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ARTICLES

The Ethnic Removals of Ukrainians and Poles in Eastern Europe after the World War II and their Impact on Post-war Czechoslovakia

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The article focuses on ethnic removals as the aftermath of the outcome of World War II. The removal of the nations of Eastern Europe, especially Ukrainians and Poles, had irreversibly altered the ethnic circumstances or security situation of many states except Czechoslovakia. The transfers of inhabitants and the transformation of the frontiers where the ethnic collectives originally lived were radical solutions to the severe societal tensions of that period. The article discusses migration movements which in consequence influenced Czechoslovakia.

Key words: WWII; Ethnic Removals; Czechoslovakia; Geopolitics; Ukrainians; Poles; Czechoslovak army

The study offers a synthesizing view on the topic of post-war displacement in Central and Eastern Europe, which can also contribute to answering many similar questions from more recent and recent times. The methods chosen for this study are the direct method of archival sources and published sources of Czech, Slovak and foreign provenance. Secondary literature and its reflection on the topic are of considerable help.

Resettlements of population became a well-established and natural form of the victors' as well as losers' acting. In both cases, the main motive for resettlement was safeguarding and improving one's own existential conditions, although usually at the expense of another nation, a different group of people. Ethnic relocations in particular were a standard feature throughout the human history during the war as

well as peace, often as an outcome of peace conditions negotiated during the war. Always, however, at the cost of huge human casualties and losses.¹

Relocation became an escalated form of controlling the population. New decisions manipulated the nations, groups, elites, nationals and citizens under the principle of reaching absolute political power based on dictatorship of a single party and building of fascistic, socialistic, Nazi and communist models supported by collective industrial plans, homecoming or race purity. Violence committed on individuals, selected groups and entire nations became a natural component of resettlement for long centuries. Manipulations, conflicts and wars based on religious, power, political, ethnic or racist factors emerged as a result of xenophobia, discrimination and persecution, which were manifested by mass dimensions of repressions, genocide and holocaust – killing on a factory-production scale with a single goal – exterminate! That's sad history of 20th century especially in Eastern Europe.²

East Central Europe can be seen as a region where landscape changes were often caused by several waves of migration. These changes were combined with attempts of the ruling regimes to shape the transforming landscape according to their ideological perceptions. At the same time the affected migrants to a great extent integrated aspect of landscape into their memory of their “lost home”. The latter concerned not just the German expellees after 1945 but also Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars or several other ethnic groups who were resettled in the middle of the twentieth century or migrated for other reasons. East Central Europe is therefore an area where the connection between migration and landscape transformation can be analysed in a specific way. In this region all the above-mentioned contexts converged with overlapping forms of migrations and diverse political ruptures. The forced migrations in East Central Europe that were set in train by National Socialist Germany's belligerent expansionist policies and the war of extermination that began in 1939, and whose consequences were to continue to be felt after 1945, radically reshaped the landscapes of the entire region. These events opened out spaces in the truest sense of the word in which to produce a new order of real or imagined landscapes.³

Soviet Ukraine's borders remained unchanged from 1920 to the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. After the fall of Poland, the Soviet Union annexed

¹ Zudová-Lešková, Z. (2015). Resettlement and Extermination of the Populations – Fixed Part of Human History. In Zudová-Lešková, Z. (ed.), *Resettlement and extermination of the populations: a syndrome of modern history*. Praha: Historický ústav, The work of Institute of History, Czech Academy of Sciences, p. 11.

² Ibid, p. 12.

³ Zückert, M. (2016). Migration and Landscape. Intentional Change and the Long-Term Transformation of Cultural Areas in East Central Europe. In Zückert, M., Hein-Kircher, H. (eds.), *Migration and landscape transformation: changes in East Central Europe in the 19th and 20th century*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, p. 5.

western Volhynia and eastern Galicia as far as the San River (November 1939). In June 1940, the Soviets also annexed Bessarabia and northern Bukovina from Romania. Northern Bukovina and the far-southern region of Bessarabia were given to Soviet Ukraine. Soviet Ukraine's territorial gains were wiped out, however, in the wake of Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union (June 1941). Eastern Galicia was made a district of Greater Germany's Generalgouvernement Poland. Most of the rest of the country became part of the Reichs-kommissariat Ukraine.⁴

With the end of World War II in 1945, Soviet Ukraine's western border was re-established so that it included most of the territory acquired by the Soviet Union following the destruction of Poland in 1939. The 1945 border did not reach as far as the San River, however, but instead followed the post-World War I proposal by the British foreign minister Lord Curzon and the upper San River (in favour of Poland), territorial changes came in the historic region of Carpathian Rus. Already before outbreak of World War II, when Czechoslovakia was forced to dissolve, that country's eastern province, called Subcarpathian Rus, was annexed by Hungary. As a result of a Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty (June 1945), the region was annexed to the Soviet Ukraine.⁵

The Second World War, its course and consequences completely changed the ethnic and national circumstances in Central and Eastern Europe. Violent excesses and ethnic crimes have become a common part of the war to an extent we do not know in modern history. Historian Timothy Snyder reports that in the Soviet Union and Poland during the war in its aftermath, 12 million Ukrainians, Poles, Belarusians and other nationalities fled or were violently forced to move, not counting about 10 million people who were killed by the Germans during the occupation, the majority of whom had been forced to migrate before that.⁶

In the post-war period, the Germans could lose a life of similar probability as the Poles, who represented another group of population shifted to the west. However, the Ukrainians, Romanians, or members of the Baltic, Caucasian, or Crimean nations were more likely to be killed in those relocations. During or as a direct result of escape, expulsion or deportation, less than one German and Poles died out of ten, while in the case of citizens of the Baltic States and the USSR one of five died. In general, the deportation took place in the east, and the more Soviet the regime was involved in it, the more deadly it was.⁷

⁴ Magocsi, J. P. (2018). *Historical atlas of Central Europe. Third revised and expanded edition*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, p. 137.

⁵ Ibid, p. 139.

⁶ Snyder, T. (2013). *Krvavé země. Evropa mezi Hitlerem a Stalinem*. Praha: Paseka/Prostor, pp. 320–321.

⁷ Ibid.

Forced migration of Slavic nationalities after the Second World War, the migration of Ukrainians and also of the Poles were important in their impact on post-war Czechoslovakia. How is it possible? The smaller part of Galicia is the only one where they originally lived mostly Ukrainians remained Poland, which otherwise made the decision of the superpowers made a move on the map to the west. Territory lost in the east by Poland by joining the Soviet Union,⁸ in the west powers compensated by joining originally German (where it was expelled and displaced at least 7.6 million Germans) areas. All these movements of states on the map accompanied ethnic movements, which had the greatest impact on the further development of the affected areas. All these forced movements were important in their impact on Bandera's movement ("banderovci") – Bandera's faction in the Organisation of Ukrainian nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).⁹

To the development of this nationalist organization in the course of the Second World War should be noted that during Wehrmacht's advancement in Eastern Europe, German soldiers were initially welcomed as liberators in many places, but the expectations of the population were very quickly disappointed. In Ukraine and Poland, a tough regime has been established to terrorize the local population. The vision of a freer life was quickly replaced by another suffering, this time by the Nazi occupiers. Adolf Hitler and the other powerful did not intend to rely on the support of the Slavic population, which, according to their plans was equally intended only for liquidation, or slave labour for the Nazi Germany.¹⁰

The Bandera's faction fought due to such negative developments completely against everyone, against the Nazi occupation administration, against other resistance forces units (for example WIN – *Wolność i Niepodległość*, NSZ – *Narodowe Siły Zbrojne* or AK – *Armia Krajowa*), especially the Communist, with the coming of the war front already met with the Red army and finally, after some elementary consolidation of the situation, with forces restored Polish state. Uncompromising attitude and defiance against everyone have long characterized this nationalist movement.¹¹

During World War II in autumn 1942, a military branch of the OUN was established – Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The situation of the Bandera group was complicated; they relied only on the local Ukrainian population. This produced consequences for the Ukrainian population there. The weakness of the insurgent

⁸ For more information see Mišić, E. (2012). *Akcja „Wisła” 1947: dokumenty i materiały*. Varšava: Archiwum Ukraińskie, pp. 55–58.

⁹ Snyder, T. (2013). *Krvavé země...*, p. 319.

¹⁰ Milotová, J. (1999). „Česká otázka” a nacistické plány na její řešení. In Brandes, D., Ivaničková, E., Pešek, J. (eds.), *Vynútený rozchod. Vyhnanie a vysídlenie z Československa 1938–1947 v porovnaní s Poľskom, Maďarskom a Južosláviou*. Bratislava: Veda, pp. 21–30.

¹¹ Řepa, T. (2019). *Banderovci. Politické souvislosti, následky zneužití komunistickou propagandou, návažnost na hybridní konflikt v současnosti*. Praha: Academia, p. 20.

structure became apparent in February 1944, when the Red Army advanced into Volhynia and reached the Lutsk-Rovno line.¹²

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army was the largest being of partisan groups in whole region. Fielding up to 200,000 men, for a few months in the autumn and winter 1943 it controlled most of north-west Ukraine, establishing a primitive administration and its own training camps and hospitals.¹³

During the German occupation, the nationality problem in Poland grew to a whole new dimension. The war definitively sparked conflicts between various nationalities and completed the dissolution of the Polish society based on a national principle. Ethnic antagonism was steadily growing during the pre-war years. The tragic fate of the Jews in Poland did not lead to deeper cooperation between them and the Poles, even though they were recognized as the only minority that did not collaborate with occupying regime. Bigger conflicts arose between the Poles and the other national minorities during the interwar period, especially in the case of Ukrainians, as a result of the escalating ethnic conflict in Volhynia in 1943, which culminated from the tension between Poland and the Ukraine in the previous period. The Polish government in exile and the leadership of Armija Krajowa understood that the Ukrainians, White Russians and Lithuanians were not on friendly terms with the Poles. Nevertheless, they were not able to create a program for conflict management and coexistence with national minorities in the post-war period. They concentrated only on very general presentations of possible laws for the protection of national minorities. The program of population transfer was largely organised and completed by Polish communists, who took power in Poland.¹⁴

Desperate fights all against all had escalated especially with the approaching end of World War II. The UPA and the OUN got used to harsh conditions. The accompanying phenomenon was the burning of villages of all parties involved. The partisan tactics prevailed - strike and then retreat to their rear. This way of fighting continued after the Second World War. Overall, the activities of the Ukrainian nationalists focused on the violent form of resistance and struggle for an independent Ukraine. However, it is necessary to mention that, in addition to the radical nationalists, many "ordinary" criminal elements also had joined into the ranks of these units. It is important to carefully assess who, and for what reasons, joined the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and how he subsequently behaved.¹⁵

¹² Armstrong, J. (1963). *Ukrainian nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 156–157.

¹³ Reid, A. (2000). *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine*. Boulder: Westview Press, p. 159.

¹⁴ Šmigel, M. et al. (2015). "Ethnic Cleansings and a Concept of Ethnically Homogenous States in Europe (In the Context of Historical Experience and Memory)". In Zudová-Lešková, Z. (ed.), *Resettlement and extermination...*, p. 11.

¹⁵ For more see Potychnyj, P. J. (2008). *My Journey*, part 1. Toronto and Lvov: Litopys UPA.

In the process of fighting against the Soviet system in the region, the leadership of the OUN and the UPA resorted to tactics so-called raids (promotional campaigns), when broadcasting specially prepared sections of the UPA to neighbouring territories, which were supposed to organize various forms of political-promotional work among the local population.¹⁶ Slovakia, or its eastern part, adjacent to south-eastern Poland and western Ukraine, where the UPA was most active in the first post-war years, naturally got into the OUN's perspective as part of the new anti-Soviet concept of active resistance. The UPA's military analysts, who analysed the internal political situation in Czechoslovakia, correctly anticipated Slovakia's power struggle between Slovak Communists and the Democratic Party of Slovakia.¹⁷

The reaction from Czechoslovakia, its security forces and the army, to the first the OUN and the UPA raids into the Slovak borderland was relatively lukewarm. Only at the beginning of September 1945 at the order of the Minister of National Defence sent the headquarters of the fourth military area in eastern Slovakia three battalions of infantry and reconnaissance platoon, previously reinforced by two companies of submachine guns from Moravia.¹⁸ At the same time, cooperation was agreed with the Soviet border troops, on the basis of this agreement was moved to Kapušian 4th Regiment of the Red Army, which was to engage in actions against the UPA.¹⁹

The statement of the Polish historian Grzegorz Motyka, who has been dealing with the problems of UPA and OUN in the context of Central and Eastern Europe for a long time, is serious given the geopolitical direction of the whole region of Central and Eastern Europe. Motyka says that reports of the penetration of UPA units to Slovakia should have caused uneasiness even by head of the NKVD Lavrentij Berija.²⁰

In 2007, Slovak historian Šmigel' demonstrated that a special group of NKVD officials was also transported to the UPA area of action.²¹ Šmigel' specifically states the following findings:

¹⁶ Szczesniak, A., Szota, W. (1973). *Droga do nikad. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i jej likwidacja w Polsce*. Wałbrzych: Wmon, p. 320.

¹⁷ Šmigel', M. (2007). Banderovci na Slovensku (1945–1946): K problematike činnosti a propagačných antikomunistických aktivít oddielov Ukrajinskej povstaleckej armády. In Šmigel', M. (ed.), *Radikálny socializmus a komunizmus na Slovensku (1918–1989). Spoločnosť medzi demokraciou a totalitou*. Banská Bystrica: Historický ústav Slovenské akademie vied, p. 140.

¹⁸ Řepa, T. (2019). *Banderovci...*, p. 24.

¹⁹ Štaigl, J. (2011). Spolupráca vojenských jednotiek ČSR, Poľska a ZSSR v akciách proti UPA na východnom Slovensku v rokoch 1945–1947. In *Vojenská história*, issue 2, pp. 77–78.

²⁰ Motyka, G. (2006). *Ukrajínska partyzantka 1942–1960. Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii*. Wałbrzych: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, p. 592.

²¹ Šmigel', M. (2009). V boji s banderovci na Slovensku (1945–1947). Aktivita československých bezpečnostních složek proti UPA – spolupráce s Polskem a SSSR. In Volná, K. (ed.), *Aktivita NKVD/KGB a jejich spolupráce s tajnými službami střední a východní Evropy 1945–1989*. Praha: Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, pp. 217–226.

To Slovakia was sent from the USSR one motorized regiment from the 4th Armored Army and a special group²² of the 9th Soviet Guards Army. The nervous reaction of the Soviets was based on nescience of the intentions and powers of the UPA units. Soviets did not even rule out an attempt to break through to Transcarpathia. A special group of functionaries of the Soviet NKVD was also transported to the area of attacking OUN and UPA groups. It is very interesting that the activities of the Soviet military section and NKVD agents in Czechoslovak contemporary documents is practically not mentioned.²³

It should be mentioned, the Slovak population and especially Ruthenians related to Ukrainians were afraid to support UPA so that it would not have problems similar to those of the Ukrainian (and also ethnic group of the Lemkos and Bojkos) population in Poland. Especially if at that time in the north-eastern Slovakia were preparing options (voluntary transfers) and resettlement²⁴ of the population²⁵ to the Soviet Union and some rumours talked about the forced displacement of all Slovak Ruthenians from Czechoslovakia. However, this has never been realized also for political reasons.

The organised resistance of the Bandera group after the end of the Second World War moved primarily to today's south-eastern Poland, to Galicia.²⁶ The Ukrainian minority in the area provided Bandera's troops with a base and support for clashes with the Polish army and special units the Red Army and NKVD. This was particularly important for the sustainability of badly damaged units, which were also supported by food supplies and munitions.²⁷

The war was over and the Soviets authorities tried to impose their rule on a recalcitrant region, particularly on occasions such as the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1946. The UPA called on the population to boycott the elections and the threatened those who participated in them. Moscow in turn mounted an operation called the "great blockade." Over 3,500 regular army units, NKVD troops, and punitive battalion soldiers were deployed in the western regions of soviet Ukraine between January and April 1946. They blocked off the insurgents' access to villages during the winter months but failed to eradicate them. The UPA divided into

²² Military Historical Archive Prague (hereinafter known as MHA), fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 1, reference number 4996/I a – secret news 1945. News from Eastern Slovakia dated 6 September 1945.

²³ Šmigel, M. (2007). *Banderovci na Slovensku (1945–1946): K problematike činnosti a propagačných antikomunistických aktivít oddielov Ukrajinskej povstaleckej armády...*, p. 143.

²⁴ For more see Šmigel, M., Kruško, Š. (2005). *Opcia. Proces opcie a presídlenia občanov ČSR do ZSSR na základe československo-sovietskej dohody z 10. júla 1946*. Prešov: Imprint, pp. 74–82.

²⁵ For exact statistics of migrants by Slovak regions see Gajdoš, M., Konečný S. (2014). *Ukrajinská menšina na Slovensku ako objekt a subjekt politiky II (1945–1953)*. Prešov: Universum, p. 41.

²⁶ A map with location of Galicia after World War II see Magocsi, J. P. (2018). *Historical atlas...*, p. 186.

²⁷ Syrůček, M. (2008). *Banderovci – hrdinové nebo bandité?* Praha: Epocha, p. 117.

smaller groups and began to use ambushes as the main form of attack. The Soviet offensive was renewed during the period of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in 1947. Military and security service operations increased and over 77,000 people – “gang supporters” – were deported to remote regions of the USSR in 1947. In this period, the UPA exhausted its resources.²⁸

Fighting in Poland continued in the Bieszczady mountains of south-eastern Poland until the spring of 1947, when the UPA was rounded up by the Polish army. Over the next months Ukrainian villages in the area were systematically demolished, and their inhabitants forcibly deported to the ex-German “recovered territories” in the north and west, or to the Soviet Union.²⁹

In 1947³⁰, the manner of the Ukrainian nationalists radically changed, because they were under the pressure of the Polish troops and special forces of the NKVD³¹ and also due to the completion of the Vistula operation – the displacement of Ukrainian people from Southeast Poland. On 17 April 1947, the Polish State Committee, as the deciding authority, decided to set up the Vistula Task Force, which began operations on 14 June, as a tool for consolidating the situation and finally resolving the Ukrainian nationalist tendencies in the Polish state.³² At the same time as the fight against the UPA, the Polish government carried out a transfer³³ of inhabitants in cooperation with the Soviet Union, where the main resettlement of the Ukrainian population – about 500,000 inhabitants was headed.³⁴ From the Ukrainian settlements in Poland, a minority of Ukrainians, about 150,000 inhabitants, were transported to the western regions of the country, which Poland acquired at the expense of Germany after the Second World War.³⁵

Since the end of the war operations, between 1944 and 1946, both Poles and Ukrainians were relocated from post-war Poland to the Soviet Union.³⁶ It occurred therefore long before the realization of the resettlement operation Vistula. Not only

²⁸ Marples, D. R. (2007). *Heroes and Villains. Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine*. Budapešť: Central European University Press, pp. 295–296.

²⁹ Reid, A. (2000). *Borderland...*, p. 160.

³⁰ Archive of Security Forces in Prague (hereinafter known as ASFP), fund 307 (Banderovci), inventory unit 307-103-1, fol. 1–4. 1 October 1947 was established for the purpose of judicial proceedings of the offenses of captured OUN and UPA members Commission for Investigation of the Crimes of Bandera group in Czechoslovakia.

³¹ Motyka, G. (2014). *Na Białych Polaków oblawa. Wojska NKWD w walce z polskim podziemiem 1944–1953*. Krakov: Wydawnictwo Literackie, pp. 376–379.

³² Řepa, T. (2019). *Banderovci...*, p. 81.

³³ A map with diagram and numbers of displaced population see Magocsi, J. P. (2018). *Historical atlas...*, p. 191.

³⁴ Štaigl, J. (2011). *Spolupráca vojenských jednotiek ČSR, Poľska a ZSSR v akciách proti UPA na východnom Slovensku v rokoch 1945–1947...*, pp. 72–101.

³⁵ Řepa, T. (2019). *Banderovci...*, p. 81.

³⁶ Veselý, L. (2010). „Proti fašistickým bandám UPA“. Ukrajinci v propagandě lidového Polska. In: *Soudobé dějiny*, issue 4, pp. 667–701.

ethnicity was decisive for the displacement, but also belonging to the Orthodox or Greek Catholic Church. The inhabitants, which were not only Ukrainians, but also Ruthenians (Lemkos, Bojkos) and Poles from mixed families, could take only a minimum of property.³⁷

The Bandera group fought for such a long time thanks to the support of a large part of the Ukrainian population living in Galicia and hiding in the forests of south-eastern post-war Poland. Two combat units (named Hromenko and Burlak) and gradually other individuals from another fragmented units, a total of just over three hundred members of the Bandera group, embarked on journey through Czechoslovakia towards Bavaria for their command. The more conciliatory attitude of non-communist parties (especially national socialists in the Czech lands and the Democratic Party in Slovakia) towards the UPA and OUN anabasis served the Communists to attack these parties and intimidate those who did not want to submit.³⁸

For example, some records of Czechoslovak government meeting talks conclusively refer to the conflict between the Communists and other democratic parties, as well as more general issues of action Czechoslovak army and security forces against the OUN and UPA.³⁹ Later, some of these attitudes were the target of a fierce communist *Rudé právo* newspapers press campaign and were exploited propaganda even in subsequent trials against many democratic politicians who did not manage to escape the Communists from country.⁴⁰ In the autumn of 1947, an increasingly intense struggle between communist and non-communist political forces began in a country in which the Communist Party used every pretext to portray its political opponents as merely criminal and subversive elements. Against the background of these attacks was constantly emphasized the danger of the moving members the UPA and OUN.⁴¹

Life for the Bandera group between the relocation of the Ukrainian minority from Galicia and their final annihilation is captured within the review of the Czechoslovak National Security Corps (SNB) from 1947:

The activity of these units is best illustrated by the reports that the individual groups produced in the form of reports to the headquarters, which are partly in our hands, which clearly show that the units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army did not

³⁷ Kabačij, R. (2012). *Wygynani na stepy: przesiedlenia ludności ukraińskiej z Polski na południe Ukrainy w latach 1944–1946*. Varšava: Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, pp. 278–281.

³⁸ Řepa, T. (2019). *Banderovci...*, pp. 109–110.

³⁹ National archive Prague (hereinafter as NA), fund Klement Gottwald (1938–1953) 100/24, archival unit 1494, carton 145. Records of the meeting of the 102nd meeting of the Czechoslovak Government of 16 September 1947.

⁴⁰ See Veber, V. (2015). Konec druhé světové války a sovětizace střední Evropy. In *Paměť a dějiny*, Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, issue 2, pp. 13–14.

⁴¹ Řepa, T. (2019). *Banderovci...*, p. 111.

show any losses until the arrival of the Red Army or only very small, while after the Red Army's arrival suddenly these losses are very high. After the end of the war in 1945, the Bandera group continued their terrorist activities, both against the Red Army and against the armies of Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Red Army soon destroyed the band's activities in the Soviet Union just as the terrorist activity of the band in the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic was largely restricted, while the territory of Poland is still being maintained for the following reasons:

1. The Polish consolidation conditions are much more difficult than in the other countries mentioned.

2. On the Polish territory, there is the Ukrainian population who, because of the unhappy policy of the Polish pre-war government, hated everything Polish and saw its protectors in the Bandera group, and therefore encouraged them until they were convinced of the terrorist activities of the band.

3. The Polish government, troops and security authorities devoted themselves first of all to annihilating their own, Polish, terrorist bands.⁴²

Mass strikes and demonstrations broke out in the arms factories of the Urals and Siberia in the autumn of 1945. The secret police registered more than half a million letters protesting against living conditions and poverty. The crop failure in 1945 and 1946 escalated the problems in agricultural production, which for many years lagged far behind pre-war values. Ukraine and other areas of the USSR were again hit by famine, which, according to some estimates, was killed by up to two million people. Around 100 million people in the Soviet Union suffered from malnutrition. From the point of view of Stalin and the Soviet leadership, the difficult situation had to be overcome if the Soviet state was to persevere, get up, and resume its defensive lines and capacities. All potential riots and rebellions and all conceivable signs of opposition had to be mercilessly suppressed and inhibited. A new wave of arrests, purges and demonstration processes reminiscent of the 1930s terror swept the Soviet Union and the associated Eastern and Central European states. The most frequent victims were former prisoners of war, suspects of dissent, intellectuals and members of national minorities (indeed many of them Ukrainians).⁴³

In retrospective, developments in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Allied and Axis satellites) that came to the Soviet sphere of influence at the end of the war seem to be a process of gradually narrowing existing political alternatives from the limited pluralism of so-called popular democracy to dictatorship including post-war Czechoslovakia. The milestones of this process are different types of national fronts, a number of diverse, colourful interim governments, sooner or later held more or less free or manipulated elections, followed by the first coalition gov-

⁴² ASFP, fund 300 (State Department of Security Prague), inv. u. 300-25-1, fol. 21.

⁴³ Kershaw, I. (2017). *Do pekel a zpět: Evropa 1914–1949*. Praha: Argo, pp. 470–471.

ernments. Sooner or later, the liquidation of parties and groups opposed to the Communists and the emergence of a one-party political system, culminating in the usually merging of communist and social democratic or socialist parties, with the strict subjugation of other civil political parties (agrarian, Christian-democratic and liberal-civil) and after the establishment of this system also extensive cleansing in the Communist parties.⁴⁴

The activities of OUN and UPA also had significant political consequences for the development of all states affected directly or marginally by their activities. In Czechoslovakia came a definitive turning point in the perception of the Bandera group after the communist putsch in February 1948, which was reflected in all events, of course this also involved the freedom of the media. Communist propaganda, however, abused this topic to intimidate political opponents even before that date. The Communist Party of creating a confrontational atmosphere hid intention to achieve a change in political forces on the Slovak scene as a prerequisite on the path to the establishment of a power monopoly throughout the whole state. In the summer of 1947, the Communists activated the resistance units from World War II, especially the Union of Slovak Partisans.⁴⁵

Summary of military events: against several hundreds (about 300) of members of the Bandera group was deployed up to 13,500 Czechoslovakian soldiers⁴⁶ and members of the National Security Corps. Even war veterans who knew the terrain on which they fought were summoned. In the fighting died 14 soldiers of the Czechoslovak army and six members of the SNB, and five members of the financial guard were killed.⁴⁷ Victims and wounded in combat were subject to government resolutions to provide them and their families.⁴⁸ Other soldiers were killed in traffic accidents and other incidents. For courage and bravery was awarded 115 members of the armed forces.⁴⁹

The removal of the nations of Eastern Europe had irreversibly altered the ethnic circumstances of many states including Czechoslovakia. For the present form of Ukraine, it meant occupying territories that were always ethnically Polish. For example, the city of Lviv could hardly be called the Great Ukrainian City before

⁴⁴ Vykoukal, J., Litera, B. a Tejchman, M. (2017). *Východ: vznik, vývoj a rozpad sovětského bloku 1944–1989*. Praha: Libri, p. 96.

⁴⁵ Vondrášek, V. (2004). Politická situace na Slovensku a její odraz v československé armádě dislokované na Slovensku v letech 1945–1947. In Hanzlík, F., Vondrášek, V. (eds.), *Armáda v zápase o politickou moc v Československu v letech 1945–1948 (Sborník podkladových studií)*. Brno: Univerzita obrany, p. 240.

⁴⁶ Bílek, J., Látník, J. a Šach, J. (2006). *Československá armáda v prvním poválečném desetiletí. Květen 1945–květen 1955*. Praha: Ministerstvo obrany České republiky, p. 74

⁴⁷ ASFP, fund 307 (Banderovci), inv. u. 307-102-3, fol. 6.

⁴⁸ ASFP, fund VI – D, inv. u. VI – D-2(42), fol. 21. Government Resolution on Providing Victims of Fighting to the Bandera group of 23 October 1947.

⁴⁹ Řepa, T. (2019). *Banderovci...*, p. 110.

the Second World War. On the contrary, for Poland, the transformation of borders meant greater national homogenization, but only at the cost of losing large tracts of land in the East and gaining other territories in the West, to which the Polish citizens had no relationship. From the Bandera movement's (OUN, UPA) point of view, the forced migration of Ukrainians in Eastern Europe was a definitive defeat. From this moment on, the struggle for an independent Ukraine, managed by any means, only further diminished. The persecution of the Ukrainians already in the Soviet Union was certainly not over. Historian Andrej Zubov in the *History of Russia* states that, between 1944 and 1952, 203,662 western Ukrainians were displaced, including 182,000 "nationalists", OUN activists and members of their families.⁵⁰

Although the main removal actions in south-eastern Poland were completed in the summer of 1947, until 1950 there were minor military operations and displacement of the population. Resettlement actions such as the Vistula operation are considered controversial. On the one hand the sovereignty of Poland in the eastern regions was ensured after the creation of new borders, organizations such as the OUN and the UPA sought to create a Ukrainian state independent of Poland and the Soviet Union, on the other hand, there was an unfair displacement of the population with only minimal property and their deployment to new territories, often by breaking the original family and local ties. This was followed by a slow settlement of affected areas by the Polish population. The mistake in dealing with the Ukrainian population like in the Vistula operation was recognized by the Polish Ministry of the Interior as early as 1956, was condemned in 1990 by the Polish Sejm and in 2008 by the joint communiqué of the Presidents of Poland and Ukraine.

The synthesis of the post-war population movements in Central and Eastern Europe can also be useful with regard to the subsequent political events of the second half of the 20th century and even the current war in Europe. For example, the Poles and Ukrainians, who were most affected by these events, are now allies and the historical injustices of the past do not play a major role. This is also evident in the ongoing war in Ukraine.

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⁵⁰ Zubov, A. et al. (2015). *Dějiny Ruska 20. století*, vol. II, 1393–2007. Praha: Argo, p. 234.

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Military Helicopters in Czechoslovak Aeroclubs Between 1963–1974

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In mid-fifties helicopters were already an indivisible part of military air forces all over the world. In terms of the Warsaw Pact the army of Soviet Union and subsequently its satellite states got the first helicopters. In 1956 Czechoslovak military air force also received the first Mil Mi-4 helicopters. Since 1959 Mi-1 light helicopters were used for pilots training, however, in early sixties there was a shortage of backup pilots within military units. The only Czechoslovak liaison helicopter regiment did not manage to train its own pilots, much less backup pilots. Therefore, unused military helicopters HC-102 were incorporated into Svazarm aero clubs (Svaz pro spolupráci s armádou - The Union for Cooperation with The Army). Flying with Mi-1 started in 1965. In course of eleven years a huge number of pilots were trained within aeroclubs, which cooperated with military air force, to join the army in case of need. In 1974 the conception of backup pilots training in aeroclubs was re-evaluated and finished. The numerous group of pilots then got occasional trainings at army till early eighties and many of the pilots were finally employed at the police, air force or in civil sector.

Key words: Svazarm, communist Czechoslovakia, helicopters, military training, aeroclubs

Introduction

The world has been divided into East and West since the end of the 1940s. After World War II, technology advanced rapidly, a development reflected in the armament of each side's armies. Alongside atomic weapons and jet planes, helicopters emerged. Their brief deployment in German and American forces at the end of World War II showed their potential. The United States of America was a leading country in the development and deployment of helicopters in the early 1950s. The deployment of helicopters during the Korean War (1950–1953) in transport and rescue roles was a significant impetus in the development of this technology

also in Soviet Bloc countries. The development of helicopters took place mostly in the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia was the only country of the Eastern Bloc where the development of helicopters reached serial production. At the beginning of this story, it was necessary to train the army reserve helicopter pilots in the aeroclubs of Svazarm (The Union for Cooperation with The Army)¹. This training in the Czechoslovak aeroclubs was totally unique within the Soviet satellites.

Literature Review

A diverse range of material, especially of Czech or Slovak provenance, was used when processing this paper. Documentation on the activities of The Union for Cooperation with The Army are to be found in the National Archives in Prague. Military matters are administered by the Military Central Archive, especially Military History Archive. Here, in the documents of The Ministry of Defence dating back to 1950-1964, we can obtain information about the development of Czechoslovak helicopters, the arrival of military helicopters to Czechoslovakia, and the first indication of the handing over of military helicopters to aeroclubs. Termination of its activities is documented in the records of the State Defence Council in the National Archives in Prague. There is almost no literature on this subject, only articles in periodicals, such as the *Aviation and Cosmonautics* magazine. There is only a very small number of documents in the archives regarding the activities of individual aeroclubs. For this reason, it is important to use documents held by aeroclubs or to apply oral history methods.

Military and Police Helicopters in Czechoslovakia

Since its inception in 1918, Czechoslovakia has been profiled as an industrial state with a strong emphasis on aviation industry. After 1945, there were two important lines of helicopter aviation in Czechoslovakia. The first line was the development of its own helicopters, culminating in the serial production of types HC-2 and HC-102 at the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s. Because of the lengthy development,

¹ The Union for Cooperation with The Army, abbreviated as Svazarm, was a paramilitary organization under the control of the Communist Party and the government of technical sports. It was created on the basis of Act No. 92/1951 Coll., adopted by the National Assembly on the 2nd November 1951. According to § 5 of the Act, Svazarm was established as a professional volunteer organization for the organization, management and control of military education in ten volunteer organizations that became collective members. At the end of 1952, there was a complete integration of individual organizations that had practically ceased to develop a separate activity. Bílek, K. – Krobath, J. – Krupicka, J. (1991). *Svazarm 1951–1991*, Praha: manuscript – unpublished text.

problems with engines and the import of Soviet helicopters, there was no serial production of the prospective types HC-3 or HC-4.²

After the end of World War II, two German helicopters – Focke-Achgelis Fa 223E Drache³ – were left on Czechoslovak territory. They were brought into workable condition in the second half of the 1940s and provided Czechoslovak pilots and later designers with a great deal of experience.⁴ The same process took place throughout Europe and in the USA. Attempts to buy the American Bell 47B⁵ helicopter in 1947 were unsuccessful. After the communist coup of February 1948, Czechoslovakia became a Soviet satellite.⁶ Despite this, local technical development remained in many respects autonomous until 1968 and 1969.⁷ At the turn of the 1940s and 1950s, aircraft designers in Czechoslovakia sought to build on pre-war traditions and, as in the 1920s and 1930s, sought to gain theoretical knowledge and practical experience in all areas of aviation, including helicopter construction.⁸

Helicopter manufacture began in the Soviet Union in the first half of the 1950s. In comparison to the NATO states, the Warsaw Pact troops received helicopters after some delays.⁹ First, the Soviet Union pursued large-scale serial production, but in the late 1950s it passed the manufacture of light helicopters to Poland and only kept the manufacture of heavy and combat helicopters. The Mil Mi-4¹⁰ transport type under the codename “NATO Hound” became a very important helicopter.¹¹

The Czechoslovak Ministry of National Defence decided to purchase the NATO Hound for The Czechoslovak People's Army in 1955. In March 1956, the first four arrived at Prague-Kbely Airport. Soviet instructors began training selected pilots of the 1st Transport Air Regiment.¹² The pilots were selected from among experienced transport pilots with experience in the Douglas C-47 or Lisunov Li-2.¹³ The second group were pilots from the defunct squadron of transport gliders. It was a great paradox that the Czechoslovak military pilots had no experience with training

² Nemecek, V. (1984). *Ceskoslovenska letadla 1945-1984*, Prague: Nase vojsko, 118–127.

³ Coates, S. (2002). *Helicopters of Third Reich*, Hersham: Crecy Publishing, 100–115.

⁴ Irra, M. (2011). Unikáty cs. vojenského letectva – Focke-Achgelis Fa 223 (VR-3), *Hobby Historie* 2, 18–27.

⁵ Spenser, J. P. (1998). *Whirlybirds a history of the U.S. helicopter pioneers*, Washington: Univ. of Washington, 217–221.

⁶ Dubanek, M. (2010). ‘Bell 47B a Československo, *ATM* 42, 82.

⁷ More: Nemecek, V. (1984).

⁸ Nemecek, V. (1983). *Ceskoslovenska letadla 1918–1945*, Prague: Nase vojsko,

⁹ More: Richardson, E. (2017). *NATO, the Warsaw Pact, and the Iron Curtain (Cold War Chronicles)*, New York: Cavendish Square Publishing.

¹⁰ More: Fojtik, J. (2011). *Víceúčelový vrtulník Mi-4/Mi-4 Multipurpose helicopter*, Nevojsice: Jacob.

¹¹ Crosby, F. (2016). *The Word Encyclopedia of military Helicopters*, London: Lorenz Books, 182–183.

¹² Rejhon, B. (1996). Přes epizodní kluzáky k vrtulníkům, *České letectvo a PVO* 2/6, 24–26.

¹³ Šimek, K. (1996). Patřily mezi první, *České letectvo a PVO* 3, 26–27.

helicopters and started flying directly in the Mil Mi-4.¹⁴ At the end of 1958, the 50th Liaison Air Regiment at Klecany Airport, north of Prague, obtained all the helicopters. It was also this unit that received the first Mi-1 helicopters at the beginning of 1959 and was responsible for the training of the liaison air force reserve pilots.¹⁵

The Beginnings of Operations in the Civil Sector

After World War II, helicopters in Czechoslovakia were owned only by the military or police.¹⁶ The first civilian helicopters emerged in Czechoslovakia in the early 1960s. In 1957, a company called Agrolet, was established as a part of Czechoslovak Airlines with the purpose of engaging in aerial work, in particular in the operation of agricultural aircraft. In the late 1950s, a decision was made to equip Agrolet with helicopters, which were supposed to be assigned to do checks on high-voltage power lines, geological surveys, aero taxi services, construction activities, and the transportation of cargo and patients between hospitals, etc. Two Czechoslovak HC-102 helicopters were to be purchased for training activities. The management of Agrolet considered purchasing up to ten Czechoslovak-produced HC-3 helicopters as aero taxis, for light cargo transport, for checks on high-voltage power lines and for geological surveys. The last type was the Mil Mi-4 Soviet helicopter, numbering three pieces, for construction activities and the transport of heavier cargos.¹⁷

The situation was complicated by the very lengthy development of the HC-3 helicopter, the main problem of which was its propulsion unit that was still in the prototype stage. Further development of this helicopter was slowed by pressure from socialist states, which promoted the development of helicopters only in the Soviet Union and Poland. Finally, at the end of 1960, a compromise solution was reached. The most suitable and, actually, the only candidate for the role of light helicopter appeared to be the Soviet Mil Mi-1, with which the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) was equipped at that time. Use of the HC-102 was no longer considered and the Soviet Mil Mi-4 remained the aircraft-of-choice in the role of heavy helicopter.

Based on agreement between Czechoslovak Airlines and the Ministry of National Defence, two Mil Mi-1 helicopters and two Mil Mi-4 helicopters were transferred from the Czechoslovak People's Army to Agrolet.¹⁸ Four pilots and eleven ground

¹⁴ Fojtík, J. – Červíček, F. (2009). První „Čtyřky“, *Letectví a kosmonautika* 85/12, 70–74.

¹⁵ Povolný, D. (2014). (eds.). *Historie československého a českého vrtulníkového letectva od roku 1945 po současnost* Prague: Ministerstvo obrany, 80–81.

¹⁶ The only exceptions were helicopter prototypes at The Czech Aerospace Research Centre in Prague-Letňany and Moravan Otrokovice (author's comment).

¹⁷ Regional Archive in Prague, found Československé aerolinie (Czechoslovak airlines), box no. 184, Komentář k sestavě 3. pětiletého plánu (1959).

¹⁸ Trebichavský, F. (1965). *Použití vrtulníků v národním hospodářství: Přednáškový text pro účastníky celost. techn. besedy poř. v 1. čtvrtletí 1965 v Praze, Praha.*

personnel also transferred from the army. These fifteen workers were the first helicopter personnel in the Czechoslovak civilian sector, except for test pilots at The Czech Aerospace Research Centre in Prague-Letňany and Moravan Otrokovice.¹⁹ From the early 1960s, the crews of these helicopters were engaged in various activities. In addition to the above-mentioned aerial work, both the supply of mountain huts and of mountain rescue services in the Slovak Tatras were tested. These flights at a high altitude showed the limits of Soviet-made piston helicopters. For this reason, from the mid-sixties, when there was a period of political easing, efforts were made to purchase turboprop Sud Aviation / Aérospatiale SA-3160 Alouette III helicopters. The project eventually remained unimplemented.²⁰

The operation of Mi-1 helicopters had survived a catastrophe during a geological survey, several damaging incidents, and one flight over the so-called Iron Curtain,²¹ until the early seventies. In contrast, the operation of Mi-4 helicopters was terminated in 1967 because of their unsuitability, especially their insufficient load-carrying capacity during construction work. Between 1961 and 1969, Agrolet gradually operated a total of three Mil Mi-1 helicopters with registration codes OK-OVC, OK-OVD, and OK-OVG, and three Mil Mi-4 helicopters with registration codes OK-OVE, OK-OVF and OK-RKA.²² The personnel base was established by former members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, who were gradually supplemented by pilots trained in Svazarm aeroclubs. Under the framework of the post-1968 society-wide changes, which, among other things, resulted in the federalization of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Agrolet was transformed into a separate company under the name Slov-Air and based in Bratislava.²³ It is in particular the aerial work in Agrolet, and subsequently in Slov-Air, that shows the connection of the Czechoslovak People's Army with the civilian sector, a consequence of the militarization of society in a communist-style totalitarian state.

¹⁹ Military Central Archive - Military History Archive, found Ministry of National Defence year 1961, inventarization no. 793, box no. 260, Dohoda o převodu vrtulníků od MNO k ČSA (1961).

²⁰ Sveton, P. (2009). *Vrtulníky nad Tatrami – malé dějiny letecké záchrany*, Martin: Matica slovenská, 26.

²¹ On 21st October 1965, a former military pilot and employee of Agrolet, Jan Němec, took off in the Mil Mi-1 helicopter OK-OVG from the Ivanka Airport, Bratislava, to check high-voltage power lines. After refuelling in Břeclav, he was supposed to fly to the starting point of the inspection, where he was supposed to pick up power plant engineers. However, the pilot crossed the Czechoslovak-Austrian border between Břeclav and Vienna and then continued at low-altitude to the West. He planned to fly all the way to Munich, but a lack of fuel forced him to land at Lake Cheimsee in the Federal Republic of Germany. He subsequently applied for political asylum. More can be found in Pejskar, J. (1992). *Útěky železnou oponou (Escapes through the Iron Curtain)*, Prague: Melantrich 1992, 38–39.

²² Civil aviation authority of Czech republic (CAA), Historical materials of aircraft register, book of powered aircraft no 3 [online], [cit. 2021-08-18]. <https://cloud.caa.cz/index.php/s/QaEutO6Zq04ysaL>

²³ Slovak National Archive in Bratislava, found Slov-Air, inventarization no. 1, box no. 1, *Zrušení odděleného závodu Československých aerolinií Agroletu* (1969).

Helicopters in Aeroclubs

The arrival of helicopters to the Svazarm aeroclubs was inherently associated with the HC-102²⁴ and Mil Mi-1. The Czechoslovak HC-102 helicopter resulted from a long-term development carried out by a group associated with Ing. Jaroslav Šlechta in the aviation department of the company Praga. After initial unimplemented studies, the first experimental helicopter XE-II, which took off in 1950, was created. The XE-II operation brought invaluable experience of standard helicopter arrangement, i.e. with a main rotor and balancing propeller.²⁵ In 1951, helicopter construction was transferred to Aero Vysočany, where the development of a two-seat helicopter, the HC-2, began. The Czech Aerospace Research Centre in Prague Letňany took over the completion of the whole project.²⁶ From 1956, negotiations were held about the HC-2 serial production in Moravan Otrokovice. In addition to two prototypes, 15 serial pieces were manufactured during 1958. The manufactured HC-2 were taken over by The Czechoslovak People's Army, or more precisely by the 50th Liaison Air Regiment in Klecany. Each piece logged 50 hours of flight time²⁷ and was then taken to a factory where it was rebuilt and adapted into the HC-102. This modernization consisted mainly of replacing the weak Praga DH engine, with a wattage of 62 kW (84 k), with the M-110H, with a wattage of 81 kW (110 k), and other minor modifications.²⁸

Development of the Michael Leontijevic Mil helicopter, denominated the GM-1, began in 1947, and the first prototype took off a year later. It was the first mass-produced helicopter in the USSR. This three-seat helicopter was constructed in a classical arrangement, i.e. with a three-bladed main rotor and a three-bladed balancing propeller. The star seven-cylinder engine of the Ivchenko type AI-26GR with a wattage of 422 kW was located behind the crew cabin. Production in the USSR began in 1950. By 1960, a total of 1012 Mil Mi-1 pieces had been manufactured at several production sites. The USSR's military air force used this type primarily for liaison and transport tasks. An important non-military user was the so-called DOSAAF,²⁹ whose aeroclubs used the Mi-1 from 1956³⁰ mainly for basic and continuing training, and organized the USSR helicopter championships from

²⁴ Apostolo, G. (1984). *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Helicopters*, New York: Crescent, 191.

²⁵ Benes, L. (1998). *Československé vrtulníky známé i neznámé: historie, projekty, prototypy*, Olomouc: Votobia, 62–67.

²⁶ More: Vokoun, V. (2006). *Jak jsme zkoušeli vrtulník HC-2 a co všechno se při tom stalo*, Prague: VZLÚ.

²⁷ Povolný, D. (2014). 100.

²⁸ Chmura, F. – Kutek, J. (1961). *Motor M-110H, Křídla vlasti* 10/26, 14–15.

²⁹ Volunteer Society for Cooperation with The Army, Aviation, and Navy (russian ДОСААФ, Добровольное общество содействия армии, авиации и флоту). It operated between 1951–1991 (author's comment).

³⁰ Forman, I. (1956). *Dosaafovci létají na vrtulnících, Křídla vlasti* 5/24, 749.

1958.³¹ Between 1956 and 1965, a licensed production took place at Polish production plant “WSK PZL Swidnik”.³² A total of 1594 helicopters, internally designated the SM-1,³³ were manufactured in Poland. This was followed by the SM-2 - the main difference being the redesigned cabin for four passengers and a pilot. The Mi-1 helicopter is also known as the NATO “Hare”.³⁴

A total of 72 helicopters of types HC-102 and Mil Mi-1 were acquired by Svazarm. These served the helicopter pilots between 1963 and 1974. The system of classifying helicopters, i.e. license plates, had clear rules. The first two letters “OK” designate nationality. However, more interesting are the other letters after the dash. The first letter after the dash refers to the year of manufacture, the second letter indicates a category (for helicopters often V or U), and the third letter shows the order in the series, or the year of production, or the entry into the Aircraft register at the Civil Aviation Authority.³⁵

Arrival of Military Helicopters to Aeroclubs

Until the beginning of the 1960s, helicopter flights in Czechoslovakia were the domain of military units. However, the idea of helicopter operations at aeroclubs was not totally unexplored. The Soviet Union had been operating helicopters in aeroclubs since 1956. Pre-military training of future combat pilots or pilots of the transport company Aeroflot occurred within DOSAAF.³⁶

1962 became a breakthrough year for the inclusion of helicopters into the Svazarm aeroclubs. It was this year when problems with the preparation and training of military liaison pilots began to show. The 50th Liaison Aviation Regiment typically prepared pilots of normal aircraft using four to five two-month tours (cycles). The preparation of military helicopter pilots faced long-term personnel and material deficiencies. Mi-4 training was expensive and unnecessary, and there was a shortage of Mi-1 training helicopters. Training for military helicopter pilots was being delayed and the regiment did not have the capacity to train reserve helicopter pilots. For this reason, the Commander of Training, Lt. Jiří Mates, suggested transferring the training of reserve pilots to the Prešov Aviation School or to aeroclubs of Svazarm.³⁷ Ironically, it was the reluctance of The Czechoslovak People's Army to

³¹ Hrbac, B. (1960). Druhé vrtulníkové mistrovství v SSSR, *Křídla vlasti* 9/1, 7.

³² Ahner, H. (1959). Polský vrtulník SM-1, *Letecký obzor* 3/6, 176–177.

³³ More: Grzegorzewski, J. (1975). *Śmigłowiec Mi-1*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej.

³⁴ Crosby, F. (2016). 178–179.

³⁵ Civil aviation authority of Czech republic (CAA).

³⁶ Hrbac, B. (1960). 7.

³⁷ Military Central Archive - Military History Archive, found Ministry of National Defence year 1962, inventory no. 221, box no. 72, *Požadavky k zabezpečení výcviku osádek vrtulníků – oznámení* (1962).

take over the Czechoslovak HC-102 helicopters, as they appeared to be unpromising, that contributed to the implementation of the above-mentioned solution. The main criticism was that this type of helicopter was very light and vulnerable, suitable only for liaison purposes. Under the conditions of the Caribbean crisis, the Communist government of Czechoslovakia decided in the second half of 1962 to hand over all HC-102 helicopters to train pilots in aeroclubs.



Pic1 – HC-102 helicopter at Jaromer airport (Propriety of Josef Vanek).

The transfer of helicopters HC-102 from The Ministry of Defence to Svazarm was discussed at Svazarm's management meeting within the Action Plan for the training year 1962/1963, from the 31st October, 1962. The decision to allocate the

HC-102 helicopters to the aeroclubs of Svazarm included an initial plan to train a preliminary number of 70 reserve liaison pilots. Already by this point, the HC-102 was considered a transient type meant for retraining to more complicated (combat) helicopter types, e.g. Mi-1 or Mi-4, as the supply of military helicopters was running at an increased pace.³⁸

Human Resources

During the spring of 1963, the first Svazarm pilots were trained in helicopters. The first three pilots and future instructors were Jiří Černý, Zdeněk Dědek and Jiří Tomeš, who all underwent basic helicopter training in Moravan Otrokovice. The memoirs of Gustáv Schimík's imply that it was a quick matter, as some selected instructors often did not know what task they had been selected for. In the early 1960s, the third five-year plan³⁹ collapsed, resulting in reduced subsidies for sports aviation. This meant the reorganizing of aeroclubs and decreasing the number of powered aircraft, pilots, instructors and generally employees. For many of them, helicopters became the only means to keep flying. After completing a ten-day course at the manufacturer and logging approximately five flight hours, each graduate was assigned his own helicopter and flew it to his home aeroclub, where he was given the task of logging another 20 flight hours and beginning the retraining of pilots selected by the military administration.⁴⁰ Other trained instructors František Novák and František Šmehýl undertook a theoretical course in Moravan, but they were already flying in Vrchlabí. The departure of five HC-102 helicopters to Vrchlabí took place on 11th June, 1963, on the route Otrokovice - Moravská Třebová - Hořice - Vrchlabí.⁴¹ Led by the first five instructors, the first helicopter course in Vrchlabí took place in June 1963, attended by instructors: Zdeněk Doktor, M. Flašík, Miroslav Kobr, Křenek, Josef Lesák, Josef Polívka, and Břetislav Šoch.⁴²

Plans and Reality

Helicopters were mainly distributed to those regional airports in which the management of the regional aeroclubs resided (e.g. Liberec, Brno-Slatina, Pilsen-Bory, České Budějovice-Hosín, etc.). In the order of classification, these airports were

³⁸ National Archive in Prague, found Svazarm, box no. 39, inventarisation no. 149, *Předložení plánu činnosti leteckého úseku Svazarmu na výcvikový rok 1962/1963*.

³⁹ The socialist economy was guided by a plan for certain periods, most often five-year plans (author's comment).

⁴⁰ Schimík, G. (2000). Heli Baby a Robinson, *Letectví a kosmonautika* 76/13, 13–15.

⁴¹ Doležal, A. (1963). Úkol splněn: 20. prosince předán poslední vrtulník, *Naše křídla – noviny zaměstnanců závodu Moravan v Otrokovcích* 2/1, 1.

⁴² Hemlich, K. (1963). Nový kurz pro staré piloty, *Křídla vlasti* 12/17, 482–483.

designated as so-called Class I Airports, where training in all possible aviation competences of regional significance was provided.⁴³ Plans to train military aviation reserve pilots in the Svazarm aeroclubs were more optimistic. The developments of 1963 already showed a certain delay in this plan, and the plan was subsequently revised. During the presidency meeting of Svazarm on 24th February 1964, flight activity on helicopters was evaluated and unlike other categories of air force reserves of The Czechoslovak People's Army, the training plan was not fulfilled. Only the theoretical part of the curriculum was completed by the required number of pilots in the first training year. Training was prolonged considerably due to two major accidents, which led to an increase in the number of flight hours of instructors. In 1963, the aeroclubs trained only 11 instructors, and the training of other cadres was moved to 1964.⁴⁴



Pic2 – HC-102 helicopter at Kladno airport with white-blue-red color combination (Propriety of Jason Kucera).

⁴³ National Archive in Prague, found Svazarm, box no. 37, inventarisation no. 148, *Řád aeroklubů Svazarmu* (1962).

⁴⁴ National Archive in Prague, found Svazarm, box no. 45, inventarisation no. 160, *Zhodnocení koncepcí letecké činnosti přijaté IV. plenárním zasedáním ÚV Svazarmu a návrh dalších opatření na leteckém úseku* (1964).

This delay was mostly due to three factors. The first factor was the inexperience of pilots with this aviation technique in 1963-1966. The professional quality of the instructors grew steadily, but reached the required level with some delay. The second factor was of a financial nature. From the beginning of the 1960s, sport aviation funding was gradually reduced. Each aeroclub gained funds by self-supporting activities, but they also introduced partial reimbursement of the financial costs of flight hours incurred by pilots. It was only now that the aeroclubs set the price of flight hours for powered aircraft and helicopters. At the beginning of helicopter operations at aeroclubs, the idea of pilots meeting the planned 20-hour flight standard under the condition of their partial participation in the financial costs was not successful. Pilots argued that they did not consider helicopter activities sports flying and pointed to their listing as reserve soldiers required to defend the country and fulfil tasks for The Czechoslovak Ministry of National Defence. Furthermore, some of the pilots were also qualified powered-aircraft pilots, and preserving this qualification was more important to a large number of them. The third factor was the necessity to place helicopter equipment only at selected airports, a fact that excluded exploiting the interest of potential pilots from more remote aeroclubs.⁴⁵

Allocation of Mi-1 Helicopters

From 1963, the aeroclubs used the Czechoslovak HC-102 helicopters for training purposes. All 35 manufactured pieces were allocated to the aeroclubs on the condition that the centre of training be in the Czech regions. Nevertheless, the HC-102 helicopter was perceived from the beginning to be a precursor for training in the Mil Mi-1 type, which was the standard armament of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

The re-training of the first pilots from the Svazarm's aeroclubs took place from the 22nd February to the 9th March, 1965, at the 1st Aviation School Regiment in Prešov, and was led by military instructors. These pilots were Jiří Černý, Zdeněk Dědek, M. Flašík, Miroslav Kobr, František Novák, Josef Polívka, František Šmehýl, Břetislav Šoch, and Jiří Tomeš. In the autumn of the same year, the Military Air Force delivered to Svazarm the first Mi-1 in the Mi-1M and Mi-1MU versions. The participants of the Prešov course became instructors and taught a number of helicopter pilots to fly the Mil Mi-1 type. Subsequently, the Mil Mi-1 military helicopters began to be distributed to individual aeroclubs.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ National Archive in Prague, found Svazarm, box no. 62, inventarisation no. 179, *Rozbor dosaženého stavu výcviku na vrtulnících a návrh na další plnění tohoto úkolu* (1967).

⁴⁶ Military Central Archive - Military History Archive, found no. 93 - 1st Training Aviation Regiment in Prešov (VÚ 6989), *Rozkaz velitel 1. leteckého školního pluku ze dne 31. března 1965, Přescholovací kurz svazarmovců*.

Operation in Aeroclubs

The number of helicopter pilots increased gradually in 1967. Change was brought in 1968 and its later repercussions, especially in terms of personnel. After the events of 1968, after the so-called Prague Spring, Warsaw Pact troops entered the Czechoslovak territory on the 21st August.⁴⁷ This event led to further suppression of the aeroclubs' operations, as was also reflected in the flight activities of helicopter pilots. From a data comparison obtained from pilots' logbooks, it is possible to learn that helicopter operations ceased after the 21st August and resumed not earlier than in the autumn months of the following year.



Pic3 – Probably last flying with HC-102 at Hořice airport in 1972 (Propriety of Josef Vanek).

Helicopter activities were first divided into 2 stages: the HC-102 was used for basic training and the Mil Mi-1 for continued training. Within the pilots' transfer between the HC-102 and Mi-1 helicopters, a complete training curriculum was not fulfilled - pilots were merely retrained in the next type during several flight

⁴⁷ More: Bischof, G. et al. (2010). *The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968*, Lexington: Lexington Books.

hours. This procedure was primarily economically and organizationally more advantageous as future helicopter pilots were taught to fly in a simpler and operationally cheaper model. This practice was applied until the early 1970s, when a gradual decommissioning of the HC-102 began. The HC-102 helicopter began to be decommissioned from 1970 because of its “not-very-durable” construction and its deterioration.⁴⁸ The last flight probably took place in Hořice on the 30th October, 1972. It was Josef Vaněk, the then helicopter flight instructor of eastern Bohemia, who piloted the helicopter with the license plate OK-RXA.⁴⁹

Alongside the decommissioning of the HC-102, aeroclubs were assigned the Mi-1 directly from military units. As standard, the HC-102 service took place in aeroclubs or at the manufacturer, but the Mi-1 had to undergo important check-ups in military service centres, such as at Brno-Slatina, Havlíčkův Brod or in the Trenčín Aircraft Repair Company.⁵⁰ Aeroclubs gradually took over a total of 37 Mi-1 helicopters, of which 14 were the dual-control training variant, called the Mi-1U or Mi-MU.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the training of helicopter pilots began to increase. According to statistical data from the Aeroclub of The Czech Socialist Republic, a total of 154 pilots were trained in the Czech lands in 1972. These pilots completed a total of 3278 flight hours that year in a total of 28 Mi-1 helicopters. Preparation of reserve helicopter pilots took place in a thinned-out form until 1974, when it was terminated.⁵¹

Personnel

In addition to the allocation of military technology, connection with The Czechoslovak People's Army also manifested itself in the case of directives and curricula concerning personnel training. The civilian training curriculum was based on military regulation Let-3-20. It deals primarily with the selection of personnel, their training, administration and the flight activity itself, which is well described in the helicopter guidelines for aeroclubs known as V-VRT-1 to V-VRT-4. The individual directives were as follows:

V-VRT-1 - Curriculum of Helicopter Pilot Training,

V-VRT-2 - Mi-1 Helicopter Piloting Directive,

V-VRT-3 - Directive for Helicopter Operation and Training,

V-VRT-4 - Special Cases during Mi-1 Helicopter Flights.

⁴⁸ National Archive in Prague, found Svazarm, box no. 75, inventarisation no. 193, *Zasedání 12. předsednictva Federálního výboru Svazarmu dne 27. února 1970*.

⁴⁹ Hájek, V. (2017). Vývoj a využití vrtulníku HC-2/102, *Východočeské listy historické*, 38/1, 7–25.

⁵⁰ Androvič, S. (1987). *Letectvo v Trenčíně*, Bratislava: Alfa, 77–80.

⁵¹ National Archive in Prague, found ČÚV Svazarm, box 24, *Informace o činnosti Českého aeroklubu Svazarmu* (1974).

At the beginning of the 1960s, aeroclubs had the opportunity to fly helicopters. The army envisioned an ideal candidate as a politically conscious man having completed basic military service, and who was not registered as a reserve powered-aircraft pilot. For this reason, pilots of gliders, who were not allowed to fly powered aircrafts (e.g. for capacity reasons), often enrolled for helicopter training. The second group consisted of pilots of powered aircraft, who underwent the helicopter re-training, a trend particularly evident in places without a strong background in aviation. In some aeroclubs, the culmination of qualifications (powered aircraft pilot and helicopter pilot) was considered undesirable, sometimes even dangerous, as several officials (according to the Air Force model) argued that it was not possible to fly “airplanes” and helicopters together. This claim was denied by, for example, the acrobatic group flying the JAK C-11 aircraft, whose two pilots flew standardly as helicopter instructors.⁵²

Localization

Distribution of helicopters was based on regional establishment according to which the aeroclubs were organized. Helicopters were allocated to airports, which were the centre of motor-powered flight and could therefore provide a basic service. In this overview, Strakonice differs from the rest, as here helicopter pilot training arrived here with a new club headmaster from the Hosín Airport near České Budějovice. Here is an overview of airports by region, where the Svazarm's helicopters operated:

Regional Aeroclub Prague (Praha-Letňany, Točná)
Central Bohemian Regional Aeroclub (Mladá Boleslav, Kladno)
North Bohemian Regional Aeroclub (Liberec)
East Bohemian Regional Aeroclub (Hořice, Jaroměř)
West Bohemian Regional Aeroclub (Plzeň-Bory)
South Bohemian Regional Aeroclub (České Budějovice-Hosín, Strakonice)
North Moravian Regional Aeroclub (Zábřeh ve Slezsku, Olomouc)
North Moravian Regional Aeroclub (Brno-Slatina, Otrokovice)
West Slovak Regional Aeroclub (Bratislava-Vajnory)
Central Slovak Aeroclub (Žilina, Lučenec)
East Slovak Regional Aeroclub (Košice)⁵³

⁵² Jaroslav Tomeš, Jaroslav Rákos and Antonín Dytrych together with Jaromír Kapras formed the famous Mladá Boleslav acrobatic BOX with four JAK C-11 aircraft, with which they performed in 1964–1971 at air-shows at home and abroad (e.g. Austria). At the beginning of the 1970s, not all aircraft were available. The last flights with “The Four” were accomplished in 1976 at the air-shows in Kunovice and Letňany (author's comment).

⁵³ Civil aviation authority of Czech republic (CAA).

Training in the Czech regions was different than in Slovakia. At the beginning, all HC-102 helicopters were gradually deployed to all aeroclubs throughout Czechoslovakia. According to a 1965 order of the Ministry of National Defence, the Mi Mi-1 helicopters were handed over to the aeroclubs only in Bohemia and Moravia. The reason was that the ministry and the command of the Czechoslovak People's Army still owned Mi-1 helicopters and considered them a reserve option for units on the border with the Federal Republic of Germany.⁵⁴ This shows that the activities of the HC-102 helicopters covered the entire Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, but a small number of Mil Mi-1s reached Slovakia only in the early 1970s, following the termination of the HC-102s' operations. It follows that the training of helicopter reserve pilots focused on Bohemia and Moravia. Another contradiction between official documents and reality was the deployment of helicopters. This division applied to the HC-102 helicopters in general in theory, yet not exactly in reality. The situation was different with the Mil Mi-1 helicopters. Military helicopters had a relatively complicated maintenance system, which very often forced each aeroclub to hand over their helicopters to military service centres. They often received another, already airworthy helicopter in place of the one being serviced; therefore, one piece could have passed through several aeroclubs.

Within the aeroclubs, every single helicopter can thus be found in each pilot's logbooks. Since 1963, the training of helicopter pilots took place at Prague-Letňany Airport. The first local helicopter pilot was Miroslav Kobr, who completed his training on HC-102 at the aviation school in Vrchlabí. The HC-102 helicopters, operated by the aeroclub, with registration codes OK-RVO and OK-RVU are documented in Letňany. The HC-102 helicopter OK-RVF was also located in Letňany but was available to Svazarm employees in high positions. The first Mil Mi-1 emerged in Letňany as early as 1966. Gradually, seven Mi-1s with registration codes OK-SVA, OK-MVF, OK-OVJ, OK-RUD, OK-PVE, OK-PVB, and OK-OVA, flew here. The second Prague airport where helicopters were operated was Točná. Helicopter flight is associated with the name of the director of the aeroclub, Milan Vanecek, who took up the position in 1972. Between 1972 and 1974, only Mi-1 helicopters with registration codes OK-UVE, OK-SVA, OK-MVC, OK-MVD, OK-PUA, OK-OVJ and OK-NVB flew here.⁵⁵

As early as 1963, Jaroslav Tomes was the first instructor in Mladá Boleslav. Here, the HC-102 helicopters were registered with registration codes OK-RVT, OK-RVE, OK-RVZ, and OK-RXI, and later OK-RVO; the Mi-1 helicopters were registered with registration codes OK-PVG, OK-PVE, OK-MVC, OK -NVB, OK - PUA, OK - PUR, OK - OVJ, OK - PVN, and OK - SVA. The second centre in the central Bohe-

⁵⁴ National Archive in Prague, found Svazarm, box no. 54, inventarisation no. 168, Zdůvodnění rozložení vrtulníkového výcviku (1966).

⁵⁵ Milan Reichardt's helicopter logbook no. 2.

mia region was Kladno Airport. The pilots of Kladno started flying the helicopters in 1964 in Letňany. The first pilots and instructors were Zdeněk Běhouněk and Josef Přáda. Many helicopters appeared at Kladno airport, for example the HC-102 helicopters OK-RVO and OK-RVU. A HC-102 with the registration code OK-RVU is a very interesting piece. Unlike most HC-102s (and Mi-1s of course) this one did not fly in classic military camouflage, composed of dark green on the upper surface and light blue on the lower one, but in a nice blue-white-red colour combination.⁵⁶ The most frequently operated Mi-1 helicopters in Kladno were OK-MVD and OK-PVN. Other Mi-1s that appeared in Kladno included OK-PUA, OK-PVE, OK-NVB, OK-PVG, OK-SVA, OK-MVD, and OK-RUD.⁵⁷



Pic4 – Mil Mi-1 helicopter over winter Liberec city (Propriety of Jiri Cicvarek).

The centre of helicopter flights in North Bohemia was Liberec. The first instructor was Miroslav Majer,⁵⁸ who was later replaced by Miroslav Sázkavský. Gradually, machines with registration codes OK-RVN, OK-RVY, and OK-RXH were assigned to Liberec, such as the HC-102 base helicopters. In addition to the above-mentioned

⁵⁶ Marova, E. (1970). Z aeroklubů – Kladno, *Letectví a kosmonautika* 47/7, 38.

⁵⁷ Josef Rýdl's helicopter logbook no. 1.

⁵⁸ Sázkavský, M. (1964). Z aeroklubu Liberec, *Křídla vlasti* 13/14, 447.

pieces, OK-RVZ, OK-RVT, OK-RVH, OK-RVE and OK-RVF also turned up in Liberec pilots' logbooks. The first Mil Mi-1 helicopter arrived in Liberec in 1971. By October 1974, there were Mil Mi-1 helicopters with registration codes OK-PVB, OK-RUD, OK-NVB, OK-PVN, OK-PUA, and OK-MVD in Liberec.⁵⁹



Pic5 – Mil Mi-1 helicopter at Liberec airport (Propriety of Jiri Cicvarek).

In West Bohemia, training of reserve helicopter pilots was conducted at the Plzeň-Bory airport. As early as 1963, the first helicopter pilot, who was also an instructor, was Zdeněk Dědek. The first training flights in Pilsen started a year later with HC-102 helicopters – with registration codes OK-RVS and OK-RVD. Gradually, by the early 1970s, the logbooks showed the arrival of HC-102s with registration codes OK-RVO, OK-RVF and OK-RXA. The standard pieces of Mi-1 in Pilsen were helicopters with registration codes OK-PVE, OK-PUB, OK-MVE, and OK-OVA,⁶⁰ and the mysterious OK-SVS, which was probably a mistake in the logbook, as such a registration code was never registered with the State Aviation Inspectorate.⁶¹

⁵⁹ More: Prchal, J. (1995). *Aeroklub Liberec 1945–1995*, Liberec: Aeroklub Liberec.

⁶⁰ Jiří Bělohavý's helicopter logbook no. 1.

⁶¹ Matejovsky, J. (2003). *Vrtulníkové létání v aeroklubu, Nn J. Kárník (eds.), Letectví a město Plzeň – 4. část 1945–2002*, Plzeň: UNI 2003, 64.

In South Bohemia, helicopter flights took place at the airports of České Budějovice-Hosín and Strakonice. The start of helicopter operation at the Hosín airport was inherently connected with Jiří Jirmus, who began training in HC-102 helicopters at Plzeň-Bory airport under the leadership of Zdeněk Dědek. On April 23, 1964, he made his first take-offs in a helicopter with the registration code OK-RVS. Ivan Hrázdíra became the second instructor. The standard HC-102 helicopters assigned to Hosín included those with registration codes OK-RVM and OK-RXA, and Mil Mi-1s with registration codes OK-UVD, OK-PVH, OK-PVF, OK-OVA, OK-SVC, OK -PVA, and OK-MVF.⁶² In 1970, Ivan Hrázdíra left Hosín for Strakonice, where he continued his helicopter instruction activities. The Mi-1 helicopters with registration codes OK-PVH and OK-PVA were among those documented in Strakonice.⁶³



Pic6 – Mil Mi-1 helicopter over Strakonice airport (Propriety of Pavel Hulej).

In East Bohemia, helicopter flights took place at the Hořice and Jaroměř airports. Until the early 1970s, the centre of helicopter flight was Jaroměř, where most of the helicopters were located. After the removal of the HC-102s and the allocation of larger numbers of the Mil Mi-1s, the centre moved to Hořice. The beginning of

⁶² Unnamed authors (1988). *Aeroklub České Budějovice 1923–1988*, České Budějovice: Aeroklub České Budějovice, 18–23.

⁶³ Kůs, M. (2003). *Aeroklub Strakonice*, In I. Parkosová (ed.), *Strakonice – vlastivědný sborník, díl 2. – kapitoly ze společenského života*, Strakonice, 201–206.

helicopter flight is associated with the name Josef Polívka. The first training flights began in Jaroměř in 1964. The East Bohemia Region was gradually assigned HC-102 helicopters with registration codes OK-RVK, OK-RVL, OK-RVX, and OK-RXB, and the afore mentioned OK-RXA. Mil Mi-1s with registration codes OK-PVJ, OK-PVA, OK-SVB, OK-RUB and OK-OVA flew in Hořice.⁶⁴

In South Moravia, helicopters were operated by the aeroclubs Brno-Slatina and Otrokovice. The first helicopter pilot and instructor at the Brno-Slatina airport was František Novák, who flew with members of the local aeroclub as early as November 1963. The training in HC-102s was carried out on pieces with registration codes OK-RVC, OK-RVQ, OK-RVP, OK-RXF and OK-RXG. Flights in the Mil Mi-1s began in 1966 in helicopters with registration codes OK-OTH, OK-PVI, OK-PVL, OK-PVM, OK-MVA, OK-MVB, OK-OVI, OK-PVF, OK-UVB, OK-UVK and OK-UVF.⁶⁵ Brno was perceived as an important centre of Mi-1 helicopter flights, because, from 1964, it hosted the 24th Helicopter Regiment and an associated service centre for major repairs and revisions of Mi-1 helicopters based at the Cernosice airport.⁶⁶ The second airport where helicopter pilots were trained was the Moravan factory airport in Otrokovice, from which the local aeroclub also flew. The helicopter instructor of the local aeroclub was Vlastimil Bergr, a test pilot at Moravan Otrokovice. The activity was carried out until the late 1960s in HC-102 helicopters with registration codes OK-RVA, OK-RXE, and OK-RXF.⁶⁷

In North Moravia, helicopters flew at the Zábřeh and Olomouc airports. In Zábřeh, the most important person from the perspective of helicopter flight was the pilot and instructor Břetislav Šoch, who retrained for the HC-102 in a course at Vrchlabí, in June 1963. At Zábřeh airport, there were HC-102s with registration codes OK-RVA, OK-RVJ, and OK-RXE, and later OK-RVQ. The Mil Mi-1 helicopters arrived very soon in the second half of the 1960s. These were their registration codes: OK-OTH, OK-MVB, OK-MVE, OK-PVM, OK-PVI, OK-OVI and OK-UVB.⁶⁸ The second airport was Olomouc. The first training flights began under the leadership of Břetislav Šoch and František Novák from Brno at the end of 1966. The training began directly in the Mil Mi-1s. Later Věnceslav Kadlčík became the local instructor. Mil Mi-1 helicopters with registration codes OK-PVI, OK-UVB, OK-OVI and OK-MVA were in Olomouc.⁶⁹

As mentioned above, the training of helicopter reserve pilots was less intensive in Slovakia than in the Czech lands. Training took place in all Slovak regions. In

⁶⁴ Josef Vaněk's helicopter logbook no. 1.

⁶⁵ MUDr. František Šafránek's helicopter logbook no. 1.

⁶⁶ Minarik, M. et al. (2001). *Křídla nad Brnem*. Brno: Aeroklub Brno-Slatina, 36–39.

⁶⁷ Marek, J. (1968). Z Aeroklubů – Otrokovice, *Letectví a kosmonautika* 44/8, 42.

⁶⁸ Vladimír Jirka's helicopter logbook no. 1.

⁶⁹ Miroslav Rogl's helicopter logbook no. 1.

the Western Slovak Region, training took place at Vajnory airport in HC-102 helicopters with registration codes OK-RVH, OK-RVI, and OK-RXC. In the Central Slovakia Region, HC-102 helicopters flew at the Žilina and Lučenec airports with registration codes OK-RVB, OK-RVR, and OK-RVD. In the Eastern Slovak Region, helicopters with registration codes OK-RVG and OK-RVV flew in Košice.⁷⁰ As in the Czech lands, the HC-102 helicopters were gradually decommissioned in the early 1970s. The author has not yet found relevant documents on the assignment of Mil Mi-1 helicopters to Slovakia.

Termination of Operations and Military Training

Originally, the management of the central Svazarm aeroclub planned to continue the training of reserve pilots in the long term. An activity plan was created to reach until 1981 and counted on the gradual delivery of additional helicopters from units of the Czechoslovak People's Army.⁷¹ In 1970, the number of reserve pilots needed in the event of a war was specified. It was a ratio of 1.5 pilots and crew members for each helicopter. Society-wide changes in 1968–1969 and the subsequent so-called "Normalization" led to a decrease in the number of flight personnel.

On 9 September 1974, The Minister of National Defence, General Martin Dzúr, submitted to the National Defence Council a proposal to modify the preparation of reserve helicopter pilots of the Czechoslovak People's Army. The number of reserve pilots was reduced to only 20%, i.e. 1.2 pilots per helicopter. The decision was made to maintain 90 out of a total of 210 reserve pilots within the CSLA to cover the war numbers within the air force and to no longer carry out the training and retaining of pilots in Svazarm aeroclubs. The plan was that selected pilots would be invited on military exercises once every three years. 40 was the upper age limit for helicopter pilots. The aforementioned 90 pilots represented a reserve of approximately one helicopter regiment. 60 pilots out of this number were selected to fly the Mi-4 helicopters, which had thus far formed the basic type of transport helicopter. The remaining 30 pilots were trained for the Mi-1 helicopters.⁷²

The cancellation of helicopter operations in aeroclubs also had economic impacts. The Czechoslovak People's Army employed a total of 41 people (instructors, mechanics, etc.) in aeroclubs they no longer needed. The second impact was the return of the remaining Mil Mi-1 helicopters to the military air force. Generally, the first generation of Soviet helicopters, i.e. the Mi-1 and Mi-4, had rotor-blade issues

⁷⁰ Civil aviation authority of Czech republic (CAA).

⁷¹ National Archive in Prague, found ČUV Svazarmu, box no. 24, *Plán perspektivy motorové letecké techniky v Aeroklubu Svazarmu ČSR* (1974).

⁷² National Archive in Prague, found The State Defence Council, box no. 22, *Důvodová zpráva k návrhu a udržování záloh pilotů v letech 1975–1980*.

- a short lifetime of 150 and 300 flight hours, respectively.⁷³ A lack of Mil Mi-1 rotor blades was probably one of the reasons that led to the withdrawal of this type from Svazarm aeroclubs. All the remaining Mi-1 helicopters were moved to military bases at the end of 1974 and assigned to military units. During the following year, each of these helicopters' registration codes was deleted from the aircraft register.⁷⁴

Calling up the reserve helicopter pilots for military exercises was not something new. As early as 1965, the HC-102 instructors undertook a flying course in the Mi-1s at the 1st Aviation School Regiment in Prešov. This was carried out until the early seventies, when the Mil Mi-1s became the basic type of helicopter in aeroclubs. 1976 was the first year that selected pilots undertook military training. Selected pilots also began to fly the Mil Mi-4 helicopters in that year. For this reason, the year's trainings were three months long. By default, pilots were excused from their jobs and their wages were refunded.

All helicopter reserve pilots gradually received a military rank of lieutenant or higher. The second cycle of military trainings was in the year 1978. The military trainings were shorter this time, because proper training according to military orders and rules had been carried out by the reserve pilots two years earlier. The last year in which reserve pilots were called up for military training was 1980.⁷⁵

From an organizational point of view, the Svazarm pilots were assigned primarily to liaison flights at selected military airports. It was Havlíčkův Brod (Vysočina Region), home to the 42nd Liaison Helicopter Flight;⁷⁶ Pilsen (West Bohemia), home to the 1st Liaison Helicopter Flight⁷⁷ and the 11th Helicopter Flight,⁷⁸ located at Pilsen-Bory, providing, unlike previous units, mainly air transport services with the Mil Mi-4 helicopters. In South Bohemia, the 4th Liaison Helicopter Flight was located at the Bechyně airport.⁷⁹ The only large unit in which the reserve pilots operated was the 51st Helicopter Regiment in Přerov (Central Moravia).⁸⁰ Training at this military unit, which was mainly devoted to the transportation of people and material on the Mil Mi-4s, was conducted differently. The theoretical training of the reserve pilots took place at the Military University in Košice (Slovakia). After a month of theoretical training, the pilots returned to the regiment, where they began flying the Mil Mi-4s.⁸¹

⁷³ Povolný, D. (2014). 9–10.

⁷⁴ Civil aviation authority of Czech republic (CAA).

⁷⁵ Vaclav Kořínek's helicopter logbook no. 1.

⁷⁶ Povolný, D. (2014). 201–202.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 197.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 203–205.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 198

⁸⁰ Ibid. pp. 160–179.

⁸¹ Vaclav Kořínek's helicopter logbook.no. 1.

1980 was the last year that the reserve helicopter pilots were called up for military trainings. It was in this year that the military trainings ended. From the first half of the 1970s, the situation regarding the Czechoslovak People's Army and the preparation of their reserves changed. There were several reasons to end military trainings. Probably the first reason was the gradual replacement of military helicopters. In the second half of the 1970s, the supplies of the light multipurpose turbine-powered helicopters of Soviet origin and Polish production, i.e. WSK PZL Mil Mi-2,⁸² started arriving to the Czechoslovak People's Army and gradually replaced the old Mil Mi-1s. In the same period, the number of Mil Mi-8 transport, turboprop helicopters,⁸³ which gradually replaced the old piston Mil Mi-4s, increased. For this reason, the Ministry of National Defence no longer planned to train reserve pilots in new helicopters, as a large number of pilots began to approach the upper-age limit of forty years old. The second and equally important reason was the gradual increase in the number of Mil Mi-2 helicopter pilots at Slov-Air,⁸⁴ a company dedicated to aerial work. These pilots, together with police helicopter pilots,⁸⁵ formed the basis of the reserve military pilots in the event of war. Another significant advantage was that police pilots and Slov-Air pilots were professional helicopter pilots who did not have long breaks from flying as pilots from Svazarm aeroclubs, where helicopter flights had not been in operation since 1975.

Conclusion

Helicopter flight at aeroclubs was terminated at the end of 1974. The State Defence Council, following the decision by the leadership of the Communist Party and Government, approved a change to the training concept of the Air Force reserve helicopters, including, among other things, a decision to keep 20% of the number of peacekeeping reserve pilots for the number of helicopters.⁸⁶ Training in the Svazarm's aeroclubs was terminated for economic reasons, and The Czechoslovak People's Army decided to retain 90 out of 210 Svazarm pilots (of which 60 pilots flew the Mi-4 and Mi-8, and 30 pilots flew the Mi-1) as reservists, calling them every 3 to 5 years for a three-month long drill at the helicopter units. The last training attended by the aeroclub pilots took place in 1980.⁸⁷

Helicopter flight was a very complicated process that solved the problem of employing inadequate helicopters, the need to increase the number of pilots during the

⁸² More: Fojtik, J. (2008). *Víceúčelový vrtulník Mi-2/Mi-2 multipurpose helicopter*, Cheb: Svět křídel.

⁸³ More: Fojtik, J. (2009). *Víceúčelový vrtulník Mi-8/Mi-8 multipurpose helicopter*, Nevojice: Jacob.

⁸⁴ Kaličiak, M. Vrtulníky podniku Slov-Air, *Letecký obzor* 29/6, 168–171.

⁸⁵ Fojtik, J. (2007). *Policejní vrtulníky*, Prague: Naše vojsko.

⁸⁶ National Archive in Prague, found The State Defence Council, box no. 22, *Důvodová zpráva k návrhu a udržování záloh pilotů v letech 1975–1980*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* *Návrh výcviku a udržování pilotů v roce 1975–1980*.

threat of World War III, and the achievement of faster and initially more effective training of reserve helicopter pilots. For eleven years, helicopters were an inseparable part of aeroclub operations, which ended in a similarly rapid way to how they had begun. From that moment, the only helicopters in use were in the army, in the police, and in the Slov-Air company, in which a large number of trained helicopter pilots found employment.⁸⁸

This was a very unique way of operating military helicopters within Warsaw Pact countries. Except for the Soviet Union, where the situation was completely different, training in helicopters at aeroclubs only took place in Czechoslovakia. The attempt to increase the number of military helicopter pilots, both active and reserve officers, through training in civilian organizations under military surveillance, was successful. For these reasons, this story is a short, but very original, unusual and interesting chapter in the history of the Cold War.

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⁸⁸ Slovak National Archive in Bratislava, found Slov-Air, box no. 30, inventarisation no. 55, *Zoznam lietajúceho personálu v podniku Slov-Air* (1988).

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The Development of the Artistic Potential of Pupils of Primary Classes by means of Slavic Choreography

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The Slavic choreography plays a significant role in developing the essential directions of children's choreography under the conditions of school and leisure activity. The examples of Slavic choreography happen to be an effective measure for developing the artistic potential of younger pupils by receiving the basics of folklore –scenes and ball-room dancing. The dances of Slavic choreography that are considered typical for a variety of countries which are being taught at a school age, facilitate the development of a choreographic culture, technical skills and the imagery of a dance, they create opportunities for the children to get acquainted with the traditions, the character and the national peculiarities of the dancing culture of a certain nature. The Slavic dances educate the child in terms of intranational tolerance and intracultural mentality, develop a high culture of international relations.

Key words: creative potential, elementary school learner, Slavic choreography, children's choreography, artistic and figurative thinking, creative identity.

At the modern type of social development under the conditions of modern education there's a significant growth of interest to choreographic art as a method of harmonious physical, spiritual and intellectual development of the personality of a child, which assures the implementation of the artistic potential of the coming generation. An artistic personality can only be developed by an artistic teacher. Therefore in Ukraine much time is dedicated to the training of the future choreography teacher in order to implement the artistic potential of the pupil.

An example of the finest experience of training an artistic choreograph-pedagogue are a number of scientific and art projects which have been implemented together with the institutions of higher education of Ukraine, Poland, the Czech Republic and others.¹

Within the framework of the European scientific space choreographic education is most frequently seen as a process, which actively influences the development of moral qualities of a man via a systematic transmission of historic-cultural experience by examples of art to the ones that are studying. The researchers are studying the aesthetical and the art historical aspects of choreographic education (E. Kozak, K. Pavlovskij), the history of its development (Я. Losakevich, K. Urbanskij), the conditions for developing the exercise technique (E. Bender, O. Dziurosh, D. Radvanska) etc. Within the framework of the art-therapy the methods of improving health conditions by dancing are under research (Z. Aleschko, A. Brudnovska, V. Dubai, J. Garbatsyk, A. Gilroj, A. Glinska-Lachovich, D. Golab, B. Carolak, C. Pendzich, P. Sen'ko, A. Sokolovska and others). The works of G. Dąbrowska, J. Blížková – Dosedlová are dedicated to the issues of choreography. The development of artistic thinking of pupils have been researched by I. Czaja-Chudyba, W. Went.

The studying of polish and Czech dances is an obligatory component of educational and working programs on «Theory and methodology of folklore-scenery dancing», therefore those aiming to obtain a higher education practically test the informational material among the children's choreographic teams. Getting acquainted with the national peculiarities of the dancing cultures of these peoples, the types of dancing, the movements and the musical peculiarities educate interest and respect to Slavic national culture among Ukrainian children. Taking into account the fact that folklore choreography, the Slavic one in particular represents the traditions, culture and customs of the past, under modern conditions it frequently loses its popularity among children and pupils due to modern cultural-art directions,

¹ Kowalczyk, B. (2014). Dialog kultur i narodów. Czechy-Polska-Ukraina w 150. rocznicę Powstania Styczniowego *Leszczyński Notatnik Akademicki Pismo PWSZ w LESZNIE* rok XIII NR 48, pp. 10 – 12

and is therefore incapable to fully satisfy the demands, the interests and the artistic tastes of the upcoming generation.

In this particular context it would be appropriate to point out the main conditions for the effectiveness of training of Slavic choreographic material with younger pupils:

- the training of specialist, who are capable to worthy maintain and develop ethnic choreography, which encompasses the fundamental knowledge of choreographic authentic, thus the musical motives, rhyme plastic formulae, compositional maneuvers, manners, vocabulary of the national choreography of different nations;
- the correspondence of the dancing repertoires both with age and individual peculiarities, as well as needs, interests and the level of development of pupils of the primary school;
- the availability and the accessibility of the educative material in terms of meaning and sense as well as technical aspects, combined with conditions of new and progressive development;
- the overall complex approach to the selection of the repertoires, which envisions the rational usage of the principles, forms, methods and approaches of educating the examples of Slavic choreography.

The most favorable way to deploy and extensively develop the necessary capabilities is the younger school age. It is the most responsible age of childhood, when the child is eager to learn, to learn how to study and believes in its strengths.²

It is extremely difficult to foresee, what knowledge is to be considered useful for children at the age of 6-8 years, when they become adults. The system of education is to be highly effective, as such that corresponds to the needs of the individual and society, provides opportunities for every participant of the educational process to develop in harmony, creates the conditions to educate an artistic individual.

An artistic individual – is not only an individual that creates new and socially recognized items (such as lyrics, literature, images, theories...) valuable and useful for a certain group of individuals at a certain period of time, it is also an individual with an artistic approach to reality which is manifested by openness to new issues and news, conflicts, and also the effective solution of different life challenges.³ Artistism is to be understood as the power or the quality to express oneself in one's own personal manner. Children are creative by nature. They see the world with brand new eyes and then use the things they have seen in art. One of the most useful aspects of working with children is the opportunity to observe how they create

² Mishchenko, N.I. (2017). Development of creative potential among elementary schoolchildren by means of innovative technologies. *Taurian Bulletin of Education*. № 1 (57). pp. 138–144.

³ Czaja-Chudyba, I. – Went, W. (2013) „Twórczo odkrywam świat” program uzupełniający rozwijania twórczego myślenia w klasach I-III szkoły podstawowej. Nowy Sącz. (97 pp).

and manifest themselves in art.⁴ It is in art, particularly choreography that a child receives the opportunity to fully implement its artistic potential.

Researches tend to believe that the artistic potential of an individual is determined by the following:

- the receiving of independently developed abilities and skills, capacity to act and the level of their implementation to a certain sphere of activity;⁵
- human value-content structures, the definition tool of thinking or the methods to solve tasks and the systematic development of the individual which is characterized by motivational, intellectual and psychophysiological reserves of development.⁶ At the modern stage the development of the artistic potential of younger pupils is done both in the process of studying of subjects within the framework of the school educational cycle, and in the process of extracurricular activity.

The examples of Slavic choreography, as the components of different types of dancing art play a significant role in the choreographic development of younger pupils. The Slavic dances have gone through a longstanding evolutionary path. By dancing the people have managed to express their thoughts, feelings, moods and attitude towards different life phenomena. Since ancient times different working processes, agricultural festivities, religious actions have been accompanied by dance or dancing elements. As time went by they eventually lost their primordial meaning however continued their existence in domestic forms. The analyses of literature dedicated to the history of art as well as scientific-pedagogical literature and generalizing the practical experience have allowed to pinpoint the dances of the Slavic group, which are most frequently used by the pedagogues-choreographers to be taught at institutions of secondary education: polka, polonese, masurka, horovid, gopak, kozachok, vesnjanka, kadril, Lyawonikha, «Yabluchko». This choice is mainly determined by the fact that these dances of Slavic choreography in particular facilitate the establishment of the fundament and proper learning of the basics of the folklore-scene and ballroom dancing.

In the course of the lessons of the folklore-scene dancing the acquaintance with a variety of national dances starts by performing exercises near the dancing tool or in the center of the room. Initially, before starting the study of a certain number of elements of a particular folklore dance, it would be wise to briefly inform the pupils about the history of the nation, its culture, life, customs, national traditions etc,

⁴ Fazylova, S. – Rusol, I. (2016). Development of Creativity in Schoolchildren through Art. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal* 8/2, pp. 112–123. URL: <https://www.ped.muni.cz/cphp-journal/820162/09.pdf>

⁵ Development of the creative potential of a person and society. *Materials of the II international scientific conference on January 17-18, 2014*. Prague (256 pp).

⁶ Komarovska, O. (2011). The content of choreographic talent. URL: www.nbu.gov.ua/portal/Soc_Gum/Npd/2011_4/komarov.pdf

using when possible the reproduction of paintings, pamphlets, films and by demonstrating fragments of musical compositions together with compositions of opera and ballet. This will eventually allow the students to sense the national peculiarities of the elements of folklore dancing, and inspire to reproduce the peculiarities and character of a certain nation.⁷

Furthermore the separate elements and moves of dances of different nations are under research: switch steps, pryadanya, motalotchka, kolupalotchka, vir'ovochki, pleskatchi, klutchi, clapping – in the Russian dances; bigunets, pryadaniya, tynky, vykhylyasnyk, prisyadki, oberty, kolupalotchki, virjovochki, holubtsi – in the Ukrainian dances.⁸; pryadania, pidskoky, gallop, pidbyvky, potrijni pryuty, polka with a twist, a step with a double jump, jumping from side to side, different circling, prysjadki, main dancing moves and movements of the dance «Lyavonicha», «Kryzachok», «V'yasanka», «Bul'ba» – in the Belarusian dance.⁹ Pa polky, galopy, the twist, the step with jump (a set of varieties), double jumps on one leg when lifting the other leg forward, then backwards, «schpory», «tchepasche» («pleskatchi»), the jumps from one foot to another, twists in couples, high jumps when bending the knees, jumps over the «topirets», sittings, twists with the method «sotenju» – in the Czech and Slovak dances.¹⁰ Jogging, with a pointed out step and opening of the leg, the main step of the mazurka, kholupets, pidsikatch, «otbiajane», tengi run, «kul'ave», golubtsi, klutchi, pritupy, do za do, gallop with leglift, legave, kshesane, jumps with leg switch, a step with a jump and a leg throw back and forward, behind the tact turn with a switch to the move of the «mazurka», turns in pairs, the twist of the girl, the turnover of the girl with hand support, the assistance and the movement of the girl whilst holding her waist, flips and the «pistol», flips and «kozly», flips with jumps – in the Polish dance.¹⁰

At the initial state the simpler and understandable Slavic dances are being taught, such as: chorovody, kadril', polognese, waltz-mazurka, krakovyak, kryzachok, lyavonicha, bulba, chora, metelytsa, kozachok, vesnyanka, polka. At the later stages – the ones that are more complicated in terms of the lexical component hopak, tropotyanka, gorlytsa, arkan, tchatchak, the Slovak verbunok, «Yabluchko» etc. Thus, the typical for different countries folklore dances of the Slavic choreography, that are being taught at young school age, facilitate the development of a choreographical culture, the technical skills and presentation abilities while dancing etc, the children

⁷ Zaitsev, E., Kolesnychenko, Yu. (2007) Fundamentals of folk stage dance: a textbook. Vinnytsia: New books (416 pp).

⁸ Shatulsky, M. (1986). The Ukrainian Folk Dance. Canada: Published by Kobzar Publishing Co. Ltd, Toronto, Ontario (210 pp).

⁹ Purtova, T. B., Belikova, A. H., Kvetnaya, O. B. (2003). Teach the children how to dance. Moskva: The center of humanitarian edition VLADOS (256 pp).

¹⁰ Shevchuk, A.S (2016). Children's choreography: educational and methodical manual. Ternopil: Mandrivets (288 pp)

get acquainted with the character and the peculiarities of the dancing culture of a certain nation, the specifics of carrying out movements. When striving for preciseness and clearness when exercising every move, the pupils are to understand the national peculiarities, the manners, and the character of performing every part. As a result, the moves, shall not only be technically flawless, but also emotionally loaded. All the above mentioned shall facilitate the development of the artistic potential of pupils.

The significant potential to develop the artistic abilities and capabilities of children are ballroom dancers. The examples of ballroom Slavic choreography that could be taught to children at the primary school before understanding the standardized dances of the European and Latin-American program are the following: «Sudaruschka», «The Russian lyric», padergas, kadril, krakovyak, polonese, mazurka, polka (the Czech, the Belorussian, the Ukrainian), «Yatranochka», «Chop-trop», chardasch. Getting acquainted with these dances shall positively affect the development of the coordination of movement, the sense of rhythm, the increase of physical capacity and the increase of knowledge about culture in general. Additionally, the combination of physical training and aesthetical art positively influences the harmonious development of the younger pupil. The development of the artistic potential of the younger pupils by means of Slavic folklore choreography is represented by a holistic system of pedagogical influences upon the ones that are being taught in the process of their engagement to active artistic activity.

One of the important directions of choreographic education of pupils of younger age is the acquaintance with the national basics of the dance in order to develop the exercising skills, activate the cognitive activity, the development of artistic activity, educating the sense of national consciousness and dignity. Andriy Nachachevskij describes the Ukrainian dance as energetic, dynamic and entertaining, which happens to be a typical example of the Ukrainian culture.¹¹

Depicting the national authentic and the regional exclusiveness of the folklore dance is one of the most important directions of work for the teacher of choreography. This term has been introduced in 1846. Histories, idioms, spells and songs expressed in the daily life of a certain region are considered to be folklore.¹² Let us go through a certain amount of examples of folklore in the process of choreographic teaching of younger pupils.

The use of jump rope songs and humor that is understandable for repetition could be interesting in the course of the choreography lessons. Due to the presence

¹¹ Dąbrowska, G. W. (1979). *Kręgu polskich tańców ludowych*. Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza (263 pp). Nahachewsky, A. (2011). *Ukrainian Dance. A Cross-Cultural Approach*. McFarLand (274 pp).

¹² Haratyk, A. Czerwińska-Górz, B. (2017). Folk art and culture in the historical and educational context. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal* 9/2. pp. 31–45.

of rhythm this literature folklore happens to have a rhythmic basis, which allows to combine its samples with musical accompaniments. The fun and laughter facilitates the development of the artistic activity of younger pupils. They could become an interesting source to develop dancing numbers.

While choosing the game, the choreographers are to thoroughly study the varieties of the folklore games and their thematic basis. Thus, the educational choreographic process of preliminary pupils could include the following folklore games: 1) the season-tradition ones and the ones determined by custom («Perepilon'ka», «Oj, letila zozolen'ka», «A my proso sijaly», «Kalyta» and others.); 2) the working ones («Kuy-Kuy kovali...», «Kosari», «Lisoruby», «Schevchyk» and others.); 3) the domestic ones («Ne svarits'a», «Neroba», «Zyly u babusi...», «Zdravstvyj, suside» and others.); 4) The nature ones («Gusy», «Nakhmury Ya brovy» and others). There're many examples of the folklore games presented in a book written by a famous Ukrainian folklore and people dances connoisseur Vasyl Verkhovnytsa - «Vesnyanotchka».¹³ It is possible to create and develop a minor dance based on the game. Therefore, it is necessary to come up with choreographic processing of the content of the game. (developing the drama part, the selection of musical and lexical material). The analyses of the repertoire collections gives us reason to claim that the content of many children dances («Mak», «Lòn», «Horobets», «Tsurka», «Dovga Loza», «Did Makar» «Solomyanij bytchok», «Pivnyk I Kotyk», «Lysytchka-sestrychka I vovk-panibrat», «Pro didovy ta babynu dotchku», «Pro bidnogo parubka I tsarivnu», «Tchudo-gruscha» and others.) include game fragments and are primarily built on the plots of Ukrainian fairytales, that are to be included into the content of the chorographical classes (the dancing dramatization of a fairytale).

An obligatory content component of choreography classes is the presentation and the learning of available for perception and execution of chorovods, domestic and plot loaded folklore dances. The interesting authentic material from the Ukrainian people's dance is presented in book written in the English language.¹⁴

The development of the artistic-imagery thinking among the pupils of the primary school envisions the development of a special methodology of studying, that would eventually facilitate the development of this psychological phenomenon, including a certain number of stages:

To teach how to understand, to perceive the choreographic vocabulary, the development of the associative thinking by means of dancing, the holistic representation of the choreographic image.

The structural principle of classification for the folklore choreography happens to have a particularly-historical character and facilitates the reconstruction of those

¹³ Verkhovynets, V.M. (1979). *Vesnianochka* (games with songs for preschool children and junior schoolchildren). Kyiv: Muzychna kraina (346 pp).

¹⁴ Shatul'sky, M. (1980). *The Ukrainian Folk Dance*. Kobzar Publishing Company (210 pp).

choreographic (authentic) examples that have been forgotten and lost by the memory of the people. It allows to provide a holistic description of the most significant qualities of the genre – starting with its genesis and up to its national peculiarity. The understanding of the archaic stages of the traditional culture of the Slavs (a separate ethnic group or a group of ethnic groups) allows to understand it on a full scale and variety, to follow the way of nations interaction, analyze its manifestation in different forms of non-material cultural legacy. The modification of the artistic-imagery thinking of a certain nation is in the first place determined by a number of factors: the changes of economic and historic conditions of life as well as the interconnections with other people, the transformation of the social content and national character.¹⁵

In the course of the folklore dances due to flexible signs (movements), in accordance to the system of imagery thinking of the nation there's the encrypted information with regard to the actual reality, about a certain ethno-social material.

The national dancing culture of the Slavs is an effective method to preserve the traditional symbolism, which contains the living connection with the meaning essential basics of the human existence, performs as the carrier of certain ideas and definitions in the course of many centuries, reflects the main traits of the ethnic mentality of the Slavs. The choreographic art of the Slavs has developed on the sub-stage of many archaic cultures, it has been developed on the relicts of the ancient Slavic dancing art, by inheriting the ancient symbols and finding its incarnation in worshipping the heavenly entities, believes of totemic or zoomorphic type, as well as worshipping a whole hierarchy of antropomorphic Gods.

The Sun – a symbol of the all-seeing deity; the Higher cosmic power, the center of existence and intuitive knowledge. The Sun sees all and knows all. In the course of the Slavic dances the Sun was depicted in the following manner: in the Ukrainian dances as «Krokovye koleso» – in the course of dances of calendar traditions (the spring and the summer dances) that were performed in circles – «Podolyanotchka», «Мак», «А взе Весна», «Verbovaya doschetchka»; the Polish dance «Ksebka» is based on twists, as well as the Belarusian «Paduschetchka». The traditional circle dances have not been preserved in the Czech Republic, but up to this day such dances are performed on the territory of former Yugoslavia and Russia.¹⁶ Yet, in terms of the Czech scene-choreography the mass dance «Fazan» is performed in circles, the couple dances «Kalamayka», «Mainska».

The Meander – is the symbol of water. According to its imagery the infinite is similar to a sinusoid this describes the wave-like nature of substance. Taking into

¹⁵ Boyko, O.S. (2005). Specificity of artistic image in dance art. Spiritual culture as a dominant of Ukrainian life. *Materials of the All-Ukrainian scientific-practical conference*. Part II. Kyiv, p. 31.

¹⁶ Blížkovská – Dosedlová, J. (1997, 2007). Tanec v kulturní historii a jeho význam pro soudobou psychoterapii. *Teze disertační práce Brno*, p.6 URL: https://is.muni.cz/th/2243/ff_r/Autoreferat.pdf.

account the abovementioned it is possible to speak on the influence of this symbol: it structures the individual, its energy whilst harmonizing everything in its surrounding. Additionally, the infinite – is a symbol of protection, it has been considered that its image prevents evil and bad energy from entering the body. The Infinite is an obligatory choreographic painting in the Bulgarian dance «Pistiltcheto», as well as in the Ukrainian «Kryvomu Tantsi», «Schumy», «Ravlyk», and the Belorussian «Retschan'ka».

The Tree of Life – as a cosmic tree – was the symbol of a pillar that connects heaven and earth, the symbol of the everlasting resurrection of nature and the restoring of Life, the emblem of the infinite Life force, harmony, immortality. The tree of Life is typical for Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak, Czech, Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian and Bulgarian national folklore fairytales. This image interconnects the vertical (the tree from the earth up to the sky) and the horizontal (path) coordinates of the world. The Ukrainians have performed the Khorovod dances, that symbolize the Tree of Life – «Giltse», «Kust», «Marena», the Belarusians have been dancing the «Korkodon».

A group of zoo-orthomorphic Slavic images represents the symbols which reflect the ancient mythological and particularly totemic perceptions, the archetypical fundament of thinking and world perception of the human being, the peculiarities of its relations with the world of nature. The obviously dominating images among them are the images of a bull, a horse, a goat, a rabbit, a sparrow, a crane that in the most ancient religions of the Slavs have performed the functions of peculiar guardians and were the objects of a religious cult. Using the images of birds and animals as the carriers of set symbolic meanings is visible and sensible in the pantomime-illustrative Ukrainian chorovods «Zainko», «Kozlyk», «Holub-Holubotchok», «Zuravel'» «Perepilka», the Belorussian – «Varbey», «Gusatchok», «Zabka». We could use the image-symbols of the Slavs as a certain feature of ethnic adherence, the non-verbal means of transmitting information, the symbolic form of self-expression, the way to reflect reality. The studying of the above mentioned in the course of the choreography classes will allow to thoroughly deepen into and understand the tradition of a certain ethnical group as a living organism of national essence from ancient times and until this day.

Conclusion

Choreography as a form of art has become the most popular and wanted on the verge of the centuries, for it harmonizes the aesthetical, physical and spiritual development, it encourages primary pupils to cherish national values through understanding the Slavic folklore, its national and ballroom dances. Additionally, by studying the art of other nations, the processes of art-national identity are activated,

and thus the national consciousness of the child is developed. Therefore, the dance is a powerful source for implementing the artistic potential of a primary school pupil.

The popularization of the Slavic dancing culture in terms of the educational Ukrainian surrounding facilitates the cultural enrichment of children and youth, educating intranational tolerance, intracultural mentality, the development of a high culture of intranational relations, the realization of the personal "cultural Me identity", which is a significant step in the context of the European integration of Ukraine.

In terms of a perspective the development of common educational-artistic projects aimed at popularizing Slavic dances is more than up to date. Thus the maintenance and the multiplication of the cultural dancing traditions assures the unique identification of the Slavs in the realm of a globalized world.

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Adaptation Period of Beginning Teachers from the Point of View of Strategic Documents – Czech Republic and Bavaria

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The beginning teachers represent the most vulnerable group of the teaching population in the Czech Republic. This text aims to compare Czech strategic documents covering teacher's induction with the German ones. In contrast to the Czech Republic, Germany has a functional and established system of support for beginning teachers during their induction period. This comparison considers the institutional and legislative framework from the perspective of the existing (German) and draft (Czech) documents. The efforts in the Czech Republic emphasise the importance of a "comprehensive system of professional support from a genuine functional induction" (Strategie 2030+). As an example of German ones, the text examines the strategic and legislative framework of Referendariat in Bavaria. The text assesses the documents in the following key areas: forms of support, the status and role of the "key stakeholders" (teachers, mentors, responsible persons etc.), the activities and interaction between the key stakeholders.

Key words: induction, beginning teachers, referendariat, adaptation period

Introduction

In the Czech Republic, beginning teachers (hereinafter referred to as the "BTs") represent a group that is the most vulnerable to withdrawing from the profession.¹ A quality adaptation period for BTs is one of the fundamental preconditions for BTs continuing in their chosen career. This text focuses on the initial precondition for the successful setting of the adaptation period in elementary schools, i.e. the examination of the level of strategic documents on the basis of which the adaptation periods are implemented. The specific research area will be the teaching profession at the level of the second stage of elementary schools.

¹ Pišová, M., & Hanušová, S. (2016). Začínající učitelé a drop-out. *Pedagogika*, 66(4), 386–407.

At present, the Czech Republic does not have any legislatively enshrined system for inducting beginning teachers to the profession. For this reason, neighbouring Germany has been chosen for comparison and possible inspiration. Based on international comparisons, the federal states of Germany have implemented successful and effective multi-level support for BTs.² To compare the concepts of adaptation periods, the federal state of Bavaria has been singled out given its cultural and geographical proximity to the Czech Republic. The support system for BTs is based on the legislative framework which consists of a system of documents, which the following text will analyse in detail.

The comparison will include strategic and legislative documents that are in force and form the basic framework for the implementation of the adaptation period in Bavaria. The other area of research will be the Czech milieu. Since the country lacks any pertinent legislative framework, the documents used in this study are still in the governmental approval phase (i.e. *Strategy 2030+*). Attention will also be paid to the draft *Career Code* (a conceptual document from the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MŠMT)) and to the support project for BTs in the adaptation period run by the National Pedagogical Institute.

As for the analysed documents, attention will be focused on the general establishment of the adaptation period. The text captures the setting of initial conditions, the definition of the roles and activities of individual participants in the implementation of the adaptation period, as well as the individual forms of support for BTs.

Adaptation Period in the Czech Republic

The primary monitored person involved in this text is the figure of the BT. She or he can be defined as *“a teacher in the adaptation period which is defined as the beginning of a teacher’s career, as a period when a teacher is supported by school management, or in the absence of support as a period when a teacher adapts to a new environment.”*³ While the legislation does not stipulate the obligation to support beginning teachers, they are often assigned to mentor teachers based on the independent initiative of the elementary school’s management. According to surveys conducted, it can be stated that *“up to 62% of teachers work in schools that do not offer any formal training programme (...). In general, rather informal procedures are used in the Czech Republic; mentoring in schools is not a common practice.”*⁴ Although this system does not have any formal procedure, a 2019 press release from the Ministry of Education,

² Lee, Albert, Kearney, Sean (2014): *Understanding beginning teacher induction: A contextualized examination of best practice*, Cogent Education. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2014.967477>.

³ Vítečková, M. (2018). *Začínající učitel: jeho potřeby a uvádění do praxe*. Brno: Paido., p. 27.

⁴ Hanušová, S., Pišová, M., Kohoutek, T., Minaříková, E., Janík, M., Janík, T., ... Ježek, S. (2017). *Chtějí zůstat nebo odejít? Začínající učitelé v českých základních školách*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

Youth and Sports stated that up to 80% of the beginning teachers receive help from mentor teachers.⁵ This fact is also illustrated by other results of a survey focused on putting teachers into practice at various levels of schools in the Czech Republic, where up to 86% of the respondents state that support for BTs at the surveyed schools is provided.⁶ Further data are offered by a survey of the Czech School Inspectorate. “*The results of the CSI questionnaire survey (an inspection activity in the school year 2016/2017) suggest that, in the school year 2016/2017, 51.9% of the interviewed beginning teachers in kindergartens (n = 361 beginning teachers) and 51.1% of elementary school teachers (n = 557 beginning teachers) had a mentor teacher.*”⁷

Vision of Support for BTs in the Czech Republic

The current vision of support for beginning teachers in the Czech Republic is based on the formulation of the document *Strategy for Education Policy of the Czech Republic 2030+*. *Strategy 2030+* was approved by the government in autumn 2020. The document defines strategic aims that name the areas of the planned development. *Strategic Aim 3: Support for Pedagogical Staff* deals with the topic of BTs.⁸

3.1. *Comprehensive training and the support system* of the brochure of this document⁹ from autumn 2020 states the following objective: 4. *To support beginning and mentor teachers.* *Strategy 2030+* seeks to link the support for BTs to the concepts of teacher competency profile and the professionalisation continuum. A clearly defined adaptation period should therefore form a hypothetical piece of the puzzle within a comprehensive induction system that includes all the above-mentioned components. Another part of the induction process will be intensive mentoring support and evaluation of the adaptation process.¹⁰

The ambition of *Strategy 2030+* is also to support another important person involved in the adaptation process – the mentor teacher. Support for mentor teachers

⁵ MŠMT: Pětina učitelů zahajuje praxi bez uvádějícího učitele, available at: <https://www.msmt.cz/ministerstvo/novinar/petina-ucitelu-zahajuje-praxi-ber-uvadejicicho-ucitele>, 21 March 2019.

⁶ Záleská, Klára et al. (2019). Uvádění začínajících učitelů v mateřských, základních a středních školách pohledem jeho hlavních aktérů. *Pedagogická orientace*. 29(2). 149-171.

⁷ Andrys, O. (2017). *Podpora začínajících učitelů z pohledu České školní inspekce*, in: Vítečková, M. (2018). *Začínající učitel: jeho potřeby a uvádění do praxe*. Brno: Paido., p. 98.

⁸ MŠMT: Strategie vzdělávací politiky ČR do roku 2030+, available at: <https://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/skolstvi-v-cr/strategie-2030>, the Strategy approved by the Czech government on 19 October 2020.

⁹ MŠMT: Strategie 2030+: Brožura S2030-19-10-2020, available at: <https://www.msmt.cz/file/54104/>, hereinafter referred to as Strategy 2030+.

¹⁰ Strategy 2030+, p. 54.

is to be implemented in the following areas: training, reduction of direct teaching activities and financial reward.¹¹

Another conceptual document of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports that states the ambition to support the professional development of teachers is a proposal for a comprehensive career code for teachers.¹² This document was not approved during the legislative process; however, the draft was prepared on the basis of the government's programme statement and the minister's plans. The career code defines a three-tiered teacher's standard as well as the requirements for career advancement within professional development. Each BT starts at the first career level, and this first period of the professional continuum should correspond to a two-year adaptation period.

The document defines the objective of the adaptation period as follows: *“Adaptation of a teacher to the conditions of practice, and adaptation of the knowledge acquired in undergraduate education to the needs of schools.”*¹³ The document also mentions multi-source support for the development and improvement of professional competencies. The professional development in the adaptation period should be managed by a plan and should be supported *“by a mentor teacher and the school management, or also by schools preparing teachers, or by teachers in the third career stage from another school.”*¹⁴ The connection with the subsequent stage of the career code ensures the evaluation of the adaptation period. The aim and starting points of this evaluation are defined in the document as follows: *“The evaluation is focused on meeting the professional development plan and is aimed at particular progress in the work of a teacher in relation to pupils' results. The starting point for the evaluation is, among other things, the evaluation of the school principal, the mentor teacher, or a teacher from a school educating teachers, or another teacher, if he/she participated in the support of a beginning teacher in the adaptation period, the basis for evaluation is also a document portfolio.”*¹⁵

The draft career code also provides for systematic support for mentor teachers. This role is to be placed within legal framework in connection with a surcharge of CZK 3,000. (This position and financial evaluation should correspond to the career

¹¹ Strategy 2030+, p. 54.

¹² MŠMT: Kariérní řád – Profesní rozvoj pedagogických pracovníků, available at: <https://www.msmt.cz/o-webu-msmt/karierni-rad>, Priority ministra 2017, published on 19 October 2015., hereinafter referred to as the Career Code.

¹³ MŠMT: The Career Code.

¹⁴ MŠMT: The Career Code.

¹⁵ Ibid.

level 3.) The position of a *Mentor of Professional Development in Schools* is also reserved for teachers who reach level three. In this capacity, the educator “ensures the professional development of the school’s teaching staff, in particular by participating in the elaboration of the school’s pedagogical development plan, advising the school’s teaching staff, methodically guiding them and passing on the knowledge and skills needed for their professional development.”¹⁶

The possibilities of the support for BTs also include the project of the National Pedagogical Institute (NPI) within the System of Support for the Professional Development of Teachers and Principals. “*The Beginning Teacher activity therefore offers schools a comprehensive support system that guides all persons involved through the possibilities of support for beginning teachers.*”¹⁷ When registering a triad of participants in the NPI systems (BT, mentor teacher, school principal), the school and individual participants will receive, for example, ideas for support for the BT and cooperation of the persons involved, methodological manuals, access to e-learning courses, possibilities to consult with experts on the adaptation process and the possibility of sharing experiences with colleagues.¹⁸

Strategic Documents for the Support of BTs in Germany

One of the key documents governing the adaptation period of BTs in Germany is the joint output of the ministries of culture (*KMK Konferenz*) of the federal states for the framework definition of teacher education standards, the so-called *Standards für die Lehrerbildung: Bildungswissenschaften*.¹⁹ These standards outline the requirements for teachers’ behaviour. Said requirements apply to the competencies, abilities, skills and attitudes that a teacher must have in order to meet all the professional requirements.²⁰ In addition to these professional abilities, competencies in the field of collegial approach and cooperation with other disciplines and professional facilities are also included. The requirements for the system of teacher education and teaching practice result from the competency requirements conceived in this way.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ NPI: *Začínající a uvádějící učitel ve vaší škole*, available at: <https://www.projektsypo.cz/zacinajici-a-uvadejici-ucitele-ve-vasi-skole.html>.

¹⁸ NPI: *Podpora pro školy se začínajícími učiteli*, available at: <https://www.projektsypo.cz/pridejte-se/pro-skoly-se-zu.html>.

¹⁹ KMK: *Standards für die Lehrerbildung: Bildungswissenschaften*. Beschluss der KMK vom 16.12.2014, as at: 16 May 2019.

²⁰ KMK: *Standards für die Lehrerbildung: Bildungswissenschaften*. Beschluss der KMK vom 16.12.2014, as at: 16 May 2019, p. 4.

The next part of the document outlines the requirements for teacher education from an organisational point of view. It defines two phases of a teacher training; the first phase is university education, while the second, the so-called *referendariat* (*Vorbereitungsdienst, postgraduate professional pre-service training*), is under the responsibility of the state authorities. In both phases of the teacher training, it is presumed by the standards to develop students' knowledge and skills both in theoretical and practical terms, though with a different emphasis on each component. The basics of the theory are followed by teaching practice during the first phase of teacher training. In the period of the *referendariat*, full attention is already paid to practical training and its theoretically based reflection. The relationship between the university and the purely professionally oriented education is designed so that it combines the systematic development of the teacher's experience and competencies throughout the educational process.

The document also defines the so-called third phase of teacher education, to wit further education of teaching staff. This part of the educational process constitutes an important part of the teacher's professionalisation and strengthens the formation of awareness of one's own role and identity. Subsequently, the active role of a teacher in this process also has a significant impact on the salary and the subsequent development of the teacher's competencies.

The standards further define key contents in teacher education. The main areas of the curriculum include, for example, the field of education and training, the teaching profession, didactics, differentiation in education, media education, pedagogical diagnostics, etc.²¹ The next part of the document names the basic methodological and didactic approaches, thanks to which pupils can be provided with educational content. In order for teachers to do their job, the standards stipulate a catalogue of teaching competencies.²² These competencies are divided into sub-competency areas. These are defined by the following terms: *to teach, to educate, to evaluate, and to innovate*.²³

²¹ Ibid. p. 4-5.

²² More on the topic: JANÍK, Miroslav, Karolína PEŠKOVÁ and Tomáš JANÍK. *Standardy pro učitelské vzdělávání jako cesta ke kvalitě: reflexe vývoje ve Spolkové republice Německo*. Orbis Scholae. Praha: Karolinum, 2014, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 47-70.

²³ KMK: *Standards für die Lehrerbildung: Bildungswissenschaften*. Beschluss der KMK vom 16.12.2014, as at: 16 May 2019., pp. 7-14.

The Concept of the Adaptation Period (referendariat) in Bavaria

Since education falls within the remit of the state governments of the individual federal states, each state has different forms of teacher training in the second phase. These differences are reflected in the length of the adaptation period – referendariat (one and a half to two years), organisation, content and completion (second state examination). The KMK only recommends following the *Standards for the Referendariat and the Second State Examination*.²⁴ Even in Bavaria, the referendariat also falls within the framework of the so-called second stage of teacher training. The referendariat period lasts two years, and its declared goal is to convey the basic aspects of the “teaching craft” to BTs by mentor teachers. The legislative document of the Bavarian Ministry of Education²⁵ (hereinafter referred to as the “Regulations”) describes the objective of the adaptation period as follows: “*The main goal of the second phase of teacher training is both theoretically based and practically oriented education, enabling independent teaching in elementary schools or secondary schools.*”²⁶

In this article, attention is paid to the comparison of the conceptual documents of the level of the second stage of elementary schools within the Czech system. The so-called *Mittelschule* (educational grades 5–9/10) best corresponds to this level of education in the Bavarian education system. The strategic documents mentioned below therefore describe the system of setting up the referendariat for this type of school. The content of the referendariat consists of a combination of the following activities: seminars, independent teaching, so-called *praktikum* (practical training), observation, educational courses and related tasks.²⁷

Strategic Documents for the Support of BTs in Bavaria

The document that conceptually regulates the adaptation period in Bavaria is called the *Handbook of Regulations for Teacher Education: Orientation on Competencies in*

²⁴ JANÍK, Tomáš, Radka WILDOVÁ, Klára ULÍČNÁ, Eva MINAŘÍKOVÁ, Miroslav JANÍK, Jana JAŠKOVÁ a Barbora ŠIMŮNKOVÁ. *Adaptační období pro začínající učitele: zahraniční přístupy a návrhy řešení*. Pedagogika. Univerzita Karlova, 2017, Vol. 67, No. 1, pp. 4–26, Document: Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK). (2012). *Ländergemeinsame Anforderungen für die Ausgestaltung des Vorbereitungsdienstes und die abschließende Staatsprüfung*. Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 6 Dec 2012. Available at www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/2012/2012_12_06-Vorbereitungsdienst.pdf.

²⁵ *Předpisy pro vzdělávání učitelů pro Grundschulen a Mittelschulen, Zulassung- und Ausbildungsordnung für das Lehramt an Grundschulen und für das Lehramt an Mittelschulen* (hereinafter referred to as the ZALGM) as amended on 1 May 2019.

²⁶ ZALGM, §2.

²⁷ ZALGM, § 17.

Teacher Education.²⁸ The document is based on the above-mentioned framework standards for teacher education for the whole of Germany.²⁹ The state governments subsequently converted the federal standards into state regulations. Together with their implementation, they also have the obligation to regularly evaluate their application. According to the *Handbook*, the implementation at the Bavarian level meant adjustments aimed at the compatibility with the changes in the Bavarian education system and amended Sec. 16 of the *Regulations*.³⁰ The new wording of Sec. 16 defined seven teacher competency areas and added a new one – the area of inclusive pedagogy. Education of BTs at seminars in the adaptation period thus received a new basis in an updated form, based on the newly formulated wording of Sec. 16: Competency Areas and Contents of Education: *to educate, to teach, to advise, to evaluate, to innovate, to cooperate, to organise, and to implement inclusive pedagogy*.³¹

Organisation and Course of the Referendariat in Bavaria

From an organisational point of view, the referendariat in Bavaria always happens in two places: at least one school (*Einsatzschule*) and a seminar (*Studienseminar*). The government, whose powers in Bavaria are divided into administrative districts (*Regierungsbezirke*), is responsible for organising the adaptation period. The governments of these districts assign BTs to individual seminars. They also plan and coordinate the activities of the seminars in their district.³² The education authority (*Schulamt*) then assigns mentor teachers to BTs at specific schools.³³ This scope of responsibility is exercised in cooperation with the head of the seminar.

The course of the referendariat begins for BTs by being assigned to a school and a seminar. With regards to *Mittelschule* in Bavaria, BTs are first assigned by the Ministry of Culture to the administrative districts (*Regierungsbezirke*). These not only divide the BTs into seminars but also designate a specific school for the performance of the referendariat.³⁴ In principle, each *Mittelschule* can be a place for

²⁸ Handreichungen zur Zulassung- und Ausbildungsordnung für das Lehramt für Grund- und Mittelschulen, available at: <https://www.km.bayern.de/lehrer/lehrausbildung/mittelschule/referendariat.html>, as at: February 2016.

²⁹ KMK: Standards für die Lehrerbildung: Bildungswissenschaften. Beschluss der KMK vom 16.12.2004, as at 16 May 2019.

³⁰ ZALGM, §16.

³¹ ZALGM, §16.

³² ZALGM, §8.

³³ ZALGM, §9.

³⁴ KM Bayern: Vorbereitungsdienst für das Lehramt an Mittelschulen, available at: <https://www.km.bayern.de/lehrer/lehrausbildung/mittelschule/referendariat.html>.

the performance of the referendariat. The referendariat always begins in July at the beginning of the school year and lasts for two years. It is divided into two parts, each lasting 12 months.³⁵ The first part includes:

- Individual teaching (8 hours per week)
- *Praktikum* during lessons of the mentor teacher (9 hours per week)
- Participation in seminars (10 hours per week)

BTs go to the seminars two days a week; BTs perform the activities at the school on the remaining three days. Study seminars are divided into individual seminar groups. Each of these groups is led by one seminar leader.³⁶

The second half of the adaptation period proceeds as follows:

- Independent teaching in subjects studied and subjects not studied (15 hours per week)
- Independent observation (2 hours per week)
- Participation in seminars (10 hours per week).

The overall framework of the adaptation period also sets limits for the implementation of the above-mentioned activities, or independent teaching. The conceptual setting of the referendariat also allows for a higher ratio of independent teaching than stated above. In the first phase, however, the volume of independent teaching may not exceed a total of 11 hours per week; in the second phase, the volume of independent teaching per week may reach 16 hours.³⁷

In terms of legal status, BTs are defined as candidates for the teaching profession (*Anwärter/Anwärterin*) during the referendariat period. The classification of this profession belongs to the group designated with 'civil service status until further notice' (*Beamter auf Widerruf*), and they also receive the corresponding salary.³⁸

Seminar Leaders

One of the key persons involved in the adaptation process is a seminar leader (hereinafter referred to as the SL). Together with the support of the mentor teacher at the assigned school, the SL should help to develop the teaching competencies of BTs and help to overcome the initial uncertainty. BTs thus constantly receive ad-

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ ZALGM, §10.

³⁷ ZALGM, §17.

³⁸ Gesetz über die Leistungslaufbahn und die Fachlaufbahnen der bayerischen Beamten und Beamtinnen (Leistungslaufbahngesetz – LlbG), Art. 26 Einstellung in den Vorbereitungsdienst, as at: 1 May 2021.

vice from both colleagues and experienced teachers here in the role of SLs. The motto of the *Handbook of Teacher Education Regulations: Focusing on Competencies in Teacher Education* is: “Competent SLs develop teacher competencies.”³⁹ The *Handbook* states that SLs need support in the transition from the teaching profession to the position of an SL, which is a condition for the quality performance of this position. At the start of their profession, a newly appointed SL will receive support in the form of a three-week qualification course. This course is implemented at the main Bavarian institution for further teacher education in Dillingen. Since 2001, the SL qualifications have been carried out according to the curriculum drawn up by an expert commission from the Academy in Dillingen approved by the Bavarian Ministry of Culture. The curriculum of the SL qualification, corresponding to their tasks, consists of three basic courses:⁴⁰

- Course 1: SLs acquire competencies as trainers and BT advisors
- Course 2: SLs acquire competencies as examiners and assessors
- Course 3: SLs acquire competencies aimed at creating and developing seminars, and supporting the teacher’s personality

An important aspect of SL activities is observation in lessons taught by BTs. Another task in this position consists mainly of the following activities⁴¹:

- Planning of seminars, their structure and implementation
- Cooperation with BTs with regard to all topics related to their independent teaching
- Checking and evaluation of the teaching materials prepared during observations
- Participation in the selection of mentor teachers and support for further education of all participants.

The content of the seminars consists of topics from the field of pedagogy, psychology, subject didactics, selected areas of school legislation and the fundamentals of civics.⁴² The seminar also discusses developments in the field of pedagogical competencies, subject knowledge and subject didactics. The focus of BT preparation is the informed implementation of knowledge in all areas of teaching practice.⁴³

³⁹ Handreichungen zur Zulassung- und Ausbildungsordnung für das Lehramt für Grund- und Mittelschulen, <https://www.km.bayern.de/lehrer/lehrausbildung/mittelschule/referendariat.html>, as at: February 2016, p. 9.

⁴⁰ Handreichungen zur Zulassung- und Ausbildungsordnung für das Lehramt für Grund- und Mittelschulen, <https://www.km.bayern.de/lehrer/lehrausbildung/mittelschule/referendariat.html>, as at: February 2016, p. 10.

⁴¹ ZALGM, §13.

⁴² Wiernik, A. (2020). *Guter Unterricht in der zweiten Phase der Lehramtsausbildung. Eine qualitative konstruktive Studie zum impliziten Unterrichts- und Professionsverständnis von Seminarleidenden*. Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, p. 32.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 32.

Practice and Teaching in Schools

During the Bavarian adaptation system, BTs are assigned to specific schools where mentor teachers are assigned to them. The workload of the mentor teacher includes the implementation of methodically and didactically structured teaching, discussion of its individual aspects, and provision of insight into their educational-training activities.⁴⁴

One of the essential activities performed by BTs at the assigned school is the so-called *praktikum*. This activity includes the following: active participation in mentor teacher's teaching (i.e. actual teaching in the presence of the mentor teacher) based on own written preparation, discussion about the teaching (before and after that), general and specific educational tasks or activities, participation in all events of the class and related tasks.⁴⁵ The school management, and the mentor teacher in the classroom, is responsible for the proper implementation of all activities falling within the *praktikum* at the school.

The core of the teacher training in the adaptation period is mainly independent teaching at school. At the beginning of the referendariat, BTs start teaching their studied subjects. Within this teaching, the studied fields of a specific BT are balanced. In the second phase of the adaptation period, they take on other taught subjects as appropriate.⁴⁶ BTs take full responsibility for teaching for the time of teaching being entrusted. Furthermore, BTs should not be assigned teaching in a wide variety of classes or particularly demanding classes.⁴⁷ Another part of independent teaching is also the observation of BT teaching by the seminar leader.

Completion of the Referendariat – Second State Examination

After completing all the above-mentioned activities, the referendariat must be completed by taking the so-called second state exam (i.e. to complete the second phase of the teacher training). This exam is carried out under the auspices of the school where the BT practiced his/her referendariat, not under the auspices of a university.

For BTs, the adaptation period does not only mean a period of gaining experience and feedback to their teaching, but also serves as a basis for their success in the second state final examination. In the case of the referendariat for elementary

⁴⁴ ZALGM, §14.

⁴⁵ ZALGM, §19.

⁴⁶ ZALGM, §21.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

schools, SLs prepare an evaluation report. They evaluate both the BT's educational-training competencies and professionalism. In the phase of assessing the development of competencies of individual BTs, mentor teachers and principals of the schools can also contribute with their evaluation. In the final evaluation of the applicant for the teaching profession, this final mark is of fundamental importance.⁴⁸ The final examination itself then consists of a paper (*Hausarbeit*), a colloquium, an oral examination and three demonstration lessons. The paper (*Hausarbeit*) deals with a topic in the field of education or psychology with a focus on the educational-psychological field according to the specific focus of a BT.⁴⁹ In the oral colloquium, BTs are given a task based on a situation in a class described in writing. BTs propose possible solutions in the first part. During a deeper analysis, attention is also focused on the psychological and educational aspects of the situation.⁵⁰ The colloquium is followed by an oral examination. This examination includes a discussion on a topic from the didactic area, as well as from school topics and legislation.⁵¹ The candidate for successful completion of the examination must also complete three demonstration lessons (*Lehrproben*). These teaching demonstrations take place in classes that BTs know either from their own teaching, or observation and work experience activities. The presented teaching is then evaluated by a three-member commission consisting of a chairman and two other members.⁵² The final mark is based on the evaluation of all the above-mentioned activities, with the individual parts of the exam contributing to the final mark differently. (The most significant share of the mark is, as mentioned above, the evaluation of the BT's competencies.)⁵³

Conclusion

This text brings a comparison of the strategic documents in the field of support for BTs in the adaptation period. In the Czech Republic, support for BTs is not enshrined in institutions. The support for BTs is envisaged in section 3.1 *Comprehensive professional training and support system with the aim to support the beginning and mentor teachers* of the government's *Strategy 2030+*. The support for BTs should include intensive mentoring support and evaluation of the adaptation process; mentor teachers should be supported in the form of training, reduction of

⁴⁸ Wiernik, A. (2020). *Guter Unterricht in der zweiten Phase der Lehramtsausbildung. Eine qualitative-konstruktive Studie zum impliziten Unterrichts- und Professionsverständnis von Seminarleitenden*. Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, p. 32.

⁴⁹ *Ordnung der zweiten Staatsprüfung für das Lehramt an öffentlichen Schulen (Lehramtsprüfungsordnung II – LPO II* von 28. Oktober 2004, as at: 17 March 2021, comp. §18 LPO II.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, §19 LPO II.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, §20 LPO II.

⁵² *Ibid.*, §21 LPO II.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, §23 LPO II.

their direct teaching activities, and financial reward. The draft *Career Code* of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports contain multi-source support for the development and improvement of professional competencies.

In the Bavarian setting, the implementation of the adaptation period takes place within the referendariat, where attention is focused on practice and its theoretically based reflection. In addition to BTs and mentor teachers, the key persons include seminar leaders. Together with the support of mentor teachers at the assigned schools, the seminar leaders are to help develop the teaching competencies of BTs and to help them overcome the initial uncertainty. In particular, organisational powers are also exercised by the local governments and school authorities. The referendariat lasts two years, and BTs spend two days a week in the seminar and perform the prescribed activities at schools during the remaining three days. The main content of their work consists of independent teaching, *praktikum* in mentor teacher's lessons and participation in seminars. BTs complete the adaptation period with the so-called second state examination.

The Bavarian coherent system of preparation of BTs could provide an inspiration towards anchoring of an effective system of adaptation period in the Czech Republic. The Bavarian system consists of multi-source system of support for BTs. This conceptual setting of Bavarian referendariat might provide improvement of BTs competencies during their initial phase in schools.

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Aesthetic-Therapeutic Component of the Harmonious Development of a Personality in Ukrainian and Polish Pedagogy in the Late 19th-20th Century

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The article deals with a retrospective analysis of the content of the aesthetic-therapeutic component of the formation of a creative harmonious personality in Ukrainian and Polish pedagogy in the late nineteenth – twentieth century. It is defined the essence of aesthetic therapy as an integrative humanistic technology of activating the emotional sphere of a personality with the aim of providing psychologically comfortable conditions for creative personal fulfilment. The problem of individual creative and spiritual development of a child by means of aesthetic therapy is highlighted in the views of prominent national humanist-educators (A. Makarenko, Ya. Korczak, S. Rusova, V. Sukhomlynskyi). It is proven that the most characteristic features of Ukrainian and Polish folk pedagogy are high aestheticization, Christian-spiritual and extreme nature-based content, that are fully consistent with the basic postulates of the aesthetic-therapeutic concept of personality formation.

Key words: *humanistic pedagogy; aesthetic therapy; emotional sphere of a personality; psychological comfort; pedagogical creativity; music therapy; fairy tale therapy; spiritual development of a person.*

Current priorities for the development of teacher education actualize the issue of a person-centered approach to the formation of a harmonious personality, the education of the younger generation based on universal values, the creation of a fa-

avourable academic environment in educational institutions and the provision of psychologically comfortable conditions for developing the creative potential of actors in the pedagogical process.

One of the effective ways to solve key educational problems is the introduction of highly effective psychological and pedagogical technologies of personality-oriented training and education, focused on activation of the emotional sphere of participants in pedagogical activity by introducing an aesthetic-therapeutic component in the process of personality formation.

Nowadays, in numerous research studies in pedagogy, the term 'aesthetic therapy' is used as an analog for the term 'aesthetics of natural environment', art technologies in art education, an independent function of the system of additional education, the latest rehabilitation system in special pedagogy, or a separate block of the modern complex of aesthetic education with various kinds of art and the like.

We consider aesthetic therapy to be an integrated notion that combines two components: 'aesthetic' (from the Greek *aisthetikos* – sensual) and 'therapy' (from the Greek *therapeia* – treatment)¹. So, aesthetic therapy in psychological and pedagogical sciences should be interpreted as a natural system of integrative psychological and pedagogical therapy with the use of sound, nature, movement, drama, drawing, colour, communication etc., having a therapeutic, psychological and pedagogical stabilizing effect on the emotional sphere of a person and including hidden instructions to keep the integrity of the human personality, her/his spiritual core. We should also pay attention to the fact that the original meaning of the word 'aesthetics' in ancient Greek had a wider semantic circle ('sensual', 'sensitive') in comparison with the traditional modern scientific definition of aesthetics as 'the science of beauty'. Hence, we assume that is spread the aesthetic idea throughout the field of human emotional reactions.

We believe that it necessary to consider the basic aesthetic-therapeutic views of Ukrainian and Polish pedagogues on the personality formation at the level of national ethno and scientific pedagogical knowledge, theory and practice that were created in the difficult historical conditions of the development of these societies.

The characteristics of folk pedagogy and scientific-humanistic pedagogical research in Ukraine and Poland, represented by the works of outstanding national philosophers and educators are high anesthetization, Christian-spiritual and extreme nature-based content. They are fully consistent with the basic postulates of the most personality-oriented humane pedagogy in general, as well as aesthetics. These characteristics are particularly evident in the organizational and informative ideas.

¹ Fedij, O. (2012). *Estetoterapiia*. Kyiv: Tsentr uchbovoi literatury.

Like each national philosophy, Ukrainian philosophy has its distinctive features, formed on the basis of national character, the so-called 'Ukrainian soul'. These features require a clearly defined aesthetic-therapeutic context, as they relate to the idea of existence, spirit, human-centeredness and the profound search for harmony and happiness.

According to contemporary Ukrainian philosophers, the distinctive features of Ukrainian philosophical and pedagogical interpretations of the problems of life creation and human resilience on Earth, include: cordocentrism (from Latin *cordos* – heart) – understanding of reality is not so much by thinking ('head') but by 'heart' – by emotions, feelings, inner voice, 'soul'; anthropocentrism – the focus on the person, awareness of her/his human nature, and in this regard, the possibility of happiness in ordinary life – existentialism, the acute life – feeling of a given moment of existence – the ability to 'transmit' universal values through personal life experience, in order to find the 'truth', meaning, purpose of life; 'sophism', tolerance and dialogueness – the patience, dignified attitude to different manifestations of disagreement with one's own fundamental ideas and the desire to hold a respectful discussion with them².

A great contribution to the development of a national humanistic pedagogy and an aesthetic therapy harmonizing human life and successfully solving life problems was made by a prominent Ukrainian educator, A. Makarenko (1888 – 1939). The idea of the key role of the creative and aesthetic component in the process of the development of a personality was established by A. Makarenko in his formulation of the aim of education already then: 'We must educate a person who is obliged to be happy'³. Beautiful life of 'human-creator', 'human-citizen' should be, according to A. Makarenko, 'related to aesthetics'⁴. It should be noted that although the term 'aesthetic therapy' is not used in A. Makarenko's works, we can find a number of related notions operating, each time emphasizing the need to create a proper pedagogical environment. Indeed, A. Makarenko talks about the 'clear organization of life', a 'clear mode and healthy traditions', 'creation of right-discipline tone', 'right work speed for the team life', the 'creation of a peaceful background for mental wellness of the students by providing the amenities for life', 'optimism of perspective feeling' and suchlike. The idea of transformation (re-education) of a child by developing of special psychological and pedagogical life conditions in which he or she feels free and desires to unleash his or her own individual creative power, constantly sounds in almost all works of the outstanding master of pedagogy. Taking into account the student body, A. Makarenko worked with, the organizational tools

² Kremen, V. – Ilin, V. (2005). *Filosofia: myslyteli, idei, kontseptsii*. Kyiv: Knyha, p. 418.

³ Makarenko, A. (1977). *Yzbrannyye pedahohycheskiye sochyneniya* : v 2-kh, t. T.1, red. V. N. Stoletov. Moskva: Pedahohyka, p. 164.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

for creating the necessary microenvironment were material order, discipline and giving the possibilities for free personal fulfilment.

Among the numerous 'distracting' and, at the same time, harmoniously developing a child's individuality aesthetic-therapeutic technologies of educational system of A. Makarenko, two main groups can be distinguished: aesthetic therapy through art and artistic media and aesthetic therapy of socially organized impact.

For example, in order to provide each educatee with the opportunity of free choice, considering the interests of the child, A. Makarenko recommends introducing about twenty such clubs into the life of a collective body (according to the principle 'less clubs are better, but with real work')⁵. The list of clubs represents a wide choice of various types of artistic-aesthetic and research and technical activities. They in their format corresponds to the leading types of modern psychological, pedagogical, rehabilitation-educational methods and psychotherapeutic techniques. The basic task of art clubs is to preoccupy the educatees in their free time, in order to develop creativity with extreme interest and enthusiasm for a competently, pedagogically expedient organized activity. These properties show the presence of an aesthetic-therapeutic component in the artistic and natural study activities of Makarenko's clubs.

In the educational system of A. Makarenko aesthetic therapy for socially organized impact is of particular interest, since it is associated with the vector features of the entire pedagogical system. The central point of Makarenko's theory is the concept of parallel action, that is, an organic unity of education and the life of society, community and personality. Parallel actions provide 'freedom and well-being of the educatee' who is the creator, rather than the person of pedagogical influence. The first thing that created a common understanding in the activities of A. Makarenko-managed groups, was a full-fledged, unpretentious, democratic relationship between the educator and the educatee. Makarenko was the one who gave the main aesthetic-therapeutic effect to the entire educational system: a special micro-climate for the team/collective body, the sense of security, dignity, self-esteem and respect for others in the system. Almost all researchers of his pedagogical heritage recognize this. A. Makarenko sets the tone with which the teacher should organize his/her disciplinary collision with the team/collective body in a tangible esthetic-therapeutic context: the tone should be 'serious, simple, accurate, decisive, sometimes decorated with a smile and a joke and always focused on each person'⁶. The leading esthetic-therapeutic facilities in A. Makarenko's pedagogical system have been universally recognized, communication, team, work, nature, art – and actually 'Makarenkovski' (of A. Makarenko) – 'the system of perspectives', 'parallel

⁵ Ibid, pp. 228–229.

⁶ Ibid, p. 203.

pedagogical impact', 'therapy-mode', 'cheerful work style' and others. The esthetic-therapeutic nature of this pedagogical system is confirmed by the synergetic provisions in it. He implemented the most humanistic principle of education – 'the principle of empathy, openness, involvement and participation of a person in social and natural processes' taking place in the 'external environment and reflect certain principles of synergetics: hierarchy, openness, non-linearity'.

An outstanding Polish teacher Ya. Korczak (1878–1942) made a significant contribution to the development of pedagogy of humanism, who emphasized the advisability of using various therapeutic methods to influence the formation and development of the younger generation with the aim of preventing children mental illnesses and disorders of the psychoemotional sphere.

An interesting fact is that Ya. Korczak, a paediatrician by profession, was enthusiastically interested in purely pedagogical and socio-pedagogical issues: theories and practices of educating his little patients and giving them the opportunity to feel themselves full members of society, despite the age.

In the pedagogical works of Ya. Korczak we can notice an aesthetic-therapeutic idea of introducing in educational process such social methods of influence on a personality as communication, laughter, a fairy tale with therapeutic purpose according to the operating objectives and the specific case, taking into account the child's age and individual characteristics. 'An angry look of the tutor, the praise, the remarks, the joke, the advice, the kiss, the fairy tale as a reward, a verbal encouragement – these are therapeutic procedures that is needed to be assigned in less or more doses, more often or less, depending on the case and features of the organism'⁷. One of the main tasks of therapeutic pedagogy according to Ya. Korczak is creating optimal conditions for physical, mental, moral, aesthetic development of a disadvantaged child, the development of emotional sphere of each personality.

S. Rusova (1856-1940) paid attention to the questions of influence of various aesthetic means on personality development, who also stressed the importance of creating such an atmosphere, 'where all the child's skills, all her/his good feelings and inclinations could develop, but not evil and bad ones'⁸. S. Rusova considered the leading aesthetic-therapeutic means of influence on child's personality to be nature in 'all its superior beauty', art, social environment and the like.

According to S. Rusova, the most important aim of the games is self-expression of a child. She considered labour as the best psychological and pedagogical means by which all creative powers of a child can appear freely. S. Rusova defines the following psychological characteristics of child labour that are harmonious with esthetic therapy: 1) labour is an activity; 2) labour causes child's desire, interest,

⁷ Korczak, Ya. (1976). *Yak liubity dytynu*. Kyiv: Rid. shk., p. 7.

⁸ Rusova, S. (1996). *Vybrani pedahohichni tvory*. Kyiv: Osvita, p. 34.

concern with something; 3) labour must always have specific tasks, achieve real results; 4) labour is pleasant as an independent development of muscles, as a means invented by a child him/herself to achieve the desired goal; 5) work should be easy for a child, not requiring considerable effort; 6) help should be provided only when it is necessary, taking into account the child's personality, mood, type or kind of labour; 7) labour should be diverse⁹.

With all the above mentioned requirements, labour will be useful and, and the main thing is to bring pleasure from the process and to its result.

In the pedagogical works S. Rusova substantiated a powerful influence of fairy tales on the formation and development of a child. The teacher pointed to the relationship with the child, because 'they are fused together so well, as though the teachers do not try to displace fairy from child's home, it would reign there. Because it naturally meets the requirements of children's mind, and those human relationships in fairy tales are so simple and understandable that a child can sincerely sympathize with sorrow and misfortune, enjoy the victory and happiness of fairy tale heroes'¹⁰.

An outstanding example of the integration of aesthetic therapy into theory and practice of national humanistic pedagogy is the activity of a prominent Ukrainian educator of world reputation – V. Sukhomlynskyi (1918 – 1970). In our opinion, aesthetic-therapeutic ideas in the teachings of the famous humanist are explained by both objective factors – the then social conditions, in which V. Sukhomlynskyi had to work, and his subjective feeling of the need to create special pedagogically comfortable educational conditions for a child that are full of warmth, sincerity, joy of communication and endless, joyful openings of life secrets for a child-winner. Hence, we distinguish two-vector nature of the aesthetic-therapeutic concept in the teachings of V. Sukhomlynskyi. Both participants in the process fall under the aesthetic-therapeutic influence of a personality-oriented pedagogical action of the whole system of the teacher: an educator and an educatee.

One of the aesthetic-therapeutic sources of his own pedagogical inspiration was his students. Love for a child becomes the main and defining postulate of the whole pedagogical system of the teacher-humanist. In his work 'How to love children' (1967) he proclaims 'love for a child in our specialty is the flesh and blood of an educator as the force that can influence the spiritual world of another person'. Such love V. Sukhomlynskyi calls 'the top of pedagogical culture, thought and feelings'¹¹. Along with this, a somewhat traditional opinion for all humanistic pedagogy about love for educatees as a necessary feature of teacher's professionalism

⁹ *Khrestomatiia z istorii doshkilnoi pedahohiky*. (2004). Kyiv: Vyshcha shkola, p. 270.

¹⁰ Rusova, S. (1996). *Vybrani pedahohichni tvory*. Kyiv: Osvita, p. 203.

¹¹ Sukhomlinskij, V. (2002). *Pereizdanie*. Moskva: Izdat. Dom Sh. Amonashvili.

V. Sukhomlynskyi emphasizes the purely aesthetic-therapeutic effect for teachers themselves, that love of the students on them provides: 'Love for children inspires an educator, becomes for him a source from which he/she constantly draws new strength'¹². V. Sukhomlynskyi sees love for a child as 'a peculiar kind of mechanism of mental protection' of a teacher who is able to protect him/her from the 'emotional environment' – so it can be called a state that involves a teacher in times of failure and disappointment'¹³. V. Sukhomlynskyi continues to develop a brilliant idea of A. Makarenko about 'optimistic prediction of a personality' and notes: 'I love a child not as she/he is, but as she/he should be ... The art of our profession is to hate evil and not to take it on those who are with wicked spirit. ... I am not addressing the voice of evil, but the voice of the beauty of human being, which is necessary for a child, which cannot be shut out by anything'¹⁴. Another component of the aesthetic-therapeutic technology of 'love for a child', according to V. Sukhomlynskyi, is teacher's attention to the objective child's self-sustaining nature of his/her life optimism. 'Children are optimists by nature. A bright, sunny, cheerful worldview is characteristic of them. To love children is to love childhood, and optimism means for childhood the same as playing of rainbow colours: there is no optimism – no childhood'¹⁵.

In fact, optimism is an emotional and sensual state of positive energy, psychological comfort, protection and happiness that a child must feel in aesthetic-therapeutic space of his/her growth; it is an important requirement of full process of ego development. According V. Sukhomlynskyi, the concept of aesthetic therapy of such a pedagogical love for a child is also in its protective function: to love a child means 'to protect his/her from the evil that still surrounds many children in life'¹⁶. It should be noted that the closest notion in content to the ideas of aesthetic therapy in pedagogical dictionary of the researcher is the notion of '*protective education*'. V. Sukhomlynskyi introduces this notion, emphasizing the need to create an appropriate pedagogical environment for some categories of children, who experience a state of spiritual loneliness that is quite dangerous and psychologically uncomfortable for a young soul. Protective education, according to V. Sukhomlynskyi, is an important component of his whole pedagogical system, 'teacher's deeply individual creativity', which he/she must show in each individual case. The outstanding humanist educator determines the leading directions and means of implementation of the tasks of protective education. For example, the most effective protection is awakening of love in a child, sympathy for a teacher as a human being or for a senior fellow student. V. Sukhomlynskyi recognizes the book, the sincere word of a

¹² Ibid., p. 19.

¹³ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 21–22.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

teacher, child's care for living creatures (flowers, plants, and animals), the beauty of nature, music, painting, and the like, as an important aesthetic-therapeutic means for protective education.

V. Sukhomlynskyi believes that nature has a sufficiently powerful therapeutic potential. Nature 'educates the ability to feel, perceive the things that they are, shades of things, phenomena, heart movements in the teenage soul'¹⁷. Although 'I wanted to read the first word in syllables before expanding the book, the children read the pages of the world's most beautiful book – the book of nature'¹⁸. According to the teacher, one of the means of harmonious development of a person and formation of his/her culture is music. Its powerful aesthetic-therapeutic influence on a personality is explained by emotional excitement, enrichment of the spiritual world of a child. 'Music is the language of feelings, experience, the most delicate accents of the mood'¹⁹. V. Sukhomlynskyi considers the perception of a piece of music with the use of a 'natural background', that is, music of nature, to be a valuable one. 'A human being became a human person when he/she heard the rustle of leaves and the song of the grasshopper, the voice of the spring flood and the ringing of silver bells of the lark in the boundless summer sky, the rustle of snowflakes and the howling of the snowstorm outside the window, the gentle splash of the waves and the solemn silence of the night. A man heard and, with bated breath, listened to the wonderful music of life for hundreds and thousands of years. And you should know how to listen to this music, how to admire the beauty'²⁰.

A striking example of the use of fairy tale therapeutic technologies in the pedagogical activity of V. Sukhomlynskyi is the designing of the 'Fairy Tale Rooms' in Pavlysh general secondary school, the main purpose of which is to create a fairy tale setting (atmosphere) 'in which children can feel in the world of fairy tale images'. This atmosphere helped to get into the country of fairy tales deeper, children empathized with the heroes and were active participants in this show. The humanist teacher gives a special place to show the inexhaustible possibilities of a fairy tale for the emotional, mental, moral and aesthetic education of primary school students.

The importance of the aesthetic-therapeutic component of the formation of a harmonious personality is explained by the requirement to maintain, strengthen and develop a spiritual base of younger generation in difficult conditions of rapid technological process and informatization of society. Therefore, the task of a modern teacher is to create an emotionally comfortable educational environment, to ensure the spiritual, emotional, psychological, and social development of a personality, to

¹⁷ Sukhomlynskyi, V. (1977). *Vybrani tvory: u 5 t.* Kyiv: Radianska shkola, p. 585.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 583.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 382.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 370.

give each pupil an opportunity to develop creatively and to become self-fulfilled in further professional activity on the basis of a human-centered approach.

The above-mentioned leading ideas of the aesthetic-therapeutic influence on a personality are developed and widely implemented in pedagogical educational institutions by the research school of O. Fediy – Doctor of Education, Professor, Head of the Department of Primary Education, Natural and Mathematical Sciences and Methods of their Teaching in Poltava National Pedagogical University named after V. G. Korolenko.

For the first time, the researcher has explained the methodological foundations of aesthetic therapy as a modern field of scientific knowledge that appeared in the integrative space of pedagogy, aesthetics and psychotherapy. She also has defined the conceptual foundations of the system of teachers training to use aesthetic therapy in professional activity²¹.

For the last fifteen years, the subjects 'Aesthetic therapy', 'Modern technologies of aesthetic therapy' have been taught in Poltava National Pedagogical University named after V. G. Korolenko for students of educational levels 'Bachelor' and 'Master' of the specialties 013 Primary education, 016 Special education, 012 Pre-school education, 014 Secondary Education (Fine Arts), 014 Secondary Education (Musical Arts), 014 Secondary Education (Choreography), 024 Choreography. The study of these educational courses is aimed at the formation of aesthetic-therapeutic competence in perspective teachers, that implies awareness of the importance of activating emotional sphere of an aducatee in the pedagogical process, providing aestheticization of educational environment, understanding the content of aesthetic-therapeutic activity of a modern teacher, ability to create psychologically comfortable conditions for creative interaction of participants of the educational process, to use modern psychological and pedagogical technologies of personal development of a child on the basis of humanistic child-centric paradigm.

Students are especially interested in appraisal of practice-oriented technologies of sand therapy ('Sand literacy', 'The magic world of numbers', 'The experiments of the sand Queen'), fairy tale therapy (drawing up a fairy tale, making up a conclusion of a parable or fairy tale ('The parable of the two wolves', 'The Good and the evil', 'About happiness and goodness'), puppet therapy (creation and revival of a puppet), isotherapy ('The Magical land of feelings', 'Who (what) did Fairy turned me into', 'My Family in Images of fairy tale heroes'), phototherapy (creating photo collages on the topics: 'The Good is...', 'Polar feelings', 'The happiest day of my life') etc.

Thus, we can say that the phenomenon of the aesthetic-therapeutic component of the formation of a harmonious personality occupies a prominent place in the

²¹ Fediy, O. (2009). *Pidhotovka pedahohiv do vykorystannia zasobiv estetoterapii: teoriia i praktyka*. Poltava: PNPU imeni V. H. Korolenka.

development of Ukrainian and Polish pedagogy. It is an integral part of the philosophical and historical consciousness of people that reflected the most current processes of socio-historical life of the nations. That is why the aesthetic-therapeutic context of pedagogical ideas in Ukraine and Poland always sound bright, because it meets the acute demands of our times, creating the necessary emotionally favourable conditions that allowed to form a full-fledged, good citizen of his/her country.

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Students and Graduates of Gdynia Primary Schools in the first Post-war Decade (1945–1956)¹

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Aims and research methods

The aim of this article is to answer the following research question: what did the process of education of school youth look like in the first post-war decade, and what was the influence of wartime experiences on school youth? The text presents a group of pupils from Gdynia primary schools in the years 1945–1956, which is a representative group for the research on the process of education of schoolchildren in urban schools in the period of the People's Republic of Poland. However, the article also emphasizes the influence of the region on the formation of the group of children from Gdynia's schools. Moreover, the article presented problems and challenges related to the reconstruction of education in the post-war period, which both students and teachers had to face.

To reconstruct past processes and events, as well as to explain and interpret facts related to the subject of the study, the methodology of historical research was applied. In writing this text, mainly written sources were used, the vast majority of which is new, previously unpublished material. This was followed by an external and internal critique of the sources. The basic methods for establishing historical facts, which were used in the compilation of the material for this article, are induction and deduction: the method of direct and indirect fact-finding. In addition, the comparative method was also applied. This method allowed for the identification of similarities and differences in the attitudes and processes studied. Apart from the qualitative methods presented above, a quantitative method, i.e., a statistical method, was also used in the research, which allowed us to characterize a group of pupils from public schools in the Tricity.

¹ This article is based on a master's thesis written under the scientific supervision of Prof. Arnold Kłoncewicz, at the Institute of History, University of Gdańsk.

This article aims to characterise the group of pupils in Gdynia's primary schools in the first post-war decade. It is, however, only an introduction to an extensive research topic, which is the history of the student community in the period of the People's Republic of Poland. This topic requires extensive research on the borderline of socio-political history and sociology.

Introduction

In 1945, the authorities of Gdynia, as well as other Polish towns and cities, had to face the problem of rebuilding cities destroyed after the war. One of the most important tasks was the organization of education, especially elementary education. The reconstruction of post-war education was important for the authorities of People's Republic of Poland because it was supposed to be the basis of the planned social revolution.

In Gdynia, less than a month after the liberation – on 15 April 1945 – the first post-war school year began. It was the shortest school year in history, lasting less than three months: from mid-April to 14 July². This was possible thanks to the relatively small damage suffered by Gdynia during the war. This did not mean that the opening of schools was not accompanied by any difficulties. A considerable part of the school buildings had to be renovated. Some of them had been destroyed during the war, and others were devastated by their utilitarian functions: such as hospitals and military garrisons³. Often, before any renovation work could begin, mines and grenades, that were lying in the school yards, had to be removed. Sometimes this task was undertaken by school directors together with janitors and workers⁴. In addition, in most buildings there were no roof tiles, windows or doors⁵.

² Chronicle of Primary School No. 10 in Gdynia, part 1, p. 2; in Polish translation: Kronika Szkoły Podstawowej nr 10 w Gdyni, część 1, s. 2.

³ Pedagogical Regional Library in Gdańsk (PBW), Reconstruction of Polish education in 1945-1948. School No. 1 at 10 February Street in Gdynia, sign. R 450, p. 2-3; in Polish translation: Pedagogiczna Biblioteka Wojewódzka w Gdańsku (PBW), Odbudowa szkolnictwa polskiego w latach 1945-1948. Szkoła nr 1 przy ul. 10 lutego w Gdyni, sygn. R 450, s. 2-3.

⁴ Museum of the City of Gdynia (MMG), School Chronicle 17 IV 1945 - 21 III 1950 of Public Primary School No. 9 Cisowa, sign. 1/17/1, np.; in Polish translation: Muzeum Miasta Gdyni [dalej: MMG], Kronika szkolna 17 IV 1945 - 21 III 1950 Publicznej Szkoły Powszechnej nr 9 Cisowa, sygn. 1/17/1, bp.

⁵ PWB, Primary School No. 8 in Gdynia-Orłowo 1945-1948, sign. R 447, p. 1; MMG, School Chronicle 17 IV 1945 - 21 III 1950 of Public Primary School No. 9 Cisowa, sign. 1/17/1, np.; Polish Teacher's Union Branch in Gdynia (ZNPOwG), Original and first prints of teachers' memoirs, Memoirs of Maria Ładońska, teacher of primary school No. 12 in Gdynia Witomino, sign. 1/27a, np.; in Polish translation: PWB, Szkoła podstawowa nr 8 w Gdyni-Orłowie w latach 1945-1948, sygn. R 447, s. 1; MMG, Kronika szkolna 17 IV 1945 - 21 III 1950 Publicznej Szkoły Powszechnej nr 9 Cisowa, sygn. 1/17/1, bp.; Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego Oddział w Gdyni (ZNPOwG), Oryginały i pierwodruki wspomnień nauczycieli, Wspomnienia Marii Ładońskiej, nauczycielki szkoły powszechnej nr 12 na Witominie, sygn. 1/27a, bp.

Modernisation of buildings in the first months of 1945 was not an easy task, as there was a lack of professionals and construction materials.

Such realities of the rebirth of Polish education after World War II meant that young people of that time found themselves in a very difficult situation, on the one hand there was a lack of material and financial resources, often there was also a shortage of properly educated teaching staff, and on the other hand, they were put under large-scale political indoctrination by the communist authorities.

Pupils and graduates in statistical terms

Before the start of the first school year after the war, the educational staff proceeded to carry out a register of school-age children and preliminary regionalization. In a letter to the Curator of the Gdańsk School District, dated 18 April 1945, the Gdynia school authorities state that sixty-six teachers and one thousand and fifty school-age children were registered in the city⁶. The number of pupils given above seems to have been greatly lowered, or, more probably, one of the digits was omitted during the typing, the insertion of which would have increased the number of children to several thousand. The order of magnitude of a few thousand pupils attending primary schools in Gdynia in the school year 1944/1945 seems probable, because the available sources indicate that on average several hundred pupils applied to a school resuming its activities at that time. For example, on 23 April 1945, there were six hundred and thirty-seven pupils enrolled in Primary School No. 9 in Gdynia Cisowa⁷.

As was mentioned above, there are no precise data concerning the number of pupils who started their education in Gdynia in the first post-war school year -but based on the preserved reports from a few primary schools operating at that time, it is possible to reconstruct the growth of pupils starting from April 1945. For example, in the spring of 1945, two hundred and eighty-five children attended Primary School No. 12, including one hundred and forty-seven girls and one hundred and thirty-eight boys, while in the following school year, two hundred and ninety-one pupils started their education in Primary School No. 12⁸. The seventh class was

⁶ PBW, Letter to the Delegate of the Ministry of Education Dr Jan Szwarz Superintendent of the School District of Gdańsk of 18 April 1945, sign. R 540/2; in Polish translation: PBW, Pismo do Delegata Ministerstwa Oświaty dra Jana Szwarca Kuratora Okręgu Szkolnego Gdańskiego z 18 IV 1945 roku, sygn. R 540/2.

⁷ MMG, School Chronicle 17 IV 1945 - 21 III 1950 of the Public Primary School No. 9 Cisowa, sign. 1/17/1, np.; in Polish translation: MMG, Kronika szkolna 17 IV 1945 - 21 III 1950 Publicznej Szkoły Powszechnej nr 9 Cisowa, sygn. 1/17/1, bp.

⁸ State Archive in Gdańsk, Gdynia Branch (APGoG), School Inspectorate in Gdynia, Primary Public School No. 12 in Gdynia Witomino - protocols of school meetings, reports, visits, correspondence, sign. 745/10, p. 40; in Polish translation: Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku oddział w Gdyni (APGoG), Inspektorat Szkolny w Gdyni, Publiczna Szkoła Powszechna nr 12 w Gdyni Witominie - protokoły zebrzań szkolnych, sprawozdania, wizytacje, korespondencja, sygn. 745/10, k. 40.

the least numerous, with only five girls. The sixth class was also the smallest by the standards of the time. This situation could have been caused by the fact that in April 1945, youth from older years (especially boys) were still involved in war activities, e.g., through activity in partisan groups, which made it impossible for them to start school. Moreover, it can be assumed that, for various reasons, teenagers decided to take up gainful employment rather than resume their school education.

Table 1. Number of pupils in Gdynia's primary schools

Status as on date	Number of pupils
1 VIII 1945	8 520
30 IV 1946	10 089
1 VII 1946	10 840
30 IX 1946	12 685
7 XI 1946	12 702
31 XII 1946	12 770
31 III 1947	12 655
30 IX 1948	13 177
1 X 1949	11 505
school year 1950/51	11 165
school year 1952/53	10 115*
school year 1953/54	11 049
school year 1954/55	13 626

*The number does not include pupils from Primary Schools No. 1 and No. 20, as there are no records of the number of pupils at these schools for the 1952/1953 school year.

Source: APG, School board of Gdańsk district, Statistics 1945–1946, sign. 1178/85; APG, School board of Gdańsk district, Statistics 1946–1947, sign. 1178/90; APG, School board of Gdańsk district, List of primary schools as of 1 October 1949 in Gdańsk district. 1949–1950, sign. 1178/311, p. 4; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Reports on the results of teaching, sign. 22/1317, np; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Summaries of the results of the audit of universal teaching, sign. 22/1419, np.

In Polish translation: APG, Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego Gdańskiego, Statystyka 1945–1946, sygn. 1178/85; APG, Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego Gdańskiego, Statystyka 1946–1947, sygn. 1178/90; APG, Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego Gdańskiego, Zestawienia szkół podstawowych w/g stanu z dnia 1 X 1949 okręgu gdańskiego. 1949–1950, sygn. 1178/311, k. 4; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Sprawozdania z wyników nauczania, sygn. 22/1317, bp, APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Zestawienia z wyników kontroli powszechnego nauczania, sygn. 22/1419, bp.

As can be seen from the data presented in the table above, until 1948, the number of pupils in Gdynia's primary schools was constantly increasing. The highest increase in the number of pupils occurred in the first two post-war years. Between 1 August 1945 and 1 July 1946, it amounted to 27., 23%. The increase in the number of children in Gdynia's schools in the first three post-war years was the result of an influx of people to the city – both its former inhabitants and new arrivals, which resulted in a significant increase in the population of Gdynia (including school-age children). On the other hand, from 1949, the number of schoolchildren significantly decreased, which was caused mainly by the start of education by small numbers of children from the demographic gap from the time of the war. A certain impact on the decrease in the number of children in schools after 1949 was also caused by the fact that most of the pupils compensating for the shortage of education during the war had already finished their education by that time. On the other hand, the increase in the number of pupils from the beginning of the 1950s was a result of children from the so-called post-war baby boom reaching school age.

Pupils – characteristics of the group

Pupils of primary schools during the years 1945-1956 constituted a specific group of young people, as a considerable number of them resumed education after a break caused by the occupation. Different wartime fates meant that the level of knowledge of children who started education in the first post-war years was very uneven. Some pupils were educated in German schools during the war. These included, for example, Michał Sikora, who in 1940, as a six-year-old boy, began his education in school no. 17 in Gdynia Cisowa⁹.

The break in education and the obligation to attend a German school meant that the level of knowledge of the Polish language (especially spelling and writing) in some school-age children was low. In 1946 the headmaster of primary school No. 7 – Tadeusz Twardowski – *stated that children's language difficulties impeded the normal course of lessons*¹⁰. However, in the fourth school in Gdynia Oksywie, pupils were instructed to keep two notebooks for the Polish language, so that they could

⁹ M. Sikora, *Wojenna Gdynia*, [in:] *Moje wojenne dzieciństwo: wspomnienia nadesłane na konkurs*, v. 10, Warszawa 2002, p. 88-99.

¹⁰ APGoG, School Inspectorate in Gdynia, Primary School No. 7 in Grabówek - protocols of school meetings, reports, visits, correspondence, sign. 745/4, p. 50. in Polish translation: APGoG, Inspektorat Szkolny w Gdyni, Publiczna Szkoła Powszechna nr 7 w Gdyni Grabówku - protokoły zebrań szkolnych, sprawozdania, wizytacje, korespondencja, sygn. 745/4, k. 50.

take one notebook in turns to do their homework at home and leave the other one for the teacher to check¹¹.

In addition, a significant number of children enrolling in educational institutions in the first post-war year did not have school certificates, which meant that to assign a pupil to a given class, teachers had to conduct preliminary examinations, that allowed them to assess the child's level of knowledge. Particularly gifted children – who quickly managed to learn the basics of the curriculum – were moved to higher classes during the school year¹².

Teachers' relations show that young people attending public schools in Gdynia were eager to learn and disciplined. One of the teachers recalled that she used to leave her school diary in the classrooms during breaks, because *none of the children would dare to approach it*¹³. It should be remembered that these are relations written or told after many years, which may have caused their authors to idealize the past – looking at past situations more sentimentally than objectively. Moreover, some of the collected teachers' memories were written in the 1960s and 1970s, so the social realities of the time meant that teachers tried to portray their students' happiness and gratitude for the opportunity to benefit from the achievements of People's Poland¹⁴. Although young people were probably happy to have the opportunity to study after the war, this did not mean that there were no acts of hooliganism in schools, which are mentioned in current school reports.

The education of young people with gaps in their education took place in so-called sequences, which were designed to allow students to make up the material of two classes in one school year. For those who could not read or write properly, literacy courses were organized. These forms of education were usually entrusted to teachers with many years of experience. At the beginning of the educational system's organisation, most of these teachers did not receive any material remuneration for

¹¹ APGoG, School Inspectorate in Gdynia, Primary School No. 4 in Gdyni Oksywie - protocols of school meetings, reports, visits, correspondence, sign. 745/1, p. 10; in Polish translation: APGoG, Inspektorat Szkolny w Gdyni, *Publiczna Szkoła Powszechna nr 4 w Gdyni Oksywii - protokoły zebrań szkolnych, sprawozdania, wizytacje, korespondencja*, sygn. 745/1, k. 10.

¹² ZNPowG, Original and first prints of teachers' memoirs, Memoirs of Maria Ładońska, teacher of primary school No. 12 in Gdynia Witomino, sign. 1/27a, np.; in Polish translation: ZNPoG, *Oryginały i pierwodruki wspomnień nauczycieli, Wspomnienia Marii Ładońskiej, nauczycielki szkoły powszechnej nr 12 na Witominie*, sygn. 1/27a, bp.

¹³ ZNPowG, Original and first prints of teachers' memoirs, Memoirs of Maria Ładońska, teacher of primary school No. 12 in Gdynia Witomino, sign. 1/27a, np.; in Polish translation: ZNPoG, *Oryginały i pierwodruki wspomnień nauczycieli, Wspomnienia Marii Ładońskiej, nauczycielki szkoły powszechnej nr 12 na Witominie*, sygn. 1/27a, bp.

¹⁴ ZNPowG, Original and first prints of teachers' memoirs, Memoirs of Maria Ładońska, teacher of primary school No. 12 in Gdynia Witomino, sign. 1/27a, np.; in Polish translation: ZNPoG, *Oryginały i pierwodruki wspomnień nauczycieli, Wspomnienia Marii Ładońskiej, nauczycielki szkoły powszechnej nr 12 na Witominie*, sygn. 1/27a, bp.

their additional engagement in education; their only payment was the satisfaction of their pupils' achievements¹⁵.

In addition to traditional forms of education, teachers also organised activities for their pupils outside school. These were mainly trips and excursions. For example, pupils from School No. 12 took part in one-day trips, during which they visited nearby cities such as Hel or Gdańsk, while pupils from Primary School No. 10 in Chylonia went on a several-day trip to Wieliczka in 1951. These trips were financed mainly from funds collected by parental committees¹⁶. In addition, pupils participated in forest-cleaning actions.



Pic1 – Pupils and teachers of Primary School No. 12 on a trip to Wieliczka, May 1951

Source: Chronicle of Primary School No. 10 in Gdynia, part 1.

¹⁵ PWB, Primary School No. 8 in Gdynia Orłowo in 1945-1948, sign. R 447, np.; PWB, Reconstruction of Polish education in 1945-1948 in Gdynia on the example of several schools cited below, sign. R 199, p. 2; in Polish translation: PWB, Szkoła podstawowa nr 8 w Gdyni Orłowie w latach 1945-1948, sygn. R 447, bp.; PWB, Odbudowa szkolnictwa polskiego w latach 1945-1948 w Gdyni na przykładzie kilku niżej przytoczonych szkół, sygn. R 199, s. 2.

¹⁶ Chronicle of Primary School No. 10 in Gdynia, part 1; ZNPoWG, Original and first prints of teachers' memoirs, Memoirs of Maria Ładońska, teacher of primary school No. 12 in Gdynia Witomino, sign. 1/27a, np.; in Polish translation: Kronika Szkoły Podstawowej nr 10 w Gdyni, cz. 1; ZNPoG, Oryginały i pierwodruki wspomnień nauczycieli, Wspomnienia Marii Ładońskiej, nauczycielki szkoły powszechnej nr 12 na Witominie, sygn. 1/27a, bp

Classification and promotion of pupils

The main task of teachers in primary schools was to improve the results of teaching, which was to result in the reduction of second-rate education among pupils. The prerequisite for promotion to a higher class was obtaining positive grades in all subjects provided for in the basic curriculum, or one aggregate grade provided for pupils in the first class. However, due to the lack of education caused by the war, many pupils had problems with learning the curriculum. This is evidenced by the fact that in the school year 1947/1948, there were seventy-eight pupils in School No. 4 who were studying in the same class for the second or third year¹⁷.

Table 2: Comparison of numbers of pupils in Gdynia's primary schools classified and promoted in the years 1951-1952¹⁸

Unclassified	Classified	Graduated	Ungraduated	Repetition rate
1,40%*	98,60%*	88,37%* 89,62%**	10,23%* 10,38%**	11,63%*

*The number of all pupils is taken as 100% in the calculation.

**The number of classified pupils is taken as 100%.

Source: own calculations based on documentation from the Department of Education of the Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 5 /reports, minutes, lists/, sygn. 22/1299, bp; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 6 /protocols, lists/, sign. 22/1303, np; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 7 /reports, protocols, lists/, sygn. 22/1306, np; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 8 /reports, lists/, sign. 22/1312, np; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 9 /educational plan of the school director/, sign. 22/1317, np; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 11 /reports, minutes, lists/, sign. 22/1320, np; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 14 /reports, lists/, sign. 22/1330, np; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 15 /reports, lists/, sign. 22/1331, np; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 16

¹⁷ APGoG, School Inspectorate in Gdyni, Primary School No. 4 in Gdynia Oksywie - protocols of school meetings, reports, visits, correspondence, sign. 745/1, p. 32; in Polish translation: APGoG, Inspektorat Szkolny w Gdyni, Publiczna Szkoła Powszechna nr 4 w Gdyni Oksywiu - protokoły z zebrań szkolnych, sprawozdania, wizytacje, korespondencja, sygn. 745/1, k. 32.

¹⁸ Data from thirteen comprehensive schools in Gdynia, from which archival materials containing data on pupils' classification and promotion are available, were taken into consideration in the compilation.

/reports, minutes/, sygn. 22/1332, np; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 17 /reports, minutes, statements/, sign. 22/1333, np.

In Polish translation: APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 5 /protokoły, sprawozdania, zestawienia/, sygn. 22/1299, bp; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 6 /protokoły, zestawienia/, sygn. 22/1303, bp; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 7 /sprawozdania, protokoły, zestawienia/, sygn. 22/1306, bp; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 8 /sprawozdania, zestawienia/, sygn. 22/1312, bp; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 9 /plan wychowawczy kierownika szkoły/, sygn. 22/1317, bp; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 11 /sprawozdania, protokoły, zestawienia/, sygn. 22/1320, bp; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 14 /sprawozdania, zestawienia/, sygn. 22/1330, bp; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 15 /sprawozdania, zestawienia/, sygn. 22/1331, bp; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 16 /sprawozdania, protokoły/, sygn. 22/1332, bp; APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 17 /sprawozdania, protokoły, zestawienia/, sygn. 22/1333, bp.

As the data presented in the table above show, in the years 1951-1952, the percentage of second-year pupils in Gdynia's primary schools amounted to 11.63% and was higher than the average for the country – which in the school year 1952/1953 amounted to 7.4%¹⁹. The highest percentage of students with unsatisfactory grades was in classes V-VII. Nationwide data on pupil promotion shows that in the first half of 1950, the number of pupils with negative grades in the higher classes was nine percentage points higher²⁰. The most difficult subjects for pupils to learn were science, especially mathematics, as well as Polish language and history. For example, in the first semester of the school year 1950/1951 in Primary School No. 13 20% of pupils failed in mathematics, 13% failed in physics, 11% failed in Polish language and 6% failed in history, while the percentage of failures in other subjects did not exceed 5%²¹.

In the school year 1952/1953, promotion exams were initiated in primary schools. At the beginning only pupils of the sixth grade were included, and then also those of the fourth grade. The exams were to include material from Polish

¹⁹ B. Potyrała, *Szkoła podstawowa w Polsce 1944-1984: uwarunkowania społeczno-polityczne*, Warszawa 1987, p. 54.

²⁰ B. Wagner, *Strategia wychowawcza w PRL*, Warszawa 2019, p. 23-24.

²¹ APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Primary School No. 13 /protocols, statements/, sign. 22/1325, np.; Transcript in Polish: APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkoła podstawowa nr 13 /protokoły, zestawienia/, sygn. 22/1325, bp.

language, mathematics, and biology. They were held after the end of the school year, for pupils who had been classified. In the first year, the exams were held on 8 June²². Despite the introduction of the tests, the percentage of pupils not obtaining promotion to a higher class has been decreasing since the beginning of the 1950s. This was probably the result of a certain stabilisation of the school system, and thus an improvement in educational conditions or increased availability of teaching aids.

On the other hand, pupils in the seventh class were obliged to take final examinations. For example, in the school year 1955/1956, they included an oral and written part in Polish language and mathematics, as well as a speech on history²³. In 1952, a sample set of questions in the Polish language was as follows:

1. Szymon Szymonowicz²⁴ as an idyllic writer depicting the misery of a serf-owning farmer – based on *Żeńcy*²⁵
2. Dzierżyński²⁶ – a revolutionary fighter
3. A grammatical dissection of the sentence: *My mother was a strong and tall woman*²⁷.

After graduating from seventh grade, the graduates of primary schools faced the choice of continuing their education in a higher school or starting a job. A significant number of young people decided to take up vocational studies in technical or vocational schools of various profiles.

The percentage of second-year graduates in Gdynia's schools was influenced by various factors and depended both on the commitment and qualifications of teachers, the predispositions of students, and the technical standard of schools. In the first post-war years, the number of students failing to graduate was affected by insufficient space in special schools and often a lack of professional diagnosis, which

²² Ordinance of the Minister of Education of 8 January 1953 on Promotional Examinations at Primary Schools for the School Year 1952/53; in Polish translation: *Zarządzenie Ministra Oświaty z dnia 8 stycznia 1953 roku w sprawie egzaminów promocyjnych w szkołach ogólnokształcących w roku szkolnym 1952/53* (Dz. U. MO 1953 nr 1 poz. 6).

²³ Ordinance of the Minister of Education of 25 February 1955 on the organisation of examinations in primary schools for the school year 1955/56; Transcript in Polish: *Zarządzenie Ministra Oświaty z dnia 25 lutego 1955 w sprawie organizacji egzaminów w szkołach ogólnokształcących w roku szkolnym 1955/56* (Dz. U. MO 1956 nr 3 poz. 16).

²⁴ Szymon Szymonowicz was a Polish Renaissance poet. He was known as "the Polish Pindar".

²⁵ *Żeńcy* (The Beggars) – a literary work by Szymon Szymonowicz, published in the collection *Sielanki* (Idylls) in 1614, but not included in the title category.

²⁶ Feliks Dzierżyński – was a Bolshevik revolutionary and official. Born into Polish nobility, from 1917 until his death in 1926 Dzierzhinsky led the first two Soviet state-security organizations, the Cheka and the OGPU, establishing a secret police for the post-revolutionary Soviet regime. He was one of the architects of the Red Terror and decossackization.

²⁷ During the communist period the image of the "working woman" was promoted in Poland; APGoG, Presidium of the Municipal National Council in Gdynia, Szkolnictwo ogólnokształcące / register, compilations, reports/, sign. 22/1384, np.; in Polish translation: APGoG, Prezydium Miejskiej Rady Narodowej w Gdyni, Szkolnictwo ogólnokształcące / wykazy, zestawienia, sprawozdania/, sygn. 22/1384, bp.

meant that some children with various disabilities were forced to attend to ordinary schools that were unable to provide them with appropriate educational conditions. Teachers also had a significant impact on educational results. The teachers in Gdynia's primary schools were from diverse social backgrounds, coming to the city from different parts of Poland and beyond, which may have resulted in the fact that, in the early years of their work, they did not form a coherent group, which in turn may have had an impact on the quality of teaching in schools. Moreover, some of the teachers, especially at the beginning of the 1950s, were not fully qualified for their profession. In addition, the level of teaching in schools was also affected by the individual commitment and dedication of each teacher.

Summary

Students are an indispensable part of the functioning of schools. The character of a given educational institution depends largely on the socio-political reality in which it has to function, but also on the disposition of its pupils. In the first post-war decade, pupils in Gdynia's primary schools constituted a specific group of young people, who had experienced a time of war and occupation. Young people attending Gdynia's primary schools, especially in the first post-war years, constituted a group of pupils with diversified skills and level of knowledge. Some of the children required specialist care, which was to be provided by two special schools operating in the city from 1948. However, the professional preparation of the teachers employed in those institutions was in most cases not adequate.

The aim of the schools' activities in the period discussed in this article was firstly to eliminate illiteracy and make up for educational gaps resulting from the war-time interruption of schooling, and secondly to prepare graduates for employment or higher education. Most graduates of Gdynia's primary schools in the years 1945-1956 decided to take up employment or study at a vocational school. A common problem in schools in the period 1945-1956 was second-rate education caused by delays in learning as a result of the war and the unpreparedness of both institutions and teachers for work in such specific conditions, especially in the first years of school rebuilding.

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NEWS

12th Congress of Czech Historians and Section of History Didactics

On September the 22nd, 2022, the 12th three-day Congress of Historians of the Czech Republic finished, which was organized by the Department of History and the Department of Archival Sciences and Auxiliary Historical Sciences of the Faculty of Arts of Jan Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem, together with the Association of historians of the Czech Republic, at the UJEP campus in Ústí nad Labem. The meeting can be undoubtedly considered very representative – the number of participants added its importance: over six hundred historians and other related professions came together. The plenary sessions published the results of historical research during the three decades of the existence of the democratic state, the issue of the history in the public space and the importance of humanistic education in the history.

The congress also included six round tables dealing with: research in the humanistic sciences and their funding, Czech historiography after 1990 from the perspective of German researchers, oral history during the pandemic, ethics of historical work, collective memory of Czech society relating to the past, history and populism.

One of the forty congress panels was the didactically focused panel No. 24, entitled “How to Historical Education in the Post-Fact Era or Why Should I Learn History When I Have it All on My Phone?” The panel was guaranteed by the Association for History Didactics,

The guarantors of the panel were vice-chairmen Mgr. Jaroslav Pinkas, Ph.D. (ÚSTR) and doc. Mgr. Radmila Prchal Pavlíčková, Ph.D. (FF UPOL).

The papers first defined the tasks and problems that the current revision of curricular documents brings to history, dealt with the role of historical education in school education after 1989, the analysis of school educational programmes capturing the changes in the history of teaching, etc. A rich discussion then focused on the hierarchy of meanings, the choice of curricula and competences, etc.

The second block first dealt with the issue of the relationship between the concept of history teaching and the form of assessment. Then the issue of measuring historical literacy was discussed. There were also contributions on contrafactual history in didactics of history, and about public history.

The third block of contributions revolved around the researching (constructivist) teaching of History, which is currently being verified within the History+ project, which was followed by presentations by teachers participating in research teaching in practice.

The last block dealt with the analysis of learning communities on the social networks as an opportunity for further education of the teachers of History, or the relationship between oral sources and the research method of History teaching. The meeting of Panel 24 was unofficially concluded by the Association for Didactics of History, z. s., where its current activities and programme outlook for the future were presented. The participants agreed on the need of this institution, despite of its voluntary nature.

Presentations in the panel included prof. PhDr. Zdeněk Beneš, CSc. (Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague), doc. PaedDr. Viliam Kratochvíl, Ph.D. (FF UK in Bratislava), chairman of the Association for Didactics of History, z. s. PhDr. Milan Ducháček, Ph.D. (FP TUL) and Mgr. Miroslav Jireček, Ph. D (PdF MU Brno). PhDr. Pavel Kopeček, Ph.D. (Faculty of Education, Palacký University), other guests from Slovakia and other experts in the field. The Josef Pekař Award (20th year) was traditionally announced at the congress, which was received by PhDr. Michaela Žáková, Ph.D., from the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic for the publication "Theresian Institute of Noblewomen at Prague Castle." The course of the event was visually complemented by a doctoral poster section, of which the most successful outputs were awarded to the Congress Committee Awards and the Dean's Awards of the Faculty of Arts UJEP. A rich accompanying programme was also provided, allowing you to get to know the host's region.

The state-wide 12th Congress of Historians of the Czech Republic must be described as a success. Not only for the rich participation of domestic researchers, but also for representatives of foreign professional associations. Above all, however, the meeting proved, and this is the main message from this event, that historical science as well as the subject didactics of History still have a lot to offer to modern society.

Kamil Štěpánek

ANNOTATIONS

BRÝDL, Miroslav – BOŠTÍK, Martin: *Nezouvat, prosím! Vyprávění emeritního litomyšlského starosty Miroslava Brýdla o jeho životě a moderní architektuře*. Litomyšl, Regionální muzeum v Litomyšli, 2022. 302 s.

The publication *“Please don’t take shoes off! Narrative of the Mayor Emeritus of Litomyšl Miroslav Brýdl about his life and modern architecture”* is a joint work of the former mayor of Litomyšl and the historian from the museum in this city Martin Boštík, who recorded the memories of M. Brýdl. The title of the publication is based on the fact that after their experience of visit in Denmark, the Brýdl’s guests do not take off their shoes.

The autobiographical publication contains a foreword by art critic Petr Volf and 12 chronologically arranged chapters introducing the personality. His life is presented in turn – his family, childhood and youth, studies, military, work experience, building a relationship with architecture and art, important friendships and inspirations, through the interest of the communist regime in this personality to the beginnings of political involvement and various interesting facts from his life (sometimes serious, sometimes funny). It is interesting to trace the influence of historical events on Brýdl’s life – the “Prague Spring” (1968), the occupation by Warsaw Pact troops, the period of normalisation and the “Velvet Revolution” (1989). The emphasis in the book is on the period after 1989, when Litomyšl became the centre of modern architecture under Brýdl’s care. There is also a description of his private life and his political and cultural activities during this period, including issues of privatisation, economic transformation, the beginning of business, etc. Brýdl passed through several political parties. Special chapters are devoted to significant events in his life – one of them is his friendship with Ladislav Horáček, the Litomyšl Portmoneum (with unique room paintings by Josef Váchal) and the establishment of the restoration school (now a branch of the University of Pardubice). Another one is the controversial statue of Zdeněk Nejedlý, which is so controversial that this year it received a special book by Martin Boštík. The following chapter presents Brýdl’s view on the now almost legendary visits of President Václav Havel (1993), seven Central European presidents (1994) and the Spanish royal couple (1995). The preparation, visit and many interesting facts accompanying these visits are described. His relations with important personalities of the time are also recalled – from Václav Havel, through Tomáš Halík, Pavel Tigrid, Jan Stráský to Václav Klaus and a number of prominent architects. Brýdl’s work in regional politics (he was deputy governor and member of the Pardubice Region Council responsible for

culture and monument care) and his life after his political career is also described. There are also descriptions of his awards, but also of his failures and, for example, of allegations of fictitious crimes against him. The book also includes an editorial note where Martin Boštík introduces the reader to the process of creating the work. The entire publication is then accompanied by an annotated bibliography, offering the reader the necessary regional and historical context. The book is supplemented by rich visual (photographs) and textual appendices (speeches, thank-you notes, invitations, letters, congratulations, etc.).

Miroslav Brýdl is a peculiar man, but he has undoubtedly contributed to the development of his town. Moreover, the publication touches on the recent past with many overlaps into the present (the mayor of Litomyšl today is Daniel Brýdl, the son of the personality under review). However, the authors have dealt with this situation with honour. This is a readable publication, written with humour and, where necessary, with seriousness. Moreover, it is a frank confession. It should be emphasized that Litomyšl, by publishing this book, has gained a valuable record of its recent past, and for future historians it is undoubtedly a unique source. M. Brýdl is said to be satisfied if the reader finishes his memoirs and says, “but yes, that’s not bad” (p. 217). I am of the opinion that the publication will meet this standard without any problems and will aspire to a higher rating.

Miroslav Jireček

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