

# CZECH-POLISH

HISTORICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL JOURNAL

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15/2023/1-2

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# **CZECH-POLISH HISTORICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL JOURNAL**

Volume 15/2023/1-2

Journal of the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University Brno

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## ARTICLES

### **The Changing Role of the Faculty of Military Leadership in Czech Military Education (2004–2018)**

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Binar, A. (2023): The Changing Role of the Faculty of Military Leadership in Military Education (2004–2018). *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 15/2023/1–2, 3–15.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2023-001>

*Educational mission of the Faculty of Military Leadership (until 2014 as Faculty of Economics and Management) of the University of Defence (Brno, Czech Republic) underwent since its origin in 2004 to 2018 number of changes. By analysing the structure of study programmes and the number of employees and students, the goal of this article is to identify the main periods in the development of the faculty as well as its role in the educational system. The results are as follows.*

*The first period was a reaction to a process of professionalization of army, i.e., the replacement the conscript army by professionals that led into decrease of number of military students and parallel orientation towards civilian study programmes in national security. The second stage was influenced by the financial crisis of 2007–2008; that is why a gradual reduction of military study took place as well as serious considerations about the dissolution of the faculty and university, respectively. The third, final, period began in 2013–2014. Its main element was the change of characteristics of study programmes and their connection to the “militarization” of the faculty; reorganization of the structure of the faculty in 2014; the gradual increase of the number of military students at the expense of civilian students; and, finally, the cancelation of civilian study programmes. Year 2018, when personal changes in management of faculty took place together with a consideration about principles of a new study programme, could be regarded as the beginning of a qualitative new period in history of Faculty of Military Leadership that lasts until present day – and as such is out of focus of this study.*

**Keywords:** *military education; the Faculty of Military Leadership; the Faculty of Economics and Management; the University of Defence; leadership*

## Introduction

Since its establishment, the task and the scope of activities of the Faculty of Military Leadership (*Fakulta vojenského leadershipu*) – which is a constituent of Czech University of Defence – varied in time. It reflects, for instance, change of its name; in 2004 to 2014 the faculty existed as the Faculty of Economics and Management (*Fakulta ekonomiky a managementu*). The key mission, i.e., to provide higher and accredited education<sup>1</sup> for officers, was never called into question, but its importance among other tasks did not remain the same.

The goal of this study is to examine the changes in the conceptual position of the faculty and the changes in its tasks in 2004 to 2018 in order to identify the main periods in its development.

The first milestone that makes up the framework of this study is the moment the University of Defence was established as the new institution of military education. The year 2018 has its significance since the faculty prepared new study programme to apply for; also, the academic senate selected a new dean and new management (vice deans), respectively; then, a new organization of the faculty was proposed (and partially implemented); and, finally, year 2018 was also a time when novelization of university act (Bill 168/2018)<sup>2</sup> was issued and came into force. These together form a new era in recent development that is not yet to be closed.

The article is divided into four chapters. The first one is an overview of crucial moments in the history of Czech military educational system with a special aim at the events making up the framework of the faculty's development. The second chapter deals with accredited study programmes while focusing on their goals and structure as well as with unaccredited study (courses), while the third one is about the number and composition of students. The fourth chapter, then, focuses on the organisation of the faculty in which number of employees represents one of the key indicators in faculty's development.

To achieve these goals, the author made use of several resources. All of them are so-called open resources, i.e., that all are accessible to the public (the only exceptions were figures pertaining to the number of students in academic years 2016–2017 and 2017–2018). The most important informational sources were annual reports of the faculty (*Výroční zpráva Fakulty vojenského leadershipu*) from 2003–2004 to 2018 (2019); all volumes are available on faculty's website. Annual reports provide key information in development of faculty, e.g., about its organization, number of students and academics, study programmes, courses

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter Study Programmes of the Faculty.

<sup>2</sup> Bill 168/2018 from 19 July 2018 (*Sbírka zákonů a nařízení*).

etc.<sup>3</sup> In addition, annual reports of the University of Defence from 2004 to 2018 were used.<sup>4</sup> The next important type of documents is the university journal. Since its beginning, the university issues its own magazine under the name The University of Defence Journal (*Listy Univerzity obrany*); originally, being issued twelve times a year, the cycle was gradually reduced to four issues a year. In 2006 and 2013, two bilingual (Czech and English) books about the University of Defence were published.<sup>5</sup> There is also an older publication from 2002 by Hanzlík, Kozílek and Rákosník, dealing with the history of a predecessor of the faculty, the Ground Forces Military University.<sup>6</sup>

Pertaining to the literature, there are few studies published in Czech military journal the Military Review (*Vojenské rozhledy*). The 2004 paper by Karel Novotný is an overview of tasks by that time newly established University of Defence.<sup>7</sup> The next two studies deal with higher education of military professionals; the study by Zůna and Pernica of 2010 brings information about the relevance of the appropriate number of applicants for military study in the faculty,<sup>8</sup> while the study by Halberštát, Holcner and Foltin of 2011 specifies the tendency in interest in studying at the faculty.<sup>9</sup>

### **The Military Educational System in the Czech Republic and Professionalization of the Army**

The beginning of the 21st century brought several important changes for the Army of the Czech Republic. On 1 January 2005, six years after its entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (12 March 1999), the Czech Republic adopted the system of a professional army which was followed by a reorganisation of the structure of the armed forces. But changes

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<sup>3</sup> Because of nature of year reports, there are no citations in the article for each specific issue. All of them are available in this link (in Czech language only): <https://fv1.unob.cz/fakulta/dokumenty/vyrocnizpravy/> Retrieved on 6 December 2021.

<sup>4</sup> See link: <https://unob.cz/univerzita/dokumenty/vyrocnizpravy-uo/> Retrieved 6 December 2021.

<sup>5</sup> Collective of authors (2006). *Univerzita obrany – University of Defence*, Agentura vojenských informací a služeb, Praha; Collective of authors (2010). *Univerzita obrany – University of Defence*, Vojenský historický ústav, Praha.

<sup>6</sup> Hanzlík, F., Kozílek, R. & Rákosník, Z. (2002). *Vysoká vojenská škola pozemního vojska ve Vyškově. Historie a současnost* [Ground Forces Military University in Vyškov. The Past and the Present-Day], Ministerstvo obrany České republiky, Praha.

<sup>7</sup> Novotný, K. (2004). K poslání a zaměření činnosti Univerzity obrany [On the Tasks and the Aims of the University of Defence], *Vojenské rozhledy*. 13 [45] (3), pp. 83–96.

<sup>8</sup> Zůna, J. & Pernica, B. (2010). Potřebuje vysokoškolské vzdělání vojenských profesionálů reformu? [Is there a Need to Reform the Higher Education of Military Professionals?] *Vojenské rozhledy*. 19 [51] (3), pp. 72–83.

<sup>9</sup> Halberštát, L., Holcner, V. & Foltin, P. (2011). Jaké vysokoškolské vzdělání potřebují vojenští profesionálové? [What Kind of Higher Education Do the Military Professionals Need?], *Vojenské rozhledy*. 20 [52] (1), pp. 60–70.

in the military educational system were done at a much faster pace. As a relic of the Cold War, there were three large institutions of higher military education. The oldest one was the Military Medical Academy of Jan Evangelista Purkyně (*Vojenská lékařská akademie Jana Evangelisty Purkyně*), then the successor of the Czech tradition of military technical education the Military Academy (*Vojenská akademie*), and the youngest one, the Ground Forces Military University (*Vysoká vojenská škola pozemního vojska*).

According to the University of Defence Act from 2 April 2004 (Bill 214/2004)<sup>10</sup> there would have existed only one military education institution established on 1 September 2004. To fulfil the standards of this law it was necessary that each institution had to be first reorganized into single faculty and then merged together into simple university. The next issue was the location. According to the first paragraph of the bill, the university should have been relocated to Brno. However, the seat of the Medical Academy was in Hradec Králové and the Ground Forces Military University was stationed in Vyškov. This issue was solved via compromise. The Ground Forces Military University was transferred to Brno, while the Medical Academy remained in Hradec Králové; as a result, the University of Defence has its headquarters in Brno with one faculty in Hradec Králové – apart of few its components in Vyškov.

The Ground Forces Military University was composed originally of two faculties, the Faculty of Military Systems Management (*Fakulta řízení vojenských systémů*) and the Faculty of National Defence Economics and Logistics (*Fakulta ekonomiky obrany státu a logistiky*). The first mentioned consisted of nine departments whose scope ranged from tactics (three departments), artillery, chemical warfare, military engineering, weapon construction, and military vehicle maintenance to physical education. The second faculty was composed also of nine departments with specializations as follows; economics (two departments), logistics (two departments), social sciences, finance, mathematics and IT, foreign languages, and law.<sup>11</sup> To adjust the university for a process of consolidation, both its faculties were merged into the Faculty of Economics and Management on 1 September 2003; so, since this moment, Vyškov university had only one faculty with eleven departments. A year later, its faculty became component of the University of Defence together with the Faculty of Military Technology (*Fakulta vojenských technologií*) and the Faculty of Military Health Sciences (*Fakulta vojenského zdravotnictví*) as well as couple of university centres (Chemical Warfare Institution e.g.).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Bill 214/2004 from 2 April 2004 (*Sbírka zákonů a nařízení*).

<sup>11</sup> Hanzlík, F., Kozílek, R. & Rákosník, Z. (2002). Op. cit., pp. 94–119.

<sup>12</sup> Collective of authors (2006). Op. cit., pp. 7–19; Collective of authors (2010).

Op. cit., pp. 11–17, 31–40; Novotný, K. (2004). Op. cit., pp. 83–96; -red- (2004). Univerzita obrany se představuje [The University of Defence Introduces Itself], *Listy Univerzity obrany*.

## Study Programmes of the Faculty

The Faculty of Economics and Management was established by the merging of two faculties; that is why it had two types of study programmes. In Czech legal system, only the institutions that acquired certification from national higher educational agency (*Akreditační komise*; since 2016 *Národní akreditační úřad*) are “accredited” to open study programmes and to issue academic degree. This permission is, however, only for a certain time only and after that institutions are required to apply for its prolongation or for a certification of a new study programme.<sup>13</sup> A study programme could be divided into disciplines which itself may be composed of specializations.

From its predecessor, Faculty of National Defence Economics and Logistics, faculty carried out study programme “Economics and Management” (*Ekonomika a management*) with two of its disciplines, i.e., Military Management (*Vojenský management*) and National Defence Economics (*Ekonomika obrany státu*). Both disciplines were opened in the first cycle (bachelor) for three years, in the second cycle (follow-up master’s) for two years, and in the third cycle (doctoral) for three years. Only one subsidiary discipline was not opened after reorganization; it was “Economics and Hygiene of Nourishment” (*Ekonomika a hygiena výživy*).

Next study programme, “Theory of Management and Employment of Military Units of Ground Forces and the Forces of Territorial Defence” (*Teorie řízení a použití jednotek a útvarů pozemního vojska a sil územní obrany*) became a heritage of the Faculty of Military Systems Management. The programme itself was divided into specializations; these aimed at educating the commander of combat units (commander of mechanized units and commander of reconnaissance units) and of combat support units (commander of military engineering units, of artillery units, of units of territorial defence), and the officers of staff (process manager). Pertaining to this study programme, its fate was completely different. The admission process to this programme in the faculty was immediately stopped and the students could only finish their studies.<sup>14</sup> That happened in the academic year 2005–2006. The same year, the decision was made not to apply for the prolongation of this study programme and at the end of the academic year 2006–2007 its “accreditation” expired. The question was what to do with the graduates of this bachelor cycle. According to the agreement

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1 (1), pp. 1–7; Sikora, A. (2005). Peripetie reorganizace vojenského školství [The Ways the Reorganization of Military Education]. *Listy Univerzity obrany*. 1 (Special Issue), pp. 1–8.

<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, unaccredited study includes number of courses with informal value or with partial validity, e.g. as a requirement for promotion of soldiers.

<sup>14</sup> Sikora, A. (2005). Op. cit., pp. 1–8.



with the Ministry of Education, Youth and Physical Education, they were allowed to undertake a one-year course and then to continue in the study programme “Economics and Management” in the follow-up master’s cycle.

In the following years, the Faculty of Economics and Management applied for a prolongation of the study programme “Economics and Management” both in its bachelor and follow-up master’s cycle. This process continued until 2014.

Meantime, in 2008, the faculty opened a study discipline “National Defence Economics” with four specializations (within the framework of “Economics and Management”) for civilian and military students. Two years later, the faculty applied for another study discipline entirely for civilians, “Security Management” (*Bezpečnostní management*); its certification was set to 2018.

Between 2010 and 2014, the structure of study programmes of the Faculty of Economics and Management was thus as follows. Within “Economics and Management” study programme, there were three study disciplines. “Military Management” was divided into six specializations, predominantly for commanding officers; these were commander of mechanized and tank units, commander of reconnaissance units, commander of ground forces, commander of artillery units, commander of military engineering units, and information resources management. “National Defence Economics” discipline, then, was divided into five specializations, mostly for staff officers and for civilian students; these were logistics, military transport system, financial resources management, economics of human resources management, economics of financial resources, and quality management. Finally, the last one, “Security Management”, had three specializations, i.e., population protection, security services, and cybernetic security.

What these study disciplines had in common was the fact that they were divided into first and second cycles. Moreover, the faculty continued to have doctoral studies. Within “Economics and Management”, there were two disciplines, “Military Management” and “National Defence Economics”. Except this, there were two study programmes, “Military Logistics” (*Vojenská logistika*) and “Armed Forces and Population Protection” (*Ochrana vojsk a obyvatelstva*); the last two were officially accredited to the university.

The most important changes occurred in 2014. According to the decision of the Ministry of Defence, the faculty applied for a new study discipline. It was called “Armed Forces Management and Deployment” (*Řízení a použití ozbrojených sil*) and was accredited within “Economics and Management”, but – contrary to previous praxis – it was purely a master’s programme, i.e., the study lasted five years (the first and second cycle together). In total, the new discipline was divided into nine specializations – and what is important – intended entirely for military students. These specializations were as follows; there were five specializations for commanding officers, i.e., commander of mechanized unit, commander of reconnaissance unit, commander of engineering units, commander of artillery units, and commander of chemical units, then there were four specializations for staff officers, i.e., military

logistics, human resources management, financial resources management, and information resources management. It meant that in the new study structure the number of specializations was slightly reduced (from eleven to nine).

Pertaining to the civil study, the older study programmes remained, but after 2014 there were fewer and fewer specializations opened for civilian students. Finally, in 2017, the decision on level of University of Defence was made not to accept any civilian students, despite having valid accreditation; the only exception was to allow the graduates from the first cycle to continue in the second cycle.

The faculty offered also a non-accredited study. This study, organized as one or two-week courses, could be characterized as a qualification or lifelong courses which were aimed primarily at the employees of the Ministry of Defence, both civilian and military.<sup>15</sup> The courses were held in the fields of economics, pedagogy, law, and military sciences.<sup>16</sup>

Since its beginning, the number of these courses varied at around seven per academic year with approximately 100 attendees. After 2009, nevertheless, the tendency to increase the number of these courses became apparent. In 2010, it grew to 14 with 165 attendees, the next year to 21 with 322 attendees, and in 2012, it was 31 courses together with 468 attendees. The issue of government resolution on the Strategy of Lifelong Learning in the Czech Republic<sup>17</sup> for 2009–2015 was one reason.<sup>18</sup> The next one was the fact that sheer existence of the University of Defence was put into question, mainly within hierarchy of Ministry of Defence. That is why the faculty was searching for ways to justify its existence; these lifelong learning tasks were one of them. Therefore, until 2012, the sum of courses continuously increased. However, by the following year, their numbers distinctively dropped to 23 courses and 348 attendees. In the following years, this trend continued; in 2018, finally, the faculty held only 15 courses with 194 attendees in total.

### **Students of the Faculty**

The number of students of the faculty reflected not only the structure of study programmes (disciplines), but also the intentions of the authorities. It is the Ministry of Defence that ultimately decides how many students the faculty is allowed to accept.

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<sup>15</sup> Faculty also participated in organization of career courses for officer (Higher Officers Course and General Staff Course); because of their nature, they are not taken into account for purpose of this article.

<sup>16</sup> Holcner, V. (2011). Quo vadis Fakulta ekonomiky a managementu? [Quo vadis, Faculty of Economics and Management?] *Listy Univerzity obrany*. 8 (3), p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> Available on website of the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Education both in Czech and in English language: <https://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/dalsi-vzdelavani/strategie-celozivotniho-uceni-cr> Retrieved on 6 December 2021.

<sup>18</sup> Halberštát, L., Holcner, V. & Foltin, P. (2011). Op. cit., p. 64.

In its first year within the University of Defence, the faculty had in total 1,346 students (by 1 October 2004; all following data are by 1 October). Soon, their numbers rapidly decreased to 605 in 2005 (and to 586 in 2006). It meant that in a single year the faculty lost 55.1% of its students. But from 2007 to 2010–2011 the trend turned, and their figures slowly grew and by 2010 and 2011 there were 1,064 students at the faculty. In 2012 and in the following years, their number once again started to decrease, but at a slower pace. In 2015, faculty had 974 students and three years later, in 2018, 738 in total.

The distinctive drop of students in 2004–2006 was caused by an overlap of two factors; first, the faculty limited its study offer, but due to reorganization the faculty and the University of Defence became a new and less unknown institution among young people. It is also necessary to take a demographic change into account, i.e., a low birth rate since the 1980s.

During reorganization of the university in 2003–2004, the number of applicants dropped significantly from 826 in 2003 to 515 in 2005. But due to a stabilization in interest, young people's desire to study in the faculty started to increase and in 2006–2012 the number of applicants consistently rose from 1,080 in 2009 to 1,560 in 2012. But in 2013–2014, the tendency became once again opposite; in 2014, the faculty had 1,103 applicants, in 2015 it was 1,028. Together, 26.8% of applicants were accepted into the faculty in 2004, 43.0% in 2010, and finally 56.4% in 2015. Less applicants thus meant that chance of those interested to study at faculty to get accepted grew higher.<sup>19</sup>

One of the key aspects that shed a clear light into the role of the faculty in its educational mission is a ratio between the number of accepted military and civilian students. Since the “Vyškov era”, there were civilian students in the faculty. In 2007, there was 29.4% of civilian students among all accepted and their position grew consistently. It reached its peak in 2013 when there were more civilian students than military (54.7% compared to 45.3%). The portion of civilian students in the first (bachelor) cycle was higher and long lasting and related to changes in the faculty's study offerings (see above).<sup>20</sup> But in the following years, this percentage started to decrease, especially in 2017 when it dropped rapidly from 44.6% in 2016 to 32.1% by 2017. Following year, because no civilian bachelor students were admitted for academic year 2017–2018, they formed only 22.7% of all students of faculty.

A specific group of students represents those who are accepted for doctoral study programmes. Pertaining to their proportion in the faculty in the period between 2004–2017 they represented a significant part of all students. In the first years of existence of the faculty, their number increased from 94

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<sup>19</sup> Zůna, J. & Pernica, B. (2010). Op. cit., 78–82.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., there was 58.2% of civilian students among all accepted for bachelor cycle in 2011. Vincenec, V. (2010). Imatrikulace studentů prvního ročníku FEM [Matriculation of the Students of the First Grade]. *Listy Univerzity obrany*. 7 (1), p. 4.

in 2006 to 164 in 2009, and then, after a short-term decline in 2012 (90 students), their number became stable with 116 students in 2015. Their ratio among all students was as follows; they represented 16.0% in 2006, 15.4% in 2009, and 11.7% in 2015. Finally, it is necessary to mention that many of them were students utilizing forms of distance education; it comprised of 86.2% of all doctoral students in 2006 and 82.8% in 2015.

### **Organization of the Faculty**

After its establishment, the Faculty of Economics and Management was composed of eleven departments; these were as follows. There was the Department of Econometrics, the Department of Economics, the Department of Languages, the Department of Physical Education and Sport, the Department of Social Sciences and Law, and the Department of Population Protection, providing the theoretical background for all study programmes, then the Department of Materials and Services, the Department of Logistics, the Department of Military Management and Tactics, the Department of Fire Support Management, and the Department of Combat Support, providing the knowledge and skills in military speciality. Each department was divided into so called study groups which were in total 27 of them.

The above-mentioned structure meant that the faculty preserved most of its key components from the time it was still a university in Vyškov. Except for these departments, there was also the school battalion where students-soldiers carried out their military service; the battalion itself was divided into five companies, with each subunit representing one grade.

The first change in the organization of the faculty took place already the following year. On 1 September 2005, the Department of Physical Education and Sports was excluded from the faculty and transformed into an independent university centre.<sup>21</sup> Also, the number of academics was reduced from 264 to 143, i.e., nearly about one-half (44.3%) within a year. The reason was not only because of the exclusion of one department, but due to planned cuts in context with the expiration of older study programmes. But in its result, the scope of reduction distinctly exceeded plans; originally, as intended, faculty should have had 187 members in total.

Exactly one year later, the same happened to the Department of Languages; so, the total number of departments decreased to nine. The reason was to form one university language institute that could provide not only accredited education, but also courses and other language services for Ministry of Defence

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<sup>21</sup> The changes in position of the Department of Physical Education and Sport were anticipated for a long time, because within the structure of the University of Defence there were two similar departments in two faculties. Černohorský, T. (2005). Aktuální zařazení KTV ve struktuře Univerzity obrany [Current Organization of the Department of Physical Education within the University of Defence]. *Listy Univerzity obrany*. 2 (2), p. 6.

and its employees.<sup>22</sup> In 2008, then, the Departments of Materials and Services and the Department of Logistics were merged into one; by the same time, the number of faculty members fell to 134.

Two years later, at the beginning of 2010, there were few changes pertaining to two departments. The Department of Social Sciences was renamed to the Department of Human Resources Management and slightly reduced, from four study groups to three. Through transformation of the university's Centre of Strategic and Defence Studies a new faculty's unit was established under the name the Department of Lifelong Learning with three study groups focusing on military art, defence planning and security studies.<sup>23</sup> In following years, the faculty had nine departments with 24 study groups. Also, the school battalion was excluded from the faculty and put under control of the university. It meant that faculty lost direct command authority over its students.

In the development of the faculty, year 2014 has a crucial role. Firstly, the faculty changed its name to the Faculty of Military Leadership, which was related to the acceptance of a new study programme. More important was, however, the internal reorganization. The Department of Management and the Department of Tactics that were built by transformation of the Department of Management and Tactics were added into its structure. The next new unit became the Department of Leadership that was established on the grounds of the Department of Human Resources Management. The fourth new one component was the Department of Military Art that was merged partly from the Department of Human Resources Management, and partly from the Department of Lifelong Learning. The other four departments remained, but under new designation and with different internal organisation; the Department of Population Protection was renamed to the Department of Crisis Management, the Department of Fire Support Management to the Department of Fire Support, and the Department of Combat Support became the Department of Military Engineer Support. So, only two units avoided any decisive changes (of econometrics and economics).

After its reorganization, the faculty consisted of ten departments and 20 study groups. There were three departments (econometrics, economics, and management) focusing on a theoretical backdrop for the new study programme "Armed Forces Management and Employment", another three (leadership, military art, and crisis management) on education of officer skills, and the last four on military specialization (fire support, engineering support, logistics, and tactics).

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<sup>22</sup> -pa- (2006). Cílem MO je vytvoření jednoho resortního centra jazykové přípravy [The Aim of the Ministry of Defence is to Establish One Common Centre of Language Preparation]. *Listy Univerzity obrany*. 2 (5), p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Dubová, Z. (2010). Katedra celoživotního vzdělávání není žádným benjamínkem [The Department of the Lifelong Learning is not any Beginner]. *Listy Univerzity obrany*. 6 (6), p. 7.

Even though the number of departments increased, the total number of employees dropped from 138 by the end of 2013 to 114 year later; that represents the lowest figure in the history of the faculty. In the following year, however, the number of employees started slowly to grow; finally, there were 126 individuals at the faculty by the end of 2018.

## Conclusion

The Faculty of Military Leadership (Faculty of Economics and Management) was established to fulfil the tasks given by the Ministry of Defence. These tasks varied in time and were reflected via several aspects, i.e., education, number and composition of students, internal structure, and the number of employees. That is why several different periods in the development of the faculty could be identified. There is a distinctive period lasting from 2004 when the University of Defence was established until 2007–2008. The most decisive feature was the stabilization of its orientation for economics and management-based study programmes. In these years, the faculty also lost some relevant parts of its components; the number of departments decreased from eleven to eight and the number of employees from 264 to 134. It is also a period when faculty became more and more integrated into the structures of the university. On the other hand, it lost its autonomy in a few aspects (command authority over military students and education of foreign languages and physical education among others).

The next period of 2007–2008 to 2013–2014 is the era when the existence of entire university was put into question. The faculty faced this threat in two ways. Firstly, the faculty opened itself for civilian students; in 2013, there were accepted more civilian than military students and in next years they prevailed. The second way was that the faculty became to open unaccredited courses to counterbalance the fact that its primary mission was distinctively weakened. In its structure, by that period, there were no important changes and quantity of employees remained at around 130–140 persons.

The third period lasting from 2013–2014 is related to the implementation of a new study programme. This one was different from previous types in several aspects; firstly, there were first (bachelor) and second (follow-up master's) cycles merged together; secondly, the programme itself shifted its theoretical basis partly from economics and management in favour of leadership. That is why the name of the faculty switched to the Faculty of Military Leadership. In its structure there were established new departments. Also, entire existence of the university was no longer challenged by the Ministry of Defence. This last period is also an era of “militarization” of the faculty. The most visible aspect was significant drop of number of civilian students; in 2018 they comprised only 22.7% of all students.

To sum up, even though none of these above-mentioned periods have its precise turning points, clearly, there are three periods in the recent history of the faculty that have their own distinctions.

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## **Library as an Educational Institution 1918-1968: Construction of the "New Human" as a Discontinuity in Continuity**

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Černý, M. (2023). Library as an Educational Institution 1918–1968: Construction of the "New Human" as a Discontinuity in Continuity. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 15/2023/1–2, 16–35.  
<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2023-002>

*The historiographical study analyses libraries as institutions that work with the collective memory of the nations in which they are located while educating all inhabitants. Libraries represent one of the crucial institutions of modern Czechoslovak society. This study focuses on their research from the perspective of the anthropology of institutions. Within the framework of Czechoslovakia, it analyses three stages of historical development: 1918–1938, 1938–1948 and 1948–1968. The study seeks to uncover anthropological patterns that implicitly shape the structure, meaning and methods of functioning of libraries and their social order. It also explains why libraries were essential institutions for Masaryk's Czechoslovakia and the totalitarian communist state. The study shows libraries as an institution with a high degree of historical continuity and, at the same time, discontinuously changing from a place of education for democracy into a means of propaganda and indoctrination.*

Keywords: *library, Masaryk, anthropology of institutions, sociology of institutions, totalitarianism, Czechoslovakia, censorship, memory institutions, education*

### **Introduction**

The study analyses the development of libraries in Czechoslovakia in three critical stages of its history: 1918–1938, 1938–1948 and 1948–1968. The study focuses on the first and the last epochs in which libraries and librarianship could develop independently (albeit with varying degrees of freedom). The study aims to point out discontinuities in the continuity of the historical development of libraries in this territory, especially concerning legislative, political and value changes. Specifically, it analyses the concept of the 'new human', to which political conditions differed. In all cases, there were to be means to achieve this ideal.

In 1951, Hannah Arendt published a monograph, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, for the first time, in which<sup>1</sup> she turned her attention to institutions. For Arendt, institutions become the key to understanding how people behave, make decisions, and structure human thought. She sees them as a formative element of society that can be the key to explaining many social and historical processes.<sup>2</sup>

The social constructivists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann also built on this concept in the mid-1960s.<sup>3</sup> They show that institutions<sup>4</sup> are fundamentally involved in shaping what we call reality. Institutions name problems structure society by forming divisions between good and evil, poor and rich, and citizens and strangers. The state can moderate what happens in the community through these institutions, shaping a new reality. They draw attention to the fact that the state – is the source of the existence of institutions. However, it also lives in a reality that the institutions themselves influence. This interdependence leads to a certain continuity of institutions that build a common concept of the state structure, its values and interrelations.

The second aspect of the constitution of institutions is what values the state puts into them, with what aim and in what thoughtful way it can build these institutions. Hannah Arendt was a proponent of the idea that a specific style of exercising power is linked to structures inscribed in institutions. Jan Sokol was already more nuanced in his trilogy, focusing on the philosophy of institutions (*Man as Person, Power, Money and Law, Ethics, Life, and Institutions*).<sup>5</sup> He was aware that society shapes specific values which (intentionally or unintentionally) gradually imprint themselves on how individual institutions work. An institution is not a permanent and unchanging bureaucratic apparatus but a living organism within specific social conditions.

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<sup>1</sup> Arendt, H. (2007). *The origins of totalitarianism*. Durnham: Duke University Press.

<sup>2</sup> Aschheim, S. E. (1997). Nazism, culture and the origins of totalitarianism: Hannah Arendt and the discourse of evil. *New German Critique*, 70/1, 117–139. & Tsao, R. T. (2004). Arendt and the Modern State: Variations on Hegel in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. *The Review of Politics*, 66/1, pp. 105–138.

<sup>3</sup> Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality*. New York: Anchor Books.

<sup>4</sup> Brekhus, W. H. (2015). *Culture and cognition: Patterns in the social construction of reality*. New Jersey: Wiley. & Eberle, T. S. (1992). A new paradigm for the sociology of knowledge: "the social construction of reality" after 25 years. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 18/2, pp. 493–502.

<sup>5</sup> Sokol, J. (2014). *Etika, život, instituce: Pokus o praktickou filosofii*. Praha: Vyšehrad. & Sokol, J. (2015). *Moc, peníze a právo: Esej o společnosti a jejích institucích*. Praha: Vyšehrad. & Sokol, J. (2016). *Člověk jako osoba: Filosofická antropologie*. Praha: Vyšehrad.

This study will focus on public libraries with an institution's character.<sup>6</sup> An institution's operation is associated with different demands, discourses, norms and requirements. Libraries can be interesting to study for many reasons. We want to highlight at least two. It is one of the most accessible institutions in the Czech territory. There are more than schools; they form a unique infrastructure for transferring education and collective memory.

The second reason is that their position in historical development is much more fluid, unlike many other authorities and institutions. In the essay 'The School Will Make It Work',<sup>7</sup> Hans-Ulrich Grunder draws attention to the demands that 20th-century society has gradually placed on the school and its transformation. However, libraries have undergone fundamental changes in their services, internal content, and the shift of social demand for their essential purpose.

But the common denominator of these changes has always been the constitution of a "new human"<sup>8</sup> through education. In this respect, we can speak of a systematic continuity of the idea of librarianship at least between 1918 and 1989. However, this idea of the 'new human' and the paths to achieving it changed so much in the 20th century that we can simultaneously speak of turning points or discontinuous developments. This study aims to demonstrate how the idea of the library was reflected in the "new human" concept.

## Methodology

The study is based on the philosophical anthropology of institutions.<sup>9</sup> We believe that the state builds institutions as instruments for achieving its goals. The legislative and cultural environment influences institutions, the way they work, and the structure of values they imprint on society. At the same time, the institution is determined and structured by these influences. It draws on the insights of social constructivism, which emphasises that institutions are, on the one hand, fundamentally involved in shaping our ideas about the world in which we live but, at the same time, are themselves influenced by those ideas.

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<sup>6</sup> Martin, L. (1937). The American public library as a social institution. *The Library Quarterly*, 7/4, 546–563. & Evjen, S. (2015). The image of an institution: Politicians and the urban library project. *Library & Information Science Research*, 37/1, pp. 28–35.

<sup>7</sup> Grunder, H. U. (2017). *Mythen-Irrtümer-Unwahrheiten. Essays über" das Valsche" in der Pädagogik*. Bad Heilbrunn: Julius Klinkhardt.

<sup>8</sup> Hlavinková, L. (2007). Socialismus jako sekularizovaná společnost. „Být věřícím“ v době socialismu. Případová studie. In T. Bubík, H. Hoffmann (eds.). Pardubice: Pantheon, pp. 62-71.

<sup>9</sup> Wright, S. (2004). *Anthropology of organizations*. New York: Routledge. & Baba, M. L. (2009). W. Lloyd Warner and the Anthropology of Institutions: An Approach to the Study of Work in Late Capitalism. *Anthropology of Work Review*, 30/2, 29–49.

We will show how interrelated legislative norms, specific library projects, and the person model libraries can help shape. The Czech Republic has the densest network of public libraries globally; these are prevalent institutions and can be found in many municipalities - in 2019, there were 5,307 libraries in the Czech Republic with 1,376,033 users. Over 13% of the population is registered as readers in public libraries.<sup>10</sup> There are 6253 municipalities in the Czech Republic, so a simple estimate suggests that about 85% of cities have functioning public libraries. It is, therefore, one of the most widespread and accessible institutions. By comparison, there are 4 192 primary schools, significantly fewer than libraries.

Therefore, the study aims to observe how the anthropology of the institution differs between the First Republic and communist totalitarianism. Thus, the research will not work with individual examples of good and bad practices, with erroneous or, on the contrary, functional settings of various principles and approaches. But will seek to reconstruct the (unspoken, often only intuitively understood) ideal of the human being that these institutions aim to shape and form.

The research will open up a broader perception of this phenomenon to other institutions and thus help better understand the Czech environment's cultural-institutional transformation in the twentieth century. At the same time, this method allows us to offer a broader and more profound perception of the analysis of the development of libraries as institutions than a simple look at archival materials or statistical reports would offer. The anthropological study of institutions relies on approaches associated with phenomenology and the methodological foundations of discursive analysis. It<sup>11</sup> shares with phenomenology<sup>12</sup> the belief that how librarianship appears and how individual sources and documents grasp it can provide clues for understanding deeper connections and relationships. It communicates an approach to various sources (archival sources, journals, legislative documents) to construct a new interpretation of reality with discursive analysis.

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<sup>10</sup> NIPOS, ed. (2019) *KNIHOVNY 2019*. [https://www.statistikakultury.cz/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Statistika\\_2019\\_KNIHOVNY.pdf](https://www.statistikakultury.cz/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Statistika_2019_KNIHOVNY.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> Bucholtz, M. (2001). Reflexivity and critique in discourse analysis. *Critique of anthropology*, 21/2, 165-183. & Rogers, R. (2002). Through the eyes of the institution: A critical discourse analysis of decision making in two special education meetings. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 33/2, pp. 213-237.

<sup>12</sup> Desjarlais, R. & Throop, J. (2011). Phenomenological Approaches in Anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 40/1, 87-102. & Pedersen, M. A. (2020). Anthropological Epochés: Phenomenology and the Ontological Turn. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 50/6, pp. 610-646.

This research will compare anthropological ideas in librarianship in the First Republic and during communist totalitarianism (emphasising the period before 1968). This boundary is chosen given the situation of the Prague Spring, which fundamentally changed the understanding of the "idea of human".<sup>13</sup> Normalisation is marked by a return to the anthropological starting points of the 1940s and 1950s but with less enthusiasm and avoiding heroic or eccentric actions. Nevertheless, it can be said that the fundamental constructs at the level of anthropology are preserved and, in some ways, petrified and rendered immobile by the activities of libraries.

### **The Library as an Educational Institution in the First Republic (1918–1938)**

Two fundamental determinants carry the library as an institution in the time of the First Republic. On the one hand, the value ethos associated with Masaryk's conception of Czechoslovakia and the real problems of the newly emerging state are national and economic. Between 1918 and 1938, we can see the tension between these two movements shaping the lived practice of Czechoslovak libraries.

In 1885, Masaryk published a text entitled *How to Improve Our Scientific Literature in the Athenaeum*, which would become the programmatic basis of the First Republican librarianship. In it, Masaryk writes:

*"It is also necessary that as many libraries as possible should be established and that not only fiction but also scientific literature should be bought for them; it is not enough to teach a nation to read, but it must also be given to them to read."*<sup>14</sup>

The whole text is linked to a particular line of national emancipation. It focuses on the construction of specifically Czech literature, but the concept that draws attention to this short passage is crucial. Libraries are not places for entertainment or leisure but environments for intellectual work. This Protestant ethos<sup>15</sup> is perhaps most clearly seen in Masaryk's relationship to libraries of all the institutions that would develop after 1918. Libraries are to form as dense a network as possible, for there are to be as many as possible,

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<sup>13</sup> Hauser, M. (2019). Pražské jaro 1968 jako progresivní konstrukce národní identity. *Paidea*, 16/1–2, pp. 1–6. & Vilímek, T. (2008). Občanská společnost a její význam v období Pražského jara. *Paměť a dějiny*, 2/2, pp. 6–17.

<sup>14</sup> Masaryk, T. G. (2012). O českou literaturu naukovou. In: K. Piorecká eds. *O českou literaturu naukovou: Diskuse o úloze a organizaci českých humanitních věd v letech 1885–1900*. Praha: Academia, p. 274.

<sup>15</sup> Weber, M., & Strong, T. B. (2013). The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. *Routledge*, 5(3), pp. 9–18.

so many that each person can access them, but at the same time leading to work and education.

For Masaryk, the educational role of libraries is crucial. He is aware that the reform of schools cannot affect the population as a whole but that libraries should have a rational function through which they can change the destiny of the entire society. Here, a philosophical explanation must be made – why is it necessary to have an educated society? Masaryk adheres to a concept already emphasised by Augustine and followed by the tradition of scholastics and the Enlightenment.<sup>16</sup> Man acts according to the information he has. Evil is the lack of sound; deviant behaviour is due to ignorance or inability to handle this information appropriately. For Masaryk, then, education is a moral issue. His idea of society is based on rationalistic reasoning. Libraries aim to educate and educate through education. He works with the concept that education is nothing but the projection of education into the moral plane of human existence. Therefore, throughout the First Republic, the term "popular education" will be used, but it will be associated with education.

In Masaryk, we can thus clearly identify a social concept of a new human who will achieve high moral quality through education. Education and moral quality are, at the same time, identity elements constituting the idea of Czechoslovakia.<sup>17</sup> Suppose today it is commonly claimed that Czechoslovakism was a pragmatic concept that made an independent Czech nation possible or that Czechs and Slovaks within Czechoslovakism have nothing in common. In that case, we believe that this specific humanist ethos that Masaryk believed should shape the entire society of the new humanist nation.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, this is to maintain the practical political significance of the idea of this national construct and the problems it created in real life in Czechoslovakia.

For Masaryk, the library needed to be accessible to everyone, which can be seen in the first library law (Act No. 430/1919 Coll., §4):

*"A minimum programme shall be laid down by regulation, to be carried out in municipalities where there is at least a typical school within one*

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<sup>16</sup> Capobianco, R. M., & Bostock, G. (1991). Heidegger and the Critique of the Understanding of Evil as Privatio Boni. *Philosophy and Theology*, 5/3, pp. 175–185. & Bostock, G. (2003). Origin: The Alternative to Augustine?. *The Expository Times*, 114/10, pp. 327–332.

<sup>17</sup> Neudorfl, M. L. (1992). TG Masaryk's perception of Czech nationalism before 1914. *History of European Ideas*, 15/4–6, pp. 571–576.

<sup>18</sup> Pitner, J. (2017). TG Masaryk - A Follower of Comenius in Humanistic Ideals. Nasledie Jana Amosa Komenského vzgljad iz 21 veka: Materialy meždunarodnogo naučno-praktičeskogo foruma. *Ethics*, 55/4, pp. 298–304. & Wellek, R. (1945). The Philosophical Basis of Masaryk's Political Ideals. *Ethics*, 55/4, pp. 298–304.

*year at the latest, but if such city does not reach a population of 400, within two years from the time when this Act comes into force."*<sup>19</sup>

This requirement for municipalities with over 400 inhabitants is essential. Thanks to this legislation, Czechoslovakia gained the densest network of public (municipal) libraries accessible to almost everyone. At the same time, the law also clearly supported libraries for minorities (§2), which supports our thesis of promoting the maximum impact of libraries on society. In the same vein, Masaryk again expressed himself in 1935 when he stated, "*We need libraries and not only large libraries in some few centres, but as many as possible in every village.*"<sup>20</sup>

The basic thesis of librarianship in the First Republic is the accessibility of the service; a library is a place for all citizens, including minorities; it is not some elite research, collecting, or representational affair; it is not a question of the city but the general populace.

The law's text also clarifies that the library is linked to the school system in terms of the structure of institutions - the school and the library form one educational system. The Act states in section 11, "The supervision of the proper functioning of all public libraries shall be vested in the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment,"<sup>21</sup> so expect some coordinated educational action.

This is also clearly demonstrated in §1 of the Library Act: *'To supplement and deepen the education of all population classes, public libraries shall be established by political communities with educational, instructional and entertainment reading of intrinsic value.'*<sup>22</sup> This idea is specified in the *Decree of the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic of 5 November 1919, No. 607 Coll., implementing the Act on Public Municipal Libraries*. It is provided in Articles 1 and 2 as follows:

*"The purpose of the public library is to supplement and deepen the population's education by reading, both educational and entertaining, of real intrinsic value. Each library shall contain works of national interest, at least 20% of which shall be scholarly literature and works directly relevant to the interests and occupations of the local and surrounding population.*

*Writings of no artistic value or content, works of a sinful nature (pornographic works), so-called gore, detective and Indian stories which sensationally titillate the reader's imagination, pamphlets that*

<sup>19</sup> No, A. (430/1919). Coll., on public municipal libraries. In *ASPI system*. Wolters Kluwer.

<sup>20</sup> Masaryk, T.G. (1935). Několik poznámek k problému výchování dorostlých. In: *Masarykův lid*. Praha: Ústřední škola dělnická.

<sup>21</sup> No, A. (430/1919). Coll., on public municipal libraries. In *ASPI system*. Wolters Kluwer.

<sup>22</sup> No, A. (430/1919). Coll., on public municipal libraries. In *ASPI system*. Wolters Kluwer.

*tend to degrade entire states or classes of the population, as well as works directed against the existence and integrity of the Czechoslovak state, may not be admitted to public libraries. The Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment reserves the right to publish a list of writings and works to be excluded from public libraries."*<sup>23</sup>

This excerpt shows that libraries are primarily educational institutions, supplementing and deepening readers' education through their collections. They no longer do so in a homogeneous way, as in the case of formal education, but in a differentiated way, according to interest and occupation. This dimension is crucial because it distinguishes the library from the school regarding education (primarily by lending books) and their objectives.

Two groups of books are excluded from libraries – not because of any a priori censorship, but because they do not allow the fulfilment of the "curriculum of moral humanistic education", i.e. "decadent" and anti-social books. The first books – detective or Indian stories – contradict the idea of man as a rational being who reads to educate and develop himself. Even entertaining reading is formative and leads to a person's transformation. Society was aware of this dimension. It declared (at least formally) that libraries were primarily used to form a new idea of man as an educated and moral being led to this selection. On the other hand, traditional censorship was not an issue since these works were both widely published and affordable.

Jiří Mahen also illustrates this social aspect of the library. A library is a place of social service in the broadest sense of the word, a transformative element of society that helps the poor, the weak, and the excluded through education to a better life. The correction of the imperfect human condition (economic, social and moral) is done through education and reading:

*"The social task of public libraries is a fundamental matter because the public library is a social institution. (...) To the sick and the prisoner who pass into it [the city], it serves bread and salt in a new form: a book of good selected reading."*<sup>24</sup>

Another category is anti-social publications, excluded from libraries throughout history or have differential and limited access. The library is supposed to educate man as a social being; it is a social service whose output cannot be a person who is – according to the understanding of the First Republic – undemocratic or un-Czechoslovak.

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<sup>23</sup> Coll., amending the Decree of the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic of. *Coll., Implementing the Act on Public Municipal Libraries Of, 607/1919.*

<sup>24</sup> Mahen, J. (1925). *Nutnosti a možnosti veřejných knihoven.* Brno: Kočí.



These remarks give us a precise model of the new human shaped by the literature, educated and continuously learning in his field. He is a moral, disciplined man, gradually developing his humanity. He is autonomous, rationally spending his free time responsible for himself and others. He is a citizen of the republic, a democrat, a humanist. In this way, we could briefly characterise the new ideal of man to which libraries contribute.

The intricately balanced equilibrium between the individual and the common is evident here. Masaryk understands it in the ancient tradition<sup>25</sup>- education serves not to make a man an *ιδιώτης*, a useless private person who seeks only the benefit of himself, but a person who seeks to care for the soul, for the good of the whole *πόλις*. This community is common to all, for each active individual bears a specific responsibility. Such an ideal could not be fully realised through libraries, and it encountered many genuine problems, both partial and gradually fundamental (national). Still, it can constitute a particular ethos shaping the society of the twenties. It is essential for the functioning of libraries to have a clear socially shared value construct to which they can refer in their activities.

As Wolfgang Brezinka points out, it is only possible to practice teaching with social agreement over the ideal of the goal of education. At the same time, such a goal must be realistically achievable.<sup>26</sup> And here, Masaryk's high demands corresponded little to the situation in Czechoslovakia. In a condition of significant social problems and shifts, they reduced their view of the human as a representative of the middle class who, in his secure life, has space and time for self-development and education. A sufficiently educated human can set their schedule for further autonomous participation in the public sphere. However, developments after 1946 showed that this model had to be supplemented by other socially sensitive components.

### **The library as an educational institution during the Protectorate (1938–1948)**

The war period brought a fundamental shift for libraries and their identity. It is clear that the emphasis on the multicultural concept of the collection, which in German-speaking areas is now purely Germanic, is coming to an end; Czech books are being discarded and either destroyed or transported to Czech libraries. Jewish literature is systematically removed, and the same fate is prepared for anti-Nazi or pro-democracy literature. The sensitive question

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<sup>25</sup> Patočka, J. (2002). *Péče o duši: Soubor statí a přednášek o postavení člověka ve světě av dějinách; Kacířské eseje o filisofii dějin; Varianty a přípravné práce z let 1973- 1977; Dodatky k Péči o duši I a II*. Praha: Oikoymenth.

<sup>26</sup> Brezinka, W. (1996). *Filozofické základy výchovy*. Praha: Zvon.

of reflecting on Masaryk's legacy is typical of the Czechoslovak environment but is quickly and systematically suppressed.<sup>27</sup>

Libraries in the war period fulfil several roles. First of all, as in the First Republic, they are places of entertainment. The library aims to entertain in a reasonably intellectually stimulating way. Of course, the Second World War period was difficult, but that does not mean it was a period in which people did not want to be entertained. Even though the Nazi regime had straightforward ideas about the culture of particular movements, the Czech milieu was something of a "lee". Emphasis on entertainment was based on the concept of Czechs' representatives of Nazi power as a working-class nation. And the worker unquestionably deserves entertainment (not too demanding or complicated).

Libraries also play a social role; gradual economic shortages are paralysing the publishing market, which increases the importance of libraries as a place where everyone can borrow a good book. Finally, the discourse is associated with understanding the library as a memory institution, which wartime librarianship takes over from the 19th century. It works with the idea that Czech culture can be collected, described in a certain way and preserved. Different from the 19th century, only the descriptive and archival elements are present, not the developmental ones.

The overall position of libraries during the Protectorate could have been more economically problematic. Libraries were not in good condition even in the 1930s,<sup>28</sup> and the Second World War would deepen their misery and, at the same time, link it to another aspect. While for Czechoslovakia as a whole, the Allied actions were a positive thing and the end of the war a kind of liberation, libraries are often marked by these wartime events destructively. Many libraries burned down or were destroyed, their spaces acquiring other – temporary but primarily devastating functions.

As a result, the libraries entered 1945 in an impoverished state. Their equipment and composition were fundamentally inadequate to the "new order" needs, especially for the German-speaking population's displacement. The period from 1945 to the beginning of 1948 can be spoken of as (from the libraries' point of view) moderately optimistic. Libraries here do not formulate great anthropologically oriented ideals but undergo a fundamental renewal, replenishment of collections, repair of buildings, etc. At the same time, however, they carry over all the discourses of the Protectorate years. They

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<sup>27</sup> Báez, F. (2008). *A universal history of the destruction of books: From ancient Sumer to modern Iraq*. London: Atlas Books.

<sup>28</sup> Mahen, J. (1928). *Knihovna jako instituce národní*. Vyškov: Spolek veřejných obecních knihovníků. and Mahen, J. (1925). *Nutnosti a možnosti veřejných knihoven*. Brno: Kočí

change their forms.<sup>29</sup> The absence of the multicultural context of libraries, which was anchored in §2 of the first Library Act, had significantly impacted the further development of the library institution as an educational environment.

### **The Library as an Educational Institution during the Communist Totalitarianism (1948–1968)**

The situation after 1948 changed radically in many respects. As early as 1 April, *Act No 194/1948 Coll. was passed, amending the regulations on state educational care and public municipal libraries, transferring the care of libraries to the Ministry of Information.* Here, we can see a clear discursive shift – from an educational to an indoctrination role.

At the first Librarians' Congress, held in May 1948<sup>30</sup>, which was already under complete communist direction, we can see the emphasis on three components of the new librarianship – cleaning up the collection, helping workers and labourers, and working with the reader. The whole concept of communist librarianship will be carried out on this triad. Purification of the collection<sup>31</sup> is the primary step that always begins a new social stage in librarianship - we could identify it (albeit more weakly) after 1919, after 1939, and now after 1948<sup>32</sup> and the Velvet Revolution in 1989.

The process of cleaning the fund fulfils three essential functions. The library is a collective memory of society and forms the basic information structure with which the community can work. However, this collective memory is never an immutable objective structure but always has an interpretative role. Such as the stock libraries offer, such can be the reading of the national past. Secondly, libraries are educational and formative institutions, so they are not just about some abstract idea but, above all, about educating new citizens of a given system. Thirdly, the purging of the collection, however fundamentally a negative phenomenon, creates space for its restructuring and replenishment

<sup>29</sup> Kubiček, J. (2019). *Dějiny veřejných lidových knihoven v českých zemích*. Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna.

<sup>30</sup> Kubiček, J. (2019). *Dějiny veřejných lidových knihoven v českých zemích*. Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna. & Večeřová, P. (2017). Československé knihovnictví v letech 1939–1959: Vybrané problémy historického vývoje. *Knihovna*, 28/2, pp. 20–36.

<sup>31</sup> Passerini, L. (2017). *Memory and totalitarianism*. New York: Routledge. & Finigan, T. (2011). “Into the Memory Hole”: Totalitarianism and Mal d’Archive in Nineteen Eighty-Four and *The Handmaid’s Tale*. *Science Fiction Studies*, 38/3, pp. 435–459.

<sup>32</sup> Šámal, P. (2009). *Soustružníci lidských duší: Lidové knihovny a jejich cenzura na počátku padesátých let 20. Století (s edicí seznamů zakázaných knih)*. Praha: Academia.

in times of revolutions in the form of radical reconstruction and transformation.<sup>33</sup>

In the Czechoslovak environment, this purging of the holdings had several phases. It resulted in the removal of mainly German and anti-communist literature, with the exact content of the second revised component changing over time. At the same time, it must be said that in contrast to the Protectorate, we can see a much more chaotic and eclectic management of the whole process, which has become considerably more disparate and inconsistent over time.<sup>34</sup>

The inclination towards the workers is evident in two dimensions – the first is that the library industry in 1948 was in a deep crisis. There need to be more premises where a library can be run; unsuitable conditions hinder the operation of the various functions of libraries and damage those books that are still part of the collection. There need to be more books, and the revisions make the library collection even more impoverished. There is a staffing crisis; librarianship in the first republic is civic librarianship, often based on freedom and voluntarism; librarians usually have only courses, rarely a year's systematic training.<sup>35</sup> However, a totalitarian system cannot build on such a structure of librarians, so we are witnessing a generational and ideological transformation of the whole concept of the functioning of libraries, leading to the successful and clear professionalisation of the entire sector and its feminisation. This process needs to be more precisely described in the Czech literature. But it is evident, and its form is linked precisely to the operation of professionalisation on the one hand and the significantly increasing employment of women.

Professionalisation has several effects on the anthropology of the library institution. The first is improving the services' quality, their expansion and deepening. Librarianship and information studies is a university discipline,<sup>36</sup> and the fact that professionals carry it out is universally positive, just as doctors or teachers. At the same time, however, we must see that professionalisation is linked to the dependence on wages, which in Czechoslovakia after 1948 led to a clear disciplining of the library environment. The economic model of disciplining is attractive. On the one hand, it brings undeniable benefits for librarians, but at the same time, it reduces autonomy. This is also linked to another critical factor: hierarchisation -

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<sup>33</sup> Wertsch, J. (2008). The narrative organization of collective memory. *Ethos*, 36/1, pp. 120–135.

<sup>34</sup> Šámal, P. (2009). *Soustružníci lidských duší: Lidové knihovny a jejich cenzura na počátku padesátých let 20. Století (s edicí seznamů zakázaných knih)*. Praha: Academia.

<sup>35</sup> Večeřová, P. (2017). Československé knihovnictví v letech 1939–1959: Vybrané problémy historického vývoje. *Knihovna*, 28/2, pp. 20–36.

<sup>36</sup> Bawden, D., & Robinson, L. (2015). *Introduction to information science*. London: Facet Publishing.

librarianship is no longer a locally anchored institution that can adapt to the local community's needs but is clearly structured and centrally managed.

Legislative norms following the 1948 Act, especially the *Directive on establishing a unified network of folk libraries in Czech regions*<sup>37</sup> from the end of 1950. This discipline will be linked to the hierarchical organisation of libraries. Libraries gain a clear, organised structure, methodological guidance and the possibility of central management. The position of the district libraries or even the National Library is fundamentally transformed; it becomes the main controlling element of the entire library system and still retains this role. Crucially, looking at the First mentioned above Library Congress of the summer of 1950, it is clear that this ambition has supported the librarians, or at least those attending the Congress. This transformation marks the opening of the way to the massification of reading policy. At the same time represents a particular breakthrough in the development of libraries as an institution in our territory. Paradoxically, a greater one than the one brought about by the second (in fact, third) Library Law (*Law No. 53/1959 on the Unified Library System*) of 1959 petrified the social and intentional transformations already made.

Massification and professionalisation also bring an anthropological shift – the aim is to form a new person as a member of the masses, a conforming member of a specific community, sharing values, social ethos and cultural experience. The competition for the *Fucik badge*, which was introduced in 1949,<sup>38</sup> is an example of this value transformation. The reader was presented with a set canon of books (and films) to read and make an orthodox interpretation of them. The competition did not track the individuals' partial interpretive abilities but their ability to demonstrate that they were members of a new social community with the same values. Reading and further education in libraries shape a unique human being, whose structure these institutions are to play an important part. According to Jaroslav Kuba, the library's free selection should include "the writings that we care most about reading: socialist fiction, edifying works, current reading, state political literature."<sup>39</sup>

The basic idea is the same as in the First Republic. Changing the mindset of the whole society and transforming it into a new social order through schools would take much work. We need to use the infrastructure of libraries, which will be more efficient, faster and more amenable for this purpose. This assumption has been confirmed but is only possible with the professionalisation above of librarianship.

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<sup>37</sup> *Directive on establishing a unified network of folk libraries in Czech regions, 1950. In: Collection of circulars for the KNV. Prague, Ministry of the Interior, 21 December 1950.*

<sup>38</sup> Šámal, P. (2009). *Soustružníci lidských duší: Lidové knihovny a jejich cenzura na počátku padesátých let 20. Století (s edicí seznamů zakázaných knih.* Praha: Academia.

<sup>39</sup> Kuba, J. (1949). Volný výběr v lidových knihovnách. *Knihovna*, 4/1, pp. 8–12.

The mass work with the reader is manifested in the attempt to reach out to all inhabitants of Czechoslovakia across age and demographic characteristics. For a totalitarian regime, the centralisation of institutions and the possibility of gaining control over the population through them is essential. In the case of libraries, it is not a question of transforming external structures of behaviour, a role played by the police, the army and other armed forces of the state, but of transforming internally, of educating to a particular worldview that the whole sociality was shared. The situation at the beginning of the 1950s seems evident in this layout. A working-class will be moulded through libraries, and each formation into a new person. The bourgeois class then finds itself outside the educational interest or structure of library services because it has to be fought.<sup>40</sup>

However, massification is also manifested in the methods used, which no longer follow individuals' vital interests and preferences from whom it would be desirable to profile intellectual humanist personalities. Still, the firms aim to unify entire groups – all events for readers and all educational activities have a group character. Working with the individual is a social intervention to bring the "stray sheep" into the unified fold. This is also the source of the strong emphasis on statistical reporting of different activities – quantity implies quality.

Socialist librarianship, however, looks at the new person's level as a homogeneous group and realises that a particular component of lifelong learning or professional development needs to be reflected. Typical of this period is the establishment of factory libraries or the building up of the professional part of the collection in ordinary people's libraries to benefit the development of a particular population.<sup>41</sup> We find all sorts of actions, such as reading to farmers in the fields, recommending books to workers entering factories, etc. Such systematic care should result in a worker who can perform all his tasks.<sup>42</sup> Man is treated in a template-like manner, almost like a machine gradually improving through books. Here, too, we see a certain level of reporting that focuses more on how many books a particular worker borrows from the factory library (how active he is) than on the level of his reflection or ability to translate the knowledge gained into practice. *"In addition to this, every librarian must keep a record of registered readers and borrowings*

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<sup>40</sup> Holzbachová, I. (1985). Škola" Annales" a marxismus. *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. B, Řada filozofická, 34/B32*, pp. 15–26. & Kozlovskij, V. J. (1973). Vzájemný vztah mezi marxistickou filosofií, vědeckým komunismem a sociologií. *Sociologický Časopis/Czech Sociological Review, 9/5*, pp. 451–458.

<sup>41</sup> Svobodová, M. (1953). Literatura pomáhá přesvědčovat a získávat pro hornictví. *Čtenář, 5/4*, pp. 112–115. & Husák, J. (1952). Zkušenosti z našich knižních výstav. *Čtenář, 4/2*, pp. 67–68.

<sup>42</sup> Novotný, F. (1960). Lidové knihovny, územní změny a zákon. *Čtenář, 12/10*, pp. 1710–173

and a record of library activity, which he records in a statistical journal,"<sup>43</sup> says Šolcová.

Socialist librarianship puts a different image of the man before us than librarianship in the Protectorate (the fun-loving worker without cultural ambitions) or the First Republic (the autonomous humanist, educated citizen). The focus is on the human being as part of the working class sharing Marxist-Leninist values, a docile human being, understanding himself as part of a higher well-organised order. Libraries are there to support the building of such a class and, at the same time, to help shape the working class as one equipped with sufficient knowledge to achieve progress.

This discourse is carried along by the specific characteristic of a totalitarian society, namely selective collective memory with only one permissible interpretation, the attempt to homogenise society and reduce the differences between its members.<sup>44</sup> As gradually professionalising institutions, Libraries certainly played a positive service in many ways, whether in the development of reading, the promotion of entertainment or leisure education. Still, they became part of indoctrination from the late 1940s onwards.<sup>45</sup>

After several fund revisions, they acted as an information filter and a tool for constructing heuristically available experiences. This model, well described in social psychology, is fundamental to the functioning of these institutions. People often agree that the regime did not inform, did not tell the truth, and was not credible. But this may not be decisive in influencing people's behaviour and thinking. It is the structure, the thematic composition, and the internal construction of the documents that can be encountered at all.<sup>46</sup> These form the basic attitudinal system that influences the behaviour (along with social control) of individual members of society. In this respect, libraries were an essential tool of a totalitarian government from the revolution to the normalisation period.

This control over the availability of information can be seen in other areas, whether it is the effort to prevent the distribution of printed materials (the Kamion action<sup>47</sup>). Another example was establishing a particular

<sup>43</sup> Šolcová, S. (1956). O nejdůležitějších seznamech. *Čtenář*, 8/5, p. 174.

<sup>44</sup> Mahon, S. M. B. (2001). *The politics of nationalism under communism in Bulgaria. Myths, memories, and minorities*. London: University of London.

<sup>45</sup> Černý, M. (2018). Vybrané kapitoly z masové práce se čtenářem: Sociálně-pedagogický experiment socialistického knihovnictví. *ProInflow*, 11/1, pp. 57-69.

<sup>46</sup> Roy, M. M., Christenfeld, N. J., & McKenzie, C. R. (2005). Underestimating the duration of future events: Memory incorrectly used or memory bias?. *Psychological bulletin*, 131/5, pp. 738–756.

<sup>47</sup> Šiklová, J. (2001). Ještě jednou o „kamionu“: Jak to bylo s „Filipem“. *Literární noviny* 12/23, p. 3. <http://archiv.ucl.cas.cz/index.php?path=LitNIII/12.2001/23>. & Mlynárik, J. (2001). Ještě

information centre on the Soviet model – the *Central Office of Scientific, Technical and Economic Information*, which conveyed all professional information in a centralised controlled form to the professional public.<sup>48</sup>

## Conclusion

The study shows that the assumptions of Arendt or Sokol can be applied to the library as an institution.<sup>49</sup> The library profiles itself as an educational institution in the studied period. Its practices differ from those of the school and rely primarily on the mediation of books, documents and other sources of information. This mediation is not a passive activity but has a fundamental impact on the meaning and concept of the library.

In both periods analysed (1918–1939 and 1948–1968), we can emphasise forming a new human, a state citizen with a clear ideological profile. While the first republic focuses on individual development and education, the good citizen is an individually profiled humanistic educator and democrat. In the case of the communist totalitarian system, there is an apparent inclination towards education for the masses and scientific-atheistic value beliefs.

The individuality-collectivity ratio constitutes one of the fundamental distinguishing features between the two anthropological conceptions. The second crucial polarising value is hierarchisation. While the First Republican librarianship is based on the idea of the autonomous democrat, the communist model works with the individual as a member of a well-hierarchical unit. The third distinguishing feature is the approach to heterogeneity. On the one hand, there is an emphasis on diversity, adapting to conditions and preferences, including (at least declared) multiculturalism as a necessary value for the functioning of society, so in the case of the communist model, we see a clear emphasis on homogeneity as a key and desired value for libraries to emphasise.

These value ideals were then naturally reflected in how libraries operate, in specific projects and concepts for their development and functioning. We see it as essential to understanding individual phenomena in the development of libraries as institutions in isolation from this value ethos. The professionalisation of librarianship, its feminisation or the change

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jednou o "kamionu": Akce „Delta” a fyzlové. *Literární noviny*, 12/23, p. 3. <http://archiv.ucl.cas.cz/index.php?path=LitNIII/12.2001/23>.

<sup>48</sup> Horváth, D. (2013). Vývoj informační základny v ČR. *Ikaros*, 17/5.

<sup>49</sup> Byrne, A. (2015). Institutional memory and memory institutions. *The Australian Library Journal*, 64/4, 259–269. & Hjørland, B. (2000). Documents, memory institutions and information science. *Journal of Documentation*, 56/1, pp. 27–41.



in the collection structure cannot be understood as isolated activities – it is a manifestation of the anthropology of library institutions.

### Acknowledgement

I want to thank my students who have been working on libraries during the communist totalitarianism and the First Republic, and without their work with archival and other materials, this study would not have been possible. Namely, I would like to thank Karolína Kurečková, Michaela Kašíková, Marina Valášková, Magdalena Učňová, Sona Pin, Zuzana Chlupová, Jana Pekárková and Petr Kovář.

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## **The Ukrainian Ideal of Education in the Works of Mykola Shlemkevych (1894–1966)**

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Czepil, M., – Yaciv, O., – Karpenko, O. (2023). The Ukrainian ideal of education in the works of Mykola Shlemkevych. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 15/2023/1-2, 36–46.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2023-003>

*The article highlights the views of Mykola Shlemkevych – a Ukrainian scholar, educator, philosopher and public figure - on the ideal, purpose and content of the education of Ukrainian youth. The main concepts of the ideal of education are revealed: value orientations (God, nation, family, social environment, language, culture, history, tradition); moral (love, faith, kindness, truth, beauty) and national values (the Ukrainian idea, national unity, national consciousness, patriotism, national interests). Attention is focused on the spiritual origins of the Ukrainian people, encompassing the principles of nationalism and humanism; on patriotism; on achieving personal freedom; advocacy of democratic ideas.*

**Keywords:** *Mykola Shlemkevych; ideal of education; the moral values; worldview of Ukrainian youth; national values; Ukrainian person*

The ideal of education as the purpose of education is the main problem of pedagogy, the answer of which depends on the solution of a number of issues like the content of education and upbringing of the younger generation. The ideal of education of each nation is formed depending on the social system, religion, culture, the formation of national psychology, worldview, morality, etc. It is manifested in the language of the people, their traditions, songs, literature, works of scholars, etc. In different historical periods, the society puts

forward educational goals and tasks, the implementation of which involves the search for values by children and youth.

The national ideal of education, which corresponds to the inherent characteristics of Ukrainians, has been created for centuries and, according to tradition, was passed down from generation to generation, being supplemented and improved. The main model in the education of young people is the ideas developed over the ages about the educational goal, guidelines for the life of Ukrainians, about what the educational ideal should be. The teacher's proper understanding of the purpose of education contributes to the formation of personality, the search and use of appropriate forms and methods of educational activities. The key to the recovery of the Ukrainian nation and the spiritual revival of the society is a return to their traditions, origins, and the faith of the ancestors. After all, each nation takes care of spiritual development. Determination of spiritual and national guidelines for the development of the Ukrainian society, methodological approaches to the theory of education requires a deep analysis of the historical and pedagogical experience of education of the Ukrainian people.

In this context, valuable is the legacy of Mykola Shlemkevych (January 27, 1894, Pylyava village, Ternopil Oblast – February 14, 1966, Passaic, USA), a Ukrainian scholar, educator, philosopher and public figure, whose life and educational activities took place against the background of social and political life of Galicia and the Ukrainian Diaspora. His contribution to the history of pedagogy, to the development of the theory and practice of education, the philosophy of education, to the process of national revival, preservation and development of the ethno-cultural identity of Ukrainians is significant. The study of the source base shows the interest of scholars in the works of M. Shlemkevych. In particular, N. Burachok<sup>1</sup> and S. Ramazanov<sup>2</sup> examine his scientific and public political activity, S. Hrabovskiy<sup>3</sup> and M. Hrynenko<sup>4</sup> study his philosophy and its significance for the formation of the worldview of Ukrainians and Ukrainian mentality; M. Czepil and O. Karpenko<sup>5</sup> scrutinize the anthropological foundations of human

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<sup>1</sup> Burachok, N. (2012). Osoblyvosti formuvannya i stanovlennya svitohlyadnykh pozytsiy Mykoly Shlemkevycha. *Bulletin of the Precarpathian University. History*, 22, pp. 162–166; Burachok, N. (2013). Natsionalni ideyi u hromadsko-politychniy ta naukoviy diyalnosti M. Shlemkevycha. *Halychyna: All-Ukrainian Scientific and Cultural-Educational Journal of Local Lore*, 24, pp. 211–215.

<sup>2</sup> Ramazanov, Sh. (1996). *Shlemkevych Mykola Ivanovych*. In Yu. Rymarenko (Ed.), *Mala entsyklopediya etnozhavoznavstva*. Kyiv: Dovira; Geneza.

<sup>3</sup> Hrabovskiy, S. (1998). Doslidnyk ukrayinskoyi dushi. *Historical Calendar*, 1, pp. 42–43; Hrabovskiy, S. (2000). *XX st. ta ukrayinska lyudyna: vyklyky i vidpovidi*. Kyiv: Stylos.

<sup>4</sup> Hrynenko, M. (2016). Filsofska systema Mykoly Shlemkevycha i yiyi aktualnist dlya formuvannya svitohlyadu ukrayintsiv. *Skhid*, 142 (2), pp. 71–73.

<sup>5</sup> Czepil, M., & Karpenko, O. (2021). Mykola Shlemkevych (1894–1966): anthropological principles of human research. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, DOI: 10.1080/00131857.2021.1933944

research. The systematization of M. Shlemkevych's pedagogical ideas allows researchers to focus their attention on ideas about a person as a subject of education, on landmarks in the formation of the worldview of young people, on ethno-pedagogical and ethno-psychological foundations of character education of a Ukrainian child.<sup>6</sup>

Active participation in public life (he was a member of the political organization "Front of National Unity", the editor of "Peremoha" (Victory) magazine, member of the editorial board of "Ukrainski Visty" (Ukrainian News), etc.) for the sake of nation building and national revival finally shaped the life orientations and worldview positions of M. Shlemkevych, which enabled to theoretically substantiate the essence of the Ukrainian educational ideal. In accordance with the goal of education, which focuses on Ukrainians' concern for morality, patriotism, taking into account the experience of organizing the life in a community and family, M. Shlemkevych's ideal of a perfect person grew and became established on the national traditions and culture.

M. Shlemkevych interprets a person in two aspects – a human as a spiritual being and a person as a social being. M. Shlemkevych highlighted the spiritual manifestations of a person by characterizing the human ability to think about life (logos), readiness to order it (ethos), as well as the ability to distinguish between the beautiful and the ugly in life (eros). The model of a person will help ensure the choice of value orientations, strategic vectors in education, organize cooperation with other people, communication with God, realize the importance of knowing and perceiving a person as a unique spiritual-physical and socio-mental phenomenon. The interpretation of the phenomenon of man as a social being finds a place in the "old time gentry", "Gogol person", "Skovoroda person", "Shevchenko person", a "strong" and a "new" person. The world-view manifestation of the soul was shown by the scholar through the model of a Ukrainian<sup>7</sup>. This is an "old time gentry", whose main concern was to eat well; a "Gogol" person who, despite all his love and attachment to Ukraine, became involved in the life of the Russian Empire; a "Skovoroda" person, a type of person who did not accept the Russian reality, but also did not become the old time gentry. Such person seeks a better world in his soul, in self-improvement; a "Shevchenko" person whose worldview is focused on science; a "strong" man, presented in three guises: a man of the peasant class, a proletarian class, and a man of irrational will.

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<sup>6</sup> Karpenko, O., & Yatsiv, O. (2019). Pedahohichni ideyi Mykoly Shlemkevycha (1894–1966). Drohobych: Posvit; Yatsiv O., & Karpenko O. (2019). Ethnopedagogical and ethnopsychological frameworks for shaping the character in a Ukrainian child in the heritage of Mykola Shlemkevych. *Analles UMCS. Sectio J – Pedagogia i Psychologia*, 32(1), pp. 171–182.

<sup>7</sup> Czepil, M., & Karpenko, O. (2021). Mykola Shlemkevych (1894–1966): anthropological principles of human research. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*. DOI: 10.1080/00131857.2021.1933944

According to M. Shlemkevych, logos (worldview) or ethos (way of life) are only surfaces under which life “boils”. If we descend into their depths, we will see the beginning of beauty and ugliness, good and evil, nobility and simplicity, a kingdom illuminated not by clear thinking, but by religious guesses and form-creating artistic endeavours.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, M. Shlemkevych emphasized: “In arts, the deep, the unused, the repressed is released in a clearly designed image”.<sup>9</sup> The researcher believed that the artist’s experiences reflected in a work of art are a sign of its truthfulness (the immediacy and proximity of art encourages experience, not observation or perception with the mind).

Analyzing the peculiarities of the Ukrainian life, Shlemkevych equated human culture to the culture of a field, forest, or garden, when an agronomist, forester, or gardener tries to bring harmony to wildlife, to order the seething of nature. Areas of spiritual culture do the same with the free steppe of the soul. Arts, and especially literature, help a person to feel the world, to perceive it more deeply and directly. These two forces – ideology and arts – are linked by cooperation, but appear separately, each of them crystallizes clearly, like a ray of sunlight from mist; and they cannot lose their main features, because that would be a turn to mental chaos, and this is a renunciation of culture and thus a return to primitive wildlife. At the same time, Shlemkevych identified the main features of cultural areas. The worldview involves the tendency of clarity of concepts; it leads to scientific clarity and certainty. Since art strives for immediacy and closeness to life, it must be experienced, not observed, and accepted with the mind and imagination.<sup>10</sup>

For M. Shlemkevych, the truth was always a priority in life. He considered the struggle for the Ukrainian truth one of the main tasks of émigrés. In the early 1960s, he participated in the founding of the Ukrainian Journalistic and Scientific Institute, as its important task was to refute distorted data about Ukraine on a scientific basis. He wrote: “The Ukrainian ambition and the Ukrainian ideal must be: in the current struggle between good and evil, to be the first partisan of truth and freedom based on it! Whoever wants to win the war must defeat the fifth column of the enemy in his own society – we must kill lies in our relations with each other, in our lives, and we must kill them in our relations with the world. We must rebuild the trust of Ukrainians in Ukrainians, and the trust of the world in our words, undermined by the lies that have become the political wisdom of individual people and groups”.<sup>11</sup> In order to search for the truth and “defence of convictions”, he proposed the rule: “those engaged in debate should hold their own convictions”.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1992b). *Zahublena ukrayinska liudyna*. Kyiv: Feniks, p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p.74.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p.111.

<sup>11</sup> Lysty do Pryyateliv (1956). New York; Toronto: Klyuchi. Issue 11 (45). Year IV. November, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1961). *Dyskusiya i pro dyskusiyyu. Letters to Friends*. New York; Toronto: Klyuchi. Issues 3–4 (9–98). Year IX. March – April, p. 56.



M. Shlemkevych paid special attention to the role of the family in the formation of personality. Children need to be instilled with high moral qualities from an early age through love for their mother, family, native home, native region where the child was born and grows up, as well as use Ukrainian folk tales, legends on heroic themes, folk traditions, customs and rituals that contribute to making life more meaningful. The family for M. Shlemkevych, as well as for B. Tsymbalisty, is the main institution of upbringing, in which a person's character and disposition are formed from early childhood. The family followed the wills of ancestors; traditions, in particular, the educational tradition developed in the family itself. Early childhood experiences are usually forgotten, but their traces operate subconsciously and guide the behaviour of an adult.<sup>13</sup> In addition, each nation has its own character, which at different times was explained by the influence of nature, planets, climate, and social conditions of life. There is a national psyche that needs self-knowledge. It would be difficult to "explain the unique nature of the culture of this people, their literature, language, folklore, architecture. This does not exclude changes in character, but there is another way of thinking, feeling, behaving, which distinguishes members of one society from members of another".<sup>14</sup> In the family environment, the child learns moral values, forms national consciousness, social affinity. Analyzing the role of the family in raising a child, the researcher summarized: the measure of all values is the ideal Ukrainian system and the family as its basis. Everything that contributes to the happiness and health of the family is good, it is God given. Conversely, everything that weakens and destroys the family is evil, it is from the devil. And here are the deepest sources of Shevchenko's hatred of serfdom and conscription, because both undermined and destroyed the family.<sup>15</sup>

Popular ideas about the purpose of life, about what the representatives of the people should be, and therefore the guidelines for the moral development of a person, are important in education. Deep awareness of the essence of the categories of good and evil helps to understand the essence of every person's life, including spiritual life. If the good reflects the progressive actions of a person and proves their closeness to God, then it is manifested in the characteristics of moral attitudes, values, actions, and relationships. In this sense, the good is the moral motive of life, the ideal of upbringing, the goal of life. In the popular imagination, the good is selfless (the evil leads to decline, because it promises a person bodily pleasures and material benefits). Certainly, spiritual enrichment involves getting closer to the ideal, deep penetration into the essence of moral values. "It is necessary to penetrate into the soul of the people, with its summits and depressions, the good and evil, sincerity

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<sup>13</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1961). *Natsionalnyi kharakter (Dumky iz pryvodu dumok d-ra B. Tsymbalistoho). Letters to Friends*. New York; Toronto: Kliuchi. Part 3-4 (97-98). Ch. IX, p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 41.

<sup>15</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1958). *Verkhy zhyttya i tvorchosti*. New York; Toronto: Kliuchi, p. 47.

and treachery... An appropriate objective socio-psychological analysis should tame the forces of evil, chain them in the heavy chains of the in-depth “ego”, opening the soul to the sky and the sun in a burning rush to cultural and civilizational transformation”.<sup>16</sup>

The moral ideal of a person is also connected with the idea of freedom and democracy. It should be noted that in the early 20th century, democratic ideas of the formation of the worldview of young people were developed in Ukraine, in the works of Ukrainian educators (Yu. Dzerovych, T. Lubenets, O. Muzychenko, I. Ohiyenko, S. Rusova, S. Siropolko, Ya. Chepiha), in the mainstream of reformist pedagogy, focused on free education, preparing children for practical life, fostering the feelings of independence, self-activity, initiative, and creativity.

Moral values, desire for beauty, devotion to one’s kind, homeland, native land are embodied in the Ukrainian ideal of education. The return to the spiritual roots of the people on the basis of humanism puts the “decent person” with their moral virtues and the laws of honour, kindness, and mercy in the centre of attention. “A decent person”, according to M. Shlemkevych, is the basic moral requirement, the moral ideal that forms the basis of the moral values pyramid.<sup>17</sup> It is the way of life of the “decent person”, their moral values that restrain the people of the elitist type in their desire to go beyond the idea of social duty or duty to the laws of family life. Having a body and a soul, a person cares about material things – food, housing, worries about the children, parents, their health, beauty, convenience, comfort. However, the Christian worldview obliges a person to make a choice in favour of the good and to give priority to spiritual values, which means readiness if necessary to give up the material values for the sake of the spiritual ones. A good person brings joy to others, they are capable of mercy and compassion, ready to empathize, forgive, be patient and tactful, embody goodness in behaviour and everyday life, and they come to the aid of others. The Ukrainian tradition is characterized by humanistic ideals, an emphasis on spiritual principles, the interaction of moral and national values, it displays a noticeable attention to the national in the life of a person, their character, ethnic roots, way of thinking, etc., and the preservation of this originality is facilitated by the religion and faith in the ideals of good.

Feeling confused, according to M. Shlemkevych, does not allow building a life strategy for the future; at the great crossroads there are no new ideas, no words of God.<sup>18</sup> In our opinion, under such conditions, the balance in the hierarchy of social values is disturbed. Even when he interpreted the confusion of the Ukrainian people as a tragedy, at the same time he asked: “Perhaps the modern disorientation of the worldview and the order of life is only

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<sup>16</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1992b). *Zahublena ...*, op.cit., p. XII.

<sup>17</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1992a). *Dusha i pisnya. Ukrayinska dusha*. Kyiv: Feniks.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 37.

a temporary disorder of the soul, a disorder of its inexhaustible richness?”<sup>19</sup> We believe that M. Shlemkevych found an optimistic way out of this situation. He explained: we got into that society, and we have to join its pace so that we do not get crushed, we got into that society, but we also have our Ukrainian world and our Ukrainian society.<sup>20</sup> The changes in the social consciousness, emergence of features of a “new” person (patriotism, fortitude, responsibility, business acumen, etc.) give hope for overcoming negatives and negativism.

M. Shlemkevych highly valued the importance of the formation of a worldview for young people and the development of the spiritual sphere; he noted that Ukrainians have never been indifferent to issues of spirituality: “The matters of the spirit, development thereof and the culture are a matter of life and death of the Ukrainian nation”.<sup>21</sup> In interaction and cooperation with the people, in the process of humanizing their consciousness based on self-study and understanding of their activities, there is an opportunity to build their own life.

Shlemkevych’s life outlook was determined by faith: the faith in the final victory of the Ukrainian liberation idea. Shlemkevych “translated” the commandments of God “love God above all things, and your neighbour as yourself”<sup>22</sup> into the language of philosophy and came to a conclusion that “a person must, first of all and above all, love the metaphysical in themselves, their metaphysical principles – love the things, which go beyond and above purely human nature. And a person must love in their neighbour a similar being, which on a metaphysical basis grows above the individual, purely human level”.<sup>23</sup> Such categories of morality as love, goodness, happiness, truth, compassion, altruism, reason are important. The human soul has both the good and the evil, truth and lies, sincerity and treachery; there is a righteous man and a thief.<sup>24</sup> According to Shlemkevych, civilization moderates negative traits, but at the same time, it reduces the desire for novelty and creativity, because there is only one type of person in society. The tamed forces of the soul live deep inside. They are liberated in dreams, in ailments, which are the struggle of our civilized “ego” with our deep “something”.

According to M. Shlemkevych, special tension in a person is formed by integrations and separations, which influence the space of values, goals and the meaning of a person’s life, which, in turn, are the main reference points for the person’s self-determination and self-knowledge. This tension takes shape, matures and is formed between categories: hedonism – altruism, love – power, creation – self-deification (these extremes define the space of goals and the meaning of life of the people of a specific culture). Invoking

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<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 97.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 141–142.

<sup>21</sup> Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 406, op. 1, spr. 245, p. 15.

<sup>22</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1992b). *Zahublena ...*, op.cit., p. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 52.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, p. 74.

the usual analogies and visualizations, he noted: “The nation will be divided into individual human units, and they say: in reality there are individual Johns, Steves, Pauls, Marys, etc. The nation is just a bundle of them and nothing more”.<sup>25</sup>

M. Shlemkevych, describing historical events and their connection with moral and social life, cites various situations from the life of individual regions of Ukraine. There is a difference between Western and Eastern ideas about the life of Ukrainians. There are wild forces in the East, and calmer, rational ones in the West.<sup>26</sup> In Western Ukraine, there were attempts to build a new state in November 1918, which arose on the ruins of the empire.<sup>27</sup> These considerations were continued, because, on the one hand, we see irrational motives, and on the other, the steadfast and realistic struggle of King Daniel, who does not cease trying to free himself.<sup>28</sup> M. Shlemkevych assured that in the East there were opportunities for some social promotion, while in Galicia there was a situation where a Greek Catholic priest of that time “did not really rise above the general level”.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, a generalization was made that 1917 and the early 1918 opened the door, but everything fundamentally changed after November 1. “We came out of our narrowness and limitations into the wide Ukrainian world. We breathed the air of the distant expanses of the Ukrainian steppe and Ukrainian history, ... we contacted Eastern Ukraine, its body and spirit of a powerful people”.<sup>30</sup>

The scholar devoted many works to the coverage of information about events in the life of Ukrainians, which were aimed at promoting the activation of the national struggle. Sometimes these articles were published under the pseudonym M. Ivaneyko, they were about Ukrainian-Polish relations, difficult situations of social life in Poland (“God’s peace and the FNE”<sup>31</sup>, “In the age of national ideas”,<sup>32</sup> “Let the living think of the living”<sup>33</sup>, “The order of our life”<sup>34</sup>, “Our circumstances”<sup>35</sup>, “Healing from the spirit”<sup>36</sup>, “Under the highest care of the nation”<sup>37</sup>). The researcher emphasized that it is not worth listening to “hatred preachers” and drink water “from impure springs”, it should be remembered that in the ruins of “our spirit and our history”, amid the desert, “simple, sincere souls” are looking for “support in brighter days of the past”. He

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<sup>25</sup> Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 406, op. 1, spr. 245, p. 47.

<sup>26</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1956). *Halychanstvo*. New York; Toronto: Kliuchi, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 16.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, p. 24-25.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, p. 64.

<sup>31</sup> Ivaneyko M. (1963). Bozhyy myr i F.N.E. *Peremoha: ideologichnyy zhurnal*. Part II.

<sup>32</sup> Ivaneyko M. (1938e). V dobi natsionalnykh idey. *Ukrayinski Visty*. Lviv. Issue 122.

<sup>33</sup> Ivaneyko M. (1939b). Zhyvi zhyve dumaymo. *Ukrayinski Visty*. Lviv. Issue 64.

<sup>34</sup> Ivaneyko M. (1938b). Nakaz nashoho zhyttya. *Ukrayinski Visty*. Lviv. Issue 173.

<sup>35</sup> Ivaneyko M. (1939a). Nashi obstavyny. *Ukrayinski Visty*. Lviv. Issue 172.

<sup>36</sup> Ivaneyko M. (1938c). Ozdorovlennya vid dukha. *Ukrayinski Visty*. Lviv. Issue 99.

<sup>37</sup> Ivaneyko M. (1938d). Pid nayvyshchoyu opikoyu natsyi. *Ukrayinski Visty*. Lviv. Issue 184.

believed that “on that ruin a longing for the reconstruction of... an orderly state of our spirit awakens... This is where true nationalism comes from, the first strength of which is love for one’s history and future, for one’s spirit and its leading ideas”.<sup>38</sup> If the main task of the national state is to take care of the constant nurturing of the purely human in the nation, then the value of the state does not mean its external greatness and power, but what it aims at. The national feeling should be considered within the framework of morality, immorality should not govern the national beliefs.<sup>39</sup> M. Shlemkevych revealed his own vision of the future of Ukrainians in a series of articles.<sup>40</sup> First of all, it is about the fact that Ukrainians can only save themselves, they must set themselves a clear goal, form a pro-Ukrainian worldview.

Ukrainians are characterized by their innate devotion to democratic values. If in culture a person creates and manifests himself as a unique individuality, then his social development, the process of his socialization, inclusion in the universal human community, according to M. Shlemkevych, is ensured through his culture (the culture acts as a way of being a person, forming and manifesting his self-identity).<sup>41</sup> Therefore, the search for harmony between “I” and “we”, between an individual and the society necessarily takes place through culture. Therefore, M. Shlemkevych emphasized: “The true culture includes the values that have a universal character; it appeals to what is identical, most essential and most interesting in a person and in all the people; it crosses folklore, ethnographic and political boundaries; it unites, but does not divide...”<sup>42</sup>. The educator defended the idea of the Ukrainian unity.

The pedagogical ideas of Mykola Shlemkevych are an organic component of the history of Ukrainian education and pedagogy, the theory and philosophy of education. He gave priority to moral values, to the search for the meaning of life, thriving to high ideals, which in secular education mean moral and ethical concepts such as love, kindness, justice, beauty, etc.; awareness of moral values and lifestyle of a “decent person”; development of spiritual, moral and national relationships; the development of the desire for self-improvement and self-development, ideas about the role of a favourable social environment, national

<sup>38</sup> Lysty do Pryyateliv (1959). New York; Toronto: Klyuchi. Issue 4 (74). Year VII. April, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, p. 15–16.

<sup>40</sup> Ivaneyko, M. (1936). Deus sive natio (Natsionalizm yak intuyitsiya buduchyny). *Peremoha: ideologichnyy zhurnal* F.N.E.; Ivaneyko, M. (1934b). Zhyttya y ideal. *Peremoha: suspilno-politychnyy dvotyzhnevyyk*. Lviv. February 15; Ivaneyko, M. (1938a). Ideyne zaplidnennya. *Ukrayinski Visty*. Lviv. Issue 139; Ivaneyko, M. (1935). Ideolohichni pidstavy tvorchoho natsionalizmu (Referat vyholoshenny na I. Krayeviy Konferentsiyi F.N.E. 23.03.1935). *Peremoha: misyachnyk hromadskoyi dumky*. 1 April; Ivaneyko, M. (1933). Metropolis of spirit and nationalism. *Peremoha: ideological magazine F.N.E.* Lviv, 1933. November 15; Ivaneyko, M. (1931). Nationalism (Fragment statti “Nedolya dukkha y natsionalizm”). *Peremoha: suspilno-politychnyy dvotyzhnevyyk*. 1933. November 1; Ivaneyko, M. (1934a). Nasha svoboda. *Peremoha: suspilno-politychnyy dvotyzhnevyyk*. Lviv, 1934. January 15.

<sup>41</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1992a). *Dusha i pisnya. Ukrayinska dusha*. Kyiv: Feniks, pp. 97–112.

<sup>42</sup> Shlemkevych, M. (1992b). *Zahublena ...* op.cit., p. 17.

cultural, educational and positive family environment in the formation of a person's outlook. The goal of education assumes the priority of the moral and orientation to national values. An important aspect of personality formation is patriotism, achievement of personal freedom, advocacy of democratic ideas.

These global ideas of Mykola Shlemkevych are relevant for the modern philosophy of education, and the theory and practice of education. The priority areas of their implementation in modern educational practice are the delineation of clear guidelines for the formation of the consciousness of young people regarding self-realization in life, the development and improvement of the scholar's views on a person as a subject of education, the search for ways of developing the spirituality of young people, the creation of a national cultural and educational environment, the components of which are language, national symbolism, mentality, literature, art, everyday life, etiquette, etc.

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## Ukrainian Pupils in Czech Schools and History Lessons – Teaching Materials, Knowledge, Testing and Assessment<sup>1</sup>

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Jireček, M. – Bednář, M. – Moravec, J. (2023). Ukrainian Pupils in Czech Schools and History Lessons – Teaching Materials, Knowledge, Testing and Assessment. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 15/2023/1–2, 47–73.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2023-004>

*The study presents the results of a questionnaire survey on the involvement of Ukrainian students (who arrived as a result of the war conflict) in the teaching of history at Czech elementary schools. It is part of a broader research, and this study focuses on the results related to the availability of teaching materials, the knowledge of Ukrainian students, their testing, and evaluation. The results indicate that in the spring of 2023, teachers did not agree on the state of availability of history teaching materials for Ukrainian students. If anything was lacking, it was most commonly worksheets and textbooks. They also often lack assistants for Ukrainian students. An interesting aspect is the effort of Czech teachers to incorporate Ukrainian history into Czech history education. Most respondents cannot assess the historical knowledge of Czech and Ukrainian students. Those who compare them mostly state that the knowledge of Ukrainian students is inferior, citing the different thematic placement of history classes in Ukraine as the main cause. It is positive that Czech teachers generally observe improvements in the history skills of Ukrainian students. They attribute this improvement primarily to the enhancement of their language skills. In the case of testing Ukrainian students in history, teachers most often choose a combination of written and oral exams, usually in the Czech language. Ukrainian students can*

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<sup>1</sup> The study was created within the project Selected Current Political, Social and Cultural Issues of Europe and the World in the Context of the Formation of Historical Consciousness and Civic Education (MUNI/A/1542/2021).

<sup>2</sup> The author's team consists of one academic and two students (recent graduates at the time of publication of the study) of history teaching for primary schools.



*frequently use an online translator, especially during written tests. Only a minority of Ukrainian students have an assistant available. During the research period (spring 2023), they were mostly tested on a reduced curriculum. Evaluation is usually done using grades, but a common approach is a combined form where the evaluation is supplemented with verbal feedback. Ukrainian students are generally assessed less strictly than Czech students. The results are compared and contextualized with the findings of other research.*

**Keywords:** *History, school subject, Ukrainian pupils, Czech schools, war situation, teaching materials, knowledge, testing, assessment*

## **Introduction**

On February 24, 2022, the Russian Federation openly attacked the territory of Ukraine. This marked the largest military conflict in Europe since the end of World War II. The attack showed no regard for the civilian population, and initially, it was uncertain whether and where the aggression could be halted. As a consequence, there was a massive wave of refugees from Ukraine, mostly heading west, including towards the territory of the Czech Republic. By April 1, 2023, the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic had granted temporary protection to over half a million Ukrainian refugees. Approximately one-third of them returned to Ukraine, voluntarily ended temporary protection, or moved to another EU state. As of April 1, 2023, there were 325,742 Ukrainian refugees (individuals with temporary protection) in the Czech Republic, according to the data provided by the Ministry of the Interior. About 68% of them were of working age, with 65% being women and 35% men. Additionally, there were 28% children and 4% seniors among the refugees.<sup>3</sup>

A significant portion of Ukrainian refugees heading to the Czech Republic comprised children. Ukrainian students were admitted to Czech schools starting from the second half of the 2021/22 school year. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MŠMT) published the numbers of Ukrainian students in Czech schools as of September 30, 2022, revealing 39,478 students in primary schools, accounting for 3.9 % of all elementary school students. Further data released on March 31, 2023, indicated that there were 39,680 Ukrainian students in Czech primary schools (still 3.9% of the total number of elementary school students).<sup>4</sup> By September 30, 2023, the number

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<sup>3</sup> Ministerstvo vnitra České republiky. V České republice je aktuálně 325 tisíc uprchlíků z Ukrajiny. Available from: <https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/v-ceske-republice-je-aktualne-325-tisic-uprchliku-z-ukrajiny.aspx> (cit. 13. 7. 2023).

<sup>4</sup> Ministerstvo školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy. Počty ukrajinských dětí se ve školách oproti září téměř nezměnily. Available from: <https://www.msmt.cz/ministerstvo/novinar/pocty-ukrajinskych-deti-ve-skolach-se-oproti-zari-temer> (cit. 13. 7. 2023).

had risen to 47,858 Ukrainian children and students, making up 4.8% of all elementary school students.<sup>5</sup>

Czech teachers found themselves in a situation where they had to address the question of how to educate students who spoke a different language and came from a different cultural background. This situation applies to teachers of all subjects, and in this contribution, we will focus, given its numerous specifics, on the school subject of history. Personal experiences highlight that the involvement of Ukrainian students in education brings various challenges that educators must navigate. Assistance has been and continues to be provided, but due to the unexpected nature of the situation, it is gradual and sometimes somewhat spontaneous.

### Research Objectives

The research presented in this study<sup>6</sup> aims to analyze the state of history education concerning Ukrainian students at Czech elementary schools. Specifically, we focus on Ukrainian students who arrived at our schools after February 24, 2022. We capture the situation valid for the second half of the 2022/23 school year when the research took place. We pose the following research questions:

- RQ 1: What is the availability and quality of teaching materials for Ukrainian students in history?
- RQ 2: What else could assist teachers in educating Ukrainian students in history?
- RQ 3: What are the historical knowledge levels of Ukrainian students?
- RQ 4: Are the history skills of Ukrainian students improving over time?
- RQ 5: How is the testing of Ukrainian students in history conducted?
- RQ 6: How is the evaluation of Ukrainian students in history carried out?

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<sup>5</sup> Ministerstvo školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy. Aktuální počty ukrajinských uprchlíků na českých školách. Available from: <https://www.msmt.cz/ministerstvo/novinar/aktualni-pocty-ukrajinskych-uprchliku-na-ceskych-skolach> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).

<sup>6</sup> Regarding further parts of the research, please refer to Jireček, M. – Bednář, M. – Moravec, J. (2023). Ukrajínští žáci na českých školách a dějepis – vybrané výsledky dotazníkového šetření. [Ukrainian students in Czech schools and history – selected results of a questionnaire survey.] *Dějiny a dějepis*, 37/1–2, in print.

## Research Sample

We analyzed the state of history education through a questionnaire survey. In an effort to obtain the most representative results, we sent the questionnaire to all primary schools with the second stage in the Czech Republic (regardless of the founder). In the school year 2022/23, when the survey took place, there were a total of 2,632 such schools.<sup>7</sup> The request to fill out the questionnaire was sent during the second semester of that school year to the contact emails of schools with a request to forward it to history teachers. We received responses from 476 participants, and 473 responses were deemed relevant to our study. These respondents are teachers who indicated that they teach history (three surveys were incorrectly forwarded by the school administration). We consider this number of respondents as our basic sample. The relatively high number of responses indicates that teachers are interested in and affected by this topic, making our research quite representative.

We also sought to determine and utilize the representation of various categories of participating teachers for further comparison (by qualification, gender, years of experience, and school size). In the qualification category, two groups were created (without qualification, with qualification), two groups for gender (male, female), five groups for settlement size (up to 2,000 inhabitants, 2,000–20,000 inhabitants, 20,000–100,000 inhabitants, 100,000–1,000,000 inhabitants, Prague), and four groups for years of experience (up to 5 years, 5–10 years, 10–20 years, 20 and more years).

The results show that out of 473 respondents, 373 (78.9%) teach history with qualification, and 100 respondents (21.1%)<sup>8</sup> teach without qualification. Our research includes 336 female teachers (71%) and 137 male teachers (29%). Regarding the length of teaching experience, all defined groups based on years of experience are well represented among our respondents. The number of teachers with up to 5 years of experience was 75 (15.9%), with 5–10 years of experience 63 (13.3%), with 10–20 years of experience 116 (24.5%). The majority of participants were teachers with more than 20 years of experience – 219 (46.3%). The last introductory question aimed to determine the size of the municipality in which our respondents teach. 105 (22.2%) of respondents teach in a municipality with up to two thousand inhabitants, 188 (39.7%) in a municipality with between two and twenty thousand inhabitants, 105 (22.2%) in a municipality with between twenty and one hundred thousand inhabitants, 26 (5.5%) in a municipality with between one hundred thousand and one million inhabitants, and 49 (10.4%) in Prague (as our only city with a population over one million inhabitants).

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<sup>7</sup> Special thanks to Ing. Jaromír Nebřenský from the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports of the Czech Republic for providing the data and assistance in navigating the system.

<sup>8</sup> Although unrelated to our research, it is certainly interesting to note the high percentage of non-qualified teachers teaching history. Given the number of our respondents, this information appears to be quite representative as well.

All the above-mentioned introductory questions aimed to determine whether our research sample broadly corresponds to the representation among history teachers in Czech primary schools. Given the size of the sample and the distribution among individual items, we can conclude that our sample is informative and representative. Furthermore, we used the described individual categories (by qualification, gender, years of experience, school size) to determine whether there are differences in opinions among them and, if so, in which areas the greatest differences occur. Each category consisted of several groups based on the obtained data from the questionnaire. Based on the analysis of the data, it can be assumed that there are no statistically significant differences across all groups in all mentioned categories for any of the research questions. For this reason, in the following section, we will present the results for history teachers as a whole without describing individual categories.

The research sample used for this specific study consists of 354 respondents. This is a selection of teachers from the above-mentioned sample of 473 teachers who teach history to Ukrainian students at their schools.

## **Research Results**

### **Availability and Quality of Teaching Materials for Ukrainian Students in History (RQ 1)**

Certainly, the success of the educational process is influenced by the availability of teaching materials. We proceeded on the assumption that teachers need special materials for Ukrainian students, especially in the current situation where Ukrainian students are not yet proficient in our language (the necessity of such materials will likely decrease in the future). Due to the unforeseen nature of the situation, there were initially few or, to be more precise, almost no materials available for teaching history to Ukrainian students. However, the situation began to change gradually. Therefore, we were interested in how teachers perceive the current availability (spring 2023) of teaching materials for Ukrainian students in history. The question was posed as a closed-ended one, with respondents able to choose from options – "sufficient", "sufficient with reservations", and "insufficient" (see Table 1). Responses this time are balanced, nearly evenly divided into thirds among respondents.

At the same time, for this question, we gave participating teachers the option to freely comment on their choices. Fifty of them took advantage of this opportunity. The responses were very diverse, with the most common comments stating that teachers create materials themselves, possibly with the help of assistants (8 mentions). Specific materials mentioned included those from the Česká televize (Czech TV) ČT edu portal (3 mentions) and available Ukrainian textbooks (3 mentions). However, for the latter, it was noted that they

cover the history of Ukraine and the world, which does not correspond to our curriculum. One respondent generally mentioned that there are "plenty of materials" available on the internet. One teacher stated that they obtained materials through contact with Ukrainian educators. Two respondents stated that they did not have any materials. A sigh of dissatisfaction with the insufficient support from the Ministry of Education was expressed once. Other teachers noted that Ukrainian students do not need these materials (4 mentions). Some teachers also mentioned that they do not want any such materials (2 mentions) or do not see the point in studying in Ukrainian because students have to and need to study in Czech (2 mentions). With hindsight, it is clear that the frequency of this group would likely increase now.

*Table 1: Availability of Teaching Materials for Ukrainian Students in History*

<b>Availability of teaching materials</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
Sufficient	113
Sufficient with reservations	115
Insufficient	126

In connection with teaching materials, we also inquired about the type of materials that teachers lack for the teaching of history to Ukrainian students. This question was posed as an open-ended one, and it was optional to answer. 68 respondents stated that they do not lack any such materials. On the other hand, nine teachers mentioned, with the justification of their overall absence, that they would welcome any materials. Further responses were very diverse, and we will attempt to categorize and summarize them. The results also include responses to another open-ended question where we asked teachers if there was anything else that could help them in teaching history to Ukrainian students, and some of them returned to material requirements related to Ukrainian students (see Table 2).

Most frequently, teachers request **worksheets** for Ukrainian students, mentioned by 82 teachers (the need for compatibility with our textbooks was mentioned, and there is a demand for their brevity and simplification; once they were specifically requested for the history of Ukraine).

Another requested material is **textbooks** – a total of 54 teachers from our sample lack them. However, this does not only concern textbooks of Czech history in the Ukrainian language. As many as 20 teachers out of that number requested a textbook of Ukrainian history in the Czech language – here, the effort to connect Czech and Ukrainian history and accommodate Ukrainian students is evident. Four teachers stated that a simplified textbook with basic concepts and data would be useful for Ukrainian students, and one respondent mentioned materials related to the textbook in general. In addition to textbooks, **workbooks** are also in demand, lacking for ten teachers from our research sample. Other **text documents** were mentioned in the responses. 44 respondents

would use bilingual documents and texts (in high-quality translation, with a request for their simplification also mentioned), three teachers miss bilingual research materials (here, the impact of the Dějepis+ project, which supported the introduction of constructivist history teaching, is likely evident). One teacher wrote that they lack simple texts in the Czech language suitable for the students' age.

Less frequently mentioned in the responses were **non-text materials**. Once they were mentioned directly in the sense of 'non-text = interesting' materials. Three teachers miss comics (e.g., for understanding life and institutions). One teacher requests visual material and visual aids. Three teachers stated that they lack **Czech-Ukrainian flashcards** (similar to 'memory' cards).

Our respondents also mentioned the need for **dictionaries and translators**, with a total of 43 mentions in the responses that could be categorized in this group. Among them, dictionaries of historical terms and life and institutions (terminological dictionaries) clearly dominated (34 mentions). Twice, the request for an illustrated dictionary appeared, four times the request for a translator for students, and even once an interpreter.

Another category that can be distinguished is **documentaries and videos**. A total of 25 of our respondents mentioned them, specifically citing videos with Ukrainian subtitles or commentary, videos in the Ukrainian language, videos that would contribute to the explanation of our life and institutions, generally documentary films, and educational videos.

Surprisingly, **methodologies and teaching manuals** were less frequently mentioned by teachers. We can include a total of 15 mentions from our respondents in this category. Most often (7 mentions), there was a request for the selection of recommended curriculum for Ukrainian students (a summary of what they should learn, what can be expected of them). Twice, methodology on how to work with Ukrainian students was mentioned, once a manual that would include the diversity of students based on the regions of Ukraine (religion, customs, traditions, etc.), and twice illustrative examples/topics of selected lessons for inspiration.

The request for **presentations** was not very frequent – four teachers mentioned that they lacked bilingual presentations, and one mentioned the general absence of explanatory material.

Among the responses about missing materials, there were also those related to **portals and applications**. Five respondents mentioned that they lack a single clear place where materials for Ukrainian students would be divided by grades and subjects for easy orientation (a centralized collection of materials in a bilingual version). Four respondents mentioned interactive and digital materials in Ukrainian in general. One teacher requested the *Didakta – dějepis* (*Didakta – history*) application, and one mentioned the need for an online consultation service. Eight teachers stated that they lack **atlases or maps** with Czech-Ukrainian nomenclature.

Another interesting category that we can distinguish based on the responses is related to **the connection between Czech and Ukrainian history** (see also above in the textbook category – those are not included here). Immediately, 23 teachers mentioned that they lacked materials that would introduce the history of Ukraine and Ukrainian life and institutions to other students (e.g., in an effort to select curriculum and not overwhelm students). Six respondents stated that they lack information about the teaching methods in Ukraine (plans, methodologies, curricula of Ukrainian history teachers), two are missing the identification of common points in Czech and Ukrainian history for possible connection, and one teacher each is missing the following: the absence of the Ukrainian teacher's perspective (history teacher); materials for connecting the history of the Czech Republic and Ukraine; knowledge of sources of materials in Ukrainian; chapters on Ukrainian history in Czech textbooks; the possibility of choosing topics focused on Ukraine. On the other hand, three teachers mentioned that they lack a summary of older Czech history for Ukrainian students (the history that they did not cover in our schools), and one teacher lacks materials to familiarize Ukrainian students with life and institutions common to Czech students.

From other responses that are **difficult to categorize into the mentioned categories**, the following emerged: three mentions of tests (one request for their translation by a native speaker); three mentions of materials focused on world history for Ukrainian students; two mentions of timelines; one mention of materials for independent work, preparation, free use of 3D models in teaching, and generally better aids.

*Table 2: Materials Requested by History Teachers for Ukrainian Students*

Type of Material	Number of Responses
Worksheets	82
Textbook	54
Workbooks	10
Other textual material	44
Non-textual material	9
Dictionaries and translators	43
Documentaries and videos	25
Teaching methodologies and manuals	15
Presentations	4
Web portals and applications	10
Atlases and maps	8
Materials for connecting Czech and Ukrainian history	23
Tests	3
Materials for world history	3
Timelines	2
Other (materials for independent work, preparations, 3D models, aids)	4

### **Further Possible Assistance to Teachers in Teaching History to Ukrainian Students (RQ 2)**

In the next question, we asked the respondents an open-ended question about whether there is anything else that could help them in teaching Ukrainian students in history. The respondents had an option to skip this question. Some of them returned to material requirements, and these responses were included in the previous question (see above). Additionally, other types of responses emerged, which we will attempt to further categorize (see Table 3).

Mentions of the need for **assistants** were repeatedly present. Twenty-two of our respondents mentioned this, with five envisioning assistants who speak the Ukrainian language. A request for a Ukrainian teacher directly appeared once.

Responses related to **language, understanding, and greater knowledge of Czech** among Ukrainian students were also very common (which corresponds with other parts of our research<sup>9</sup>). Twenty-two teachers cited this as a factor that would help them in teaching history to Ukrainian students. Another six stated that it would be appropriate to introduce language courses (or courses in reading and writing with the Latin alphabet) or intensive Czech language learning before the arrival of Ukrainian students at school.

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<sup>9</sup> Jireček, M. – Bednář, M. – Moravec, J. (2023). et seq.



Conversely, one respondent mentioned the need for language courses for Czech teachers.

Frequent mentions were also made regarding the **low effort, motivation, and interest** of Ukrainian students. In various forms, this was stated by 20 of our respondents. Another three mentioned that better cooperation with the parents of Ukrainian students would help them.

Other categories that can be identified based on responses are **time and the number of students in the class**. Six respondents stated that more time would help them in teaching history to Ukrainian students (e.g., including time outside regular teaching hours), and one directly mentioned a reduction in the direct teaching workload. Regarding the number of students in the class, four of our respondents stated that a smaller number of students in the classes or the creation of smaller groups would help them. One respondent mentioned the appropriateness of including separate teaching (partial teaching only with Ukrainian students).

Other responses were more closely related to **school policy and management**. Two teachers mentioned that an adjustment of mandatory outputs for (some) Ukrainian students would help them. Three mentioned the need for greater support from the state and the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports, and one from the school management. A sigh regarding the need to improve the social situation in our country and the approach of Czech students and parents to schoolwork appeared once.

Responses related to **methodological issues and teacher cooperation** were less frequent. Two teachers mentioned that training for sharing experiences with colleagues would help them, and one expressed the need to understand how to motivate Ukrainian students.

Other responses are **challenging to categorize** within the established categories. One respondent mentioned that knowing the plans of Ukrainian students related to the Czech Republic, money, and peace would help them. One respondent wrote that, in his opinion, Ukrainian students should not study history at all.

*Table 3: Other Possible Assistance for History Teachers in Teaching Ukrainian Students*

<b>Possible Assistance in Teaching</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
Assistants	22
Language, Understanding, and Better Knowledge of Czech	29
Effort, Motivation, and Engagement of Ukrainian Students and Parents	23
Time and Number of Students in the Class	12
School Policy and Management	7
Methodological Matters and Collaboration Among Teachers	3
Other	3

### **Knowledge of Ukrainian Students in History (RQ 3)**

The next research question focused on the knowledge of Ukrainian students in history. We asked respondents about their perception of the historical knowledge of Ukrainian students (i.e., considering the date of the questionnaire survey, mainly from Ukrainian schools) in comparison to the knowledge of Czech students. The question was posed as a closed-ended question, with respondents able to choose from six options: significantly better; better; at the same level; worse; significantly worse; I cannot assess (see Table 4).

*Table 4: Historical Knowledge of Ukrainian Students Compared to Czech Students*

<b>Historical Knowledge of Ukrainian Students</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
Significantly better	3
Better	7
At the same level	83
Worse	85
Significantly worse	56
I cannot assess	120

The most frequently chosen answer among respondents was the option "I cannot assess." It can be assumed that one of the factors for respondents most often choosing this option may be the higher number of Ukrainian students in one school during various history classes and their differing levels of knowledge. Overall, responses that teachers evaluate Ukrainian students worse than Czech students prevail, with only a few cases where they are evaluated better. There can be several factors contributing to this, such as

a poorer understanding of the teaching language or the distance and an entirely new cultural environment for Ukrainian students. To delve into these factors in more detail, a follow-up question was asked, where respondents were queried about what they consider to be better or worse in the knowledge of Ukrainian students and why they think so.

The question was posed as open-ended, and respondents had the option to skip answering this question. The query yielded varied responses, which were summarized and categorized. For teachers who consider the knowledge of Ukrainian students to be worse, responses predominantly fell into the category of **a different thematic focus of history classes in Ukraine** (different curricula). Ukrainian schools often focus more on the history of the East, leading to Ukrainian students having poorer knowledge of Western Europe, global history, and, of course, Czech history. Additionally, they lack the basics of local studies and information that Czech students acquire from family, books, movies, etc., which encompasses knowledge of Czech life and institutions, environments, etc. This is related to different outputs in individual grades, different textbooks in Czech and Ukrainian schools, etc. This category included 79 responses. The second most mentioned response to this question was related to **the language barrier**. Altogether, 41 teachers mentioned this as a reason for poorer knowledge.

**Motivation, interest** (especially in Czech history), **and effort** from Ukrainian students were also frequently mentioned (19 respondents). Some teachers (8 respondents) highlighted **significant differences between Ukrainian schools** or generally **lower standards in Ukrainian schools** (repeatedly, responses indicated that students from Ukrainian rural schools are inadequately prepared, depending on the school they attended before coming to the Czech Republic). Some teachers (4 respondents) mentioned that students from Ukraine haven't "learned how to learn" and have a worse attitude towards responsibilities (responses indicated that, according to students' testimonies in Ukraine, they allegedly go to school when they want, don't have to be in school throughout the entire lesson, etc.).

Among the responses, there were also statements that Ukrainian students have **a lesser general overview** (sometimes even including Ukrainian history), and we included 19 responses in this category. Other respondents mentioned **poorer skills** of Ukrainian students **in certain areas** – critical thinking about the curriculum, reasoning, understanding connections, the ability to discuss, the absence of guidance for activity to create something on their own (7 responses altogether). Furthermore, some respondents (5) see the cause of Ukrainian students' poorer knowledge of history **in different teaching methodologies and approaches** in Ukrainian schools (without providing a qualitative evaluation), as mentioned by five of our respondents.

Other responses were not as frequent, but for a comprehensive overview, we consider it appropriate to mention them. Four respondents believe that the cause of the Ukrainian students' weaker historical knowledge is that these students

**often do not attend school.** Three respondents mentioned that Ukrainian students have **poorer map orientation and worse geographical knowledge.** An equal number of respondents attribute the issue to supposedly **smaller hourly allocations in Ukrainian schools or not covering the material in depth.** Other reasons mentioned include Ukrainian students **having breaks in their education** (2 respondents), coming to a **foreign (different) cultural environment** (2 respondents), relying on the **expectation of soon returning home** (1 respondent), focusing on **distance learning** (1 respondent), **not understanding abstract concepts** (1 respondent), **being significantly worse in modern history** (1 respondent), **reduced interest in the general study due to the war in their country** (1 respondent), **lower expectations placed on them** (1 respondent), **being worse "in everything"** (1 respondent).

Less common were responses regarding what Czech teachers consider better about Ukrainian students in history and why (some arguments were also provided by teachers who see the historical knowledge of students of both nationalities at the same level). The most common response (4 respondents) was that Ukrainian students have **greater motivation** (greater interest in certain topics and an effort to learn something). All other responses were provided by one respondent each, and they included the following statements: **simultaneously covering the curriculum in Ukrainian schools**, having a **greater interest in regional history** (without specifying this term), being **better in the history of the "East"**, having a **better orientation in 20th century history**, some dedicating **more time to history in their homework**, usually **entering lower grades than those they attended in Ukraine**, having a **broader general overview**, possessing **quicker understanding**, **better deducing sequences of events**, and having a **better ability to empathize with situations** (having experienced many things), **in connection with the war, they are more interested in history.**

#### **Improvement of Ukrainian Students in History Over Time (RQ 4)**

In connection with the above-mentioned issues, we were also interested in whether there is an improvement in the historical knowledge of Ukrainian students over time. The question was initially posed as a closed-ended question, and respondents could choose one of four options: yes, significantly; yes, partially; I don't observe improvement; cannot assess, it is significantly individual (see Table 5).

*Table 5: Improvement of Ukrainian Students in History*

<b>Improvement of Ukrainian Students in History</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
Yes, significantly	31
Yes, partially	182
I don't observe improvement	51

The majority of teachers see at least partial progress in their students, which is undoubtedly good news for both parties (teachers and students). A significant portion of teachers responded to this question with the last option, indicating that it is not possible to assess improvement or that the progress of students in history at the school varies significantly, with some students advancing and others not. A notable portion of teachers do not observe any progress in their students. We partially focused on the reasons and factors that may contribute to this in RQ 3. Additionally, depending on the responses of the respondents, we also asked a follow-up question – why they think Ukrainian students are (not) improving in history.

The questions were chosen as semi-closed. We provided four answers each time (no, their language skills are not improving; no, their preparation is not improving; no, better materials are not available; no, they haven't learned to operate in our educational system), and in addition, respondents could freely add another answer. It was possible to choose multiple answers (see Table 6 and 7). Respondents were further divided based on their previous responses into those who stated that students have improved and those who did not observe improvement.

*Table 6: Reasons for the Improvement of Ukrainian Students in History*

<b>Reasons for the improvement of Ukrainian students in history</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
Improvement in their language skills	197
Improvement in their preparation	50
Better materials are available	7
They have learned to navigate in our educational system	126
Other	7

Among teachers who believe that Ukrainian students are improving in history over time, there is a clear dominance of the conviction that this improvement is due to the enhancement of their language skills. The ability to master the Czech language makes it easier for Ukrainian students to understand and integrate into Czech teaching and the Czech community. At the same time, it is easier for students to engage in lessons in various scientific subjects (such as history), which traditionally rely on a solid foundation of using the Czech language for work and knowledge transfer. A significant number of teachers also see better integration into our educational system as a factor contributing to improvement. Fewer teachers attribute the improvement to better preparation, with only seven teachers mentioning the possibility of using better materials. Only seven teachers provided a free

"other" response, five of which explained the improvement in Ukrainian students' history: two teachers mentioned that they see the students' determination to stay and study here as a factor, which manifests in their goal-oriented approach. One teacher each attributed the improvement to: more innovative history teaching than at their previous schools; better connections within the collective; and interest in the subject and teaching.

Among educators who stated that Ukrainian students are not improving in history over time, the most common response was that it was due to the lack of improvement in their preparation. This could be a factor, for example, for students who know that they will return to Ukraine in the foreseeable future and therefore lose motivation and interest in trying, especially in a subject like history, which, in their eyes, cannot compare to the teaching of a foreign language, mathematics, or the Czech language. Other responses were roughly balanced, indicating that students did not fit into our educational system, teachers do not have access to enough quality materials, and naturally, that their language proficiency is not improving. The response that they have not learned to operate in our educational system follows (see Table 7). Four teachers used the option to provide a free response, three of which included explanations for why Ukrainian students are not improving in history. All these explanations revolved around the students' lack of interest and motivation (both in general and regarding history), and there was also mention of the students' desire to return to Ukraine.

*Table 7: Reasons for Improvement of Ukrainian Students in History*

<b>Reasons for improvement of Ukrainian students in history</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
Improvement in their language skills	19
Improvement in their preparation	38
Better materials are available	20
They have learned to navigate in our educational system	23
Other	4

### **Method of testing Ukrainian students in history (RQ 5)**

We were also interested in how testing of Ukrainian students in history classes is conducted. The question was presented as semi-closed, and respondents could choose from three provided answers (oral examination, written examination, oral and written examination) or provide a free-form answer. Most teachers opt for a combination of oral and written tests (see Table 8). Written testing closely follows, with the least number of teachers conducting solely oral tests.

*Table 8: Method of Testing Ukrainian Students in History*

<b>Method of Testing Ukrainian Students in History</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
Oral examination	7
Written examination	137
Oral and written examination	143
Other	67

Regarding this question, we received 67 free-form responses. Let's attempt to categorize and summarize them. Let's start with the category of **written and oral examinations** since it was further elaborated within the free-form answers (the following values are not included in the statistics above). Three teachers mentioned that Ukrainian students have access to a textbook, notebook, or can search for information during written exams. One noted that they had visual aids during the test, and another mentioned that they could use a translator on their mobile phones. Three other teachers stated that their Ukrainian students are tested using online assessments (Google Forms and wizer.me website were mentioned). In the case of oral testing, the free-form responses mentioned the category of interviews (once with the use of a map), and an equal number mentioned "questioning" based on assigning images.

Other responses were primarily based on students' work in a home environment. **Homework** was mentioned twice, **presentations and reports** ten times (including once directly in the Ukrainian language and once related to

Ukrainian realities). Six times, projects were mentioned as a form of assessment (including once in the English language).

Some expressions primarily focused on assessing Ukrainian students based on their **work during class hours**. Our respondents mentioned classroom activities and work eight times in general, with three specifying it as research work (working with sources during research lessons or sheets). Connected to this, group work was mentioned seven times, and working with worksheets was mentioned five times (including twice with the use of a translator). There were also responses focused on independent work and task completion (mentioned five times, with one instance in Ukrainian) or working with a textbook and workbook (one mention).

Other mentioned ways of testing Ukrainian students in history were not very common but interesting and contributed to the overall understanding of the issue. Working with text was mentioned twice without specifying the details. One respondent mentioned the following activities: working with a timeline, completing concepts, puzzles, mind maps, history quizzes and competitions, and escape games. One respondent generally noted that they use Ukrainian teachers. Two teachers mentioned that they let Ukrainian students choose the testing method according to their preferences.

In the case of written testing in history, we were interested in the support that Ukrainian students can use (we did not focus on language mutations of tests, as we addressed that in another question – see below). The question was posed as semi-closed, where teachers could choose from one of the provided answers (assistant's help, dictionary in book form, internet translator /on a mobile device/, internet sources), or they could add their free response. Multiple answers were allowed (see Table 9). The most mentioned response was the internet translator (on a mobile device). Assistance from an assistant followed at a significant distance, then internet sources and the least utilized was a dictionary in book form. A total of 78 respondents used the relevant free response options. Their responses will be presented according to the number of mentions – a notebook with notes (22), assistance from the teacher – consultations, questioning (16), textbook (15), map or history atlas (4), receiving the test in advance (2), concept maps; knowing in advance what they will be tested on; a test modified by the teacher in Czech for foreigners; notes from lessons; worksheets; own materials; unspecified use of the teacher's knowledge of the Russian language; the possibility of writing some words in Ukrainian or Russian (each mentioned once). One teacher stated that they allow Ukrainian students to use "anything" during testing, while six teachers mentioned that they do not allow them to use anything.



*Table 9: Auxiliary Tools during Written Testing*

<b>Auxiliary Tools During Written Testing</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
The help of an assistant	94
Dictionary in book form	47
Online translator (on mobile)	258
Online resources	72
Other	78

In the context of testing Ukrainian students, we were also interested in the language in which history testing takes place. This question was also posed as semi-closed. Respondents could choose one of three answers (in the Czech language; in the Ukrainian language; in both Czech and Ukrainian) or provide their own free response. The results indicate that the majority of teachers tested Ukrainian students in history in the Czech language in the spring of 2023 (see Table 10). Respondents, with a greater gap, chose a combination of both languages. Only four history teachers tested exclusively in the Ukrainian language. Another 32 teachers provided a free response. Ten of them mentioned that they use (also) the Russian language during testing, one teacher mentioned the English language, and one stated that students choose the language in which they want to speak. Eleven respondents stated that they use Czech, but students can use a translator; one teacher noted the use of an interpreter's assistance. Three respondents mentioned that they do not test students (or choose other forms of assessment), one uses visual material and pictograms. One of the teachers mentioned the use of the Cyrillic alphabet (without specifying the language). It should be noted that these are results from a period shortly after the arrival of Ukrainian students, and today, due to the gradual integration of Ukrainian students, the results would likely be significantly different, with the use of the Ukrainian language decreasing further.

*Table 10: Language of Testing Ukrainian Students*

<b>Language of Testing Ukrainian Students</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
Czech language	235
Ukrainian language	4
Combination of both languages	82
Other	32

Regarding testing Ukrainian students in history, we were also interested in whether teachers use any kind of help from teacher's assistants. This question was also asked as a semi-closed question. Respondents could choose one of the three offered answers (with the help of an assistant; without the help of an assistant; I don't have an assistant) or provide a free answer. The most

common response to this question was that teachers do not have an assistant available (see Table 11). With a greater margin, the number of teachers who do not use the assistant's help during testing follows. Only a few respondents less utilize the help of assistants. In addition, our respondents provided another 21 free answers. Here, five of them specified that they use an assistant only occasionally; four stated again that they use a translator or pre-prepared translations; three mentioned that they themselves assist Ukrainian students; the same number specified in various variants that they do not use assistants; two respondents reiterated that they do not test (they evaluate based on work in class); the same number stated that there is an assistant in the class for Czech children, but who also helps Ukrainian children. Single responses included mentions of using the help of a teacher from Ukraine; using the assistance of Ukrainian children who already master the Czech language and act as interpreters; and that Ukrainian students have access to class notes.

*Table 11: Utilization of Assistants in History Testing*

<b>Utilization of Assistants in History Testing</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
With the help of an assistant	61
Without the help of an assistant	78
I don't have an assistant	193
Other	21

The last point we were interested in regarding the testing of Ukrainian students in history concerned the amount of material covered. We asked our respondents whether their Ukrainian students have reduced curriculum content within testing. This question was also constructed as semi-closed – respondents could choose one of the three offered answers (they have reduced curriculum; they do not have reduced curriculum; some have reduced curriculum, while others do not), or provide a free answer. The results show that the reduction of curriculum for Ukrainian students mostly occurred. The largest number of respondents reduces the curriculum content for all Ukrainian students (see Table 12). The next two responses have almost the same representation among our respondents. The larger of these two groups admits that some Ukrainian students are tested on reduced curriculum content, while others are not. Meanwhile, the smaller group mentioned that Ukrainian students do not have reduced curriculum within history testing. Another 25 teachers provided a free response, often stating and describing the ways in which they reduce the curriculum for Ukrainian students, with nine mentions of these. Others mentioned different forms of relief during testing (translator, adapted test preparation, the option to search for answers in notes, answers to the test), with a total of five teachers. Two respondents described that some Ukrainian students have reduced curriculum, while others do not. In contrast, four stated

that the curriculum is not reduced ("there is no need to make distinctions"). Another three respondents mentioned that they do not test Ukrainian students. In the case of this question, it should be noted that the situation likely changes over time from the time of the survey.

*Table 12: Adaptation of History Curriculum for Ukrainian Students*

<b>Adaptation of History Curriculum for Ukrainian Students</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
They have a reduced curriculum	181
They do not have a reduced curriculum	68
Some have a reduced curriculum, some do not	80
Other	25

### **Assessment of Ukrainian Students in History (RQ 6)**

Referring to testing, we also wanted to find out how the assessment of Ukrainian students in history is conducted. First, we were interested in the form of assessment. The question was presented as semi-closed – respondents could choose from three provided answers (grades; verbally; a combined form) or provide a free response. The results show that teachers most commonly opt for traditional grading when assessing Ukrainian students (see Table 13). A relatively significant representation is also seen in the combined form of assessment (both grades and verbal feedback). In contrast, verbal assessment had the smallest representation among our respondents. Eight teachers utilized the option to provide a free response. Three of them, with different justifications and limitations, stated that they do not evaluate Ukrainian students. One response mentioned formative assessment occasionally converted into grades. The remaining responses elaborated on the options we provided.

*Table 13: Method of Assessing Ukrainian Students in History*

<b>Evaluation Method</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
By Grades	191
Verbally	9
Combined Form	146
Free Response	8

We are aware that Ukrainian students coming to the Czech Republic due to the war conflict must deal with several challenges. On the other hand, they usually attend our schools for a certain period, and there are voices (including the Ministry of Education) calling for limitations on the provided benefits and advantages. These opinions were already present during the research, and since then, they have significantly intensified. In this context, we were interested in how Ukrainian students in history are evaluated compared to Czech students. We asked this question in a closed format, and respondents could choose from three possible answers: equally strictly, less strictly, more strictly. The results show that, in terms of evaluation, the majority of allowances for Ukrainian students are maintained. More than four out of five teachers evaluate them less strictly than Czech students (see Table 14). A clear minority of teachers in our sample apply the same strictness to Czech and Ukrainian students. None of them claim to evaluate Ukrainian students more strictly.

*Table 14: Strictness of Evaluation of Ukrainian Students in History*

<b>Evaluation Strictness of Ukrainian Students in History</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>
Equally Strict	67
Less Strict	287
More Strict	0

### **Summary, Interpretation, and Comparison of Results**

Based on the data obtained from the European Commission, we can compare some of our results with those of our European neighbours and the current situation. Several different approaches to newly arrived Ukrainian students can be mapped in different countries. Based on this, we can also compare the transformation of curricula in these countries concerning these students. In countries like France, Sweden, Iceland, and others, all incoming Ukrainian students must undergo a mandatory entrance examination to assess their level of education and knowledge. According to the results, they are then placed in the appropriate grade. These entrance exams and interviews are designed to help schools adequately respond to the educational needs of these students

by placing them in the corresponding grade. In Finland, schools are recommended to consider the background of Ukrainian students and their age.<sup>10</sup> In the Czech environment, no similar process has been implemented yet. However, based on the data obtained from teachers, the majority of them consider the initial knowledge of Ukrainian students to be worse than that of Czech students (in the case of our research with a focus on history and all its specifics). While the educational process and information acquisition are certainly influenced by the language barrier, we can argue whether a more adequate response to the educational needs of Ukrainian students in schools could help accelerate the equalization of the knowledge gap between Czech and Ukrainian students. At the same time, our research identifies possible causes of the poorer knowledge of Ukrainian students. Among them is the difference between Czech and Ukrainian education and different outcomes in individual grades. Essentially, different curricula. Adequate placement in grades could mitigate this cause, which our respondents consider crucial. According to a study from the National Institute SYRI, academic adaptation is considered more challenging than social adaptation.<sup>11</sup> Teachers in Czech primary schools are therefore unsure how to adequately respond to the involvement of Ukrainian students in lessons and to what extent to adjust the curriculum.

Another valuable study for our comparison deals with comparing the abilities of Ukrainian students with European countries.<sup>12</sup> Based on the interpretation of the obtained data, it was found that the average Ukrainian student has below-average abilities compared to European students. Based on our data, it is possible to confirm these conclusions with respect to history as a school subject. However, it is necessary to reiterate the specifics of the subject, including the differences in the content of the subject in individual countries.

The arrival of Ukrainian students has contributed to the time burden on teachers. For this reason, it seems appropriate to consider increasing the number of teachers to adequately provide education and meet the educational needs not only for incoming students but also for domestic ones. In Poland, they have resorted to employing Ukrainian citizens as teacher assistants. In Lithuania, steps have been taken to allow Ukrainian migrants to work directly as teachers in classes with a smaller number of Ukrainian

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<sup>10</sup> Supporting refugee learners from Ukraine in schools in Europe. Eurydice report. Available from:

<https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/51d16f1b-0c8f-11ed-b11c-01aa75ed71a1/language-en> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).

<sup>11</sup> Hlad'o, P. – Šed'ová, K. Obrovská, J. – Lojdoová, K. – Stupak, O. – Lintner, T. – Fico, M. (2023). *Adaptace ukrajinských žáků na vzdělávání v českých základních školách. Studie SYRI*. Available from: <https://www.syri.cz/data/uploadHTML/files/PUBLIKACE/adaptace-ukrajinskych-zaku-na-vzdelavani-v-ceskych-zakladnich-skolach-syri.pdf> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).

<sup>12</sup> Skills comparison between Ukraine and the EU-27. Available from: <https://www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/news/skills-comparison-between-ukraine-and-eu-27> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).

students.<sup>13</sup> According to the data we obtained, Czech teachers would also welcome the presence of assistants in the classroom, which would contribute to the smoothness of the educational process for Ukrainian students. In practice, their presence is noted, but it is not a widespread phenomenon.<sup>14</sup> From the same source, we can learn about testing and entrance exams for Ukrainian students in subsequent years. For example, in Lithuania, students can progress to the next grades unconditionally. In some schools, they may not have to take the final state exam (in primary schools and vocational schools). We can therefore conclude that testing for Ukrainian students is accommodating. In the Czech context, primary schools are not obligated to conclude school attendance with an exam.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, our data indicate tests and assessments taking place directly in history lessons. In most cases, Czech teachers tend to evaluate Ukrainian students more leniently than Czech students. From this, we can infer that both abroad and in the Czech Republic, lower expectations are placed on Ukrainian students shortly after their arrival, and the process of equilibrating is gradually accelerating and is going to accelerate even more over time.

The same interpretation as presented in our study can be found in a study conducted by the National Institute SYRI,<sup>16</sup> which also focused on Czech teachers. According to this study, Czech teachers set lower expectations for Ukrainian students and, at the same time, grade them more leniently. Ukrainian parents observe that Czech schools are perceived as easier compared to Ukrainian ones. Although the parents of Ukrainian students appreciate efforts towards social integration, they also believe that academic integration is equally important.

Other research studies and reports provide general conclusions regarding the education of Ukrainian students in specific countries. Our research, in addition to general findings, provides data on specific factors influencing the educational process for Ukrainian students in history classes. Overcoming the language barrier is considered one of the key factors for the successful involvement of Ukrainian students, which is mentioned as one of the main challenges faced by teachers working with Ukrainian students across Europe.

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<sup>13</sup> Mapping host countries' education responses to the influx of Ukrainian students. Available from: <https://reliefweb.int/report/ukraine/mapping-host-countries-education-responses-influx-ukrainian-students> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).

<sup>14</sup> For comparison see e.g. Minaříková, K. (2023). Učitelky z Ukrajiny do českých škol chtějí. *Chrudimský, Svitavský a Orlický deník*, 27. června 2023, s. 4.

<sup>15</sup> In Czech schools, the transition of Ukrainian students to secondary schools is considered problematic, particularly when many of them encounter a language barrier. This barrier often becomes a factor preventing them from passing entrance exams. Although they could request an exemption from the unified Czech language exam, they still had to undergo an entrance interview, prepared and evaluated by the schools. See e.g. Hronová, Z. (2023). Snaha Ukrajinců o střední školy končila na zkoušce z češtiny. *Chrudimský, Svitavský a Orlický deník*, 9. srpna 2023, s. 4; Hronová, Z. (2023). Místo studia se ukrajinská dívka zaučuje v restauraci. *Chrudimský, Svitavský a Orlický deník*, 26. září 2023, s. 1, 6.

<sup>16</sup> Hlad'o, P. – Šed'ová, K. – Obrovská, J. – Lojdová, K. – Stupak, O. – Lintner, T. – Fico, M. (2023). et seq.

This issue is discussed in articles by the European Commission<sup>17</sup> and the *European Migration Network*,<sup>18</sup> the second of which highlights the impact of the language barrier on the integration process of Ukrainian students. UNICEF shares a similar view on the language barrier, emphasizing its influence on the enrollment of Ukrainian students in schools.<sup>19</sup> A study focused on the Polish context also observes the same problem.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, it can be assumed that the language barrier significantly affects both the integration and the education of Ukrainian students. According to research from the National Institute SYRI,<sup>21</sup> even though the acquisition of the Czech language is crucial for the proper integration of Ukrainian students into the Czech environment, some important support positions for ensuring a smooth integration process are lacking in Czech schools. Specifically, there is a shortage of teachers specializing in teaching Czech as a foreign language. The current state of support positions in schools is therefore insufficient to eliminate the language barrier for Ukrainian students.

The data we obtained also provides insights related to the quality of available materials that teachers can use in history lessons. Here, we find that teachers would most appreciate worksheets that are adjusted to an adequate extent specifically for Ukrainian students. This would streamline the curriculum and simplify its understanding. Similarly, teachers view textbooks with adjusted content positively. Some respondents expressed interest in connecting Czech and Ukrainian history, allowing Czech students to work with Ukrainian history. Understanding Ukrainian history and life and institutions would likely make the integration of Ukrainian students into the Czech environment smoother. However, incorporating Ukrainian history into regular teaching may impact the fulfillment of outcomes embedded in our curriculum documents, which are the cornerstone of Czech education. Therefore, if partial integration of Ukrainian history into history lessons was to be considered, it must be done in accordance with these documents. Despite these challenges, the obtained data offer valuable insights that can be focused on when seeking appropriate solutions to improve history education and the integration process of Ukrainian

<sup>17</sup> Supporting refugee learners from Ukraine in schools in Europe. Eurydice report. Available from:

<https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/51d16f1b-0c8f-11ed-b11c-01aa75ed71a1/language-en> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).

<sup>18</sup> Students from Ukraine in the Irish educational system. Available from: <https://emn.ie/students-from-ukraine-in-the-irish-educational-system/> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).

<sup>19</sup> More than half of Ukrainian refugee children not enrolled in schools in Poland – UNICEF-UNHCR. Available from: <https://www.unicef.org/eca/press-releases/more-half-ukrainian-refugee-children-not-enrolled-schools-poland-unicef-unhcr> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).

<sup>20</sup> Herbst, M. – Sitek, M. (2023). *Education in exile: Ukrainian refugee students in the schooling system in Poland following the Russian–Ukrainian war*. European Journal of Education 58(4), s. 575–594. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12587>

<sup>21</sup> SYRI. Českým školám chybí učitelé češtiny jako cizího jazyka. Available from: <https://www.syri.cz/tiskove-zpravy/ceskym-skolam-chybi-ucitele-cestiny-jako-ciziho-jazyka> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).

students into the Czech environment. The data we gathered may prove important for enhancing the academic integration of Ukrainian students. As mentioned in the study from the National Institute SYRI,<sup>22</sup> academic integration of Ukrainian students is considered more challenging than social integration. Parents of Ukrainian students would welcome greater academic demands on Ukrainian students. Our research has identified various measures that can be focused on to better integrate Ukrainian students into history lessons.

At the same time as addressing the mentioned challenges, it is essential to consider data indicating that Ukrainian students are improving in history. This viewpoint is held by most of our respondents, ranging from partial to significant progress. The overwhelming majority of teachers who believe in the improvement of students in history lessons attribute it mainly to the minimization of the language barrier. The impact of the language barrier on the educational and integration process is mentioned across various studies, such as the aforementioned study focusing on the Polish environment<sup>23</sup> and also on the *Hype and Hyper*<sup>24</sup> portal. Other significant factors include the adaptation of Ukrainian students to the Czech school environment and home preparation. According to teachers, if the preparation at home is adequate, it has a positive impact on the entire process. This can be observed in the responses of teachers who perceive that Ukrainian students are not improving. Other factors include unfamiliarity with the Czech school environment and a lack of materials.

In our research, we also explored the methods by which Ukrainian students are tested. While various studies focus on national exams, here we concentrate specifically on testing within the teaching process. The majority of teachers opt for both written and oral examinations. Almost the same number of teachers choose only written forms of testing, and only seven teachers from our sample prefer oral examinations. In this question, we received numerous open-ended responses offering a spectrum of different methods and approaches to evaluating Ukrainian students without a prevailing majority. However, it can be generally noted that Ukrainian students have modified conditions for assessment and testing in various forms. Some teachers provide Ukrainian students with various aids during examinations and tests. Others evaluate their work in class or assess various projects, presentations, or homework. Some Ukrainian students are even tested online using online questionnaires. We specifically asked teachers who exclusively conduct written tests whether and how assistance is provided to Ukrainian students. In most cases, we learn

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<sup>22</sup> Hlad'o, P. – Šed'ová, K. – Obrovská, J. – Lojdová, K. – Stupak, O. – Lintner, T. – Fico, M. (2023). et seq.

<sup>23</sup> Herbst, M. – Sitek, M. (2023). *Education in exile: Ukrainian refugee students in the schooling system in Poland following the Russian–Ukrainian war*. *European Journal of Education* 58(4), s. 575–594. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12587>

<sup>24</sup> Johanyák, C. (2022). *Education for Ukrainian refugee children – how European countries help*. *Hype&Hyper*. Available from: <https://hypeandhyper.com/education-for-ukrainian-refugee-children-how-european-countries-help/> (cit. 30. 12. 2023).



that Ukrainian students are allowed to use mobile phones and online translators. Aid from assistants, online resources, and printed dictionaries follow. However, numerous free responses were provided, mentioning various aids that Ukrainian students may use during written tests.

We considered the language in which Ukrainian students are tested to be equally important. The language barrier represents one of the main challenges in teaching Ukrainian students (see above). The majority of teachers stick to the Czech language, while a minority opt for a combination of Czech and Ukrainian. Some teachers also use the Russian language during examinations. Although adhering to the Czech language may enhance the ability of Ukrainian students to work with a new foreign language, it can simultaneously result in lower pressure on academic integration. As mentioned above, the language barrier is one of the main challenges in the mentioned process. However, teachers also perceive that students who improved (see above) did so primarily through acquiring a new language. A similar discussion of the obtained data can lead to finding a solution regarding which language would be more suitable for integrating Ukrainian students into the Czech environment. If Czech is chosen as the dominant language, the emphasis will be on improving understanding of the new language, but academic integration pressure will also be (temporarily) limited. If Ukrainian is chosen, academic integration could proceed without major difficulties, but the acquisition of the Czech language will be limited. We must approach this issue as a complex topic that does not have a single correct solution.

It is also necessary to note that this statement is valid at the time of the research (spring 2023), and it is evident that in some areas, the situation and attitudes of teachers may change over time. Therefore, it will be important and interesting to compare the results with new findings conducted in the future.

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## The German-Jews' Identity and Reactions to the Nazi Policy

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Ketko, T. (2023). The German-Jews' Identity and Reactions to the Nazi Policy. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 15/2023/1–2, 74–95.  
<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2023-005>

*In early April 1933, the racist laws went into effect in Nazi Germany. These officially dictated that all involvement with Jews should be severed by keeping a safe distance. On the eve of Hitler's taking power, there were some six hundred thousand Jews in Germany. They enjoyed full civil rights and were deeply involved in social and political life. The German Jewish identity was clear-cut to most of them, and some were convinced that Nazi ideology had nothing to do with them. The following article, which focuses on the period between January 1933 and November 1938, will present some responses and identical dilemmas of those German Jews, who found it difficult to accept that Nazi laws include them as Jews only. It will describe their conduct within a community preparation that was gradually being formulated already in Zionist and German-Jewish responses and activities. Most of the sources and examples in this article are aimed to observe the German Jewish dilemma based on their dual cultural loyalty as Germans and as Jews as well. Describing these difficulties, and the German Jews' reactions to the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, and after the Kristallnacht pogrom in 1938, intends to describe expressions of uncertainty and a sense of detachment that characterizes German Jews more prominently. This article deals with the Legal-Racial Laws experienced as German Jews and its future impacts on their fate during the war and afterward.*

Keywords: *Nazi rules, German-Jewish identity, German-Jewish responses, german-Jewish organizations, German-Jewish women*

### Introduction

Hitler was sworn in as the German chancellor at noon on January 30, 1933. A wave of Nazi terrorism, led by the Gestapo, swept across Germany, and Nazi propaganda began to work in full force. On April 1, a national boycott was declared on Jewish businesses, doctors and lawyers, university lecturers, and teachers. Jews were removed from public office, from all spheres of art and communications, from schools and kindergartens, and from all cultural and community centers. In view of a situation that deteriorated daily, the Jews

were forced to hold fast to Jewish communal anchors and create a parallel life. They had to create educational, cultural and research systems, analogous to the Nazi ones from which they were barred. It is important to understand that concomitantly with the shock, they suffered a blow to their German identity and a deep rift that was imposed upon them; all the Jewish professors were dismissed from their posts in the universities and research institutions and excluded from the campuses. The extent of the patriotism and loyalty of the German Jews was also manifested in the fact that in World War I some 100,000 Jews enlisted in the German army, approximately 18% of all German citizens were Jews, the majority served on the fronts and some 12,000 Jews fell in the war or were announced missing in action. Some 35,000 Jews were awarded medals of honor.<sup>1</sup> Until the outbreak of World War II, tens of thousands of German Jews left Germany, some heading for Palestine and some to South America and the Far East. The response of the Jews shifted in accordance with the worsening of the Nazi policy, mainly after the publication of the Nuremberg Laws. Their public appearance also decreased, however, even though the number of Jewish newspapers diminished it was still possible to get a picture of the situation that reflected the impact of the reality that was forced upon them and the strength of their German identity.

Despite all the events taking place around them, the German Jews who chose to remain, tried to cultivate their community frameworks, and resist the Nazi rules and the Reich's policies against Jews, as far as possible.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, there were training frameworks and Zionist organizations in Germany that encouraged youth and young adults to direct their lives towards emigration to Palestine. Some of these movements, called *Hachshara* in Germany, took on greater urgency after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. *Hachshara* established training centers aimed to provide young urban Jews with agricultural skills which might prove useful in Palestine. Training sometimes took as little as several months, while in other cases it ran for more than a year. The training centers were registered with the local police, which raised no objections until 1941 since the goal was to facilitate emigration, a Nazi objective at that time. From the first days of the Nazi regime, the Jewish communities found themselves in an entirely new situation. They had to organize social care for their ever-poorer members, provide them with advice and help and support emigration, and manage to bridge their ideological differences - in particular those between the German assimilationists and the Zionists - and to create a new umbrella organization: *Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden* (Reich Representation of German Jews). It was headed by the distinguished liberal rabbi Leo Baeck. Despite the cultural connection to the German homeland and their identity with

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<sup>1</sup> Gilbert, M. (2006). *Kristallnacht: Prelude to Destruction*. London: Harper Collins Publishers

<sup>2</sup> Kaplan, M. A. (1999). *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*. Oxford: University Press; Benz, W. (2015). *Antisemitismus. Präsenz und Tradition eines Ressentiments*, Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag.

it, one of the main results of these reactions and activities was the falling number of Jews in Germany due to emigration.

Between 1933 and 1939 more than half the Jewish population left to Palestine and other Western countries. In subsequent years the number of emigrants fell with a certain amount of regularity, when German Jews lost any remaining illusions regarding the possibility of finding a *modus vivendi* with the Nazi regime. From the start of the war in September 1939, opportunities to emigrate fell rapidly, and it became more and more difficult for emigrants to find target countries willing to accept them. Jewish organizations supported emigration and tried to ensure that emigrants were as well prepared as possible for life in their new country, organizing language and retraining courses. Several young people passed through *Hachshara* - agricultural training in the countryside organized by Zionists which prepared them for emigration to Palestine. The leaders of the Jewish community also tried to ensure that emigration went smoothly and tried to prevent panic from spreading and people from emigrating without necessary preparation.<sup>3</sup>

The Nazi authorities did support the emigration of Jews, since it corresponded to their aim of ridding Germany of its alleged enemies, but at the same time they tried to take as much property as possible from the fleeing Jews. Thus impoverished, German Jews had much greater difficulty finding asylum in some target countries. In 1933, Zionist organizations managed to conclude the *Haavara Agreement* (Transferring Agreement) with the Nazis. This stated that emigrants to Palestine who had to leave property in Germany would import German goods into Palestine in return, after which they would receive a large part of their original property back. It is important to realize that mostly young people were involved in emigrating, while the elderly people could not or did not want to leave Germany. Many of these youngsters, members of the *Hachshara* movements and other Zionist organizations, who reached Palestine, never received British visas (one of their goals) but rather entered illegally, and in some cases, there are even ship manifests disclosing when they arrived.

However, it did not prevent them to continue, that would later turn out to be the only way that saved them. Furthermore, it became harder and harder for Jewish emigrants to find target countries in addition to Palestine. A well-known case is that of the *St. Louis*, a ship that set sail for Cuba in May 1939 with over 900 refugees from Germany on board and was rescinded by the Cuban authorities despite diplomatic efforts, so the refugees were not allowed to enter Cuba, or even the US, and the *St. Louis* had to set out back for Europe. Finally, the UK, Netherlands, Belgium, and France were persuaded to take the passengers of the *St. Louis*. Unfortunately, many of them were overtaken

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<sup>3</sup> *Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte in der Neuzeit. Band IV: Aufbruch und Zerstörung, 1918–1945*, p. 227.

by the Nazi "Final Solution" after some of these countries were occupied, and further Jews' attempts to escape and emigrate were blocked and stopped altogether after 1940.

From Hitler's rise to power in 1933, through the publication of the Nuremberg Racial Laws in 1935, until the November 1938 *Kristallnacht*, and their final deportation, the German Jewish community had to find ways to adjust racial discriminative rules without losing their German Culture. The Nuremberg Laws and the Reich Citizenship Law made German Jews (and Jews) second-class citizens, and thus de facto deprived them of political rights.<sup>4</sup> The consequence was that Jews became *Staatsangehörige* (foreign citizens), while "Aryan" Germans (or people with "related blood") were designated as *Reichsbürger* (Legal Reich citizens). This was achieved mainly in the framework of the Jewish Culture Union (*Jüdische Kulturbund*), and The Central Organization of German Citizens of Jewish Faith (*Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens*). As long as these organizations operated under the supervision of the Nazi police, their separation from the Aryan population was guaranteed. Falling in line with this course of action, Nazi rule did not prevent Jewish activities such as the National Delegation of German Jews, led by Rabbi Leo Baeck, or The Jewish Center for Adult Education, (*Mittelstelle für Jüdische Erwachsenenbildung*), headed by Martin Buber and Ernst Simon, and the Reich Association of Jewish Cultural Associations (*Reichsverband Jüdischer Kulturvereine*), headed by Kurt Singer. All these activities were closely scrutinized, with an intention of focusing solely on Jewish material.<sup>5</sup>

The Nazi policy was ambivalent: on the one hand, it supported the anti-intellectual perception, highlighting the subjects and activities that would train the new generation in loyalty and obedience to the Nazi state.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, it encouraged reading and revising books relating to German history, science, and literature, with the objective of mastering ideological and executive excellence for the greater good of Germany. In this way, they engendered emotional manipulation and total control over the youth's consciousness.<sup>7</sup> In the beginning, some of the Jewish *intelligentsia* leaders in Germany, although

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<sup>4</sup> Day, L., Haag, O. (2017). *The Persistence of Race. Continuity and change in Germany from the Wilhelmine Empire to National Socialism*. New York: Berghahn Books.

<sup>5</sup> Wegner, G. P. (2002). *Anti-Semitism and Schooling under the Third Reich*. New York: Routledge Falmer Press, pp. 2-7; Reagin, N. R. (2007). *Sweeping the German Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870–1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Miron, G. (2019). The Home Experience of German Jews under the Nazi Regime. *Past and Present* 243(1), pp. 175–212.

<sup>6</sup> Sünker, H., Otto, H. U. (2014). *Education and Fascism: Political Identity and Social Education in Nazi Germany*. London & New York: Taylor and Francis, pp. 1-15; Ortmeier, B. (2016). *Rassismus und Judenfeindschaft in der NSLB-Zeitschrift "Deutsches /Nationalsozialistisches Bildungswesen" 1933–1943*. NS-Ideologie im Wissenschaftsjargon, Teil I, Frankfurt / Main: Protagoras Academicus.

<sup>7</sup> Pine, L. (2010). *Education in Nazi Germany*. Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 2–12.

understanding the Nurnberg Laws from 1935, perceived the Nazi method as a temporary status of an avant-garde ideology, ludicrous as it may have been. It forced them to create ways of adjustment to keep their intellectual and cultural-pedagogical activities, and yet, there was nothing that prepared them for what was about to happen a few years later.

For most Nazi methodologists, Jews were the prototype of the anti-race as they believed that the divine preceded human existence, and thus the origin of their race and existence had neither essence nor definition.<sup>8</sup> Their philosophy was neither particularly academic nor rational, but rather a mystical synthesis that created deformed links between Aryan nature and German history. Most of the Jews in Germany could not understand what had happened to their German "brethren" or why they surrendered, almost with no resistance, to such radical messianic perceptions. They could not believe that they had abandoned modern attitudes and adopted a sinister dictatorship, making the person who declared his intention to annihilate the Jewish people, their undisputed leader, and the savior of the German Reich.

German Jews rejected the Nazi ideas not only as Jews but mainly as part of the German people. They searched for ways that would reinforce their German-Jewish belonging to this new phenomenon, attempting to act in more intellectual and rational ways. Despite the racist declarations, most German Jews, even the Zionists, still felt themselves Germans, loyal to their culture and their *Vaterland* (fatherland). They identified themselves as Germans: "We spoke the German language, so dear to us, our mother tongue in the truest sense of the word, through which we received all values of our lives, and language means almost more than blood [...]"<sup>9</sup>

One of Berghahn's important conclusions was that there was no difference between the religious and the non-religious German Jews in relation to their Germanness. Their German identity ignored the religious-Jewish context and raised the ethnographic context above their religious-communal belonging. Therefore, their establishment as a community occurred relatively quickly, to alter the equilibrium between their Germanness and their Judaism, and to focus on what was happening within the community. Researchers of German Jewry during the Nazi era, Marion A. Kaplan (1999) and Guy Miron (2019), analyzed and scrutinized dozens of documentary and epistolary sources written by Jews who continued living in Germany until 1939. According to their study most of the German Jews identified culture with institutions, and Judaism with religion. Kaplan describes how the Nazi policy and the regime's operations against Jews were received with understanding and compliance.

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<sup>8</sup> See more about these ideas: Probst, C. J. (2012). *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany*. Indiana: Indiana University Press; Day, L., Haag, O. (2017). *The Persistence of Race. Continuity and change in Germany from the Wilhelmine Empire to National Socialism*. New York: Berghahn Books.

<sup>9</sup> Berghahn, M. (2007). *Continental Britons German Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany*. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 48.

As an immediate reaction, the Jewish leadership set up a variety of associations and organizations, such as the Teachers Union, the Association of the Blind, sports associations, and other community activists. However, soon they realized that they would have to change the order of their self-definition and German identity: from now on they must say 'a Jew of German birth', and not 'a German citizen', and later – no longer 'German' at all.<sup>10</sup>

It is important to remember that the German Jews were perceived as the leaders of assimilated and modern Judaism and were prominent in almost all secular and reformist movements and German-Jewish historiography. The rational and philosophical foundation of German education which was shared by Nazi Germans and German Jews led the latter to believe that perhaps a revolutionary change could be carried out in tandem. Investment in the history of the people, cultivating sports and physical robustness, reinforcing the concept of tiling the land and building, national education, and textbooks in the *Zeitgeist* – all these took place almost at the same time, but under different circumstances. In the German world it meant training the younger generation to become loyal Nazi citizens. In the Jewish world it meant a renewal of their Jewish identity and Zionism, in preparation for emigration.

Together with the romantic, nationalist, and naturalistic schools of thought, which Nazism fervently cultivated as part of their reeducation, the Jews saw an opportunity to follow these leanings with the younger members of the community. It included the spurt of practical training for immigration (*Aliyah*), and a growing interest in the agronomic and ecological conditions in Palestine, and the appearance of Hebrew teachers in Jewish schools founded specifically for that purpose. They supported Zionist education, and encouraged the research of Hebrew sources, not for theological reasons only, but due to ethnic longings, which were part of the atmosphere of the ethos ambient in Germany.<sup>11</sup>

The constraints of the reality imposed on the Jewish authorities, placed the youth movements that were already firmly rooted in their educational traditions, as stable anchors to cling to, and as an immediately answer for their needs. In Germany, until the rise of Hitler, the *Hakshshara* (preparation for immigration to *Eretz Israel*) involved primarily the organizations *He-Chalutz* and *Bachad* (*Brit Halutzim Dati'im* - League of Religious Pioneers), but also other Jewish youth movements that existed already in Germany, such as *Habonim*, *Blau-Weiss*, and the *Hashomer Hatzair* movements. Most of them

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<sup>10</sup> Kaplan, (1999). Ibid, Gruner, W. (2019, March 19). Defiance and Protest: Forgotten Acts of Individual Jewish Resistance, Lecture at the UC San Diego Library, based on the lecture given by Prof. Wolf Gruner [Video]. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bONTGjo7h5w&ab\\_channel=UCSanDiegoLibrary](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bONTGjo7h5w&ab_channel=UCSanDiegoLibrary) (Accessed February 1, 2023); Miron, (2019). Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See: Ortmeier, B. (2016). *Rassismus und Judenfeindschaft in der NSLB-Zeitschrift "Deutsches /Nationalsozialistisches Bildungswesen" 1933–1943, NS-Ideologie im Wissenschaftsjargon, Teil I.* Frankfurt / Main: Protogoras Academicus.



have changed significantly both qualitatively and quantitatively, and adopted contents that matched the spirit of the time and the needed preparations for the coming days. Falling in line with the Nazi youth movements, the leaders of the Jewish community also sought to encourage youth to cultivate a healthier and more sports-like way of life and adopt the habit of spending their leisure time in nature. They would practice the revived contact between young Jews and their land, cultivate the physicality of the New Jew, a person who would be independent, a fighter, creative, adhering to national aspirations – the antithesis of the exilic-type Jew whom the Nazi leaders wished to wipe off the face of the earth.

However, here a new factor emerged in the ambivalence, which was strongly identified with the Jews in Germany: the socialist tone that they adopted in some Zionist activities. Most of the youth movements and the *Zionist Aliyah* youth adhered to ideals that denied the expression of diplomacy, the bourgeoisie and any form of capitalism, fascist tyranny, and oppression of the individual. Due to the characteristics of the political and public Zionist activities, the Jews were easily identified as communist agents and as such, the archetypal enemy, and an ever-increasing threat to Nazism and the Western world in general. The natural affiliation shown between Jews and communists further stimulated justification to support the call for the exclusion of the Jews, their absolute separation, and their loathing.<sup>12</sup>

Beyond the orders of the Nazi regime to mark all Jewish businesses in a way that would accentuate their belonging, an edict was published in January 1939 according to which the name ‘Sarah’ would be added to every Jewish female’s name, and the name ‘Israel’ to every Jewish male’s name. The reason for the urgency in carrying out this order derived from the fact that most of the German Jewish citizens did not have names that were characteristic of their origin, but rather typical German names. This is another aspect of the arguments raised earlier about their Jewish foreignness. In many instances their outward appearance, their names, and occupations, created problems among the representatives of the Nazi regime who were given orders to identify and separate Jews from the German population for purposes of boycott, banishment, and expulsion. Despite the enforced separation between them and the Germans, the symmetrical connection which they sought to preserve created an inner conflict. Since they were given orders to delete the status of “German Jew” they had no choice other than to remain with the definition of Jew, and therefore the addition of the word 'Zionist' or 'communist' filled the gap that undermined their stability. Following is a citation taken from an interview with the historian Prof. Zvi Bachrach about his life as a young boy in Nazi Germany, illustrating this ambivalence:

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<sup>12</sup> Pine (2010). Ibid, pp. 25–48.

My name is Zvi Walter Bachrach. I was born in 1928 in Hanau, Germany, and with the rise of the Nazis to power I was expelled together with all the Jewish children from school and sent to a Jewish school. In the beginning, I understood nothing. After the publication of the Nuremberg Laws, violence towards Jews was prevalent everywhere. I remember that every day when we left school our friends from the *Hitlerjugend* would be waiting for us. They threw rocks at us, cursed us, and beat us. One day I came home covered in blood after they had attacked me on my way home from school, shouting at me *farfluchte Jude* (cursed Jew). Till this day I cannot understand it. My father fought in the German army in World War I and was decorated with medals. We had a typical assimilated German home. We celebrated the Jewish holidays only symbolically. We did not deny our Judaism, but we did not abide by the Jewish laws in our daily life. For me, as a child, this was even more confusing. I did not know how to define myself. I knew I was German. For my father, his connection to the Jewish community was more significant. It never dawned on us to leave Germany. I had an uncle in Palestine, my father's brother. He begged us to come when it was still possible. But my mother said that it was too hot in Palestine. Zionism and the sense of community were not for her. This is why we remained in Germany until there was no way out [...] One of the most interesting conclusions is that for the German Jewry the blow of Nazism came from within, not from outside. It was not like it was for the Jews in Poland, when the blow came from outside, enforced upon them by Nazi occupation. For us it came from within, from our Germany.<sup>13</sup>

The ever-growing interest of German Jews in the roots of Judaism and Zionism, as a result of the Zionist movements that were active in Germany, was not new. Considering the increasing attacks on Jews as of the rise of Hitler to power, this "new-old belonging accorded a different sense of wellbeing and a shared fate. The fact that people were becoming involved in studies in Judaism in Germany could be seen, among other things, in the establishment of the Lehrhaus in the 1920s by a group of intellectuals, the likes of Franz Rosenzweig, and was successfully run by Martin Buber in the 1930s. This organization was also involved in education and helped German Jews not only to survive but also to lead a meaningful 'German life'. Its Jewish schools accepted all the children, youth, and teachers who had been expelled from the German education system. As of 1938, there were no Jews in any educational or academic institution in Nazi Germany.

From 1929 onwards, the houses lacked the activity of the founder, the aforementioned Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929), and although he was replaced by the aforementioned personalities, even they could not prevent the Jüdisches Lehrhaus from curtailing its activities until they were finally closed in November 1938. The Nazi regime forced over 65% of the Jewish children and youth whose families remained in Germany until 1939 to study

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<sup>13</sup> Bacharach, Z. (2010, February 9). Holocaust Survivor Testimonies: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pkd9YkpPNV0>; Citations from the author's interview with Prof. Zvi Bacharach (July 23, 2000). See also: <https://www.yadvashem.org/he/articles/interviews/bachrach.html>.

in these schools. Some of them were private and were run under the auspices of Zionist organizations, and others were operated in private homes. The rest of the Jewish parents simply stopped sending their children to school, due either to their preparations for escape, emigration, or due to financial difficulties. A far greater enemy of the Nazis, however, was the *B'nai B'rith* (Bnai Brith) Brotherhood League, already associated in its early days with the highest Jewish authorities in Germany, headed by Leo Baeck (1873–1956). It became significant and in those years its members numbered some 120,000. Leo Baeck, president of the association, consolidated its objectives with the rise of Hitler to power, with the intention of reinforcing connections to the Jewish tradition and universal traits. Thus, from a local cultural club it turned into a spiritual center that drew secular intellectuals from different classes. It was the Nazis who thwarted its rise when, after many attempts to stop its activities, on April 9, 1937, the Gestapo simply raided all branches of *B'nai B'rith*, arrested many personalities, and confiscated all property.<sup>14</sup>

Until the rise of Hitler to power, Zionist activities in Germany were limited, and most of the German Jews showed little interest in them. The anti-Jewish policy, which Nazi Germany adopted, the material read by Jewish youth in the textbooks, and the philosophy of those who had been their classmates in the past, fueled their interest in the Zionist movement. It offered them immigration to Palestine (*Aliyah*) as a challenging, adventurous, and daring response, analogous to the renewed love for 'Fatherland work'. Historian Moshe Zimmermann (2008) defined this as the 'Renaissance of German Jews' that commenced during the days of the emancipation in the Weimar Republic and deepened even more during the Nazi regime. He argues that it seems strange that the pages of history about what happened to the Jews during the Nazi period are filled with what was evolving outside Germany, while the events that befell the German Jews under the Nazi regime, are marginal. German Jews accepted this, and therefore their reaction was the kind that enabled them to continue their lives. The fact that they refused to relinquish their German identity included an active continuation of their intellectual, artistic, and sports-related occupations and activities.<sup>15</sup>

Despite the strict prohibition on using German books or material that related to German culture and history, the Jews continued to read the banned books subversively, in the privacy of their homes, and here and there in Jewish educational frameworks that were established specifically for that purpose, under the orders of the Nazi regime. Jewish children and youth, like the rest of their German neighbors, could not instantaneously refrain from reading the *Brothers Grimm*, or Burger's stories about *Baron Munchhausen*, and certainly not Erich Kästner's *Anna Louise and Anton (Pünktchen*

<sup>14</sup> See: Gruner, W., Osterloh, J. (2015). *The Greater German Reich and the Jews: Nazi Persecution Politics in the Annexed Territories 1935–1945*. New York & Oxford: Berghahn.

<sup>15</sup> See: Zimmermann, M. (2008). *Deutsche gegen Deutsche: Das Schicksal der Juden 1938– 1945*. Berlin: Aufbau Verlag.

und Anton) and *Emil and the Detectives*. These literary classics were an inseparable part of every educated German home. However, since the Nazi laws demanded unconditional separation so as not to bring Jews into an encounter with texts that were replete with German nationalism, the demand for special Jewish children's literature increased. Similar policies were adopted vis-à-vis the German press. Thus, Jewish writers, poets, and publishing houses hastened to publish an ever-growing amount of material. Children's supplements were appended to the newspapers, which comprised texts in Hebrew and texts for learning Hebrew.<sup>16</sup> Special books were published between 1933 and 1937, among them Dr. Emil Cohn's book *The New Hebrew is Studied Quickly (Neuhebräisch schnell gelernt. 1. Teil. 2. Teil.)*<sup>17</sup> and its continuation that dealt with the completion of Hebrew studies. It taught Hebrew grammar, reading without diacritical signs, eloquent writing, and examples of practical writing for the press, announcements, and letters. The books were published in several editions in thousands of copies, for example, the fourth edition in 1935 was printed in almost 10,000 copies.<sup>18</sup>

Another important channel for adjusting the Nazi constitutional laws, was the Jewish press in Germany. Newspapers became an anchor for the empowerment of communal ties and a means for practical organization. Everyone read the press in Germany, every age group, and every class, and therefore its impact on readers was immense. According to Herbert Freedman (1993), historian of the Jewish press in Nazi Germany, the heightening interest among Jews, manifested in their press, was a type of adherence to an existential channel, perhaps the last one, that represented a country that ejected them, turning them into undesirable foreigners. More fascinating is the fact that unlike the German papers that became a propaganda tool in the hands of the Nazi regime, the Jewish press remained loyal to liberal and Western perceptions. These publications represented no danger to the Jewish population, which was no longer considered German. For the Jewish reader, whose contacts with the surrounding German society were brutally severed following the rise of the Nazi regime, the Jewish papers were an essential channel of information and an effective stage for political, financial, cultural, and religious matters.<sup>19</sup>

The Nazi regime's conditions of German Jews should be divided into two sub-periods: from the rise of Hitler to power until the publication of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, from the years of their implementation

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<sup>16</sup> Miron, G. (2012). Transition of Identities: From Germany to Palestine. In Izre'el, S. (Ed.), *the Speech Machine as a Language Teacher: Hebrew is Spoken Here - Hebrew Voices from Nazi Germany*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, pp. 34–56.

<sup>17</sup> Miron, (2012), Ibid; See also: Asher, C. (2014). Jewish Education during the Nazis as Spiritual Resistance. *Tikkun the Prophetic Jewish, Interfaith & Secular Voice to Heal and Transform the World*. <https://www.tikkun.org/jewish-education-during-the-nazis-as-spiritual-resistance>

<sup>18</sup> Elkin, R. (2015). *The Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt - Standard-Bearer of Jewish Emigration from Germany During the Years 1938 to 1941*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, pp.11–55.

<sup>19</sup> See: Freedman, H. (1993). *The Jewish press in Nazi Germany*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

until *Kristallnacht* in 1938, and from the outbreak of World War II in 1939 until the purging of Germany of Jews in 1943. Following the events of 1938 and the outbreak of the war a year later, the situation changed dramatically until the massive expulsion of Germany's Jews. These changes were largely demonstrated in the diminishment of the number of pages in the press and their content. The 65 Jewish papers that continued to appear after the rise of Hitler to power closed following a governmental order in 1938. Only one Jewish paper was permitted, which leaned heavily on what remained from the technical and personal infrastructures of these papers: *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (JN) that allowed maximal control and precluded any opposition to the laws and goals of the Reich.

The Jewish members of the editorial board were directly subordinate to the Nazi supervision bodies that dictated what and when to publish. The paper primarily published employment opportunities open exclusively to Jewish men and women. There was a noticeable rise in the demand for women to carry out cleaning, child and infant care, teachers of musical instruments, dance and handiwork, administrative work, and language teaching.<sup>20</sup> There was a great demand for teaching languages such as English, Hebrew, and Portuguese, which fell in line with the rise in the number of advertisements that dealt with selling the contents of Jewish homes, jewelry, and object d'art – all the things that could not be taken when escaping Germany. There were also reports on exotic immigration destinations, such as South America, Alaska, or Shanghai, and doubtlessly Palestine, to which many reports were devoted, in order to create the impression that Germany was encouraging emigration.

Between 1938 and 1941 about half of the pages of the JN were devoted to emigration, procedural instructions for carrying it out, and the price demanded by Germany and the countries of destination upon their arrival. It is important to emphasize that these subjects were struck off the agenda in the reports published after September 1939, when Germany invaded Poland, until the end of the German occupation of Europe in 1940. This was because the gates of Palestine were closed following the third White Paper published by the British Mandate, and the restrictions on sea voyages after the outbreak of the war. It also merits note that in the press reports there is no mention of the outbreak of the war since they were only allowed to publish topics that related to the Jewish community in Germany, with no mention of politics and political interpretations. The total of reports in the JN on emigration shows that despite the internal and international pressure exerted, neither Germans nor Jews considered the intensity of the German ties and the difficulty involved in leaving Germany on the one hand, and the scope of the restrictions and the closing of the gates of the destination countries, on the other.

In 1937 some 300,000 Jews remained in Germany out of a population of about half a million. The three principles that unmistakably symbolized

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<sup>20</sup> *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (23), (November 1938), p. 2.

the Zionist Germanness of the German Jews were breached: the physical and mental training for settling in Palestine, the absolute responsibility of parents for the education of their children, and mainly the German Mother who cared for the wholeness of her family, and the annulment of the sanctity of marriage as a basic value for building "a proper German home".<sup>21</sup> Even when the conditions of the Jews in Germany worsened, and there was no longer any doubt regarding the danger of their remaining in the country, only some 90,000 Jews left, leaving for any destination open to them. In addition, tens of thousands of children and youth were sent away by their parents, hoping that the situation was only temporary. Later, when the gates to the United States closed and the way to Great Britain was blocked due to the war, some tried to go to Argentina, the Dominican Republic, and Shanghai and Harbin in the Far East. This was a real escape, to save their lives, and from emigrants they turned into refugees. The reports on the children being sent away and their enforced separation from their parents who did so halfheartedly, based on uncertainty and fear, are interesting. This event was the antithesis of the German "sanctity of the family" which they all preached, Germans and Jews alike.<sup>22</sup> The end justified the means, particularly when the option of renewing ties with the Jewish Homeland instead of the German Homeland, was no longer accessible. In this state of emergency, all other countries were an alternative, without any connection to historical or ethnic ties to the Jewish people. The newspaper was re-published in 1940 and dealt mainly with emigration and stories about parents who sent their children outside Germany, couples who separated to inspect possible destinations, and the increase of people registering for fictitious marriages in order to obtain a visa, promising to annul the marriage once they reached their destination. Following is a report published by Martha Sara Wertheimer who objected to sending children outside Germany:

Is it clear to those mothers, to those fathers, who are acting so painstakingly to send their children before them and not with them, how a young child feels when he or she arrives in a country where people speak a foreign language, when they arrive to live with strangers? Won't the children feel that they are living in compassionate homes, while yearning for their parents and the home from which they were sent away? What do children think, realizing that their parents have left them alone? [...] Therefore, we cannot continue speaking about sending children away from Germany without repeating and emphasizing: the children's place is at home with their parents as long as it is possible. Those who know that their emigration will be possible in the future, should not break up their families. In our culture children and parents belong to one another and they should emigrate together, and this is in addition to all the pedagogical issues and their implications.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> See: Koonz, (2013). Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Kaplan, (1999). Ibid, Potter, H. (2018). Remembering Rosenstrasse: history, memory and identity in contemporary Germany. *History & Political Science*. Series: German Life and Civilization, Volume 64 Oxford, United Kingdom: Peter Lang.

<sup>23</sup> *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, (April 19, 1939), p. 2.

Other examples that express the spirit of the times can be seen in hundreds of reports and matchmaking columns that illustrated the fictitious marriages for the purpose of emigration: a 41-year-old Jewish widow seeking a partner for emigration purposes including an agreement for annulment [...].”<sup>24</sup> or, “A well-educated and beautiful Jewish woman, age 50, from a good family with connections abroad and an affidavit, seeking a Jewish man for the purposes of legal marriage and immediate emigration to the United States [...].”<sup>25</sup> These extreme examples and the responses to them attest to the enormity of the moral crisis and disaster experienced by the German Jews, mainly due to the German certainty that accompanied them throughout all the changes that took place after the rise of Hitler to power, which created a mechanism of such massive denial that did not allow them to accept their fate. Consistent with the Jewish press, the sports press developed rapidly in view of an unprecedented burst of an almost obsessive involvement of the young group of German Jews in all fields of sports. Numerous sports classes and training sessions were added to the curriculum in Jewish schools that had been set up for thousands of Jewish students and teachers who were expelled from the Nazi educational system, to nurture awareness of the body and physical strength. This tendency was cut short after 1935 and 1936 when Jews were not allowed to participate in the Olympic Games in Berlin that year. It was clear that the Jews no longer represented German sports. After *Kristallnacht* they were forced to transform all their physical skills into Jewish activities of resistance and Zionism, and some prepared themselves for immigration.

Daniel Frenkel (1993), a scholar of Jewish sports in the Nazi era, believes that there is almost no doubt that this trend developed analogously to the emphasis on sports implemented in Nazi schools. Moreover, it was a call for a counter-reaction and struggle, albeit not violent, in accordance with the German culture which they so admired. Heinsohn's study (2019), which focused on sports in Germany and the assimilation of its secular patterns among German Jews during the Nazi regime, supports these arguments.<sup>25</sup> There were Jewish activities in sports clubs, more symphonic concerts, and greater participation in official art competitions.<sup>26</sup> By refreshing their leisure time with these activities, they proved that they were still ‘Germans’ like their ‘Aryan brethren,’ but at the same time they encountered revolutionary changes as “New Jews”, physically well-trained sportsmen and sportswomen, and well-trained German Zionists. By 1938, there were over 50,000 Jewish members in some 50 sports clubs and associations, comprising about 12% of the population

<sup>24</sup> *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, (March 29, 1940), p. 5.

<sup>25</sup> See: Heinsohn, K. (2019). Leisure and Sports. In M. Rürup (Ed.), *Key Documents of German-Jewish History*. Institute for the History of German Jews (IGdJ) Online edition [August]. <https://jewish-history-online.net/topic/leisure-and-sports>.

<sup>26</sup> Krüger, A. (1999). "Once the Olympics are through, we'll beat up the Jew – German Jewish Sport 1898-1938 and the Anti-Semitic Discourse". Special Issue: One Hundred Years of "Muscular Judaism", *Jewish History and Culture* 26(2), pp. 353–375.

of Jews in Germany. The exclusion of German Jews from the German sports associations did not detract from the growing importance of sports and the physical culture, quite the contrary. In order to demonstrate that the physical prowess of Jews was no less than that of the Aryans, they intensified the arduous exercises and encouraged sports achievements of unprecedented scope.<sup>27</sup> From the time of the rise of Hitler to power dozens of articles inundated the Jewish press in Germany, calling for young Jewish men and women to join the sports associations, and musical and artistic organizations. The following item appeared in the Jewish Zionist paper, *Jüdische Rundschau*, which closed down after *Kristallnacht*, later replaced by the *Jüdische Weltrundschau*, of a lesser scope:

The exclusion of the Jewish gymnasts and sportsmen and sportswomen from the German associations challenges us with new goals [...] Now is the time to open our ranks. The German Maccabi group calls all those who have newly recognized their Judaism to join the Maccabi and Bar Kokhba associations and work together with them for the sake of the future of a fine and more promising German Jew.<sup>28</sup>

Several months prior to the 1938 *Kristallnacht* events, the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* published the following:

Education for citizenship in the Jewish State, like German citizenship, requires proper training of the youth for their future professions. The German Maccabi Association adopted the new educational system that has already shown success. First and foremost, this method seeks to inculcate order and discipline [...]. Today in Germany there is no educational nor sports framework that does not commence with hours of training and disciplinary exercises. It is imperative to create a connection between physical and spiritual training. Germany is now standing on the brink of a new era in our lives. The most important thing is to assimilate order, discipline, and a sense of Jewish purity since pride is the beginning of a sense of belonging. When such pride will be ours – we will gain our homeland once again.<sup>29</sup>

It is not surprising that this spirit was also part of the morning assemblies conducted in Jewish schools and particularly in the physical education classes. An observer would probably see no difference between these assemblies and those that took place in the Nazi schools. It took time for the Jews to assimilate the fact that they no longer belonged to *their Germany*, that they had to create a different and separate life, partly a reality, and partly a false reality.

In recent years archival documentation has been revealed, consisting mainly of police logbooks and collections of reports by the Nazi law enforcement bodies, that attest to individual acts of resistance carried out by German Jews. The data shows surprising numbers, mainly because unlike other German

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<sup>27</sup> Miron, (2015). Ibid, Krüger, (1999). Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> *Jüdische Rundschau*, (May 5, 1933), p.182.

<sup>29</sup> *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, (May 26, 1938), p. 9.



citizens, who faced a jail sentence if they opposed the regime, for Jews this meant immediate death. They coped with a complex situation characterized by a sense of dual patriotism. For them, this was a kind of development (Gruner, 2015). Their imposed separation and detachment from German society turned into a revolutionary and accelerating factor vis-à-vis the organization. It is worthy of note that this included a groundbreaking change in the status of women in the Jewish community and their important involvement in resistance and protest.<sup>30</sup>

The German Jews saw themselves as part of the intellectual elite of European Jewry and the Jewish communities in general. In an almost instantaneous response to the publication of the Nuremberg Laws they knew that they must not become defenseless but rather behave like brave and proud Germans, act in a Machiavellian manner and transform weak points into strong ones.<sup>31</sup> Two main counter-reactions may be seen, mainly in individuals: one indicated a local manifestation of opposition on the municipal level in matters pertaining to their German citizenship, whose rights had been impaired. The second type was immediate organization for pedagogical, cultural, and social planning among the Jewish communities, on the issue of teaching in the spirit of the times. The need to address the Nazi policy through a new German-Jewish ideology was demonstrated almost naturally. The objective was to send an open message to the Nazi rulers stating that if they were deprived of their German identity, they still possessed an ancient Hebrew one. It was naïve of them to believe so, but intuitively, and based on a survival instinct, they sought to alleviate the severity of the decree or, alternatively, prepare themselves for *Aliyah* and transferring their German culture (*Unzere deutsche Kultur*) to Palestine. Recently several historians uncovered archival sources that indicate the individual protest of Jews, in each city separately, the most important among them, Wolf Gruner (2018).<sup>32</sup>

The archival collection of verdicts shows a considerable number of punishments imposed upon Jews who violated the racial laws by going to the theatre, concerts, and libraries, sitting on benches in the public parks that were allowed only to citizens of the Reich, or eating in German restaurants. Some refused to return their medals of war which they were awarded as German heroes after serving in the army and fighting in World War I. They were imprisoned for this action. Some were accused of anarchism or belonging to communist parties, among them quite a few Jewish women. They continued although it was obvious that any type of resistance would end in imprisonment or immediate execution. Reinforcement of these arguments presented here can

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<sup>30</sup> See: Merson, A. 1985. *Communist Resistance in Nazi Germany*. London: Lawrence and Wishart; Koonz, C. (2013). *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, The Family and Nazi Politics*. Oxon: Routledge.

<sup>31</sup> See: Gilbert, (2006). Ibid, Reagin, (2007). Ibid.

<sup>32</sup><https://www.cornell.edu/video/wolf-gruner-jewish-defiance-protest-nazi-germany>, posted on March 31, 2016, by Cornell University Library, Jewish Students Program.

be found in interviews conducted with German Jews who survived and testified after the war. One of them, with Ingrid Frank, is always being introduced by Prof. Wolf as an expression of his theories:

One day, when my grandfather Doctor Jozefal died, my uncle Fritz, who was a lawyer, read a report on the main page of the newspaper *Der Schtirmer* that the honorable Dr. Jozefal died, and when they entered his home, they found in his basement bodies of Jewish virgins and children, whose blood was used to bake *matzos* for Passover. My Uncle Fritz was shocked to read this report about his father. He was a proud German, a decorated officer in the German army in World War I. In protest, he put on his uniform, attaching to it all the medals which he had refused to return to the authorities, put on his shiny military boots and walked at noon to the offices of the newspaper, holding the paper. Despite the fact that they did not let him go in without an appointment, he pushed his way in, bursting into the office of the editor-in-chief, Julius Schtreicher. The editor was stunned and saluted to him. My uncle asked him if he, as the editor-in-chief, knew Dr. Jozefal, who starred on the front page of the paper he edited. The answer was no. Then my uncle moved closer to him waving his military whip. "Now you know his son!" he shouted, banging the desk with his fist, and leaving the room, slamming the door behind him. He was never arrested, and no complaint was ever filed against him. This was close to *Kristallnacht*.<sup>33</sup>

Another expression of opposition was evident among Jewish women during the Nazi regime. Adopting the revolutionary change in the behavioral patterns regarding the concept of diligence and abolishing the work of servants who were supposed to do all the unpleasant domestic work, was achieved at the same time, albeit for the opposite reasons: the Germans were no longer allowed to enlist the help of services performed by Jews, and the Jews were banned from employing German workers. The implications of German Jewish women's renunciation of the German domestic ethos regarding the German classics went far beyond the physical abandonment: It was a revolutionary change for them as wives and mothers. The separation of German Jewish women from their well-kept "German Apartments" and professions from now on, also encountered an external vacuum in their social and cultural space. They had to get used to an environment that was reduced only to the Jewish community without its classes and its German glamour.<sup>34</sup> These facts intensified the impulse of resistance among young Jewish women, who still related to their German girlfriends or their "Next door neighbors".

In Nazi society everything was done to repress feminist movements, demoting women to do domestic work and perform their sacred work of raising the next generation of the Reich. On the other hand, among German Jews,

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<sup>33</sup> Defiance and Protest: Forgotten Acts of individual Jewish Resistance with Wolf Gruner" (2019), <https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb3588248r> (Accessed January 17, 2023).

<sup>34</sup> Marion A. Kaplan (1995). Jewish Women in Nazi Germany Before Emigration. In Quack, S. (ed.), *Between Sorrow and Strength: Women Refugees of the Nazi Period*, New York: Cambridge University. Press, pp. 23–29; Also see: Samson, M. (1934). Das Möblierte Zimmer. *Der Morgen*, p. 58.

the fact that most of the men were unemployed, engendered feminism and created an opportunity for Jewish women to break the cycle of traditional domestic work, thus exposing them to new challenges, coping with the authorities, and training them for new occupations, and there were even some who joined overt and covert protest movements.<sup>35</sup>

Kaplan (1999), who studied the response of Jewish women to Nazi legislation, believes that the symmetry was expressed in accepting the Protestant principles of non-Jewish Germanness, that did not contradict Jewish customs. These were elements of diligence, the prevention of wastefulness and greedy behavior that were all considered a sin. The feminist window of opportunity that opened, based on German women's solidarity, made it possible for Jewish women to act as well, which could not have occurred earlier. Following is a citation from a magazine of the Jewish women's organization from 1935:

Peacefully and in a clear mind we must see in all the difficulties new assignments that demand outstanding efforts on the part of all German women, and therefore we call all Jewish women to act. First and foremost, by practicing mutual help, taking responsibility for our children, and reinforcing our status and pride in safeguarding the German Jewish home [...] The Jewish German women's treaty warmly commends the willingness for taking this action. Together with youth movements and other organizations, the Treaty of Jewish Women reexamined the training of young women in spheres that had been the exclusive spheres of young men. This was achieved in the spirit of the German movements surrounding us, and the demands of current conditions. It is worthy that this power grows not only among girls but among older women as well, which is extremely important at this time [...].<sup>36</sup>

Researchers of the German women's protest group under the Nazi regime, such as Tim Mason (1976), Matthew Stibbe (2003), and Claudia Koonz (2013) state that despite demoting women to a limited and clearly defined status, cells of resistance developed, fighting against Nazi policies among German women that had more impact on German Jewish women than was known to us before. More than half of the 525 Germans who received the honored Righteous among the Nations were German women, who featured prominently among those who risked their lives to rescue Jews during World War II. It is worthy of note that there were also subversive connections between the Zionist socialist movements in Germany and the communist underground that included young women who participated in the struggle against Nazism.<sup>37</sup>

One of the examples is the young German Jewish woman, Marianne Baum, who together with her German friends established an active cell and represented

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<sup>35</sup> Gruner, (2019), *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Blätter des Jüdischen Frauenbundes für Frauenarbeit und Frauenbewegung / Jüdischer Frauenbund von Deutschland*, (October 11, 1935), p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> See: Mason, T. (1976). *Women in Germany, 1925–1940: Family, Welfare and Work. History Workshop* [Spring], pp. 74–113; Stibbe, M. (2003). *Women in the Third Reich*. London: Hodder Education; Koonz, C. (2014). *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics*. Oxon: Routledge.

the left-wing opposition to National Socialism. They acted primarily between 1937 and 1942.<sup>38</sup> The Baum group comprised approximately 150 individuals, many of whom were young communist Zionists. Concurrently with the communist partnership, the Zionist movement training camps continued to reinforce their agricultural and sustainable skills to facilitate the process of adjustment to communal life and their work as farmers or laborers upon their arrival in Palestine. No doubt viewing the German Jewish resistance through gender perceptions as well, will heighten our understanding of their reactions and their symmetrical complexity. Another point that should be highlighted is that all the resistance cells did not have well-defined leadership or planned goals. Most of the acts of resistance were carried out by individual German Jews and not by groups. According to the data found in local archives in many of the central German cities, it was individual resistance that bore the struggle of German Jews, and the number of women among them was conspicuous. This fact can also show us that the extent of their identity as law-abiding Germans created an unavoidable symmetry in such a complex and intricate diversity of reactions and ways of coping.

### Concluding discussion

When viewing the totality of Jewish initiatives and organizations created throughout Germany in response to Nazi policy and propaganda, one may be impressed by a kind of Jewish Renaissance. Of the 522,000 German Jews living in Germany in 1933, over 160,000 lived in Berlin. In 1941 the Berlin Jewish community still numbered about 65,000. The Zionist philosopher Akiva Ernst Simon described this unbelievable prosperity, "a building within destruction".<sup>39</sup> The response of Jewish youth and families to the Nazi policy that was deployed in all educational institutions and marketing channels, can be divided in two: the first group belonged to non-Zionist secular Jews who were still determined to define themselves as German citizens. The other group, which grew in numbers, were Jews whose youngsters were members of Zionist sports clubs and youth movements, in the beginning in small numbers and after the rise of Nazism – the majority. Among them were Jews who later understood that the only solution for them was to emigrate and leave "their Germany" as soon as possible. It is important to emphasize the fact that there were different Jewish

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<sup>38</sup> See: Simon A. E. (1959). *Aufbau im Untergang. Jüdische Erwachsenenbildung im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland als geistiger Widerstand*. Tübingen: Mohr. (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany. 2)

<sup>39</sup> See: Simon A. E. (1959). *Aufbau im Untergang. Jüdische Erwachsenenbildung im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland als geistiger Widerstand*. Tübingen: Mohr. (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany. 2)

reactions between the period of 1933 and 1935 compared with the period between 1935 and 1939.

Hitler's rise to power failed in reducing the intellectual creativity and activity of the German Jews' community organizations. The distribution of Jewish newspapers greatly increased, and the number of subjects dealt with was far more diverse, with the objective of satisfying the different needs of Jews of all ages. However, at the same time, acts of resistance and protest grew in almost all German cities, by individual Jews, who until then, in the early days of the Nazi rule, enjoyed political and cultural freedom. Evidence of different expressions of the reaction of German Jews can be found in thousands of Jewish newspapers that were published during those years, even though their number dwindled to the point of disappearance after their final expulsion from Germany. Although the Jewish press operated under the vigilant eyes of Nazi censorship, and editors often suffered threats and imprisonment, in general terms until 1938 they were relatively free in all matters that appeared to be legitimate Jewish affairs. The present article also deals with the topic of gender that illustrates, the response of German Jews in almost all spheres of life. The idea of cultivating German women from the physical point of view reflected also on Jewish-German women, but for the opposite reasons. Instead of repressing their freedom, they became the bearers of the fate of their families and struggles in an imposed reality. The change was particularly evident in the fateful decisions they made about emigration, or the decision to smuggle their children out of Germany without knowing what was in store for them.

Until 1935, most of the German Jews did not realize the impending danger nor the Nazi phenomenon that swept over those who had only recently been their German colleagues, classmates, and neighbors across the street. As people who felt themselves through-and-through Germans, they inaugurated cultural clubs and encouraged the Jewish community to send their children to Zionist youth movements that included training prior to *Aliyah* to Palestine and other countries. All these were designed to prove that even if they were accused of being sub-humans, and there was a call to wipe them off the face of this earth, they would continue to be proud German Jews with a rich intellectual and spiritual life, preparing themselves to realize their Zionist vision, after all.

One of the additional conclusions of this article is that together with the seemingly temporary "flourishing" of the Jews, there were quite a few acts of protest and resistance. Closer scrutiny of the archival sources, such as German local police journals, shows many Jews who performed individual acts of resistance and protest, which continued until the final deportation. These studies demonstrate that although many individual Jews in Germany, men, and women of every age, took great risks, and even paid for their courageous acts, they protested the Nazi regime in diverse and heroic ways. One definite conclusion that this research shows is that we must continue studying the German Jewish phenomena, their resistance, as individuals and as underground activists and their dual loyalty. Many years after the war ended,

the German Jews were still identified as a separate community that maintained its special "German way of life", its musicians, philosophers, taste, and accent, and its Unique "German Weltanschauung" that impacted generations ahead. Nevertheless, despite the most devastating and dreadful chapter in human history, which was carried out by "Legal German Authorities" who made Jews illegitimate, not only as Germans, but rather as human beings, some of the German Jews' descendants, especially in the state of Israel, still attribute special respect and attitude to their *German Culture* origins.

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## **Reports to the Military Office of the President of the Republic in Czechoslovakia on the situation in Poland in 1935**

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Řepa, T. (2023). Report to the Military Office of the President of the Republic in Czechoslovakia on the situation in Poland in 1935. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 15/2023/1–2, 96–110.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2023-006>

*The article focuses on the military and political reports of the Military Office of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1935. The relations between Czechoslovakia and Poland in the interwar period were not ideal for a number of reasons, yet there were mutual contacts, one of which was the work of the diplomatic corps and military attachés. The view of these reports on developments in Poland was an important source of information for the Czechoslovak President. That is why the reports are quite detailed. The article presents them with a commentary on the events mentioned and with the necessary setting in the contemporary context.*

**Keywords:** *Interwar period; Interwar Czechoslovakia; Interwar Poland; Czechoslovaks; Poles; Czechoslovak army, Polish army; Military Office of the President of the Republic in Czechoslovakia; 1935; Reports to Czechoslovak President about Poland*

The study offers a comprehensive look at the topic of the extant reports of the Military Office of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic for the year 1935, which may serve as a reminder of the most important political and military events in Poland at that time. These are reports of Czechoslovak diplomatic staff and military attachés in Poland about the situation there in the confidential mode. This is also in view of the contemporary context and the growing international tensions, the arms race that was set in motion and the related search for security guarantees among the various European states. The method chosen for this study was the direct use of archival sources and published sources from the Military Historical Archive in Prague. An important aid is the secondary literature from the Czech and Polish perspective and its reflection on the topic.

## First quarter 1935

The scenario of the quarterly reports was always the same, with military reports first, followed by an overview of the more important changes in laws and regulations. However, a significant part of the reports to the President of the Republic was always devoted to the internal situation in Poland, then to the foreign situation. All the reports were signed at the end by their author, Colonel of the General Staff Ferdinand Silvester<sup>1</sup>, who served as military attaché<sup>2</sup> in Poland from 1932 to 1937.<sup>3</sup> His signature was also added by divisional general Silvestr Bláha<sup>4</sup> (from 1929) in his capacity as head of the Military Office of the President of the Republic, who went through the reports and often produced only a summary of the most important information and opinions from the military attaché addressed directly to the President of the country. Turning to the actual content of the reports, on 10 April 1935 the Military Attaché of the Czechoslovak Republic in Warsaw reported in the military section that the spirit of the Polish Army was somewhat diminished in comparison with recent periods, referring to the fact that the non-aggression pact signed in 1934 with Germany<sup>5</sup> had not brought lasting guarantees and that there was a sobering and often disillusionment and disorientation. In relation to Czechoslovakia, the military attaché states his view that the campaign against Czechoslovakia by the ruling political forces has so far been essentially a failure, and that the elemental resentment against everything Czech has not been present. The report also concludes, based on an overheard view from several Polish officers, that the cause of the Polish-Czechoslovak misunderstanding was primarily the then Foreign Minister Edvard Beneš. The old pains of Poland were to be forgotten in moments of enthusiasm, and the author of the report mentions, among other things,

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<sup>1</sup> In some publications he is also listed as Ferdinand Sylvester, but his signature on documents for the Military Office of the President of the Republic is in the form Silvester. In the form Sylvester used for example see Zudová-Lešková, Z. (2011). *Zapomenutá elita: českoslovenští vojenští diplomaté v letech 1938–1945*. Praha: Mladá fronta, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> In the evaluation of his qualification certificate for 1935, Ferdinand Silvester was rated as an intelligent officer, whose great general education and sociable nature were applied with very good success at his post in Warsaw. In addition to his mother tongue, his language skills are rated as excellent in German and French, good in Romanian and Polish, and partial in Russian and English. Military Historical Archive Prague (hereinafter known as MHA), fund Qualification papers of military persons, qualification (personal) file of Ferdinand Silvester.

<sup>3</sup> Kołakowski, P. (2012). *Przywileje i uprawnienia obcych attaché wojskowych w Polsce. Instrukcja z 1934 roku*. In: *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, Wojskowe Biuro Historyczne im. gen. broni Kazimierza Sosnkowskiego Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej w Warszawie, issue 13 (64)/3 (241), p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> MHA, fund Qualification papers of military persons, qualification (personal) file of Silvestr Bláha.

<sup>5</sup> For more see Friedl, J., Jurek, T., Řezník, M., Wihoda, M. (2017), *Dějiny Polska*. Praha: Lidové noviny, pp. 459–460.

the 8 to 10 million illiterates, the lack of roads, the Ukrainian question<sup>6</sup>, Lithuania-Vilnius, the impoverishment of the Polish countryside, the armaments of Russia<sup>7</sup>, and others. A really interesting remark by the military attaché is the sentence that even the current Polish regime, for all its admiration for a really strong, armed Germany, is afraid of it.<sup>8</sup>

On internal Polish politics, the report looked at the government's efforts to push for the approval of a new constitution. Only the deputies of the ruling bloc were then to vote for the constitution; the representatives of the Ukrainians and Jews abstained. The Germans were not supposed to attend the vote at all. Thus, only the combined Polish opposition was to vote against the constitution. In the opinion of the attaché, the new constitution was accepted indifferently by the general public, despite the fact that the ruling bloc and its press described the new constitution as a landmark in the history of Poland. In another passage of the report, it is stated that there is much to suggest that the transition from the existing masked dictatorship in Poland to an overt dictatorship and that the new regime<sup>9</sup> will have much in common with Hitler's regime in Germany. The report also contains further assessments of the Polish political scene which, in the opinion of the report's author, are dominated mainly by two clearly discernible tendencies in the ruling bloc. The first is the influence of the so-called left, which is demanding radical land reform without compensation and a managed economy on the Soviet model. The second tendency is that of the conservative circles, which demand the rehabilitation of the landlords, a return to economic liberalism, tax cuts and an abandonment of economic experimentation. Tensions were further heightened by the proximity of the elections. The government's main concern, as in the case of Czechoslovakia, was to reduce the effects of the Great Depression, which in the Polish case hit farmers particularly hard. The government also focused on tackling unemployment through increased investment.<sup>10</sup>

With regard to Poland's foreign policy in the first quarter of 1935, it is noted that the main focus of Polish policy was on the so-called Eastern Pact.<sup>11</sup> The

<sup>6</sup> Which, among other things, was of courses also discussed by Polish military intelligence Danielewicz, K. (2011). *Lwowska Ekspozytura wywiadu: działalność Ekspozytury nr 5 SG we Lwowie w latach 1921–1939*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, pp. 148–171.

<sup>7</sup> In reports to the Military Office of the President of the Republic, Russia regularly appears instead of the Soviet Union; this is probably an established stereotype in the sense of Polish fears of Russian imperialism, which was only confirmed by later events and Soviet policy.

<sup>8</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 1st Quarter 1935.

<sup>9</sup> Characteristics of the Polish regime at the time Topolski, J. (2015). *Historia Polski*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, pp. 275–280.

<sup>10</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland - 1st Quarter 1935.

<sup>11</sup> About the topic Jurkiewicz, J. (1963), *Pakt Wschodni: Z historii stosunków międzynarodowych w latach 1934–1935*. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej; in the newer concept further Krasuski, J. (2000). *Tragiczna Niepodległość: Polityka zagraniczna Polski w latach 1919–1945*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie; likewise Wieczorkiewicz, P.

Polish government, in unison with Berlin, rejects multilateral treaties, does not want to assume guarantees for the inviolability of the Lithuanian and Czechoslovak borders, and above all opposes the multilateral Eastern Pact on mutual assistance. In its manoeuvring against it, it relies primarily on the intransigence of the Western powers, and especially on England's dislike of the Franco-Soviet treaty. The author of the report states very critically that: "It is clear that the Polish objections are mere diatribes and that behind them lies a firm intention to thwart the consolidation of Eastern Europe at all costs."<sup>12</sup> It goes on to say that the assumptions on which Polish foreign policy was based have failed. The results of British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's<sup>13</sup> trip to Moscow were to show this. Therefore, the Polish government had no choice but to change tactics. Suddenly it began to stress the importance and binding nature of the Franco-Polish Treaty, to exaggerate the importance of the security system constituted by the treaties and non-aggression agreements with Russia and Germany, and to point to its difficult situation as a large buffer state.<sup>14</sup>

The report concludes with a very harsh assessment of the Polish army at the time: "It is already confidentially admitted that the Polish army is not up to date<sup>15</sup>, that its armament is inadequate and that it suffers from a perceptible lack of the skilled forces which the present war technology requires. It is also confidently feared that, owing to insufficient funds, Poland will not be able to keep pace with Germany and Russia, that she will lag behind them and that her military importance will consequently decline. It can already be said that Poland's policy towards Germany is primarily inspired by fear of Germany, and it can therefore be expected that these motives will increasingly influence Polish policy."<sup>16</sup>

### Second quarter 1935

The report of the military attaché in Poland to the President of Czechoslovakia for the second quarter of 1935 also contains many interesting observations.

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(2006). *Historia polityczna Polski 1935–1945*. Warszawa: Książka i wiedza.; Batowski, H. (2008). *Między dwiema wojnami 1919–1939: zarys historii dyplomatycznej*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, pp. 218–228.

<sup>12</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 1st Quarter 1935.

<sup>13</sup> On the person and career of Anthony Eden, see Broż, I. (2004). *Diplomaté*. Praha: Epocha, pp. 423–444.

<sup>14</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 1st Quarter 1935.

<sup>15</sup> On the shortcomings of the contemporary Polish army as seen by a Polish military historian further in Miśkiewicz, B. (2006). *Wojsko Polskie w XX wieku*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Kurpisz, pp. 41–54. (chapter Osiągnięcia i niedostatki Wojska Polskiego w latach 1921–1939).

<sup>16</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 1st Quarter 1935.

Although even here it is clear that this is only the subjective view of an individual who is trying to report on anything that might have any significant value in the future. Today we know the further course of events, so it is clear that he was not wrong in many of his observations. Of particular interest are the references to longer-term trends in the development of Polish politics and the level of the military. A crucial event of the second quarter of 1935, with significant consequences, was above all the death<sup>17</sup> of Marshal Józef Piłsudski<sup>18</sup> – one of the most important figures in Poland's modern history.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the report states at the outset that: “The death of Marshal Piłsudski had a rather unfavourable effect on the spirit of the army, which still clearly feels that the loss of its commander-in-chief is irreplaceable.”<sup>20</sup>

The report goes on to assess the further development<sup>21</sup> of the Polish army with a new commander in the post of Inspector General of the Polish Armed Forces, Edward Śmigły-Rydz<sup>22</sup>, and states that Rydz wants<sup>23</sup> to have an army that is well trained, well equipped and well commanded.<sup>24</sup> This was to go against the exorbitant demands of various militant formations, which over time had too many claims on their position, weakening the army's position. Another appeal in the development of the army was to be made in the field of morale. Soldiers were to consider their families as much as possible, mistresses and dubious companions were to have unpleasant consequences for the officer. Another aim was to bring the army into closer touch with the other branches of the nation. The first step in this direction was to be the gradual introduction of conscription education into compulsory education. The military administration in Poland, in the opinion of the military attaché, was to proceed with a healthy sense of the country's internal needs, albeit with a loss of external effect. This was to occur even before the death of Józef Piłsudski. As regards the relationship with Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak army, it is stated that it remained largely unchanged. With regard to personnel changes in the Polish Armed Forces, it is stated that honest military personnel were being recruited

<sup>17</sup> Řezník, M. (2010). *Dějiny Polska v datech*. Praha: Libri, p. 397.

<sup>18</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1935.

<sup>19</sup> Brief summary of Marshal's life available Gałęzowski, M. (2013). *Marszałek Józef Piłsudski (1867–1935)*. Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu.

<sup>20</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1935.

<sup>21</sup> Further on topic see Pawłowski, T. (2009). *Armia marszałka Śmigłego: idea rozbudowy Wojska Polskiego 1935–1939*. Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM.

<sup>22</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1935.

<sup>23</sup> In detail about the vision Śmigły-Rydz Pawłowski, T. (2009). *Armia marszałka Śmigłego...*, pp. 23–52.

<sup>24</sup> On the development of the concept of the Polish army and military art throughout the interwar period Feret, S. (1972). *Polska Sztuka Wojenna 1918–1939*. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, Biblioteka Wiedzy Wojskowej.

to important posts. In a summary of the more important changes in laws and regulations, it is stated that the general registration of officers is being tightened and the regulations on travel abroad are being tightened. Conversely, some short-term tours to neighbouring states are facilitated. Also, a ban was issued on the military registration of officers' private cars of a brand other than Polski Fiat, a measure to encourage domestic production. It was also rather interesting to note that all Polish non-military aviation was heading towards nationalisation.<sup>25</sup>

The two main events in the domestic political statute are the final vote on the new Polish constitution and, again, the death of Józef Piłsudski.<sup>26</sup> As regards the constitution, the author of the report states that it concentrated in the hands of the president so much almost unlimited power that it could not be compared with the power of any ruler in Europe at that time. The executive power and, in the main, the legislative power passed from the Diet to the President. He thus bears an immense responsibility, according to the wording of the constitution, "before God and history". All the protests, amendments, corrections of the opposition parties were doomed to failure in advance and the majority voted their original version of the constitution. Despite the greatest haste and "obedience" of the parliament and senate, the government did not pass the new electoral regulations during Marshal Piłsudski's lifetime. It was not voted in the government's draft version until the second half of June and early July 1935. This was also after stormy protests by the opposition parties. The author of the report also notes that the latest signs of anti-Jewish manifestations in various communities with a Jewish majority are telling. However, these were not organised by any particular political party, but were spontaneous expressions by the people. The military attaché added that he had learned from an insider source that many ministers themselves looked upon the new constitution, the new elections and the new legislature as a risky experiment, unsuitable in the difficult times of the time. The report concludes: "The most important conclusion we can draw from the course of events in Poland so far since the death of Marshal Piłsudski is that nothing has changed in the policy, both domestic and foreign, which he inspired. For a long time, it must be reckoned that this policy will not change. The opposition camp is still too weak to exert any influence on events other than criticism. They have neither the leaders nor the money to organize any action. The present holders of power, all of whom consider themselves to be the continuators of the Marshal's policy, are united, in spite of all personal differences, in the basic desire to hold on to power by mutual aid and mutual compromise for as long as possible."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1935.

<sup>26</sup> For a summary of the effects of Marshal Piłsudski's death on the Polish army, see Collective of authors. (2019). *Wrzesień 1939: Wojsko Polskie 1935–1939*. Warszawa: ZP Grupa, p. 8.

<sup>27</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1935.

Regarding foreign policy, it is briefly stated that the principle is present in adhering to the concept of seeking good neighbourly relations with both Germany and Russia.<sup>28</sup> And this while fully upholding the alliance with France. The Military Attaché, however, added to this his observation that all recent Polish-German attitudes and co-operation have been directly demanded and enforced by Germany. The present Government continues to insist on a cautious Polish-German relationship and only within certain limits. In the Polish nation, among the broader classes, the Polish-German friendship is unpopular. Nothing has changed in the attitude towards France. The Polish-Soviet relationship remains unchanged, distrustfully hostile. The attitude of Poland towards Czechoslovakia on the part of Foreign Minister Józef Beck has changed nothing. At the same time, the government press brings out many articles for public opinion in which the Těšín question<sup>29</sup> is presented as of increasing and exaggerated importance. The military attaché commented on this situation very frankly in the following words: „Under the present Polish regime, any Polish-Czechoslovak honeymoon would be a national mistake! It would be a very calculated gesture of the present government group, which is counting on subordination to the great power of Poland!“<sup>30</sup>

### Third Quarter 1935

The Czechoslovak Military Attaché began his third quarter report with the information that the military exercises had demonstrated good spirit and discipline in the Polish Army. Specifically, it is stated that there has been progress in the combat behavior of officers - better use of terrain, increased concern for concealment, calculation of time to engage artillery, control of combat capability with reduced exaggeration of marching requirements. Particular emphasis is placed on the traditional mounted action for the Poles, where there was to be a moderation of views on surprise mounted action. The latest German insights were to play a part in the change of view of Polish officers, which excluded mounted combat and regarded the cavalry horse as a means of transporting fire resources. Suitable opportunities for the deployment of Polish cavalry should thus be found especially where the enemy does not have enough automatic weapons. It is generally mentioned that the “military legacy of the late Marshal Piłsudski” already rests firmly

<sup>28</sup> But this also meant monitoring these states as potential aggressors by Polish secret services. For Germany and the Soviet Union, there was also recognition of their mutual military cooperation. Further details on the topic Peplowski, A. (2011). *Wojna o tajemnice: w tajnej służbie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918–1944*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, pp. 131–230.

<sup>29</sup> On the origins and genesis of the Těšín dispute Jelínek, P. (2009). *Zahraničně-politické vztahy Československa a Polska 1918–1924*. Opava: Matice slezská, pp. 10–105.

<sup>30</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1935.

in the hands of Inspector General Edward Śmigły-Rydz, and the impression of the solidity of the proper further development of the Polish Army prevails.<sup>31</sup> However, this is not the case as far as the highest military and state authorities are concerned. According to a very confidential private source, a battle is actually being fought at the highest levels over the army, which can be described as a struggle between a group of generals and a group of colonels. This is beginning to emerge as the most serious shortcoming of Marshal Piłsudski's exceptional position, which combined both leadership and promotion of the army and politics. The military attaché also stated after this passage in the report that this internal split in the country could become a weakness in the very foundations of the existing state establishment. It is also mentioned afterwards that Śmigły-Rydz and Józef Beck are not exactly on friendly terms, and specific personnel changes in the positions of the head of the 2nd Department of the General Staff and the First Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Military Affairs are commented on.<sup>32</sup>

In the summary of changes to laws and regulations, it is noted that the implementing regulation to the law on the supervision of horse breeding, the regulation on the women's state police, have been published, raising its authority. Also important was the implementing decree for the Pension Act, which introduced appropriate age limits at which officers could be retired. For a major, 46 years; a colonel, 50 years; a divisional general, 54 years. There was also a regulation on film censorship and a regulation by the Ministry of Justice in agreement with the Ministry of the Interior on the compulsory sale of real estate in the borderlands. Also published was a decree on benefits in performing active military service for members of the pre-military training organization. In another part of the military attaché's report, alarming information is mentioned that illiteracy is on the rise, which is a threat to military circles as well. Allegedly, nearly one million Polish children in 1935 had no place in schools, with as many as 113 children for every teacher. A "For official use only" clause was also introduced for service regulations and military publications with partly confidential but less important content. The report describes in detail the reorganisation of the assault vehicles, the increase in the number of tank battalions, and notes the absence of anti-tank rifles in the units. The number of tanks in Poland is estimated by the author of the report at around 700 of various types, including a number of obsolete French Renaults.<sup>33</sup> The military attaché here literally states: „I am trying to verify all these reports. Despite all the difficulties. Notwithstanding our

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<sup>31</sup> For a very detailed analysis see Kozłowski, E. (1964). *Wojsko Polskie 1936–1939: Próby modernizacji i rozbudowy*. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, pp. 13–42.

<sup>32</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 3rd Quarter 1935.

<sup>33</sup> On the situation with tank units Kozłowski, E. (1964). *Wojsko Polskie 1936–1939...*, pp. 151–187.



present strained relations, Poland is now one of the most secretive countries ever.<sup>34</sup>

The next part, which is directly related to the relationship between Poland and Czechoslovakia<sup>35</sup>, is serious. It is stated here that the local press has broken the principle of not writing tendentiously and distortedly about the armies of the other state. It is explicitly mentioned that never has the return of Těšín and the repair of the border with Czechoslovakia been so publicly proclaimed in the press and at rallies as in the past quarter. This is connected with the next paragraph, where it is mentioned that on the sidelines of the Legionary Congress in Krakow, General Śmigły-Rydz was reportedly given to speak out very strongly against the “insidious seizure of the ancient Polish Piast land of Těšín” by Czechoslovakia.<sup>36</sup>

The figure comparing the number of cars in 1935 to the population is interesting. Here we are told that there were 1,275 inhabitants per car in Poland, 134 in Czechoslovakia and 22 in France. The attaché commented on the internal political situation by reflecting that the elections had shown that the current Polish regime relied on a very small part of the nation, but that the regime had at its disposal the army, the police and the state administration. Moreover, the Polish people are largely apathetic towards politics, not least because of the major economic crisis. In the assessment of foreign policy, it is stated that the main feature of the past period has been the difficulties<sup>37</sup> in German-Polish relations.<sup>38</sup> It is also noted in the context of foreign policy that the Polish-Czechoslovak relationship has recently become extremely acute and that, for example, the Polish-Soviet relationship remains coldly correct.<sup>39</sup>

#### Fourth Quarter 1935

In his report, the Military Attaché characterizes the final quarter of 1935 in Poland in the following words: “The military legacy of the late Marshal Piłsudski has been taken over and definitely consolidated by the Inspector General of the Polish Armed Forces, Edward Śmigły-Rydz. The political legacy - after a crisis and some behind-the-scenes fighting - is firmly held by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Józef Beck.” He went on to say that the split, previously non-existent in the days of Marshal Piłsudski, is now a fait accompli.

<sup>34</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 3rd Quarter 1935.

<sup>35</sup> Batowski, H. (2008). *Między dwiema wojnami 1919–1939...*, p. 227.

<sup>36</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 3rd Quarter 1935.

<sup>37</sup> Additionally to the topic Friedl, J., Jurek, T., Řezník, M., Wihoda, M. (2017), *Dějiny Polska*, pp. 459–460.

<sup>38</sup> Batowski, H. (2008). *Między dwiema wojnami 1919–1939...*, pp. 230–234.

<sup>39</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 3<sup>rd</sup> Quarter 1935.

Also crucial is the information that Śmigły-Rydz has maintained the army's primacy in the state<sup>40</sup>, "cleanses" the army of all "politicians" and is an unlimited master in his domain, responsible in fact only to the President of the Republic. For Czechoslovakia, in the opinion of the military attaché, this resulted in a positive situation - Śmigły-Rydz did not fall under the control of the most hostile to Czechoslovakia, ruthlessly autocratic group of "strong arm" colonels. The principles of Śmigły-Rydz, mentioned in a report to the Military Office of the President of the Republic delivered on 15 February 1936, relatively soon after the abdication of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (14 December 1935), were supposedly as follows: "To the hard hands of the soldiers the whole of Poland owes its independence alone. The fate of nations is decided by wars. Bad and good times alternated in Poland according to the army it had. All the conveniences of culture, civilization, humanity is nothing to a state unless a strong army, imbued with love of country, ready to sacrifice, stands at its borders. The duties of a soldier are the most difficult, for they threaten death. Every grave of a fallen soldier represents a great common national value of spirit, and therefore it is necessary from the youngest years to cultivate in the youth the spirit of wealth."<sup>41</sup>

The Military Attaché commented on these principles in the sense that the present mentality here no longer admits any debate that Poland would not have risen by her own power alone. This spirit had also taken hold of the public and the military attaché saw it as a positive element in the development of the Polish army. He also commented on the personnel changes, among others, in the positions of the Vice-Minister of Education and the First Vice-Minister of Military Affairs.<sup>42</sup> The author of the report also mentioned and commended, on his own initiative, the action taken by the Chief of the Polish General Staff and the crackdown on particularly inflammatory anti-Czechoslovak writing in some military magazines. Concerning the material condition of the army, he said that great deficiencies persisted, in particular the lack of heavy artillery, the lack of bomber aviation and the lack of anti-aircraft artillery. On the other hand, special interest was exercised in increasing the provision of radiotelegraph equipment, the production of indigenous aircraft, light tanks and, to some extent, medium tanks. There was also an increased interest in the results of the work of experienced specialists in various fields under the motto: "to have something more than others".<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> On the subject of the political activity of the Polish army in detail Stawecki, P. (1969). *Następcy Komendanta: Wojsko a polityka wewnętrzna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1935–1939*. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, pp. 21–25.

<sup>41</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1935.

<sup>42</sup> For an overview of staff changes, see Kozłowski, E. (1964). *Wojsko Polskie 1936–1939...*, pp. 47–69.

<sup>43</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1935.

An overview of changes to laws and regulations is provided by the newly established Inter-Ministerial Commission on the Motorization of the Country.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, the possible introduction of restrictions on exports to Germany as a result of frozen Polish claims on German industrial production in exchange for Polish foodstuffs. There were also some uniform changes, the introduction of a uniform cap and a uniform colour of shoes. The attaché appreciated the new loose-fitting single-breasted coats, which in his opinion look good.<sup>45</sup>

In a passage reporting on various other matters, it is mentioned, on the basis of a confidential source, that: “Even in the event of an unexpected sudden improvement in general Polish-Czechoslovak<sup>46</sup> conditions, the headquarters here is said to be determined to maintain, at least at first, a calm and discreet line. However, they certainly do not wish to bind themselves in any closer military relations.”<sup>47</sup> Important changes in the air force<sup>48</sup> were also cited from a private source, as no relevant information was given by the Polish side along official lines. The news concerned both personnel changes in the management of individual air units and the introduction of new equipment and techniques – the storage of 150 aircraft engines in Lvov. From the same source came a report on the rebuilding of the Lviv radio station and the development of a new reconnaissance and possibly bomber aircraft with a maximum range of 360 km/h, a radius of over 600 km, i.e., with the possibility of doubling the flight length to 1200 km. At the same time the local factories were to be increased to 25 aircraft engines per month. Troop interventions were also to take place in the composition of machine-gun companies and “battalions of gunners”.<sup>49</sup>

In the section of the report on the internal political situation, mention is made in particular of the poor financial situation and the introduction of a new pension tax, which was felt especially by civil servants. Despite the provision of new revenue in the state budget, a larger appropriation for anti-aircraft artillery of larger calibre was to be cut. A major concern of the government was to enforce a reduction in the prices of basic necessities for the general public – coal, sugar, bread, petroleum products and salt. There were to be demonstrations in rural areas because of long-standing discontent. Crime of all kinds also increased in the country during this period, according to reports from

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<sup>44</sup> Some other changes and the establishment of new military institutions Böhm, T. (1994). *Z dziejów naczelných władz wojskowych II Rzeczypospolitej: organizacja i kompetencje Ministerstwa Spraw Wojskowych w latach 1918–1939*. Warszawa: Bellona, pp. 208–210.

<sup>45</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1935.

<sup>46</sup> Further on the topic of Czechoslovak-Polish relations in the 1930s Zbořil, F. (2010). *Československá a česká zahraniční politika: minulost a současnost*. Praha: Leges, pp. 86–89.

<sup>47</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1935.

<sup>48</sup> On the situation in the Polish air force Kozłowski, E. (1964). *Wojsko Polskie 1936–1939...*, pp. 220–270.

<sup>49</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1935.

the military attaché. According to official statistics, over 95,000 police raids were carried out in the first nine months of 1935, compared with 28,000 in 1925. Public education continued to be in a poor state.<sup>50</sup> The Military Attaché concludes his report with his estimate that a development has begun which will eventually bring an end to the present Polish political regime, while he also discusses in detail the internal division of the political scene<sup>51</sup> already mentioned in the previous sections of this study.

Foreign policy is introduced in the report for the fourth quarter of 1935 by the observation that the gap in opinion on foreign policy has narrowed somewhat. Poland was to seek full independence from anyone and a strengthening of her great power position. Polish-German relations are assessed as improved in this period. Immediately afterwards, however, an important piece of information is given from a very confidential source – the head of the operations section of the main staff - that they had no contacts with the Germans, that they did not trust them. He even speaks prophetically that the Germans will never give up the Baltic Sea corridor. From his point of view, Polish foreign policy is forced to balance between the Germans and the Soviets.<sup>52</sup> In the text, the author of the report again draws attention to the exacerbated mood in the Těšín region, where the Polish public is informed by the propaganda press that injustice is being done to the local Poles. The specialist military press, even after an appeal from the military attaché, has not yet taken part in this harassment. On the part of the Czechoslovak representative, the report suggests a counter-campaign along unofficial lines outside official venues, where, on the contrary, the historical claims of Czechoslovakia would be emphasised. This, it is said, might reassure some Polish sections of the population.<sup>53</sup>

In the miscellaneous general information section, it is stated that if the claim that the local trial of the murderers of the Polish Interior Minister Bronisław Pieracki<sup>54</sup> from the ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists<sup>55</sup> could only have been conducted at all on the basis of documents received from Czechoslovakia proves true, it is counterproductive from the Czechoslovak

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<sup>50</sup> Further on the situation in Polish education in 1930s from the point of view of Polish historians Brzoza, C., Sowa, A. L. (2006). *Historia Polski: 1918–1945*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, pp. 372–391.

<sup>51</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1935.

<sup>52</sup> Kosman, M. (2021). *Dějiny Polska*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova and Karolinum, pp. 295–296.

<sup>53</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1935.

<sup>54</sup> Details of the assassination of minister Pieracki Gawryszczak, M. (2014). *Bronisław Wilhelm Pieracki (1895–1934). Biografia polityczna*. Łódź: Księży Młyn, pp. 67–69.

<sup>55</sup> For more on the struggle of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the terrorist acts associated with it in the 1930s, see Řepa, T. (2019). *Banderovci. Politické souvislosti, následky zneužití tématu komunistickou propagandou, návaznost na hybridní konflikt v současnosti*. Praha: Academia, pp. 54–56.

point of view. It is directly expressed: “We did not gain with the Poles, we lost with the Ukrainians”. It is further stated in the text, on the basis of a confidential civilian source, that Śmigły-Rydz is said to be even directly forced to intervene in foreign policy. As the last piece of information of the whole report, it is mentioned that the tone of the government press is somewhat softened towards Czechoslovakia, on the contrary, it is sharpened against Lithuania<sup>56</sup>, which the attaché sees as a usual phenomenon to divert attention.<sup>57</sup>

## Conclusion

The year 1935 appeared in the reports to the Military Office of the President of the Republic by the Czechoslovak military attaché in Poland as very rich in important events. These were far-reaching social changes, the reverberations of the economic crisis, rising international tensions, the unfolding of an arms race and the introduction of new measures. The fate of Poland and Czechoslovakia was similar in that, due to their disadvantageous geographical position, they were states surrounded on several sides by countries with hostile intentions. Foreign policy also corresponded to this. Even relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia were far from ideal, which was reflected in a number of areas and mutual mistrust. Poland's domestic politics were greatly affected by the departure of the charismatic politician and soldier Józef Piłsudski in May 1935. In December 1935, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk again abdicated as president of Czechoslovakia for health reasons. The great figures of the struggle for the creation of an independent Poland and Czechoslovakia left the scene at a similar time, when Europe was once again beginning to be gripped by the fear of another major conflict based on the revisionist aspirations of the countries defeated in the First World War. To understand the times, the reactions of politicians, the military administration and society as a whole, the reports of the Czechoslovak military attaché in Poland for a year are a valuable and somewhat forgotten source. In many ways, we can learn from them today, when Europe is once again experiencing a serious and far-reaching conflict.

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<sup>56</sup> More on Polish-Lithuanian relations in the interwar period and the situation in the Baltic countries in general Galbreath, D., Ainius L., Lamoreaux, J. (2008). *Continuity and Change in the Baltic Sea Region. Comparing Foreign Policy*. New York: Rodopi, 185 pp.

<sup>57</sup> MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1935.

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## PARTICULARITIES

### Turkey and the "Key Threes"

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Vlčková Musilová, J. (2023): Turkey and the "Key threes". *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 15/2023/1–2, 111–120.  
<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2023-007>

If it is true that every country has its own "fateful dates", then in the case of the Republic of Turkey one should definitely not forget about the years ending with the number "three". The aim of this short reflection is to highlight the neglected events of 1963, which fundamentally influenced the direction of Turkey in the second half of the 20th century.

In 2023, the Republic of Turkey commemorated several important anniversaries that fundamentally shaped its development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It all began on 24 July 1923, the day the Treaty of Lausanne<sup>1</sup> was signed, replacing the unratified Treaty of Sèvres from 1920. Although the two documents were less than three years apart, their wording was diametrically opposed. The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne was the last peace settlement negotiated at the end of the World War I and was a far cry from the 'dictum' that the Treaty of Sèvres represented for the Turkish side, which more or less mirrored the secret Anglo-French agreement of 1916<sup>2</sup>. With the signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, which essentially established the present-day borders of the Turkish Republic, Turkey did not receive any compensation for war damages, but neither did it have to pay war reparations, and Turkey's share of the Ottoman debt was significantly reduced. At the same time, the vision, championed primarily by the President of the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson,

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<sup>1</sup> Societe des Nations Recueil des Traités et des Engagements Internationaux enregistrés par le Secretariat de la Société des Nations. Volume XXVIII 1924 nulos 1, 2. 3 et 4. Traité de Paix, signé à Lausanne le 24 Juillet 1923, No. 701. Société des Nations – Recueil des Traités 1924, pp. 11-114, available at:

<https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/lon/volume%2028/v28.pdf>

[cit. 15. 12. 2023]. cf. Treaty of Peace with Turkey, signed at Sèvres, August 10, 1920. London 1920, available at:

<https://treaties.fcdo.gov.uk/awweb/pdfopener?md=1&did=63986> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

<sup>2</sup> See more The Sykes-Picot Agreement: available at:

[https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/sykes.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/sykes.asp) [cit. 15. 12. 2023].



of establishing a so-called "Wilsonian Armenia"<sup>3</sup> was abandoned. The document aroused similarly negative emotions among the Kurds and Greeks. It was not surprising, then, that the Lausanne Peace Treaty was seen by some as a diplomatic triumph and by others as a betrayal.<sup>4</sup>

Other changes did not wait long, they happened during October. On 13 October 1923, Ankara became the new capital of Turkey and a few days later, on 29 October 1923, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed and headed by President Mustafa Kemal, who in 1934 took the surname Atatürk<sup>5</sup>. On 1 December 1933, the first five-year plan for economic development was launched, which was preceded, among other things, by the establishment of İstanbul University by the 1933 reform<sup>6</sup>, and this could be continued until the second half of the 20th century, when Turkey started the process of convergence with united Europe<sup>7</sup>. The decisive date that began the turbulent relations between Turkey and united Europe was 12 September 1963<sup>8</sup>, when the two entities signed the Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and Turkey<sup>9</sup>, the so-called 'Ankara Agreement'. For many years, this document became the primary document on the basis of which Turkey and united Europe defined themselves in relation to each other, often seeking unspoken or unintended.<sup>10</sup> This state of affairs lasted for a couple of decades, until the mutual functioning of Turkey and united Europe, or rather the European Union, entered a new phase, which

<sup>3</sup> See more map: Boundary between Turkey and Armenia: as determined by Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States of America, Copy 2, available at: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7431f.ct000197/> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

<sup>4</sup> In the year 2017, "The Lausanne Project" was launched, which, among other things, also looks at how to teach the still delicate subject in Greek and Turkish high schools, see more at <https://thelausanneproject.com/teaching-resources/> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

<sup>5</sup> Law No. 2525 of 21 June 1934, available at: <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/2741.pdf> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

<sup>6</sup> Laws No. 2251 and 2252 of 31 May 1933, available at: <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/2420.pdf> [cit. 15. 12. 2023].

<sup>7</sup> The author uses the term *united Europe* to refer to the process of convergence of European states that began in 1952 and ended with the creation of the European Union on 1 November 1993.

<sup>8</sup> Turkey submitted its application in the summer of 1959, just two years after the signing of the Treaties of Rome, and only two months after the Greek application. Turkey had several reasons, including: 1. the pro-Western orientation of Turkish foreign policy since 1923 (membership: 1949 Council of Europe, 1952 NATO, 1961 OECD), but also the adoption of Western models applied, for example, in the legislative, economic, cultural and social spheres, etc. 2. economic aspects, although political reasons were more important. 3. Turkey's desire to control Greece within the framework of Western European integration structures and economic interests.

<sup>9</sup> Including their appendices available at: [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:f8e2f9f4-75c8-4f62-ae3f-b86ca5842eee.0008.02/DOC\\_2&format=PDF](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:f8e2f9f4-75c8-4f62-ae3f-b86ca5842eee.0008.02/DOC_2&format=PDF) [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

<sup>10</sup> See more MUSILOVÁ, J. (2015): *Hospodářské dějiny 20 století: Turecko a EHS v 60. letech 20. století* (dissertation). Brno: Masaryk University.

can be called *the escalation of demands* or the second European *no*. The first European *no* fell at the end of 1989 when the European Commission rejected Turkey's application for membership of a united Europe. The official justification referred to the failure to meet the political and economic conditions, as well as human rights violations in Turkey, and we certainly cannot forget the long-discussed Cyprus problem<sup>11</sup>, which first escalated after the establishment of an independent state on the island of Cyprus in December 1963, an event that has been very often neglected, and the origins of the disagreements between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots often go back to 1974.

In 1960<sup>12</sup> the island of Cyprus gained independence from Great Britain<sup>13</sup>, which was guaranteed by several foundational documents<sup>14</sup>. The crown

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<sup>11</sup> The involvement of today's European Union in the Cyprus problem dates back to the 1960s, when two guarantor powers - Greece in 1962 and Turkey in 1963 - became associate members of the EEC, and a third guarantor power - the UK - applied for full membership. The Cypriot economy was heavily dependent on the British economy and market. After the British application for full EEC membership in 1961, Cyprus sought to establish economic ties with the EEC. The EEC offered Cyprus full membership in 1962 (along with Great Britain), but this ended in early 1963 when French President Ch. de Gaulle vetoed the British application. In 1973 an Association Agreement was signed with Cyprus, six months after the Great Britain joined a united Europe (see more in MÜFTÜLER-BAC, M. - GÜNEY, A. (2005): The European Union and the Cyprus Problem 1961-2003. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 41, 2, 2005, pp. 281-193, available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00263200500035462> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

<sup>12</sup> The decisive steps behind the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus were taken in early 1959 with the signing of a series of documents known as the London-Zurich Agreements, based on which the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus was drafted.

<sup>13</sup> The Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923, among other things, revised Turkey's borders, and one of the key changes concerned the island of Cyprus, over which the British annexation of 5 November 1914 was confirmed under Article 20 (see more: Treaty of Peace with Turkey, and other Instruments. Signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923, together with Agreements between Greece and Turkey signed on January 30, 1923, and Subsidiary Documents forming part of the Turkish Peace Settlement. [15r] (34/260), article 20, p. 23, available at: [https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc\\_100000001491.0x00028f](https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100000001491.0x00028f) [cit. 26.9.2023] (or the Cyprus Convention of 1878 - see more at Cyprus: handbooks prepared under the direction of the historical section of the Foreign Office - no. 65. London 1920, p. 13, available at: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdclccn.a22000924/?sp=7&r=-0.741,-0.05,2.483,1.749,0> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]. The British annexation of the island was never recognised by the Ottoman Empire. In 1925, Cyprus became a British Crown Colony.

<sup>14</sup> Treaty of Establishment, signed in London, on 17 February 1959, available at: <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/treaty-concerning-the-establishment-of-the-republic-of-cyprus.en.mfa> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]. Treaty of Guarantee, signed at Nicosia, on 16 August 1960, available at: [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/CY%20GR%20TR\\_600816\\_Treaty%20of%20Guarantee.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/CY%20GR%20TR_600816_Treaty%20of%20Guarantee.pdf) [cit. 26. 9. 2023]. Treaty of Alliance (with Additional Protocols). Signed at Nicosia, on 16 August 1960, available at: [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/CY%20GR%20TR\\_600816\\_Treaty%20of%20Alliance%20with%20additionnal%20protocols%29.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/CY%20GR%20TR_600816_Treaty%20of%20Alliance%20with%20additionnal%20protocols%29.pdf) [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

colony<sup>15</sup> became a separate bicomunal, federal republic<sup>16</sup> with a Greek and Turkish community<sup>17</sup>.

The delicate and "artificial"<sup>18</sup> balance guaranteed by the 1960 Constitution<sup>19</sup> lasted only three years. A part of the Greek Cypriot population felt threatened

<sup>15</sup> From the 1950s onwards, Greek-Cypriot resentment with the British administration escalated. The decisive moment was the change in the post of Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios III was a great supporter of *enosis* (annexation to Greece; henceforth *enosis*) and sought international support for the idea, and the subsequent establishment of the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (henceforth EOKA), whose initial offensive actions affected not only the British, Turkish Cypriots, but also Greek Cypriots who were not supporters of *enosis*. Thus, initially it was not an ethnic conflict, but this began to change in the second half of the 1950s and gradually the primary target of EOKA became the Turkish Cypriots, which led to the formation of the Turkish Resistance Movement (hereinafter TMT), which was ideologically based on *taksim* (division of the island, hereinafter *taksim*). The dramatic situation eventually led to a series of negotiations that ultimately resulted in the decolonisation of the island. The UK 'settled' for the establishment of two Sovereign Base Areas of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the island of Cyprus (Akrotiri and Dhekelia), in which area it placed military bases (see more Treaty of establishment, signed in London, on 17 February 1959 and Treaty of Guarantee, signed at Nicosia, on 16 August 1960), thus at least partially satisfying British interests in the strategic area of the Eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>16</sup> The Republic of Cyprus was admitted to the United Nations on 21 September 1960, became an independent member of the Commonwealth on 13 March 1961 and joined the Council of Europe on 24 May 1961.

<sup>17</sup> See more Article 21 of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, which declared the following: "*Turkish nationals ordinarily resident in Cyprus on the 5th November, 1914, will acquire British nationality subject to the conditions laid down in the local law, and will there-upon lose their Turkish nationality. They will, however, have the right to opt for Turkish nationality within two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, provided that they leave Cyprus within twelve months after having so opted.*" As a result, this article also supported the tendencies of Turkish politicians of the time and their efforts to repopulate the war-ravaged areas of Anatolia (see more: XYPOLIA, I. (2021): Imperial Bending of Rules: The British Empire, the Treaty of Lausanne, and Cypriot Immigration to Turkey. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 32, 4, pp. 674-691, available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/09592296.2021.1996711?needAccess=true> [cit. 30. 1. 2023].

<sup>18</sup> The establishment of the independent state was initiated more or less by other states, which were also signatories to the key documents mentioned above (i.e.: the Treaty of Establishment established a federal Republic of Cyprus, the Treaty of Guarantee made Turkey, Great Britain and Greece guarantors of the Republic, and the Treaty of Alliance allowed for the deployment of Greek and Turkish troops on the island), thus the majority of the Cypriot population certainly did not consider independence to be a sufficient atonement and their own decision and the 1960 Constitution was rather adding fuel to the fire, among others: the right to military intervention by the guarantors in the event of a threat to Cyprus' status.

<sup>19</sup> For example, the constitution assigned the office of president to a Greek Cypriot representative and the post of vice-president to a Turkish Cypriot; each was elected by members of his own community and given veto power in the areas of foreign affairs, defence and security. The constitution also provided for a seven-to-three ratio for Greek Cypriots in the government, parliament, civil service, police and army of six-to-four. See more Kibris Cumhuriyeti, Anayasası 1960, Lefkoşa 1960, available at: [https://www.parliament.cy/images/media/assetfile/Syntagma\\_TU.pdf](https://www.parliament.cy/images/media/assetfile/Syntagma_TU.pdf) [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

by the constitutional rights of the Turkish Cypriots<sup>20</sup> and *enosis* was in sight, which was especially a reason for the die-hard supporters of the idea to speak out against the constitution, which spelled the end for both *enosis* and *taksim*. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots became very determined to claim their constitutional rights. The first visible difficulties were not long in coming and in 1961-1963 the Republic of Cyprus faced a protracted and deep political crisis<sup>21</sup>.

By the end of the summer of 1963, the political situation had deteriorated dramatically. In August, President Makarios of the Republic of Cyprus announced his intention to revise the 1960 Constitution. The international conference held in Nicosia in September 1963 also intervened sharply in the already tense situation on the island. This was the assembly of the Organisation of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia and Africa<sup>22</sup>. Some of

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<sup>20</sup> Turkish Cypriots represented less than one fifth (18% to be precise) of the total population of the island of Cyprus.

<sup>21</sup> The 1960 constitution in its essence did not represent the interests of either the Greek Cypriots or the Turkish Cypriots, and difficulties were already evident in the first parliamentary elections in 1960, but more fundamental problems arose during 1961 when the Turkish Cypriots demanded too strictly that the quotas (numbers of civil servants) be respected, which resulted in obstructions in the passing of laws, and then in late 1961 Turkish Cypriot MPs refused to pass major tax laws (the government could not impose or collect new taxes) (see more HRADEČNÝ, P. (2000): *Řekové a Turci: nepřátelé nebo spojenci?* Praha: NLN, p. 88. and CRAWSHAW, N. (1964): Cyprus: Collapse of the Zurich Agreement. *The World Today*, 20, 8, p. 339, available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40393645?seq=3> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]), which was a huge blow to the promising Cypriot economy. Cases in which the Constitutional Court settled disputes over the occupation of public office were the order of the day (see more MAYES, S. (1981): *Makarios: A Biography*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 153). The Cypriot political scene was also convulsed by a dispute over the organisation of the Cypriot army, when Vice President F. Küçük used his veto power to block the decision of the Council of Ministers to establish a mixed Greek-Cypriot army, or any army (see more HRADEČNÝ, P. (2000): *Řekové a Turci: nepřátelé nebo spojenci?* Praha: NLN, pp. 88-89). At the end of 1962, the situation on the island became very heated again. The atmosphere in Cyprus was shaken by another constitutional crisis involving the self-governing municipalities (see more. CRAWSHAW, N. (1964): Cyprus: Collapse of the Zurich Agreement. *The World Today*, 20, 8, p. 339. available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40393645?seq=3> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]). President Makarios considered the establishment of self-governing municipalities in the five largest mixed Cypriot towns as the first step towards the partition of the island and demanded the continued existence of a single municipal authority with proportional representation of the two communities. While the Turkish side, led by F. Küçük, insisted on the establishment of separate self-governing municipalities (see more in IOANNIDES, Ch. P. (2008-2009): Cyprus before the Storm: The Kennedy Years, 1961-1963. *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, 25-26, p. 9, available at: <https://journals.sfu.ca/jmh/index.php/jmh/issue/view/21> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]). The strife resulted in the inability of the Cypriot government to make any decisions, which already in 1962 led President Makarios to the idea of amending the 1960 constitution.

<sup>22</sup> The Republic of Cyprus became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, even in the face of Turkish Cypriot opposition. Between 1955 and 1959, Makarios III travelled around the world trying to secure the support he hoped would help in the process of decolonising the island. In 1955 he attended, as an observer, the Bandung Conference, and in September 1961 Makarios, already in the role of President, appeared at the Belgrade Conference. Makarios

the statements made by high-ranking Greek Cypriots<sup>23</sup> at the Nicosia meeting caused a stir, especially as the pro-western direction of the island seemed to be in danger. The US<sup>24</sup> was alarmed<sup>25</sup> and the Turkish Cypriot reaction was also not long in coming, with Turkish Cypriot leaders taking a notoriously aggressive stance and even preparing within their community for a possible Turkish military intervention in accordance with the Treaty of Guarantee.<sup>26</sup> In November 1963, President Makarios of Cyprus sent an outline of the 13 constitutional amendments<sup>27</sup> to Vice-President F. Küçük, which he officially considered to be the only solution to ensure a functional system of government, which consisted of devolving decision-making powers to the Greek Cypriots. The memorandum

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established close relations with a key figure in the Non-Aligned Movement, Egyptian President Gamal Abd al-Nasser, and also "courted" the USSR and the PRC. Makarios' direction also marked a major shift in relation to Greece and *enosis*, with Greece working with the version that *enosis* should be implemented in cooperation with NATO. While Makarios' vision was the emancipation of a strong and independent nation, he found support in the Non-Aligned Movement and also in states where communists were in power, which was contrary to Greek politics at the time.

<sup>23</sup> For example, prominent leftist politician Vassos Lyssarides, see more CIA: Field Message. Trend of Communist Media Activity. 4 October 1963, available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP82-00803R000400150074-9.pdf> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

<sup>24</sup> During the Cold War, Cyprus was a strategic point and a guarantor of the balance of power in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Extensive American aid was directed to Cyprus between 1960 and 1963.

<sup>25</sup> CIA: Field Message. Trend of Communist Media Activity. 4. 10. 1963, available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP82-00803R000400150074-9.pdf> [cit. 26. 9. 2023] and CIA: The Sino-Soviet conflict in the fronts, September 1962 - December 1963, Off. Ser. No, 14 OCI No. 1855/64, available at: [https://archive.org/stream/ESAU-CIA/The%20Sino-Soviet%20Conflict%20in%20the%20Fronts%20-%20September%201962-December%201963\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/ESAU-CIA/The%20Sino-Soviet%20Conflict%20in%20the%20Fronts%20-%20September%201962-December%201963_djvu.txt) [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

<sup>26</sup> CRAWSHAW, N. (1964): Cyprus: Collapse of the Zurich Agreement. *The World Today*, 20, 8, p. 340, available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40393645?seq=3> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

<sup>27</sup> 1. Abolition of presidential and vice-presidential veto power. 2. Granting the Vice President full authority to act for the President during his temporary absence or incapacity. 3. A change in the election of the Speaker and Vice Speaker of the House of Representatives. 4. The granting of full powers to the Vice-President of the House of Representatives to act for the President in his temporary absence or incapacity. 5. The repeal of the constitutional provisions for a separate majority for the passage of laws by the House of Representatives. 6. The establishment of unified municipalities. 7. The unification of the administration of justice. 8. The abolition of the division of the security forces into police and gendarmerie. 9. The number of security and defence forces to be established by law. 10. The ratio of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representation in the public service and the armed forces is to be adjusted in proportion to the actual population by ethnic group. 11. The number of members of the Public Service Commission is to be reduced from ten to five. 12. All decisions of the Public Service Commission are to be taken by a simple majority. 13. The abolition of the Greek Communal Chamber.

also included a secret<sup>28</sup> *Akritas*<sup>29</sup> plan drawn up by close associates of President Makarios.

Unfortunately, bloody clashes engulfed the island in late 1963. This happened shortly after President Makarios of Cyprus submitted a unilateral proposal with 13 constitutional amendments to Vice President F. Küçük to correct the communal segregation which, according to him, was preventing the smooth functioning and development of the country and was the source of constant friction between the two ethnic groups.<sup>30</sup> The Turkish Cypriots, however, saw these amendments as the first step towards *enosis*, the undermining of the bicomunal state and the suppression of the guarantees of the signed treaties, and rejected them, as Vice President Küçük was the first to do so. Given the pace of events, the Turkish Cypriot political representation did not have time to react adequately and on 16 December the MPs representing Turkish Cypriots rejected the memorandum as a whole.<sup>31</sup> Inter-communal violence immediately broke out on the island and rumours spread of a Turkish invasion of the island, followed by Greek manoeuvres in nearby waters.<sup>32</sup> On 21 December 1963, a Greek Cypriot police patrol in Nicosia stopped a car carrying Turkish Cypriots and, when the Turkish Cypriots refused a police

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<sup>28</sup> The plan was first published in a Greek-Cypriot newspaper *Patris* on 21 April 1966 (see more:” KOOPS, J. - MACQUEEN, N. - TARDY, T. - WILLIAMS, P. D. (2015): *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 210 and AKSU, E. (2003):. *The United Nations, Intra-State Peacekeeping and Normative Change*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 150. And Letter dated 30 May 1978 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, A/33/115-S/12722 dated 30 May. 1978, pp. 3-9, available at: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/224913> [cit. 26. 9. 2023] and Written evidence submitted by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, President's Office Letter to the Clerk of the Committee from *M. Ergün Olgun*, Under-Secretary, 2004, available at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmfaff/113/113we23.htm> [cit. 26. 9. 2023]).

<sup>29</sup> „*Its aim was to make first step towards the final and unalterable national objective, the union with Greece (enosis). The strategy was to cultivate the internationally the impression that the Cyprus problem has not really been solved and the solution requires revision. The proposed amendments should appear to be reasonable, just, and safeguard the reasonable rights of minority. The amendment of the negative elements of the (London and Zurich) agreements would include the abolition of the right for intervention for Turkey (Treaty of Guarantee) and the extended constitutional rights of the Turkish Cypriots. After implementation of these measures, a referendum was to be held to let the Cypriot people decide on the future status of the island. In the case of Turkish Cypriot violent resistance, it was planned to overcome it by force in the shortest possible time (in one or two days).*“ Cited from: KOOPS, J. – MACQUEEN, N. – TARDY, T. – WILLIAMS, P. D. (2015): *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 209–210.

<sup>30</sup> 13 Points of 30 November 1963, available at: <https://www.pio.gov.cy/en/assets/pdf/cyproblem/13%20points.pdf> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

<sup>31</sup> USLU, N. (2003): *The Cyprus Question as an Issue of Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish – American Relations 1959-2003*. New York: Nova Science Publisher, p. 21.

<sup>32</sup> STERGIOU, A. (2007): Soviet Policy towards Cyprus. *The Cyprus Review*, 19, 2, s. 92, available at: <https://cyprusreview.org/index.php/cr/article/view/272/235> [cit. 26. 9. 2023].

search, repressive treatment at gunpoint ensued. A crowd of Turkish Cypriots took to the streets to demonstrate against the police crackdown. The response from the Greek Cypriots was harsh, with Greek Cypriot police firing into the crowd and killing two Turkish Cypriots.<sup>33</sup> This event set off widespread inter-communal violence. The primary goal of the Greek Cypriots was the defeat of the Turkish Cypriots in Nicosia and the subsequent automatic surrender of the smaller Turkish communities scattered around the island.<sup>34</sup> The so-called 'Bloody Christmas' triggered an intense armed conflict in which the involvement of Turkish and Greek troops, hence the military clash between two NATO member states was a real threat. The dramatic end of 1963 thus definitively triggered the so-called Cyprus crisis of 1963-1964.

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<sup>33</sup> USLU, N. (2003): *The Cyprus Question as an Issue of Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish – American Relations 1959-2003*. New York: Nova Science Publisher.p. 21.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*

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## ANNOTATIONS

**FRANKOPAN, Peter: *Hedvábné stezky. Nová historie světa.* Praha, Vyšehrad, 2022. 608 s.**

The annotation works with the translated version of the original publication. The translation to the Czech language from English was done by Aleš Valenta. The publication "The Silks Roads. A New History of the World" was written by Peter Frankopan, Professor of Global History at Oxford University. The title of the book stems from the author's focus on world history from the perspective of the Silk Roads. It thus brings a new perspective to the understanding and interpretation of history. The European space is dominated by a Eurocentric interpretation of history, where what happened in the territory of a given state or its immediate surroundings is considered pivotal. Other states and nations, which can be considered distant and without much influence on events in Europe, are often forgotten. They are only remembered when Europe and its history collide at some significant point and it is important to mention them. Peter Frankopan, on the other hand, highlights those nations that are 'marginalised' from our perspective. He thus presents an interpretation in which the Silk Roads have become central to the development of a given state and even civilization. Thanks to them, the continents of Africa, Europe and Asia have been connected since ancient times. Specifically, Frankopan focuses on the space where these three continents meet. Through this interconnection, not only goods, but also ideas, beliefs and ideas were exchanged. The Silk Roads influenced all who passed through them, both positively and negatively.

The chapters are arranged chronologically from the perspective of world history. At the beginning, Frankopan describes the origins of the Silk Roads themselves. What brought them into being and what their impact was. It begins 4,000 years BC in the area of the Fertile Crescent. It was its strategic location at the crossroads of trade between continents that gave rise to the first civilisation. However, the author looks beyond this region. It is also possible to get a glimpse into the events in China, which gave its name to these trade arteries thanks to the production of silk.

Furthermore, the book focuses on one important article that travelled the Silk routes. It was about faith and ideas of faith. First, the various religions travelling on these routes are compared - Greek religion, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism - mainly in terms of the exchange of ideas and beliefs. All of them influenced each other and exchanged their own theses and ideas. Then Christianity came on the scene, which had a significant impact not only in Europe but also in Asian areas. Frankopan devotes an entire chapter to the development of Christianity itself, and even its influence on the political scene. He continues his discussion of faith with the emergence of Islam as a new rival to existing religions. The rapid rise and growth in popularity of this religion is

thus depicted, with it very quickly reaching as far west as Spain and as far east as the borders with China. The rise of Islam destabilised an already escalating situation in the Middle East, throwing two powerful empires - the Persian Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire - out of balance.

After the rise of the Islamic states, the situation gradually stabilised and trade and the desire for wealth and luxury revived. As a result, the fur and slave trade grew. The former was dominated by the steppe tribes of East Asia. Among these are the Khazars as important traders with their Islamic counterparts. The human trade was dominated by northern Europe, which was thus gradually able to amass considerable wealth, which eventually led to the creation of Kievan Rus.

However, European states did not let the Islamic threat go unnoticed. Thus began a series of crusades that had far-reaching consequences. While the Crusades are often viewed as a military conflict, the author takes a different view of the event. Namely, from a business perspective. Access to the Silk Roads represented incredible wealth opportunities for anyone who would dare trade on them. The city-states of Pisa, Genoa and Venice were the main beneficiaries. They became major and pivotal players in the area. Their competition with each other to obtain better trading conditions won them considerable wealth. In the light of Christianity, however, they represented a 'grey area', as they were not concerned with the faith of the seller, but with duties and revenues. This can be seen in the Fourth Crusade. However, the failures of the Crusades did not influence these trading powers to continue their efforts. Once they had put down roots, they would never leave. Sometimes the disputes were often very heated.

Another threat came from the east. But at a time when Christianity needed allies in the fight against Islam, another adversary appeared – the Mongols. The author describes the rise of the Mongols and the administration of their empire. However, they too made abundant use of the Silk Road and all the bonuses it brought. The Mongol empire thus extended as far as Eastern Europe. And the Silk Roads were extended as well. Thanks to the establishment of trade sea routes created by the aforementioned Italian cities, it was possible to get almost anywhere. However, besides people, diseases also travelled. One of them was the bubonic plague, or the Black Death. The consequences were far-reaching. It was not only the number of people who lost their lives, but also the restructuring of society and the global financial crisis.

But there were those who wanted to find a way out and sought it in direct trade with India. People like Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama provided a way for others to get rich. Thanks to their voyages of discovery, luxury goods began to be imported to Europe, along with precious metals. The slave trade grew in proportion. However, the countries of northern Europe also wanted to participate in world trade and compete with Spain and Portugal. Great Britain and the Netherlands found a new way to take the lead. Gradually, they pushed out their rivals and Great Britain began to become a maritime power.

In the 19th century, a new power emerged to threaten the territory of Central and East Asia - the Russian Tsardom. Russia became increasingly aggressive in the late 19th century, threatening British positions in India. As Russia increased its territory, it moved closer to the territories controlled by the British Crown. It was equally interested in the rich oil reserves found in Persia. Persia became the focus of disputes between Britain and Russia. Each tried to sway Persia to its side. Thus, according to the author, the First World War was not determined by the situation in Europe, but by events far from Europe's borders - in Asia. After the end of the war, the Allies maintained their positions in Persia, but greatly abused the privileges they had gained and exploited the government there. This has already defined the course of future relations.

The author also places the importance of Eastern Europe and the Middle East in the causes of World War II. Hitler needed large amounts of food to be able to feed the entire German nation. Thus, his target became the rich areas of black soil in Ukraine and other territories to the south. However, his goals remained unfulfilled. After both world wars, Great Britain - once the world's greatest power - stood on the brink of destruction. A new player emerged in the form of the United States of America. It played an important role in the history of the Silk Roads. Its position in Asia's oil-rich regions has structured the course of history in the second half of the 20th century and the early 21st century. Their activities to secure oil supplies have led to the emergence of terrorist organisations.

Peter Frankopan brings a new perspective to the interpretation of history, where the main centre has always been the West Asian regions. From antiquity to the present day, these have been the areas that have determined world events. The emergence of the Silk Roads has had a huge impact on shaping history. Through them, powers have risen, but they have also fallen.

Michal Bednář

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*Only studies dealing with the history of the Czech lands (or Czechoslovakia), Poland, didactics of history, or general pedagogy are accepted for publication in the Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal.*

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### Sample Instructions for Authors on References

#### 1. Book

##### **a. Book (one author) Format:**

Author. (Year of publication). *Book title*. Place of publication: Publisher.

##### **Example:**

Vaculík, J. (2014). *Reemigrace a repatriace Čechů a Slováků po první světové válce*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

##### **b. Book (two or more authors)**

##### **Format:**

Author1, Author2 & Author3. (Year of publication). *Book title*. Place of publication: Publisher.

##### **Example:**

Čapka, F. – Slezák, L. – Vaculík, J. (2005). *Nové osídlení pohraničí českých zemí*. Brno: CERM.

##### **c. Book chapter or article in an edited book**

##### **Format:**

Author(s) of chapter. (Year of publication). Chapter title. In Editors of the book (Eds.), *Book title* (Chapter page range). Place of publication: Publisher.

##### **Example:**

Dmytruk, S. (2013). Čechy na pívodni Ukrajinu. In L. Muchina, J. Vaculík (Eds.) *Istorija čechiv v Ukrajinu*, Kijiv: Česka nacionalna rada Ukrajinu, 316–365.

## **2. Article**

### **Journal Article (one author)**

#### ***Format***

Author. (Year of publication). Article title. *Journal Title*. Volume (issue).

#### ***Example:***

Štěpánek, K. (2011). History of Silesia in 17th–20th Centuries and Current Textbooks of History. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal* 3/1, 13–18.

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**CZECH-POLISH HISTORICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL JOURNAL**

Volume 15/2023/1–2

Published: bi-annually

**Publishers' Address**

Masaryk University  
Žerotínovo nám. 617/9, 602 00 Brno, Czech Republic

Bus. ID: 00216224

Date of Issue: 31. 12. 2023

**ISSN 2336-1654 online**  
**ISBN 978-80-280-0525-2**

MK ČR E 19444