He may have been there to help with the wardrobe for the new margrave or to deliver news about the health of the queen and the new-born prince Wenceslas. Alas, we do not know the exact date of his arrival, it is possible that the queen's tailor arrived only a few days after the king's barber, who brought the report of the successor's birth.<sup>13</sup>

A few days later, on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1350, the Moravian margrave John Henry announced his plan to establish an Augustinian monastery in Brno as a later funereal place of the Moravian margrave and his family members.<sup>14</sup> The possible participation of margrave Margaret in the founding of this monastery was not mentioned in this text. However, in a document dated 1<sup>st</sup> January 1358, the Provincial Oldřich thanked both husband and his wife as the founders of the monastery.<sup>15</sup> A day later, margrave John Henry also mentioned that he had founded the monastery together with his wife Margaret.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*. Tomus I, Acta Clementis VI. Pontificis Romani (1903), L. Klicman (Ed.), Pragae: Typis Gregerianis, 679, no. 1279 and p. 682, no. 1280. And CDM VIII, 77–78, no. 110 (with incorrect year 1351). See also Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 166 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 28–29.

<sup>12</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 182.

<sup>13</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 182; CDM VIII, 32–33, no. 64. Flodrová, M. (1995). “Královský” a “markraběcí” dům, 86, note 70; Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich*, 26–27. Robert Antonín and Tomáš Borovský wrote that the tailor and barber had the task of fulfilling some services for the city (Antonín, R.; Borovský, T. (2009). *Panovnícké vjezdy na středověké Moravě*. Brno: Maticе moravská, 157).

<sup>14</sup> CDM VIII, 4–5, no. 7. And Jan, L. (2012). Rodové fundace moravských Lucemburků na pomezí zbožnosti a reprezentace. In *Morava v časech markraběte Jošta*, 124.

<sup>15</sup> See *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*. Neunter Band (1875), V. Brandl (Ed.), Brno: Verlag des Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, 58, no. 75 (see below as CDM IX). And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 34–35. According to Fritz Hecht it is possible that Margrave John Henry and his wife founded the Augustinian monastery together as thanks to God (Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 49). On 26<sup>th</sup> December 1356 John Henry commanded serving anniversaries for his family including his wife Margaret (CDM IX, 33–35, no. 43).

<sup>16</sup> CDM IX, 59, no. 76.

Next information about margrave Margaret is available in the following year when she received Brussels fabric from burghers of Brno.<sup>17</sup> And at the end of 1352, the margrave Margaret received a gift of 30 gold coins at the feast of the Lord's birth.<sup>18</sup>

During her marriage, margrave Margaret gave birth to six children, the first child was born in the early year 1353. It was a daughter called Catherine. Unfortunately, as in the case of other children, her date of birth was not precisely documented. According to municipal treasury costs a certain amount was paid to margrave Margaret or her maids of honour for a childbirth every year (1353–1358). That means six children were born. The amount of the gift was lower in the case of the birth of daughters than in the case of sons. Based on this fact we can find out the birth order of margrave children.<sup>19</sup>

After the birth of three sons, margrave Margaret always received the same amount – 22 marks of silver. After the birth of the oldest Catherine, the Moravian margrave received 18 marks, after the birth of her middle daughter Elisabeth 14 marks and her servants another 8 marks of silver. In the case of the birth of the youngest daughter, the margrave received 12 marks of silver as a gift.<sup>20</sup>

The first child of the margrave couple was the daughter Catherine, born sometime between 2<sup>nd</sup> February and 13<sup>th</sup> March 1353.<sup>21</sup> In the autumn of the following year, margrave Margaret gave birth to another child. In this case is explicitly stated that it was a son – the future Margrave of Moravia Jošt.<sup>22</sup> In July or August 1355, Margaret of Opava gave birth to another daughter, most likely the later wife of the Meissen margrave William, Elisabeth.<sup>23</sup> In the spring of the following year, another girl was born, whose identity was disputed among experts.<sup>24</sup> Subsequently, two sons were born; John Soběslav in the spring months

<sup>17</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 192, Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 30.

<sup>18</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 199, CDM VIII, 149–150, no. 186 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 30, note 117.

<sup>19</sup> Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt (1354–1411)*. Brno: Maticе Moravská, 43, note 5.

<sup>20</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 207, 224, 232, 240, 249 and 256.

<sup>21</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 207. On 14th March 1353 was Catherine already betrothed to the son of Duke Albrecht of Habsburg (CDM VIII, 154–155, no. 196). The text clearly states that Catherine is the firstborn daughter of the Moravian margrave. See Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 57 and Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 17.

<sup>22</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 224. Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 17–18.

<sup>23</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 232 and Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 18–19.

<sup>24</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 240. Some researchers associate this daughter with the person of Anna, wife of Peter of Sternberg (e.g. Spěváček, J. (1979). *Karel IV.*, 642 or Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 139). Other researchers believe that Anna of Sternberg belonged to the family of duke of Opava (e.g. Hecht, F. (1911) *Johann von Mähren*, 58–59, Chochořatý, F. (1978). *Genealogie opavských Přemyslovců 1255–1525. Listy Genealogické a heraldické*

of the year 1357<sup>25</sup> and at the beginning of 1358, margrave Prokop.<sup>26</sup> Anthropological research of the remains of Moravian margrave Prokop indicated that the last childbirth was premature.<sup>27</sup>

A few months after the birth of the eldest daughter, the Moravian margrave Margaret had to welcome the new Bohemian queen Anna in the country. After the wedding, which took place in Budín on 27<sup>th</sup> May 1353, the young queen went to Hodonín, where she met margrave Margaret. This meeting is known thanks to a record of expenses concerning two messengers, who were sent from Brno to Margaret of Opava. After the meeting in Hodonín, queen Anna and margrave Margaret went to Brno, where the queen received a silk fabric worth 10 marks of silver as a gift.<sup>28</sup>

In the autumn of the year 1353, margrave Margaret was also involved in the administration of the city Brno. At her command, the harlots residing in a place called „Purczelpuhel“ (in Czech “pod Puhlíkem” – near today’s Šilingr Square)

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*společnosti* 6, 129–153). According to Jaroslav Mezník this daughter of an unknown name died during childbirth or soon after (Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 168). Marek Starý especially focused on research in this area – Starý, M. (1996). Tři kněžny Anny z krve opavských Přemyslovců. *Genealogické a heraldické listy* 16/3–4, 26–30; Starý, M. (1998). Dynastická spojení opavských Přemyslovců z českou a moravskou šlechtou. *Genealogické a heraldické listy* 18/1–2, 28–51; Starý, M. (1998). Manželství opavských Přemyslovců. *Genealogické a heraldické informace* 18/3, 38–47.; Starý, M. (2002). Kněžna Anna ze Šternberka. *Časopis Slezského Zemského Muzea, řada B Vědy historické*, 51, 193–202 and Starý, M. (2003). Příspěvek ke genealogii moravskošternberské větve pánů ze Šternberka. *Střední Morava* 16, 84–92.

<sup>25</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 249 and Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 18–19.

<sup>26</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 256; Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 18–19. According to Milena Flodrová the children were born bit differently – Catherine (March 1353), Jošt (October 1354), Elisabeth (November 1355), Anna (December 1356), John Soběslav (October 1357), Prokop (December 1358). See Flodrová, M. (2000). Lucemburská dynastie. In J. Vaněk (Ed.), *Moravští Lucemburkové (1350–1411): Sborník prací Muzea města Brna*, Brno: Muzeum města Brna, 24–25. There is also a misconception in older literature that the second son of Margrave John Henry was Prokop and the youngest John Soběslav (e.g. Fiala, Z. (1978). *Předhusitské Čechy 1310–1419*. Praha: Svoboda, 152, note 41 or Spěváček, J. (1979). *Karel IV.*, 451).

<sup>27</sup> Premature birth may result in a relatively small skull relative to the body, as in the case of margrave Prokop, although Luxembourg was otherwise of a higher size and muscular. For more details Vlček, E. (2000). *Čeští králové I.: Atlas kosterních pozůstatků českých králů přemyslovské a lucemburské dynastie s podrobným komentářem a historickými poznámkami*. Praha: Vesmír, 280–293. Václav Štěpán thinks about that due to the difficult birth of the youngest son margrave Margaret could no longer have other children. See Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 19.

<sup>28</sup> In the accounting records, expenditures are recorded with delay as of 1354. *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 218; CDM VIII, 235–236, no. 290. And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 31.

were expelled from this location and the houses were burned. The city council allocated them four houses as compensation in Česká Street at the Jewish Gate (now Josefská Street) then, where they could run their trade. The councillors expected that this step would bring reduction of the crime which was dangerously increasing in the previous location. The brothels themselves were the property of the city Brno and the women had to pay fees to the city. The brothels were to be supervised by city officials, but they were explicitly warned not to misuse their powers during their visits.<sup>29</sup>

In years 1353 and 1354 the margrave Margaret received a gift at the feast of the Lord's birth once again (two times six marks of silver).<sup>30</sup> During the year 1354 margrave Margaret also received 10 marks of silver from the toll in the village Rousínov.<sup>31</sup>

One year later Margaret of Opava and her husband received 30 marks of silver from the burghers of Brno at the feast of the Lord's birth again.<sup>32</sup> In 1355 Margrave Margaret also gave the order to pay 38 groschen from the Brno municipal treasury to the inhabitants of the village Rousínov.<sup>33</sup>

In the year 1357, 30 gold coins were paid to the Moravian margrave Margaret from the toll of the village Rousínov.<sup>34</sup> But it was the last time. On 25<sup>th</sup> October 1357, the Moravian margrave freed the burghers from this duty. According to all these pieces of information, it can be concluded that Rousínov probably belonged to Margaret's dowry property.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> CDM VIII, 176–177, no. 230. See also Flodr, M. (1994). *Nevěstky v nejstarších dějinách Brna. Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, C 41, 7–14; Flodr, M. (2001). *Brněnské městské právo*. Brno: Matice moravská, 317 – 318; Flodrová, M. (2009). *Názvy brněnských ulic, náměstí a jiných veřejných prostranství v proměnách času*. Brno: Šimon Ryšavý, 47–48 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 30–31.

<sup>30</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 207 and 217–218; CDM VIII, 190, no. 251; CDM VIII, 235–236, no. 290. And Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 67.

<sup>31</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 224 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 32–34.

<sup>32</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 225; CDM VIII, 272, no. 334.

<sup>33</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 231. The issue of toll collection in Rousínov in more detail e.g. Flodr, M. (1992). *Právní kniha města Brna z poloviny 14. století. II*, Brno: Archiv města Brna – Muz. a vlastivědná spol., 178–179; Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 32–34; Procházková, M. (2000). *Výdaje Brna ve 2. polovině 14. století*. Diploma Thesis, Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 26.

<sup>34</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 248.

<sup>35</sup> CDM IX, 56–57, no. 72. And see also Dřimal, J., Peša, V. and coll. (1969). *Dějiny města Brna 1*. Brno: Blok, 73; Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 32–34.



In years 1357 and 1358 margrave John Henry asked the pope for absolution in case of death for himself and his wife Margaret, for the use of a portable altar and the possibility to attend the mass before daybreak.<sup>36</sup> The margrave Margaret also received six marks of silver as a traditional gift from burghers.<sup>37</sup>

In the year 1359, another gift from the burghers of Brno was recorded at the occasion of a baptism of a child. This time the recipient was, however, the margrave John Henry himself. This fact indicates that it might have been the illegitimate child of the margrave. Although the sex of the child was not specified in the record, it can be inferred from the amount of the gift (20 marks of silver) that the child was a son.<sup>38</sup>

In years 1359 and 1360 at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord, margrave Margaret of Opava received six marks of silver from Brno burghers. Independently of this gift, she received another 100 marks of silver; alas, the reasons for this second gift are unknown.<sup>39</sup>

Of course, there were several maids of honour, noble girls, who served the Moravian margrave Margaret. They kept her a company, doing small household chores, and also helping their mistresses in childbirth.<sup>40</sup> Margrave's companions were referred to as "domicellae" or "puellae", and eventually, "familiaria". Unfortunately, we have very little specific information, only one girl is known by her name - Claire, who bought her own house in Brno in the year 1350. Claire bought the property worth 3.5 marks of silver from the convent of the Minorite monastery, the house was directly opposite to the monastery gate.<sup>41</sup> Even the ladies serving the Moravian margraves Margaret received, in the same way as other courtiers, certain monetary gifts from Brno burghers. In the year 1355, margrave Margaret received an amount of 14 marks of silver after the birth of her daughter, her maids of honour received eight marks of silver – most likely for their help during childbirth.<sup>42</sup> A year later, the Moravian margrave gave birth to another daughter, and the burghers gave 12 marks of silver to her and 10 marks of silver to her ladies.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*. Tomus II, Acta Innocentii VI. Pontificis Romani (1907), J. F. Novák (Ed.), Prague: Typis Gregerianis, 266, no. 677–679; ibidem, 325, no. 822 and no. 823 and ibidem, 327, no. 833.

<sup>37</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 256 and Procházková, M. (2000). *Výdaje Brna ve 2. polovině 14. století*, 27.

<sup>38</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 262 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 40.

<sup>39</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 262-263 and p. 270-271 and Procházková, M. (2000). *Výdaje Brna ve 2. polovině 14. století*, 28.

<sup>40</sup> To the topic e.g. Dvořáčková-Malá, D., Zelenka J. and coll. (2015). *Ženy a děti ve dvorské společnosti*. Praha: Historický ústav.

<sup>41</sup> „...puelle Clare familiari domine marchionisse...” (*Knihy počtů města Brna*, p. 92 of preface).

<sup>42</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 232.

<sup>43</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 240.

In the year 1358, the margrave's ladies together with other servants received a gift for the New Year in the amount of four marks of silver paid from the city treasury.<sup>44</sup> The same amount was given to them by the burghers a year later as well.<sup>45</sup>

Margrave Margaret also had her own kitchen with her servants, as evidenced by reports from the years 1358–1361. The kitchen of the Moravian margrave Margaret probably numbered several people because in the year 1361 Myslibor was entrusted with its management (“magister coquine”). In 1358, the cook Ješek worked in Margaret's kitchen.<sup>46</sup>

In the following years, the person of margrave Margaret disappeared from historical sources. The last record, proving that she was still alive, was the information about the master of her kitchen Myslibor from the year 1361.<sup>47</sup> Concerning the fact that margrave John Henry at the turn of years 1363 and 1364 certainly lived with the nun Elisabeth of Těšín and in February 1364 married Margaret of Habsburg, it is possible to assume that the Moravian margrave Margaret of Opava died sometime between the years 1361–1363.<sup>48</sup>

The only source directly related to Margaret's death is the letter of condolence that was addressed to his younger brother, written by the Emperor Charles IV.; in the letter, the emperor expressed deep regret for her death. The text of the monarch's message illustrates the personal and warm relationship between the siblings. Unfortunately, the Emperor's letter was not dated. The CDM editor assumes that the letter was created in 1363, but it may have been written earlier.<sup>49</sup>

### Elisabeth of Těšín

At the turn of the years 1363 and 1364, margrave John Henry experienced a special love episode with the daughter of the duke of Těšín, Kazimir. Hence, it is

<sup>44</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 256.

<sup>45</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 263.

<sup>46</sup> *Die Landtafel des Markgrafthumes Mähren (1348-1466)*. Brünn: Cuda (1856), J. Chytil, P. Chlumecký, K. Demuth, A. Wolfskron (Eds.), Brünn: Nitsch & Grosse, Lib. III., 32, no. 277 (year 1358) and Lib. IV., 45, no. 3 (year 1361). And Baletka, T. (1996). Dvůr, rezidence a kancelář markraběte Jošta. *Sborník archivních prací* 46/2, 301.

<sup>47</sup> See also Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 36. Unfortunately, in the years 1361-1363, there were no gifts for the margrave couple in the city accountancy, that could help determine the date of her death.

<sup>48</sup> *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemias illustrantia*. Tomus III, Acta Urbani V. (1944), B. Jenšovský (Ed.), Prague: Typis Gregerianis, 162–163, no. 258 (see below as MVB III) and Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 79; Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 166.

<sup>49</sup> CDM IX, 246–247, no. 327. And Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 45.

clear that Margaret of Opava was no longer among the living then. However, Elisabeth was a nun in the Cistercian monastery in Silesian city Třebnice.

On 20<sup>th</sup> January 1364, the pope Urban V. wrote to the bishop of Vratislav that the partners must be separated from each other and Elisabeth must return to the monastery. The papal decree speaks directly about their marriage – “matrimonium de facto”. As Jaroslav Mezník believes, they did not enter the marriage in a church; nevertheless, such was not a necessity in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, the relationship of Moravian margrave John Henry and Elisabeth of Těšín really did not continue.<sup>50</sup>

It may appear that the Moravian margrave obeyed the order of the pope but it is more likely he was under the influence of his brother Charles IV. The emperor had completely different plans for the marriage of his brother. In February of that year, margrave John Henry married another woman. She was Margaret of Habsburg, a sister of the Austrian duke Rudolf IV. A political marriage was an appropriate way to affirm relations with Habsburgs after protracted disputes in the years 1363–1364.

### Margaret of Habsburg

Another marriage of the Moravian margrave John Henry was a quirk of fate. Margaret, sister of the Austrian duke Rudolf IV., became his wife in February 1364. Only eighteen-year-old bride was already a widow, her husband had been Menhart, son of Margaret of Tyrol – the first wife of John Henry, who accused him of impotence and repudiated him. The marriage and mutual succession was arranged at a meeting of Luxembourgs and Habsburgs in Brno.<sup>51</sup>

Negotiations continued in Vienna, where John Henry on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1364 issued a document concerning the planned wedding with Margaret and he left the negotiations concerning the settlement with the duke Rudolf fully to the emperor Charles IV.<sup>52</sup> The marriage was probably concluded sometime in the days 23<sup>th</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> February in Vienna. In a document dated 23<sup>th</sup> February, margrave John Henry speaks of Margaret of Habsburg still as „...weilent Margrefinne ze Brandenburg, Hertzoginne in Bayrn und Grefinne ze Tyrol...” and „...unser elichen Wirtinne...“. Three days later, Margaret of Habsburg titles herself as a Moravian

<sup>50</sup> MVB III, 162–163, no. 258. Hecht, F. (1911). *Johann von Mähren*, 79–80; Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 166 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 46.

<sup>51</sup> CDM IX, 252–254, no. 337; CDM IX, 254–255, no. 338; CDM IX, 255–256, no. 339; CDM IX, 257–259, no. 340; CDM IX, 260, no. 341; CDM IX, 261, no. 342; CDM IX, 261–262, no. 343 and no. 344. Also see Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 170–171.

<sup>52</sup> CDM IX, 266–267, no. 249.

margrave. In the first document, she gave up dowry from the marriage with Menhart (ten thousand groschen), in the second and the third document she waived all claims to the Austrian countries.<sup>53</sup>

As in the past, complications caused by the fact that neither the Luxembourgs nor the Habsburgs did apply for a dispensation to marry in time because of the close familial kinship (both were great-grandchildren of the Roman king Rudolf I.) emerged. And the result was the interdict.

The dispensation was granted additionally in May. On 30<sup>th</sup> May 1364, the pope Urban V. deputed the bishop of Olomouc to cancel the interdict. Despite this, he insisted that the husband and the wife had to live apart until they remarried. It may be assumed that the margrave couple obeyed the order of the pope and they remarried sometime after 30<sup>th</sup> May of the same year.<sup>54</sup>

Unfortunately it is impossible to prove whether margrave Margaret left Vienna immediately after the end of the negotiations with her husband. However, she certainly was staying in Brno in the middle of May, when her brothers arrived. Her dowry was secured at the castle Strechau or Falkenstein in the Alps by the Habsburgs then.<sup>55</sup>

Margaret of Habsburg lived alongside margrave John Henry for a short time; she died sometime between the years 1365 and 1367 at a young age. Her chaplain John is mentioned in the city accounting records in the year 1365.<sup>56</sup> Even in the middle of the year 1365, margrave John Henry asked the pope for absolution in case of death for himself and his wife, for the possibility of using a portable altar and for the possibility to attend the mass before daybreak.<sup>57</sup> As in the previous case, the sources do not document her death closer.<sup>58</sup>

### Elisabeth of Oettingen

In the summer months of the year 1367, after the untimely death of Margaret of Habsburg, another marriage of the Moravian margrave John Henry was discussed. His last wife became Elisabeth, a daughter of Albert of Oettingen. And even in this case a future married couple were in the close familial kinship. However, it seems that this time the Luxembourgs requested the granting of

<sup>53</sup> CDM IX, 268–269, no. 352 and no. 353; CDM IX, 270–271, no. 354.

<sup>54</sup> MVB III, 199–200, no. 332; MVB III, 200–201, no. 333 and CDM IX, 277–278, no. 372. See also Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 167 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 46–47.

<sup>55</sup> CDM IX, 275–276, no. 370.

<sup>56</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 395.

<sup>57</sup> MVB III, 314–315, no. 530.

<sup>58</sup> But Dieter Veltrup indicates the exact date of death 14<sup>th</sup> January 1366 (Veldtrup, D. (1988). *Zwischen Eherecht*, 481).

a dispensation in an appropriate time. Pope Urban V. granted permission to marry on 25<sup>th</sup> August 1367 without any indication that the couple might have lived together before. It may be assumed that the wedding took place soon after that date.<sup>59</sup>

Unfortunately, there were no other notes about the Moravian margrave Elisabeth before the year 1375. Then in spring 1375, margrave John Henry asked the pope for absolution in case of death for himself and his wife Elisabeth.<sup>60</sup> Another note came in August that year when her husband John Henry founded the Carthusian monastery of The Holy Trinity in Královo Pole with the consent of his wife Elisabeth and his three sons.<sup>61</sup> Just a few months later, on 12<sup>th</sup> November 1375, the Moravian margrave John Henry died and a new margrave couple took over the role. Margrave Elisabeth went to Vienna then where she died in the year 1409.<sup>62</sup>

### Supplementation

The Moravian margrave John Henry had legitimate descendants only with his second wife, Margaret of Opava. Excepting these legitimate offsprings, two illegitimate children are documented; unfortunately, their mothers' names are unknown. Around the year 1345 John Henry of Luxembourg became the father of the illegitimate son John.<sup>63</sup> Later, John Henry's son began an ecclesiastical career.

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<sup>59</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*. Zehnter Band (1878), V. Brandl (Ed.), Brünn: Verlag des Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, 14–15, no. 15 and MVB III, 537–538, no. 863. And Mezník, J. (2001). *Lucemburská Morava*, 167, note 78.

<sup>60</sup> *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*. Tomus IV, Acta Gregorii XI. (1949–1953), K. Stloukal (Ed.), Prague: Typis Gregerianis, 555, no. 963.

<sup>61</sup> CDM X, 268–271, no. 258. Řepa, M. and coll. (2004). *Dějiny Králova Pole*. Brno: Úřad městské části Brno-Královo Pole, 40–41; Štěpán, V. (2002). *Moravský markrabě Jošt*, 41.

<sup>62</sup> Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 48 and Veldtrup, D. (1988). *Zwischen Eherecht*, 481.

<sup>63</sup> In the work of the chronicler Benes Krabice of Weitmile, is the report of the birth of the illegitimate son John Henry written after describing the situation that led to the return of this Luxembourg back to the Czech Kingdom (1341–1342). Unfortunately, what time has elapsed between the arrival of John Henry and the birth of his son, the author does not state precisely (FRB IV, 491). The year of birth of the illegitimate son John is usually deduced from the text of the request of emperor Charles IV. dated 1365, which states that John is approximately twenty years old (MVB III, 343–344, no. 568). The information about the birth of an illegitimate son, that refuted the rumour of the impotence of John Henry, is also written in a letter of bishop of Litomyšl (CDM VIII, 31–32, no. 63). Dieter Veldtrup believes that the illegitimate son of the future Moravian margrave was born in Brno – see Veldtrup, D. (1989). Johann Propst von Vysehrad. Illegimiter Sohn eines „impotenten“ Luxemburgers. In F. B. Fahlbusch, P. Johanek (Eds.), *Studia Luxemburgensia. Festschrift für Heinz Stoob zum 70. Geburtstag*. Studien zu den Luxemburgern und ihrer Zeit, Bd. 3, Warendorf: Fahlbusch, 63.

He became the first provost of Vyšehrad, then bishop of Litomyšl and finally patriarch of Aquileus.<sup>64</sup>

In the year 1359, during the marriage with Margaret of Opava, another illegitimate child was born. The child was probably a son, but regrettably, his fate is unknown.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> This career was attributed in the older literature to the second of the legitimate sons of margrave John Henry – to John Soběslav. But Ondřej Schmidt refuted this theory, when he discovered that this career actually belongs to the illegitimate son John (Schmidt, O. (2016). *Jan z Moravy. Zapomenutý Lucemburk na aquilejském stolci*. Praha: Vyšehrad). A study focused on the life and personality of the illegitimate son of Margrave John Henry published also Veldtrup, D. Johann Propst von Vysehrad, 50–78.

<sup>65</sup> *Knihy počtů města Brna*, 262 and Nemravová, L. (2012). *Moravský markrabě Jan Jindřich a jeho manželka Markéta Opavská*, 40.

## The Directions of Changes in the Secondary Comprehensive School System for Girls within the Polish Territories During the Partitions Period and the II Republic of Poland

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*The manner in which secondary school education for girls was transforming within the Polish territories during the partitions period and under the II Republic of Poland is a complex issue which, on the one hand, inscribes into the educational policy executed by the partitioning states and later on by Polish authorities, while, on the other hand into a broad scope of changes regarding the social position of women. For a long time, girls were perceived, first and foremost, as future wives, mothers, and housekeepers. As a result, the need to create female grammar schools, that is, comprehensive schools that would prepare them for university studies, was disregarded. However, various post-primary schools were established with the aim to prepare girls for their future roles or, alternatively, provide qualifications enabling them to become school teachers. These schools could also be attended by those girls who wished to expand and supplement their general education. Not until the II Republic of Poland was the male and female school system standardised at the secondary level. Yet, girls continued to struggle to complete the secondary level of education due to a smaller number of state grammar schools addressed at female students.*

Key words: secondary education; girls; Polish territories in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; II Republic of Poland

The manner in which secondary school education for girls was transforming within the Polish territories during the partitions period and under the II Republic of Poland is a complex issue which, on the one hand, inscribes into the educational policy executed by the partitioning states and later on by Polish authorities, while, on the other hand into a broad scope of changes regarding the social position of women.

Until Poland was reinstated as an independent country, secondary school education for girls and boys had constituted two separate educational systems. The task of describing secondary education for girls during the partitions period poses a number of difficulties, which result from heterogeneity of the existing system

and diversity of girls' schools. If we understand the term "secondary school" as a school ending with a final exam entitling a graduate to enrol in a university as a regular student, the first such school within the female educational system was a privately-owned female classical grammar established in 1896 as a counterpart of a boys' grammar school. Thus, such a type of school emerged relatively late and only within the Galicia region. However, there had been a number of other types of schools which might be considered as secondary schools, such as finishing schools executing the teaching curricula of grammar schools to a various degree, state-run girls' grammar schools within the Russian partition, or secondary schools in Galicia. Some of them enabled young women to take final exams which, however, did not qualify them to enrol at universities as regular students. All of these institutions played an enormous role within the process of female education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, all post-primary schools for girls existing in the 19<sup>th</sup> century within the Polish territories might be considered as secondary schools.

Any attempts at introducing new types of all-girl schools or reforming the female educational system at levels higher than elementary undertaken at that period aroused numerous debates that exceeded the strictly educational field and step into the social and moral sphere. The decisions regarding female education, in particular in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were strongly influenced by a strong belief that girls should be better educated at home by their mothers.<sup>1</sup> The changing political, economic, and social situation affected this approach. The modernization processed in effect in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the development of industry, economic persecution following the uprisings (the January uprising in particular), forced women to seek employment, which in turn required them to gain new qualifications or improve the ones they had already possessed. The involvement of women in patriotic activity within the circumstances of national captivity, the establishment of numerous social and political societies, and, last but not least, the emergence of the female movement, resulted in the fact that women began to enter the public life with more and more confidence. All of the above-mentioned factors caused their educational aspirations to grow. On the other hand, educational policy regarding women executed by the partitioning states acted as an inhibiting factor because the authorities' decisions within this sphere were affected by belief and a conservative approach towards "the female issue".

At the elementary education level, within the period from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of World War I, the situation of girls and boys was quite similar. Girls were admitted to parish schools with equal rights as boys, although some

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<sup>1</sup> Bartnicka, K. (2004). Pensja żeńska jako substytut wychowania domowego. In K. Jakubiak, A. Winiarz (Eds.), *Nauczanie domowe dzieci polskich od XVIII do XX wieku*. Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Akademii Bydgoskiej im. Kazimierza Wielkiego, p. 168.



differences in the teaching curricula were introduced due to the fact that their future roles of wives, mothers, and housekeepers differed from the ones assigned to boys and the educational ideal was being modified in accordance with these roles.

Entering the issue of female education into a wide programme of the educational policy must be credited to the Commission of National Education. In the mid-1770s, the Commission made efforts to put in some sort of order the situation at finishing schools, that is boarding schools for girls aged 6 to 16 years from more well-off classes. The Commission determined, among others, the teaching curricula for both boys' and girls' finishing schools. They were identical with one exception: Latin was replaced by geography in girls' curriculum. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the lack of Latin in teaching curricula in female educational institutions was established as a general rule, which turned out to be a fateful circumstance – one that prevented young women to enrol at universities. A huge emphasis was put on citizen and patriotic education.<sup>2</sup> An attempt to modernize finishing schools was a cutting-edge undertaking across Europe. However, not all of the assumptions were put into practice, for example, state educational authority failed to include finishing schools in complete supervision. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were few finishing schools at a poor level.<sup>3</sup> The main premises of the Commission's policy with regard to female education were executed under the Duchy of Warsaw (1807–1815).<sup>4</sup>

During the partitions period, the educational system was developing within the legal systems of individual partitioning states. What is more, the development of female education was affected by the approach of state authorities to the issue of female education. The Prussian authorities exhibited the most conservative approach amplified by their anti-Polish attitude. Almost until the outbreak of World War I, Prussian educational law had not governed the issues of female education at the secondary school level. Key decisions were made by private individuals or religious institutions and, during the Kulturkampf period, a lot of women's schools were closed down. The overall level of female education within the Prussian partition was poor.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Przepisy od Komisji Edukacji Narodowej pensjo mistrzom i pensjo mistrzyniom dane (1925). In J. Lewicki (Ed.) *Ustawodawstwo szkolne za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Rozporządzenia, ustawy pedagogiczne i organizacyjne (1773–1793)*. Kraków, Warszawa: M. Arct, pp. 69–75.

<sup>3</sup> Ender, J. (1972). Sprawa kształcenia kobiet w dobie Komisji Edukacyjnej. *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 3, 476–477, 481; Bartnicka, K. (2004). Op. cit., p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Winiarz, A. (2002). *Szkolnictwo Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (1807–1831)*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, pp. 318–321; Hulewicz, J. (1939). *Sprawa wyższego wykształcenia kobiet w Polsce w wieku XIX*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, pp. 12–13.

<sup>5</sup> Walasek, S. (1996). Szkolnictwo średnie ogólnokształcące na ziemiach polskich w latach 1914–1923. *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* no 184, *Prace Pedagogiczne* no 112, Wrocław: PWN, p. 22.

The policy of the Russian authorities differed in that respect. They favoured the establishment of women's secondary schools but on the condition that these were state-run schools which aided the Russification of Polish girls. Noticing these evident political tendencies, Polish society was reluctant towards state-run schools and preferred public schools. There was also no school graduation from which would enable girls to enrol at Russian or Galician universities as regular students.

Under the Congress Poland (1815–1831), efforts were made to improve the level of female finishing schools. An important initiative took place in 1826 in Warsaw – the foundation of the Governess School, renamed at the end of 1826 as the State Institute for Education of the Female Sex. It aimed to prepare female tutors to fill in the void on the labour market. It was thus a vocational school, yet it was attended by girls as well who wished to supplement their education. In this sense, it also played the role of a comprehensive school. Girls over the age of 14 years – graduates of finishing schools or three-grade schools – were admitted. It was the highest educational institution for women at that time, the first such institution run by state authorities within the former Polish territory, and a very popular one.<sup>6</sup>

In the period from the November Uprising until the January Uprising (1832–1863), the policy towards female education changed. Two trends began dominating: Russification and restriction of women's access to education. In the years 1840–1841, Emperor Nicholas I signed a number of acts and regulations aimed at conforming the way the educational system in the Kingdom of Poland functioned to the Russian model. It was decided that the teaching curriculum in female schools cannot exceed the limitations of the curriculum adopted for male district schools. State Institute for Education of the Female Sex was renamed as the Institute for Education of Maidens. From that moment onwards, it was supposed to be a six-grade school for the daughters of army officers and state officials and a certain number of girls training to become governesses. The students were taught in a spirit of devotion to the Russian monarchy. Two years later, the Institute was relocated to Puławy and for the next dozen years or so there was no state-run secondary school for girls in Warsaw.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Hulewicz J. (1939). Op. cit., pp. 16–19; Winiarz, A. (1992). Kształcenie i wychowanie dziewcząt w Księstwie Warszawskim i Królestwie Polskim (1807–1905). In A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarc (Eds.) *Kobieta i edukacja na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX w.* Zbiór studiów. Vol. II, part 2, Warszawa: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, pp. 10–13; Winiarz A., (2002). Op. cit., pp. 328–335; Dąbrowska, J. (2010). Początki szkolnictwa żeńskiego – Instytut Guwernantek. In K. Jakubiak, T. Maliszewski (Eds.) *Z dziejów polskiej kultury i oświaty od średniowiecza do początku XX wieku.* Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls”, pp. 122–123, pp. 126–127.

<sup>7</sup> Aleksandryjski Instytut Wychowania Panien (2019). In K. Poznański (Ed.) *Ustawodawstwo szkolne w Królestwie Polskim w latach autonomii administracyjnej 1815–1867. Materiały i źródła do historii wychowania, vol.2: 1840–1867.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademii

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Russian authorities began to realise that women were increasingly striving for higher education. To meet these expectations, a decision was made to expand the state-run educational system for women. It was supposed to serve the purposes of Russification policy regarding Polish girls. In 1856, permission was given for creating female schools whose teaching curricula resembled those of boys' grammar schools. In 1857, a prestigious State Finishing School, also known as Mary's School, was founded. Its graduates could obtain qualifications of a junior governess. In 1859, the State Higher Female School was launched as a six-grade institution with quite a broad teaching curriculum, which admitted candidates regardless of their social origin or religion. The graduates were granted qualifications of a senior governess. The entire female school system was entrusted to Empress Maria Alexandrovna on whose behalf it was supervised by the intendant.<sup>8</sup>

The policy of development of the state-run school system for girls was continued in the 1860s. In 1864, six-grade grammar schools were established as well as three- to four-grade female junior grammars, whose teaching curriculum was similar to that of boys' classical grammar school reduced by Latin and Greek. Traditionally, needlework was taught instead. A grammar school graduate could seek employment as a private tutor.<sup>9</sup> The act of 1870 divided the existing female schools into three-grade junior grammars and seven-grade grammar school. The latter ones could include the eighth form with a teaching major.<sup>10</sup>

The actions of the Russian authorities did not bring the assumed results. The political goals governing the establishment of state-run girls' schools were too apparent for Polish society. Therefore, within the Kingdom of Poland, six- or seven-grade public girls' schools dominated. Only after a motion was passed by Imperial Duma in 1912, eight-grade schools could be created.<sup>11</sup>

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Pedagogiki Specjalnej, 37–39; Ustawa dla instytutów naukowych prywatnych, guwernerów i nauczycieli domowych w Królestwie Polskim (2019). In ibidem, pp. 92–106; Hulewicz, J. (1939). Op. cit., 53, pp. 63–64; Winiarz, A. (1992). Op. cit., pp. 14–17.

<sup>8</sup> Ustawa dla pensji. Żeńskiej Rządowej w Warszawie (2019). In K. Poznański (Ed.) Op. cit., pp. 277–287; Projekt Ustawy dla Wyższych Naukowych Zakładów Rządowych Żeńskich w Warszawie (2019) In K. Poznański (Ed.) Op. cit., pp. 287–294; Doniesienie o otwarciu pięciu Szkół Żeńskich w Królestwie i Oddziału 4-klasowego; Projekt ustawy dla Szkół Wyższych Żeńskich Rządowych w Królestwie Polskim (2019) In ibidem, pp. 359–366; Hulewicz, J. (1939). Op. cit., pp. 65–66; Winiarz, A. (1992). Op. cit., pp. 15–16; Poznański, K. (1968). *Reforma szkolna w Królestwie Polskim w 1862 roku*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, pp. 250–252.

<sup>9</sup> Hulewicz, J. (1939). Op. cit., pp. 68–69; Winiarz, A. (1992). Op. cit., pp. 18–19.

<sup>10</sup> Miąso, J. (1995). Reformy oświatowe w Prusach, Austrii i Rosji i ich wpływ na szkolnictwo na ziemiach polskich w drugiej połowie XIX wieku, *Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny* 3., p. 133, p. 135.

<sup>11</sup> S. Walasek, op. cit, p.19.

During World War I, teachers' circles supported the establishment of identical boys' and girls' grammar schools which enabled both sexes to enrol at a university. Within the Kingdom of Poland, the debate was accompanied by a process of transformation of finishing schools into seven- or eight-grade grammar schools, whose teaching curriculum was expanded by a new obligatory course, Latin, as well as mathematics and physics at equal levels as in boys' grammar schools. These changes afforded girls the opportunity to prepare properly for their final examinations. These schools became highly popular when the University of Warsaw opened up for female students.<sup>12</sup>

The approach of Austrian authorities towards secondary school education of girls differed from both the Prussian and Russian ones. The Austrians undertook half-way actions, on the one hand, wishing to improve the level of secondary schools without interfering with the traditional aim of female education on the other. Great emphasis was put on the physical and psychological distinct features of the female sex and their future social roles: of the wife, mother, and housekeeper. For a very long time, there had been no counterpart of boys' secondary school which could prepare girls for University studies. The state refused persistently resisted attempts to establish state-run female grammar schools and no such school was opened until World War I, although, since 1896 girls were allowed to take extramural final exams in four selected boys' grammar schools and in 1897 women began to be admitted to the University of Kraków and the University of Lviv. This reluctance was justified, first and foremost, by the fear of overproduction of intelligentsia and potential competition from women on the labour market.<sup>13</sup>

From the 1870s onwards, district schools operated within Galicia. Initially, they were a subtype of people's schools established in towns and cities. In some locations, these schools underwent reforms and their teaching curriculum was expanded into a more comprehensive one, yet women's chores, such as needlework, remained a part of the curriculum as well. Thus, in 1871, an eight-grade district girls' school launched in Kraków with the aim of providing secondary school education to women "with consideration for arts useful to this sex".<sup>14</sup> This school, however, never reached the level of boys' grammar schools; neither did the six-grade higher district schools launched in 1895. They were not particularly popular either.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Miąso, J. (1992). Kształcenie dziewcząt w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. In A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarc (Eds.) *Kobieta i edukacja na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX w. Zbiór studiów*, vol. II, part. 2, Warszawa: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> Dutkova, R. (1995). *Żeńskie gimnazja Krakowa w procesie emancypacji kobiet (1896–1918)*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 7, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, pp. 8–9.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 12.

As one of the elements of reform in people's educational system executed throughout the empire at the turn of the 1860s and the 1870s, first teacher training colleges were launched in 1871. Although they provided only vocational secondary education, they are worth mentioning as a highly successful and popular type of schools attended both by girls who wished to pursue a teaching career at people's schools as well as those who desired a teacher seminar diploma (which did not enable them to enrol at a university).<sup>16</sup>

Both higher district schools and teacher training colleges were state-run schools, while all the other types of girls' schools operating within Galicia were public ones. The procedure for launching new public schools was governed by state law of 1869 and thanks to the liberal character of its provisions,<sup>17</sup> a public female education developed quickly in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to the legal regulations, it was possible to establish the first classical female grammar school as a counterpart of a boys' grammar school. The school was launched in Kraków in 1896. Soon afterwards, new grammar schools followed, not only in Kraków and Lvov, but also upcountry. Such a type of schools met the girls' expectations and graduation brought measurable effects, such as the opportunity to take secondary school finals and enrol at a university. Grammar schools emerging as a result of an upstream social initiative turned out to be a successful and lasting creation.<sup>18</sup>

The situation was different for yet another type of a comprehensive secondary school established in 1900 – a six-grade high school created by the minister of Religious Denominations and Enlightenment, Wilhelm von Hartel. He followed the example of similar schools that had been founded in Austria for almost thirty years. Hartel meant to create schools adjusted to women's "special" needs. A huge emphasis was put on modern languages, history, and aesthetic studies. Courses in pedagogy, psychology, and hygiene were also introduced. But these schools lacked Latin, the curriculum in science and mathematics was reduced. High school ended with final exams which did not enable graduates to enrol at a university as regular students. As such, they did not meet the expectations of girls aspiring to pursue university education and, as a result, they did not last long.<sup>19</sup>

In 1908, the Ministry of Education issued a regulation regarding the creation of eight-grade real grammar schools and the transformation of high schools into reformed real grammar. In the latter type of schools, French was taught instead of

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<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Any person able to secure a school's operation in financial, academic, and didactic terms could open one.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 28; Dormus, K. (2002). *Kazimiera Bujwidowa (1867–1932). Życie i działalność społeczno-oświatowa*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia „Secesja”, pp. 74–75.

<sup>19</sup> Dutkova, R. (1995). Op. cit., 8, 12–14; Czajacka, B. (1990). „*Z domu w szeroki świat*”: droga kobiet do niezależności w zaborze austriackim w latach 1890–1914. Kraków: „Universitatis”, pp. 100–101.

Greek and the teaching curriculum of the sciences was expanded. In terms of their status, these schools were equal to classical grammar schools. Until World War I, in Galicia, there had been 30 public girls' grammar schools: 11 classical ones and 19 real ones, as well as 13 high schools.<sup>20</sup> In terms of the number of grammar schools and the number of female students attending these institutions, Galicia outrivalled other countries of the crown.<sup>21</sup>

The situation within secondary comprehensive education for girls changed significantly after World War I, when Poland was reinstated as an independent country. The basis for the restructuration of secondary education in the independent Poland was formed by the "Program naukowy szkoły średniej" [Academic Programme for the Secondary School] issued in 1919. It announced the establishment of a uniform comprehensive secondary school with identical teaching of curricula for boys, girls, and coeducational schools. Thus, girls' schools would be officially granted equal rights for the first time in history. It was even more important since universities were opening up for female students simultaneously.

The "Academic Programme" signalled liquidation of the existing classical grammars, grammar schools, and real schools, as well as female high schools. All of the above were to be replaced with a uniform eight-grade comprehensive school. Grades one through three, constituting a junior grammar school, were supposed to have uniform teaching programmes, while grades four through eight, that is the senior grammar school, were to differ in that respect. Three teaching profiles were assumed: mathematics and natural science; humanities and Latin; and classical arts. The guidelines of the "Academic Programme for the Secondary School" were compulsory for state-run schools, but were adopted by numerous public schools as well.<sup>22</sup>

New teaching curricula were first introduced within the Kingdom of Poland, where a majority of female schools were transformed into grammar schools, and only a few of the lower level were transformed into general or vocational schools. Within the borders of the other two former partitions – in Galicia, the Poznań region, and Pomerania – these transformations completed as late as in 1926.<sup>23</sup> The remodelling process in the Galician educational system commenced at the beginning of the academic year 1920/1921. The existing real schools, real grammars, and most female high schools were renamed as mathematics and natural science-oriented grammar schools, while classical grammars to humanities grammars or new-type classical grammars. Until the reform of 1932,

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<sup>20</sup> Miąso, J. *Reformy oświatowe*, p. 129.

<sup>21</sup> Dutkova, R. (1995). *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>22</sup> Miąso, J. (1992). *Op. cit.*, pp. 73–74.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 74–75.

fifteen classical grammars of the old type operated within Galicia. These grammars, along with several female high schools which had not undergone transformation, constituted the only difference between the secondary educational system in Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>24</sup>

Further transformations of the secondary school system resulted from the act on the educational system of 11 March, 1932. The secondary school system was standardised. State-run and public schools were to adopt identical educational goals. The secondary school turned into a six-grade school comprised of a four-grade grammar school and a two-grade high school. Both schools comprising of grammar and high school as well as separate grammars and separate high schools were allowed. Grammar schools were to meet the social expectations of the popularization of secondary education, while the high school was to prepare young adults for university studies. High schools were divided into four main types – mathematics and physics-oriented; natural science-oriented, humanities-oriented; and the classical type. Their didactic premises differed.<sup>25</sup>

The position of girls in secondary schools in the interwar period was more difficult than that of male students. A great majority of female secondary schools were public ones. The authorities were more eager to launch and support male grammar schools. Thus, at the dawn of the Second Republic of Poland, there were 81 public female secondary schools in Warsaw. In 1918, the first one was nationalised – Jadwiga Sikorska finishing school, which from that moment onwards was known as Queen Jadwiga's. Over the next few years, five more public female schools were nationalised and two additional state-run schools were launched.<sup>26</sup> In the Kraków province, on the other hand, in the academic year 1921/1922, there was only one state-run female school, while there were twelve public ones.<sup>27</sup> Before the outbreak of the war, the city and province of Kraków had 33 female grammar and high schools, out of which as many as 29 were public ones.<sup>28</sup>

Within the entire territory of the Republic of Poland, in the academic year 1922/1923, there were 260 state-run secondary schools in total, with only 34

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<sup>24</sup> Araszkiewicz, F. (1972). *Szkoła średnia ogólnokształcąca w Polsce w latach 1918–1932*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo PAN, 47, pp. 49–50.

<sup>25</sup> Ustawa z dnia 11 marca 1932 r. o ustroju szkolnictwa – art. 19; art. 20 ust. 1, 2, art. 21 ust1; art. 22 ust. 1. <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19320380389/O/D19320389.pdf> [21. 11. 2019]

<sup>26</sup> Miąso, J. (1992). Op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>27</sup> Kotowski, R. (2013). *Dziewczęta w mundurkach. Młodzież żeńska szkół średnich w Polsce w latach 1918–1939*. Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach, p. 60.

<sup>28</sup> Ruta, Z. (1990). *Prywatne szkolnictwo Prywatne szkolnictwo średnie ogólnokształcące w Krakowie i województwie krakowskim w latach 1932–1939*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, p. 13.

female schools (that is 19% of all state-run schools). Girls comprised 19.4 % of all students in state-run schools, while in public schools 56.4% of all students were females.<sup>29</sup> In the academic year 1937/1938, there were 307 state-run secondary schools, out of which only 49 were female schools (that is 16% of all state-run schools).<sup>30</sup> However, until the mid-1930s, the percentage of female students in state-run schools had been increasing, while the percentage of female schools in public schools had gradually been decreasing.

Most female secondary schools, state-run in particular, were humanities-oriented, not only because it was still believed that excellence in the humanities was perceived as a sign of prestige, but also because the cost of operation of humanities-oriented schools was far lower than in the case of mathematics and science-oriented schools.<sup>31</sup>

Since there were very few state-run female secondary schools, girls were usually forced to attend public institutions which made their education more expensive than that of boys, all the more that annual tuition fees in public grammar schools were high.

The social and moral aspect of the operation of female grammar schools in the interwar period is also worth some attention because attendance to grammar schools affected the girls' lifestyles. Their school life resembled more and more that of their male peers with regard to, for example, involvement in activities of youth organizations, scouting, after-school clubs, or student body. Their liberties expanded. Also, more care and attention was given to their health, hygienic lifestyle, and providing proper healthcare.<sup>32</sup>

Until the first classical grammar was established in Kraków by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the female secondary school system had taken a long way. The evolution process of the female education school system was affected by traditional social beliefs and the educational policy of the partitioning states, which, to a large extent, reflected these views. Girls were perceived, first and foremost, as future wives, mothers, and housekeepers, due to which fact the need to create female grammar schools that could prepare girls for university studies, was disregarded. After all, colleges and universities were out of their reach for a long time. However, various types of post-primary schools were established to prepare girls for their future roles or, alternatively, equipped them in qualifications in the teaching profession. A number of these schools had thus a twofold character: on the one hand, they were more of vocational schools preparing girls

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<sup>29</sup> Miąso, J. (1992). *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>30</sup> Samsel, A. (2004). *Koedukacja w szkole średniej w Polsce i na świecie w latach 1918–1939, świadomy wybór czy zło konieczne. Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 3–4, pp. 84–85.

<sup>31</sup> Miąso, J. (1992). *Op. cit.*, pp. 77–78.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 78.



to become school teachers; on the other hand, they played the role of comprehensive school, because they enabled those girls who did not wish to seek employment as teachers to expand and supplement their general education. Not until the II Republic of Poland, was the male and female school system standardised at the secondary level. However, for girls, graduation from a secondary school still constituted a goal more difficult to reach due to a smaller number of state-run schools they could attend. Most girls were forced to choose public schools and the financial barrier must have restricted their educational opportunities.

# The Impact of the Education Reforms Between 1773 and 1803 on the Preservation of Polish National Identity in the Eastern Borderlands of the Former Republic of Poland

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*The first Polish education reform, based on the “Acts of the Commission of National Education” formed in 1773, and the following one, pertaining to the Polish lands in the Russian partition of Poland, which were founded in the “Temporary regulations of public enlightenment”, confirmed by Tsar Alexander I in the form of the Act of May, 1803, were of particular significance for the formation and the functioning of Polish schooling and, as a result, for the formation of national and civic awareness of the Polish society. The reforms made it possible to survive the time of enslavement, particularly in the lands of the former Republic of Poland which were subject to Russian indoctrination, by educating Poles who, after the restoration of their independence, would build the Polish state together with its school system.*

Key words: Polish education reforms; Commission of National Education; Vilnius Scholarly District; national identity; civic education

The celebration of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the restoration of Polish independence which took place in 2018 is an occasion to remind ourselves of the events and the factors which were significant in the restoration and the construction of the new Republic of Poland after over a century of enslavement. The first partition of Polish lands carried out by Prussia, Russia, and Austria took place in 1772, and the second one 21 years later. In 1795, when, as a result of the third partition, these powers have ultimately dismantled the Polish state, it has disappeared from the maps of Europe for 123 years. However, the Polish national identity and respect for the lost motherland allowed Poles to survive the difficult period of the erasing of their sense of statehood and belonging to the Polish nation. Thanks to the preservation of the language, the knowledge of their history and their Christian roots, the enslaved Poles were able to not only dream of free Poland, but also take up arms in their conviction about the necessity to fight

against their enslavement. The contribution of Polish families and schools, with their efforts to form patriotic attitudes in the young generations, was enormous. However, if it were not for the educational reforms initiated at the end of the First Republic of Poland, the chances of the restoration of independent Poland would have been much smaller.

The reform was based on the “Acts on the Commission of National Education” (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej – KEN), established in 1773,<sup>1</sup> and the subsequent reform, pertaining to the Polish lands within the Russian partition of Poland (the so-called Lands Taken Away), which was clarified by the “Temporary regulations of public enlightenment” confirmed by Tsar Alexander I in the form of the *Act of May*, 1803, held exceptional importance for the creation and the functioning of Polish schooling and, as a result, for the formation of Polish national identity and civic attitude. They made it possible to survive the time of enslavement, especially in the Eastern Borderlands of Poland, where Russian propaganda was strong, by educating Poles who, after the restoration of their independence, created the groundwork of the new state, along with the new schooling system.

The dictionary entries under the term „reform“ shows just how important these reforms were for Poles and for Poland in the times of the partitions. The 1912 *Dictionary of the Polish Language* by Jan Karłowicz defines reform as “[...] a reformation, betterment, introduction of improvements, reorganisation”.<sup>2</sup> What is provided as an example, after the 1807 *Dictionary* of Samuel Linde, are the words of the Józef Wybicki, visiting the Vilnius Academy, restored by KEN, included in his *Address to the Academics of Vilnius of 1777*: “Let not the ensuing Reform scare you with its ways of teaching”.<sup>3</sup> It was also Linde who, when defining “reform” explained that it is “renewal with improvement” while pointing to the educational reform of the Piarists of 1740 as “the Great School Reform of Konarski”.<sup>4</sup> For Poles of the times of the partitions reforms were, therefore, connected with educational reforms, synonymous with “introduction of improvements” and “renewal with improvement”. The 1981 *Dictionary of the Polish Language*, in turn, defined reform

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<sup>1</sup> The main document constituting the legal basis of the works of the Commission of National Education was the constitution enacted by the parliament on October 14, 1773. The first legal issuing was the universal act of 24. 10. 1773, which declared the establishment of KEN and called for cooperation. The basis of the KEN programme were the Regulations of 1774 which were effectively the first Polish school law.

<sup>2</sup> Karłowicz, J. – Kryński, A. – Niedźwiedzki, W. (1912). *Słownik języka polskiego [Dictionary of the Polish Language]*, vol. V. Warszawa: Kasa im. Mianowskiego.

<sup>3</sup> The reforms of the Educational Commission, especially those pertaining to the creation of the state-controlled school system, were difficult to accept for the majority of the Polish society.

<sup>4</sup> Linde, S. (1854). *Słownik języka polskiego [Dictionary of the Polish Language]*, vol. 3, Issue II. Lwów: Zakład Ossolińskich.

as “introduction of changes and improvements into a system”, without, however, “radical and qualitative reformation of the system”.<sup>5</sup> Educational reforms were not mentioned as examples, probably because the reforms of KEN and the regulations from 1803 based on them, pertaining also to entire Russia, assumed radical and qualitative change of the system of education.

In spite of the importance of the issue of the first Polish educational reform of 1773, one had to wait 168 years of its first comprehensive scholarly discussion. In 1941 a French historian Ambrise Jobert published in Paris a trailblazing work based on extensive sources, titled *The Commission of National Education in Poland (1773–1794). Its Work of Civic Education*, evaluating the work of the Commission of Education. It was published in Polish 38 years later, translated and edited by prof. Mirosława Chamcówna.<sup>6</sup> The publication still constitutes a basic compendium of knowledge about KEN. One had to wait even longer for an in-depth presentation of the importance of the 1803 *Temporary Regulations* to the Poles of the Russian partition. It was achieved by a French scholar, Daniel Beauvois, and his work titled *Polish Schooling in Russian and Lithuanian Lands from 1803 to 1832* was published in French in 1977, and in Polish 14 years later.<sup>7</sup>

A. Jobert pointed out that in spite of the Polish parliament’s ratification of the first partition of Poland in 1772, “a part of the society did not lose from their sight the problem of national education”.<sup>8</sup> While the dissolution of Jesuit monasteries which took place in the following year<sup>9</sup> paved the way for reforms of schooling and public education, the campaign to initiate it had begun in Poland many years earlier.<sup>10</sup>

During the first session of the Commission of Education on October 17, 1773, working in the atmosphere of the recent partition of a part of Poland, an address was made to the people of Poland, in which it was emphasised that education is “the exclusive condition of the happiness of the state [...]”, and in connection with this fact, “let us swiftly raise the fallen hopes of the Republic”.<sup>11</sup> Apart from the

<sup>5</sup> *Słownik języka polskiego [Dictionary of the Polish Language]*. (1981). vol. III. Warszawa: PWN.

<sup>6</sup> Jobert, A. (1979). *Komisja Edukacji narodowej w Polsce (1773–1794) [Commission of National Education in Poland]*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

<sup>7</sup> Beauvois, D. (1991). *Szkolnictwo polskie na ziemiach litewsko-ruskich 1803-1832 [Polish Schooling in Russian and Lithuanian Lands from 1803 to 1832]*, vols. 1–2. Rzym-Lublin: Fundacja Jana Pawła II – KUL.

<sup>8</sup> Jobert, A. (1979). Op. cit. p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Brewe “Dominus ac Redemptor” of 21. 07. 1773.

<sup>10</sup> One ought to mention here, among others, the reforms in Piarist schooling in Poland, carried out thanks to Stanisław Konarski in the 1850s, or the work of J. J. Rousseau, *Comments on the Polish System* of 1777 in which the author mentioned the Polish focus on the education of youth, which was to have a national character.

<sup>11</sup> Jobert, A. (1979). Op. cit. p. 22.

new organisation of schooling subordinate to education authorities (that is, the Commission of National Education) responsible before the parliament and the king, emphasis was placed on the education of people-citizens through moral training and knowledge of history and law.<sup>12</sup> The teachings were to be realised to a varying degree on all the levels of education, from parish schools to secondary schools (public and private), as well as universities (main schools).

In the moral education of students, the emphasis was put on social and citizen virtues formed by religion (Christian teachings), natural law, economics, and politics. In the Christian teachings, it was advised that one ought to, among others, “[...] be able to present God as the Father of all, the most loving, of all men as His sons, and therefore our brothers, [...], to present the law of the Scriptures as the law of God’s love, of common love, aiming to make men happy, [...] to present virtue as the combination of eternal and earthly good [...]”.<sup>13</sup> The teaching of natural law included “instruction in the duties and the responsibilities of men according to the natural order”. In the 1774 “Rules of the Commission of National Education for voivodship schools” there was an instruction on how to “conduct the teaching, arriving from the duty of one’s parents at the duties of the servants of the house in which [the students] reside”. It was pointed out that there was a necessity to convince students to carry out the assigned responsibilities because of their own good (their own interest), because everyone who does not know them “enacts bad laws and according to their own laws they are decadent”. It was claimed that the natural law would be understood when it is explained to young people “what property is, what freedom is, what security is [...]”, all of which ought to be guaranteed to all people.<sup>14</sup>

Economics included people’s duties to the family and to the economy. As in the case of natural law, advice was formulated in connection with “the proceedings in this teaching”. It was advised that the instruction begins in childhood, in order to point out as early as possible that “poverty is a certain and bitter result of neglected economy” which, in turn, results from flawed thinking that “the economy cannot be doing any better than it now is”. Teachers ought to warn that “one cannot live a joyful life, be entertained, and have inner peace without economy”. That is why students need to know “the land which feeds and bears them, the house in which they live, the bread which they eat”, while at the same time seeing the difference

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<sup>12</sup> Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie (1774) [Rules of the Commission of National Education for Voivodship Schools]. In *Ustawodawstwo szkolne za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Rozporządzenia, ustawy pedagogiczne i organizacyjne (1773–1793)* [Acts on schooling in the times of the Commission of National Education. Pedagogical and organisational decrees and acts]. J. Lewicki (Ed.). Kraków 1925: M. Arct in Warszawa. pp. 27–31, 37–40.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, pp. 39–40.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, pp. 28–29.

between wastefulness and stinginess and greed, condemning usury and “obscure exploitation”, as well as being “trained for utmost order and punctuality”.<sup>15</sup>

In the case of instruction in politics teachers were expected to explain the laws and the duties of the members of all social classes, because “nearly all unlawfulness, errors, and disorder arise from ignorance of rights and obligations”. Based on the assumption that one of the fundamental duties of the highest authorities is to provide comprehensive national education, in which laws of good politics are included, it ought to be taught in the form of fundamental principles:

- the aim of the government is the happiness of all, which is accompanied by “public happiness”;
- citizens cannot enjoy “lawful happiness” without free and secure property,
- it is in the interest of the highest authorities to abide by, defend, and secure the rights of citizens,
- it is in the interest of citizens to abide by good laws and “pay just taxes”.<sup>16</sup>

The project which was of highest importance and precision in moral education was developed by the Piarist Antoni Popławski, a professor of the laws of nature at Collegium Nobilium.<sup>17</sup> In the assumptions presented in the memorial “On the disposition and betterment of civic education” of 1775 a programme of moral education connected with other subjects, such as law (including natural law), political law, laws of nations, and the law of Poland was outlined. National education conducted in this way was to constitute a path to “being happy”,<sup>18</sup> and its aim was to prepare and introduce future political and social reform.

In the education of citizens, particular emphasis was placed on history. The teaching was to appeal “to the heart” and lead “to the love of virtue, to following tradition, to abhorring unlawful deeds”. On the basis of historical events teachers were to instruct their students to tell greatness from vanity, courage from violence, politics from cunning, and not to provide examples which could lead to umbrage, because “such teaching will infect the heart, turn the mind of the young man to his own destruction, to the disadvantage of the society”. The instruction of the Commission emphasised that with lessons in the history of states “Polish history ought to be given the first place”, and then to move on to “history of the states which are connected to our state through neighbourhood, interests, and similarity of the system of the government”. The discussed events ought always to be

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, pp. 29–30.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, pp. 29–31.

<sup>17</sup> Antoni Popławski (1739–1799), a Piarist, teacher at the Collegium Nobilium (1740–1832), a school established in Warsaw by the Piarist S.Konarski, dedicated to the sons of magnates and wealthy nobles, educated in a sense of civic responsibility for the country. The Collegium initiated the reform of Piarist schools, which inspired KEN.

<sup>18</sup> Jobert, A. (1979). Op. cit., p 28.

concluded with just praise or reprimand and portray the results of the events in the light of reward or punishment.<sup>19</sup>

However, because of the unsatisfactory development of studies on the history of Poland, the Commission would put greater stress on teaching law. It was assumed that lessons in law in public schools needed to be conducted mainly for practical reasons, because the knowledge of the law was crucial for everyone holding a public office or function, as well as in taking care of one's own interests. The Commission would also point out the necessity to know the law and one's political duties because of the formation of the sense of justice, which was essential to all the citizens "preparing to do their duty to the Motherland. [...] Such teaching of political law is best in warming all hearts to the love of the Motherland, preparing them to be effective in holding offices, to provide advice, to abide by civil acts, to obey the national authorities".<sup>20</sup>

The education of citizens was intended to be supported by the introduction of the national language into the curriculum. The basics of teaching Polish were included in Onufry Kopczyński's *Grammar for National Schools*.<sup>21</sup> In the "Rules" of 1774, there is a statement by Popławski on education in Polish, constituting a crucial element of the formation of the national identity of young people: "Henceforth students in schools are to speak the Polish tongue [...]. In the learning of grammar, the first efforts shall be put into the Polish tongue, [and only] then of Latin [...]". He would emphasise that "Polish students are to clearly read the pieces selected by the teacher aloud, the pieces written in the best Polish language [...]", so that "they could not only speak proper Polish language, but also so that they could speak wisely [...]".<sup>22</sup> Popławski intended all course books to be in Polish.<sup>23</sup> At that time it was not fully feasible, even though thanks to the organised Society for Elementary Books a dozen books important to civic education were developed or translated.

In Józef Wibicki's *Address to the Academics of Vilnius* from June 1777, it is emphasised how great an importance was attached by university circles to the newly

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<sup>19</sup> Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie (1774) Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie (1774) [Rules of the Commission of National Education for Voivodship Schools]. Op. cit., pp. 31–32. Op. cit., pp. 37–38.

<sup>20</sup> Jobert, A. (1979). Op. cit., p. 163; Popławski, A. O rozporządzeniu i wydoskonaleniu edukacji obywatelskiej [On the disposition and betterment of civic education]. In Popławski, A. *Pisma pedagogiczne [Pedagogical Works]* (1957). S. Tync (Ed.). Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, pp. 35–36.

<sup>21</sup> Kopczyński, O. (1778–1783). *Gramatyka dla szkół narodowych [Grammar for National Schools]*, vols. 1–3. Warszawa: Towarzystwo do Książ Elementarnych.

<sup>22</sup> Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie (1774) [Rules of the Commission of National Education for Voivodship Schools]. Op. cit., pp. 31–32.

<sup>23</sup> Popławski, A. (1957). Op. cit., p. 63.

introduced educational reform. This accomplished political activist, publicist, and poet made his audience understand that without them “the country would perish [...] and the memory of Poland would remain in writings only”. If they do not wish “misfortune upon their country, which can be brought about by your non-education [...], follow closely the principles put forth for your education!”. The professor warned, at the same time: “Let not the ensuing reform scare you with its ways of teaching”<sup>24</sup>

The Commission of National Education was only active as an institution for 21 years, until 1794. However, its ideas, apart from modern education in the spirit of the enlightened West, were to survive. Taking into account the future and the good of the citizens the ideas consisted in shaping the national identity of Poles through their education – in reminding them to respect rights and to be responsible for the state and the nation. In the Lands Taken Away, which were eventually forced to become a part of the Russian Empire after the third partition, the schools would not cease to instruct young men in these ideas nearly until the end of the 1820s. They would become the last generation officially educated with the course books and curriculum of KEN. It was the achievement of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Count Seweryn Potocki, and Father Hieronim Strojnowski, who played a major role in the educational reforms in Russia and became members of the Russian Ministry of Public Enlightenment. The basis for the “Temporary regulations of public enlightenment” enacted in January 1803 by Alexander I was the project of the organisation of schools in the Empire drafted by Father Strojnowski,<sup>25</sup> based on the “Acts of the Commission of National Education for the academics” of 1783.<sup>26</sup> As a result of the efforts of Czartoryski the Vilnius Scholarly District (Wileński Okręg Naukowy – WON) was established in the lands of the former Republic of Poland, which constituted the westernmost governorate of the Empire, and Czartoryski was named its authority. In accordance with the tradition of KEN and new Russian regulations, all the schools in the district were supervised by the Imperial University in Vilnius.<sup>27</sup> The eventual confirmation of the “Temporary

<sup>24</sup> Wybicki, J. (1929). „Mowa do Akademików Wileńskich” Wybickiego [Józefa], wizytatora Akademii Wileńskiej w 1777 roku. *Alma Mater Vilniensis* [“Address to the Academics of Vilnius” of Wybicki, a visitor to the Vilnius Academy], Issue 8. Wilno: Wydawnictwo Zrzeszenia Kół Naukowych Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego, pp.10–11.

<sup>25</sup> Father Hieronim Strojnowski (1752–1815) – a Piarist, Vilnius bishop, rector of the Vilnius Academy, member of KEN – developed in October 1802 an outline of the organisation of four levels of schooling in Russia titled “on the rules of public enlightenment in the Russian Empire”. The project was implemented.

<sup>26</sup> Truchim, J. (1960). *Współpraca polsko-rosyjska nad organizacją szkolnictwa rosyjskiego w początkach XIX wieku* [The Polish-Russian Cooperation in the Organisation of Russian Schooling in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century]. Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu.

<sup>27</sup> The Vilnius Scholarly District was one of the 6 scholarly districts in Russia supervised by universities and with governorate schools (gymnasiums), poviats and parish schools, with the gradual administrative dependence of the schools from the lower to the higher ones. The



regulations” by the Tsar on May 18, 1803 was a legal act of reinstating Polish schooling in the Lands Taken Away,<sup>28</sup> and consequently a Russian recognition of the Polish character of these lands.

“Temporary regulations” assumed the obligation of all books to be censored by universities. This included school course books. In the list of school subjects on the poviata level there were, among others, Russian (in WON Polish), geography, history, and “advice on the duties of men and citizens”, and in gymnasium there were also world history, introduction to political economics, as well as the instruction to “read and translate works serving to form hearts, providing a proper idea [...] of civic obligations”.<sup>29</sup> For the schooling in the Vilnius district, it provided an opportunity to realise curricula developed and introduced by the Commission of Education for over 20 years. However, quickly new Russian regulations<sup>30</sup> followed which called for the introduction of a “necessary change”. In spite of these tendencies, the Vilnius University decided that nothing ought to be changed as long as it was possible. Even the unambiguous decision of the Main School Authority (an advisory body to the Ministry of Public Enlightenment in Petersburg) of 1817 on the removal of political economics and the introduction of the necessity to present all school books to the ministry with a description of the proposed changes was ignored in Vilnius.<sup>31</sup>

University authorities and the teachers in Polish schools working as part of the structures of the Russian state must have been aware of the contents taught to students, which is proven by the school books used in the process of education. Among these books, on the list of those qualified to be removed or at least broadly altered would certainly be the *Grammar* by Onufry Kopczyński. However, the Vilnius editions of 1807 and 1815 were a complete reedition of the KEN original. These were published without any obstacles or alterations. The authors would use every opportunity to reinforce in the youth the idea of the Motherland, e.g., the word “motherland” was provided as an example in an exercise of declination, and in the chapter on parts of speech there was as an example a quote from Horace: “it is sweet to die for the fatherland”.<sup>32</sup> In the course books there were terms from Polish history, such as: “A city – Warsaw”, “A river – Vistula”, “A country – Poland”.<sup>33</sup>

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District was divided between 8 governorates, and all the schools were supervised by the university in Vilnius.

<sup>28</sup> Beauvois, D. (1991). Op. cit., vol. 2. pp. 20–21.

<sup>29</sup> Kornilova, I. (1897). *Sbornik materialov dla istorii prosvieszczenia w Rosii*, vol. 2, Petersburg, pp. 189–247.

<sup>30</sup> Among others, the “Instruction for school auditors” of May 5, 1803, and the draft of the rulebook of 1809.

<sup>31</sup> Beauvois, D. (1991). Op. cit., pp. 307–329.

<sup>32</sup> Kopczyński, O. (1778–1783). Op. cit., pp. 9, 11.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 21–22.

The minds of the students were to be moved by a collection of texts of a professor of Polish and Latin literature, a Piarist Paweł Chrzanowski. His *A Selection of Genres of Free Speech with Proper Comments*, discussing types of speeches (political, parliamentary, judiciary, religious), introduced students to the history of Poland and shaped patriotic and civic attitudes. Particular emotions must have been aroused by the quoted speech of Aleksander Linowski: “I shall call this nation a one close to happiness, which, desiring to be free, begins by casting away the most abhorrent yoke”.<sup>34</sup>

What had a particularly powerful impact on youth was history, especially Polish national history, which was attributed great importance in the lands of the Russian partition. For a long time the course book used in history lessons in the Vilnius Scholarly District was the *History of Polish Princes and Kings* by the Piarist Tadeusz Waga of 1770, which was introduced for the first time in KEN schools. The course book ranging from “Lech – the founder of Poland” to Stanisław August constituted a pretext to discuss the history of the Motherland. However, the one book that students would find the most interesting was the publication discussing the leaders and the events of historical Poland *Songs of History* by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, published in 1816. This cycle of poetic works, preceded by *Bogurodzica* [Mother of God], and supplemented by the “elegy” *The Funeral of Prince Józef Poniatowski* included 32 songs and was a textbook of patriotism. The third edition of the history course book by Józef Miklaszewski was published in Vilnius in 1823, when the position of the school subject was under particular threat. It included a powerful patriotic message. The date, May 3 (1820), written under the author’s introduction, carried a clear message and left no doubts as to the character of the entire book.<sup>35</sup>

The 1819 *A Pilgrim in Dobromil* by Izabella Czartoryska was the first course book in Polish history intended for common people, and it enjoyed particular popularity among students.<sup>36</sup> These were stories of Polish saints, kings, and princes, told by a soldier Chwalibóg, probably a Kościuszko insurgent, who paid

<sup>34</sup> A speech of the member of parliament from the krakowskie voivodship on the 14. 04. 1791. In Chrzanowski, P. (1816). *Wybór różnych gatunków mowy wolnej ze stosownymi uwagami* [A Selection of Genres of Free Speech with Proper Comments]. Warszawa: Zawadzki i Węcki. pp. 120–121.

<sup>35</sup> The date clearly brought to mind the Constitution of May 3, enacted in 1791 by the 4-Year Parliament under the name of the Government Act; it was the first constitution in Europe and the second in the world. It was the intention of its authors that the text be a basis for further political, social, and economic change; the constitution was dissolved in 1792 as a result of the Bardo Confederation and the defeat in the war against Russia.

<sup>36</sup> Czartoryska, I. (1819). *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu, czyli nauki wiejskie z dodatkiem powieści i 40 obrazkami* [A pilgrim in Dobromil, or, countryside teachings with the addition of a story and 40 pictures], Warszawa: Zawadzki i Węcki.

particular attention to “Poles’ courage and their love of the motherland”. The book played a role in awakening and preserving the national identity of the rural population. It would also generate interest of the young people receiving education on levels higher than elementary because of the clear patriotic message. A tale in which the pilgrim teaches children to pray for the motherland may serve as an example: “God of limitless good! who does not cast away honest and humble supplications, do not abandon Poles and Poland. [...] Bless our motherland, let it be happy”. The text was concluded by advice for parish priests to “conclude all masses and gatherings with a prayer for the motherland”.<sup>37</sup>

The subject of law was of particular significance to the youth of secondary schools in the Vilnius Scholarly District. It was believed to be “the most original heritage of the Commission of National Education”.<sup>38</sup> It was treated as formative for the patriotic spirit, morality, and economy, and it was taught in the oldest grades. The curriculum of the subject was included in the course book *Instruction in the Natural, Political, and Economic Law of Nations* by Hieronim Strojnowski, with its publication commissioned by KEN in 1785. That which young people could not say out loud, they would find in the course book, discuss in class, and in their homework. From the chapter on natural law they would learn that it is the work of God, which is why all people have the right to unbreachable personal property and natural freedom, and, as a result, the right to defend themselves “against the violence of others” who would “take away, breach, or limit their private property or natural freedom”.<sup>39</sup> The part devoted to political law was a lecture on the mutual obligations between the nation and its government. In the lectures on the law of nations, the notions of independence, nation, freedom, and justice were introduced. In the introduction students would learn that “[...] every nation is self-governing and independent from other nations [...]. All nations are equal in their measure”.<sup>40</sup> Students would acquire knowledge of “natural rights” pertaining to their nation: “the right of other nations not to take away or breach its property, not to limit its freedom”; “the right of every nation to justly defend itself against

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<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, pp. 174–175.

<sup>38</sup> Beauvois, D. (1991). p. 350.

<sup>39</sup> Strojnowski, H. (1785). *Nauka prawa przyrodzonego, politycznego, ekonomiki politycznej i prawa narodów przez X. Hieronima Strojnowskiego, s.p. teologii i obojga praw doktora, publicznego profesora prawa natury i politycznego w szkole Głównej W.X.Litt. dla pożytku uczniów i słuchaczy do druku podana [...]* [*Instruction in natural and political law, political economy and the law of nations by Father Hieronim Strojnowski, doctor of holy theology and both the laws, a public professor of the law of nature and political law of the Main School of the Princedom of Lithuania, presented for the benefit of students and listeners*]. Wilno: Drukarnia Królewska przy Akademii, pp. 23–55.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem. §3: *O udzielnosci i niepodleglosci narodow* [*On the self-governance and independence of nations*], pp. 240–241.

the violence of other nations”<sup>41</sup> The last paragraph *On the law of war* constituted not merely a confrontation with reality, but it had also enormous impact on the minds and the attitudes of young people: “A nation involved in a just war [...] can justly use force and weaponry to defeat armed and belligerent foes”<sup>42</sup>

In the Polish lands of the Russian partition, the schools would form and educate young people on the basis of the discussed principles and values until the 1820s. The tradition of the Commission of National Education preserved in the Vilnius Scholarly District not only served to graft the ideas of freedom and motherland into the minds of students, but it would also instruct them how to fight and die for their country.

The contents transferred in the officially accepted curricula and course books in 1803 faced no obstacles in reaching the still Polish schools in the Russian partition until July 1823. As a result of the events of May 3 in the Vilnius Gymnasium the investigatory commission of Nikolai Novosiltsov focused on the curriculum.<sup>43</sup> The high government official was already aware of the significant and dangerous role which political teachings played in Polish schools: “These teachings, common in all the schools, form an army of unlawful men [...], and since they are obligatory, their ideas permeate all minds [...]”<sup>44</sup>

It was the onset of the repressions against the youth and the authorities of the Vilnius schools, as well as a pretext to deal with the curricula and course book which had until that point successfully resisted the interference of the Russian authorities. Patriotic, national, and civic contents became the target of an attack. They were ultimately eliminated,<sup>45</sup> and the Vilnius Scholarly District was dissolved in 1832. Nevertheless, the education reforms of 1773 and 1803 made a significant impact on the minds of young students, as was proven by the November Uprising and the subsequent struggles for Polish freedom.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem. §5: *O przyrodzonych należytościach i powinnościach między narodami zachodzących [On the natural rights and obligations between nations]*, pp. 244.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem. §20: *O prawie wojny [On the law of war]*, pp. 335–337.

<sup>43</sup> On May 3, 1823, in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade of the Vilnius Gymnasium, on a classroom blackboard it was written “Vivat the Constitution of May 3 – Oh, how sweet its memory for us, its Compatriots, yet there is no one to fight for it”. In the following week one could see similar writings on walls in the vicinity of the school and in the city, including: “Long live the Constitution of May 3! Death to despots! God, let it be so”. Lithuanian National Historical Archive in Vilnius [LVIA], f. 567, ap. 2, b. 1327, k. 9–11, 60–63, 77.

<sup>44</sup> Beauvois, D. (1991). *Op. cit.*, t. II, p. 356.

<sup>45</sup> In spite of previous instructions it was only then that the rector of the Imperial University in Vilnius Jan Twardowski would inform Novosiltsov in his reports in July and August, 1823 of the prepared changes in curricula and the elimination of political teachings in schools: LVIA, 567, ap. 2, b. 1332, k. 113, 132, 142–144v.

## Contemporary Picture of Changes in Women's Media Activity. Selected European Aspects

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*The article presents selected aspects of the contemporary picture of changes in women's media activity. The presence of women in the media is increasingly seen not only in the dimension of their passive participation, but also in journalistic activity and in non-stereotypical representations of the female sex in media broadcasts. The text presents the socio-political conditions of changes in women's media participation, with particular emphasis on the processes of receiving messages and the sphere of journalistic activity. The text recognizes that the contemporary picture of women's participation in media systems, despite numerous activities aimed at implementing equal opportunities policy, is characterized by asymmetry and still insufficient women's presence, especially in the area of decision-making processes and various topics in media, in general. Although the progressive feminization of public space is noticeable, women still face barriers and restrictions in professional development on journalistic ground. Therefore, breaking stereotypes and equalizing gender representation in the media ought to be considered as an evolutionary process rather than revolutionary changes in this matter.*

Key words: *women's; activity; media; change; gender equality policy; Europe*

Nowadays, not only the means of communication are changing, but also the models of participation of women and men in the media, including the creation, distribution and reception of media broadcasting. The presence of women in the media is increasingly perceived not only in the dimension of their passive participation, but primarily in professional journalistic activity and in diverse and non-stereotypical representations of the female gender in the media broadcasting. As a result of the development of new communication techniques, not only the journalistic profession is changing, but also the position of women in this profession, their role in the media and the ways of using and influencing the media. The multidimensional and complex position of women in the media systems of individual European countries is the result of numerous historical, social, political, cultural and economic factors. The systematic boost in the presence of women in the public sphere in Europe, based on the transition from

anti-discrimination policy to actions in the name of real equality, does not translate into an increase in women's decision-making processes in the media or their key positions in this field. What's more, certain restrictions that women face in the media and in the journalistic profession are similar in both the European and global dimensions and currently cause the position of women in the media to oscillate between subjectivity and objectification.

Today, the issue of the growing activity of women in the media sphere is closely related to the increased involvement of women in the public sphere, especially the political one. The presence of women in public life, which has been increasing over the years, and especially in the last half-century, has brought changes in the ways in which female participation takes place, from passive participation to multidimensional and diverse activity in all media spheres. The media itself has also become an important tool for socio-political transformation, which can significantly contribute to improve the range of women's activity in the public and private sphere. Despite many positive actions aimed at empowering women, their position and status in the media are still too often based on unequal power relations. Women, like men, want to have power, learn the sense of benefits associated with it, but also often sacrifices. Their motives or methods of exercising power do not differ from men in this respect. The necessity of joining many roles by women - family-oriented and professional - means, however, that their chances of achieving career or political aspirations are not always possible. Therefore, strengthening the strong position of women in the media is somewhat a political act, because it is associated with the concepts of "power" and "decision making".

Key terms used in this text - media activity<sup>1</sup> - refers to determining the level of women's involvement and participation in the media systems - from the insignificant interest of individuals in the processes of communication as recipients of the broadcast, to the growing forms of women's participation in the media, such as: readership of the press (including specialized), presence and discussions on social forums, making important editorial decisions, managing media organizations (presence on the boards and boards of media companies) and taking positions on regulatory boards for media. Therefore, women's media activity is understood as a special manifestation of public activity. The condition of activity is the recognition of the media space as an important sphere for the individual, in which one can define the motives of activities and pursue specific goals.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Balczyńska-Kosman A. (2017). *Wielowymiarowość partycypacji kobiet w systemach medialnych a polityka równości* [Multidimensionality of women's participation in media systems yet equality policy]. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WNPiD UAM, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Skarżyńska K. (2002). Aktywność i bierność polityczna. In K. Skarżyńska, (Ed.) *Podstawy psychologii politycznej* [The basics of political psychology]. Poznań: Zysk i S-ka, p. 33.

The second of the title's term – the concept of “change” usually defines the transition from the current state to another. As Zuzanna Ewa Wojciechowska notes, the change is a common phenomenon that it seems imperceptible and even obvious, and at the same time requires precise definition of what it refers to.<sup>3</sup> As the aforementioned author further claims, each change is multidimensional and occurs on numerous levels, and taking into account the area of its impact, it may concern, inter alia, professional, political, cultural or economic transformations. Change can be a response to the circumstances (accommodation, adaptation, struggle) or the result of autonomous decisions and human actions.<sup>4</sup> The concept of “media system”, understood as a whole of diverse media and relationships between them, functioning on the basis of such criteria as the level of development of media markets, political parallelism, professionalization of the journalistic profession and the nature of state intervention in the media system is also important for further considerations.<sup>5</sup> In one of the most widespread classifications of media systems, covering mainly the countries of Western Europe, three differentiated media models are distinguished today – the Mediterranean (polarized pluralism), the North Central European (democratic corporatism) and the North Atlantic (liberal). The indicators such as press readership, the degree of links between the media system and the political system, the autonomy of the journalistic profession, and finally the scale of state intervention in the media world have become the criteria for distinguishing individual media functioning patterns in several countries.

It is worth mentioning that a significant lack of the given classification is to omit the characteristics of media systems in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In this part of the Old Continent, after the processes of political transformation, various patterns of media functioning and regulation were adopted based on their own historical, institutional and legal traditions. In the processes of reorganizing the media systems of Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in most cases the politicization of mass communication, especially the public sector, was not avoided. Nevertheless, the continuity of employment, the foundations of organizational structures and the way of thinking in mass media were preserved.<sup>6</sup> Thus, media models in this region of Europe took

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<sup>3</sup> Wojciechowska Z. E. (2018). *Kobiece i męskie wzory (re)konstrukcji biografii w perspektywie zmiany zawodowej* [Female and male patterns of (re) biography construction in the perspective of professional change]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26–28.

<sup>5</sup> Hallin D. C. – Mancini P. (2007). *Systemy medialne. Trzy modele mediów i polityki w ujęciu porównawczym* [Media systems. Three models of media and policy in comparative approach]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Williams, K. (2008). *Media w Europie* [Media in Europe]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne Spółka z o.o., pp. 145–149.

the form of a hybrid liberal model, a system of politicized media, a media model in transit and an authoritarian pattern.

The concept of "equality participation" is of the paramount importance for the issues raised in this article. According to the author of the text all the forms of women's involvement and presence in media systems mean the possibility of making decisions in the media, taking into account equal opportunities for men and women. The socio-political determinants of changes in women's media activity include a number of factors. The first group of conditions include primarily issues related to: journalistic profession, career paths, career advancement, remuneration for work, reconciliation of family and professional roles, gender equality indicators and gender stereotypes in media organizations. The category of social conditions for women's media participation is also complemented by the phenomena: the transformation of "women's press and media", the interchangeability of the roles of the sender and recipient, and the evolution of women's images in media relations. In contrast, among the main determinants of changes in the media activity of women of a political nature the following should be noted: taking decision-making processes in the media, the presence of women as experts in information and journalistic programs, women's participation in communications devoted to electoral issues and the use of institutional mechanisms to increase women's activity. The selected most significant contemporary socio-political conditions for changes in women's media activity in Europe have been discussed below.

Bearing in mind the long history of inequalities between women and men dating back to the Athenian democracy in which women were effectively excluded from civil society, it should be pointed out that granting rights to women was a gradual and difficult process.<sup>7</sup> The demand for equal political rights for men and women has become the fundamental message of the first wave of feminism. Subsequent waves supplemented the catalog of postulates proclaiming, inter alia, the right of women to work, reform of marriage law and deciding about their body.

Analyzing the contemporary picture of changes in women's media activity, it should be emphasized that the key issue for women's equality was the deliberations of the Fourth World Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995, which resulted in the signing of the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action by 189 countries.<sup>8</sup> The

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<sup>7</sup> White, S. (2008). *Równość* [Equality]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sic! s. c., pp. 163–171. The author points out that throughout history from ancient times, many thinkers postulated the natural equality of men, having not extended this idea to women. He cites the example of the Lewellers, who proclaimed political rights exclusively for men and the theorists of social contract, including J. J. Rousseau, who excluded women from the right to political participation in the republic.

<sup>8</sup> *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*, United Nations, Beijing, 4–15 September 1995, New York 1996, [www.un.org/esa/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/Beijing%20full%20report%20E.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/Beijing%20full%20report%20E.pdf), 12 December 2019.



document indicated twelve main areas of activity, among which there was the sphere of “Women and the media”. The main goals were pointed out in it, namely increasing women’s participation and access to expressing opinions, deciding “in” and “through” the media and through new communication techniques. It was also recommended to promote the image of women in roles free of gender stereotypes and assured about securing means and conditions for the development of broadly understood media activity of women (creating stereotype-free programs, promoting equality education in the media). Nowadays, the issues of gender equality and protection of human rights, the prohibition of discrimination occupy an important place in the European politics, and within half a century they have already gained the recognition of the general principles of the EU law. The issue of gender equality, covering the “dual” principle of non-discrimination and the demand for equality (in the media) is taken equally in the activities of one of the oldest European organizations – the Council of Europe, as well as in the regulations of the European Union. As for the Council of Europe documents devoted to equality between women and men in the media, among the most significant in this matter, one should mention Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers No. 17 of 1984 on equality between women and men in the media<sup>9</sup> and Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers No. 7 of 2011 on the new concept of media.<sup>10</sup>

The 2011 document recommends, above all, the acceptance of the broad significance of the new media, which includes all participants in the production and dissemination of content for potentially large audiences. It also includes instruments that facilitate interactive communication while maintaining editorial control and supervision. The Committee of Ministers’ Recommendation also sets out six criteria for identifying media, such as: intention to act as media, purpose and practical purposes of the media, editorial control, professional standards, coverage and dissemination, and public expectations. The aforementioned document points out that the media should make every effort to prevent stereotypes and avoid using hate

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<sup>9</sup> Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe Rec (84)17 *on equality between women and men in the media*, [https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result\\_details.aspx?ObjectID=090000168043c678](https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=090000168043c678), 6 December 2019.

<sup>10</sup> Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe Rec (2011)7 to member states *on the new concept of media* adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 21 September 2011, [www.krrit.gov.pl/regulacje-prawne/rada-europy/](http://www.krrit.gov.pl/regulacje-prawne/rada-europy/), 2 December 2019.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 December 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe Rec (2013) 1 *on equality between women and men in the media* adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 10 July 2013 during 1176 meeting of the deputy ministers, [www.krrit.gov.pl/Data?Files?\\_public/Portals?.../0572-recomendation-cm\\_eng.docx](http://www.krrit.gov.pl/Data?Files?_public/Portals?.../0572-recomendation-cm_eng.docx), 11 December 2019.

speech and content that discriminates for any reason. The Recommendation also points out that media content creators, editors and distributors should adhere to professional standards and promote gender equality. Particular care should be assured while giving an account of topics about women and ensure that they participate in the processes of creating, editing and distributing information.<sup>11</sup>

It is worth mentioning here that, in hand Recommendation, unfortunately, the issue of making key decisions in the media by women and increasing their presence in managerial positions in media editorial offices, is not touched on. The provisions of the Conference of Ministers of the Council of Europe responsible for equality between women and men also play an important role in the issue of gender equality in mass media (Baku, 2010).<sup>12</sup> Among the non-binding documents of the Council of Europe, special attention should be given to the Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member states on gender equality and the media from 2013.<sup>13</sup> The Recommendation lists the most important areas of inequality that women face in the media. It is noted here that the media can hinder or accelerate structural changes towards gender equality and inequalities in society are reflected in the media. The manifestation of these processes is the low participation of women in media ownership, creation of information and in managerial positions in editorial offices and management boards of media companies. This phenomenon is also revealed in the insufficient visibility of women as media experts and the relative absence in showing women's opinions in the media. The media asymmetry of men and women is also noticeable in the ways of reporting political events and election campaigns, in the persistence of sexist stereotypes and the lack of actions to prevent them, and in the professional promotion of the female journalists and the level of their remuneration in the media. Out of the latest documents issued by the Council of Europe, the new Gender Equality Strategy 2018–2023 deserves special attention.<sup>14</sup> This document sets out the main objective and six strategic goals, including, among others, preventing and combating gender stereotypes and achieving balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision making actions. The Introduction to the Strategy states that “even if progress is visible and the legal status of women in Europe has undoubtedly improved in recent decades, effective equality between women and men is far from being achieved”.<sup>15</sup> In this

<sup>13</sup> Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe Rec (2013) 1 *on equality between women and men in the media* adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 10 July 2013 during 1176 meeting of the deputy ministers, [www.krrit.gov.pl/Data?Files\\_public/Portals?.../0572-recomendation-cm\\_eng.docx](http://www.krrit.gov.pl/Data?Files_public/Portals?.../0572-recomendation-cm_eng.docx), 11 December 2019.

<sup>14</sup> Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy 2018–2023, adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (March 2018), [rm.coe.int/gender-equality-strategy-2018-2023-pl/168097fa52](http://rm.coe.int/gender-equality-strategy-2018-2023-pl/168097fa52), January 2, 2020.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, *Introduction: Council of Europe and Gender Equality*, p. 5.

Strategy it is pointed out that the traditional and social media are used to share information, but especially new media may be subject to abuse and can become forums for transmitting hate speech or sexist content aimed mainly at women. Social perception and media image might become a breeding ground for gender stereotypes.

When it comes to the legal regulations and institutional mechanisms of the European Union in the gender equality policy, they are bound by a heterogeneous force, which means that they take the form of the soft and the hard law.<sup>16</sup> The Council of the EU together with the European Parliament have the key legislative powers, and the European Commission to a lesser extent. The Amsterdam Treaty was a landmark act in the EU gender equality policy, and the Lisbon Treaty was the crowning action for the women's rights activities. In contrast, the current European Commission priorities in the field of gender equality are contained in the Strategy "The Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality for 2016–2019".<sup>17</sup> The issue of gender equality in the EU has also been reflected in recent years in the European Parliament's resolutions and the European Commission's annual reports. The European Parliament in the plenary session of April 17<sup>th</sup> 2018 adopted the resolution on gender equality in the media "Gender equality in the media sector in the EU"<sup>18</sup>, in which an up-to-date assessment of the situation of women in the media was made and proposals to strengthen female sex in this area were presented. The document emphasized the role played by the media – the fourth power - and their significant impact on shaping public opinion and social patterns. It was also noticed that the gender image in the media still shows the unequal representation of women in diverse contexts, including social, cultural, political, economic or scientific. Women are portrayed mainly in passive and stereotypical roles, very often in the objectified dimension. Especially advertising messages resort to sexist and discriminatory practices against women. The Resolution also points out that the new technologies change traditional media business models, and the audiovisual sector in the EU brings significant economic value and creates employment conditions for over a million people. It is clearly emphasized that the potential and skills that women themselves have in transferring information and

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<sup>16</sup> Półtorak M. (2015). *Kobiety-Kwoty-Polityka. Gwarancje równości płci w Unii Europejskiej [Women-Figures-Politics. Guarantees of gender equality in the European Union]*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, pp. 34–35. The term the "hard" law refers to binding legal acts and includes, for example, regulations, directives and decisions, while the "soft" law defines non-binding regulations, i.e. recommendations and opinions.

<sup>17</sup> *The Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016–2019*. The European Commission, the European Union – Luxembourg 2016, [www.europedirect-bielsko.biala.pl](http://www.europedirect-bielsko.biala.pl), 3 December 2019.

<sup>18</sup> *European Parliament Resolution of April 17, 2018 on gender equality in the media sector in the EU*, 2017/2210(INI), Legislative Observatory EP, [oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/fichprocedure.do?lang=en&reference=2017/2210\(INI\)](http://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/fichprocedure.do?lang=en&reference=2017/2210(INI)), 5 December 2019.

knowledge about the challenges they face should not be lost. The document points to specific statistics, which show that in 2015 women constituted 68 % of graduates in journalism and related professions, while the percentage of women employed in this sector was only about 40 %. Participation of women at the decision-making positions in the EU media in the same year was below the gender balance range and was only 32 % (percentage of women in the positions of Chief-Executive-Officers of the media company boards – 22 %), and the level of women's remuneration was 17 % lower than men's in this industry.<sup>19</sup>

Women face limitations in the journalistic profession, associated primarily with the possibility of promotion at higher levels of the career, which is due to the mechanisms adopted in organizational culture, but also the lack of balance between personal and professional life, often long working hours and rigid deadlines limit their activities. The Parliament's resolution points out that women are not sufficiently visible in news programs in the fields of sport, politics, finance and economics. They constitute only 24 % of the people we hear or read about in the news. 37 % of women are information providers (female reporters and female presenters) in traditional and new media. Less often than men they receive more prestigious and difficult topics. They are too rarely shown as media-savvies or experts - only one in five experts in the EU media are women. Women are more exposed to threats, violence and hate speech than men. The lack of sufficient representation of women – as the Resolution points out – is particularly evident in the public media sector in the EU, both at high level strategic and operational positions in editorial offices, as well as on the boards of media companies. In its Resolution, the European Parliament recommends that both the use of legal regulations and so-called “soft” measures implement and support the policy of gender equality in the media (i.a. conducting training for managers, including gender equality issues in the programs of journalism and communication studies both at bachelor's and master's degree). The resolution also supports the use of good practices in the media such as: anti-discrimination media campaigns (the Belgian *Expertalia* tool, the Czech award “*Sexistické prasátko*” (Sexist piggy), the Swedish project #*TackaNej* (No, thank you), the prizes for content without gender stereotypes, the creation of expert databases, trainings, the codes of practice in media organizations, the establishment of minimum gender representations at the levels of managing media regulatory bodies.<sup>20</sup>

In the aforementioned Parliament's Resolution the changes have been noticed in the new media sector. The differences between traditional and digital media are blurring, which on the one hand create new opportunities but on the other generate threats. Digital media give new voices a chance, mobilize and raise public awareness. In the economic dimension, the media based on new technologies create jobs and

<sup>19</sup> European Parliament Resolution..., *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> European Parliament Resolution..., *op. cit.*

may contribute to equalizing the level of earnings between men and women. On the other hand, in the context of threats, the digital sector may aggravate existing inequalities through the phenomenon of misogyny, cyber violence, content that does not reflect the needs of women, and the lack of involvement of women themselves in the preparation of online transmissions.<sup>21</sup> Changes in the forms of women's media activity in recent years can be seen in both the passive and the active dimensions of women's participation in the European media systems. In the first of these areas one should consider the impact of media, which is not monolith, on women's attitudes and behaviors. Although media images are not always real, they usually have a real impact on how society perceives gender issues.<sup>22</sup>

People often think of media products as entertainment or artistic expression, forgetting that the media also plays an ideological role and shape consciousness. The means of mass communication significantly affect the thinking directions of recipients of messages, which in turn translates into the creation of socio-political reality by the media. This also affects shaping the information strategy of broadcasters. The process of change in women's media activity is primarily about transforming passive female users and female "consumers" of media content into engaged participants of communication processes that are aware of their needs and capabilities. Although, as mentioned earlier, the development of new media has not eliminated the problem of gender stereotyping, it has nevertheless created greater opportunities for women (and men) to interactively participate and create communication processes. Particular importance in this regard should be attributed to the phenomena of personalization of information that allow addressing messages to specific individuals or social groups. In addition to the images of women (wives, mothers, home carers) perpetuated in the media, women are increasingly appearing in new, non-traditional professional roles competing with men.

The emergence as a result of technological and social changes in the segment of so-called generic media, which are used by sexually diverse recipients, may contribute to the increase in the representation and activity of women in the media sector, although on the other hand it leads to the consolidation of divisions into the press media the female or the male one. The concept of "genre media" includes diverse media genres, program formulas, and journalistic materials, which are by definition produced and distributed with a view to a specific recipient or recipient profile. However, as M. Lisowska-Magdziarz points out, generic profiling is

<sup>21</sup> Shreeves R. (2018). *Równouprawienie płci w mediach i w sektorze cyfrowym* [Gender equality in the media and in the digital sector]. European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS), [europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2018/620204/EPRS\\_ATA2018\)620204\\_PL.pdf](http://europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2018/620204/EPRS_ATA2018)620204_PL.pdf), 3 December 2019.

<sup>22</sup> Palczewski C. H. – DeFrancisco V. P. – McGeough D. D. (2019). *Gender in Communication. A Critical Introduction*, Los Angeles – London – New Delhi – Singapore – Washington DC – Melbourne: SAGE Publications. Third Edition, p. 222.

expressed in the fact that the media select and shape the content of coverage according to the presumed female (or male) preferences and needs, determined on the basis of market research.<sup>23</sup>

The profile of message recipients is changing among both men and women. The diversity of recipients' expectations translates into the content of program formats and content addressed to women. Women like to follow thematic channels dedicated to men, while men, in exchange, are increasingly looking for information useful in everyday life and broadcasts containing practical advice. Women systematically follow in the media especially those broadcasts from which they can learn something more about themselves, while the content in which they find promises of change and personal development are more inspiring. It is worth mentioning here that, especially when it comes to television, interest in this medium is declining in Western Europe, especially among young people regardless the gender.

However, according to Nielsen Audience Measurement data in Central and Eastern European countries, including Poland, television is still eagerly watched, where one averagely spends 4 hours and 16 minutes in front of the TV screen.<sup>24</sup> In 2017, 72 % of women and 59 % of men were watching TV.<sup>25</sup> Women in the roles of recipients of media broadcasts, especially television, are very diverse as a target group. The creators of television programs recognize women's interest in social issues and human stories, transferring this feminine curiosity into specific productions. The phenomenon of "multi-screening", i.e. the use of at least two screens or several electronic devices at the same time, is more and more often observed in the receptive attitudes of women.<sup>26</sup> The process of changes in women's receptive attitudes is particularly visible in the female-friendly advertising sector. Statistics from the previous years, in which only 17 % of respondents thought that advertisements portray women in a degrading way and discriminatory treatment of women or men is not perceived as an important problem, belong to the past.<sup>27</sup> The expression of these changes is advertising in the style of *femvertising*. The main purpose of *femvertising* advertising broadcast is to show reality through the eyes of women, addressing a person, not gender. The strength of women-friendly

<sup>23</sup> Lisowska-Magdziarz, M. (2008). *Media powszechne. Środki komunikowania masowego i szerokie paradygmaty medialne w życiu codziennym Polaków u progu XXI wieku [Universal media. Means of mass communication and broad media paradigms in the everyday life of Poles on the threshold of the 21st century]*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, pp. 285–286.

<sup>24</sup> Report of the Wirtualnedia.pl portal, [Wirtualnedia.pl/artykul/ogladalnosc-telewizji-2019-rok-atv-top-kanaly-programy-reklama](http://Wirtualnedia.pl/artykul/ogladalnosc-telewizji-2019-rok-atv-top-kanaly-programy-reklama), January 30, 2020.

<sup>25</sup> *Jak i co Polacy najchętniej oglądają w telewizji? [How and what do Poles willingly watch on TV?]*, [miod-malinapl/jak-i-co-polacy-najchetniej-ogladaja-w-telewizji.html](http://miod-malinapl/jak-i-co-polacy-najchetniej-ogladaja-w-telewizji.html), January 31, 2020.

<sup>26</sup> Goczał B. (2013). Kobieta zmienną jest [Woman is fickle]. W *Press*, No 10, p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Por. *Opinie o reklamie*. Komunikat z badań [Opinions about the advertisement. The study report]. Oprac. M. Wenzel, CBOS, Warszawa, czerwiec 2005 pp. 8–9, January 30, 2019.

advertising is to understand the needs of the female recipients and strongly brace the message up. It should be emphasized, however, that there are also more cases in the media of advertising campaigns, which aim at profitable product sales under the formula of *femvertising* messages and equality slogans. The fight against gender stereotyping in press releases is one thing, and advertising profits for media owners are unfortunately still two separate issues. It is important, therefore, that changes in portraying women in advertising broadcasts would trigger the evolution of roles performed by women, from a housewife to a mature and independent woman who does not forget about her expectations.

In contrast, in the active dimension of the presence of women in the media, the biggest changes can be seen in the sphere of journalistic profession and in the ways of managing diversity in media organizations. Despite many positive actions to increase the role of women in the media, their contemporary position in media editorials still fluctuates between empowerment and objectification. Clear gender differences are particularly evident in the sphere of decision-making in editorial offices, especially on key issues, and in the presence of women on the boards of media organization companies and media councils. Inequalities are particularly evident when comparing the commercial and public media sectors, to the disadvantage of the former. For example, in 2012, women were accounted for 22 % of presidents and 29% of board members and management boards of media companies in the public media sector in Europe, while those in commercial media were 12 % and 21% respectively.<sup>28</sup>

What is more, the latest research conducted in 2017 by the European Institute for Gender Equality shows that more than a third of decisions in the public media sector are made by women holding the position of presidents of media companies (36 %) as well as female chief-executive-officers and members of management boards and supervisory boards (38 %).<sup>29</sup> Considering the above, equality participation in media editorials depend on promoting the balanced participation of women and men in management positions, especially on the boards and companies' program boards of media companies and in the sphere of media ownership. The under-representation of women is less structurally and more qualitatively related, as has already been mentioned in the news media. Reporting and commenting on socio-political events by women is also underrated. In many media systems in Europe, female journalists also experience precarious employment conditions, wage disparities and the "glass ceiling" phenomenon in

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<sup>28</sup> *Gender Equality in the Media Sector. Study for the FEMM Committee*, Directorate-General for Internal Policies. Policy Department C. Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs, European Parliament, January 2018, p. 24, [europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/596839/IPOL\\_STU%29596839\\_EN.pdf](http://europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/596839/IPOL_STU%29596839_EN.pdf), 29 January 2020.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

developing careers. Equal participation in media systems contribute to the increase of the activity of women in the field of media. It is also taking into account in editorial offices indicators that measurably determine the level of equality between women and men in mass media.

The most important criteria (Gender-Sensitive Indicators for Media, GSIM) referring to the active dimension of women's presence in media editorials include: gender equality in key decision-making processes, equal employment conditions for women and men, gender equality in journalistic organizations and councils to media regulation issues, promotion of the codes of ethics, the balanced presence of men and women lecturers in the field of journalism majors and in the authorities of political science and journalism faculties.<sup>30</sup> New information and communication technologies are a sector that can become a significant tool for achieving gender equality, ensuring well-paid jobs, but currently women are clearly underrepresented in this area. Out of 8 million 200 thousand persons employed in the EU in 2016 as female specialists in new ICT information technology and communication technologies, women constituted only 16.7 %.<sup>31</sup>

Summing up the aforementioned considerations, it should be noted pointed out that the contemporary picture of women's activity in media systems, despite numerous activities aimed at implementing equal opportunities policy, is characterized by asymmetry, and in many cases the scale of women's participation in the media is still too low. The multidimensional, complex position of women in this field is conditioned by numerous socio-political factors that affect the nature and pace of changes in women's media activity. Although the progressive feminization of public space is noticeable, this process is not associated with a significant increase and dynamics of women's equality in media systems, and women face barriers to career and professional development. Especially the sphere of making strategic decisions in the media of the EU countries is still a male domain. The exceptions are the Scandinavian countries and the region of Central and Eastern Europe, in which equality policy is successfully implemented. Nevertheless, the systematic implementation of positive measures to increase the position of women in the media, breaking stereotypes and equalizing gender representation is seen in Europe, although these transformations should be seen as an evolutionary process rather than revolutionary changes.

<sup>30</sup> *Gender-Sensitive Indicator for Media. Framework of Indicators to Gauge Gender Sensitivity in Media Operations and Content.* Raport UNESCO 2012, pp. 22–37, [unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000217831](https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000217831), 16 January 2020.

<sup>31</sup> *Międzynarodowy Dzień Kobiet: Wzmocnić pozycję kobiet w świecie nowych technologii.* [International Women's Day: Strengthening the position of women in the world of new technologies]. European Parliament News, 8 March 2018, [europarl.europa.eu/news/pl/headlines/priorities/międzynarodowy-dzien-kobiet-2018/20180301STO98927/dzien-kobiet-wzmocnic-pozycje-kobiet-w-swiecie-nowych-technologii](https://europarl.europa.eu/news/pl/headlines/priorities/międzynarodowy-dzien-kobiet-2018/20180301STO98927/dzien-kobiet-wzmocnic-pozycje-kobiet-w-swiecie-nowych-technologii), 2 January 2020.



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