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ARTICLES

Ethnic Aspects of Contemporary Education of Children and Youth in Podhale

Anna Haratyk / e-mail: anna.haratyk@uwr.edu.pl

Department of History of the Education, Institute of Pedagogy, University of Wrocław, Poland

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The formation of ethnic identity is one of the many tasks of modern education. It is the way to educate an aware and creative human being capable of taking care of their ancestral heritage and multiply the cultural assets of the region where they come from and live. Not all regions can boast a well-preserved ethnic culture so it is worth drawing on the experience of those that have their own heritage and take numerous measures to pass it on to future generations. In Poland, models and inspiration can be sought in Podhale where the tradition and culture of the region is still alive. It is obviously the family home that is essential in the process of passing it on. However, effective regional education must also be carried out outside the home, which is why this paper presents a broad spectrum of activities of various institutions, organisations and communities involved in the transmission of Podhale culture to children and young people. The various forms of culture-oriented education present in Podhale that are analysed in the article below were sourced by way of websites and social media posts concerning the subject.

Keywords: regional education, ethnic culture, forms of cultural transmission, Podhale, regional cultural and educational institutions

Introduction

In order for contemporary education to preserve the cultural heritage of the specific regional and national groups, it should include many ethnic characteristics and aspects. This is particularly important in the era of widespread globalisation for ethnic culture is an extremely important component of national culture. Although not all regions have preserved their specific cultural heritage, there appears to be a positive development in a growing interest in ethnic values in many regions across Europe and the world. Also, in Poland considerable attention has been given in recent

years to the nurturing and transmission of ethnic culture. Of course, on the map of our country there are both regions with a strongly obscured tradition and those vividly nurturing their own local past. The group of regions that are renowned for not only transmitting but also popularising native ethnic culture also includes Podhale. Located at the northern foot of the Tatra Mountains not only it a geographical and historical region but it also boasts a very distinct culture. A variety of forms and methods of transmitting cultural heritage are developing there.

The Various Forms and Environments in which Ethnic Education for the Youth Takes Place in the Modern Day:

Family Home

The first place where a child comes into contact with the culture of the region from an early age is the family home. Podhale families take great care to preserve the centuries old traditions and customs present in the region. In spite of the development of civilisation and the changing conditions of everyday life, great importance is attached to maintaining certain characteristics of the way of life typical for the region as well as the old social relations. Respect for the culture of the ancestors is most often manifested through the preservation of the dialect, faith, dress, music, dance, customs and rituals. A child that is surrounded by ethnic culture in the family home can readily accept it without too much difficulty and then begin to identify with it more and more over the years.

School

The activities undertaken by families are usually pursued and continued in schools, especially in rural areas, but also in towns, such as Zakopane or Nowy Targ, where elements of the regional culture can be found in the curricula and in broadly-defined educational projects. The introduction thereof in urban schools means that the process of identification with ethnic culture involves both children and young people living in the Podhale region and those that come from elsewhere. It should be noted that these two towns in the region are now home to a large immigrant population, mainly from the areas around Warsaw, Poznan and Krakow. Pupils attending schools in the Podhale region are introduced to the cultural heritage of the region, including its dress, dialect, dance, singing, music, arts, crafts, etc. during so-called regional lessons. This is particularly important for those pupils whose families do not keep traditions alive as well as those who come from families with no roots in the region. Teachers from schools in the Podhale region often come up with their own

original curricula for learning about and assimilating the culture of Podhale. One author of such a curriculum for the teaching of regional education in Forms 1 to 4 is Anna Jakubiec, a teacher and headmistress of the Primary School in Ciche. The said curriculum has been introduced in many schools in the Czarny Dunajec commune since 2002.

Curricular education is not the only source that allows ethnic culture to be assimilated in schools. Regional education is also fostered by school extracurricular activities. Also in this case, teachers who come from the region have a significant impact on shaping the cultural identity of pupils. They often instil in them a love and passion for music, singing, dancing and discovering traditions, customs and rituals. Thanks to their skills and commitment, there are e.g. children's and youth school folklore ensembles. It is the teachers who become their initiators and instructors. This is a particularly important form of regional education for younger children living in higher villages, far from communal cultural centres, such as Gliczarów Dolny (the 'Zowierucha' ensemble) and Sierockie (the 'Mali Holni' ensemble).¹ Pupils who are members of the highland ensembles become acquainted with authentic folklore, singing, music, dance, dialect, and occasionally also with old traditions, rituals and games that are becoming a thing of the past. By cultivating the native tradition, they save many of its components from complete oblivion. Teachers provide encouragement and motivation for work and for rehearsals, which are often tedious, especially for younger children; they also prepare pupils for competitions (in dialects, dance and singing) and festivals, organised not only in the Podhale region, but also in Poland and abroad. Work with children from an early age when they start school education, or even they are in a pre-school playgroup, is in many cases the beginning of young people's long-lasting links with the local folklore and activities for its promotion and cultivation in adult life.

Cultural and Educational Institutions, Organizations, Societies

Extracurricular education plays an extremely important role in spreading ethnic culture outside the home and school. This education is carried out by regional cultural and educational institutions as well as regionally based organisations and associations. It is cultural and community centres that definitely led the way in this field. Most of them are very active and the scope of their work depends primarily on the size of the locality as well as their staffing and financial capabilities. The basic tasks of community and village centres are the dissemination and development of the culture of the region. They carry out a wide range of educational activities, support the development of local folk artists, and promote their products and native traditions at home and abroad. Most of their initiatives are primarily aimed at promoting culture-oriented,

¹ <http://www.zlvgdx.gokbialydunajec.pl/zespolo-regionalne/blog> [2.01.2021]

the primary function of which is to pass on the cultural heritage and shape a sense of regional identity among the younger generation.²

The group of the oldest and most active centres in Podhale includes the Bukowina Cultural Centre ‘Dom Ludowy’ (Folk House) in Bukowina Tatrzańska (hereinafter: BCK DL). This institution has a long tradition and rich experience in upholding and popularising regional culture. It is definitely true to say that ‘The Folk House in Bukowina Tatrzańska is a unique place and a unique atmosphere. Everyone can feel here the breath of history, of highland culture and the still living tradition of the Rocky Podhale.’³ The BCK DL hosts numerous regional ensembles representing Bukowina Tatrzańska and the surrounding villages.⁴ Since the 1950s, there has also been a Highland Music School there where people can improve their violin playing skills at all levels, from beginners to proficient musicians.⁵ The BCK DL also provides support for community cultural centres, e.g. the Spisz Cultural Centre in Jurgów, the Village House of Culture Walusiówka in Leńnica-Gronia and others.⁶ Thanks to the support of the BCK DL, regional events and competitions are also organised in these smaller villages, such as the story-telling, recitation, singing and highland-dancing competitions as well as the contest for instrumentalists at the Walusiówka cultural centre in which mainly children and young people take part.

Equally intense activity can be boasted by the Commune Centre of Regional Culture in Kościelisko under whose auspices many cultural and educational activities are implemented in Kościelisko and the villages belonging to the municipality, e.g. in Witów, Chochołów and Dzianisz.⁷ The events organised there, cherishing the highland tradition in a special way, include, among others: Przednówek w Polanach (The Hungry Gap in Polany), i.e. a festival of shepherds’ songs and music played on shepherds’ instruments, the Polaniarski Osod, symbolically referring to the ending of the grazing of sheep and the return home of the shepherds in the Tatra Mountains, the Parada Gazdowska (Highland Farmers’ Parade) and the Ferie z Folklorem (Winter Break with Folklore) which in winter introduces the community and holidaymakers to the still living culture of the Podhale region.

² <https://www.gminakoscielisko.pl/pl/dla-mieszkanca/institucje-gminne/gminny-osrodek-kultury-regionalnej> [10.01.2021]

³ <https://domludowy.pl/dzialalnosc-bck/szkola-ginacych-zawodow/oferta-dla-grup> [5.01.2021]

⁴ <https://domludowy.pl/dzialalnosc-bck/zespoły-regionalne/lista-zespolow> [5.01.2021]

⁵ <https://domludowy.pl/dzialalnosc-bck/szkolka-g-ralskiego-muzykowania/aktualnosc> [5.01.2021]

⁶ Zespół Cepelia – Podhale, grupa spiska z Jurgowa, <http://zespol.jurgow.pl/>; Dom Ludowy Walusiówka w Leńnicy – Groniu, <https://domludowy.pl/dzialalnosc-bck/walusiowka/aktualnosc/558.html> [5.01.2021]

⁷ <https://www.gminakoscielisko.pl/pl/dla-turysty/atracje/kulturalnie/wydarzenia> [10.01.2021]

Among the actively involved institutions are the Community Cultural Centre in Biały Dunajec and the Culture and Promotion Centre of the Czarny Dunajec Commune.⁸ There, children and young people are offered classes in glass painting and large-format drawing, ceramics, pottery, mosaics, graphics (linocut), wood carving as well as fiddle and basolia playing. For children from villages farther away from the communal centres, such as Gliczarów Dolny or Sierockie, additional classes are held in primary schools. Similar workshop classes are organised for visitors during tourist seasons. Children and young people spending their winter breaks or holidays in the local area are offered lectures on the music, costume, dance and culture of the Podhale region, e.g. at the Białodunajec Cultural Centre.

Not only villages in Podhale have their own cultural and educational institutions. Regional out-of-school education is also provided in towns and cities an example of which is the Tatra Cultural and Sports Centre Jutrzenka in Zakopane bringing together over 460 participants in the 48 theme clubs operating there. Children and young people are offered classes in wood and clay sculpture, bas-relief, painting and glass painting, folk art techniques, graphics (linocut), ceramics, weaving, textile and fibre arts, music, playing the fiddle, bagpipes and shepherds' instruments, etc.⁹

Whatever the location, the vast majority of regional (rural and urban) cultural centres organise classes teaching how to play the fiddle, which is the basic instrument of highland bands, as well as handicrafts typical of the Podhale region. An analysis of the offers of cultural centres operating in the Podhale region shows that the most common opportunities for initiatives aimed at promoting regional education include arts and crafts workshops during which participants learn about traditional handicrafts, such as wood carving, glass painting, and tissue paper craft together with relevant techniques.¹⁰ Workshops held at the centres also allow participants to learn about the general characteristics of the region determining the nature of the ethnic culture (e.g. the workshop *Dojrzyć swoją Małą Ojczyznę* (Recognising your Little Homeland) organised at the Cultural Centre in Czarny Dunajec).¹¹

Cultural Centres and Folk Houses play an important role in the organisation of leisure time, especially for younger children during school holiday periods, e.g. during winter breaks. As an enormously interesting solution, such offers are aimed at both children living permanently in the municipality

⁸ <http://www.gokbialydunajec.pl/dzialalnosc/dzialalnosc-gminnego-osrodka-kultury> [11.01.2021]; <http://www.ckip.org/> [2.01.2021]

⁹ Data from 2020; <https://www.facebook.com/TCKiS-Jutrzenka-131912446869711/> [15.01.2021]

¹⁰ http://ckip.org/t,770,nabor_na_cykl_warsztatow_dla_dzieci_i_mlodziwiezy.html, http://ckip.org/t,715,zajecia_artystyczne_w_centrum_kultury_i_promocji_gminy_czarny_dunajec_.html [2.01.2021]

¹¹ http://ckip.org/home,104,harmonogram_stalych_zajec_na_sali_widowiskowej_ckip.html [2.01.2021]

and the immediate vicinity and at the youngest tourists who enjoy leisure activities in the region. Thanks to such an initiative, they can not only enjoy tourist and recreational attractions, but also learn about the tradition, art and folklore of Podhale. Classes are conducted by the best specialists, i.e. local artists, folklorists and regionalists. In addition to theoretical knowledge, embellished with extremely interesting stories, participants have the opportunity to test their skills in practice, which makes the information they acquire much easier to comprehend and keep in mind. In the case of art workshops, they also have the opportunity to keep the works they created as a souvenir and specific evidence of their contact with regional art. The interest in this type of workshops means that adults are often also involved, and in fact they are there to accompany and supervise the participants. Engaging parents and guardians during the activities is a valuable experience for the children and fosters intergenerational and intercultural integration.

An extremely interesting initiative and form of regional education has been created by the BCK DL. It is the School of Vanishing Occupations, Folklore and Folk Art, which has been operating since 1998. 'The aim of this undertaking is to save the vanishing occupations, show the young generation the diminishing beauty and teach them how to create it. Classes at the Bukowina School of Vanishing Occupations are conducted by local folk artists, self-made artists, who teach mainly young people about old handicraft techniques, ornamentation, and a specific sense of beauty and aesthetics. In the main, regular workshops are organised for regular pupils. Works made by them take part in numerous competitions organised in Podhale and across Poland. They are also presented at national exhibitions of folk art, which take place on the occasion of the Highland Carnival and the Sabałowe Bajania storytelling festival.'¹² In addition to classes at the Folk House, pupils take part in study trips, visit regional museums, including open-air museums, and visit folk artists' studios. The School also organises activities for organised groups from all over the country. The School of Vanishing Occupations, Folklore and Folk Art mainly serves children and young people, but its offer is also available to adults who wish to learn the secrets of the vanishing occupations. All classes are based on the traditions of the Podhale region, thanks to which 'the School teaches how to recognise the disappearing beauty and the techniques of folk art. Participants learn about the art of glass painting, sculpture, woodcarving, ceramics, embroidery, singing, dancing, and playing shepherds' instruments; they also improve their knowledge of the region. The school is an elementary and primary way of getting young people interested in the vanishing beauty. It is a place where modernity and contemporary technology meet tradition and native culture.'¹³ It is noteworthy that the School's activities continue

¹² Szkoła Ginących Zawodów, Folkloru i Sztuki Ludowej, <https://domludowy.pl/dzialalnosc-bck/szkola-ginacych-zawodow/historia> [5.01.2021]

¹³ <https://domludowy.pl/dzialalnosc-bck/szkola-ginacych-zawodow/historia> [5.01.2021]

uninterrupted despite the current coronavirus pandemic. Instructor-led classes have been moved online, allowing students to continue learning and developing their passions at home.¹⁴

Associations and organisations, such as the Podhale Highlanders' Union (Związek Podhalań) also play a part in popularising the culture, traditions and heritage of the region, thus contributing to ethnic education. Regional ensembles operate under their auspices, and classes are held for children and young people in dancing, singing and playing folk instruments, thanks to which the activity and artistic sensitivity of the younger generations is being developed while respect for tradition and local cultural heritage is being shaped. The involvement of the members of the branches of the Podhale Highlanders' Union means that young inhabitants can take an active part in cultural events, actively get to know the culture and traditions of the region and the region itself during excursions and similar activities. The knowledge and skills thus acquired are presented by the young performers at competitions as well as regional and even national celebrations. The instructors and driving forces are mainly local artists, who share their passions and skills, often altruistically, with representatives of the younger generation.¹⁵ This approach to promoting culture teaches above all that not every value that a person identifies with should be commercialised. Ethnic culture is first and foremost the inner, spiritual wealth of the inhabitants of a particular region and does not always have to be profitable in the material sense. It ennobles people, allows them to develop their own identity, and these are priceless values that are not acquired through purchase, but through upbringing, teaching and respect for what generations of ancestors created.

Folk Ensembles

Regional education in Podhale is carried out in various forms. The most popular ones undoubtedly include children's and youth folk ensembles, operating both under the auspices of the local cultural centres and branches of the Podhale Highlanders' Union.¹⁶ The basic tasks of the highland ensembles include

¹⁴ Gdzie nasi uczniowie - tam Szkoła Ginących Zawodów, <https://domludowy.pl/dzialalnosc-bck/szkola-ginacych-zawodow/aktualnosci/615.html> [5.01.2021]

¹⁵ Oddział Związku Podhalań w Cichem, http://ckip.org/home,44,zp_ciche.html; Oddział Związku Podhalań w Starem Bystrem, http://ckip.org/home,52,zp_stare_bystre.html [2.01.2021]

¹⁶ The children's and youth ensembles include e.g. Mali Dunajczanie of Czarny Dunajec, Siumni of Chochołów, Tatry of Ratułów, Bachledówka of Czerwińskie, Odrowążanie z Odrowąża Podhalańskiego, Krzesany of Ciche, Mali Wróblowianie of Wróblówka, Mali Miętusianie of Miętustwo, Serdocki of Podszkle, Turnie of Stare Bystre, Młodzieżowy Zespół Watra of Czarny Dunajec, <http://ckip.org/home> [2.01.2021]; Młodzieżowy Zespół Folklorystyczny Polaniorze im. Stanisława Nędzy – Chotarskiego of Kościelisko, <https://www.koscieliska.pl/dlud.html>; Mali Dzianiszanie of Dzianisz, Polany of

regional education and teaching respect for ethnic, Christian and national/patriotic values. The instructors working with the children therefore focus on passing on highland traditions, customs and rituals, music and regional costumes to the younger generations. Thanks to these ensembles, children and young people have the opportunity to learn singing, dancing, dialect, storytelling, playing traditional instruments, as well as to present their achievements during performances, competitions and festivals. In addition to dance and singing performances, the young performers also prepare artistic programmes in which they recreate the life, rituals and traditions of their localities. Apart from festivals and competitions,¹⁷ the ensembles often take part in numerous performances in the region and across the country; they honour various regional, church and state celebrations and official gatherings, take part in special events and, as part of their voluntary work, perform for residents of care homes. The young artists derive joy and satisfaction particularly from having the opportunity to present their native ethnic culture at competitions and festivals outside Podhale and Poland.

All regional ensembles, regardless of whether they bring together children, young people or adults, care about preserving folklore, traditions, authentic costumes, dialects, children's games of the past as well as the customs and rituals that are specific to their localities. Membership in the ensembles is often a family tradition cultivated from generation to generation. This testifies to the inseparable collaboration between the family home and regional cultural institutions in ethnic education and to the consistent formation, by both sides, of the regional and ethnic identity of successive young generations. The activity of highland folk ensembles often brings generations together and integrates the local community by involving older inhabitants of Podhale towns in the process of regional education in which they pass on to the young the melodies, ditties, dialects and customs that are sometimes already forgotten, thus helping to save them from oblivion.

Kościelisko, Mali Witowianie of Witow, <https://www.gminakoscielisko.pl/pl/dla-mieszkanca/instytucje-gminne/gminny-osrodek-kultury-regionalnej> [10.01.2021];
 Biłodunajecanie (children's and youth groups) of Biały Dunajec, Wierchy of Gliczarów Górny, <http://www.zlvgdx.gokbialydunajec.pl/zespoly-regionalne/blog> [11.01.2021];
 Mali Białcanie of Białka Tatrzańska, Mali Wyrchowianie of Bukowina Tatrzańska, Dziecięcy Zespół Góralski Orlynta im. Anny Koszarek of Bukowina Tatrzańska, Małe Podhale of Jurgów, Ciardasie of Czarna Góra – Zagóra, Koce Łapki of Czarna Góra, Trzy Potoki of Rzepiska, Mali Brzegowianie of Brzegi, Zawatarnik of Leśnica – Gronie, <https://domludowy.pl/dzialalnosc-bck/zespoly-regionalne/lista-zespolow> [5.01.2021]

¹⁷ The most popular festivals and competitions include Sabałowe Bajania, Przednówek w Polanach, Muzykowanie na Duchową Nutę, Tatra Festival of Children's Regional Ensembles Złote Kierpce, Święto Dzieci Gór (Children of the Mountains Feast), Festiwal Karpacki, Przegląd Jasełek i Grup Kolędniczych, Przegląd Teatrów Obrzędowych and foreign festivals in Italy, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, etc.

Competitions

Regional education and the cultivation of traditions is also fostered by the organisation of competitions the themes of which focus on issues related to the region, its past, culture and values. The most popular among the audiences include competitions in highland dancing and singing, playing folk instruments, nativity plays and carol singing groups, which consolidate and popularise the customs and rituals of the Christmas period, which are not only a part of the traditional Polish culture, but are also very characteristic of the culture of the Carpathian highlanders. In addition to popularising traditions among children and young people, these competitions provide an opportunity to present their achievements not only to regional ensembles, but also to theatre groups which operate both in schools, community centres, local associations and parishes. The diary of competitions in Podhale is exceptionally rich and the organisation of so many competitions, festivals and events for young performers is a deliberate action the aim of which is primarily to educate and shape future mature artists and creators of the culture of Podhale.¹⁸

The main task of the festivals for dancers, singers, bands and folk instrumentalists is to popularise traditional dancing, singing, playing, preserving traditional forms of particular dances, notes and songs of Podhale and showing how varied they are across the region of Podhale. The contests provide an opportunity for young people to present their dancing, singing and musical skills, to compare styles of dancing, singing and playing, and to consult specialists in these fields. Participation in the competition shows is open not only to members of regional ensembles and highland folk bands, but also to non-members, dancers cultivating solo and brigand dances, singing groups and solo singers, bands and lead instrumentalists in highland bands of all ages. The jury, made up of the best regional dancers, singers and instrumentalists, pay particular attention to the faithful application of the rules of the dances, songs and musical pieces, the correctness of the performance, as well as the costumes and overall presentation of the young performers. Apart from assessing and selecting the best performers, the contests provide an opportunity to exchange experiences in traditional and contemporary highland music and to recall old, sometimes already forgotten notes, songs and highlanders'

¹⁸ Some of the most popular competitions and festivals include: *Przeziyracka Młodych Toniecników i Śpiwoków Góralskich*, *Muzykowanie na Duchową Nutę*, *Gminny Konkurs Jasełek i Grup Kolędniczych w Czarnym Dunajcu*, *Małe Bajania Przegląd Gminnych Zespołów Regionalnych*, *Gminny Przegląd Dorobku Artystycznego Dzieci i Młodzieży*, *Sabałowe Bajania w Bukowinie Tatrzańskiej*, *Konkurs Śpiwoków i Toniecników i Przegląd Młodych Recytatorów i Gawędziarzy im. Andrzeja Skupnia-Florka w Białym Dunajcu*, *Konkurs Gawędy, Recytacji, Śpiewu, Tańca Góralskiego, Instrumentalistów oraz Gminny Konkurs Tańca Góralskiego Tatrzański Zwyrty w Leśnicy – Groniu*, *Gminny Konkurs Gawędy i Recytacji im. Hanki Nowobielskiej w Białce Tatrzańskiej*, *Tatrzański Przegląd Zespołów Regionalnych w Zakopanem*, etc.

ditties.¹⁹ The huge interest in events of this type is evidenced by the numerous applications from performers whose number often exceeds several hundred in each contest.²⁰

In the case of the competitions devoted to nativity plays and Christmas carols, the rules state that nativity plays can be presented in a dialect or literary language and even a group of up to 30 performers can take part. Stricter rules apply to carol singing programmes which must refer to the old traditions in terms of the band members (up to 8 people, boys only) and the nature of the ritual. The jury pay particular attention to and favours carol programmes that most faithfully reproduce the carol singing traditions, presenting old folk carols and pastorellas, costumes, props and using folk instruments characteristic of the region or even the particular locality for accompaniment.²¹ The nativity scene competition, which is based on the theme of Christmas, not only cultivates the traditions and rituals of the holiday season, but also deliberately seeks to preserve the custom of building nativity cribs using both old and contemporary artistic techniques.²²

Considering the education of the whole society regardless of age, it is impossible not to mention the perhaps biggest competition organised during the Christmas and carnival period, the Highland Carnival in Bukowina Tatrzańska. The festival features mainly traditional male carol singing groups and their efforts to faithfully recreate traditions and customs constitute an important educational component for all age groups. The carol singers' performances are accompanied by competitions of brigand dances and dance couples, the Gazda Parade (of traditional horse-drawn vehicles), Kumoterka races (races of sledges typical of the region), skijouring competitions, handicraft exhibitions and performances by highland bands. Another occasion to organise competitions is around Easter. By way of example, the annual Easter Palm Festival is held on Palm Sunday in the Bukowina Folk House, with palms

¹⁹ XXXII Przeziyracka Młodych Toniecników i Śpiywoków Góralskich – regulations and application form,

http://ckip.org/t,644,xxxii__przeziyracka_mlodych_toniecnikow__i__spiywokow_goralskich__regu.html; XXXIV Muzykowanie na Duchową Nutę,

http://ckip.org/t,581,xxxiv_muzykowanie_na_duchowa_nute.html [2.01.2021]

²⁰ Protokół z posiedzenie Komisji Artystycznej oceniającej XXXV Muzykowanie na Duchową Nutę,

http://ckip.org/t,586,protokol__z_posiedzenia_komisji_artystycznej_oceniajacej_xxxv_muzykowania.html; Protokół z XXXII Przeziyracki młodych toniecników i śpiywoków góralskich w Ratułowie,

http://ckip.org/t,651,protokol_z_xxxii_przeziyracki_mlodych_toniecnikow__i__spiywokow_goralsk.html [2.01.2021]

²¹ Regulamin XXI Gminnego Konkursu jasełek i grup kołędniczych,

http://ckip.org/hosting_plikow/Regulamin,karta%20zgloszenia-jaselka%202020_5dfb7a06512c4.pdf [2.01.2021]

²² VI Transgraniczny Konkurs Szopek Bożonarodzeniowych,

http://ckip.org/t,668,vi__transgraniczny_konkurs_szopek_bozonarodzeniowych_chocholow.html, [2.01.2021]

prepared by children with their parents and/or grandparents, using traditional components, such as willow branches with basil, myrtle, boxwood, fir, tissue paper flowers and ribbons.²³

Culturally Significant Events

Another contribution to regional education are widely understood ethnic open-air events, e.g. Commune Dozhynki Harvest Festival called Hołdymas in Czarny Dunajec,²⁴ Góralskie Śpasy (regional games and feasts with highlanders) in Podczerwone,²⁵ Gazda Parade, Wielkanocna Kosołecka (Easter Kosołecka, traditional food blessing), Dunajeckie Granie (music festival by the River Dunajec) in Biały Dunajec, and Gliczarowski Festivities in Gliczarów.²⁶ The performances, competitions, shows and games organised during these events are an excellent form of integration of families and local communities. They are also available to tourists and holidaymakers resting in Podhale. Young participants in the events have the opportunity to improve their skills and become better acquainted with their native culture while the older ones present its richness, with which they have identified themselves from an early age, and thus become excellent educators and popularisers of their cultural heritage. Of course, the ethnic components are complemented by fairs, games and competitions providing entertainment, but also bringing material benefits to the local institutions (e.g. fairs to raise funds for schools, voluntary fire brigades, etc.) and providing necessary knowledge and skills, such as a course in first aid techniques, which is particularly useful in any tourist region.

Modern Forms of Regional Education

Podhale is a border region where the traditional culture of the Polish highlanders blends naturally with that of the Slovak highlanders living on the southern side of the Tatra Mountains. The proximity of these cultures encourages mutual collaboration as well as care for the traditions and for the present day of the Polish and Slovak borderlands. Such activities are now supported by the project 'Cross-border Culture Organisers – modern forms of specialised education in the Polish-Slovak borderland.' It was implemented on the Polish side by the Culture and Promotion Centre of the Czarny Dunajec Commune and on the Slovak side by the Základná umelecká škola Trstená. Free

²³ Przegląd Palm Wielkanocnych, <https://domludowy.pl/wydarzenia/wydarzenia-cykliczne/172.html> [5.01.2021]

²⁴ <https://goral.info.pl/xxix-gminne-dozynki-w-czarnym-dunajcu-holdymas-2019> [3.01.2021]

²⁵ Udane Góralskie Śpasy w Podczerwone, http://ckip.org/t,614,udane_goralskie_spasy_w_podczerwone.html [3.01.2021]

²⁶ <http://www.gokbiałydunajec.pl/dzialalnosc/dzialalnosc-gminnego-osrodka-kultury> [11.01.2021]

training sessions, courses and workshops were offered mainly to professionally active instructors of regional ensembles, teachers, employees of cultural institutions, as well as to students planning to become organisers of cultural activities in the near future.²⁷

The pandemic that everyone was forced to face from 2020 onwards has presented employees of cultural institutions responsible for the education of the cultural heritage of the region with the extremely difficult task of spreading this valuable knowledge using new methods. The use of modern media as well as the Internet and social media allows not only the inhabitants of the region, but also the wider public to discover and explore places and the people who cultivate traditional art and folk crafts, and maintain the rituals and customs associated with the region to this day. The numerous projects carried out by cultural centres across Podhale resulted in a series of educational documentaries, showing e.g. regional folk artists and craftsmen, customs and rituals in the culture of Podhale and local traditions. The effect of the efforts of the employees of the Culture and Promotion Centre in Czarny Dunajec is a series of films entitled 'Encounters with live crafts' and presented on the website. Over several episodes the viewer can learn e.g. how potato harvesting baskets were woven, how regional clothes and footwear were sewn and decorated, how highland cottages were built, wood carvings were made, how clay pots and dishes and textiles were made, how bells and chimes were cast, and shepherding was conducted with full respect for tradition.²⁸ A series of educational films entitled 'Retained in memory...' as part of the project 'Customs & habits passed down to us by our grandparents...' has been prepared and made available on Facebook by the Commune Centre of Regional Culture in Kościelisko.²⁹ Education with the use of films is also carried out by the Bukowina Folk House Cultural Centre in Bukowina Tatrzańska. The series of films entitled My Small Homeland – Places, People, Events, completed with funding from the National Centre for Culture Poland as part of the programme Culture in the Net, introduces the cultural heritage of the region, including the history of Bukowina and Spisz, activities of the Bukowina Folk House, traditional shepherds' instruments, the music and multi-ethnicity of the commune, the regional artists, monuments of sacred architecture in the Bukowina Tatrzańska commune, the history and activities of the Józef Pitorak Regional Theatre Ensemble from Bukowina Tatrzańska.³⁰

²⁷ Projekt Transgraniczni Animatorzy Kultury – nowoczesne formy edukacji specjalistycznej na polsko-słowackim pograniczu, http://ckip.org/t,754,projekt_%E2%80%9Etransgraniczni_animatorzy_kultury_%E2%80%93_nowoczesne_formy_eduk.html [2.01.2021]

²⁸ These videos can be viewed at <https://www.facebook.com/ckipgminyczarnydunajec/videos/ckip-czarny-dunajec-spotkania-z-%C5%BCywym-rzemios%C5%82em> [6.01.2021]

²⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/212259792238193/videos/> [10.01.2021]

³⁰ <https://domludowy.pl/multimedia/filmy/moja-mala-ojczyzna> [6.01.2021]

Conclusion

The moving of the cultural and educational activities online has become a necessity in the era of pandemics, but at the same time it demonstrated the potential of the Internet and showed how modern techniques can be used in ethnic education which is largely based on tradition. Innovative technical solutions of the 21st century turned out to be extremely useful and even irreplaceable in the cultivation of cultural heritage created by generations of inhabitants of Podhale.

It is also worth emphasising that despite obstacles and constraints, the enthusiasm to take on further challenges and initiatives does not die down, and young people strive to develop and persevere in the culture in which they grow up. On the one hand, the formation and activity of regional youth ensembles is a tangible proof of the positive impact of earlier ethnic education in families, schools or cultural centres, and on the other hand, it is an example of ongoing regional education thanks to which both the young members of the ensembles and their listeners and supporters continue to develop. There is no shortage of such youth initiatives in Podhale, an excellent example of which is the activity of the youth band 9 Siył, made up of nine young and talented inhabitants of Podhale who were brought together by culture instilled in them from childhood, first by their grandparents and parents, and then by the school and folk bands. Thanks to their shared interests and passion, they create extremely valuable projects which help preserve regional traditions. They combine their passion for music with learning, recreating and preserving annual customs and rituals. The result of these activities is, among other things, the collection and recording of highland carols and pastorellas (*Przy betlejenskik horak*, double CD, 2016), eagerly sung at home during the Christmas season, but today already somewhat forgotten today. With their next project, entitled *Nowyj wiesny przysel cas*, the members of the ensemble preserve customs, songs and dances associated with carnival, Easter and the spring period. It is extremely important for the development of representatives of the younger generation to get closer to and create a special bond with the older generations who are a source of knowledge and inspiration for their children and grandchildren. In this way, young people not only gain the opportunity to perfect their artistic craftsmanship and to contribute to the continuity of multi-generational traditions. The activities undertaken in the following projects also contribute to the formation of cultural identity. As Anna Mlekodaj wrote in the foreword to the release of the album in the second project, *“They will not renounce it, because they not only read in Orkan that “tradition is your dignity, your pride, your nobility,” but also saw with their own eyes and understood that it is one of the truths on which you can build a dignified human life at any time and in any conditions.*”³¹ The young artists are probably also encouraged to continue working by the awards they

³¹ Mlekodaj, A. (2017). Słowo wstępne do płyty CD 9 Siył „Nowyj wiesny przysel cas”.

receive at numerous prestigious competitions and festivals of traditional folk music.

It should be stressed that the key to the continuity and sustainability of ethnic culture is its intergenerational transmission, the strength of which depends on the involvement of the family home, the school and the extracurricular cultural and educational institutions as well as the regional ensembles. Contact with the culture of a particular region from an early age has in the vast majority of cases an impact on the development of a passion and love for cultivating native traditions. Searching for old songs and customs provides the younger generation with opportunities to find out about the old style of singing and playing instruments typical of the region. Growing into the traditions of the region of Podhale from an early age, the everyday presence of folklore in the home, school, extracurricular institutions and the local environment means that ethnic culture becomes a passion, and the dialect, singing, dancing and music shape the character and sensibility of new generations, giving them joy, entertainment and variety in their everyday lives. From the ranks of these young highlanders emerge new generations of instructors and teachers as well as parents who with full awareness bring up their own children in the culture of Podhale.

When analysing the ethnic education in the region of Podhale, it is clear that activities aimed at preserving and passing on the ethnic character and specific features of the region are carried out there on a very large scale. There are many institutions and many forms of fostering regional culture outside schools and family homes. The Regional Cultural Centres in the communes work together with local branches of the Podhale Highlanders' Union and other organisations and associations, provide a rich educational and cultural offer in practically every village. This offer allows local people to cultivate traditions, customs and rituals, dance and singing, and makes it possible for tourists visiting the region of Podhale in large numbers to discover the ethnic specificity of the region.

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Historiographical Aspects of Preparing a Creative Master Teacher, Professional in the Ukrainian Educational Tradition

Nataliia Huzii / e-mail: natguz@ukr.net

Faculty of Psychology, Ukrainian State Mykhailo Dragomanov University, Kyiv, Ukraine.

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The article presents the results of a comprehensive study of the historiographical aspects of the evolution of pedagogical personnel education in the Ukrainian educational tradition, aimed at achieving the heights of creativity, mastery and professionalism in pedagogical work. This research focuses on historical periods of formation and development of theoretical and methodological instruments for analysis of the substantive pillars of pedagogical profession and preparatory courses for future teachers in Ukraine from ancient times to the latest decades.

Keywords: teacher-tutor mastery, pedagogical creativity; teacher professional preparation; pedagogical education of Ukraine; didascology; pedautology; pedagogical acmeology

Introduction

In the civilization progress of Ukrainian society a significant role is played by national education, the development of which is aimed at its integration into the world educational space and at the same time presupposes the preservation and further enrichment of national cultural heritage. The problem of preparing a successful, competent, creative, motivated teacher of the modern Ukrainian School, who is able to elevate the multifaceted teaching profession to the level of art, plays an important role in the reform processes of Ukrainian education. Modern realities and transformational changes in the teaching profession and organization of teacher education require the production of innovative approaches, as well as the creative use of rich historical and pedagogical experience, progressive national educational traditions. Along with globally recognized achievements of Western European classical pedagogical thought (Democritus, Socrates, Isocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Quintilian, J. Comenius,

J. Rousseau, J. Pestalozzi, A. Disterweg, J. Herbart and others), with the modern achievements of the world pedagogical science and educational practice in training of pedagogical personnel, Ukrainian pedagogical heritage of different times has a powerful heuristic potential for enrichment and refinement of modern scientific ideas about the professional work of the teacher and their preparation. This led to the urgency of conducting a comprehensive scientific study of the historiographical aspects of a creative master teacher preparation, professional in the Ukrainian educational tradition, namely: to find out the features of social determination of ideas about pedagogical mastery, creativity, professionalism of the teacher-tutor at different historical stages of the development of Ukrainian society as reflection of public demand for the actual type of productive educator and peculiarities of their preparation; detection of genesis of development in the classical agogic thought of the system of views of prominent Ukrainian thinkers, educators, public figures on the professional characteristics of a creative master teacher, professional and effective ways of their preparation; analysis of the formation and evolution of scientific foundations of the study of the teaching profession and their extrapolation to the theory and methods of educational staff preparation in the system of national pedagogical education.

Origins of Ukrainian Pedagogical Thoughts on the Preparation of a Creative Master Teacher, Professional (From Ancient Times to the Beginning of the XX Century)

The development of education and pedagogical thought in the Eastern European lands was generally in line with Western progressive ideas, laid down in the era of ancient civilizations, but differed in quality. The pedagogical culture of the Eastern Slavs in the Ancient Russian state in a unique way reflected the interaction of folk pedagogy of the pagan tradition with the canons of Orthodox Christianity of Byzantine origin. The roots of pedagogical thought of Kievan Rus are found in “Selections” of Prince Svyatoslav, “The Teachings” of V. Monomakh, “Message” of metropolitan K. Smolyatych, works of K. Turovsky and others. In practical terms, along with the leading role of the family in the upbringing of children, with the help of home-school priests in the Ancient Russian state, individual tuition fee appears (mzda), which was carried out by “masters of literacy” or teachers¹, and this indicates that the term “mastery” was embedded in the very name of the teaching profession, reflecting the public demands for its high quality. Later paidates, didaskals, who united in professional guilds as prototypes of pedagogical centers and associations, worked in the lower “literacy schools” and the higher schools of the “doctrine of the book”.

¹ Dzhurinskij, A. (1999). *Istorija pedagogiki*. Moskva: Vlado, pp. 145–153.

Influenced by the pedagogical thought of the period of Ukrainian Renaissance of the XVI-XIII centuries, famous by the names of P. Rusyn (1474–1517), Y. Dragobych (1450–1494), K. Ostrogski (1526–1608), P. Mohyla (1596–1647), H. Smotrytskyi (1578–1633) and their practical activity, further development of school and higher Ukrainian education, including training of pedagogical personnel, based on the ideas of humanism, which was combined with the leading European approaches to education, took place. The high demands on representatives of the teaching profession, which constitute the fundamental professional characteristics of the teacher-tutor, are clearly demonstrated by the documents of the Brotherhood schools as the most progressive educational institutions of the time. Thus, the Statute of the Lviv Brotherhood School “School Order” (1586) states: “The didaskal or teacher of this school should be pious, intelligent, humble-wise, obedient, not a drunkard, not a harlot, not a bribe-taker, not a thug, not angry, not envious, not a laughingstock, not a scoundrel, not a magician, not a storyteller, not a helper of heresies, but committed to piety, being a model of good deeds in all things, ... didaskals should teach and love all children”². According to O. Lavrinenko, the principles crystallized in the pedagogical experience of the Old Russian state of Kyiv, synthesis of Old Slavic and ancient (Greek) pedagogy respectively, were based on the understanding of the pedagogical qualification of the teacher of fraternal schools (didaskal) and the high requirements to it, didaskal is a master teacher of pedagogical business, who is eloquent, knows their subject perfectly, creates a favorable psychological climate of education and upbringing, organizes a collective conversation³.

In those times, the cult of the teacher and the school education was gradually affirming in the public consciousness of the Ukrainians, which is confirmed by folklore sources such as: “Honor the teacher as a parent” and further development of its types and forms took place. At this time, temporary literacy schools are expanding and there is a peculiar layer of teacher educators among the graduates of fraternal schools, academies and colleges: wandering cantors (dyaky) who widely used folk epic in teaching like puzzles, games and proverbs, they recited poems, sang, drew, played musical instruments, organized theatrical performances, and set up the nativity scenes⁴.

During those times, a layer of Ukrainian philosophers-enlighteners, founders of higher education, teachers of the Kyiv-Mohyla and Ostroh Academies, was formed, among whom I. Gizel (1600–1683), I. Galyatovsky (1620–1688), S. Yavorsky (1638–1736), S. Kalynovsky (1700–1754), F. Prokopovych

² *Antologija pedagogicheskoy mysli Ukrainskoj SSR*. (1988). Redkol. M. V. Fomenko [i dr.]. Moskva: Pedagogika, pp. 79–80.

³ Lavrinenko, O. (2009). *Pedahohichna maisternist v istoryko-pedahohichnomu vymiri: teoriia, praktyka, postup*. Kyiv: SPD Bohdanova A. M., p. 95.

⁴ Mazur, P. (2005). *Ukrainska shkola doby renesansu*. Dyrektor shkoly. Ukraina /1–2, p. 105.

(1681–1736), J. Kozelsky (1728–1794) and others were especially prominent due to their progressive pedagogical views and practical educational activity. Their philosophical and pedagogical achievements contributed to the establishment of high social and professional status of teachers, substantiation of the essence and content of pedagogical skills, the initiation of indirect teaching the elements of communicative culture and pedagogical techniques in courses of rhetoric, pietics, philosophy to students, as well as developing their focus on mastering the teaching profession.

The creative heritage of the Ukrainian philosophical and pedagogical thought of the time of H. Skovoroda (1722–1794) is full of valuable thoughts and provisions about the pedagogical work and about the teacher, their personality and peculiarities of pedagogical activity. Based on the understanding of the role of teaching as a great mission, the philosopher-educator called it majestic and noble, but also made serious requirements for the teacher, especially for their moral qualities. The power of the teacher H. Skovoroda saw in their knowledge, deep reason, nobility, dignity, honesty, love and respect for children, their profession, the unity of word and deed, the ability to self-educate. Along with the inner spiritual world of the teacher, great importance was attached to the eloquence as a means of communication with the disciples, which can “torment the soul, pour bile, poison, and can sow love, joy and light”⁵.

Therefore, in the XII–XIII centuries under the influence of the progressive philosophical and pedagogical thought of the Ukrainian national elite, the role of education in the cultural, political and economic life of society is realized, serious demands are placed on the educational staff as basic professionographical characteristics of pedagogical work, the educational experience of educational institutions like Brotherhood schools, universities and colleges is accumulated, which characterises the emergence of pedagogical education focused on the preparation of a creative master teacher, a qualified professional.

During the XIX – beginning of the XX century after the accession of most Ukrainian lands to the Russian Empire, and the accession of Galicia, Zakarpattia, Northern Bukovyna to the Austrian Empire, under the influence of the development of science, technology and industry, the activation of socio-cultural democratic movements and exacerbation of social and political problems, the spread of progressive ideas, the raising of pedagogical thought and the implementation of various educational reforms become dynamic, processes of development of higher education, pedagogical education in particular, socio-pedagogical approaches to determining the substantive characteristics of pedagogical work and training of teaching staff successfully evolve.

⁵ Strubyt'skyi V. H. S. *Skovoroda pro osobystist uchytel'ia* (1972). Pedagogichni idei H. S. Skovorody. Kyiv: Vyshcha shkola, pp. 167–169.

Against the background of various educational reforms of those times, imperial universities were opened in the leading Ukrainian industrial and cultural centers: Kharkiv (1805), Kyiv (1834), Odessa (1865), and pedagogical institutes were distinguished in their structure, teacher seminars and temporary pedagogical courses were created as independent pedagogical institutions, where the content of pedagogical training was gradually perfected, pedagogical educational disciplines were introduced and methodological experience of teaching them was acquired. Against this backdrop, a cohort of talented teachers, methodologists, and scholars is emerging – I. Tymkovsky, M. Lavrovsky, I. Ryzhsky and others, many of whom became the first developers of theoretical pedagogical disciplines and their programs, authors of manuals, original concepts and models of pedagogical education, as well as contributors to the introduction of ideas of pedagogical mastery in the process of teacher-tutor training, development of rhetorical culture, artistic education as its elements⁶⁻⁷. Accordingly, the problem of the teacher and their preparation as a driving force for the revival and creation of a qualitatively new education system in Ukraine attracted the attention of the leading national intellectuals: prominent national educators, writers, philosophers, state and public figures.

Theoretical and organizational pedagogical activity of M. Pyrogov (1810–1881), the initiator of opening of pedagogical seminaries, became a significant advancement in the scientific understanding of the problem of teacher's work and their professional training on the Ukrainian territory of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. He interpreted pedagogical art, mastery of the teacher as a multilevel phenomenon, and believed that in pedagogy, elevated to the level of the art, as in any other art, “it is impossible to measure all teachers by one measure”, and also identified a number of criteria for their evaluation, which included the creativity of the teacher, their desire to find better methods of work, the ability to effectively combine the word and visuals, to take into account the age and individual characteristics of students, the ability to hold their attention. At the same time, M. Pyrogov considered pedagogy not only as an art, but also as a science, and pointed to the real underestimation of “science to teach and enlighten”, to the fact that “few teachers possess the art of teaching and do not even understand its complexity”⁸. M. Pyrogov assigned the leading role in mastering such an art to the calling and offered to take this into account when selecting for pedagogical educational institutions. The sense of pedagogical activity M. Pyrogov saw not so much in the reproduction of ready truths, but in shaping the attitude of the learners to the world, and considered creating practical

⁶ Lavrinenko, O. (2009). *Pedahohichna maisternist v istoryko-pedahohichnomu vymiri: teoriia, praktyka, postup*. Kyiv: SPD Bohdanova A. M., pp. 135–136.

⁷ Demianenko, N. (1998). *Zahalnopedahohichna pidhotovka vchytelia v Ukraini: XIX – persha tretyna XX st.* Kyiv: IZMN, pp. 95-170.

⁸ Pirogov, N. (1985). *Izbrannye pedagogicheskie sochinenija*. Moskva: Pedagogika, pp. 83–85.

pedagogical centers, “teachers nurseries”, in which the collective pedagogical creativity and self-education of students, the unity of the human and professional development of the teacher’s personality, the enrichment of knowledge in combination with the experience of teaching at school was highly appreciated, to be the main ways of mastering pedagogical science and art by a teacher.

Another prominent educational figure and writer of Zakarpattia, O. Dukhnovych (1803–1865), following the ideas of Y. Komensky, called pedagogy “the most sophisticated art”, “art of the arts”, and considered the teacher-tutor to be an artist, master, “salt of the earth”, “enlightener”, under whose leadership evil was diminished and virtue flourished. O. Duchnovich gave eloquence, knowledge of folk culture, caring attitude to students particular importance in pedagogical mastery, and among the professional qualities of a “creatively perfect teacher” he noted high intelligence, knowledge of their subject, broad general and pedagogical education, and also optimism, politeness, gentleness and respect, love for children. O. Dukhnovych believed that being a teacher is possible only by natural calling, “from birth to the elect” and “not everyone who teaches and mentors can be called a teacher and mentor”. He was convinced that without “nature-gifted properties” the mentor “would not do any good and would be better off refusing this service”⁹. The outstanding work of O. Dukhnovych “People’s Pedagogy” (1857), according to the modern researcher O. Lavrynenko, became the first unified Ukrainian textbook on pedagogy, where pedagogical mastery of the teacher was given a prominent place, the basic skills, which they were supposed to have in order to conduct educational activity, were structured and determined¹⁰.

Under the influence of the progressive ideas of M. Pyrogov and K. Ushynsky a pleiad of methodological educators has emerged in the democratically-pedagogical movement, who have made a significant contribution to the cause of education, reforming public education, paying great attention to the teacher and the issues of their productive work. Progressive Zemsky activist, connoisseur of educational charitable cause and talent of the teacher baron M. Korf (1834–1883) considered the teacher a leading figure in the Zemsky school, took care of their thorough preparation and in his works outlined the model of personality of the teacher, which covered such features as interests to the rural community, humanistic position, dedication to the teaching profession and children, knowledge of the subject and methods of its teaching, readiness for self-education, moral and mental qualities, language abilities, appearance, and also recommended effective methods and means

⁹ Liubar, O. – Stelmakhovych, S. – Fedorenko, D. (1999). *Istoriia ukrainskoi pedahohiky*. Kyiv: IZMN, pp.127–138.

¹⁰ Lavrinenko, O. (2009). *Pedahohichna maisternist v istoryko-pedahohichnomu vymiri: teoriia, praktyka, postup*. Kyiv: SPD Bohdanova A. M., p. 29.

of pedagogical preparation¹¹. Ukrainian thinker, philosopher, teacher P. Yurkevich (1826–1874) assumed the personality of the master teacher to deserve a prominent place and attached great importance to the free mastery of methods as a direct manifestation of the creative inventiveness of the teacher, paying particular attention to dialogue¹². The educator and scientist M. Dragomanov (1841–1895) gave a leading role in the education and training of the youth to the teacher, giving special importance to their erudition, dedication, vocation, methodological skills, and considered the issue of psychological readiness and orientation of the teacher, emphasized the need to increase the teacher's competence, mastery, aesthetic upbringing with the help of pedagogical literature and mastering the principles of pedagogy¹³.

S. Rusova (1856–1940), a prominent representative of the national-democratic direction of the educational and civic movement of Ukrainian pedagogy, considered the teacher's problem "broad, voluminous, multifaceted". According to the developed a concept of the national system of education, she called teachers true reformers of Ukraine's future life, "apostles of truth and science"¹⁴, whose efforts can lead people out of darkness, enslavement, unconsciousness to a new life¹⁵. In her speeches and publications, the scientist made extremely high demands on the personality of the teacher, emphasized the need to expand their functions of education, culture and training, emphasized the importance of state support for future teachers to obtain fundamental scientific, theoretical and methodological training, as well as special training; thus, according to the findings of O. Lavrinenko, she thoughtfully and consistently defended the ideas of pedagogical mastery development and separated the leading elements¹⁶.

The historical data and the presentation of the views of progressive Ukrainian philosophers, educators, public figures of the past centuries testify that in the Ukrainian national consciousness and pedagogical culture of previous epochs an understanding of the uniqueness, psychological richness and social determination of pedagogical work gradually formed, its moral imperatives,

¹¹ Saiakina, N. (1998). *Problemy osobystosti vchytelia v pedahohichnii spadshchyni M. O. Korfa*. (Avtoref. dys.kand. ped. nauk). Luhanskyi derzhavnyi pedahohichnyi instytut, Luhansk, pp. 14–15.

¹² *Antologija pedagogicheskoy mysli Ukrainskoj SSR*. (1988). Redkol. M. V. Fomenko [i dr.]. Moskva: Pedagogika, pp. 177, 182.

¹³ Liubar, O. – Stelmakhovych, S. – Fedorenko, D. (1999). *Istoriia ukrainskoi pedahohiky*. Kyiv: IZMN, p. 178.

¹⁴ Zaichenko, I. (2000). *Pedahohichna kontseptsiiia S.F.Rusovoi*. Chernihiv: Chernihivskyi derzhavnyi pedahohichnyi universytet im.T. H. Shevchenka, pp. 137, 147.

¹⁵ Rusova, S. (1996). *Vybrani pedahohichni tvory*. Kyiv: Osvita, p. 29.

¹⁶ Lavrinenko, O. (2009). *Pedahohichna maisternist v istoryko-pedahohichnomu vymiri: teoriia, praktyka, postup*. Kyiv: SPD Bohdanova A. M., pp. 48–50.

professional norms, standards and values were determined, demands were made on pedagogical workers in combining their personal traits and acquired skills and competences. Provisions, ideas, approaches developed in the Ukrainian classical pedagogical heritage of the past, contributed to the development of initial ideas about pedagogical professionalism, mastery, creativity of the teacher-tutor as a characteristic of successful, qualified, productive pedagogical work, and their transformation into targets and meaningful content of pedagogical education though had some limitations and contradictions due to existing cultural, historical and socio-economic conditions.

Formation and Development of Theoretical and Methodological Base for the Preparation of a Creative Master Teacher, Professional in the Ukrainian Scientific and Pedagogical Tradition of the Soviet Era

After the fall of the Russian Empire during the 20-s of the XX century the fighting on fronts of the First World and Civil War occurred on the Ukrainian lands, there was a fierce class struggle, there were ambiguous social transformations under the influence of the change of state structures of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Hetmanate, the Directory, the assertion of Soviet power. Notwithstanding the difficult socio-economic conditions, those years have become history as a period of national revival, a surge and the establishment of the Ukrainian national idea, including the field of educational policy, which is connected with the names and activities of famous scientists, writers, statesmen (V. Vynnychenko, B. Grinchenko, I. Ogienko, I. Steshenko, M. Vasylenko, O. Shumsky, M. Skrypnyk and others), many of whom, with the onset of Stalinist totalitarianism, were harassed and repressed. During those tumultuous years the program of development of the new national school and teacher training was adopted, the systematisation of the training of pedagogical staff was formed through the formation of institutes of public education, pedagogical technical schools and pedagogical courses, faculties of social education and vocational education, pedagogical faculties and departments. Also, the Ukrainian Pedagogical Academy and public organisations "Education", "Labor", "Ukrainian Scientific Society" were established; periodic pedagogical editions "Free Ukrainian School", "Education Worker", "Pedagogical Thought", "Path of Education" and others were founded; textbooks and manuals for pedagogical schools and other scientific and methodological literature were published.

New social priorities and strategic tasks of "creating a new teacher for a new school" stimulated the rise of pedagogical thought, the search for original ideas, the development of new approaches to the organization of education and training, the professional work of the Soviet teacher and their preparation. Those issues were vigorously discussed on the pages of periodicals, meetings

and conferences, in printed works, and were embodied in the practical search for advanced educators, carriers of the best traditions of world pedagogy, scientists and organisers of public education (P. Blonsky, G. Vaschenko, P. Zatonsky, G. Zhurakovsky, A. Makarenko, O. Muzychenko, E. Medynsky, A. Pinkevych, Y. Riappo, Y. Chepiga and many others). Their ideas and views provoked a variety of discussions, on the relation between the pedagogy of science and art in particular; in the work of the teacher – intuition, creativity and craft, skills, experience; in the pedagogical mastery – natural talent, creative inclinations and abilities of the teacher and their professional preparation, mastery of the method, knowledge.

The world-recognized creative heritage of the most influential educator in Soviet pedagogy A. Makarenko (1888–1939) contains the original views of the innovator teacher on the problem of pedagogical work, the personality of the teacher-tutor and their training, which are rightly considered to be fundamental in the theory of pedagogical mastery, and A. Makarenko is considered its founder. He defined pedagogical activity from the standpoint of production, man of labor, profession and highlighted the skill of the tutor, calling the ability to teach the art. Pedagogical skill in his views is associated with a high level of professional culture, teacher's training, their authority and moral qualities, the presence of a clear orientation, personal "credo", deep professional knowledge and skills, as well as a strong character, efficiency, firm will, moral attitude towards children, combination of strictness with respect, aesthetic appearance and culture of behavior.

A. Makarenko attached special importance in the structure of pedagogical mastery to pedagogical technique, understanding under it a set of special knowledge, skills and practical knowledge of the techniques of pedagogical influences beginning from the formulation of voice, the ability to control their facial expressions, to "read minds looking at the child's face" to mastering various "tools" of a scientifically organized system of influences. Revealing the content of pedagogical technology, the teacher-innovator characterized its elements: the eloquence of the teacher, their mastering of intonation (15–20 shades of "Come here!"), control of facial expressions, movements, mood, the whole body. A. Makarenko emphasized the importance of artistry in the work of a teacher-tutor, believed that the teacher "could not avoid acting" and could not allow their "nerves and heartaches" to be a tool of professional activity. In the meantime, he denied only an "outside game" and recommended looking for "some kind of pass" to combine the game with the "wonderful personality of a tutor". Without professional technique A. Makarenko considered pedagogical mastery to be a "completely useless work", which could be called "handicraft"¹⁷. A. Makarenko expressed a fairly clear position on forming pedagogical mastery. He denied the idea of the crucial importance

¹⁷ Makarenko, A. (1954). *Deiaki vysnovky z moho pedahohichnoho dosvidu*. Tvory u 7 t. T.5. Kyiv: Radianska shkola, pp. 246, 247.

of talent in the teaching profession (“talent is rare, and the state needs millions of teachers”). “According to the teacher, the teacher’s mastery is not some special art that requires talent, but it is a specialty that must be learned”¹⁸, and proved this position himself. He believed that anyone could become a master if they were helped and worked hard themselves. A. Makarenko argued that in the pedagogical universities of those times “they do not know what pedagogical skill is”, “there is no trace of mastery”, and noted that “this can and should be taught”¹⁹ and emphasized the need to teach the basics of pedagogical techniques, mastery as a special course in pedagogical institutions.

Discussion on understanding the essence of the professional mastery of the teacher and the prominent factors of its formation like personal qualities, natural abilities, talents or purposeful learning, mastering the system of methods, skills and their perfection, during this period acquired characteristics of a science.

Research centers, laboratories, commissions, study rooms for studying teaching profession are created, scientific works are published, such as: “Towards the profессиogram of a teacher of a Soviet mass labor school” I. Chalenko (1929), “Modern problems of pedagogical creativity” Y. Mamontov (1922), “School, work, teacher (pedology and didaskology)” by T. Markaryan (1924) and other publications. Thus, T. Markaryan was first to raise the question of the separation of complex science about the teacher and their professional work in an independent sphere and proposed its name “didascology” (similar to pedology as popular at that time complex science about the child), believing that this science is intended to “solve the problem of teachers in all breadth and depth, to give exhaustive characteristics of this profession”²⁰. These works became especially important in the discussions of those times concerning the functions of the teacher, the essence of their professional mastery, creativity, the role of natural abilities and the acquired qualities in the process of specially organized pedagogical education. The emergence and validation of didascology as an independent branch of knowledge led to the transition from a speculative and descriptive study of pedagogical work and preparation of a teacher for specific scientific theoretical and empirical studies on an interdisciplinary basis using the current provisions of psychotechnics, ergonomics, eurology, psychology, etc.

Large-scale and diverse studies of the teacher’s problem of that time corresponded to the progressive tendencies of development of the world pedagogical culture, differed by pluralism, variability of ideas and approaches. They resulted in the development of philosophical models of pedagogical work: anthropological (K. Wentzel, L. Vygotsky, P. Kapterev), pedocentric (M. Basov, P. Blonsky), research (A. Zelenko, A. Makarenko, etc.), marxist-

¹⁸ Ibidem, p.246.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 246.

²⁰ Markar’jan, T. (1924). *Shkola, rabota, uchitel’: pedologija i didaskologija*. Rostov na Donu: Burevestnik, p. 43.

sociological (A. Kalashnykov, N. Krupska, V. Shulgin). It contributed to the scientific substantiation of the creative nature of pedagogical activity as its immanent quality along with the algorithmic elements, to identification of the essential features of pedagogical mastery, factors and determinants of the formation of professional pedagogical work. We highlight the most important positions of pedagogical ideas of this pleiad of researchers of the teacher's problem.

The views of scholars on the teaching profession as a "mission" that requires love and humane treatment of children, not just "service", "position", "craft", became of particular importance in the didascological thought of those times (Y. Mamontov, Y. Chepiga, G. Vashchenko, T. Lubenets). It is important that the scientific professional description of pedagogical work was carried out on the basis of experimental researches according to the elaborated plan, scheme, methodology with the use of special tools and contributed in this way to the substantiated solving issues of professional suitability, professional selection of pedagogical personnel (G. Vaschenko, R. Kutepov, I. Chalenko). Priority was given to the personality of the teacher as a subject of pedagogical work, their creative qualities, personality, natural giftedness, feelings of the teacher (Y. Mamontov, T. Lubenets). At the same time creative approach was considered one of the most important in the pedagogical profession, which meant the combination of different methods of work, their free choice and use in the educational process, the ability to engage students in creative study of teaching subjects, etc²¹. This laid the scientific foundations of professional and pedagogical training, which was understood as the organization of systematic lessons on mastering methods, professional techniques, rational techniques of managing pedagogical processes (T. Markaryan, O. Musychenko, A. Makarenko, M. Rosenstein, L. Friedman and others).

Under the influence of didascology the purposeful solution of problems of pedagogical education and formation of the theory of professional training of teachers, definition of their basic units: goals, content, technological support, quality criteria, etc., which reflected the progressive world tendencies of the organization of teacher training, were activated (M. Zotin, O. Musychenko, Y. Ryappo, Y. Chepiga and others). Along with theoretical considerations, the empirical approaches that were developed in the practice of various projects of pedagogical education under the leadership of the People's Commissariat were of great importance. Together with the aspirations to create a unified state system of pedagogical education, certain autonomy of educational institutions, variety of forms of teacher training taking into account the ethnocultural features of Ukrainian society was preserved.

²¹ Demianenko, N. (1998). *Zahalnopedahohichna pidhotovka vchytelia v Ukraini: XIX – persha tretyna XX st.* Kyiv: IZMN, pp. 254–255.

The practice of pedagogical education of the 20-s was most consistently implemented through artistic, creative, socio-creative, polytechnic, knowledge-centric models of teacher training in the institutes of public education, pedagogical technical colleges and teacher institutes. The commonality of approaches consisted in the anthropological and pedagogical orientation of the content of general pedagogical preparation (orientation to the world of childhood, to research in pedagogical work), special attention was paid to the ideological, subject-scientific, ethical and aesthetic components of it. Against this background, the theory and methodology of general pedagogical training of teachers were significantly evolving: the teaching of pedagogy as a science was being improved, textbooks on pedagogy were being developed (A. Pinkevych, M. Pistrak), and the tendency was to move from passive verbal lecture system to studio-circles, seminars, creative forms of teaching of future teachers. It was during this period that the idea and practice of purposeful teaching pedagogical technology, pedagogical mastery, self-development to future teachers, successfully implemented in the original forms of studios, workshops using the methods of psychotechnics, autogogics (self-education) with widespread use of the means of artistic, theatrical pedagogy, individual training, were introduced (T. Markaryan, M. Rosenstein, L. Friedman). Learning the elements of professional mastery as an important means of creative pedagogical activity, culture of pedagogical communication was associated with the aesthetic preparation of the teacher, their artistic education and awareness, according to which subjects of the artistic cycle and rhetorical preparation like recitation, diction, expressive reading, music and singing, pedagogical drawing and modeling, art with history of arts, etc. were introduced in the curriculum of pedagogical educational institutions²².

In the 30-s of the twentieth century in the conditions of the world methodological crisis, increasing organizational and ideological interference in science, culture and education, pedagogy, social psychology and psychotechnics were destroyed, and many advanced pedagogical figures were oppressed and repressed. The established “iron curtain” insulated Soviet pedagogical science from foreign experience and scientific thought, and the emasculation of the humanistic content of the education and training in schools and higher educational institutions transformed their activities into tools of ideological influence. This situation led to the establishment of the social status of the teacher as an ideological worker, “freezing” the development of didascological thought, narrowing the research field of problems of teaching, minimizing the value of creativity in the teaching profession, resulting in reorientation of its study from individual creative to subject methodological aspects with predominant empirical descriptive approaches. As a result of this scientific and theoretical understanding

²² Maiboroda, V. (1992). *Vyshcha pedahohichna osvita v Ukraini: istoriia, dosvid, uroky (1917–1985)*. Kyiv: Lybid, pp. 54–59.

of the issues of the personality and activity of the teacher, experimental studies were mostly replaced by “major” propaganda slogans and cliches, and qualified pedagogical work began to be described mainly in ideologically colored terms “excellent worker”, “honoree”, “frontrunner” and the like. At that time, the task of arming students with fundamental and solid subject knowledge in accordance with the ideological course of the Soviet state for industrialization increased the requirements for scientific and methodological training of the teaching corps, stimulated the development of didactics and subject methodologies, and the advanced pedagogical experience was recognized as the main indicator of high educational achievement. Due to the increased interest in such a segment of the display of highly qualified creative and masterful work of teachers, the advanced pedagogical experience of “teachers excellent workers” was promoted in educational and methodical publications. The function of scientific thought, the work of scientists was mainly directed to its analysis, generalizations and ways of implementation in school practice, and the topic of scientific publications was mostly devoted to the coverage of the experience of “exemplary” educational institutions and advanced teachers. Understanding the essence of pedagogical mastery was limited mainly by the system of developing the effective skills and abilities of teachers using theoretical knowledge, and its indicators were used to reach new levels of educational and cognitive autonomy of students achieved through practical experience²³. This led to the narrowing of pedagogical mastery to learning the pedagogical technique, gaining experience of practical pedagogical activity, which was considered as the main result of pedagogical preparation and work of the teacher on themselves. During this period the content and methods of high school teacher training were mainly directed to acquiring the subject knowledge and learning teaching methods, there was a further unification of pedagogical disciplines with a focus on enhancing the practical aspect, increasing attention to the students’ learning of advanced pedagogical experience. The content and structure of pedagogical programs and textbooks focused on the didactics, school studies, theories and methods of communist upbringing of young people, although questions were also raised about the teacher’s problem and their professional qualities. Among the forms and methods of professional and pedagogical preparation pedagogical offices, circles, museums, studios, in which the focus on a creative acquisition of the basics of pedagogical mastery, elements of pedagogical technique by students, became popular²⁴.

In the postwar period, 60-80-s with the intensive development of the pedagogical education system, revival in public life, science, education of humanistic tendencies, the concept of teacher’s professional work gradually

²³ Demianenko, N. (1998). *Zahalnopedahohichna pidhotovka vchytelia v Ukraini: XIX – persha tretyna XX st.* Kyiv: IZMN, p. 261.

²⁴ Oksa, M. (1997). *Vyvchennia dystsyplin zahalnopedahohichnoi pidhotovky vchytelia u pedahohichnykh vuzakh Ukrainy (1917–1991 rr.)*. Kyiv: MFA, pp. 100–101, 107–108.

enriched, the attention to psychological aspects of pedagogical work increased in the scientific publications, the understanding of the essence of pedagogical mastery deepened, the idea of the inadmissibility of its substitution only by practical skills, professional technique, “methodological arrogance” was spread, the duration and multi-stagedness of pedagogical mastery formation and, accordingly, the complexity of this formation, were emphasized, the opinion was expressed about the connection of pedagogical skill and teacher-tutor’s creativity, the questions about the teacher’s personal qualities, their pedagogical abilities, talent, etc. were raised. The problem of learning the elements of pedagogical mastery as a component of the professional training of future teachers was covered on the pages of the scientific-pedagogical magazine “Soviet School”, Ukrainian scientists-pedagogues T. Bugaiko, F. Bugaiko, G. Zhurakovsky, D. Nikolenko, I. Synytsya, R. Khmelyuk and others devoted their publications to it. Thus, I. Synytsya carried out a study of the teacher’s pedagogical tact as a component of their professional mastery²⁵; T. Bugayko focused on studying the teacher’s pedagogical mastery at the lesson, emphasized the complexity and versatility of the concept of pedagogical mastery due to the “inexhaustibly diverse requirements for the master teacher” and believed that the perfection of pedagogical mastery “has no end”²⁶; D. Nikolenko researched the issues of the psychology of the Soviet teacher, their “moral values”, the means of influencing the formation of their personality²⁷. According to the modern researcher O. Lavrinenko, first fundamental work on the territory of Ukraine “Pedagogical Mastery of the Teacher” by B. Mityurov published in 1966 in the publishing house “Soviet School”, which presented the author’s vision of forming the teacher’s pedagogical mastery in the classroom and after-school hours, based on the specifics of the teaching profession, and suggested that pedagogical mastery does not come on its own to a teacher, but is gained with experience and shaped by thoughtful creative approach to work and experience of colleagues, constantly expanding educational worldview and introspection, creating their own creative laboratory, played a significant role in the development of the scientific base for the preparation of the master teacher in pedagogy²⁸.

The outstanding teacher-classicist of the present time, the founder of the humanistic Ukrainian pedagogy of the Soviet times V. Sukhomlynsky (1918–1970) in his writings deeply revealed the fundamental truths of the pedagogical profession and the characteristics of the creative master teacher. “The work of an educator is, first of all, the hard work of the heart ...

²⁵ Synytsya, I. (1957). *Psyholohichni peredumovy pedahohichnoho taktu vchytelia*. Radianska shkola, pp. 7, 31–35.

²⁶ Buhaiko, T. (1958). *Maisternist uchytelia na urotsi*. Radianska shkola, pp. 7, 26–33.

²⁷ Nikolenko, D. – Shkil', N. (1986). *Stanovlenie uchitelja*. Kiev: Znanie.

²⁸ Lavrinenko, O. (2009). *Pedahohichna maisternist v istoryko-pedahohichnomu vymiri: teoriia, praktyka, postup*. Kyiv: SPD Bohdanova A. M., pp. 71–72.

and the creativity of the mind ..., there is no heavier, more exhausting work for the heart in the world ..." he wrote²⁹. Teachers, according to V. Sukhomlynsky, are "creators of human souls", "disseminators of truly human", "worlds of intellectual life of schoolchildren", who should be "examples of human perfection", so he considered "talent love for man, and boundless love for their work, above all, for children ...", to be the prerequisite for success in the teaching profession³⁰. The ideal model of a teacher of high-level pedagogical culture, who is characterized by inherent humanism, spirituality, citizenship, general culture, intelligence, qualities of the researcher, creative approach to the case, the ability to self-improvement, is presented, a comprehensive description of the components of pedagogical culture, showing their interpenetration and interconnection is demonstrated. V. Sukhomlynsky sees the main criterion for assessing the culture of work of the teacher in the ability to awaken intellectual feelings and the joy of cognition in the children and determines the conditions for their development.

The thesis about the creative nature of pedagogical work is thoroughly substantiated and revealed in V. Sukhomlynsky's legacy, and one of the secrets of pedagogical creativity is the awakening of teachers' interest in searching for and analyzing their own work. Stressing that the school needs a creative teacher, V. Sukhomlynsky at the same time called pedagogical creativity "one of the areas of pedagogical virgin soil" and pointed out that a teacher can only achieve pedagogical creativity on their own, engaging in professional and personal self-perfection and research: "It is usually the master of the teaching profession who has made himself a researcher"³¹. According to V. Sukhomlynsky, the formation of pedagogical mastery, pedagogical creativity should start in pedagogical educational institutions and continue in practical activity during acquaintance with the work of master teachers through understanding of their experience, various use of collective creativity of the school. The author emphasized the importance of the subtle feelings of the teacher, joining the professional community, mastering their values, norms as an important stage of professional training³².

In pre-and-perestroika times within the command-administrative system of leadership of Soviet education and science the processes of overcoming the dominant mono-ideology, methodological advancement of social, including psychological and pedagogical sciences were gradually gaining ground against the background of the emergence of tendencies of democratization of social life, attempts to modernize pedagogical education in the current conditions of its

²⁹ Sukhomlynskyi, V. (1976). *Yak vykhovaty spravzhniu liudynu*. Vybrani tvory. V 5-ty t. T.2. Kyiv: Radianska shkola, p. 341.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 342.

³¹ Sukhomlynskyi, V. (1976). *Rozмова z molodym dyrektorom*. Vybrani tvory. V 5-ty t. T.4. Kyiv: Radianska shkola, pp. 399, 471.

³² Ibidem, pp. 396–405.

rigidly centralized unification, dehumanization, leveling of national cultural features were activated. Against this background, there was a significant enrichment of scientific-theoretical professionographic approaches to the study of the problem of professional work of teacher-tutor and their training, which stimulated the transition from a phenomenological description of pedagogical activity and personality of the teacher on the basis of generalization of practical experience to the development of conceptual models of work, terminology apparatus, substantiation of pedagogical activity functions and corresponding composition of pedagogical skills of teacher-tutor, their abilities and other important professional qualities, development of a criterion-level basis of experimental studying of productivity of pedagogical activity, etc. Conducting profile studies of various aspects of pedagogical work, according to the conclusions of V. Butkevych, proved the formation of leading didascological scientific schools, among which the author rightly distinguishes Leningrad (N. Kuzmina, Y. Kulyutkin, O. Scherbakov and their followers), Moscow (headed by V. Slaktionin), Ukrainian (I. Zyazyun, O. Moroz, R. Khmelyuk, M. Yarmachenko, L. Kondrashova), Belarusian (I. Kazymyrska, S. Kondratieva, A. Kochetkov, M. Kukharev, I. Kharlamov), Kazakh (N D. Khmel and her followers), Uzbek and other scientific schools³³. Much of the didascological research of those years focused on the study of the problem of pedagogical mastery, which greatly enriched the scientific-theoretical understanding of its essence, content and structure, as well as resulted in the emergence of various descriptions of this definition and the creation of its original models (I. Zyazyun, M. Kukharev, N. Tarasevich, and others). At the same time, against the background of humanization and democratization of educational processes, the deployment of the “pedagogy of cooperation” movement, which included representatives of Ukrainian innovators M. Guzyk, O. Zakharenko, M. Pavlyshev, V. Shatalov, there was increasing interest in the creative foundations of the teaching profession. Accordingly, in the didascological theory, scientific approaches to understanding the essence of pedagogical art were updated, which were increasingly related to pedagogical creativity. The latter revealed the creative nature of pedagogical work and pedagogical communication; the attention was paid to the informal phenomena of pedagogical intuition, inspiration, creative insight, improvisation; algorithmic models of creative processes were created in solving pedagogical tasks; study of issues of creative individuality, teacher subjectivity and individual style of pedagogical activity as the most important prerequisites for overcoming stereotypical canons and formalized cliches in pedagogical work intensified (O. Piekhota, I. Rachenko, V. Semichenko, R. Skulsky, S. Sysoyeva and others). A Ukrainian scientist L. Kondrashova drew attention

³³ Butkevich, V. (1994). *Formirovanie lichnosti uchitelja v teorii i praktike pedagogicheskogo obrazovanija (1960–1990gg.)*. (Dis. dokt. ped. nauk). Moskovskij pedagogicheskij gosudarstvennyj universitet im. Lenina, Moskva, p. 269.

to the importance of scientific understanding of a new at the time definition of pedagogical professionalism, which, in her opinion, cannot be regarded as merely the sum of knowledge and skills or reduced to a positive set of personality traits and specifics of pedagogical work³⁴.

The marked achievements of didascological scientific thought formed a powerful theoretical basis for rethinking the goals, modernizing the content and technologies of pedagogical education, which at that time continued to function and develop under the conditions of a rigidly centralized command-administrative system and the domination of communist monoideology. Efforts to improve and reform it were largely limited to the tasks of increasing the “level of ideology and professional training of teachers”, the formation of higher and secondary specialized education, which “combined deep vocational training, ideological and political maturity”, expanding the nomenclature of pedagogical disciplines, etc., but such “spectacular innovations in their content were only formal and cosmetic”³⁵. At the same time, original productive approaches to improving the quality of pedagogical education “sprouted” in the Ukrainian pedagogical education at that time, including the introduction of specific forms of institutionalization of the ideas of the creative master teacher and professional preparation.

A striking event in the history of Ukrainian pedagogical education of the 80s was the innovation of the Poltava Pedagogical Institute, led by rector I. Zyazyun, on recognizing pedagogical mastery as a necessary component of teacher training, theoretical grounding, development and implementation of teaching courses as basics of pedagogical mastery for students of all pedagogical specialties, as well as the preparation of its primary methodological support (programs agreed with other psychological, pedagogical and methodological subjects, recommendations, manuals) by the efforts of the first independent department of pedagogical mastery which was established by the USSR in 1981 and headed by N. Tarasenko. After the experimental curricula were approved in 1987, the Poltava experience of teaching pedagogical mastery was extended to other Ukrainian pedagogical institutes: Kamianets-Podilskyi, Kryvyi Rih, Lutsk, Odesa, Ternopil, Kherson.

Another innovative approach, which is the training of a creative teacher, started in 1989 at the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute within the framework of the experimental system “Pedagogical Creativity: School – Pedagogical University – School” under the guidance of rector M. Shkil and also implemented for the first time in the Soviet Union by the department

³⁴ Kondrashova, L. (1987). *Teoreticheskie osnovy vospitaniya nravstvenno-psihologicheskoy gotovnosti studentov pedagogicheskikh institutov k professional'noj dejatel'nosti*. (Avtoref. dis. dokt. ped.nauk). NII obshhej pedagogiki APN SSSR, Moskva, p. 3.

³⁵ Luhovyi, V. (1994). *Pedahohichna osvita v Ukraini: struktura, funkcionuvannia, tendentsii rozvytku*. Kyiv: MAUP, p. 114.

of pedagogical creativity, which was headed by S. Sysoyeva, by introducing normative educational discipline on the basics of pedagogical creativity and developing scientific and methodological support for its teaching.

Thus, the development of ideas for the preparation of creative master teacher and professional in the Ukrainian scientific-pedagogical thought and practice of organizing pedagogical education of Soviet times reflected the social realities of ambiguous processes of “socialist construction” of education, science and culture with their achievements and disadvantages. Along with certain ideological distortions and limitations, didascological knowledge gradually evolved: scientific pedagogical programmiams were developed; theoretical models, structural and logical schemes of the productive work of the teacher were created and the conceptual and categorical apparatus were streamlined; scientific approaches to the formation of professionally important qualities of masters of pedagogical business, their qualification characteristics and creative properties were approved.

Created scientific basis contributed to the renewal of views on the vocational training and professional development of pedagogical workers, the progressive promotion of their own theory and methodology, the emergence of innovative ways to reform pedagogical education and the successful beginning of the institutionalization of the ideas of creative master teacher and professional preparation.

Institutionalization of Ideas and Didactic Models of Creative Master Teacher, Professional Preparation in Ukrainian Pedagogical Science and Education at the turn of the XX–XXI Centuries

With the formation of an independent sovereign Ukrainian state, the reconstruction of national education envisaged a significant increase in the social and professional status of the teacher and improvement of their preparation for creative and skillful professional and pedagogical activity. This led to dynamic processes of institutionalization of historically established ideas of pedagogical creativity, mastery, professionalism; the emergence of specialized scientific centers (laboratories, departments, public academies, etc. as specific social institutions that purposefully carried out scientific research, published scientific and methodological works, conducted scientific and pedagogical activities on the subject, as well as introduced the corresponding disciplines of didascological orientation in the practice of educational institutions and created methodological support for their teaching: training programs, recommendations, textbooks and manuals.

The leading scientific centers of the institutionalization of ideas of pedagogical creativity, mastery and professionalism in the Ukrainian pedagogical science were: Department of Theory and Practice of Pedagogical Mastery of the Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology of Vocational Education

of the academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine (director I. Ziazyun) various scientific researches on the topic of “Development of integrative processes in education”, the employees of which since 90-s have carried out planned various scientific researches on the theme “Development of integrative processes in education”; numerous newly created specialized departments of pedagogical creativity, mastery, technology in pedagogical universities, the opening of which, according to O. Pehota, was not accidental, but reflected the objectively existing regularity so that changing the nature of teacher training and functions of the pedagogical departments³⁶, the public organizations “Academy of Pedagogical Skills”, Ukrainian Academy of Acmeological Sciences. During the 1990-s and 2000-s, many Ukrainian scholars did direct research on the problems of pedagogical mastery in the monographs and dissertations (E. Barbina, O. Burlia, L. Zadorozhnyia, L. Lymarenko, L. Malakanova, V. Sydorenko, T. Stratan, S. Shvydka and others), pedagogical creativity (O. Vygovska, O. Voloshenko, N. Kichuk, L. Milto, O. Prykhodko, S. Sysoeva and others), pedagogical professionalism (N. Huzii, O. Dubaseniuk, B. Diachenko, V. Panchuk, T. Sorochan, A. Teplytska, T. Fedirchuk and others) and related topics pedagogical culture (V. Grinyov, T. Ivanov), pedagogical vocation (L. Akhmedzianov), pedagogical sustainability (Z. Kurland), individualization of professional teacher training (O. Pehota), readiness to innovative activity (M. Artyushyna, O. Kotykova, A. Linenko) etc. They developed not only theoretical aspects of various didascological phenomena but also offered multifactor scientific and methodological approaches for their introduction into the system of training and retraining of pedagogical staff. Particularly noteworthy is the work of E. Barbina “Formation of Pedagogical Skill in the System of Continuous Pedagogical Education” (1998), where for the first time the role of pedagogical mastery as a system-forming factor of the teacher’s professional training was convincingly justified, the integrative properties and developmental possibilities of this discipline were deeply disclosed, correspondence to modern paradigms and tendencies of development of pedagogical education was demonstrated, and also the content and functions of pedagogical mastery as educational discipline were specified, organizational and methodological foundations and technologies of its formation in future teachers were generalized³⁷.

Increased interest of the scientific and pedagogical community to the problem of forming pedagogical skills, creativity, professionalism of educational personnel and its various aspects is evidenced by the facts of holding many international and national scientific and practical conferences on this topic, for example: “Actual Problems of Professional Training” (Kyiv,

³⁶ Ziaziun, I. – Piekhota, O. (Za red.) (2003). *Pidhotovka maibutnoho vchytelia do vprovadzhenia pedahohichnykh tekhnolohii*. (2003). Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo A.S.K., p. 22.

³⁷ Barbina, E. (1998). *Formirovanie pedagogicheskogo masterstva v sisteme nepreryvnoho pedagogicheskoho obrazovaniia*. Kiev: Vysshaja shkola, p. 33.

1993); “Psychological and Pedagogical Factors of Increasing Pedagogical Skill of Teacher-Tutor” (Zhytomyr, 1995); “Pedagogical Mastery as Modern Technology of the Teacher’s Individuality Development” (Poltava, 2002); “Professionalism of the Teacher” (Yalta, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006); “Pedagogical creativity, Mastery, Professionalism: Problems of Theory and Practice of Teacher Tutor Lecturer Training” (Kyiv, 2005); “Pedagogical Skills: Becoming and Ways of Development” (Poltava, 2006); “Modern Technologies for Developing the Professional Mastery of Future Teachers (Uman, 2010); “Pedagogical Creativity, Mastery, Professionalism: Problems of Theory and Practice of Training and Retraining of Educational Staff” (Kyiv, 2015).

The most important factor in the institutionalization of ideas of pedagogical creativity, mastery, professionalism in the system of teacher-tutor training is the direct implementation of their developed didactic models in the educational process in the form of the same disciplines. In the 1990-s, according to the priorities of the state educational policy of the independent Ukraine, the content of pedagogical training of educational staff was radically revised, and the discipline “Fundamentals of pedagogical mastery” was included in the basic curriculum for pedagogical specialties in 1993³⁸, was included in the curricula of training students of “pedagogical education” specialization of the late 1990s – mid 2000s as a compulsory subject of fundamental pedagogical preparation³⁹. Along with a course on pedagogical mastery a course on the basics of pedagogical creativity was taught in a number of pedagogical universities (Glukhiv, Kyiv, Rivne, Sumy, Pereyaslav-Khmelnitsky, Uman), as well as courses and special courses (optional disciplines) on pedagogical technique, teacher’s personality, basics of pedagogical professionalism, culture of pedagogical communication, etc. were introduced.

The typical program, manuals and textbooks of the team of Poltava authors, edited by I. Zyazyun, became the most recognized methodological support for teaching the basics of pedagogical mastery in Ukrainian pedagogical education, although some pedagogical universities prepared and used programs and copyright guides for pedagogical mastery of somewhat different content: O. Kovalchuk (2001), V. Kucheryavets (2002), O. Sydorenko (2003), G. Trotsko (1995), N. Yakovez (2003) and others. Teaching related to pedagogical mastery the course on the basics of pedagogical creativity was mainly provided by original educational and methodical editions of Ukrainian authors N. Kichuk (1991), M. Lazarev (1995), R. Skulsky (1992), S. Sysoyeva (1994, 1998), teachers of the department of pedagogical creativity of National Pedagogical Dragomanov University (2009) and others. Their content revealed creative approaches to the organization of professional work of the teacher, theoretical and applied aspects of various creative phenomena and processes

³⁸ Luhovyi, V. (1994). *Pedahohichna osvita v Ukraini: struktura, funkcionuvannia, tendentsii rozvytku*. Kyiv: MAUP, p. 181.

³⁹ *Kontseptsiia pedahohichnoi osvity*. (1998). Kyiv: NPU imeni M.P.Drahomanova, p. 15.

in the teaching profession, intuitive, unformalized manifestations of creative activity of teacher-tutor, correlation of creativity and mastery in the teaching profession, and the issues of innovative technologies for the development of students' creative abilities were also included. With the development of the theoretical and methodological base of scientific reflection of pedagogical work, expansion of the conceptual apparatus and creation of corresponding original models of its high quality didascological thesaurus in the 2000s was enriched by the categories of pedagogical culture of teacher-tutor, pedagogical professionalism, pedagogical individuality, creativity, innovative potential, etc., which contributed to the introduction into the practice of pedagogical education of the corresponding educational disciplines, the development of their curricula, the preparation of educational programs, the preparation of educational and methodological their manuals on pedagogical culture (V. Grynyova, 1996), pedagogical deontology (L. Horuzha, 2003), pedagogical professionalism (N. Huzii, 2004), teacher's individuality (O. Pehota, 1996) etc.

Such names of the disciplines of didascological direction, their parallel functioning can be explained by the fact that different concepts and adequate pedagogical strategies "are brought under" qualitatively identical objective reality – professional pedagogical work of the teacher-tutor, and their differences consist in a purely nominal allocation of various system-forming factors of this direction of pedagogical preparation, accompanied by certain insignificant displacements of semantic and value aspects, narrowing or expansion of certain semantic components⁴⁰. In general, the educational disciplines of didascological orientation in terms of their content and technologies of mastering are determined by unique opportunities in the development of personality-oriented pedagogical education. They ensure the inclusion in the educational process of educational institutions didactic projections developed and scientifically substantiated conceptual models of high quality pedagogical work, objectified by certain definitions, with the help of which students model the theoretical and practical aspects of various reference models and performance standards of future pedagogical activity.

In the 1990-s – 2000-s, under the influence of dynamic processes of integration of Ukrainian pedagogical science into the world space, the further increase of the scientific-theoretical base of pedagogical education, the theory and methodology of preparation of the future teacher-tutor as a master, creator, professional continued to develop actively against the background of further assertion of an independent branch of scientific and pedagogical knowledge about the teacher and their profession, both in the traditional line of didascology, and in the innovative context pedautology (T. Levovytsky) and pedagogical acmeology (N. Kuzmina). Pedagogical searches are presented by the

⁴⁰ Barbina, E. – Semichenko, V. (1996). *Idei integracii, sistemnosti i celosnosti v teorii i praktike vysshej shkoly*. Kiev: Poligrafkniga, pp. 34, 251.

publications of O. Dubaseniuk, N. Nychkalo, N. Yakovets, which substantiate the prospect of further development in the perspective of pedagogical approaches of the Ukrainian scientific school of pedagogical skill, initiated in the 80s by I. Zyazyun⁴¹, presents a successful experience of improving the content of pedagogical education, oriented on the model of professionalism, pedagogical creativity and mastery in teaching relevant subdisciplines⁴². The Ukrainian vector of pedagogical acmeology was developed in the researches of V. Vakulenko, V. Gladkova, N. Huzii, A. Kozyr, L. Rybalko, V. Sydorenko and others, the results of which enabled various disciplines like acmeology of higher pedagogical education⁴³, pedagogical acmeology⁴⁴ and others to be introduced into the practice of the higher pedagogical school.

Conclusions

Thus, the study of the historiographical aspects of the preparation of the creative master teacher, professional at different stages of development of the Ukrainian pedagogical school made it possible to reach the following general conclusions:

1. In the historical progress of Ukrainian society at various stages of its development, the teaching profession has always been regarded by public opinion as an important precondition for socio-economic and cultural progress. This contributed to the development of essential requirements for the qualification of pedagogical workers, their professional and personal properties and the affirmation of ideas of pedagogical mastery, creativity, professionalism of the teacher-tutor as standard characteristics of effective pedagogical work, and also led to the approval of a special direction of pedagogical education, aimed at students' acquisition of their foundations, starting with the first attempts to work out the elements of pedagogical techniques in the study of courses on rhetoric, piety and others.

2. Throughout the history of Ukrainian pedagogical thought valuable approaches to understanding the essence and specificity of the teaching profession, its moral principles and creative properties, the importance of natural inclinations, pedagogical abilities and acquired skills and qualities for successful pedagogical activity, correlation in science and art pedagogy etc. have been accumulated in the views of its advanced representatives. This

⁴¹ Nychkalo, N. (2018). *Filosofia pedevtolohichnykh poshukiv akademika Ivana Ziaziuna*. IU Mizhnarodna naukovo-praktychna konferentsiia "Naukova shkola akademika Ivana Ziaziuna u pratsiakh yoho soratnykiv ta uchniv". Kharkiv: NTU "KhPI", pp. 67–76.

⁴² Dubaseniuk, O. (2018). *Rozvytok pedahohichnoi osvity u konteksti pedevtolohichnykh poshukiv*. *Ukrainska polonistyka*, 15, p. 122–129.

⁴³ Vakulenko, V. (2006). *Pedahohichna akmeolohiia: dosiahnennia i problemy*. *Filosofia osvity*, 3(5), p. 124–133.

⁴⁴ Volianuk N. – Lozhkin H. (2016). *Pedahohichna akmeolohiia*. Available from: http://psy.kpi.ua/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/pedagogichna_akmeologiya.pdf

contributed to the scientific understanding of the phenomena of pedagogical mastery, creativity, professionalism in the context of the formation of didascology, pedagogy, pedagogical acmeology as sufficiently autonomous profile branches of scientific and pedagogical knowledge that investigated the problem of the teacher and their professional practice and laid the foundations for the development of this segment of the theory, methodology and practice of professional teacher training. Progressive organizers of pedagogical education, teachers actively sought specific forms of work with students in the formation of pedagogical technology elements, aesthetization of teacher training mainly through the introduction of educational disciplines of artistic direction in the educational process of teaching pedagogical subjects, as well as by students samples of advanced pedagogical experience by studying, conducting pedagogical practice in educational institutions, highlighting the problem of teachers in the content of pedagogical disciplines.

3. Achieving scientific thought of didascological, pedeutological, acmeological direction in the development of theoretical and methodological foundations for the formation and improvement of pedagogical mastery, culture, professionalism, readiness for professional creativity and their various components, namely the identification of the essence and peculiarities of these concepts and features apparatus of the theory of pedagogical work, creation of original conceptual schemes and model constructions as analytical analogues of these phenomena, developing diagnostic base of their study enabled the successful development of highly variational didactic models of pedagogical work and their institutional full-scale implementation in the form of similar disciplines in the practice of Ukrainian pedagogical education of the last decades.

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Ukrainian Pupils in Czech Schools and History Lessons – A Current Challenge for Our Education System Survey Results¹

Miroslav Jireček / e-mail: jirecek@ped.muni.cz

Department of History, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

Michal Bednář / e-mail: 482046@mail.muni.cz

Department of History, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

Jan Moravec / e-mail: moravec@zs-oslavickavm.cz

Elementary school Velké Meziříčí, Oslavická, Czech Republic²

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The study presents selected results from a survey focused on the teaching of history to Ukrainian students (who arrived in the Czech Republic due to the conflict following February 24, 2022) in Czech schools. It analyses which history topics are challenging for Ukrainian students considering the current international situation, whether teachers need to moderate or adjust certain history lessons with Ukrainian students in mind, and whether teachers encounter instances of Ukrainian students disputing their presentation of historical topics. The analysis also examines the support provided to history teachers in teaching these students. Additionally, it outlines other types of difficulties teachers face when integrating Ukrainian students in subjects beyond history. The findings are contextualized within another research.

Keywords: *History, school subject, Ukrainian students, war.*

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² The authorship team consists of one academic staff member and two students (graduates at the time of publication) of history teaching for primary schools.

Introduction

The tensions and conflicts between Ukraine and Russia escalated in 2014, when armed conflict began in eastern Ukraine, resulting in the annexation of eastern Ukraine and the Crimean Peninsula by the Russian Federation, contrary to international law. Although fighting continued in eastern Ukraine, this issue gradually faded from the public eye. However, on February 24, 2022, Russian forces launched a major offensive, extending into other areas of Ukraine. This sparked the largest armed conflict in Europe since World War II, occurring relatively close to the borders of the Czech Republic. The violence also impacted civilians, with uncertainty around where and when the Russian military would be stopped. One consequence of this aggression was the mass displacement of Ukrainian civilians, many of whom sought refuge in countries like the Czech Republic. By April 1, 2023, the Czech Ministry of the Interior had issued over half a million temporary protections to Ukrainian refugees. Approximately one-third of these individuals returned to Ukraine (or terminated their temporary protection voluntarily or moved to another EU country), thus as of April 1, 2023, 325,742 Ukrainian refugees (individuals with temporary protection) were residing in the Czech Republic. Of this population, roughly 68% were of working age (65% of whom were women and 35% men), while 28% were children and 4% were seniors.³

Data published by the UN at the beginning of April 2023 shows the situation in other European countries. At that time, over 8.1 million Ukrainian refugees were registered across Europe, with approximately five million holding temporary protection or similar status. Poland issued the most special permits, followed by Germany and the Czech Republic. When adjusted for population size, the Czech Republic had the highest number of Ukrainian refugees per capita (43 Ukrainian refugees per thousand inhabitants). Poland and Estonia were similarly positioned in terms of refugee intake per thousand residents. Moldova, outside the European temporary protection system, also ranked similarly in these statistics.⁴

A significant portion of the Ukrainian refugees arriving in the Czech Republic were children. Ukrainian students began enrolling in Czech schools already in the second semester of the 2021/22 school year. For the following school year, the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MEYS) published data on the number of Ukrainian students in Czech schools as of September 30, 2022. On that date, 39,478 Ukrainian students were enrolled in basic schools, representing 3.9% of all basic school students. Additional data released by the Ministry as of March 31, 2023, reported

³ Ministerstvo vnitra České republiky. V České republice je aktuálně 325 tisíc uprchlíků z Ukrajiny. [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/v-ceske-republice-je-aktualne-325-tisic-uprchliku-z-ukrajiny.aspx> (accessed July 13, 2023).

⁴ Člověk v tísni. Ukrajinská uprchlická krize: aktuální situace. [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.clovekvstisni.cz/ukrajinska-krize-v-historickem-kontextu-8589gp> (accessed 13. 7. 2023).

39,680 Ukrainian students in Czech basic schools (still accounting for 3.9% of the total basic school population).⁵ By September 30, 2023, the number of Ukrainian students in basic schools rose to 47,858, constituting 4.8% of all basic school students.⁶ However, an estimated 8% of Ukrainian students were not attending mandatory basic education in March 2023.⁷

The authors approach the received data with strict neutrality, ensuring that neither their personal perspectives nor their philosophical stance on historical objectivity influence the interpretation or presentation of the findings in this article.

Overview of the Situation and Existing Methodical Support for Teachers

Czech teachers have been faced with a new and significant challenge: educating students who speak a different language and come from a distinct cultural background. This situation applies to teachers across all subjects, but in this study, we focus on history classes, given the numerous specific challenges this subject presents. Our perspective is informed by personal experience indicating that integrating Ukrainian students into lessons brings about a range of new situations with which educators must contend. Although assistance has been gradually provided, this support has sometimes appeared somewhat disorganized.

Numerous institutions have responded proactively to this challenge, progressively creating a wide range of resources, including texts, methodical portals, teaching materials, studies, academic and media articles, and podcasts, all exploring the education of Ukrainian students from different perspectives. Many schools deserve an appreciation as they have contributed or still are contributing by publishing or sharing their own teaching materials or tools for working with Ukrainian students. Key institutions involved in providing

⁵ Ministerstvo školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy. Počty ukrajinských dětí se ve školách oproti září téměř nezměnily. [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.msmt.cz/ministerstvo/novinar/pocety-ukrajinskych-deti-ve-skolach-se-oproti-zari-temer> (accessed July 13, 2023).

⁶ Ministerstvo školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy. Aktuální počty ukrajinských uprchlíků na českých školách. [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.msmt.cz/ministerstvo/novinar/aktualni-pocety-ukrajinskych-uprchliku-na-ceskych-skolach> (accessed December 30, 2023).

⁷ Cf. Kavanová, M. – Prokop D. – Duarte J. – Kunc M. – Levínský M. – Ostrý M. – Škvrňák M. (2023). Integrace ukrajinských uprchlíků: rok poté. Shrnujeme úspěchy i přetrvávající výzvy. Jak se Česku podařilo vypořádat s integračními výzvami. PAQ Research [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.paqresearch.cz/post/integrace-ukrajinskych-uprchliku-rok-pote/> (accessed December 30, 2023).

educational materials or guidance include ČT EDU,⁸ which offers modified exercises for Ukrainian students on its website. The National Pedagogical Institute of the Czech Republic (NPI)⁹ also provides multifaceted support for educators, from addressing language barriers to offering subject-specific resources. An interesting development worth mentioning is a newly established methodical portal for teaching at elementary art schools, prepared by the Artistic Council of Elementary Art Schools in the Czech Republic.¹⁰ Additionally, other portals now exist, including the MEYS's methodical portal,¹¹ the Pedagogical Chamber's website,¹² and the Inclusive School portal.¹³

This topic has also resonated widely in the media, and every major media platform contains articles on Ukrainian students. Major news sites such as *Seznam Zprávy*, *iDnes.cz*, *Česká televize*, and specialized educational sites like *EDUin* and *Zapojme všechny* include articles, reports, videos, and podcasts, covering themes like their arrival in Czech schools, integration, entrance exams for secondary schools, and related topics. Furthermore, the MEYS publishes statistical data on Ukrainian students, as well as studies on educational opportunities, such as research from The National Institute for Research on Socioeconomic Impacts of Diseases and Systemic Risks (abbreviated as SYRI).¹⁴ The Czech School Inspectorate (CSI) also addresses this issue; for instance, its comprehensive report for the 2021/22 school year details the success of integrating Ukrainian students into Czech schools.¹⁵ Additionally, the National Institute of Mental Health offers educational interventions

⁸ ČT EDU. Pro žáky z UA [online]. Retrieved from: <https://edu.ceskatelevize.cz/pro-zaky-z-ukrajiny> (accessed October 11, 2023).

⁹ Cf. e.g., NPI. Pomáháme školám zvládnout začlenění ukrajinských dětí. [online]. Retrieved from: <https://ukrajina.npi.cz/> (accessed October 11, 2023).

¹⁰ Umělecká rada základních uměleckých škol České republiky. Ukrajina [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.ur-zus.cz/inspiromat/121-ukrajina/> (accessed October 11, 2023).

¹¹ EDU.CZ. Vzdělávání ukrajinských dětí v ČR [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.edu.cz/methodology/vzdelavani-ukrajinskych-deti-v-cr/> (accessed October 11, 2023).

¹² Pedagogická komora. Aktuální téma: Výuka ukrajinských žáků [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.pedagogicka-komora.cz/2022/03/aktualni-tema-ukrajinske-deti-v-ceskych.html> (accessed October 11, 2023).

¹³ Inkluzivní škola. Ukrajina [online]. Retrieved from: <https://inkluzivniskola.cz/kdo-jsou-nove-prichozi/ukrajina> (accessed October 11, 2023).

¹⁴ SYRI. Adaptace ukrajinských žáků na vzdělávání v českých základních školách [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.syri.cz/data/uploadHTML/files/PUBLIKACE/adaptace-ukrajinskych-zaku-na-vzdelavani-v-ceskych-zakladnich-skolach-syri.pdf> (accessed October 11, 2023).

¹⁵ Novosák, J. – Andrys, O. – Zatloukal, T. – Pavlas, T. – Spitzerová, M. (2022). Průběžná zpráva o integraci a vzdělávání ukrajinských dětí a žáků. Tematická zpráva, 2021/22. Praha: Česká školní inspekce. [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.csicr.cz/cz/Aktuality/Tematicka-zprava-Prubezna-zprava-o-integraci-a-vzd> (accessed October 11, 2023).

for Ukrainian children and their parents residing in the Czech Republic, as well as for their Czech peers, teachers, and other education professionals.¹⁶

The SYRI Institute's findings on integrating Ukrainian students in Czech schools are particularly relevant. Based on their research conducted between October 2022 and February 2023, several factors have been identified as barriers to the integration of Ukrainian students in Czech schools. The study highlights the lack of methodical support and unclear expectations among various educational stakeholders regarding effective adaptation processes. Inconsistent approaches to teaching Czech language across schools have also impacted Ukrainian students' progress in further learning in other subjects taught in Czech. A common negative issue reported was a form of ethnic segregation, where Ukrainian students sometimes remain on the periphery of their peer groups, in their own isolated clusters within classes or entirely excluded. While this is not the case in all schools, it is expected to be an issue in several. The final issue that emerged from the research, which we will further explore in our study, is the presence of varying expectations for Ukrainian students. This stems from the lack of professional preparedness among most teachers to work with students who have a different native language. Directly related to this are negative factors such as lower expectations, more lenient grading, reduced class participation, and similar issues. This can lead Ukrainian students to perceive Czech schools as "easier".¹⁷

A broad spectrum of articles, publications, and studies focuses on the topic of integrating foreign students or students with different native languages. These range from scholarly papers and specialized articles to undergraduate and graduate theses, as well as resources shared by teachers on social media. Although the quality of these sources varies, it is clear that this topic is of ongoing societal importance. While the topic of foreign students in Czech schools is not new, the scale of interest in the current unprecedented situation has greatly increased. For example, schools in border regions, particularly those near Poland, likely have more experience with students of different nationalities than do schools in more central regions like the Vysočina region.

Besides the recent influx of Ukrainian students, Czech schools have historically encountered students whose native language is not Czech (e.g., children from Vietnam, Mongolia, Russia, Poland, Slovakia, and other countries). Thus, the topic remains relevant, and the educational community and individual schools must continuously work to improve conditions

¹⁶ Národní ústav duševního zdraví. Podpora duševního zdraví dětí, rodičů a učitelů v ČR ovlivněných válkou na Ukrajině [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.nudz.cz/pomahame-ukrajine/podpora-dusevniho-zdravi-deti-rodicu-a-ucitelu-v-cr-ovlivnenych-vaikou-na-ukrajine> (accessed December 30, 2023).

¹⁷ SYRI. Adaptace ukrajinských žáků (accessed October 11, 2023).

for the integration of students with a different native language.¹⁸ The integration process involves various factors, including family background, students' motivation to learn Czech, and classroom climate, which can influence foreign students' performance either positively or negatively.

In larger cities, there are schools specifically focused on educating students with different native languages. As the principal of the faculty elementary school of the Charles University Faculty of Education in Prague 13, PhDr. Petr Vodsoň, stated on the portal *Inkluzivní škola*, mastering the Czech language is the first and essential step for integrating foreign students into the Czech school environment.¹⁹ Although language proficiency is not the only prerequisite for successful integration, it is undeniably a critical factor in gradually incorporating non-native Czech speakers into the educational system.

Research Goals and Methodology

The goal of this research is to analyse the state of history education as it pertains to Ukrainian students in Czech primary schools, specifically those who joined these schools after February 24, 2022. This study is part of a broader research effort.²⁰ We posed the following research questions:

RQ 1: Which history topics may be problematic for Ukrainian students given the current international situation (the war in Ukraine)?

RQ 2: What history topics' presentation may need to be adjusted or moderated by teachers with Ukrainian students in mind?

RQ 3: Which historical events are challenged by Ukrainian students because of their presentation or interpretation by the teachers?

RQ 4: How do history teachers assess the support provided in teaching Ukrainian students?

RQ 5: What other difficulties did the teachers encounter in integrating Ukrainian students in subjects beyond history?

To gather the data needed to achieve these goals, we conducted a quantitative study using a questionnaire. The aim of this method was to collect a sufficient volume of data from primary school teachers (as described below). It was also

¹⁸ Cf. e.g., Janík, M. – Goldberger, M. (2024). Homogenization through inclusion: exploring language regimes at four multilingual schools in the Czech Republic. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 27(3), pp. 285–300.

¹⁹ *Inkluzivní škola.cz*. Integrace žáků cizinců do prostředí české školy [online]. Retrieved from: <https://inkluzivniskola.cz/content/integrace-zaku-cizincu-do-prostredi-ceske-skoly> (accessed December 12, 2023).

²⁰ Cf. Jireček, M. – Bednář, M. – Moravec, J. (2023). Ukrajinští žáci na českých školách a dějepis. Vybrané výsledky dotazníkového šetření. *Dějiny a dějepis* 37(1–2), pp. 22–38; 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(1–2), pp. 49–76.

essential to determine whether teachers' approaches to Ukrainian students varied across predefined groups (see below). Similar methodologies have been employed in Polish research,²¹ where researchers sought to map the main challenges and Ukrainian students' satisfaction with their integration into the Polish school environment. This issue is as relevant in Poland as it is in the Czech Republic, given the high number of newly arrived Ukrainian students in both countries. The same approach was used in a multinational study examining public opinion on Ukrainian refugees in five EU countries.²² Similar use of this data collection method has appeared in other studies, such as those exploring public attitudes and sentiments associated with terminology surrounding immigrants.²³ In the Czech context, research by the national SYRI Institute on employer perspectives regarding Ukrainian refugees,²⁴ as well as studies on the integration of Ukrainian students into Czech social settings,²⁵ provide additional context.

Research Sample

To analyse the state of history education, we conducted a survey. In pursuit of the most representative results, we distributed the questionnaire to all basic schools with lower secondary grades across the Czech Republic (regardless of the type of school administration). In the 2022/23 school year, when the survey was conducted, there were 2,632 such schools.²⁶ The request to complete the questionnaire was sent during the second semester of the 2022/23 school year to the schools' contact emails, with a request to forward it to history teachers at each school. In total, we received responses from 476 respondents, of which 473 were deemed relevant for our study (see below). We consider this number of respondents our core sample. The relatively high response rate

²¹ Rataj, M. – Berezovska, I. (2023). Addressing challenges with Ukrainian refugees through sustainable integration: response of the educational community in Poland. *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 47(9), pp. 1221–1227.

²² Moise, A. D. – Dennison, J. – Kriesi, H. (2024). European attitudes to refugees after the Russian invasion of Ukraine. *West European Politics* 47(2), pp. 356–381.

²³ De Coninck, D. (2020). Migrant categorizations and European public opinion: diverging attitudes towards immigrants and refugees. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46(9), pp. 1667–1686.

²⁴ Coufalová, L. – Fumarco, L. – Mikula, Š. Ukrajínští uprchlíci očima zaměstnavatelů. Národní institut SYRI. Retrieved from: <https://www.syri.cz/data/uploadHTML/files/PUBLIKACE/SurveyUA.pdf> (accessed February 15, 2023).

²⁵ Lintner, T. – Diviák, T. – Šedřová, K. – Hlad'o, P. (2023). Ukrainian refugees struggling to integrate into Czech school social networks. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communication* 10(409), pp. 1–11.

²⁶ We would like to thank Ing. Jaromír Nebřenský from the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports for kindly providing the data and helping us navigate the system.

indicates that teachers are interested in this topic and feel affected by it. It also adds a degree of representativeness to our research.²⁷

Our first question aimed to verify that the participating teachers indeed teach history (to exclude any respondents who may have mistakenly received the questionnaire). Out of 476 responses, 473 were from history teachers, forming our core sample. We also gathered data on demographic and professional categories (by qualification, gender, length of teaching experience, and school size) to allow for comparative analysis. In terms of qualification, respondents were divided into two groups (qualified, not qualified). For gender, there were two groups (male, female); for settlement size, there were five groups (under 2,000 residents, 2,000–20,000 residents, 20,000–100,000 residents, 100,000–1 million residents, and Prague); and for teaching experience, there were four groups (up to 5 years, 5–10 years, 10–20 years, and over 20 years).

The results show that of the 473 history teachers in our sample, 373 (78.9%) were qualified. Among the respondents, 336 were female teachers (71%). All experience levels were represented: 75 teachers (15.9%) had up to 5 years of experience, 63 (13.3%) had 5–10 years, 116 (24.5%) had 10–20 years, and 219 (46.3%) had over 20 years of experience. Our final introductory question asked about the size of the community where respondents taught. A total of 105 teachers (22.2%) taught in communities with fewer than 2,000 residents, 188 (39.7%) in communities of 2,000–20,000 residents, 105 (22.2%) in communities of 20,000–100,000 residents, 26 (5.5%) in communities of 100,000–1 million residents, and 49 teachers (10.4%) taught in Prague, the only Czech city with a population over one million.

The research sample for this specific study consists of 354 respondents—teachers who, from the larger sample of 473 history teachers, currently teach Ukrainian students. We arrived at this number as follows: 90.1% of the schools in our sample (426 respondents) have Ukrainian students. Specifically, 83.1% (354 respondents) of the history teachers surveyed currently teach Ukrainian students in their history classes. Thus, the research sample for this study consists of the aforementioned 354 respondents.

The purpose of these preliminary questions was to determine whether our research sample roughly corresponds to the broader population of history teachers in Czech schools. Given the sample size and its distribution across various categories, we can conclude that our sample is representative. For each of the categories described above (qualification, gender, experience level, and community size), we conducted comparative analysis to identify potential differences in opinions and to determine which areas exhibit the greatest opinion divergences. Based on the data analysis, we found no statistically significant differences across any of the research questions within the categorized groups.

²⁷ We want to avoid duplicating data in the text and in the charts, so we use charts and tables primarily in cases where they effectively expand on the text and provide new information.

Therefore, in the following sections, we present the results as a unified response from history teachers, without breaking down the categories individually.

Research Results

History Topics Problematic for Ukrainian Students in Light of The Current International Situation (The War in Ukraine)

(RQ 1)

Ukrainian students came (or continue to arrive) to the Czech Republic due to Russian aggression and the ongoing violent conflict in their homeland. The impact of this war on them and their families varies depending on the region they come from, the time they left Ukraine, and whether family members are directly involved in the fighting. Given that history is often associated with various armed conflicts and events that may evoke memories of the current conflict, certain history topics may be problematic for Ukrainian students. By this term we understand a state in which the teaching of certain topics may evoke a sense of discomfort or other emotional challenges for Ukrainian pupils, given their specific circumstances. Our research sought to understand Czech teachers' views on this issue. We asked the question in a closed format, allowing responses in three categories (some topics are considered problematic, no topics are considered problematic, or unable to judge). Nearly half of the participating teachers (see Table 1) do not consider any history topics to be problematic for Ukrainian students in light of the current international situation. Conversely, over a third of respondents view the situation differently, identifying specific topics in school history that they believe may be problematic for Ukrainian students. The remaining teachers were unable to assess the situation.

Table 1: Occurrence of Problematic Topics for Ukrainian Students in School History

Problematic Topics for Ukrainian Students in History	Number of Respondents
I consider some topics problematic	123
I do not consider any topics problematic	175
Unable to judge	56

For those teachers who indicated that they view certain history topics as problematic considering the current international situation, we asked which topics they considered problematic. We categorized the responses into six subgroups (see Table 2). Modern history and, specifically, the topics of wars and Russian history clearly dominate these responses.

Table 2: Problematic Topics in History Education

Problematic Topics in History	Number of Respondents
Wars	78
History of Russia and the Soviet Union	42
20th-Century History	16
Ideologies	7
Historical Parallels	3
Other	5

A total of 78 respondents consider **war**-related topics (expansion, conquest, war trauma, battles, violence) problematic for Ukrainian students considering the current international situation. Some teachers specified further, with 30 mentioning that they find teaching about World War II particularly problematic (each of the following were mentioned by one respondent: the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the Lidice massacre, the Soviet Union during this war, and Russian-Polish-Ukrainian relations during this conflict). Teachers also mentioned other conflicts, including World War I (5 mentions), the Cold War (5 mentions), and the Crimean War (4 mentions). Others generally referred to wars in modern history or the 20th century (5 mentions), or wars broadly associated with Russia and the Soviet Union (2 mentions). This category also includes the perceived sensitivity of topics like the Holocaust (6 mentions) and genocide (1 mention). Additionally, there was one mention each of the “Balkan question” and the expulsion of Jews from Jerusalem (in the context of history repeating itself).

The second most mentioned problematic topic was **the history of Russia and the Soviet Union**, identified by 42 respondents as problematic. Some teachers elaborated on specific periods or events in Russian and Soviet history. These included the Kievan Rus (1), Russia during the reign of Peter I the Great (2), Russia under Catherine II (3), the Enlightenment in connection with Russia (1), 18th- and 19th-century Russia (1), the rise of the USSR (1), the Stalin era (1), the Holodomor in Ukraine (3), gulags (1), the Soviet Union under Khrushchev (1), and others.

The second most frequently mentioned problematic topic in school history, according to respondents, is **the history of Russia or the Soviet Union**. A total of 42 respondents were viewing this topic as problematic for teaching Ukrainian students. Some teachers provided more detail in their responses, listing specific eras or events in Russian and Soviet history that could fall into this category. Below is a chronological overview with the number of mentions in parentheses: Kievan Rus (1), Russia during the reign of Peter I the Great (2), Russia during the reign of Catherine II the Great (3) (including one mention specifically regarding the annexation of Crimea), the Enlightenment in connection with Russia (1), Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries (1), the Napoleonic Wars

in relation to Russia (1), the establishment of the USSR (1), Stalin's rise to power (1), the Holodomor in Ukraine (3), gulags (1), and the Soviet Union under Khrushchev (1). Other mentioned topics are more challenging to arrange chronologically, so here we simply list them: the development of Russian-Ukrainian relations (2), relations with the Soviet Union (1), 20th-century history in relation to Russia and the Soviet Union (1), Russian figures (1), the relationship between Czechoslovak and Soviet history (1), the rise of the Russian-Ukrainian oligarchy (1), all matters concerning Eastern Europe (1), the situation in Ukraine (1), contemporary Russia (1), and the issue of Crimea (1).

As is evident from the overview above, the history topics identified by our respondents as problematic for teaching Ukrainian students are predominantly those related to **the 20th century**. In addition to the mentions listed above, there were other responses that also fall within this period (in this category, we include answers where respondents indicated a time period rather than a specific topic): modern history (contemporary history, 20th-century history) (10 mentions), post-war history (after World War II) (5 mentions), and contemporary history (1 mention).

Other responses to this question concerned **ideologies**. Some of our respondents consider the teaching of totalitarian and authoritarian regimes to be problematic (2 mentions), specifically communism (3 mentions) and Nazism (1 mention). This category also includes "Stalinism" (1 mention).

Another interesting category we can highlight in this context is historical **parallels**. These were mentioned three times in connection with the occupations of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1968 (linked both to the question of whether we should have defended ourselves, and, in the second case, to the issue of the involvement of Ukrainian soldiers).

Apart from the categories listed above, our respondents also mentioned other topics they consider problematic for teaching Ukrainian students in history: international relations (1 mention), the historical development of the political map of Europe (1 mention), Czech history (1 mention), poverty (1 mention), and political trials (1 mention).

Some statements from our respondents suggest that the question posed is relevant and presents teachers with various situations they must address. Among these were mentions of Ukrainian students having tears in their eyes or displaying angry expressions (crossed arms) during certain history topics (another respondent noted that problematic moments tend to occur especially when Ukrainian students do not fully understand). In this context, our respondents pointed out that they must carefully phrase their statements to avoid causing harm to students and that it is essential to consider what these students have experienced (which teachers may not always know) and to approach topics with sensitivity. Another respondent mentioned the difficulty of using videos with historical war footage, as the teacher feels uncomfortable showing images of atrocities that are still being committed in Eastern Europe today (students are

allowed to leave the room, or the activity may be changed). Some respondents also expressed that Ukrainian students hold subjective views on certain topics, making it challenging to guide them toward historical objectivity. One respondent noted that, reportedly, joint history with the Soviet Union is not taught in Ukraine. Some teachers mentioned that Ukrainian students have difficulty accepting anything related to Russia, even if positive (e.g., Peter the Great), or even, for example, identifying the Black Sea on a map. Another respondent remarked on the general lack of an “evaluated expert’s interpretation/opinion and resources applicable in schools” for this issue.

Adjusting the Teaching of History Topics with Ukrainian Students in Mind (RQ 2)

In the next question, we asked teachers whether they had encountered situations where they needed to moderate or adjust their teaching of certain history topics with Ukrainian students in mind (see Table 3). More than three-quarters of respondents indicated that they had not. The remaining teachers acknowledged that they had experienced such situations. This group was asked to briefly describe these situations.

Table 3: Adjustments in Teaching History Content with Ukrainian Students in Mind

Adjustment in Teaching Due to Ukrainian Students	Number of Respondents
Yes	83
No	271

Responses from teachers who adjusted their teaching with Ukrainian students in mind can be divided into two categories: taught topics and used materials. Regarding **the topics**, teachers most frequently felt the need to adjust or moderate their presentation specifically on the subject of wars, mentioned in various forms by 47 respondents. Some teachers elaborated that students showed different emotional responses, such as changes in facial expressions, pale reactions, or, particularly among female students, instances of crying when these topics were discussed. Teachers noted that these issues were especially sensitive shortly after Ukrainian students arrived in the Czech Republic.

The range of conflicts mentioned by respondents was extensive. Nine teachers, without specifying any particular conflict, described problematic aspects such as the portrayal of the behaviour of invading armies in occupied areas, the impact on civilian populations (atrocities and cruelties), the use of weapons, and references to bombings. Other teachers specifically mentioned various historical wars. Among these, World War II was the most frequently

cited as sensitive, with 20 mentions. One respondent mentioned the difficulty of “praising the Red Army” in the context of this topic. Further responses detailed specific aspects of World War II, such as the German attack through Ukraine (1), the role of Ukrainians in World War II (e.g., issues related to Bandera supporters, who some students view as national heroes) and alleged massacres of Czechs, the treatment of Jews by some Ukrainians following the German occupation of Ukraine (3), the Soviet campaign across Ukraine during World War II (2), the Holocaust (2), Polish-Ukrainian relations at the end of the war (described as “civilian massacres”) (1), the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Red Army (2), Vlasov’s army (1), and post-war situations (1). Other conflicts where teachers adjusted their teaching included World War I (3) and trench warfare (1). The only historical conflict outside the 20th century mentioned as requiring moderation was “wars in the 6th grade,” such as those in ancient Greece (terms like tyranny and oligarchy) (1).

Teachers employ various strategies to address the sensitivity of war-related topics, such as avoiding detailed descriptions (e.g., of casualties), deviating from the central theme, minimizing emotional content, and trying not to evoke students’ memories. Some teachers allow students to leave the classroom during the most dramatic moments or direct them to language tutoring sessions.

Another topic mentioned as requiring adjustment with Ukrainian students in mind is the history of Russia and the Soviet Union, cited 22 times. Four respondents mentioned this issue with only geographical reference, with one teacher noting, “a girl spits at any mention of Russia.” The most frequently cited specific topic was the Holodomor in Soviet Ukraine (6). Teachers also noted the need to moderate or adjust their teaching on Russian imperial history without specifying the period (4), the teachings on Peter the Great and Catherine II (3, with the expansionist policies and access to the Black Sea cited as problematic), relations between Russia and Ukraine in the past (3, once referred to as the “domination of Mother Russia”), the Soviet invasion of Poland – Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (1), and the personality of J.V. Stalin (1). Respondents noted that they simplify their teaching on these subjects, attempt to present them as objective facts without drawing connections to contemporary Russian policies, and explain Russia’s acquisition of access to the Black Sea during Catherine II’s reign “carefully,” so that students do not perceive the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014 as justified. Teachers also offer Ukrainian students the option to leave the classroom when these topics are discussed.

Some responses to the question on moderating history lessons also mentioned teaching about Ukraine’s own history. One respondent highlighted general challenges in teaching the history of this country, mentioning its allegedly less developed society (in terms of living standards and lifestyle). Other mentions included modern Ukrainian history (1) and the topic of Crimea as a conflict hotspot (1). One teacher, without further specifics, noted that they pay more attention to Ukrainian history when teaching Ukrainian students.

Other topics mentioned in relation to moderating history lessons with Ukrainian students in mind primarily concerned Czech national history and its intersections with “the East” (a total of five mentions). Topics included Carpathian Ruthenia (the standard of living during the First Republic and today) (1) and the Soviet Union’s influence on Czech events in 1948 (1). Three respondents mentioned the topic of 1968 – one respondent noted the difficulty of drawing a parallel between the occupation of Czechoslovakia that year and the current situation in Ukraine, while another noted a challenging situation in which a Ukrainian student was pleased to recognize the year, remarking that “their soldiers came to liberate us.”

One teacher indicated that teaching 9th-grade history as a whole required moderation or adjustment for Ukrainian students. Another respondent mentioned the topic of disinformation (civics), noting the challenges associated with misinformation about Ukrainian refugees.

In addition to the responses mentioned above, teachers shared general comments on how they manage situations where Ukrainian students find a history topic distressing. They use various strategies, such as informing students in advance about the lesson content, allowing students to leave the classroom, avoiding associations with the current war (to prevent retraumatization), and striving to create a comfortable environment for Ukrainian students, which sometimes involves “simplifying” complex topics.

The second category that emerged from the responses on adjusting history lessons for Ukrainian students was related to **the materials used**. Our respondents mentioned 16 instances that fall into this area. Of these, 13 responses concerned the selection of video clips (segments from documentaries and war films). Teachers noted that Ukrainian students are more sensitive to depictions of violence, which teachers attributed to students’ varying personal experiences with war, including witnessing tanks, soldiers, bombed cities, injuries, and fatalities, or even the death of a father on the front lines. These video clips, especially at the onset of the war in Ukraine, evoke fear, sadness, and traumatic memories among these students. Teachers allow Ukrainian students to leave the room during these screenings, provide separate space for individual work with an assistant, or limit the use of such documentaries. Teachers also mentioned historical photographs as problematic materials (3 mentions).

Disputing History Lessons Content by Ukrainian Students (RQ 3)

Another question we asked our respondents was whether they had encountered situations where Ukrainian students, for some reason, disputed their presentation of historical content. Only three teachers in our survey reported

encountering such a situation. We asked these teachers to elaborate and provide specific examples.

One teacher mentioned that, when discussing the causes of the 1917 Revolution, they used the term “Russia.” The Ukrainian students corrected the teacher, saying that it should be referred to as the “Russian Empire.” The teacher accepted this correction and praised the students, noting that it was good for them to have such insights. Another respondent shared that a Ukrainian student (or students, without specification) disputed the teacher’s explanation, claiming that “Ukrainian soldiers liberated us in 1968.” The third respondent who encountered a similar situation mentioned that students disputed the “significance of the USSR,” specifically by exaggerating its role as the primary liberator during World War II (see above). Without further details about this situation, it is difficult for us to interpret this response in more depth.

Support for History Teachers in Teaching Ukrainian Students

(RQ 4)

Our research also explored the support that history teachers feel they receive when teaching Ukrainian students. Respondents rated various institutions or components of the system (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MEYS); Czech School Inspectorate (CSI); school administration; colleagues at school; online resources) on a scale commonly used in schools (1 – best, 5 – worst). They could also select the option “unable to assess.” The responses are summarized in Table 4.

Applying the school grading scale, our respondents awarded three “2s,” and in two cases, their ratings averaged between a “3” and a “4.” The highest rating was given to school colleagues (average rating of 1.97), which can be explained by the regular contact they have in the workplace, allowing them to immediately consult and share experiences. This interaction also facilitates the exchange of materials, tips, advice, and strategies for working with students, often allowing for a high level of individualized instruction for specific Ukrainian students since these colleagues work with the same students.

Close behind was school administration, with an average rating of 2.03, reflecting a similar situation to that of fellow teachers. Internet resources followed with an average rating of 2.04. These resources have been steadily growing in number, are relatively easy to find, and can be adapted as needed. One example is the support portal ČT Edu (see below).

Our respondents rated support from the MEYS (average rating of 3.49) and the Czech School Inspectorate (average rating of 3.62) significantly lower. It should be noted, however, that assistance from these institutions is likely more challenging to assess and less directly accessible, as shown by the number of

responses where teachers indicated they were “unable to assess” the support provided by these institutions (see Table 4).

In response to a follow-up question (see below), one respondent added that they feel a lack of “flexibility from the MEYS, for example, in the admissions process” for Ukrainian students. Another noted that “guidelines on assessing Ukrainian students (from the Ministry) often arrive at the last minute.” Teachers, caught up in the day-to-day demands of their work, often do not have the opportunity to review and properly study these documents in a timely manner.

Table 4: Support for History Teachers in Teaching Ukrainian Students

Institution/System Component	Number of Ratings						Average Rating (“Grade”)
	1	2	3	4	5	Unable to assess	
MEYS	12	36	72	47	63	124	3,49
CSI	11	28	60	39	70	146	3,62
School Administration	128	103	55	18	16	34	2,03
Colleagues at School	134	104	57	21	8	30	1,97
Internet Resources	107	125	54	20	8	40	2,04

Note: Rounded to two decimal places.

We also included an optional question asking respondents if there was any other institution whose assistance they would like to acknowledge or comment on. We received a total of 35 relevant responses. The most frequently appreciated institution was the non-governmental organization META, which supports foreigners in gaining equal access to education and labour integration and operates the portal *Inkluzivní škola.cz*. This institution or its mentioned portal was cited by 11 of our respondents, with comments such as appreciation for free Czech textbooks for Ukrainian students.

The support provided by Czech Television, specifically through its ČT Edu website, was also valued by teachers who completed our survey. Eight respondents mentioned and praised this resource, which offers quality videos supplemented with materials such as worksheets, to expand educational activities. Some respondents specifically appreciated videos with Ukrainian subtitles and worksheets in Ukrainian.

Another recognized institution was the National Pedagogical Institute of the Czech Republic, mentioned six times (with one mention directly acknowledging Mgr. Pohořelý²⁸ and his webinars). The non-governmental organization People in Need (Člověk v tísni)²⁹ was praised twice. Additionally,

²⁸ Head of the Department for the Organization of Preschool, Primary, and Basic Arts Education

²⁹ Available at: <https://www.clovekvtisni.cz/>

individual respondents appreciated the following institutions, personalities, or system components: the non-profit organization Post Bellum;³⁰ the F Point Jihlava association³¹ (a volunteer, non-profit, non-governmental group); Educational-Psychological Counselling Centers; research lessons from the Dějepis+³² project (appropriate level of difficulty); the Hravá dějeprava³³ portal by Olga Kovaříková; school counselling centres (special educators and Ukrainian assistants); Ukrainian assistants and teachers; and the efforts of classmates to help foreign students in the classroom.³⁴

Other Types of Difficulties Associated with the Integration of Ukrainian Students into Teaching in Other Subjects

(RQ 5)

Our research also addressed the challenges in subjects other than history by asking our respondents whether they encountered different types of difficulties in these other subjects compared to the primary subject being studied. About one-fifth of respondents answered affirmatively, while a clear majority indicated that they did not face different types of issues in other subjects (see Table 5).

Table 5: Difficulties Associated with Integration into Teaching in Other Subjects

Difficulties Associated with Integration in Other Subjects	Number of Respondents
I have encountered difficulties in other subjects as well.	73
I have not encountered difficulties in other subjects.	281

We asked respondents who answered “yes” to the previous question to specify these difficulties. Their responses were quite varied. Some mentioned that history was the most challenging subject to address. Others listed specific subjects and the types of issues they encountered within them. In the following section, we provide an overview of these responses. It is worth noting that the frequency of responses may be influenced by the “second qualification” of history teachers who participated in our research. In the Czech education system, teachers at the observed type and level of schools are predominantly trained to teach two subjects. Therefore, the term “second qualification” refers

³⁰ Available at: <https://www.postbellum.cz/>

³¹ Available at: <https://fpoint.cz/>

³² Available at: <https://dejepisplus.npi.cz/>

³³ Available at: <https://hravadejeprava.blogspot.com/>

³⁴ All of the above mentioned are companies, sites or groups aiming to help people in need and history teachers with their classes.

to the “secondary” subject specialization of our respondents, alongside their qualification to teach history.

The most frequently mentioned subject, in connection with additional types of difficulties associated with integrating Ukrainian students, was clearly Czech language and literature. This was noted by 28 of our respondents, who described a wide range of problems they encountered when teaching this subject to Ukrainian students. They cited issues such as limited vocabulary, difficulties understanding the material, and challenges with basic spelling and grammar concepts (students are relearning foundational material while also learning new content). Respondents pointed out the complexity of the situation, especially since this material is required for secondary school entrance exams. They also noted the time-consuming nature of individualized instruction for Ukrainian students, difficulties in teaching students who plan to return to Ukraine, and challenges in communicating with the legal guardians of Ukrainian students.

Our respondents also frequently mentioned foreign languages. Nine of them cited English as a subject with challenges. They noted a significantly varied level among individual Ukrainian students, limited vocabulary, and a lack of understanding of grammatical rules. They also pointed out the need for home preparation for this subject, which Ukrainian students are reportedly unaccustomed to. Among other foreign languages, one respondent mentioned German (with the explanation of a “lack of effort,” as students are not motivated), and another mentioned French (citing reluctance to learn an additional foreign language alongside Czech and English).

Six respondents each mentioned geography and civics (or citizenship education) as subjects with unique challenges. In geography, they noted difficulties in teaching about Eastern Europe, international conflicts, etc., as well as the complexity of teaching about the Czech Republic (many place names—cities, rivers, mountain ranges, companies—are unfamiliar to Ukrainian students). Respondents also cited lower motivation to learn this content, as students may anticipate an eventual return to their homeland. In civics (citizenship education), they highlighted the issue of disinformation in media literacy and the difficulty of addressing topics such as “home, citizen, democracy, family, values, etc.” within the context of a diverse classroom.

Two respondents noted difficulties in physical education (a problematic attitude among Ukrainian students who do not want to exercise, do not bring gym clothes, etc.) and music education (a reluctance to participate actively due to the language barrier; students would prefer to sing Ukrainian songs with the class, but these are unfamiliar to Czech students). One respondent each mentioned difficulties in biology, physics, chemistry (without specific details), and mathematics (noting issues with mathematical terminology). Two other respondents felt they encountered different types of challenges in (almost) all other subjects.

Additional responses to the question about difficulties outside of history did not focus on specific subjects. Eleven respondents mentioned problematic attitudes and motivation among Ukrainian students (lack of effort and interest, failure to study or complete homework, problematic attendance, limited effort to understand and use Czech, and failure to bring required materials). Some teachers attribute this to the students' intention to return to their homeland. Another five respondents noted the insufficient vocabulary of Ukrainian students (language barrier, technical terms, etc.). One teacher identified a lack of foundational knowledge, limited foreign language skills, and lack of familiarity with Czech culture as challenges for Ukrainian students. One respondent saw the "completely unreasonable setup of entrance exams for foreign students applying to secondary schools" as an issue, suggesting that the Czech language exam be replaced with an interview. Another teacher highlighted the transition to secondary schools as problematic, observing that Ukrainian students "significantly overestimate their abilities and knowledge."

Additional Research Conclusions

In the final voluntary question of our survey, we asked respondents if they had any additional comments regarding the topic of Ukrainian students in Czech schools. This was an open-ended question, and many teachers took the opportunity to provide further insights. It's evident that respondents often used this question to express what they find most challenging about integrating Ukrainian students into Czech schools. Let's attempt to categorize their responses: a group of teachers (11) used this question to praise Ukrainian students, while an equal number (11) expressed frustration with difficulties they encounter in teaching these students, identifying the problem as stemming from the students themselves. Another group of respondents (four openly) saw the problem at the systemic (state) level. Some respondents (19) offered recommendations or advice to help address the situation. Other respondents described the current state of teaching Ukrainian students at their schools. Let's analyse their responses in more detail.

Teachers who used this question to praise Ukrainian students highlighted their challenging circumstances (being without a home or stable support), noting that the situation is time- and emotionally demanding. They commended Ukrainian students for their efforts to integrate into lessons, their determination, interest, and focused work, as well as their quick acquisition of basic Czech. They also appreciated the conditions created to facilitate their integration into classes, with some teachers valuing the opportunity for Czech language tutoring.

Teachers who responded critically about Ukrainian students cited issues they observed in some students' attitudes, such as reluctance to integrate into the class, forming their own groups, lack of interest in learning the language or other subjects, lack of motivation, apathy, and low knowledge levels. Most of these

respondents indicated that this applies to only a portion of students, mentioning factors such as family influence, intelligence, or the temporary nature of their stay and desire to return to their home country. In one case, a respondent noted that large concessions and excessive leniency led to a group of Ukrainian boys forming a gang that bullied Czech students (with the parents of these students not cooperating with the school).

Respondents who pointed out deficiencies on the part of the state mentioned in one case that they view state support as nearly non-existent, leaving teachers to manage everything on their own. Another respondent, more moderately, noted a lack of support programs from the MEYS. One teacher stated that while “all sorts of promises” were made by the MEYS, “almost nothing works in practice. We are a small rural school with a total of 200 students, 50 of whom are Ukrainian. We lack equipment, textbooks, desks, but no one cares, and no one helps, so we have to manage on our own and look for financial reserves.” If Ukrainian students indeed make up such a high percentage of students at a single school, it is clear this is an extreme case and a very complex situation that deserves special attention.

Other respondents attempted to offer advice or recommendations on how to address the current situation. Of the 19 teachers who provided recommendations, ten focused on the issue of language preparation for Ukrainian students. These teachers suggest that Ukrainian students should receive intensive Czech language education and general acclimatization before being integrated into regular classes (mentioning options such as preparatory “Ukrainian” classes or schools, an “integration year” etc.), and only then be placed in standard classes. In this context, the role of teaching assistants for Ukrainian students was positively mentioned, as they help improve the students’ Czech language skills, although other teachers complained about the absence of assistants.

Some respondents call for at least an increase in Czech language instruction hours, mandatory attendance in Czech language courses for Ukrainian students, or tutoring arranged by the family (with some viewing participation in online classes at Ukrainian schools negatively in this regard). There were opinions that it is unacceptable to have foreign students in the classroom who have been here for a long time but whose level of Czech proficiency is not improving. Teachers also mentioned the need for a glossary of terms that Ukrainian students encounter across various subjects in Czech schools. Greater support in Czech language instruction, according to some respondents, would also help improve the chances of Ukrainian students being accepted into secondary schools.³⁵

³⁵ According to the *Voice of Ukrainians* (Hlas Ukrajinců) survey conducted by PAQ Research and the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian high school students are the most at-risk group. See, for example, Hronová, Z. (2023). Průzkum: ukrajinské děti mají problém se začleněním. *Chrudimský, Svitavský, a Orlický deník*, August 17, 2023, p. 2. For more details on the survey, see PAQ Research. Hlas Ukrajinců. [online].

This is yet another topic that appeared in the responses (specifically from three respondents), interestingly in different contexts. One mention was neutral (“the issue of graduating students” without further specification), one viewed it from the perspective of Ukrainian students (due to initial difficulties in balancing language and coursework, “they do not have equal opportunities, and even though they might handle grammar school or university studies, they are unable to access them”), and one took the opposite view (alleged unequal treatment and stricter criteria for Czech students, who have less chance of being accepted into their desired programs, partly due to the increased number of applicants from Ukrainian students, for example, in healthcare schools).

Other comments related to Ukrainian students in Czech schools and the work with them also appeared in the responses. For example, one opinion expressed was that there is a lack of a generally established concept for a comprehensive approach to educating Ukrainian students (defining goals and determining what is unnecessary to teach them). One respondent pointed out that there is no consideration given to the fact that these students have experienced war and that they do not receive psychological support (especially those who have witnessed bombings) to help them overcome mental health issues. Another respondent expressed concern that having a Ukrainian assistant is contingent upon having at least five Ukrainian students. The responses also revealed a division of opinion, with some respondents expressing critical views toward Ukrainian students. One respondent noted weak integration of Ukrainian students and alleged significant advantages they receive, which, in their view, have a counterproductive effect. Another respondent suggested that after a certain period (six months to a year), Ukrainian students should take more responsibility for their lives, “not act as if they are on vacation.” In a similar vein, another respondent expressed that the differential treatment of war refugees (according to the “Lex Ukraine” law) compared to other foreign students who may have been in the country for the same amount of time but are required to be assessed in all subjects without leniency after six months, is unfair.

One response suggested that students who are not interested in education in the Czech Republic and want to return home should not be required to attend school (according to the respondent, these students generally only “show up” in class). The opinion that the motivation of Ukrainian students depends on whether they intend to stay in the Czech Republic or return to their home country appeared repeatedly in the responses. According to another respondent, there is a difference in the attitudes of younger versus older Ukrainian students (no further specifics provided).

Some respondents’ statements did not offer advice or recommendations but simply described the current situation, so for completeness, we include them

here. One respondent mentioned the complexity of the situation, noting that attention must also be given to children who have experienced isolation due to COVID-19 and to students included in classes through inclusion programs. This makes the situation challenging even for children who do not belong to these groups. Another teacher similarly pointed out the difficulty of having a high proportion of Ukrainian students in “overcrowded” classrooms (which also include many other children who need additional support). In their view, this situation makes it more difficult for Ukrainian students to assimilate.

Summary and Interpretation of Results

The results show that most Czech teachers are supportive of Ukrainian students and strive to handle the situation responsibly. However, it is also evident from the responses that history teachers’ views on integrating Ukrainian students into education vary widely – both in terms of attitudes toward Ukrainian students (ranging from unequivocal support rooted in understanding the complexity of their situation, with responses like “it takes time,” to clear scepticism and criticism over the perceived lack of interest in education on the part of Ukrainian students) and in terms of the methodological support teachers feel they need (some say they do not need any support, while others appreciate all the assistance they can get). Scepticism among some teachers partly stems from the feeling that the responsibility for resolving the situation was largely left on them, with insufficient support provided. A common criticism is that Ukrainian students are not sufficiently engaged in learning because they plan to return to Ukraine. This raises the question of whether a differentiated approach and set of expectations should be applied to Ukrainian students depending on whether their stay is intended to be permanent or temporary.

History teaching brings certain specific challenges to the education of Ukrainian students, particularly when addressing sensitive and problematic topics, especially wartime themes and the history of Russia or the “East” in general. We consider it a particularly interesting finding that some Czech teachers are making efforts to connect Czech and Ukrainian history (evident in their request for materials on Ukrainian history). This initiative is not required of them, yet some teachers have taken it up, which can be seen as a very accommodating step that may help engage Ukrainian students in history.

As previously mentioned, in the context of history education, it is nearly impossible to avoid certain topics that Ukrainian students may find sensitive. Ukrainian students bring their war-related experiences into history lessons, which manifest in their emotions, associations, and reactions to certain topics. As noted by Petr Winkler, director of the National Institute of Mental Health, Ukrainian students “struggle (...) with trauma related to the war, forced migration, and language barriers. Only ten percent of them are able to

communicate in everyday situations. For these reasons, they practically do not participate in extracurricular activities.”³⁶

It is therefore essential to consider the traumatic experiences of Ukrainian students. Since topics that may trigger negative reactions in students are an integral part of the history curriculum, these topics still need to be addressed in lessons, but in a way that does not harm the mental well-being of students with negative war experiences. According to a study focusing on children fleeing Syria, such individual experiences can result in toxic stress. Children should be exposed to low levels of stress to develop effective coping mechanisms for managing stress. Excessive levels of stress can hinder appropriate psychological development.³⁷ The same approach can be applied to Ukrainian students, which must be considered by everyone involved in the educational process. Our data indicate that many teachers are doing this through their approach to sensitive topics or the choice of didactic materials. The issue of stress is also discussed in the publication *Adverse Childhood Experiences and Their Life-Long Impact*,³⁸ which explores this subject and aligns with the interpretations mentioned above.

The attitudes and behaviour patterns of Czech teachers toward Ukrainian students and war-related and trauma-related topics are shared by Polish teachers, who also take into account certain controversial topics, such as Polish-Ukrainian relations throughout history.³⁹

The data we obtained further suggest that teachers need to work carefully with language, not only to ensure comprehension of the topic but also to avoid presenting it in a way that might create undue stress or pressure on Ukrainian students. Students may then react negatively to these topics, as shown by some of the responses collected from teachers. Polish teachers similarly recognize the importance of communication between teachers and students.⁴⁰ Teachers in Poland not only try to build a positive relationship with incoming students but also strive to create a warm environment in which students feel comfortable. Another study confirms this situation in Poland.⁴¹

In our research, we also analysed how various institutions or other alternatives support teachers. The results show that teachers perceive

³⁶ Cerqueirová, A. (2023). Víc než polovina devátáků trpí psychickými poruchami. *Chrudimský, Svitavský, Orlický deník*, October 12, 2023, p. 2.

³⁷ Murray, J. S. (2017). Toxic stress and child refugees. *Journal for Specialists in Pediatric Nursing* 23(1).

³⁸ Rokach, A. – Clyton, S. (2023). *Adverse Childhood Experiences and Their Life-Long Impact*. York University.

³⁹ Bartnikowska, U. – Parchomiuk, M. – Ćwirynkało, K. – Antoszevska, B. (2023). Adjusting the teaching process for refugee students from Ukraine. The perspective of Polish teachers. *The New Educational Review* 74, pp. 9–20.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ 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), pp. 575–594.

the greatest support from their colleagues. Next in line are school administration and internet resources. On the other end of the spectrum, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MEYS) and the Czech School Inspectorate (CSI) provide the least support. A similar issue was addressed in the previously mentioned study focused on the Polish environment. Their findings align with those of Czech teachers, as Polish teachers also see support from their colleagues as crucial for adapting to the rapid changes needed after the arrival of Ukrainian students.⁴²

We also attempted to determine whether teachers encounter different types of difficulties in subjects other than history. Most responses from this group of teachers concerned the language barrier and language instruction for Ukrainian students. Czech was the most frequently mentioned language, but teachers also cited English, German, and French. It is essential to note that the subject specialization of teachers involved in the research may play a role here. Nevertheless, the language barrier is a significant factor in the integration of Ukrainian students. Shortly after arriving in the Czech Republic, only 7% of refugees spoke Czech well, while nearly two-thirds spoke very little or none at all.⁴³ Overcoming the language barrier can be considered a critical step in successfully integrating incoming students into the Czech environment. The conclusions drawn from the data regarding the language barrier can be supported by data from the European Commission,⁴⁴ EMN,⁴⁵ and UNICEF.⁴⁶ This problem is similarly acknowledged in research⁴⁷ and by teachers in both Czech⁴⁸ and Polish⁴⁹ settings.

The survey generated a solid level of interest among participating teachers (evident in both the number of responses and the quality and amount of time some respondents devoted to answering open-ended questions). From this, we conclude that this is a highly relevant issue for Czech teachers, and they are interested in discussing it and finding solutions to help them manage

⁴² Bartnikowska, U. – Parchomiuk, M. – Ćwirynkało, K. – Antoszevska, B. c. w.

⁴³ Palata, L. (2022). Kdo je ukrajinský běžec? Vysokoškolačka 35 s dětmi. *Chrudimský, Svitavský, Orlický deník*, October 4, 2022, p. 8.

⁴⁴ Supporting refugee learners from Ukraine in schools in Europe. Eurydice report. [online]. Retrieved from: <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/51d16f1b-0c8f-11ed-b11c-01aa75ed71a1/language-en> (accessed February 17, 2024).

⁴⁵ Students from Ukraine in the Irish educational system. [online]. Retrieved from: <https://emn.ie/students-from-ukraine-in-the-irish-educational-system/> (accessed February 17, 2024)

⁴⁶ More than half of Ukrainian refugee children not enrolled in schools in Poland – UNICEF-UNHCR. [online]. Retrieved from: <https://www.unicef.org/eca/press-releases/more-half-ukrainian-refugee-children-not-enrolled-schools-poland-unicef-unhcr> (accessed February 17, 2024)

⁴⁷ Kavanová, M. – Prokop D. – Duarte J. – Kunc M. – Levínský M. – Ostrý M. – Škvřňák M. (2023). c.d.

⁴⁸ Jireček, M. – Bednář, M. – Moravec, J. (2023). *Ukrainian Pupils*.

⁴⁹ Herbst, M. – Sitek, M. (2023). c. w.; Rataj, M. – Berezovska, I. (2023). c. w.

the situation. Although significant attention is given to this issue (as we have tried to demonstrate above), it is rarely addressed in a way that is specifically focused on history as a school subject.

The research naturally encounters limitations in its approach – it represents the perspective of Czech teachers. In the future, it would be beneficial to compare these conclusions with findings gathered directly from Ukrainian students or their Czech classmates. The questionnaire format could be expanded to include structured interviews. It should also be noted that these findings are valid as of the time of the research (spring 2023), and in some areas, the situation and teachers' attitudes are evolving. It will therefore be interesting to compare the results with new findings conducted in the future. Another possibility would be to compare these attitudes internationally, which could bring additional insights to the issue based on different experiences and approaches.

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**The Contribution of Josaphata Hordashevskia
and the Congregation of the Sisters Servants to the
Development of Ukrainian Preschool Education and Socio-
pedagogical Assistance to the Rural Population in Galicia
(Late 19th and early 20th Century)**

Iryna Myshchyshyn / e-mail: iryna.myshchyshyn@lnu.edu.ua
Department of General Pedagogy and Pedagogy of Higher Education, Faculty
of Pedagogical Education, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine

Beata Szluz / e-mail: bszluz@ur.edu.pl
Department of Sociology of Family and Social Problems, College of Social
Sciences, University of Rzeszów, Rzeszów, Poland

Khrystyna Kalahurka / e-mail: khrystyna.kalahurka@lnu.edu.ua
Department of General Pedagogy and Pedagogy of Higher Education, Faculty
of Pedagogical Education, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine

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For many centuries, the preservation and development of the Ukrainian national culture and education was possible only due to the efforts of prominent public figures and spiritual leaders. These included the Ukrainian monastic communities, which contributed significantly to the social and cultural development of Galicia in the late 19th - early 20th centuries, particularly the Sisters Servants.

The purpose of the article is to highlight the contribution of the Servant Sister Josaphata Hordashevskia to the foundation and development of preschool for rural Ukrainian children, and to the organisation of charitable activities for the benefit of adults, including the elderly and sick.

The Congregation of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate was established in 1892 with the purpose to provide educational and social services for the rural population. The first Sister Servant, Josaphata Hordashevskia, set an inspiring example of the devoted service to the Ukrainian people in the field of preschool education and socio-pedagogical assistance. Her deeds

demonstrated the example of a holy life, full of sacrificial and tireless service to the needs of others.

Josaphata's teaching career began in a preschool educational institution for Ukrainian children, the first of this kind in Galicia, in 1893. Thanks to her efforts, the Congregation established significant number of preschools, orphanages and Christian schools, implemented advanced methodological approaches and developed new curriculum for the Ukrainian children.

In their pedagogical activities, the Sisters Servants applied principles of humanization, consistency with nature, individual approach to the personality, reliance on the positives and the national character of education. As a Congregation leader, Sister Josaphata was deeply concerned with the teaching process in preschools and their financial provision. Moreover, she initiated the acquisition of pedagogical education for the teaching Sisters and cared for their constant professional improvement.

In addition to educational and spiritual mission, the Sisters Servants provided the medical care and assistance to the sick, poor, disabled and elderly. They ensured psycho-emotional support for their patients and offered various household services.

Therefore, active and sacrificial work of the Sisters Servants in Galicia resulted in the formation of the network of Ukrainian preschools, orphanages, and other educational institutions, strengthening the tradition of helping the elderly and sick.

Key words: Josaphata Hordashevska, the Sisters Servants, social and educational activity in Galicia, Ukrainian preschool education

Introduction

The struggle of the Ukrainians for their state independence has a long history and continues up to the present times of war against Russian aggression. Their national development historically occurred amidst political and cultural oppression. Therefore, the achievements made in the realm of national formation, cultural development and native language education were often the results of extensive public initiatives or the sacrificial activity of the distinguished representatives of the national religious communities and their spiritual leaders.

Monastic communities have been striving to preserve and develop Ukrainian culture, education, and social projects for several centuries. A special attention should be paid to the sacrificial educational and social activities of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, who have been recognized throughout the history as inspirers and promoters of cultural, educational, and national advancement of the Ukrainian nation. Sister Josaphata Hordashevska, their first sister and spiritual leader, made a unique contribution to the development

of the Congregation, especially in the areas of preschool education, caretaking and charitable work in rural Galician communities in the late 19th – the first half of the 20th century.

Social Prerequisites for the Establishment of the Congregation of the Sisters Servants and the Determination of Their Mission

During the specified period, the Ukrainian population of Galicia was in rather unfavorable social conditions. Consequently, these had a dramatic impact on the state of education and training of the Ukrainian children. Most Ukrainian youngsters were virtually excluded from the state educational system, and therefore their schooling was often limited to primary education. Preschool education for both urban and rural Ukrainian children was another crucial problem. There was no structured form of preschool education for rural children, which caused numerous problems during the summer season. At that particular time, parents were busy with full-time field work, leaving their children without proper care, attention, and supervision.

This situation deeply concerned Andrey Sheptytsky, the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, who was actively involved in all spheres of public life. He knew that Ukrainians' moral and religious advancement would largely depend on structured educational and social work among children and women. He believed a systematic and skilled approach was necessary to address the needs for proper family education and childcare. Thus, he initiated the foundation of the Ukrainian women's monastic congregation capable of serving in childcare and education spheres. Among the monastic communities that existed at the time, only a few could successfully perform the functions of preschool education and care for rural children. The most widespread women's monastic association in Galicia was named after St. Basil the Great. However, due to financial obligations, entry into this Congregation was impossible for applicants from low-income families.

Thus, the establishment of the new congregation initiated by the Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky and two priests Kyrylo Seletsky and Jeremiah Lomnitsky was crucial and timely. Father K. Seletsky actively criticized the indifference of some clergymen to the miserable living conditions of the rural Ukrainian population due to poverty and deprivation. He advocated the importance of socio-cultural and economic improvements for the Ukrainian peasants in Galicia. His special attention was paid to women, who, in his opinion, played the important role in shaping new generations, and therefore women's Christian education was an essential task¹.

¹ Sapeliak, A. (2004). *Otets-prelat Kyrylo Seletskyyi zasnovnyk monarshykh zghromadzhen*. Lviv: Halytska vydavnycha spilka, p. 45.

The collaborative efforts of the above mentioned leaders led to the establishment of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate Congregation in 1892. Sisters' main activities included institutional development and teaching in preschool educational centers, catechization of young people, teaching liturgical singing etc. At the same time they were engaged in charitable initiatives such as caring for sick, disabled or those in need. The sisters also decorated churches and sewed clothes for priests.

Sister Josaphata Mykhailyna Hordashevskya became the first sister and later the superior and directress of the Congregation. Mykhailyna was born on November 23, 1869, in a poor large family of Lviv philistines. The girl's aspirations for monastic life induced her spiritual advisor, Father Lomnytsky, to send her to gain initial monastic experience in the community of Roman Catholic Sisters of the Felician Order. After a 14-month stay in Zhovkva Monastery of the Felician Sisters, Mykhailyna Hordashevskya became the first Sister Servant².

The first convent of the Congregation, where Mykhailyna Hordashevskya started her sacrificial spiritual and social service, was opened in the village of Zhuzhil. The constitution of the Sisters Servants Congregation of 1892 defined their priority tasks: to establish nursery schools for young rural children, provide care and service for the sick and poor, and prepare of the elderly for a pious death.

In the Congregation's rules of 1932, the scope of the sisters' social mission was significantly expanded and clarified: "the special purpose of the Congregation is to be vigilant in humble service for the glory of God and for the salvation of others, to educate children of both sexes in the preschool institutions, to accept orphaned girls and even orphaned boys (not older than 10 years old) into houses for boarding and education, to run public schools, to serve the sick and care for the decency and beauty of churches"³.

In order to reach the defined goals, the sisters provided various educational activities for rural residents. They conducted theoretical and practical classes on handicrafts, needlework, dressmaking and other traditional women's skills, organized meetings and lectures, encouraged communal prayers, distributed "good books", and offered professional medical care to the sick (nursing, disseminating basic knowledge of basic hygiene, setting up pharmacies, etc.)⁴.

As a leader of such an active community, Sister Josaphata strived to ensure that the Congregation would be "a light for the deprived children of Rus"⁵. The activity and dedication of the sister largely contributed to the successful functioning of the entire congregation and its significant achievements

² Velykyi, A. (1908). *Narys istorii zghromadzhennia sester Sluzhebnyts P.N.D.M.* Rym, p.31.

³ *Ustavy zghromadzhennia sester Sluzhebnyts NDM.* (1932), p. 1.

⁴ *Tebe Boha khvalym.* (1992). Rym, pp. 16–17.

⁵ *Molimosia z Blazhennoi Yosafatoi.* (2008). Lviv: Koleso., p. 6.

in the fields of education, national awareness, and social assistance to the Ukrainians.

The Contribution of Sister Josaphata Hordashevska to the Development of Preschool Education for Rural Ukrainian Children

One of the significant achievements of the Congregation and largely of Sister Josaphata was the opening of “zakhoronka” (ukr. nursery school or kindergarten) - the first Ukrainian preschool educational institution in Galicia on May 15, 1893 in the village of Zhuzhil⁶. This initiated further activities in the field of preschool education. Thus, in 1929 the sisters founded 39 “zakhoronkas”, where they educated 1,750 children⁷. More than four thousand students studied in 76 Christian schools established by the sisters in 1938 and 380 orphans found shelter in 15 orphanages. Four educational institutions under the guidance of the sisters were opened to educate only girls. In 1936, the Eparchy of Przemyśl had 33 “zakhoronkas” (nursery schools) with over 1,700 children. In addition to the newly established schools, there were also five seasonal (summer) schools, which enrolled about 350 children⁸. It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of World War II (1939) 524 sisters lived and worked in 102 monastery buildings⁹.

The development of the sisters’ preschool educational institutions was quite successful, it was even stipulated and declared in the statute of the Congregation that each monastery should establish “zakhoronka” for preschoolers. Nevertheless, the Sisters Servants had to overcome considerable difficulties, namely the lack of practical experience and qualified teaching staff, the lack of theoretical and methodological resources in Ukrainian, and, most importantly, the complicated socio-political and economic circumstances.

During the described period education in Galicia was controlled by a secular governing body, the School Regional Council, which required all preschool institutions to organize their education process on the basis of pedagogical concepts developed by the German educator Friedrich Froebel, the pioneer of public preschool education. Thus, the Council obliged all teaching nuns to obtain pedagogical training at special Froebel courses or get a quality state pedagogical education. As a result, the internal rules of the Congregation included sisters’ mandatory training in teaching and systemic teaching competence development. Younger sisters who had just entered the monastic

⁶ Seletskyi, K. *Dopys*. Dushpastyr, 1893, ch.12., p. 286.

⁷ *Zakhoronky*. (1929). Kalendar Misionaria, pp. 68–71.

⁸ Shematyzm hreko-katolytskoho dukhovenstva zluchenykh yeparkhii Peremyskoi, Sambirskoi i Sianitskoi na rik Bozhyi 1936. (1936). Peremysl., pp. 136–139.

⁹ *Tebe Boha khvalym*. (1992). Rym., p. 22.

community were taught basic pedagogical knowledge along with religious education. The older sisters delivered for them a series of lectures and arranged practical classes on the theory and methods of preschool education.

To obtain higher pedagogical education, the Servant Sisters studied at Stanislav Yakhovych State Zakhoronka Seminary in Lviv or the Private Zakhoronka Seminary named after the Holy Martyr Josaphat, which was run by the Basilian Sisters. They also acquired theoretical and methodological knowledge in the field of preschool education at pedagogical courses organized by the Ukrainian Zakhoronka Society in Lviv, at the State Zakhoronka Seminary in Lviv or in the Higher Pedagogical Courses in Warsaw. According to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, zakhoronkas (nursery schools) were "the beginning and the basis of the moral revival of the whole village and the rise of the religious life of the whole parish"¹⁰.

The Sisters Servants organized the educational process in zakhoronkas (nursery schools) on the base of catholic pedagogy. They defined religious and national education of children as their priority task. Consequently, zakhoronkas became the centers for the development of cultural life and the promotion of national values. "The nurseries of the Sisters Servants were important in preserving the national and cultural identity of the Ukrainians, particularly in the conditions of oppression of the national language, history, and culture. By educating children, the sisters indirectly had a positive impact on adults"¹¹.

Children were the "most precious treasure" for the Sisters, thus children's educational was one of their main responsibilities. The Statute of the Congregation indicated that established nursery schools ("zakhoronkas") were aimed at promoting the welfare of the youngsters, including their physical, cognitive, moral and esthetic development. It specified the means and methods of the educational process, hygienic and organizational requirements.

Proper arrangement of educational activities for the preschoolers required the sisters to have necessary psychological and pedagogical knowledge on teaching, to know proper methods and techniques, and to develop practical skills. Sister Josaphata expected the teaching sisters to prepare thoroughly for each lesson in the nursery schools. She believed that a good educator should teach children to pray, read to them religious books appropriate for their age, study and comment on biblical stories about the existence of God and angels; accept the most sacred communion with children and foster a love of church singing¹². She explained to the Sisters the organizational structure of a preschool education institution, the methodological principles of its educational process, and taught them children's songs, poems, and games. Moreover, despite serious

¹⁰ Krutii, K. *Ukrainski zakhoronky, ohorodtsi, svitlytsi ta pivoseli, abo z istorii doshkilnoi osvity v Halychyni* <http://surl.li/sdrji>

¹¹ *Ibidem*

¹² Slavuta, D. H. (1996). *Molytva i sluzhinnia. Biohrafia Sluhyni Bozhoi Yosafaty Hordashevskoi*. Toronto., p. 68.

financial difficulties, she bought musical instruments for the first nursery school (zakhoronka) to promote the harmonious children's personalities development and foster their musical abilities¹³.

All lessons taught in the established preschools were meant to be of an educational nature, perfectly adapted to the age, the level of a personality development, cognitive abilities and interests of a child. The curriculum consisted of religious instructions and practices, learning tasks, language development and logical thinking activities, observation and explanation of various phenomena and objects, reading and reciting poetry, listening to stories, drawing, crafting, singing, rhythmic gymnastics and playing active games¹⁴.

Teaching Sisters were used to develop their own curricula and teaching instructions. They skillfully combined the innovative pedagogical theory and practice of the time with their own ideas about the objectives and ways of educating the Ukrainian children. In their pedagogical activities, the Sisters Servants applied principles of humanization, consistency with nature, individual approach to the personality, reliance on the positives and the national character of education.

Striving to establish fruitful educational interaction with children, the Sisters Servants directly participated in all class activities. They believed it was the only way to provide a nurturing family environment of dedication and love, while having the possibility to closely monitor the children's behavior, health conditions, participations in games, attentiveness, diligence in learning, playing or work. They developed a particular progressive approach of the time in terms of preschool education – the differentiation of children into groups by their cognitive development, not only by their age.

These first Ukrainian preschool education institutions ("zakhoronkas") didn't have any financial support from the state. They were mostly financed by voluntary donations or charities. Consequently, when obtaining the permission for functioning, zakhoronkas often positioned themselves as charitable institutions in order to avoid regular visits of the state school authorities or suspension if the school didn't meet the state requirements. Termination of the Ukrainian preschools was usually explained by a rather controversial claim that the funding of educational institutions in the form of donations was detrimental to the dignity of the state¹⁵.

It should be mentioned that opening a nursery school was a rather difficult task. The school board required the founders to prepare an extensive list of documents to get the permission for functioning, namely: 1) the Voivodeship's (Polish province) resolution on the proper sanitary

¹³ Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁴ TDIAUL, f.179, op. 5, spr. 146, a. 140.

¹⁵ Fedorovych, K. (1924). *Ukrainski shkoly v Halychyni u svitli zakoniv i praktyk*. Lviv: nakladom sekretariativ ukrainskykh partii, p. 45.

and technical conditions of the premises; 2) a list of the material resources and teaching aids; 3) a yearly budget; 4) pedagogical education certificates of the teaching staff; 5) the personnel's citizenship validation; 6) the proves of the personnel's morality; and 7) the statute of the institution¹⁶. The educational experience and pedagogical education of the teaching staff were of particular attention and consideration. That was the reason why in most cases these requirements were not feasible for the Ukrainian monastic. As a result, the state school authorities usually treated educational "zakhoronkas" only as custodial humanitarian centers that provided moral and material support to children¹⁷.

The significant part of social and educational activity of the Sisters Servants was dedicated to the support of orphans. The orphanage in the city of Boryslav was one of the examples of this activity. The sisters opened this three-year vocational school of dressmaking and sewing in 1928 to ensure the social protection of orphans. In the school girls obtained vocational education, found the possibilities for future employment or the resources for financial security as adults. They studied vocational subjects alongside with general education classes such as Ukrainian language, history, religion studies, hygienic basics, and singing. According to the Sisters' catalogue of 1938, they were in charge of 15 orphanages in Galicia¹⁸.

Socio-Caretaking Activities of the Sisters Servants in Galicia

Besides the children care and education, the Sisters Servants initiated a number of activities for adult population. They read religious books to women in the parish on Sundays and holidays, spread evangelism wherever they could, and provided assistance to the poor and needy.

Their sacrificed activity was also visible in caring for the sick. This particular aspect was regulated in the very first regulations of the Congregation with as many as 19 chapters on the subject. Due to the poor financial situation, difficult working conditions, and the spread of infectious diseases, rural population of Galicia suffered from health problems and therefore needed regular medical care or basic sanitary and hygienic aid. Thus, this sphere of the Sisters' activity was determined by the objective preconditions. Their medical assistance was mostly based on herbal medicines, folk healing traditions, if they did not contradict common sense, patience, support, dedication, and mercy.

¹⁶ TDIAUL, f.179, op. 5, spr. 72, a. 3.

¹⁷ Parokhialni zakhoronky. (1936). Lvivski arkhieparkhialni vidomosti №12, pp. 145–147.

¹⁸ Kataloh Zghromadzhennia Sester Sluzhebnyts Neporochnoi Divy Marii na 1938 rik. (1938). Zhovkva.

The social and medical ministry of the sisters, like many other areas of their service, was initiated by the directress and founder of the Congregation Sister Josaphata Hordashevskia. To improve the medical care and assistance, she purchased many books on medicinal plants. Together with other sisters, she used to pick up healing herbs, studied their therapeutic effects or the ways of preparation, and then distributed them to sick villagers. She studied all sorts of medical literature so that she could teach other sisters to provide assistance for the sick.

Sister Josaphata often visited sick people in the neighborhoods and, if necessary, in the remote areas. During her visits, in addition to medical care, she managed to accomplish a certain spiritual mission, encouraging the sick to pray and perform good deeds. People were touched by her dedication and called her “our kind doctor-sister”¹⁹.

Recognizing the limitations of herbal medicine, Sister Josaphata decided to ensure the professional medical training of the Sisters Servants. Having this in mind, she initiated the medical training of the Sisters in the main hospital of Lviv, where they could gain first-hand experience in nursing.

Josaphata Mykhailyna Hordashevskia obtained a nursing diploma in 1899. She graduated from the State Medical School and completed a practical course in the Red Cross Society of Lviv state hospital. After passing the exam with distinction, she was certified to provide medical care to the sick and wounded in state hospitals and Red Cross centres²⁰.

In addition to delivering direct medical care, providing sanitary services to patients, following doctor's instructions or performing their own therapeutic duties, the nuns also ensured psycho-emotional support for patients, and offered household services (nutrition, hygiene routines etc.) In case of serious health problems the Sisters cooked meals to feed the patients and their relatives, cleaned the house, washed clothes, looked after domestic animals and did other necessary household chores. In extremely difficult cases the Sisters helped to prepare a patient for death, informed the priest, provided support to the family, and assisted in the funerals. Those who recovered from the illness were inspired to show gratitude to God, be careful and live a faithful life²¹.

Sister Josaphata owed her successes and achievements in ministry and service to God to her unique personal traits. The memoirs often described her as lively, energetic, cheerful, intelligent, hard-working, confident and determined person. She strictly adhered to the principles of Christian ethics and was particularly concerned about the moral and religious progress of her sisters. The virtue of obedience helped her accomplish numerous missions, demonstrate commitment and mercy, especially to the poor and sick,

¹⁹ Slavuta, D. H. (1996). *Molytva i sluzhinnia. Biohrafiiia Sluhyni Bozhoi Yosafaty Hordashevskoi*. Toronto., p.44.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 67.

²¹ Velykyi, A. (1908). *Narys istorii zghromadzhennia sester Sluzhebnyts P.N.D.M.* Rym., p. 54.

care for people around, patiently endure poverty, hardship, insults, and even severe pain caused by a serious illness (tuberculosis of bones). As a leader of the Congregation, she never exhibited an authoritarian attitude, and when making decisions, was always interested in the opinions of others. She visited many newly established convents where she dealt with numerous organizational tasks, arranged charitable activities and, most importantly, set the example of sacrificial service for each new nunnery community.

Because of her exceptional personality she “was the heart and the pulse of the life in the Congregation”²², and as “a person of the great virtue...she was everything for everyone”²³. Fulfilling her calling, the Sister demonstrated sincere Christian faith and love for her native nation: “she worked tirelessly for the love of God and her people, and did not seek the recognition of others”²⁴. She expressed her love for God in sacrificial service to those in need, in all-embracing love for others, which became the best path to her own sanctification. Wishing good for others, communicating kindly, and doing good things – this was the meaning of Josaphata’s life – in the fulfillment of love, in the desire for holiness, and at the same time in complete harmony with herself²⁵. Her deeds demonstrated the example of a holy life, readiness to sacrifice, and tireless service to the needs of others²⁶.

Despite numerous challenges that Sister Josaphata faced in her service to God and Motherland, she constantly developed her spirit and personality, gained confidence and expertise. She dreamed of broader perspectives for the Congregation. In her opinion, the Sisters Servants were able to go beyond the scope of caregiving in the rural communities and expand their activities into wider domains of educating urban population. However, since her aspirations contradicted the rules of the Congregation, they could not be realized²⁷.

Over decades, the primary task of the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate has shifted in both territorial and content terms. Emigration of the Ukrainians due to complex historical conditions at the beginning of the 20th century prompted the Sisters to expand their activities beyond the borders of Galicia. Consequently, the convents of the Sisters Servants were opened in Canada (1902), Yugoslavia (1906), Brazil (1911), and the USA (1938). By 1938, the Sisters Servants had 92 houses in Europe accommodating 494 sisters. They cared for 76 nursery schools with over 5000 children

²² Ibid., p. 38.

²³ Ibid., p. 128.

²⁴ Slavuta, D. H. (1996). *Molytva i sluzhinnia. Biohrafiiia Sluhyni Bozhoi Yosafaty Hordashevskoi*. Toronto., p. 53.

²⁵ Molimosia z Blazhennoi Yosafatoi. (2008). Lviv: Koleso, p. 7.

²⁶ Konstytutsiia i dyrektyvy zghromadzhennia SSNDM. (1982). Rym -Toronto, p. 17.

²⁷ Velykyi, A. (1908). *Narys istorii zghromadzhennia sester Sluzhebnyts P.N.D.M.* Rym, p. 133.

and 15 orphanages with 380 orphans. Additionally, they operated 3 public schools and engaged in various charitable actions in parishes²⁸.

The Soviet occupation terminated the development of the Congregation in Galicia. During the early years of Soviet rule, all convents were closed, many sisters were subjected to repression and deported to Siberia. Sisters' convents were also closed in Czechia and partially in Poland and Yugoslavia.

The co-founder and leader of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, Josaphata Hordashevska, passed away on April 7, 1919. During her lifetime, the Congregation established 40 centers with 400 sisters. The beatification process was completed in 2001 when Pope John Paul II proclaimed her blessed Josaphata Hordashevska.

Conclusion

Ukraine's state independence created conditions for the revival of religious life and the restoration of monasteries. Today, the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate continue developing their community and engaging in social and educational activities. They began working at the day care centers for children in Chervonohrad (2004) and Stryi (2008). Since 2007 a family-type orphanage has been operating at the convent of the Sisters Servants in Zolochiv, and the Social Center for orphaned girls was established in Lviv in 2013²⁹.

The educational, social, and charitable activities of the Sisters Servants had a broad scope of implementation both in the past and nowadays life of the Ukrainian nation. Thanks to such spiritually elevated, nationally conscious, capable of tireless social service and self-sacrifice personalities as Blessed Sister Josaphata Hordashevska, the Ukrainian people endured through difficult periods of oppression and adversity, preserved and enriched their national culture, developed the educational system, and upheld the traditions of philanthropy and charity.

Current social, economic, and education issues caused by the war in Ukraine have intensified volunteer and charitable efforts, requiring the widespread involvement of professionals in the field of psychological and pedagogical support to the affected individuals and engaging all who are concerned in providing them with financial and psychological assistance. Thus, the practice of selflessness and dedication is being revived in accordance with historical traditions.

²⁸ Sestry Sluzhebnytsi Neporochnoi Divy Marii. Relihiino-informatsiina sluzhba Ukrainy. <http://surl.li/sdrsb>.

²⁹ Vykhovna diialnist Sester Sluzhebnyts na pochatkakh stvorennia Zghromadzhennia. <http://surl.li/sdrke>.

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The Catholic Model of Education in the Theory and Practice of the National Women's Organisation (1919–1939)

Mirosław Piwowarczyk / e-mail: miroslaw.piwowarczyk@uwr.edu.pl
Institute of Pedagogy, University of Wrocław, Poland

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The article presents the political, social, and educational activities of one of the largest Catholic socio-political women's organizations operating in interwar Poland. The goals and areas of the organization's diverse activities have been outlined, focusing primarily on the work to activate women in social life and their pursuit of equal rights, which was combined with the traditional role of women defined by social norms and the social teachings of the Catholic Church. The article also discusses the traditional family model and upbringing promoted by the association, as well as the role of women (femininity) in both private and public spaces.

Keywords: *National Women's Organisation, Second Polish Republic, traditional upbringing, women's organisations*

Introduction

The National Women's Organisation (Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet - NOK) was one of the largest socio-political women's associations operating in Poland during the two decades of the interwar period.¹ It originated from the Catholic-nationalist camp and was a Catholic and national organisation that firmly embraced Christian morality and was devoted to building private and public space in accordance with the teaching of the Catholic Church and in line with love for Poland. It set itself the goal of serving "God and the Homeland".

The birth of the NOK took place after Poland regained independence (officially on November 11, 1918) and was directly linked to the first parliamentary elections (1919). The future members of the organisation were

¹ This period is referred to in Polish historiography as the Second Polish Republic (II Rzeczypospolita). It was a historical Polish state that existed between 1918 and 1939. The name emphasizes continuity with the First Polish Republic (1569–1795), which was dissolved by the partition treaties signed between Austria, Prussia, and Russia between 1772 and 1795.

devotedly involved in the electoral action preceding the voting for candidates for the Legislative Sejm.²

After the elections, the women decided to continue their activities in the day-to-day representation of ladies' interests as the NOK, politically and, above all, socially. On 7th May 1919, the statutes of the organisation were approved and it continued uninterrupted until September 1939.³

In 1931 it had a membership of more than 78,000 women engaged in activities in nearly 200 branches (local clubs) throughout Poland.⁴ Its membership was made up mainly female activists of Polish nationality, "*above all the wives of dignitaries, clerks, merchants, members of the liberal professions, female members of the social elite, most often from the landed gentry and intelligentsia*"⁵ who were involved in social and political life.

Among the leaders of the NOK there were 9 female activists that were also MPs. The female politicians of the interwar period that were associated with the organisation were Gabriela Balicka (MP for National Democracy, member of the Legislative Sejm of the first, second and third terms, i.e. in 1919–39), Irena Puzynianka (Chairwoman of the NOK in 1921–1929, MP for National Democracy during the first term; in 1929 she resigned as chairwoman due to the fact that the NOK was made dependent on National Democracy, which she strongly opposed; in 1930, a split occurred as a result of which 80 activists left in order to form the National Council of Polish Women), Maria Holder-Eggerowa (MP during the first term 1922–1927), Wanda Ładzina (MP during the first term), Zofia Sokolnicka (MP for National Democracy during the first term), Halina Felicja Stęślicka (MP during the first term), Helena Grossmanówna (MP during the 3rd term 1930–1935), Ewelina Pełowska (MP during the 3rd term), Zofia Zaleska (MP for National Democracy during the 3rd term), and Józefa Szebeko (first Chairwoman of the NOK in 1919–1921, senator during the 1st term 1922–1927).⁶ The group of NOK leaders also included Aleksandra Zarzycka, Aniela Zdanowska, Izabela Dobrzyńska-

² Kotowski, R. (2009). Między polityką a działalnością społeczną – Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet w dwudziestolecu międzywojennym. In A. Janiak-Jasińska, K. Sierakowska, A. Szwarz (Eds.) *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki... Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich po 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*. Tom II, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, p. 276.

³ Ibid., p. 278.

⁴ Ibid., p. 285; Also: Dufurat, J. (2017). Prasa polityczna organizacji kobiecych w Polsce w latach 1917–1939. In M. Dajnowicz, A. Miodowski (Eds.) *Polityka i politycy w prasie XX i XXI wieku. Prasa organizacji politycznych*, Białystok: Wydawnictwo HUMANICA Instytut Studiów Kobiecych, p.42; Skibiński, P. (2018). *Polska 1918*. Warszawa: Muza. Sport i Turystyka, p. 444.

⁵ Kotowski, R. (2009). Między polityką a działalnością społeczną..., p. 278.

⁶ Dufurat, J. (2017). Prasa polityczna organizacji kobiecych w Polsce..., p. 35; Also: Kotowski, R. (2009). Między polityką a działalnością społeczną..., p. 280–283.

Rybicka, Maria Demelówna, Maria Sobańska, Zofia Kirkor-Kiedroniowa and Irena Pannenkowa.

The NOK collaborated with the Popular National Union (which morphed into the National Party in 1928) and was actively involved in political action until 1926.⁷ The primary function of the activity was parliamentary. The ladies were very active in terms of legislative work. In the parliament, they spoke out on a great many issues of social life, such as social welfare, law and administration. They devoted much space to issues relating to children and family. By way of example, Gabriela Balicka struggled for the state to take care of the youngest citizens left without parental care, neglected in terms of upbringing. She called for termination of parental rights to be only possible by a court ruling as there were no uniform rules on the matter at the time. Maria Holder-Eggerowa, in turn, called for penalties for parents for abandoning their families. And together they strove to regulate the legal situation of illegitimate children and to extend the protection of the mother and infant.⁸

*“The MPs being members of the NOK were interested in the education of young people as they noted the neglect of the state in this respect. In their view, the system of education should be based on national or even Catholic-national ideas. It should provide an alternative to the state education, which is subordinated, in their opinion, to the politics of the time.”*⁹ All the actions by female deputies associated with the NOK stemmed from their conviction of the need for the unity of the Catholic and national camp and the *“defence of faith and morals against anti-religious, subversive, anti-national, anti-social and anti-state influences.”*¹⁰

Consequently, they included among their main tasks the *“recognition of the family as the basic cell of society, the indissolubility of the sacrament of marriage, the recognition of the school as an aid and complement to the family in teaching and upbringing, and therefore the demand for the religious school; keeping watch over the souls of children and young people as the most important national treasure.”*¹¹

However, political activism was only a part of their work and became a tool to popularise their own/organisational ideals.

⁷ Skibiński, P. (2018). *Polska 1918...*, p. 445.

⁸ Kotowski, R. (2009). Między polityką a działalnością społeczną... op. cit., p. 282; Also: Mysiakowska-Muszyńska, J. (2015). ‘W imię Boga i Ojczyzny!’ Działalność społeczno-polityczna Narodowej Organizacji Kobiet 1919–1939 – wybrane zagadnienia. In Dzieje najnowsze, Rocznik XLVII–2015,3, p. 43; *Dziesięciolecie Pracy Narodowej Organizacji Kobiet w Łodzi, Łódź 1928*. p. 42.

⁹ Kotowski, R. (2009). Między polityką a działalnością społeczną..., p. 282.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 283.

¹¹ Ibid.

After the May Coup¹², the NOK continued to be influenced by National Democracy, but its involvement in political life waned. Definitely, throughout its existence, social work and educational work stood out in the foreground. That was the essence of the action and activity of the members of the association. The leaders of the organisation believed that their main role/work in society was/should be eminently educational.¹³

Objectives of the Organization's Activities

The aim of the association was to work for the equality and activation of ladies in public life, to promote the traditional model of family, patriotic and Christian attitudes, and to support the cultural and economic development of the country. The leaders of the organisation believed that equality had to be combined with the traditional role of women as defined by the moral norms and social teaching of the Catholic Church.¹⁴

In view of the changes in the status of women, this role (educator and housewife) was to be fulfilled not only in private life, but also in the public sphere,¹⁵ hence their keen interest in matters of family, marriage, children, upbringing and issues relating to combating any social pathologies.¹⁶

Equal rights, however, did not mean an identical position in the life of the nation, but gave the opportunity to participate in public life according to different values and patterns than was the case for men because unlike men, they put moral issues first.¹⁷

The leaders often explained that the association aimed to encourage females to participate consciously and actively in both political and social life “*on the basis of Christian, national and democratic principles.*”¹⁸

¹² The May Coup was a military coup d'état in Poland, carried out in Warsaw between May 12-15, 1926, by Marshal Józef Piłsudski, resulting in his assumption of de facto power (Piłsudski became the Minister of Military Affairs and General Inspector of the Armed Forces, while Ignacy Mościcki, recommended by Piłsudski, was elected President). The coup initiated a 13-year period of authoritarian rule by the ruling camp under the leadership of Józef Piłsudski, commonly referred to as the “Sanation” regime.

¹³ Kotowski, R. (2009). *Między polityką a działalnością społeczną...*, p. 282.

¹⁴ Kałwa, D. (2000). Model kobiety aktywnej na tle sporów światopoglądowych. Ruch feministyczny w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym. In A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarc (Eds.) *Równe prawa i nierówne szanse. Kobiety w Polsce międzywojennej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, p. 151; Also: Kotowski, R. (2009). *Między polityką a działalnością społeczną...*, p. 279.

¹⁵ Kałwa, D. (2000). Model kobiety aktywnej na tle sporów światopoglądowych..., p. 151.

¹⁶ Kotowski, R. (2009). *Między polityką a działalnością społeczną...*, pp. 281–282.

¹⁷ Kałwa, D. (2000). Model kobiety aktywnej na tle sporów światopoglądowych..., p. 151.

¹⁸ Dufurat, J. (2011). Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet i Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet – podobieństwa i różnice. Kilka uwag o funkcjonowaniu społeczno-politycznych organizacji kobiecych w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej, In W. Wrzesiński, M. Masnyk, K. Kawalec (Eds.) *Polska leży na Zachodzie. Studia z dziejów Polski i Europy dedykowane Pani Profesor Teresie Kulak*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, p. 576.

Thus, “*under the brand of NOK, there were women oriented towards the interests of the nation according to the order: home, homeland, religion.*”¹⁹

The Traditional Model of Family and Upbringing

In its programme and activities, the organisation promoted the model of traditional family and upbringing in line with the moral norms and social teaching of the Catholic Church.

The programme emphasised the traditional role of females as wives, mothers and educators of future generations, called upon to protect the family hearth, guardians of the faith and of the “*national spirit.*”²⁰

The duty of a wife and mother was to nurture piety, thrift and truthfulness in the home and family, to shape national-patriotic and Christian attitudes, and to spread national education and culture. She was supposed to be a beacon of morality and to safeguard the family from “*any decaying influence*” thus giving expression to the belief that only “*a healthy family produces a healthy society.*”²¹

One of the NOK leaders, Wanda Ładzina, saw the “*sources of the nation’s vitality and the building of a strong state precisely in the family. She saw a clear connection between the condition of this basic social cell and the observance of ethical principles in interpersonal relations.*”²² In 1927 she wrote about the importance of women: “*The state is made up of families. The stronger and healthier the families, the stronger the foundations of the State. The basis of the family is the woman as wife and mother. She raises her children to be citizens.*”²³ Among the duties that the State should fulfil, in Ładzina’s opinion, she mentioned enabling the family to develop and providing it with decent living conditions.²⁴ She wrote: “*in order for a wife and mother to perform her duties well, she should have the best possible conditions created for her maternal and spiritual life.*”²⁵

In the model of upbringing promoted by the association, the lady was expected to occupy a central position within the family and the home, being responsible not only for the upbringing of children, but also for the functioning, order and harmony of the private space in organisational and moral terms.

¹⁹ Maj, E. (2016). Wzorce aktywności kobiet w Narodowej Demokracji (1893–1939). In T. Kulak, M. Dajnowicz (Eds.) *Drogi kobiet do polityki (na przestrzeni XVIII–XXI wieku)*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Chronicon, p. 167.

²⁰ Dufurat, J. (2011). *Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet i Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet...*, p. 576.

²¹ Kotowski, R. (2009). *Między polityką a działalnością społeczną...*, p. 282.

²² Mysiakowska-Muszyńska, J. (2015). ‘W imię Boga i Ojczyzny!’ *Działalność społeczno-polityczna Narodowej Organizacji Kobiet...*, p. 35.

²³ Ładzina, W. (1927). *Ratujmy rodzinę!*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Księży Pallotynów, p. 8.

²⁴ Mysiakowska-Muszyńska, J. (2015). ‘W imię Boga i Ojczyzny!’ *Działalność społeczno-polityczna Narodowej Organizacji Kobiet...*, p. 35.

²⁵ Ładzina, W. (1927). *Ratujmy rodzinę!...* op. cit., p. 8.

At the same time, she was involved in social and public activities as an educator and housewife.²⁶

In the NOK programme, the role model for women, wives and mothers was the housewife who mastered the logistics of housework, had charge of the “*female household*”, such as managing the domestic service, establishing domestic order, taking care of order at home. It was her duty to fulfil her role as a daughter, sister, wife, mother and carer. Her social space included motherhood, the upbringing of children, the education of young people in her immediate environment (younger siblings or further cousins). She felt a responsibility to pass on the spiritual legacy of the nation, but also to transmit the culture of the family between generations. By virtue of her role as the “*priestess of the home hearth*”, she had a motivating influence on men, smoothing their manners and inducing them to comply with social norms.²⁷

*“The domain of women’s activity was invariably the home while men’s was professional work. The housewife, depending on her social environment, financial situation and tastes, could be an entertainer at social gatherings in one variant while in another she could be a provident housewife busy in the kitchen.”*²⁸

*“In this model there was obviously also room for public activities, compliant, broadly speaking, with the traditional pattern of positivist origin, i.e. the ladies were expected to set up and run reading rooms, organise discussion meetings, help the poor and, if necessary, play the role of volunteer nurses.”*²⁹ In addition to activities in the purely religious sphere (organising religious courses and retreats) they were to focus on promoting Catholic values and ethical norms and helping women who were “*morally bankrupt*.”³⁰

In the model of family and family upbringing promoted by NOK activists, very often in the pages of their own periodicals³¹, the family was regarded as the most important, first and natural educational environment whose task should be the religious, moral, physical and civic upbringing of children

²⁶ Maj, E. (2016). Wzorce aktywności kobiet w Narodowej Demokracji (1893–1939)..., pp. 158–159.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 158.

²⁸ Chojnowski, A. (2000). Aktywność kobiet w życiu politycznym. In A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarz (Eds.) *Równe prawa i nierówne szanse. Kobiety w Polsce międzywojennej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, p. 46.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 46.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 47.

³¹ The NOK had 3 titles of its own: the weekly *Gazetka dla Kobiet: z Bogiem dla Ojczyzny* (Gazette for Women: With God for the Fatherland), published in the period 1922–31; the magazine was Catholic and national in character, promoted Polish culture in the Borderlands and encouraged women to take an active part in it; the monthly *Hasło Polki* (Polish Woman’s Slogan), published in Bielsk Cieszyński in 1934–38, which dealt with issues of bringing up children and working for the Fatherland; the monthly *Ruch Kobiety* (Women’s Movement), which was published in Lviv in 1931–35; its pages dealt with equality and NOK activities; Dufurat, J. (2017). *Prasa polityczna organizacji kobiecych w Polsce...*, pp. 42–45.

and the safeguarding of their temporal well-being.³² At the same time it was emphasised that *“the family is the best educational centre for the young generation and the upbringing of offspring is the natural aim of the family while the prerequisite for good cohabitation between spouses is mutual renunciation, patience, compliance and other related social virtues.”*³³

Their own periodicals presented an image of the good Polish woman, mother and housewife, setting out her proper roles and tasks. The magazines gave a lot of practical advice relating to the issue of building a woman’s status in the internal (family) and external (social) environment.

The *“Nationalist Women”* thus advocated a patriarchal family model and the nurturing of the principles of Christian ethics. They paid homage to traditional values and Catholic morality. The model of upbringing and family promoted by the NOK was attractive to the conservative society of the time. As a result, the NOK itself was also very popular. The very name, or more precisely the adjective *“national”*, inspiring emotional support and trust in the majority of the population, was meant to attract people to the national organisation.

Areas of the Organization's Activities

The activists of the NOK were involved in and carried out a wide and varied range of activities thus building a model of an active, committed and responsible woman with a distinctly national-Catholic face.

Despite the fact that the leaders of the NOK declared the importance of political issues, the association in its daily activities did not go beyond the traditional, commonly accepted fields of women’s social activity related to care, education and upbringing. The core of the organisation was formed by socio-educational and charitable activities.

In the political dimension, the NOK was primarily involved in election campaigns for the Sejm and Senate, organising political rallies and conducting election canvassing. It participated in national actions and launched patriotic initiatives. For instance, members of the NOK were involved in the plebiscite in Warmia and Mazury and in Silesia, agitating for Poland. During the Silesian Uprisings they were active in the Silesian Red Cross, and ran dressing and food stations for the insurgents. During the Polish-Bolshevik war, the organisation worked for Polish soldiers by organising tea-rooms at railway stations and sewing uniforms. The female activists also took care of the wounded and invalids and organised a Christmas party for soldiers in the barracks. The NOK also inspired the establishment in 1922 of the Committee for Polish

³² Maj, E. (2016). *Wzorce aktywności kobiet w Narodowej Demokracji (1893–1939)...*, pp. 158–159.

³³ Kirkor-Kiedroniowa, Z. (1988). *Wspomnienia, Cz.2, Ziemia mojego męża*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, pp. 270–272.

Women's Aid to Returning Compatriots which was joined by a number of women's organisations from Warsaw and across the country. A very interesting action undertaken by the NOK was the collection of gold and silver for the currency reform. With the slogan "*a penny each but all*", they collected considerable funds for this purpose between 1920 and 1922.³⁴

On the economic front, they promoted entrepreneurship and own production, advocating a reduction in the imports of foreign goods (one of the important initiatives of the organisation was the campaign 'swój do swego po swoje' (roughly 'get your own [goods] from your own [folks]') aimed at encouraging the purchase of Polish products).³⁵ In connection with the economic crisis, the Supreme Council of the NOK called on women in 1925 to save money, buy Polish products and contribute to victims of unemployment. NOK members opened various types of business establishments, such as credit and insurance funds, social job centres, workshops for women, sewing rooms, quilt-making facilities, toy factories, shops, and stalls (they organised market stall sales of postcards and devotional items).³⁶

With regard to its social, welfare and cultural activities, the NOK ran public institutions, such as crèches and pre-schools (13 in 1929), orphanages (the first one in 1923; 21 in 1929), dormitories, mother and child care "*stations*", day care centres (in 1929 the NOK ran about 55 day care centres in the country), tea-rooms, and holiday trips.³⁷ The members of the organisation worked in shelters and orphanages and took care of single mothers and the unemployed, setting up cheap kitchens and launched local and nationwide actions to alleviate malnutrition among children (the "*bread to hungry children*" campaign). They were involved in charity work, such as helping the homeless and collecting clothes. Material aid for the poorest people involved buying clothes and providing financial aid for single women to buy food, firewood for the winter or to pay the rent. They organised help with housekeeping and childcare. They were involved in combating alcoholism, prostitution and human trafficking.³⁸

In terms of education and upbringing, they carried out "*civic awareness*" and "*educational*" work in the national Catholic spirit.³⁹ They did this by means

³⁴ Chojnowski, A. (2000). Aktywność kobiet w życiu politycznym..., p. 43; Also: Maj, E. (2016). Wzorce aktywności kobiet w Narodowej Demokracji (1893–1939)..., p. 167; Skibiński, P. (2018). *Polska 1918...*, p. 446.

³⁵ Mysiakowska-Muszyńska, J. (2015). 'W imię Boga i Ojczyzny!' Działalność społeczno-polityczna Narodowej Organizacji Kobiet..., p. 44.

³⁶ Dufurat, J. (2011). Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet i Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet..., p. 580.

³⁷ Mysiakowska-Muszyńska, J. (2015). 'W imię Boga i Ojczyzny!' Działalność społeczno-polityczna Narodowej Organizacji Kobiet..., p. 42.

³⁸ Chojnowski, A. (2000). Aktywność kobiet w życiu politycznym..., p. 43.

³⁹ Łozowska-Marcinkowska, K. (2010). *Sprawy niewieście. Problematyka czasopism kobiecych Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, p. 38.

of traditional forms, such as courses, lectures and talks on current social, political and religious topics as well as on Polish history.

In addition, the activists organised discussion evenings, meetings, commemorative meetings, Christmas wafer sharing events, rallies and street fundraising, as well as lectures popularising knowledge on such topics as entrepreneurship, hygiene and labour law among a wide range of women. The activists organised reading rooms and mobile libraries to promote reading.⁴⁰ They ran practical courses for women, e.g. in cooking, sewing and embroidery.

The activities of the organisation in a local scale were divided into individual sections and branches. An excellent example is the thriving branch of the NOK in Lodz with a large membership. It had numerous sections dealing with broadly defined assistance to the needy. Among other things, The Lecture Sections organised talks and meetings to educate and raise awareness among women on matters of hygiene, religion, health, history and politics. The section "*Let us Save the Children*" was tasked with rescuing abandoned infants and caring for children up to the age of three. Furthermore, the section provided mothers with food and clothing sewn by NOK members, fish oil for children, free tickets to public bath for women and their families; it also paid for baptisms and organised "*Christmas for children*" events. Similar activities were carried out by the "*Mothers Section*" providing material assistance to women in the form of rent subsidies, and also provided access to nursing care. An important section was made up of home guardians. Members of this section took care of ladies in need of help and searched for jobs and lodgings for them, and also provided them with material and spiritual support.⁴¹

Conclusion

The NOK was a Catholic organisation that firmly embraced Christian morality and was devoted to building private and public space in accordance with the teaching of the Catholic Church and in line with love for Poland. It set itself the goal of serving God and the Nation. It promoted the model of traditional education for females and the family. Thanks to this, it enjoyed great popularity in the society of the Second Republic.

In the restored independent state, women wanted to be ladies, loving and resourceful wives, caring and responsible mothers, and guardians of the family, home and state, defenders of national and Christian values... and in the vast majority they actually were.

However, the conservative views of the members of the NOK on women's upbringing, their roles as wives and mothers, and the family model are currently

⁴⁰ Mysiakowska-Muszyńska, J. (2015). 'W imię Boga i Ojczyzny!' Działalność społeczno-polityczna Narodowej Organizacji Kobiet..., pp. 42–43.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 42–43; Also: *Dziesięciolecie Pracy Narodowej Organizacji Kobiet w Łodzi*.

highly debatable and increasingly less serve as the foundation for social and educational practices regarding women and family life.

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Further Escalation of the International Situation – Reports to the Military Office of the President of the Republic in Czechoslovakia on the Situation in Poland in 1936

Tomáš Řepa / e-mail: tomas.repa@unob.cz

Department of Military Theory, Faculty of Military Leadership, University of Defence, Brno, Czech Republic

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The article focuses on the military-political reports of the Military Office of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic from 1936 and builds on the previous article dealing with 1935, which was conceived in a similar way and is a direct continuation.¹ Czechoslovak-Polish relations in the interwar period were far from ideal. However, there were mutual contacts² and the Czechoslovak military attaché in Poland and other representatives of the diplomatic corps played a very important role in this respect. Their surviving reports are quite detailed and tell of important changes and developments in Poland. This study 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; 1936; Reports to Czechoslovak President about Poland*

This follow-up study offers a comprehensive look at the topic of the surviving reports of the Military Office of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic for 1936. The events discussed may serve as a reminder of the most important political and military changes in Poland at the time. This concerns

¹ Řepa, T. (2023). Reports 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*, issue 15 (1–2), pp. 96–100. <https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2023-006>

² Further on topic see Kołakowski, P. (2018). *Polsko-czechosłowackie kontakty wojskowe 1921–1938 w dokumentach wywiadu i dyplomacji II Rzeczypospolitej*. Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM.

both the contemporary context itself at a time of further rising international tensions, as well as the arms race that was set in motion and the related search for security guarantees among the various European states. Poland and Czechoslovakia not excluded, and the differences in the approach of these two states to security issues reveal various contradictory tendencies even on a European scale. For this study, the direct method of archival sources from the Military Historical Archive in Prague was chosen. Secondary literature from both Czech and Polish perspectives and its reflection on the topic is an important aid.

First Quarter 1936

Again, let us recall that 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 Silvester³, who served as military attaché⁴ in Poland from 1932 to 1937.⁵ His signature was also added by divisional general Silvestr Bláha⁶ (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.

For the first quarter of 1936, the military attaché of the Czechoslovak Republic in Warsaw reported on 5 May 1936 in the military section that the Inspector General of the Polish Armed Forces, Edward Śmigły-Rydz, had maintained the primacy of the army in Polish society and was continuing to strengthen this trend. He reports that the chaos in European foreign policy after the last violent intervention by Nazi Germany, by which he means

³ 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.

⁴ Military Historical Archive Prague (hereinafter known as MHA), fund Qualification papers of military persons, qualification (personal) file of Ferdinand Silvester.

⁵ 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

⁶ MHA, fund Qualification papers of military persons, qualification (personal) file of Silvestr Bláha.

the remilitarization of the Rhineland on 7 March 1936, contributed to this.⁷ He also speaks of the realisation that the Soviet army was developing massively and that the disparity in the armament of the German army was increasing to the detriment of the Polish army. There is thus a growing recognition of the inadequacy of the more perfect and modern equipment of the Polish armed forces. Of the two dangerous neighbouring great states of Poland, i.e., Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, the decisive Polish military authorities consider the Soviet danger to be the primary one. In wider military circles, however, the German danger is perceived as still alive, as the statement by Edward Śmigły-Rydzę in a conversation with Foreign Minister Józef Beck, quoted in the report of the Czechoslovak attaché, is supposed to prove: „Conduct your foreign policy as you wish, I am preparing the army mainly against Germany.“⁸

The report speaks, as it did at the end of 1935, of the spirit of the army at a good level. The increased threat from neighbours is depressing, especially for the younger officers and men. In addition, disturbing factors such as Communist agitation among the troops, the misery of the Polish countryside and, contrary to the positive military education sermons, numerous strikes and unrest in Lvov or Kraków are mentioned.⁹ The author of the report states that he observes particular difficulties in recruitment and education, especially in the non-commissioned officer corps. There have been no serious changes in the Polish-Czechoslovak relationship; the tense relationship continues.¹⁰ Military circles continue to be convinced that the Poles are being wronged in Těšín, but mainly only from the daily press. The military journals, on the other hand, remained aloof from provocations and incitement. And if they could and were allowed to publish even minor sympathetic mentions or photographs of life in Czechoslovakia. The military attaché further speaks of his personal relations with his Polish colleagues as being fair but tight. It is stated that there is increasing “secrecy” and reluctance on the part of the Poles to explicitly communicate information, and this applies to other military attachés as well; it is not just a matter of behaviour towards Czechoslovaks.¹¹

⁷ For more see Kershaw, I. (1998). *Hitler: 1889–1936 Hubris*. New York: Norton, pp. 586–587; likewise Watt, R. M. (1979). *Bitter Glory: Poland and Its Fate 1918 to 1939*. New York City: Simon & Schuster, pp. 371–372.

⁸ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 1st Quarter 1936.

⁹ Summary of socio-economic changes in interwar Poland for example see Stachura, P. D. (2004). *Poland, 1918–1945: an interpretive and documentary history of the Second Republic*. London: Routledge, pp. 45–58.

¹⁰ Further on the subject of Czech-Polish relations Przeperski, M. (2016). *Nieznośny ciężar braterstwa: konflikty polsko-czeskie w XX wieku*. Wydanie pierwsze. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

¹¹ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 1st Quarter 1936.

In the overview of important changes and regulations, mention is made of the Presidential Decree on the provision and assistance to persons of special merit for the independence of Poland. Another presidential decree adopted is on the protection of the interests of Poles in international relations. This refers to special protective measures in the event of a foreign state treating Poles worse than others. Other changes mentioned are a decree on the reduction of the arms trade (including measures against concealment of arms), the addition of a law to combat epidemics or new medical commissions for active military personnel. Also worth mentioning is the new designation of the areas of overflight across the Polish border, including the places of overflight to Poland and Czechoslovakia. Also mentioned is the law on the use of arms by civilian guards subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Military Affairs¹² or the presidential decree on the establishment of a national defence fund. This fund is to consist of: A - profits from the sale of real estate and movable property which was state property, B - special revenues arising from special legal decrees, C - donations and contributions to the fund. An interesting remark of the Czechoslovak attaché is the following statement: "I have had several opportunities to see how the representatives of the French Embassy here judge the official reports received with a kind of blinded polonophilia. In particular, the French military attaché here conceives and interprets various information in a very distorted way. I consider it necessary to draw attention to the matter. I add to his mentality that he limits his contacts with me as much as possible in order not to spoil his name with the officials here." The remark of the German military attaché in the report about Poland, that she must have a dictatorship as a country, but must not be seen to have one because of the nature of the nation, seems similarly interesting.¹³

Several important observations are made on the domestic political situation. For example, the Sejm and the Senate have become mere decorations of the authoritarian regime¹⁴, but even within the government camp a number of mutual contradictions arise. The hopes that were placed in the new constitution and the new electoral rules have been disappointed. The author of the report states directly that the public opinion of the great majority of the Polish nation wants nothing to do with the regime and is in implacable opposition to it. By preventing participation in parliamentary work, the conditions were created for increased activity by individual political parties in the regions. At the same time, economic misery is radicalising the peasant masses, especially in the overcrowded countryside. The anti-Semitic movement also has

¹² On the subject of changes in the Ministry of Military Affairs between 1935 and 1939 Wyszczelski, L. (2010). *Ministerstwo Spraw Wojskowych (1918–1939)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, pp. 183–207.

¹³ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 1st Quarter 1936.

¹⁴ Characteristics of the Polish regime at the time Topolski, J. (2015). *Historia Polski*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, pp. 275–280.

an economic background. The difficult living conditions are also radicalising young people and students. Pensioners have had their benefits reduced by one third. In this case, however, it is the least agile element in the anti-government protests. At the same time, economic influences facilitate political agitation, in which one can also observe certain influences of foreign ideology - Nazi on the right, Communist on the left. Over time, the struggle takes on serious forms and leads to serious events - daily anti-Jewish riots, lively strike movements linked in more than one case to clashes with state forces. The Polish Minister of Education was alleged in the report of this quarterly report to have declared that one million children could not be adequately educated because there were no funds to increase the number of teaching posts. The strongest political agitation was recorded among the National Democrats and the People's Party. Minority issues have taken a slight back seat in recent months. However, the self-confidence of Germans is growing rapidly in the context of an expansive German policy. In the final part of this passage, the Attaché did not mince his words, and in connection with the oppression of the Lithuanian minority and the lack of Lithuanian schools in Poland, he literally said: „It would be a grateful task to make a comparison of the situation of minorities in Poland with the situation of some Polish minorities abroad. It would show, to put it mildly, the unjustifiability of Polish complaints, applied according to the tactics used here, i.e., immediately and in an exaggerated manner, mainly against Czechoslovakia and Poland.“¹⁵

In the passage assessing foreign policy, it is stated at the outset that the opposition and the public did not find in Minister Beck's exposé on the country's course answers to the many concerns with which Beck's policy is viewed.¹⁶ Its assessment is cited as dangerous because of the possibility of becoming too dependent on Berlin. Polish foreign policy has otherwise been characterised in recent months by a desire to avoid unilateral political engagement. Nevertheless, it has been possible to observe an effort to maintain as close contact with Germany as possible. The Czechoslovak attaché, however, added in a report that Beck's policy towards Germany was apparently only opportunistic. He also stated that there continued to be brazen attacks against Czechoslovakia. There were no significant changes in the Polish-Soviet relationship. The conclusion of the Franco-Soviet Pact caused considerable nervousness in Poland, because it gave the impression that the Pact was diminishing the power of Poland and the possibilities of Polish foreign policy. Communist propaganda by the Soviets, directed particularly at the east

¹⁵ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 1st Quarter 1936.

¹⁶ The then Polish-German rapprochement was also watched with concern from Czechoslovakia for a long time. On the subject, see Kamiński, M. K. (2014). *Szkice z dziejów Polski i Czechosłowacji w latach trzydziestych XX wieku*. Warszawa: Neriton, pp. 75–87.

of the country, was said to have necessitated the strengthening of the local Border Corps.¹⁷

Second Quarter 1936

The report for the second quarter of 1936 was dated 7 July 1936. By comparison, in terms of Czechoslovakia's defence capability, it was in the spring of 1936 that great and long-prepared progress was made in the form of the adoption of Act No. 131/1936 Coll. on the defence of the state.¹⁸ Both Czechoslovakia and Poland looked to the future with the same apprehension, and the legislation adopted in both countries corresponded to this. It was in this atmosphere that the next summary report arrived.¹⁹

Both Czechoslovakia and Poland looked to the future with the same apprehension²⁰, and the legislation adopted in both countries corresponded to this. It was in this atmosphere that the next summary report arrived. In the passage on military reports, the Czechoslovak attaché reported that: "Of the two main dangers, Soviet and German, the German danger has receded even further into the background. It can be said that the Soviet danger is now the only driving force behind the immediate action of the decisive Polish circles."²¹

Another interesting note is the slogans spread in Polish society t government positions. For example, the statement is made that the basis of the strength of the state is the dedication of the worker with the soldier. To direct all the branches of the state into one united will - to have a powerful army. The new Polish Prime Minister Felicjan Sławoj Składkowski²² summed it up directly in the slogan: "I am going to fight - help me, all of you!" Alternatively,

¹⁷ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 1st Quarter 1936.

¹⁸ Further to the topic Řepa, T (2023). Záměry a proces přijetí zákona č. 131/1936 Sb. o obraně státu. *Paginae Historiae*, issue 31(1), pp. 444–463; likewise Řepa, T. (2022). Proces schvalování zákona o obraně státu z roku 1936. *Dějiny a dějepis*, issue 36(1-2), pp. 41–60; likewise Řepa, T. (2022). Reakce vojenské správy na zvýšené ohrožení republiky ve 30. letech se zaměřením na přijetí zákona č. 131/1936 Sb. o obraně státu. In S. Polnar, T. Řepa (Eds.) *Ozbrojené síly a československý stát III*. Brno: Univerzita obrany, pp. 37–63.

¹⁹ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1936.

²⁰ For comparison, a Polish military historian's view of the Czechoslovak army at the time in the interwar period Wiśniewski, J. P. (2001). *Armia czechosłowacka w latach 1932–1938*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.

²¹ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1936.

²² For a summary of his life story see Chojnowski, A. – Wróbel, P. (1992). *Prezydenci i premierzy Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, pp. 360–373; likewise Sioma, M. (2005). *Sławoj Felicjan Składkowski (1885–1962): żołnierz i polityk*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.

the slogan: “Defence of Poland! We must begin to live a cruel life full of sacrificing everything for the defence of a strong Poland. Without falling into communism or fascism.” Somewhat surprisingly, the more educated the citizen, the more valuable the soldier.²³

Furthermore, the report for the second quarter of 1936 contained information that the collection for the National Defence Fund was having some success. Donations for the army have been coming in almost daily during the past two months. This is either from the workers in the form of overtime in the factories or in the results of the collection in monetary form. However, the author of the report also states that there can be no question of spontaneous action, that many of the donations are forced by the leaders and managers or that they do not represent a special value when compared with the intended disarmament actions. Moreover, such actions are not reported to have contributed much to raising the prestige of the army. The main observation of the internal Polish political situation is that the Inspector General of the Polish Armed Forces, Edward Śmigły-Rydz, has decided to intervene in state affairs outside the military sphere and has already become politically involved as the second man in the country after President Mościcki.²⁴ However, according to the report, he is not yet a universally recognised leader with high authority. A consequence of this political breakthrough was to be the establishment of a kind of interim Ministry of Propaganda. The primacy of the army in the Polish state was not only maintained but further consolidated during this period. The Polish-Czechoslovak relationship remained unchanged. A section of the daily press continues to focus on scathing criticism of Czechoslovakia, which it accuses of collaboration with the Soviets despite Czechoslovak denials. The military press, by contrast, is sober after the previous interventions and reservations of the Czechoslovak attaché and does not carry tendentious articles.²⁵

In a summary of important changes and regulations, it is stated, among other things, that a law on state water works has been adopted with the intention of regulating mountain rapids mostly along the border with Czechoslovakia. Other sub-legislative measures include changes in the equipment and armament of the Polish State Police. New uniforms are distributed by another measure again to court officials and bailiffs. A regulation implementing the law on the provision of care for persons especially meritorious for the independence of Poland has also been adopted. Changes have been made to the speeding up of rail freight transport and to the control of the performance of aeroplanes

²³ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1936.

²⁴ Kosman, M. (2021). *Dějiny Polska*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova and Karolinum, pp. 293–295.

²⁵ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1936.

and balloons, as well as to the technical supervision of them.²⁶ At the same time, competences were divided between military and civil instances.²⁷ Supplements to the military service regulations were adopted and a new fuel mixture of 25 % alcohol, 55 % petrol and 20 % benzene was introduced for all vehicles except aircraft and diesel engines. The miscellaneous military matters section of the report included information on the details of remarks made by Śmigły-Rydz²⁸ at the Legionnaires' Union congress at the end of May 1936, with the emphasis on his part that the Polish army must insist on the economic consolidation of the state.²⁹ The observation is made that the Inspector General should continue to act not only as the supreme representative of the army but also as a kind of arbiter in Polish political disputes.³⁰

The entry into the passage reporting on international events and foreign policy is also, with regard to future events and the pretext³¹ for the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany, information about the decree issued on the control of the turnover of goods in contact with foreign countries and the Free City of Danzig. Józef Beck remained Foreign Minister in the next government, where he again promoted possible cooperation with Germany, even though there were increasing signs that Germany had hostile intentions towards Poland. Traditionally good relations were reported, especially with Hungary, with whom new treaties were signed in a number of areas, and the balance of trade was to be further strengthened. On the other hand, the most distrustful attitude towards the Soviets was emphasised. Relations continued to be aggravated by increased Soviet subversion, both among the population (particularly in the east of the country) and among the military. The Czechoslovak Attaché himself states that these were at least partly justified fears. With a great deal of foresight, the attaché directly states that Poland would be happy to participate in the division of Czechoslovakia if the opportunity arose. There are also tendentious border incidents. At the end of the report on the second quarter, it is said of Czechoslovak-Polish relations: “a further cooling of sympathy for us can be reported.”³²

²⁶ Kozłowski, E. (1964). *Wojsko Polskie 1936–1939: Próby modernizacji i rozbudowy*. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, pp. 28–44.

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ Further on topic see Pawłowski, T. (2009). *Armia marszałka Śmigłego: idea rozbudowy Wojska Polskiego 1935–1939*. Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM.

²⁹ On further political developments Watt, R. M. (1979). *Bitter Glory: Poland and Its Fate 1918 to 1939*...., pp. 369–375.

³⁰ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1936.

³¹ Řezník, M. (2010). *Dějiny Polska v datech*. Praha: Libri, p. 374.

³² MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 2nd Quarter 1936.

Third Quarter 1936

The report for the third quarter of 1936 is dated November 30, 1936. In the military report, it is stated at the beginning that French General Gamelin visited Warsaw. General Śmigły-Rydz in turn visited France, with whom a loan negotiation was also reached. Śmigły-Rydz was also appointed to the rank of marshal on the Polish Independence Day, 11 November. Meanwhile, the Attaché reports that the newly promoted Commander-in-Chief's position is still relatively weak. This is not only with the general public, but also with many military circles. According to a confidential private source, the report states that the Polish army command wants to build up a particularly strong anti-tank defence within one year and to motorise the army to a degree equivalent to that of Poland's two great neighbours, Germany and the Soviet Union, within four to five years. It is clearly stated that the Poles cannot yet even come close to matching the German assault vehicles.³³ Anti-tank guns are envisaged mainly for infantry, then cavalry divisions, and finally as a backup to the division commander. For future years it is to be achieved that the infantry battalions should have two anti-tank guns each, the cavalry the same number, and the division commander at least four pieces. In the passage on military affairs, the Attaché reports that despite all his efforts he has not been able to obtain further information on the planned motorisation of the Polish army, but he also sees the problem in the poor situation of the road network and the difficulties in producing vehicles. Specific new information indicates that production of Polski Fiat trucks is underway, and Polski Fiat small passenger cars are to be adapted to heavy machine gun platforms and operators. The report reiterates that at parades Polish units have a great military look. Among other minor findings, it is noted that anti-German sentiment is intensifying in the officer corps. Also, that there are changes in the hitherto rigid military discipline, which is supposed to be due to the gradual transformation of the commanding cadres, especially among those who no longer come from the ranks of the original Polish nobility.³⁴

In a review of important changes and regulations, it is noted, among other things, that, as a result of the tightening of defence intelligence, the sending of official military bulletins to all foreign diplomats and military attachés was stopped in the middle of the year. Among the changes in important laws, mention is made of the publication of the uniform text of the Post Office, Telegraph, and Telephone Act in time of war. There is also a new post

³³ 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).

³⁴ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 3rd Quarter 1936.

of Inspector of Air and Gas Defence, regulations implementing the National Defence Fund Act, regulations directed towards the promotion of motorisation, and a list of schools authorising military officer training.³⁵ Other items include the classification of the Hel Peninsula and Hel Scythe as fortified areas, the youth labour service, a decree reducing the benefits of military persons guilty in any way, and a report on the electrification of Warsaw railway station.³⁶

The miscellaneous section of the report contains information about the lack of bomber aviation in the Polish Army.³⁷ In addition, a major aviation accident was the tragedy during the testing of a prototype twin-engine aircraft, in which two outstanding Polish and two Romanian test pilots were killed. The Romanian military attaché in Poland reacted emotionally to this with a critical statement on the Polish military industry. Other changes were made to parachute training. From a private source, the report states that a sharpened registration of the military books of Ukrainians is being carried out, with agreed signs being entered in their military books. Many Ukrainians are said to have recently been transferred to the infantry, where they do not have access to special weapons and positions of greater responsibility.³⁸

There is an interesting note in the report that speaks of the ruling regime securing its position by over-involving the military in matters of internal affairs and domestic politics due to its weakness and isolationism.³⁹ The report characterizes the Polish domestic political scene in the third quarter of 1936 as follows: „In the cities the masses are divided into two great groups. First of all, it is the Right, i.e., the National Democratic Party, which does not form a homogeneous whole and shows considerable fragmentation on its wings. In fact, alongside the official National Democratic Party there is the camp of the former radical wing representing the younger elements, and then a group made up of even younger elements, grouped around the magazine *Falanga*. Secondly, there is the left, made up mainly of the socialist party and socialist trade union organisations. Supporters of the Communist Party, illegal in Poland, are also looking elsewhere for a base. The left undeniably includes a large majority of the Jewish minority, very significant in Polish cities. In the countryside, the People's Party is predominant. Its positions are particularly strong in the former Halych. It is difficult to estimate what is the relative proportion of these large groups. There have been no regular elections in Poland for a long time. Some basis for assessing the present-day Polish stratification can be drawn from municipal elections, but even these occur

³⁵ Generally, on the topic Feret, S. (1972). *Polska Sztuka Wojenna 1918–1939*. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, Biblioteka Wiedzy Wojskowe.

³⁶ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 3rd Quarter 1936.

³⁷ Kozłowski, E. (1964). *Wojsko Polskie 1936–1939...*, pp. 232–242.

³⁸ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 3rd Quarter 1936.

³⁹ Topolski, J. (2015). *Historia Polski*, pp. 275–280.

only in exceptional cases. It is possible to conclude that the greatest masses of the Polish nation follow the People's Party and the Party of Polish Socialists, between which cooperation is established. Even a remarkable part of the Polish intelligentsia sympathises with this group. The National Democrats have their old firm positions mainly in the countries of Greater Poland and then among the Polish bourgeois element and the academic youth. They benefit in their agitation mainly from the anti-Semitic sentiments which are everywhere in Poland today.⁴⁰

Foreign policy was this time developed rather more briefly. It is stated that the most important event in the past period was the strengthening of the Polish-French relationship. According to the report, the alliance between Poland and France had many supporters among the general public. As far as German-Polish relations are concerned, the Gdansk question is the most emphasised. The German political aim in Danzig was to eliminate the political opposition. The opposition parties were gaining strength, the opposition press was spreading despite all restrictions. The starting point was thus open conflict. During this period various incidents like the one with the cruiser Leipzig on 25 June 1936, which soon spilled over to the League of Nations. The German side was then to attempt a coup in Danzig by legal means, i.e., by changing the constitution after the victorious elections. Polish-Soviet relations, by contrast, remained at the same bad level as in the past. With Czechoslovakia, relations also did not undergo any substantial changes, and the intensity of the press campaign against Czechoslovakia was to be reduced because of Poland's rapprochement with France. Among European political issues, it was the events in the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa that were drawing attention in Poland in view of the beginning of the Spanish Civil War (17 July 1936).⁴¹ As in other countries, the question of sympathy for the rebels or, on the contrary, for the government camp divided Polish society. The parties of the left openly sympathised with the government, while the majority of the Polish right, including circles representing the Catholic Church, sided with the Spanish rebels.⁴²

Fourth Quarter 1936

The final report for 1936 mentions at the outset that the new Marshal Edward Śmigły-Rydz had not yet met the high expectations of his position. The biggest success is considered to be the French loan, which, even in the opinion of senior

⁴⁰ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 3rd Quarter 1936.

⁴¹ In detail Chalupa, J. (2023). *Dějiny Španělska*. Praha: NLN, pp. 483–509.

⁴² MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 3rd Quarter 1936.

military officials, should serve to rearm the Polish army quickly. This should concern mainly heavy, anti-tank and anti-aircraft artillery, bomber aviation, submarines and greater industrialisation of the country leading to self-sufficiency. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak military attaché, Polish society was divided after the death of Piłsudski, who was to combine the authority of a soldier and a politician. The course of Foreign Minister Beck's foreign policy⁴³ and the course of Śmigły-Rydz's military policy⁴⁴ inevitably led to a certain double track. The army itself must not politicise anything.⁴⁵

In the summary of legal changes and regulations (much more concise than in previous reports), it is stated, among other things, that the military tax has been abolished and that labour service has been introduced as a kind of alternative conscription. The reason given for this was that the collection of the military tax was not profitable for the State. A regulation implementing the Gendarmerie Act was adopted, and benefits were also introduced for users of new motor vehicles, particularly with regard to the eastern regions of the country.⁴⁶ An interesting feature was the launching of an anti-unemployment drive affecting unemployed reservists and conscripts, who were to be billeted, fed, clothed and drilled by the nearest regiment.⁴⁷

Concerning relations between Czechoslovakia and Poland, it is again pointed out that the military press in Poland refrains from attacking its southern neighbour. The civilian press, however, has continued its tendentious campaigns, but in recent months even this activity has waned. It is interesting to note that the German press campaign against Czechoslovakia is widely adopted in Poland. There is even talk of Bolshevisation, a purposeful interpretation of some Soviet articles describing the new Czechoslovak airports. From a confidential source, the attaché's report describes the fact that only 120 million francs of the French loan to the Poles is to go for heavy artillery. In this respect, even the participation of the Czechoslovak Skoda is not excluded. The latter would then want to saturate France with supplies of non-competitive material. Recent successful tests of the 220mm mortar are said to have strengthened Skoda's position again. In 1937, air lines from Poland to the south via Czechoslovakia would be expanded, and the attaché considered this in his report as a chance to remind the Poles that if they wanted to fly over

⁴³ Dejmek, J. (1997). Ministr Józef Beck a jeho zahraniční politika v pohledu československých diplomatů 1932–1939. (Příspěvek k dějinám československo-polských diplomatických vztahů). In *Slovanské historické studie: pocta Henrykovi Batowskému*, issue 31, pp. 105–143.

⁴⁴ Detailed information on the topic Pawłowski, T. (2009). *Armia marszałka Śmigłego: idea rozbudowy Wojska Polskiego 1935–1939*. Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM.

⁴⁵ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1936.

⁴⁶ On the situation in the eastern regions of Poland in interwar period Brzoza, C. – Sowa, A. L. (2006). *Historia Polski: 1918–1945*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, pp. 211–231.

⁴⁷ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1936.

our territory, he should also care about good relations with us.⁴⁸ At the beginning of January 1937, the change of the Romanian military attaché here, Lieutenant Colonel of the General Staff Diaconescu, was reported after four and a half years here. He was a firm and outspoken advocate of Romanian interests. Czechoslovak Attaché Ferdinand Silvester further states that in the person of the outgoing Romanian Attaché he is losing one of his most sincere collaborators. His successor, Major Baiculescu, seems to be too pliable.⁴⁹

In terms of the internal political situation in Poland, it is stated that the last quarter of 1936 brought no major changes. The Attaché expressed the general situation in these words: „There has been no change either in the progress of further disintegration of the ruling party, or in the further growth of opposition parties, and radicalism in the popular strata. The regime, which has emerged thanks to the new constitution and the new electoral code, is actually relying only on the means of power of the state executive. On the army, both in terms of its strength and its universally acknowledged inviolability. The former sanitation camp is in decay. This increases the importance of the army as a solid and permanent component that both the government and opposition groups must reckon with. The appointment of Marshal Śmigły-Rydz as Marshal of Poland, the second man in the state and the leader of the nation, is at the same time to ensure the army's public role as arbiter⁵⁰ in Polish politics.“⁵¹

In the Polish Parliament at the end of November and the beginning of December 1936, Prime Minister Składkowski and other high officials assured that they had good will in social policy. In a speech, the Prime Minister even declared that there were only two categories of people in Poland - some who worked and others who lamented the misery of the working man. He called on MEPs to criticise only in a factual manner. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak attaché, the general debate showed the severe economic and internal political problems with which Poland is struggling today. The report also openly described the difficulties of the frequent anti-Jewish riots against which the Prime Minister also spoke out. One of the reasons given in the report is that able-bodied inhabitants with an interest in commerce and industry are moving from the overcrowded villages to the towns, where they encounter a large Jewish population.⁵² Some political parties even want to solve this by forcibly evicting

⁴⁸ In addition to European international relations in this period Batowski, H. (2008). *Między dwiema wojnami 1919–1939: zarys historii dyplomatycznej*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, pp. 218–251.

⁴⁹ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1936.

⁵⁰ Stawecki, P. (1969). *Następcy Komendanta: Wojsko a polityka wewnętrzna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1935–1939*. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, pp. 21–25.

⁵¹ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1936.

⁵² For an explanation of the origins of the Jewish community in Poland at that time, see Watt, R. M. (1979). *Bitter Glory: Poland and Its Fate 1918 to 1939...*, pp. 358–361.

the Jewish population from Poland. The report for the fourth quarter of 1936 is also specific in that it discusses in considerable detail the political tensions within the Polish governmental grouping and among the opposition. The German minority in Poland was becoming more active and Nazi influences were penetrating across the border. At the same time, a section of the Polish public is showing increased concern about the oppression of the Polish minority in Germany and is taking more notice of the comparison with the situation of the German minority in Poland. Difficulties also persist in relation to the Ukrainian minority. Ukrainians complain that very little has been done on the Polish side to meet Ukrainian demands. In particular, this concerns the situation in education and agriculture. The situation of the Lithuanian and Belarusian minorities is also dismal.⁵³

In foreign policy Poland was very active at the end of 1936. Minister Beck visited Paris (15 October 1936) and London (7 November 1936). The Danzig question is still the subject of very difficult negotiations. The situation was exacerbated by attacks on the Polish minority in the city. The press agency of the Polish Foreign Ministry immediately stressed that local incidents could not affect the action of the Polish Government. On 19 December 1936, Minister Beck made a speech in Parliament in which he praised the permanence of the Franco-Polish alliance. His aforementioned visits to Paris and London were particularly welcomed by a significant section of the Polish public concerned about the intensity of diplomatic relations between Berlin and Warsaw.⁵⁴ Poland's unfriendly attitude towards the Little Agreement remained unchanged during this period. So did the overall relationship with Czechoslovakia.⁵⁵

Conclusion

The year 1936 was characterised by a further deterioration of the international situation to which all European countries reacted, Poland and Czechoslovakia not excluded. In the reports to the Military Office of the President of the Republic by the Czechoslovak military attaché in Poland, it was, as in 1935, a period rich in important events. It concerned far-reaching social changes, also connected with social tensions, the reverberations of the economic crisis, the revanchism of the states defeated in the First World War and the associated increase in tensions. A concrete example is the remilitarisation of the Rhineland by Nazi Germany. The subsequent

⁵³ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1936.

⁵⁴ Additionally, to the topic Friedl, J. – Jurek, T. – Řezník, M. – Wihoda, M. (2017), *Dějiny Polska*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, pp. 459–460.

⁵⁵ MHA, fund Military Office of the President of the Republic, carton 153. Summary Report on Poland – 4th Quarter 1936.

symbolic diplomatic protests by the Western European democracies were a demonstration of a policy of appeasement that not only failed to stop further aggression but, on the contrary, further encouraged it. New measures were introduced in European countries in response to advances in military technology. In Poland, attempts were made to modernise an obsolete army and to speed up the process of motorisation. It can also be reiterated that the fate of Poland and Czechoslovakia was similar in that, due to their disadvantageous geographical location, they were states surrounded on several sides by countries with hostile intentions. Their foreign policy also corresponded to this. Poland was wary of both Germany and the Soviet Union. However, the policy of the Polish Foreign Minister Józef Beck towards Germany remained relatively friendly. In this situation, the Inspector General of the Polish Armed Forces, Edward Śmigły-Rydz, decided to act as the second man in the country after President Mościcki. The army was to be the main guarantor of the survival of an independent Poland. To understand the times, the reactions of politicians, the military administration and society as a whole, the reports of the Czechoslovak military attaché from Poland 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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PARTICULARITIES

Cyprus Question: An Overlooked Crisis of 1964

Jana Vlčková Musilová / e-mail: musilova@ped.muni.cz
Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

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This year marks sixty years since the signing of the August ceasefire, which temporarily halted the bloody conflict between Cypriot Greeks and Cypriot Turks. This contribution aims to highlight the key and often overlooked moments in the history of the Republic of Cyprus in the second half of the 20th century, which significantly influenced not only the events on the island but also international politics—both in the context of the Cold War and in the relationship between the Turkish Republic and a unified Europe¹, Greece, the USA, and not least the USSR. From a geopolitical standpoint, Cyprus was a strategic point between the USSR, the Suez Canal, and Europe, as well as an important link to the oil fields in the Persian Gulf region.² From the aforementioned, it was clear that the events of 1964 could not have escaped the attention of the key players in global affairs at that time, and thus Cyprus became yet another hot spot of the Cold War.

The genesis of the Cyprus issue, in the context of the significant deterioration of relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, can be traced back to the first half of the 1960s—a development that erupted at the end of 1963 and triggered a long-lasting crisis. At its outset, there was an attempt by then-Cypriot President Makarios³ to amend the constitution. At the end of November 1963, President

¹ The author uses the term *unified Europe* to refer to the process of European integration that began in 1952 and concluded with the establishment of *the European Union* on November 1, 1993. After November 1, 1993, the author exclusively uses the term *European Union*.

² CIA, Rustow, D. A.: *The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest*. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 3. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

³ President Makarios had previously sought foreign support for his plans, focusing primarily on Non-Aligned Movement member states, the Soviet bloc, and the USSR. He also gained the support of the Cypriot Communist Party AKEL. These developments heightened U.S. concerns about the growing Soviet influence, leading to an intensified U.S. interest in Cyprus

Makarios published 13 constitutional amendments⁴, which the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey refused to accept. The most intense reaction was provoked by the revision of the arrangements in the armed forces, police, and civil services so that they would reflect the actual division of the population, along with the abolition of the veto power of both the president and the vice president. In protest, the Turkish Cypriots left the Cypriot government and began moving into their enclaves. These constitutional changes were de facto seen as the formation of a Greek/centralized Cyprus. By December 21, 1963, it had become clear that any discussion about amending the constitution was impossible, and the situation even provoked a huge wave of violence⁵ between the two Cypriot communities.⁶

“This deadlock triggered a wave of violence between the communities and led to the departure of Turkish Cypriots from government and state positions. The Greek Cypriots saw this departure as the first step toward establishing their own administration. The Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, claimed that they were forced to leave. A small British military contingent stationed in Cyprus was able to control only a limited part of the violence.”⁷

On December 24, 1963, the Greek and Turkish military units stationed on the island under the Treaty of Alliance responded to the unrest between two

and the adoption of several decisions aimed at maintaining and even strengthening NATO forces while countering Soviet influence in the Eastern Mediterranean.

⁴ 1. Abolition of the presidential and vice-presidential veto power. 2. Granting the vice president full authority to represent the president during temporary absence or incapacity. 3. Modification of the election process for the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives. 4. Granting the Deputy Speaker full authority to represent the Speaker in case of temporary absence or incapacity. 5. Abolition of constitutional provisions requiring a separate majority for passing laws in the House of Representatives. 6. Establishment of unified municipalities. 7. Unification of the judiciary. 8. Abolition of the division of security forces into police and gendarmerie. 9. The size of security and defence forces will be determined by law. 10. The proportion of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in public services and armed forces will be adjusted to reflect the actual population ratio by ethnic groups. 11. The number of members of the Public Service Commission will be reduced from ten to five. 12. All decisions of the Public Service Commission will be adopted by a simple majority. 13. Abolition of the Greek Communal Chamber. See more: 13 Points (30 November 1963). Available at: <https://www.pio.gov.cy/en/assets/pdf/cyproblem/13%20points.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁵ From ordinary street fights that began in late 1963 in Nicosia to a massive wave of violence that engulfed the entire island.

⁶ On December 21, 1963, a wave of violence erupted in Nicosia after Greek Cypriot police officers killed two Turkish Cypriots on the outskirts of the Turkish quarter in Nicosia. See more: UN, *Minorities at Risk Project, Chronology for Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus*. The UN Refugee Agency 2004. Available at: <https://webarchive.archive.unhcr.org/20230519073351/https://www.refworld.org/docid/469f387d1e.html> [cit. 19. 12. 2024]. Further confrontations soon followed.

⁷ UN, Special Research Report No. 3: Cyprus: New Hope after 45 Years on the Security Council Agenda.

Security Council Report. Available at: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/research-reports/lookup-c-glkwlemtisg-b-4474149.php> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

Cypriot communities.⁸ The individual contingents began mobilizing to support the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish contingent relocated to the northern part of the capital, where numerous clashes occurred between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.⁹ This transfer of the Turkish contingent was likely facilitated by the support of the Turkish Air Force. On December 25, the Cypriot government confronted the Turkish government over the violation of Cypriot airspace by Turkish fighter jets. In the following days, reports of Turkish naval movements along the southern coast of Turkey surfaced regularly.¹⁰ On December 26, the Cypriot government submitted a complaint¹¹ to the UN Security Council, strongly emphasizing Turkey's actions, which included:

“a) Turkish military aircraft violated Cyprus’ airspace; they flew at very low altitudes, circled over Nicosia, and carried out several intimidating flyovers. These actions were intended, on the one hand, to frighten the Greek population of Cyprus and, on the other, to encourage Turkish insurgents in their persistent attacks against the police and their attempts to take control of the Greek sector.

b) Turkish warships violated Cyprus’ territorial waters, with their presence and actions serving the same purpose as described above.

c) On December 25, 1963, the Turkish Prime Minister announced before the Turkish parliament the deployment of aircraft and naval units, as mentioned above, and threatened the use of force. Additionally, there were threatening movements of paratroopers along the Turkish coast closest to Cyprus.

d) Turkish military units moved into Nicosia and joined the Turkish Cypriot insurgents fighting against the police while also attempting to attack the Greek sector.”¹²

In response to the Cypriot government's appeal, the UN Security Council included the Cyprus issue on the agenda of Meeting 1085, held on December 27, 1963. However, no significant resolution was adopted, and the Cyprus agenda remained open.¹³

⁸ See more Treaty of Alliance (with Additional Protocols). Signed at Nicosia, on 16 August 1960. Available at:

<https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/default/files/document/files/2024/05/cy20gr20tr600816treaty20of20alliance2028with20additionnal20protocols29.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁹ UN, UNFICYP. United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. Available at: <https://unficy.unmissions.org/history> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ UN, Rossides, Z.: *Letter dated 26 December 1963 from the representative of Cyprus to the President of the Security Council*. Available at:

<https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Cyprus%20S5488.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

¹² Ibid.

¹³ UN, Complaint by the Government of Cyprus and Decision of 27 December 1963 (1085th meeting), pp. 219-220. Available

at: https://main.un.org/securitycouncil/sites/default/files/en/sc/repertoire/59-63/Chapter%208/59-63_08-26-Complaint%20by%20the%20Government%20of%20Cyprus.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

And UN, Yearbook of UN 1963. Part Sec 1 Chapter 4: *The Question of Cyprus*, pp. 50-53.

On December 26, 1963, representatives of the governments of the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey decided to intervene in the bloodshed on the island.¹⁴ Together, they formed a peacekeeping force called the Joint Truce Force,¹⁵ under British command¹⁶, which indicated Britain's continued foreign policy interest in maintaining influence over the island. This also represented an attempt (at this moment) to establish a peacekeeping force outside the organizational structures of the UN¹⁷ or NATO¹⁸. The force was led by British Major General Peter Young.¹⁹ A ceasefire was agreed upon on December 29, and on December 30, the establishment of a neutral zone along the ceasefire line (“Green Line”) between the two warring communities in Nicosia was approved. This, among other things, contributed to the gradual formation of ethnic enclaves on the island.²⁰ The neutral zone was to be monitored by the joint peacekeeping forces, but in practice, this task was carried out almost exclusively by the British contingent. The “Green Line” was originally an imaginary boundary drawn by Peter Young to separate the opposing parts of Nicosia.

On January 1, 1964, British diplomacy was shaken not only by reports of continued gunfire but, more importantly, by the Cypriot government's—at that time represented mainly by Greek Cypriots—and President Makarios' attempt to annul the Treaty of Alliance and the Treaty of Guarantee²¹. Under pressure from British diplomats, President Makarios reconsidered his position and stated that his government was merely “*seeking to ensure the termination of these treaties*

Available at:

https://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter_pdf/1963YUN/1963_P1_SEC1_CH4.pdf
[cit. 19. 12. 2024].

- ¹⁴ These three states claimed that they were acting in accordance with the Treaty of Alliance, Treaty of Establishment, and Treaty of Guarantee.
- ¹⁵ The Joint Truce Force was established based on two documents: the Treaty of Alliance and the Treaty of Establishment.
- ¹⁶ UK Parliament. Letter to the President of the Security Council from Mr. R. Jackling, Acting United Kingdom Permanent Representative to the United Nations, 8th January 1964. *Cyprus Volume 687*: debated on Tuesday 14 January 1964. UK Parliament, House of Commons. Available at: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1964-01-14/debates/8330e428-cb25-471f-af1e-c783788516c6/Cyprus> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].
- ¹⁷ If the Cyprus issue were submitted to the UN, it could lead to a weakening of British influence on the island.
- ¹⁸ Cyprus was not a member of NATO, therefore intervention by this organization would not be possible.
- ¹⁹ UK Parliament. *Letter to the President of the Security Council from Mr. R. Jackling, Acting United Kingdom Permanent Representative to the United Nations, 8th January 1964. Cyprus Volume 687*: debated on Tuesday 14 January 1964. UK Parliament, House of Commons. Available at: <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1964-01-14/debates/8330e428-cb25-471f-af1e-c783788516c6/Cyprus> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].
- ²⁰ Broome, J. J. (2005). *Building the bridges across the Green Line: A Guide to Intercultural Communication in Cyprus*. Nicosia, p. 5.
- ²¹ *Makarios action worries Britain; But Officials Still See Hope for Accord on Cyprus*. The New York Times, January 2, 1964, p. 13. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/01/02/archives/makarios-action-worries-britain-but-officials-still-see-hope-for.html> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

by appropriate means.”²² President Makarios likely intended to persuade the UN Security Council to challenge the guarantee treaties by seeking the adoption of a resolution confirming the territorial integrity and political independence of Cyprus.²³ Such a move was, of course, unacceptable to the signatory states of the guarantee treaties, as well as to the United States, which was determined to prevent the spread of Soviet influence—or, more broadly, the influence of the Non-Aligned Movement—in the Eastern Mediterranean. Makarios' actions also sparked reactions in the press, including articles in *The New York Times*²⁴, which, for example, quoted Cypriot Vice President Fazıl Küçük, who publicly declared that he was no longer the vice president of Cyprus and that the constitution no longer existed.²⁵ F. Küçük emphasized the principles on which the Republic of Cyprus had been founded and how these foundations—based on three international treaties and the constitution—were being undermined by Makarios' actions. Vice President Küçük saw the only solution to the crisis as the partition of the island into Greek and Turkish Cypriot zones.²⁶ However, from the perspective of the international interests of key political players in the Eastern Mediterranean, neither alternative was ideal. Whether *enosis* (union with Greece) or *taksim* (partition) would likely not have reduced British and American influence on the island. At the same time, both potential arrangements for Cyprus would likely have provoked opposition from the USSR and Egypt, as both states had long sought to limit Western influence in the eastern Levant.²⁷

As previously mentioned, at the turn of 1963 and 1964, the conflict drew the attention of Turkey and the United Kingdom, and alongside the establishment of the Joint Truce Force, it was agreed that a conference of representatives of the

²² *Makarios action worries Britain; But Officials Still See Hope for Accord on Cyprus*. *The New York Times*, January 2, 1964, p. 13. Available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/1964/01/02/archives/makarios-action-worries-britain-but-officials-still-see-hope-for.html> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

²³ Department of State, Central Files POL 23–8 CYP. Secret; Immediate; Exdis. Repeated to USUN. Passed to the White House, JCS, OSD, CIA, CINCEUR, and CINCSTRIKE. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. 11. Telegram From the Embassy in Cyprus to the Department of State. Nicosia, February 13, 1964, 1:45 a.m. Available at:

<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d11> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

²⁴ *Cyprus: solution long way off: Recent Clashes Reflect Tenuous Greek-Turkish Relations*. *The New York Times*, January 5, 1964, Section E, p. 5. Available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/1964/01/05/archives/cyprus-solution-long-way-off-recent-clashes-reflect-tenuous.html> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

²⁵ UN, Rossides, Z.: *Letter dated 2 May 1966 from the permanent representative of Cyprus addressed to the Secretary-General*. S7276, 2 May 1966, p. 1. A The World. *The New York Times*, January 5, 1964, section E, p. 5. Available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/1964/01/05/archives/the-world.html> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

²⁶ CIA, *The President's Intelligence Checklist*, 31 December 1963, p. 2. Available at:

https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0005996748.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

²⁷ CIA, *Special National Intelligence Estimate. The Cyprus Dispute*, number 29.3-64. 19 June 1964, p. 1. Available at:

https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000273005.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

guarantor states—the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey—along with representatives of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, would be held in London in January 1964. The UN Security Council was informed of these arrangements through a letter²⁸ from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the UN, dated January 8, 1964. Unfortunately, the London Conference, which began on January 15, 1964, did not result in any concrete agreement.

Major disagreements arose regarding the political arrangement of the island and the presence of NATO forces in Cyprus. *“The Cypriot government insisted on the creation of a unified, independent state with protections for the Turkish community in Cyprus, while the leaders of the Turkish Cypriots demanded the geographical separation of the two communities. In response to the British proposal that its military forces should be replaced by military contingents from NATO members and other countries, the Cypriot government insisted that any peacekeeping forces should be under the direct control of the UN and that the entire matter should be submitted to the UN Security Council.”*²⁹

The outcome of the London Conference was likely a major disappointment not only for the United Kingdom but also for the United States, as their primary goal had been to maintain a dominant position on the island. This was evident from their negative reaction to the demand for UN involvement in resolving the Cyprus crisis, as well as from their unsuccessful attempt to settle the “Cyprus problem” on “home ground” - that is, within a narrow circle of the three treaty signatories and the two Cypriot communities that had originally established the Republic of Cyprus.

Although at the turn of 1963–1964, the British government held a key position in the newly established Joint Truce Force, it soon became clear that this alone would not be sufficient to achieve peace on the island. At the London Conference, the United Kingdom attempted to push through a proposal to create a new NATO-based peacekeeping force, despite strong opposition from Greek Cypriots. In this matter, the key partner of the United Kingdom was the United States. The United States feared that the UN might establish a peacekeeping force that would fall outside American control and could include the USSR and Yugoslavia³⁰, as well

²⁸ UN, Jackling, R. W.: Letter dated 8 January 1964 from the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the President of the Security Council. Available at:

<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/607384?v=pdf#files> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

²⁹ UN, Yearbook of UN 1964. Part 1 Sec 1 Chapter 9: The Situation in Cyprus, p. 151. Available at:

https://cdn.un.org/unyearbook/yun/chapter_pdf/1964YUN/1964_P1_SEC1_CH9.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

³⁰ Johnson Library, National Security File, Files of McGeorge Bundy, Miscellaneous Meetings. Top Secret. Drafted by Bromley Smith. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Cyprus 3. Memorandum of Conference with President Johnson. Washington, January 25, 1964, 6:30 p.m. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d3> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

as Non-Aligned Movement member states³¹. Such a development could significantly threaten U.S. interests in the region and, more importantly, jeopardize their position on the international stage in the event of a UN vote on Makarios' proposal challenging the three international treaties and the Cypriot constitution. At the same time, such a step would contradict the U.S. stance in 1963, when it had declared that only the guarantor states and the two Cypriot communities should decide on the dispute. Additionally, the U.S. had to consider that both Greece and Turkey were its allies³². The United Kingdom was initially also opposed to UN involvement, as it was concerned about its sovereign position on the island. However, in the end, Britain accepted the establishment of a UN peacekeeping force as a last resort since maintaining peace on the conflict-ridden island was becoming increasingly difficult³³. The British government eventually concluded that ensuring stability was beyond its capacity and thus had no choice but to seek allies.

After the failure of the London negotiations in mid-January 1964, the United States openly entered the discussion³⁴, which, in the context of the ongoing Cold War, could have led to Soviet intervention, as the USSR at this point supported the Greek Cypriots.³⁵ The Anglo-American plan for the settlement of Cyprus originated from a British initiative and was based on avoiding war between Turkey and Greece while keeping the Cyprus issue under NATO control. At the end of January 1964, a meeting took place in Washington, where, among other things, the British request for the deployment of American troops as part of an allied force in Cyprus was discussed.³⁶ According to George Ball, this British request was unacceptable to the U.S. for several reasons: "*An appeal to the UN was ruled out as the worst possible option. The UN could establish peacekeeping*

³¹ Makarios was one of the 25 leaders who attended the 1961 Belgrade Conference, making him one of the founding members.

³² CIA, Rustow, D. A.: *The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest*. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 2. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

³³ Ker-Lindsay, J. (1999). Britain's central role in the search for an international peacekeeping force for Cyprus, 1963-1964. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 23 (Autumn), pp. 222-245.

³⁴ CIA, Special National Intelligence Estimate, number 29.3-64, 19 June 1964. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000273005.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

³⁵ Johnson Library, Recordings and Transcripts, Recording of a Telephone Conversation Between President Johnson and Ball, August 9, 1964, 6:50 a.m., Tape 64.01, Side B, PNO 1. No classification marking. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Recording of a Telephone Conversation Between President Johnson and Ball, August 9, 1964, 6:50 a.m., Tape 64.01, Side B, PNO 1. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d111> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

³⁶ Johnson Library, National Security File, Files of McGeorge Bundy, Miscellaneous Meetings. Top Secret. Drafted by Bromley Smith. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Memorandum of Conference with President Johnson. Washington, January 25, 1964, 6:30 p.m. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d3> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

forces that would be beyond our control and in which the Russians and Yugoslavs would undoubtedly seek to participate. A NATO-based solution was also impossible, as Cyprus is not a NATO member—even though, in the worst case, two NATO allies would be fighting each other. The tripartite negotiations between the three guarantor powers—the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey—in London had failed. Prime Minister İnönü leads a weak government in Ankara and may struggle to maintain civilian control over the Turkish military. In Athens, where a provisional government is in place, a military coup is possible. The likelihood of such a coup would significantly increase if serious fighting erupted in Cyprus.”³⁷

In response to international reactions, the United States and the United Kingdom modified their original proposal³⁸ to allow for the integration of international forces in cooperation with the UN. Under this new plan, the UN would receive reports on the activities of international peacekeeping forces but would have no authority over the peace operation.³⁹ The United States sent a mission to Cyprus, led by George Ball. The goal of the mission was to convince President Makarios to accept the Anglo-American peace proposal.⁴⁰ However, to the great displeasure of the United States and the United Kingdom, President Makarios refused to accept their plan.

The United States was unwilling to give up and continued to seek alternative ways to implement their plan. For this reason, G. Ball modified the proposal in a way that he believed would be more acceptable to President Makarios and launched a diplomatic initiative. In Greece and Turkey, G. Ball was relatively successful. In his effort to persuade President Makarios, G. Ball revised the plan twice and even met with him several times personally, but without success. The so-called “Ball Revised Plan” was based on the Anglo-American initiative to establish an expanded international peacekeeping force that would be loosely linked to the UN Security Council, yet not directly controlled by it.⁴¹ After two

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ The original plan envisioned a 10,000-strong force, composed of NATO’s main powers. The revised version included European units outside of NATO. See more: *U.S. Spurs Drive to Find Solution in Cyprus Crisis; Ball Confers with Britons and Cypriote in London, Then Flies to Athens; Chances Termed Slim; Turks Accept Plan for U.N. Link to a Peace Force but Insist on Participation*. The New York Times, February 10, 1964, p. 1. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/02/10/archives/us-spurs-drive-to-find-solution-in-cyprus-crisis-ball-confers-with.html> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

³⁹ *U.S. Spurs Drive to Find Solution in Cyprus Crisis; Ball Confers with Britons and Cypriote in London, Then Flies to Athens; Chances Termed Slim; Turks Accept Plan for U.N. Link to a Peace Force but Insist on Participation*. The New York Times, February 10, 1964, p. 1. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/02/10/archives/us-spurs-drive-to-find-solution-in-cyprus-crisis-ball-confers-with.html> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁴⁰ *Plan for Cyprus put to Makarios; Ball Meets Archbishop in Nicosia—Fighting Goes on at Limassol*. The New York Times, February 13, 1963, p. 1. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/02/13/archives/plan-for-cyprus-put-to-makarios-ball-meets-archbishop-in.html> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁴¹ Ibid.

weeks of shuttle diplomacy, U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson received a grim report, stating: *“I believe the bomb in Sarajevo has already exploded, and the Archduke is dead. The governments and people of Greece and Turkey want peace, but they are like characters in a Greek tragedy. They cannot avoid catastrophe on their own without outside help.”*⁴² G. Ball even compared the situation to the Cuban Missile Crisis, suggesting that this could be the second most severe crisis since that event.⁴³

On February 15, 1964, the United Kingdom and Cyprus submitted this matter to the UN Security Council, requesting a formal meeting of the council.⁴⁴ At the same time, Cypriot President Makarios also declared that the UN was the only organization whose intervention he would be willing to accept. This British-Cypriot request deeply disturbed U.S. diplomatic interests, for two key reasons. First, UN intervention in the island’s affairs, and second, the potential threat to the international status of the U.S., particularly in relation to Turkey, which could rightfully feel betrayed.⁴⁵

*“Now we are getting the worst of both worlds—UN intervention, and on top of that, everyone will be angry at us. True, we managed to wriggle out of offering troops, but even so, we are now committed to playing a leading role—if only to save face before the poor Turks, who will rightfully claim that we have deceived them. Meanwhile, of course, the Greeks will continue killing Turks in Cyprus.”*⁴⁶

Diplomatic negotiations at the UN Security Council level took place from mid-February 1964 until early March 1964, when the UN Security Council adopted Resolution No. 186⁴⁷. This resolution called on member states to refrain from any

⁴² Brands, H. W. (1987). America Enters the Cyprus Tangle, 1964. *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 354.

⁴³ Johnson Library, National Security File, Komer Files, Cyprus. Secret. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XXXIII, Organization and Management of Foreign Policy; United Nations. 462. Memorandum From Robert W. Komer of the National Security Council Staff to President Johnson. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v33/d462> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁴⁴ UN, Letter dated 15 February 1964 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom addressed to the President of the Security Council. S/5543, February 15, 1964. Available at: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/607839?v=pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁴⁵ Johnson Library, National Security File, Komer Files, Cyprus. Secret. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XXXIII, Organization and Management of Foreign Policy; United Nations 461. Memorandum From Robert W. Komer of the National Security Council Staff to the President’s Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (Bundy). Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v33/d461> [cit. 19. 12. 2024]. Compare this with the growing anti-American sentiment in Turkey and, for example, the joint Soviet-Turkish project for the construction of a dam on the Arpaçay River.

⁴⁶ Johnson Library, National Security File, Komer Files, Cyprus. Secret. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XXXIII, Organization and Management of Foreign Policy; United Nations 461. Memorandum From Robert W. Komer of the National Security Council Staff to the President’s Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (Bundy). Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v33/d461> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁴⁷ UN, United Nations Security Council resolution, number 186 (1964). Resolution of 4 March 1964 [S/5575], pp. 2–4.

actions that could worsen the situation in Cyprus. Additionally, the resolution authorized the creation of peacekeeping forces, and the appointment of a mediator tasked with seeking a peaceful resolution to the Cyprus issue.

The UN Security Council assigned a 6,000-strong UNFICYP force⁴⁸ for a period of three months⁴⁹, with the mission to help restore normal conditions following the violence and bloodshed between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus. On March 13, the UN Security Council issued another resolution, No. 187⁵⁰, which largely reaffirmed the provisions of the March 4 resolution. Given the increasing tensions in Cyprus, the resolution declared that advance units were already on their way. UNFICYP forces were deployed on the island by the end of March 1964. It is worth noting that since Cyprus gained independence in 1960, British, Greek, and Turkish military units had been operating on the island. Their presence was legitimized through the following treaties:

1. The Treaty of Establishment allowed the United Kingdom to maintain two military bases under British sovereignty.⁵¹
2. The Treaty of Alliance permitted Greece and Turkey to station military contingents in Cyprus, consisting of 950 Greek troops and 650 Turkish troops.⁵²

At the beginning of February, the security situation on the island deteriorated once again, and clashes between the two communities intensified. A critical milestone occurred on February 13, when an attack on Turkish Cypriot targets

Available at: <https://documents.un.org/doc/resolution/gen/nr0/211/44/pdf/nr021144.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁴⁸ CIA, Rustow, D. A.: *The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest*. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 7. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁴⁹ The legalization of their presence in Cyprus was continuously extended. Eg. UN, United Nations Security Council resolution, number 192 (1964). Resolution of 20 June 1964 [S/5778], p. 1. Available at: <https://documents.un.org/doc/resolution/gen/nr0/211/44/pdf/nr021144.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

The current mandate will expire on January 31, 2025.

⁵⁰ UN, United Nations Security Council resolution, number 187 (1964). Resolution of 13 March 1964 [S/5603], p. 1. Available at: <https://documents.un.org/doc/resolution/gen/nr0/211/45/pdf/nr021145.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁵¹ See more: 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. 19. 12. 2024].

⁵² See more: 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 [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

near the city of Limassol resulted in 16 Turkish Cypriots killed and 50 wounded.⁵³ Following this aggression⁵⁴, rumours began to spread that similar bloodshed could occur in another village south of Nicosia⁵⁵. At this moment, for the first time since the outbreak of the unrest, representatives of the Turkish Cypriot community in Cyprus called for military intervention from Turkey, seeing it as the only solution.⁵⁶ The Republic of Turkey found itself in a difficult position—on the one hand, it did not want to escalate the already tense situation, but on the other hand, the violence on the island was intensifying. Its consideration of direct military intervention further sparked diplomatic discussions on the Cyprus issue.⁵⁷ At the same time, Greece was also considering intervention.⁵⁸

Despite numerous negotiations, the unrest⁵⁹ between the two Cypriot communities continued.⁶⁰ The bloody clashes between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots did not cease even after the establishment of the UN peacekeeping force, UNFICYP.⁶¹ Both Greece and Turkey became involved in the conflict to provide support to their respective communities. Turkey threatened military invasion,⁶² which was closely monitored by the United States, and by March, the United States believed that Turkey had taken steps that could lead to

⁵³ CIA, The President's Intelligence Checklist, 14 February 1964, p. 3. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0005996834.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁵⁴ The Greek Cypriots believed that the Turkish Cypriots intended to seize the port. See more: CIA, The President's Intelligence Checklist, 14 February 1964, p. 3. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0005996834.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁵⁵ CIA, The President's Intelligence Checklist, 15 February 1964, p. 5. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0005996837.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ CIA, A, Rustow, D. A.: The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 8. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ In January 1964, armed clashes between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots began. The U.S. government mobilized naval forces in the Eastern Mediterranean (January 1964–September 1964). On January 24, 1964, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots clashed near Paphos, resulting in the deaths of two Greek Cypriots. At the beginning of February, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots fought near Agios Sozomenos, leading to the deaths of six Greek Cypriots and five Turkish Cypriots. About a week later, another confrontation occurred near Limassol, where ten Turkish Cypriots were killed. On March 9, 1964, the UN Secretary-General called for a ceasefire. On March 12, 1964, the Turkish government threatened to use military force in Cyprus to protect Turkish Cypriots. On March 19, 1964, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots clashed near Lefka, resulting in the deaths of two Turkish Cypriots and one Greek Cypriot. On June 5, 1964, the Turkish government announced that it had abandoned plans for military intervention in Cyprus.

⁶⁰ See more: Daily Telegraph, 14 January 1964. The Observer, 16 January 1964. Washington Post, 17 January 1964. Daily Telegraph, 15 February 1964.

⁶¹ See more: UN, Report by the Secretary-General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus. S/5950, p. 15. Available at: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Cyprus%20S%205950.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁶² Different interpretations of Article 4 of the Treaty of Guarantee.

an invasion.⁶³ The situation escalated at the beginning of June 1964 when movements of a small fleet were observed in the area of the İskenderun Gulf.⁶⁴ Then-U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson firmly (and secretly) warned the Turkish side that any direct military intervention by Turkey “to protect the rights of Turkish Cypriots” could result in a Greek-Turkish war and an immediate Soviet intervention⁶⁵, against which NATO members could not guarantee adequate protection. The Republic of Turkey ultimately decided, based on Article 4 of the Treaty of Guarantee, not to carry out a military invasion of Cyprus, which the Turkish government officially announced on June 5, 1964.⁶⁶ However, diplomatic pressure from the United States led to a further deterioration in U.S.-Turkish relations and, conversely, to closer ties between Turkey and the USSR.⁶⁷ And at the end of the summer, Nikita S. Khrushchev expressed support for the Greek Cypriot government, likely in response to a request from Cypriot President

⁶³ CIA, Rustow, D. A.: The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 8. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ CIA, Rustow, D. A.: *The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest*. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 8. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024]. And Johnson Library, National Security File, Head of State Correspondence, Turkey, Prime Minister İnönü, telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Turkey. 5 June 1964. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d54> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁶⁶ Johnson Library, National Security File, Head of State Correspondence, Turkey, Prime Minister İnönü, telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Turkey. 5 June 1964. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d54> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁶⁷ Giritli, I. (1970). Turkish-Soviet Relations. *India Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 1, p. 16. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/45069412.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A09d2509794a5b05672f277ade9eac22a&ab_segments=&initiator=&acceptTC=1 [cit. 19. 12. 2024]. And CIA, Economic and Intelligence Committee of the United States Intelligence Board: Aid and Trade Activities of Communist Countries in less developed areas of the Tree World, 1 January – 30 June 1964, p. 8. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP92B01090R000400010018-4.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024]. And CIA, Aid and Trade Activities of Communist Countries in less developed areas of the Tree World 1965. March 1966, pp 8, 11. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP92B01090R000400010024-7.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

Makarios, who had sought support from the USSR⁶⁸ and Egypt⁶⁹.⁷⁰ On September 30, an agreement was signed between the USSR and the Greek Cypriot government for the supply of surface-to-air missiles.⁷¹ With these steps, the USSR gradually consolidated its position.

After the firm warning from the U.S. president, G. Ball once again travelled to Greece and Turkey. Shortly thereafter, Mustafa İsmet İnönü and Georgios Papandreou separately visited the U.S. president in Washington⁷² at the end of June, where they were offered a joint meeting at Camp David.⁷³ The Greek prime minister rejected the proposal, while the Turkish representative agreed.⁷⁴ However, both accepted the offer to begin negotiations in Geneva, led by Dean Acheson.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, on June 12⁷⁶, General George Grivas arrived in Cyprus along with a significant number of soldiers from mainland Greece⁷⁷. Grivas was a strong proponent of enosis⁷⁸, and upon his arrival, he took command of the

⁶⁸ CIA, The White House outgoing message. The President's Intelligence Checklist, 9 August 1964, p. 2. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0005959349.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024]. And CIA, Intelligence Brief. Status of Soviet Arms Aid to Cyprus. CIA/RR CB 65-59, October 1965, pp. 3-10. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79T01003A002400090001-5.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁶⁹ CIA, The President's Intelligence Checklist, 31 August 1964, p. 3. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0005959392.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024]. And CIA, Intelligence Brief. Status of Soviet Arms Aid to Cyprus. CIA/RR CB 65-59, October 1965, pp. 3-10. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79T01003A002400090001-5.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁷⁰ Since the end of 1963, the USSR had declared its support for the leader of the Greek Cypriots and expressed its commitment to the island's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. The USSR's goal was to minimize NATO's influence on one hand and maximize the role of the UN on the other, as the UN provided the USSR with a platform to intervene in Cyprus affairs—something that President Makarios was undoubtedly aware of. (See more: Bölükbaşı, S (1998). The Cyprus Dispute and the U.N.: Peaceful Non-Settlement Between 1954-1998. *The International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39, p. 417.

⁷¹ CIA, Rustow, D. A.: The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 9. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024]

⁷² M. İ. İnönü also held talks in Paris, where he discussed the matter with representatives of the United Kingdom.

⁷³ CIA, Rustow, D. A.: The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 10. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 9.

⁷⁵ CIA, Summary of Comments on Cyprus situation, p. 1. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R00904A001000050004-4.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 3.

⁷⁷ CIA, Summary of Comments on Cyprus situation, p. 3. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R00904A001000050004-4.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 9.

National Guard, strengthening the Greek Cypriot position.⁷⁹ General Grivas gathered around him militant groups that were not under the control of President Makarios,⁸⁰ adding a new dimension to the unfolding events, the consequences of which soon became evident.

At the beginning of July, the Cyprus issue moved to Geneva, where Greek and Turkish diplomats met alternately with the American delegation, led by Dean Acheson. Although high hopes were initially placed on the Geneva talks, after approximately two months, it became clear that the negotiations led by Acheson were unsuccessful.⁸¹ Both the Greek and Cypriot governments declared that none of the proposed solutions were acceptable to them. Once again, it was President Makarios who spoke on behalf of the Greek and Cypriot sides, stating: “...Mr. Acheson's proposal, based on the principle of compensating Turkish rights, is absolutely unacceptable.”⁸² According to American diplomacy, the core disagreements revolved around two main points: “*The weakness of the Greek government, which was unwilling to enter Cyprus and take control, and the insistence of the Turks on having a sovereign base on the island, which essentially meant partition. The Greeks insisted that they would lease a certain area to the Turks; hence, enosis emerged.*”⁸³

Despite all diplomatic efforts, tensions of varying intensity shook the island throughout the summer of 1964. The already difficult situation dramatically worsened between August 5 - 9, 1964.⁸⁴ Greek forces occupied a Turkish enclave

⁷⁹ CIA, Rustow, D. A.: The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 9. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁸⁰ CIA, Summary of Comments on Cyprus situation, p. 9. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79R00904A001000050004-4.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁸¹ Johnson Library, National Security File, NSC Meetings File, Vol. 3. Top Secret/Sensitive; For the President Only. Drafted by Smith. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Summary Notes of the 542d Meeting of the National Security Council. Washington, September 1, 1964, 12:45–1:15 p.m. Global Briefing-Cyprus. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d150> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁸² CIA, Rustow, D. A.: The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 10. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁸³ Johnson Library, National Security File, NSC Meetings File, Vol. 3. Top Secret/Sensitive; For the President Only. Drafted by Smith. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Summary Notes of the 542d Meeting of the National Security Council. Washington, September 1, 1964, 12:45–1:15 p.m. Global Briefing-Cyprus. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d150> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁸⁴ UN, Letter dated 10 August 1964 from the Prime Minister of Turkey addressed to the President of the Security Council. Available at: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/609560?v=pdf#files> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

in the northwest of the island, prompting a response from Turkish air forces from the mainland.⁸⁵ Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots once again launched offensive actions, with the first clashes occurring on August 6, 1964, in the areas of Kokkina and Mansoura. Cypriot President Makarios referred the matter to the UN Security Council on August 8, and the following day, the UN issued Resolution No. 193⁸⁶, calling for an immediate ceasefire and the restoration of peace and security. Fighting continued around Kokkina and Mansoura, where Turkish air forces⁸⁷ attacked Greek Cypriot targets. U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson called for negotiations on a ceasefire.⁸⁸ The matter was brought before the UN, and on August 8 and 9, the UN Security Council convened, adopting Resolution No. 193⁸⁹, which, among other things, called for an immediate ceasefire. Both the governments of Cyprus and Turkey accepted the ceasefire unconditionally. The highly tense situation ultimately led to a truce⁹⁰, but it

⁸⁵ CIA, Rustow, D. A.: The Cyprus Conflict and United States Security Interest. Memorandum RM-5416-ISA, September 1967, p. 10. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP08C01297R000500110010-6.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁸⁶ UN, United Nations Security Council resolution, number 193 (1964). Resolution of 9 August 1964 [S/5868]. Available at: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Cyprus%20SRES%20193.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024]. Note: The resolution was adopted in the absence of the USSR and Czechoslovakia.

⁸⁷ On the morning of August 9, 1964, Turkish military forces allegedly used napalm during the bombing of Greek Cypriot targets, which was in violation of the UN Charter. See more: Johnson Library, Recordings and Transcripts, Recording of a Telephone Conversation Between President Johnson and Ball, August 9, 1964, 6:50 a.m., Tape 64.01, Side B, PNO 1. No classification marking. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Recording of a Telephone Conversation Between President Johnson and Ball, August 9, 1964, 6:50 a.m., Tape 64.01, Side B, PNO 1. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d111> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁸⁸ Johnson Library, Recordings and Transcripts, Recording of a Telephone Conversation Between President Johnson and Ball, August 9, 1964, 6:50 a.m., Tape 64.01, Side B, PNO 1. No classification marking. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Recording of a Telephone Conversation Between President Johnson and Ball, August 9, 1964, 6:50 a.m., Tape 64.01, Side B, PNO 1. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d111> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁸⁹ UN, United Nations Security Council resolution, number 193 (1964). Resolution of 9 August 1964 [S/5868], p. 6. Available at: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/112188?v=pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

⁹⁰ UN, Chapter VIII. Maintenance of international peace and security, pp. 108-127. Available at: https://main.un.org/securitycouncil/sites/default/files/en/sc/repertoire/64-65/Chapter%208/64-65_08-4-Complaint%20by%20the%20Government%20of%20Cyprus.pdf [cit. 19. 12. 2024]. UN, United Nations Security Council resolution, number 193 (1964). Resolution of 9 August 1964 [S/5868]. Available at: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Cyprus%20SRES%20193.pdf> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

remained fragile and uncertain⁹¹, quickly resurfacing as an issue on the international stage.

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⁹¹ Johnson Library, National Security File, Files of McGeorge Bundy, Vol. 6. Top Secret. Drafted by Bundy on August 13. Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Memorandum for the Record, August 10, 1964, 12:35 PM. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d119> [cit. 19. 12. 2024].

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NEWS

Conference Civic Education in Times of Crisis: An Interdisciplinary Conference on the Future of Civic Education and Social Science Education in the Czech Republic

On September 16, 2024, the three-day conference “*Civic Education in Times of Crisis: An Interdisciplinary Conference on the Future of Civic Education and Social Science Education in the Czech Republic*” was ceremonially opened. The event was organized by the Platform of Departments for Civic Education, with key contributions from Mgr. Barbora Vacková from Masaryk University and PhDr. Ondřej Lánský, Ph.D., from Charles University. The international meeting took place at the University Center in Telč, bringing together nearly forty experts from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and the United States. Following the opening remarks and welcome, the conference proceeded with the first of seven thematic sections, into which the event was structured.

In the first panel, “*Political Contexts of Civic Education*”, four presentations were delivered, focusing on issues related to civic education in connection with political developments, democracy, and citizenship. The speakers strongly emphasized the need for high-quality and innovative education in political science, highlighting the negative societal impacts caused by shortcomings in this area, including their influence on the development of active citizenship. The next section, titled “*Philosophical Foundations of Civic Education*”, explored the importance of teaching philosophical principles within civic education. A common theme emerged in most of the four presented papers: how to effectively develop critical thinking and why this skill should be actively promoted in education. The first day of the conference concluded with an engaging lecture by Elizabeth Washington, who offered a candid critique of the limitations of reformed civic education in the United States. She argued that the current system should be: “...replaced with something more democratic, fairer, and more humane.”

The second day of the conference began with two highly engaging lectures, both from the Czech academic sphere. The first lecture addressed the urgent challenges faced by civic and social science teacher educators, while the second reflected on the findings of several studies examining the views and expectations of Czech citizens regarding politics and how they “evaluate” it. The next part of the program featured a section titled “*Space and Civic Education*.” Despite appearing unrelated at first glance, the three contributions in this session highlighted unconventional approaches to civic education and explored how such approaches can help foster a sense of belonging to the places we come from. The afternoon was dedicated to two thematic blocks: “*Social Sciences and Civic Education*” and “*Empirical Research on Civic Education*.” In the first block, four presentations were delivered. The first

presented the outcomes of a project focusing on “*polarization around race, Islam, and gender.*” The following contribution discussed the use of the diary method as a tool for addressing controversial topics. The third presentation, “*Critical Pedagogy and Sociological Imagination in Teaching Civic and Social Sciences at Universities: How to Approach Values in Education,*” lived up to its title with a compelling and thought-provoking approach. Similarly, the final presentation, “*Applied Sociology as a Synergistic Factor for Achieving the Goals of Civic and Social Science Education,*” was well-crafted and insightful. The second block, “*Empirical Research on Civic Education,*” featured four contributions that presented both project outcomes and theoretical insights. Together, they offered a comprehensive overview of the current state of civic education and the challenges it faces.

The morning session of the final day of the conference focused on media education. The speakers primarily analyzed digital education, media literacy, and the pitfalls of “*journalistic objectivity.*” The following section, “*Ethics in Civic Education,*” lived up to its title. All three presentations approached the topic of moral education in civic education from a theoretical perspective, demonstrating a high level of expertise. The conference concluded with the session “*Ethics and Its Didactic Inspirations,*” which again focused on ethics, but this time with an emphasis on subject didactics.

The conference *Civic Education in Times of Crisis: An Interdisciplinary Conference on the Future of Civic Education and Social Science Education in the Czech Republic* can be considered a success—not only because of the strong attendance but above all thanks to the high academic quality of the individual contributions. Moreover, the event demonstrated that civic education and social science education are capable of confronting numerous challenges and fulfilling their mission.

Jana Vlčková Musilová

International Conference – 22nd Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Days: Leaders and Society in the Fields of Education, Culture, and Socio-Political Life. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

At the beginning of March 2024, for the twenty-second time, Czech and Polish historians, educators, social pedagogues, and subject didactics specialists gathered for the international conference Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Days, this time held at the University of Wrocław. The aim of the conference was to compare developments in education, culture, politics, and social life, as well as to introduce significant figures who have left a notable mark on the history of pedagogy and education in the Czech Republic and Poland. The conference was opened by Alicja Szerlag, Director of the Pedagogical Institute and Professor at the University of Wrocław, who warmly welcomed all participants. As is tradition, students of the University of Wrocław also attended the conference lectures. Dr. Marek Podgórný opened the morning plenary session with a presentation in which he posed the question: What kind of leader is needed for the modern era? The first speaker from the Czech side was Dr. Miroslav Jireček from the Department of History at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University. In his talk, he drew from his extensive experience teaching at an elementary school and a grammar school in Litomyšl. His presentation, a case study, was titled Joys and Struggles of School Principals in the Czech Education System. He was followed by Associate Professor Jiří Němec, former Dean of the Faculty of Education. His presentation focused on the educational potential of the works of Jaroslav Foglar. While Foglar is widely known and respected in the Czech environment, he is relatively unknown in Poland, which opened up a fascinating discussion on youth development, particularly in extracurricular activities such as scouting. The morning session concluded with a presentation by Professor Piotr Goldyn from Kalisz University, titled Teachers of the Second Republic as Leaders of Volunteer Fire Brigades. The second part of the conference was opened by Associate Professor Dušan Klapko from the Department of Social Pedagogy at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University. He focused on a contemporary issue related to women's roles in his presentation, The Expected Identity of Women: A Comparison Between the Enlightenment and the Present. His colleague, Dr. Veronika Kolaříková, followed with a talk titled The Museum as a Key Player in Contemporary Society: Measuring the Educational Impact of Museums Using the “Generic Learning Outcomes” Concept. A fascinating contribution from the world of sports was then presented by Žaneta Brabcová, M.A., also from the Department of Social Pedagogy. She introduced football as a tool for the social development of children and youth. Finally, Dr. Kamil Štěpánek, a didactics expert from the Department of History at the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, explored the topic Gender on Postage

Stamps and the Fight for Women's Suffrage in the Context of Historical Education. His colleague, Dr. Jiří Mihola, Head of the Department of History, presented his research findings from a specific research project in his talk, Selected Figures and Events from 20th-Century Czech History Confronted with Stereotypes and Myths and Their Perception by Primary and Secondary School Students. The founder of the Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Days, Dr. Mirosław Piwowarczyk from the University of Wrocław, introduced the life and work of Zofia Moraczewska, whom he described as a leader among women leaders. His colleague, Dr. Anna Haratyk, highlighted another outstanding personality—Archbishop Józef Bilczewski of Lviv, portraying him as a philanthropist and social activist. Several other notable contributions were presented at the conference by Prof. Arkadiusz Urbanek, Associate Professor Martyna Pryszmont, Dr. Violetta Drabik-Podgórna, Dr. Piotr Kwiatkowski, Dr. Ewa Barnas-Baran, Prof. Andrzej Ladyzynski, and Dr. Anna Chmiel. The main conference outcomes were summarized at the end by Dr. Piwowarczyk and Dr. Podgórna. The traditional highlight of the event was the closing discussion, reflecting the engaged interest of all participants.

Jiří Mihola



Lecturer at the 22nd Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Days in March 2024 at the University of Wrocław. Photo: Jiří Mihola

ANNOTATIONS

HORSPOOL, David. *More Than a Game: A History of How Sport Made Britain*. John Murray Publishers. 2023. 326 pp.

Britain has traditionally been regarded as a cradle for some of the most popular sports today. David Horspool's work centers on the development of various sports and elucidates how these evolutions have influenced British society. A significant contribution of Horspool's approach lies in his original book, which is divided into ten chapters, each chronicling the development of a specific sport in relation to a particular societal theme.

In this manner, the author examines horse racing within the context of betting, scrutinizing its precarious balance on the edge of legality. He also investigates the evolution of boxing in relation to issues of race and the struggles of black fighters for recognition, while the narrative of tennis is framed through the lens of the fight for equal treatment regarding rights for women—highlighting the impact of tennis legend Suzanne Lenglen, whose appearance in Wimbledon was marked by her shorter skirts and trademark headscarf, symbolizing the Jazz Age.

Horspool also recounts the history of cricket, which is traditionally upheld as a British national sport. To trace the origins of this portrayal, the author transports readers to the 19th century, a period during which the leading authorities adopted a distinctive strategy compared to other sports such as football and rugby. The decision was made to preserve the status of cricket by organizing the most significant matches featuring both amateur and professional squads. Consequently, cricket remained a domain largely populated by men from the upper classes of the social hierarchy, who jealously guarded their status. In contrast, football authorities acknowledged that the game, played by individuals from all sectors of society, naturally belonged to the community at large. In cricket, however, the "gentleman amateurs" maintained control over the sport and profited from it as though they were professionals.

In the subsequent chapters, Horspool delves into the complexities of land negotiations pertinent to golf, examines the political aspects of involvement in cycling, and discusses rugby's role in shaping Welsh national identity within Great Britain. Rugby in Wales emerged alongside industrialization, with the valleys that provided coal, iron ore, and limestone-making Wales the world's first industrial society by the 1850s - also being home to the majority of rugby clubs. The sport's popularity was further bolstered by a remarkable victory in Cardiff in 1905 against the legendary All Blacks, the rugby team from New Zealand. Throughout the 20th century, the Welsh national team became a source of identification for the nation, providing a counterpoint to their English neighbors, particularly during times of economic downturn. Following a match between Wales and England in 1980, English captain Bill Beaumont

remarked, “We were being blamed for the closure of coal mines. If we had also been blamed for the weather or the price of bread, I wouldn’t have been the least surprised.”

In one of the concluding chapters, Horspool focuses on the development of the world’s most popular sport - football. He explores the evolution of British fan culture and describes the roots of hooliganism, stating that “violence undoubtedly increased and became more organized from the 1960s,” though he acknowledges that media representations, particularly by tabloid newspapers, exaggerated the phenomenon. He notes that violence has been an intrinsic aspect of football from its inception and has never disappeared.

Through these examples, the author adeptly illustrates the intricate connections between each sport and salient issues in the development of modern British society, whether it be the aristocracy’s efforts to maintain their social standing or societal minorities’ struggles for equal rights through successful sport careers.

Jan Egerle

Florian, Illies. *“The Magic of Silence“ - Caspar David Friedrich's Journey Through Time. S. Fischer Verlag GmbH. 2023. 251 pp.*

This year, numerous events have been organized to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the birth of an eminent painter from the Romantic era, Caspar David Friedrich. As a contribution to this significant milestone, the renowned author and journalist Florian Illies has published a compelling book dedicated to this remarkable artist, who is widely regarded as one of the most celebrated and influential German painters in history.

The book is structured into four chapters, each thematically focused on one of the four basic natural elements. This organizational framework allows the author to explore the central theme of Friedrich's oeuvre - the depiction of diverse natural landscapes. Illies adopts a thematic narrative approach to illustrate the story of Friedrich's work across the centuries, as opposed to a conventional linear recounting. This method permits the author to draw connections between a fascinating array of events concerning the fate of Friedrich's paintings. Within the pages of the book, readers encounter e.g. various circumstances that led to the destruction or preservation of Friedrich's works during World War II, which is particularly pertinent to the chapter dedicated to fire. The section addressing the element of water offers an insightful interpretation of one of Friedrich's most emblematic and innovative paintings, “The Monk by the Sea.”

Illies highlights Friedrich's close relationship with the element of water, noting that he spent the majority of his life near bodies of water, particularly in Dresden alongside the Elbe River. Consequently, water assumes a significant role in his artworks, exemplified by “The Sea of Ice.” The elements of earth and wind also play crucial roles in Friedrich's paintings, which, as Illies asserts, resemble reality while primarily reflecting the state of Friedrich's soul.

The author's decision to present Friedrich's narrative thematically can be regarded as a successfully executed endeavor. Illies deftly combines intriguing facts and details from Friedrich's life - such as the death of his brother during his and Friedrich's childhood and key friendships with fellow artists - with an exploration of the afterlife destiny of his paintings and a profound interpretation of his impressive body of work. In this context, the book addresses e. g. the Nazi perception of Friedrich's art as embodying authentic Nazi values.

Friedrich's work continues to captivate contemporary audiences, due in large part to his remarkable ability to intertwine the landscape of the natural world with that of his own inner psyche in a manner that remains partially enigmatic to this day. In this regard, Florian Illies emerges as an insightful guide to the world of Friedrich's artistic mastery in the Romantic Era.

Jan Egerle

JANČAŘÍK, Zdeněk – BALÍK, Stanislav – ŠEBEK, Jaroslav.
Český bůh: hovory o historii, víře a ateismu. Praha, Vyšehrad,
2023. 312 pp.

Czech God: Conversations on history, faith and atheism is a book of interviews featuring the Salesian priest Zdeněk Jančařík, who invited historian and political scientist Stanislav Balík along with historian Jaroslav Šebek to engage in discussions on this topic. As all three confess in the book, they share – besides their expertise in historical context - a personal connection of living out the Catholic faith. Together they decided to share and present the role of this religion in Czech history. This is a three-part conversation between men who embark on an adventurous quest to discover the “Czech God“ within Czech history.

The book, with a format of approximately three hundred pages, presents a chronological overview of key topics within the Crown of Bohemia, in which religious events played a significant role. The authors begin their Czech journey with the arrival of Christianity, continuing through the era of the Hussite reform movement, the celebrated Baroque era, the National Revival, the First Republic, the experience of Catholicism under Communist rule, and the clandestine church. Their historical journey concludes with post-revolutionary developments, extending to the present day. The authors are not alone in their search for the “Czech God.“ Their historical exploration is enriched by an excursus on the role of the Jesuits in early modern Czech history (a conversation with Jesuit Miroslav Herold), a philosophical perspective added through a dialogue with Tereza Matějčková, and a final excursus where Zdeněk Jančařík “interviews“ funeral industry worker Pavel Cajzl. Each chapter is introduced with citations from books of various genres relevant to the topic, effectively capturing the essence. For example, in the chapter on 1989, the book *Diary of a Country Priest* by Jan Rybář is used. He speaks of Václav Havel: “Before a meal, for instance, he would say, we have been given good food or we have been given the opportunity to sit together, let us give thanks for that...” (p. 210). The book concludes on a personal note, as Jančařík turns to Šebek and Balík, transitioning to a non-historical narrative. This personal glimpse behind the scenes serves as a pleasant farewell for the reader to the “heroes“ who provided original insights into the role of the "Czech God" throughout the lengthy pages.

Although the book covers an extensive time period from approximately the eighth century to the present, it predominantly focuses on pivotal moments where significant shifts occurred. The authors do not attempt to address everything; instead, they emphasize crucial moments, elegantly leaving the rest aside without disrupting the narrative flow or losing context. Jančařík introduces the topics, and subsequently, with his historian colleagues they delve into the search for the “divine“ in Czech history. For instance, in the context of Hussitism, Balík mentions the role of Charles IV, whose influence in supporting

and elevating the church was so great that it essentially created “a kind of substrate from which the chiliastic movement will emerge“ (p. 39). As Jaroslav Šebek discusses the significance of the first Czech saints being from the ruling dynasty and Stanislav Balík comments on the role of St. Adalbert, Jančařík reacts: “and here you have deconstructed the national mythology in real-time“ (p. 29). However, the emphasis in the book is primarily on modern history and the twentieth century, to which the authors bring their own memories in the form of experiences on a pilgrimage to Velehrad in 1985 or a professional historical interest in church history of the twentieth century. In addition to individual events and the atmosphere of the time, the authors also discuss the importance of key figures for the relationship of the Czech people to religion. Again, this list follows a chronological backdrop from St. Wenceslas through St. John of Nepomuk, President Masaryk to Cardinal František Tomášek. Jančařík, Balík, and Šebek not only focus on the real lives of these characters but also on their afterlife significance which often holds greater historical importance as Balík himself mentions on page 29.

On the cover of the book, the painting of the painter Miroslav Polách – Carrying the Cross II – is used, representing six men in reflective vests in the temple space, whose goal is probably to remove the massive cross with the crucified Christ from the wall of the cathedral. The picture is characteristic. The effort of the men seems a bit comical in combination with the calm face of the deceased Jesus of Nazareth. Somehow it might seem that it is also the case with faith in the nation of St. Wenceslas and the good soldier Švejk. However, the three-part conversation between the priest and the historians shows that the search for the “Czech God“ is not so clear-cut and that it cannot be discovered in some past year or period. The authors offer a different perspective which lie in conscious and critical reflection on Czech Catholic history. Their observations are delivered through an engaging dialogue that makes it easy for the reader to be informed and to understand many of the roots of contemporary Catholicism in the Czech lands. After all, the question of the existence of a “Czech God“ can provoke the same restlessness and searching as the ahistorical question of what happens after death (e.g., pp. 274, 287, or 300), which Zdeněk Jančařík asked his guests multiple times throughout the book.

Jakub Racek

List of Contributors

Michal Bednář, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

Anna Haratyk, Institute of Pedagogy, University of Wrocław, Poland

Nataliia Huzii, Faculty of Psychology, Ukrainian State Mykhailo Dragomanov University, Kyiv, Ukraine.

Miroslav Jireček, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

Khrystyna Kalahurka, Faculty of Pedagogical Education, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine

Jan Moravec, Elementary school, Oslavická, Velké Meziříčí, Czech Republic

Iryna Myshchyshyn, Faculty of Pedagogical Education, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine

Mirosław Piwowarczyk, Institute of Pedagogy, University of Wrocław, Poland

Beata Szluz, College of Social Sciences, University of Rzeszów, Rzeszów, Poland

Tomáš Řepa, Faculty of Military Leadership, University of Defence, Brno, Czech Republic

Jana Vlčková Musilová, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

AUTHOR GUIDELINES

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The articles are anonymously reviewed by two reviewers and based on the evaluation the editorial board gives the articles into press. The editorial board announces the results of the review process to the author in the shortest possible time.

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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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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