

CONTENTS

Jaroslav Vaculík

Discussion of the Secondary School System in Czechoslovakia
Following the Second World War 3

Stefania Walasek

Education in Lower Silesia in the First Years after
the End of the Second World War 10

František Čapka

Polish ethnic organisations in Brno between the wars and
in the years 1945–1952 and their contribution to the development
of Czech-Polish cultural and educational relations 21

Miroslaw Piwowarczyk

Areas of cooperation or competition – rapport or conflict?
The Polish-Czechoslovakian relations exemplified by the activity
of Polish cultural and educational associations in Czechoslovakia
in the years 1947–1958 29

Anna Haratyk

Regional Education in Polish, Czech and Slovakian
Borderline after 1945 44

Krystyna Dziubacka

Protection of the Cultural Heritage in the Polish, Czech
and German Borderland as Educational Challenge 53

Lech Kościelak

“Czechoslovakian Evenings” in post-war Poland 64

Kamil Štěpánek

Media Reflexion of Contemporary Polish History
in Czech History Textbooks 70

List of Contributors 76

Discussion of the Secondary School System in Czechoslovakia Following the Second World War

Jaroslav Vaculík

This article considers the views of supporters and opponents of the introduction of a unified secondary school system in the first half of the 20th century.

Key words: *School system, unified school, Czechoslovakia*

The nature of secondary schools was subject to criticism from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries onwards. More than a hundred years ago, T. G. Masaryk called for reform to the secondary school system, seeing specific flaws in their disunity and excessive intellectualism, the neglect for upbringing focusing on emotion and willpower, the excessive burden imposed on pupils, the priority given to detailed facts at the expense of thought, the absence of a unifying spirit, the neglect of the natural and social sciences, and insufficient moral upbringing.¹

Reforms to secondary education were, of course, also the subject of discussion among those working in education. As early as 1919, the Ministry of Education conducted a poll, the results of which were published in 1922. In the same year, the State Press published a treatise by secondary school professors Jan Čeněk and Přemysl Hájek entitled *The Reform of the Secondary School System*. Čeněk warned that “to lower the educational standard of the secondary school system for unhealthy ideological reasons in order to serve the broadest possible classes means reducing the cultural level of the nation as a whole. It must not be forgotten that it is not even possible for all levels of society in the nation to receive a higher education.”² He rejected the claim that the existing secondary schools only served the children of wealthy parents, and stated that, on the contrary, Czech secondary schools were filled with the children of poor parents and that a number of leading intellectuals had grown up in poor backgrounds. In 1930, in the book *A Hundred Opinions on the Secondary School System*, E. Čapek presented the results of a poll in which the majority were against a unified school system. Prof. Dr. F. Chudoba, for example, expressed concerns about the

¹ MASARYK, T. G.: *Jak pracovat. Přednášky z roku 1898*. Praha 1926.

² ČENĚK, J. – HÁJEK, P.: *K reformě střední školy*. Praha 1922, p. 7.

uniformity of the school system, as uniformity of all kinds tends to have a deadening effect, both on the individual and on the nation as a whole.³

In the nineteen thirties, in their action plan *What the Socialists Want*, the social democrats grouped around the Labour Academy demanded a unified school system differentiated according to the capabilities and needs of the pupil and incorporating all schools into a unified system with the greatest possible chance of crossover. Compulsory school attendance would be extended to the age of sixteen. According to the socialists, education was the right of all people, not the privilege of a few.⁴

After the Second World War, President Dr. Edvard Beneš entered into the extremely intensive discussions of the secondary school system in his speeches to teachers and other members of school staff in 1947. The President called for the implementation of a unified school system to be free of dogmatic bias and for scope to be left for changes in the light of later experience and according to the diversity of procedural conditions. He therefore recommended early differentiation with a view to the varying talent of pupils and directed towards their future employment.

In his speech to a deputation of secondary school professors at the Association of Employees in Education on 19 March 1947, the President declared that he was not against the reforms, but hoped that the reforms would be most carefully considered in theoretical terms, proven in practice, and prepared by qualified experts working in co-operation.⁵ He acknowledged the importance of the secondary school system that had, in its form to that time, shaped the intelligence of the Czech nation, both for life and for university studies. He noted the fact that the foundations of this system had been laid a hundred years previously and that reform was, therefore, necessary, with the words that, "Only that part of it that really needs to be reformed must be reformed... this should not be the kind of levelling out that would result in the average, or even something below average, becoming the norm."⁶ He warned against imitating either the West or the East and against the urge to implement solutions "that we will have to change tomorrow or the day after tomorrow".⁷ He demanded the early differentiation of pupils according to talent and ability, as in his view the natural inequality and dissimilarity between people was an evident fact. He noted that public opinion had been thrown off balance by the war and the May Revolution, and that this also expressed itself in

³ ČAPEK, E.: *Sto hlasů o střední škole*. Praha 1930.

⁴ *Co chtějí socialisté*. Praha 1934, pp. 44–47.

⁵ BENEŠ, E.: *O školské reformě*. Praha 1947, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

the assessment of issues associated with the reform of the school system.

On 5 April 1947, Dr. Beneš told representatives of the teaching staff at the faculty of arts and sciences in Prague that the reforms to the secondary school system should probably consist of differentiation according to the pupil's talent from year three of lower school following two years of a common foundation. At upper secondary school, this differentiation would then intensify up to its direct introduction into studies at university. Universities, according to Beneš, must state precisely what they are to give the secondary school graduate, and the secondary school must do everything possible to ensure that its graduates do not have to bridge an enormous gulf between secondary school and university. He drew attention to the necessity of teaching two foreign languages (one western language and Russian) at lower secondary school.

During a talk with a group of school reform workers led by Chancellor of Charles University Prof. Dr. B. Bydžovský on 23 April 1947, the President noted that he considered the principle of a unified school system essentially right and feasible in this country. He expressed the wish that all reforms be made following agreement among the widest possible range of interested parties.

He told the deputation from the Association of Employees in Education received by the President on 25 April 1947 that differentiation should take place at an early stage. He spoke out against the hasty and hurried negotiation of such an important issue. The President was not, then, against a unified school system, but demanded its differentiation.

In contrast to the President, who was forced to use diplomatic language, others engaged in the discussions expressed their opinions on a unified school system much more openly. In July 1945, the psychologist Dr. Robert Konečný demanded that the plan of a unified school system be abandoned. "Let us have the secondary school as a separate type with Latin from the first year, a strictly select type, a type for the elite talented people. Let it, of course, be open to all without difference so long as they satisfy the demands of an extraordinary education... Otherwise we will be back where we started, with studied semi-intelligence issuing forth in an enormous quantity, neither fish nor fowl."⁸

The creation of a unified undifferentiated level-two school system was, according to the draft of the primary school law, to lead to the end of the existing lower secondary schools. Teachers at primary and junior

⁸ Svobodné noviny, 10. 7. 1945.

secondary schools, in particular, were in favour of a unified school system. In contrast, the cultural community and the teaching staff and principals of secondary schools, almost without exception, were against an undifferentiated unified school system. Parents' associations at secondary schools were also against a unified school system.

The principal promoter of the unified school system was Dr. František Kahuda, who worked at that time at the Educational Research Institute and who was later to be communist Minister of Education in the years 1956–1963. He claimed that a unified school system would contribute towards maintaining the unity of the nation, and that previously only the rich had been able to study. Prof. Dr. Zdeněk Nejedlý, communist Minister of Education in the years 1945–1946, stated that the purpose of a unified school system was, “to ensure the disappearance of the impossible division of the young, when a decision is made of a ten-year-old boy as to whether he is or is not to be a gentleman. This is the main reason for a unified school system and for a unified second level.”⁹

Opponents of a unified school system after the war drew attention to the fact that after abolishing the lower secondary schools, the Communist Party would also eliminate the existing higher secondary colleges and introduce an entire unified secondary school system (i.e. levels two and three). And, in fact, the July assembly of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1973 approved a project for a new educational system that anticipated the greatest possible integration of secondary general education schools, secondary vocational schools and secondary vocational colleges.

According to a number of newspaper articles published after the war the whole of our past up until 9 May 1945 had been worthless. Everything in the past was bad, old-fashioned, reactionary, asocial and undemocratic. True happiness came only with the May Revolution. Even education in the 1st Czechoslovak Republic was allegedly worthless, to say nothing of Old Austria, for which reason it was essential to reform it at all cost. Anyone brave enough to say there was anything good in the old times was declared a reactionary. The demagogic lies to the effect that only the socially strong had formerly received an education and that “the less talented pupil born to rich parents... received better grades than a socially weak, though more talented, pupil” were frequently repeated.¹⁰

The spiritual father of the unified, though differentiated, school was Dr. Václav Příhoda, though the communists no longer talked of differentiation,

⁹ MERTLÍK, R.: *Nebezpečí jednotné školy*. Praha 1947, p. 13.

¹⁰ Svobodné noviny, 17. 9. 1946.

but made it plain that the unified undifferentiated school would be implemented whether anyone liked it or not. The claim that the unified level-two school (i.e. the amalgamation of the former junior secondary school with the first four years of grammar school) would provide pupils with the broadest and most profound education was open to immediate doubt in view of the fact that it was not to teach the ancient languages. Prof. Dr. H. Vysoký had previously spoken out against the restriction of Latin and Greek, as our entire culture was based on ancient culture like a granite pillar, and there could be no true education without this culture.

A number of teachers, mostly secondary school professors, noted that the undifferentiated level-two school would be an educational and social injustice to the pupils and would not given talented pupils what their talent and ability demanded. The unified school would also not create the right conditions for pupils to gain a solid grounding in linguistic education at an age at which the memory is more open to the teaching of foreign languages.

The greatest mistake in the preparation of school reform was that it became a political issue. The second basic mistake was that the reform was prepared, for the large part, by teachers who had no experience of secondary schools of the grammar school type, i.e. teachers from junior secondary schools who had studied at an institute of teacher training following junior secondary school. The proposal from the reform committee meant, in all practical terms, the abolition of the existing levels of secondary school.

An alternative proposal was put forward in May 1946 by Prof. Dr. V. Hlavatý, who recommended introducing two joint years of unified level-two school, which would be divided into two branches in years three and four. The first branch would provide an education for practical life for those who did not intend to continue their studies, while the second would prepare pupils for further studies. The division of pupils into the two branches would be conditional to the results they had achieved in previous years.¹¹

Another solution that would eliminate or alleviate the flaws of the unified undifferentiated school was drawn up by secondary school professor Jan Čeněk. His proposal envisaged the level-two school having three years of unified undifferentiated school providing a closed universal education. Year four would then be differentiated and specialised according to the future occupation of the pupil.¹²

¹¹ Svobodné noviny, 30. 5. 1946.

¹² Naše doba, 52, 1946, p. 241.

Others attempted to eliminate the disadvantages of the undifferentiated unified level-two school by means of internal differentiation, i.e. by dividing classes into groups according to the talent and interests of the pupils, with a single teacher teaching joint periods. National socialist Minister of Education in the years 1946–1948 Prof. Dr. Jaroslav Stránský recommended that joint basic instruction for pupils from the ages of eleven to fifteen be supplemented by a system of optional subjects, giving talented pupils at least some of the necessary preparation for level three. Such optional subjects might include, for example, a foreign language, Latin, laboratory exercises, etc.

In his book *The Dangers of the Unified School*, Rudolf Mertlík drew attention to the problem of foreign languages. He stated that the post-revolutionary enthusiasm for Russian had faded among practically all pupils, “and not merely faded; many have developed a hostility to it, as no one can fail to see that Russian is taking the place of Protectorate German... in addition to which it is taught with an ideological bias and taken on a certain official hallmark.”¹³ He also noted that German was being forgotten and drew attention to the fact that pupils graduating from the traditional grammar schools in the times of Old Austria were truly knowledgeable and educated, as these kinds of school had not been subjected to the introduction of various systems of education. The traditional grammar school had not worried about what any particular individual would need in practice, but first and foremost provided an education.

In 1945, Prof. Dr. F. Novotný stated in *Národní Obroda* (National Revival) that to say that the organisation of our secondary school system was a hundred years old did not, in itself, mean very much, as the democratic system, for example, itself dated back to the fifth century before Christ. He also considered the phrase the nationalisation of education unfortunate, as education could not be nationalised in the same way as coalmines or banks. Education had to be “earned” by the work of each individual. He stated that radical reform to the school system would be an experiment that would come at a high price, and that its implementation would be followed by a period of gradual reversal approaching the original situation.¹⁴

The idea of the undifferentiated unified level-two school, as presented by the communists, was rejected by the school workers of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party and the Czechoslovak People's

¹³ MERTLÍK, R. p. 49.

¹⁴ *Národní obroda*, 14. 7. 1945.

Party, who in the summer of 1946 demanded a differentiated level two. Negotiations on the primary school law, accompanied by much demagoguery, were not to end until April 1948, when the communists had a free hand to introduce the unified undifferentiated level-two school following the February coup.

Education in Lower Silesia in the First Years after the End of the Second World War

Stefania Walasek

The end of the Second World War initiated a new stage in the Polish history, as number of social, economic and political problems determined the educational issues in the country. After 1945 the political map of Poland also changed, as the pervious eastern outskirts of Polish territory had been incorporated to USSR, whereas the new, northern and southern lands, became the territories where the Polish societies were forced to make the effort to build up the social and cultural life from the scratch.

Establishing education in Lower Silesia concerned the social changes (the settlement), material resources of the schools and the qualifications of the teaching staff. These were, in turn, affected by the educational policy of the party, accomplished by the Ministry of Education, as well as by the local communities that, at the verge of 1947 and 1948, still had a significant influence on the works of "their school".

Key words: *settlement; public school; teacher*

The settlement action conducted immediately after the end of the war in the Western and Northern areas led in Lower Silesia to a massive flow of settlers coming from various parts of Poland and Europe, making up a specific cultural mosaic.¹ The aspects of settlement and establishing social and educational life was a subject of interest among many authors in the 1960s and 1970s. The settlers of one village frequently came from various regional groups,² and as it was stressed, the local community consisted of people „differing between each other taking into account the mentality, lifestyle, culture of management, linguistic forms or even life attitudes and cultural standards“.³ The authors emphasized the fact that the settlement was accompanied by disintegration of former neighbouring bonds, as instead of settlement of coherent groups, the

¹ ZIÓŁKOWSKI, J.: *Zasiedlanie Ziemi Zachodnich*. In: *Ziemie Zachodnie w granicach Macierzy. Drogi integracji*. Poznań 1966, p. 173.

² MARKIEWICZ, M.: *Przeobrażenia społeczne na Ziemiach Zachodnich*. In: *Ziemie Zachodnie w granicach Macierzy op. cit.*, p. 29.

³ MAJKA, J.: *Wpływ Kościoła na integrację kulturową na Ziemiach Zachodnich*. In: *Kościół na Ziemiach Zachodnich. Cwierćwiecze polskiej organizacji kościelnej*. Ed. J. Śruciny, Wrocław 1971, p. 141.

settlers were divided and spread all over the region. It often happened against their will, as it was sometimes hotly contested.⁴ In the mentioned literature, it was stressed that antagonisms very often arose among the new settlers, particularly in case of repatriates from the Bug river area and autochthonic community that manifested tangible unwillingness to establish contacts with the settlers.⁵ Organizational mistakes of the settling action, intensified by bureaucratic mistakes made by the administration towards the autochthons, made them prejudice towards the Polish statehood and nationhood,⁶ resulting in their social isolation, or even making them „flee the country“.⁷

It is also stressed in the monographs from the second half of the 20th century, that the natural process of creating the new community, also in Lower Silesia, was not only discouraged, but also slowed down and procrastinated.

The authors recall the ambience of that time, when the process of creating social bonds was interrupted by various prejudices and misunderstandings taking place in some communities, often leading to permanent conflicts, as well as stark antagonisms.⁸ It was followed by the sense of compulsion, instability of the new life situation and insecurity of tomorrow. Quick adaptation was additionally disturbed by the fact that the new settlers did not enter an organized society, but a social emptiness.⁹

The other factor disabling stabilization was the territorial mobility of the Lower Silesia settlers, expressed in multiple change of the residing places, with tendency of inhabitation in the urban centres.¹⁰ Settlers from central Poland were not always satisfied with the new circumstances, and as their living conditions deteriorated below the level from the previous place of residence, they would often decide to return to the previous region. Repatriates and re-emigrants were not that fortunate, as for them

4 See: KŁAPKOWSKI, T.: *Tworzenie się więzi społecznej na Ziemiach odzyskanych*. In: Problemy demograficzne, socjologiczne i kulturalne. IV Sesja Rady Naukowej dla Zagadnień Ziem Odzyskanych, 18–21 XII 1946 r., z. 2. Kraków 1947, p. 7.

5 MAJKA, J.: *Wpływ Kościoła na integrację kulturową...*, p. 141.

6 See: STRZESZEWSKI, C.: *Najbardziej potrzebne czynniki etyczno-moralne na Ziemiach Zachodnich*. In: *Kościół na Ziemiach Zachodnich...*, p. 91.

7 DULCZEWSKI, Z. – KWILECKI, A.: *Spółczesność wielkopolskie a osadnictwo Ziemi Zachodnich*. Poznań 1962, p. 43.

8 CHMIELEWSKA, B.: *Społeczne przeobrażenia środowisk wiejskich na Ziemiach Zachodnich*. Poznań 1965, p. 142.

9 KRUCINA, J.: *Wkład Kościoła w integrację Ziemi Zachodnich i Północnych*. „Colloquium Salutis” 1985, t. 17, p. 39.

10 LATUCH, M.: *Migracje wewnętrzne w Polsce na tle industrializacji (1950–1960)*. Wrocław 1970, p. 94.

resettlement was limited to the area of Western and Northern Lands, with no possibility to return to their family homes.

For example, the chronicle of the Primary School in Podgórzana (Jelenia Góra district) there is a record describing the settlement action from the years 1945/1946 stating „people began peculiar migration in search for better living conditions. Children at schools came from various corners of Poland: „district of Poznań, Vilnius, Cracow, etc.”.¹¹ This movement concurrently made number of pupils at school constantly changed, what significantly hindered teachers' work.

It must be emphasized that the above-presented picture of Polish society on Western Lands, including Lower Silesia, in the context of literature from 1960s and 1970s is not thoroughly reliable, as relations among the settlers were emerging and growing, as proved and provided by the research carried out by historians and historians of education. The catholic church played in this regards particular role, as its activities were influenced by the socialistic system and the school.

Elżbieta Kaszuba points out that „the settlement in the new regions, including Śląsk, was taking place in few stages,¹² specifying the following phases: „the first stage was lasting approximately from the spring until the autumn of 1945, the second lasted from November 1945 until the end of 1946, outnumbering the previous one as for the dynamics and range of settlement, whereas this third stage of settlement and migration (1947) was in decrease and such condition remained in the following years“.¹³ It is worth to emphasize that „the voivodship became then (between May and July) a place of compulsory settlement for 13 000 to 21 000 of Ukrainians relocated from belonging to Poland that time southern and eastern settlements within the action 'Wisła' (Operation Vistula). They were predominantly moved to Legnica, Lubin, Góra Śląska, Wołów, Oleśnica and Środa Śląska“.¹⁴ The military settlement in Lower Silesia must also be taken into consideration, as for such group of demobilized soldiers (altogether 74 288 people) the cities of Żary, Żagań, Zgorzelec, Lubań, Lwówek were allocated, with the ex-soldiers making up nearly 60% of all the settlers. On the other hand, in the period between 1948 and 1950, the Greek immigrants – a group consisting of 6 000 political refugees – also found their shelter in Poland.

¹¹ *Kronika Szkoły Podstawowej w Podgórzanie*, school year 1945/46 (in Polish).

¹² KASZUBA, E.: *Dzieje Śląska po 1945 r.* In: *Historia Śląska* Red. M. Czapliński, E. Kaszuba, G. Wąs, R. Żerelik. Wrocław 2002, p. 445.

¹³ Op. cit., p. 446.

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 446.

Contemporary analysis of the above-mentioned issues acquires new, deepened context in the light of the documents and recollections, as the school data is spread all over the archives of given towns, municipalities or even schools. Many of these documents, due to shift in their location between archives and schools got lost or were found on private premises, what significantly handicaps the research on the evolution of education in Lower Silesia after 1945. Moreover, the tackled social and educational aspects should be taken into account together, as they combine an inter-dependent cause-effect relation.

Settlement

„The districts of Lubań, Lwówek, Zgorzelec and Jelenia Góra were allocated to the military settlers and demobilized soldiers“ as written in the Parish chronicle in Wojciechów. The same happened in the village of Pasiecznik¹⁵ in Lwówek district, however the military settlers were not the only category of the village dwellers, as they were accompanied by repatriates from the East (previous voivodship of Tarnopol, Lwów, Stanisławów, Vilnius, Polesie, Nowogródek and Volhynia), central Poland (former Lublin, Rzeszów, Kielce, Cracow, Łódź, and Warszawa voivodship), as well as families from the district of Poznań, two re-emigrants from Romania and one from Austria. In this diverse society many conflict were possible, as reflected in the passage from the chronicle of Wojciechów parish „the main factor causing prejudices was the diversity of cultures and customs in the village“, but as the author stresses, „beyond any doubt, it may be stated that it did not evolve into something radical“.

In the village of Łazy (Milicz district) as much as 40% of the dwellers came from the area of Częstochowa, with rest from the vicinity of Poznań and Sieradz. There were all villagers and their work on farms was also the basic source of income in the new pace of residence. Conflicts between the inhabitants were rare and if happened, mainly concerned the allocation of goods or agricultural machinery. In such cases the Local Council Committee was in charge of the arbitration. The settlement action finished in March 1948 with simultaneous termination of relocating the Germans.¹⁶

¹⁵ The name before the war was a Spiller (the player), from 1945 Zimna Woda, and from 1953 Pasiecznik.

¹⁶ Sprawy osiedleńcze 1948–1951. Sprawozdanie za miesiąc kwiecień 1948–1951. Akta gminy Krośnice (in Polish), Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu.

In the Oleśnica district, in the village Wielkie Celniki (in 1947 the place was renamed Solniki Wielkie)¹⁷ repatriates from Lwów and Tarnopol district found their new homes, similarly as the settlers from the central Poland and those, relocated within the Operation Vistula. Altogether they made up 42 families, i.e. 166 people.¹⁸ Re-emigrants, i.e. two families from France and one from Czechoslovakia were in minority, whereas at the same time there were 86 people of German origin remaining concurrently in the village. The majority of the dwellers were farmers – 92 persons, but there was also a dressmaker, a gravedigger, and a builder. At the end of 1945, Celniki Wielkie reached the population of 4 121 inhabitants.

Danielowice is a village located within Oława region of that time (Domaniów district). The first settlers came there in the second half of the 1945, relocated in the houses abandoned by the German families. Initially, there were three families from former Lwów voivodship, apart from those relocated as a result of Operation Vistula in a palace from a 19th century.¹⁹ Poles coming from the east as well as from central Poland also lived in the villages nearby, with the eastern repatriates taking over individual farms, and central Polish ex-inhabitants employed at the state-owned farms. At the beginning, the settler groups remained isolated, but with the time passing by, they established bonds between each other, as common misfortune fate and difficult material situation made them search for mutual help. Cooperation was set up as the acclimatization followed, subsequently leading to the establishment of numerous local committees consisting of the village dwellers. They participated for instance in the allocation of donations from the UNRA to the poorest neighbours, also setting up mutual aid fund, or arranging the school facilities. All the activities contributed to the mutual process of getting to know and understanding each other.

In Świdnica district, the settlement action was of slower pace than in Świdnica city itself, due to severe damages after the war and lack of communication routes or train connections. The new inhabitants mostly came from Kraków, Rzeszów and Kielce voivodship, or they were the re-emigrants from France, Belgium, Germany or Yugoslavia, constituting just a minor group of 1 658 people. However, the first settlers were the military

¹⁷ Wydział Powiatowy w Oleśnicy, woj. wrocławskie do wszystkich Gmin w powiecie, Nazwy miejscowości na obszarze Ziemi Odzyskanych Oleśnica 5. 05. 1947 r., Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Akta gminy Solniki Wielkie, sygn. 1, p. 29 (in Polish).

¹⁸ The list of All the resellers within Operaton Vistula livinig in the Solniki village (in Polish). Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu.

¹⁹ A register from Danielowice village from 1945 (in Polish).

settlers, as well as the ex-prisoners of the liberated concentration camps, for instance from the nearby Gross-Rosen extermination camp, or those returning from forced labour in Germany.

This short and superficial image of the first settlers of selected districts and towns of Lower Silesia indicates the diverse background of the newcomers, who were setting up their family and neighbourhood life, in the new place of living, frequently a random one.

The school was a unique place of integration for the local people, particularly due to the common fact that only by efforts made altogether it was possible to clean up the space, fix tools, or provide to the teaching rooms own hand-made equipment.

In October of 1945 there were 514 public schools established with 54 705 pupils enrolled.²⁰

School space resources

The first public school in Strzegom was set up as early as in July of 1945, located at the Market Square number 1, in the building of the municipality office of that time, in one of the rooms on the third floor. At the end of the year, the school changed its location, moving to Stalin street 1 (Aleja Wojska Polskiego nowadays), having 22 pupils in 6 units.

In Lubawka (Jelenia Góra district) classes for pupils were inaugurated on 1st September 1945 in the building of a former German school.²¹

A formerly German building was also used for such purpose in Lutynia (Środa district), with the official inauguration taking place on 12th September, the same year. The teaching took place in two buildings located 200 meters distance from each other. The first building, where classes were taking place for the next 6 years, had been built by the Germans in 1937, whereas the second, built in 1908, was given to the school authorities in the school year 1951/52. The conditions for teaching in the latter were dreadful – small rooms were heated by iron stove, whereas in the day centre room of 35 sq meters there was a tile stove. Temperature in winter did not rise above 10 degrees and children were learning with their coats on.²² Official inauguration of the school year in this public school of Środa Śląska district took place on 12th September 1945. In Solniki Wielkie (Oleśnica district) a 4-grade school was set up in

²⁰ See: SMOLAŃSKI, A.: *Szkolnictwo podstawowe na Dolnym Śląsku w latach 1944–1965*. Wrocław 1970.

²¹ *Monografia historyczna miasta Lubawka*. Ed. A. Grzelak, Lubawka 1991, p. 87.

²² *Kronika Szkoły Podstawowej w Lutyni od 1949 r.* (chronicle in Polish).

October 1945, making use of one room on the ground floor, as the floors were in a terrible condition after the “Red Army stationed there”.²³

In Pasiecznik the public school was one of the first institutions to be set up in the village, beginning its function on 15th December 1945, and as it was captured in the memories, “the inauguration itself was quite ordinary, without fanfares, but on that day the biggest classroom in school was fully packed with small kids, as well as with those slightly older, including teenagers. The pupils came from Pasiecznik, Pokrzywnik, Maciejowiec and Janice. Apart from the first grade, there were two shortened classes for the older ones that already had some grasp of general knowledge”.²⁴ The first initiator of the school was Stanisław Drozdowski, pre-war teacher, AK soldier, whose son was also a soldier and got a farm in the village.²⁵ Establishing this school was inspired by this pre-war teacher, with general support from all the villagers and the priest.²⁶ The first day was remembered by one of the oldest villagers as follows: “before the official beginning of the school year, there was a meeting of all the parents having children aged over 7, when they were all enrolled in the classes. The enrollment took place on the basis of the birth certificates, evacuation cards, or parents’ written statements. On the first day, the children began the learning process, with each pupil having own notebook, a pencil and a rubber”.²⁷

The first public school in Ibramowice (Świdnica district) was located in an old building of formerly evangelic, well-equipped school. On 2nd February 1946 the official inauguration began the teaching process addressed to 40 pupils. It was proceeded by a mass service in the church of Domanice, what was recorded in the school chronicle as follows: “six wagons left Ibramowice with the villagers and their school children. After they returned, the teacher, J. Trzepla, gave this school a patron’s name of Stanisław Wyspiański, whereas the priest, B. Balicki, blessed the building and two Polish flags were placed at the front door.”²⁸

Recalling the course of establishing selected schools in Lower Silesia, it must be remembered that it was common for the local community to get engaged in the maintenance and construction works in order to prepare the school classrooms properly. The already existing post-German building were used, as well as former public offices buildings, but also some residences or palaces.

²³ *Kronika szkoły w Solnikach Wielkich z lat 1945–1948* (chronicle in Polish).

²⁴ Based on the interview with Danuta R. from February 1997.

²⁵ Based on the interview with Stanisław P. and Jan N. from January 1997.

²⁶ Interview with Jan N.

²⁷ Interview with Jan N.

²⁸ *Kronika szkoły podstawowej w Imbramowicach 1945–1975* (chronicle in Polish).

The school became one of the first institutions operating in the local community, and was inspired by the initiative of the inhabitants and the teachers.

Another problem for the emerging post-war education in Poland was to provide appropriate teaching staff.²⁹

Insufficiency in this regard was caused by many reasons, such as:

- “extermination and oppressions of the teachers under German occupation,
- repressions, including deportation of Polish teaching staff to the far corners of USSR,
- 5-year break in systematic education of teachers caused by the war and occupation,
- difficult financial situation of the teachers and disinclination of the youth to take up studies in the institutions of education teachers,
- natural decline in the number of teaching staff due to difficult hygienic and sanitary as well as social conditions during the war,
- objections among those teachers, who had been residing in the western countries, to return to the country that was subject to soviet influences,
- strong will of the education circles to get rid of those teachers, who had collaborated with the German occupant”.³⁰

The above-recalled causes of insufficiency in teaching staff led to a situation when education institutions employed persons with no appropriate qualifications. Some of them worked temporarily, others were delegated to participate in some short-term vocational trainings (even just a few-week courses), that obviously were not sufficient to prepare a candidate, as far as pedagogical and psychological knowledge and practice were concerned.

Similar problems with the staff were reported in Lower Silesia.

In the Oława district, public schools employed mainly pre-war teachers having pedagogical background, as those were the graduates of seminars for teachers, who had began their professional work before 1939. They would often come to Lower Silesia with the new settlers, as they were also originating from the same area as the others.

The school inspector of Złotoryja district, Jan Stępień, recalled his first days at school as follows: “some headmasters and teachers organized schools better, some worse, but almost in all cases we may say that their attitudes were full of sense of civic obligation and they fulfilled their duties

²⁹ See: CHMIELEWSKI, W.: *Edukacja nauczycieli po II wojnie światowej*. Warszawa 2007.

³⁰ Op. cit., pp. 27–28.

concerning school as a tool of polonization of the settled area”.³¹ Józef Trzepla – a qualified teacher coming Kalisz, arrived in Ibramowice in November 1945, and quickly established good relations with the village and borough leader of Domanice, as well as with the school inspector in Świdnica, all in order to open a new school in the village. He began enrolment at the end of 1945, embracing children from Ibramowice and the nearby villages of Buków, Osławnica and Marcinowiczki. He also activated local community to participate in the school building renovation and equipping it with didactic tools, simultaneously supervising activities for the sake of setting up classroom units. The school inspector from Świdnica additionally assigned to the new unit a woman from Domanice, Kazimiera Przystał, that “had no qualifications, but was nice to the children, hard-working, diligent and protective”.³²

The first headmaster and teacher of Pasieczniki was Stanisław Drozdowski, who had a long-standing pedagogical practice in education gained long before the Second World War. “He was a truly devoted and professional teacher that became the heart and soul of the newly established school, where he faced problems unknown from the previous experience, as the lack of notebooks, school equipment, chalk, books and textbooks was particularly affecting”.³³

As he recalls, the ceremony of opening the new school was a perfect opportunity to unite the local community. The events were often participated by the local authorities, with poem declamations or singing patriotic songs making “the atmosphere of comfort and mobilization, contributing to the mutual process of getting to know each other and establishing social bonds between settled Polish newcomers, coming from not only various parts of Poland or Europe, but also from all over the world”.³⁴

However, the positive atmosphere was soon spoiled by the political and administrative authorities, as “the party and state authority of People’s Republic of Poland controlled the social life, imposing by administrative measures the binding interpretation of the reality around, restricting at the same time the possibility to speak one’s mind in public, or to manifest the confession. Particular attention was drawn to the school propaganda, that was to create a “new man” manifesting scientific point

³¹ STYŚ, K.: *Rozwój szkolnictwa podstawowego w powiecie zlotoryjskim w latach 1945–1965*. Lublin 1970, p. 12.

³² *Kronika Szkoły Podstawowej w Imbramowicach 1945–1975* (chronicle in Polish).

³³ *Co nam zostało z tamtych lat? czyli 50-lecie Szkoły Podstawowej w Pasieczniku*. „Sami Swoi”, Miesięcznik lokalny Lubomierza 1996, nr 39, p. 11.

³⁴ STYŚ, K.: *Rozwój szkolnictwa podstawowego...*, op. cit., p. 12.

of view concurrently applying “socialistic morality” in his/her conduct”.³⁵ The school became a subject to supervision and “harsh punitive and retaliate measures, forcing to follow and serve the imposed ideology”.³⁶

The teacher was to become the direct executor of such tasks, also being a subject to control and determined ideological training. Teachers unwilling to surrender to the pressure of the party apparatus were expelled from the school and out of the profession. Along with him/her, his/her documents confirming the employment would also disappear. In such mysterious way some documents from 1952/1953 concerning the teacher Stefan Modelski (a historian) vanished from the grammar school in Lwówek Śląski, when he got into conflict with the authorities, as he refused to teach the mendacious version of the history. He was immediately dismissed, deprived of any sources of income, and the traces of his existence and work there (from 1st September 1950)³⁷ remained solely on the protocols of the teaching staff committees and photos taken in the classroom during lessons.

The initiator of a veterinary clinic and agricultural school in Bierutów (launched on 1th September 1946), Jerzy Szmurło, was working as a headmaster of this school until 1949, then in October of that year he was arrested, charged with the propaganda against People's Republic of Poland and financial embezzlement at school, and finally – collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. After 6 months of custody in the Security Office in Oleśnica, a show trial took place. Nevertheless, it must be stated, that a positive opinion of the suspect given by the villagers of Buków remained in the files.³⁸ However, despite the fact that nothing was proved to J. Szmurło concerning the charges, he was sentenced to three years of imprisonment, concurrently being deprived of his previously granted land property.³⁹

Similar actions of the authorities were aimed at some active members of the Polish Scout Associations. For instance, in September 1948, as a result of pressure from the local authorities of Bolesławiec, the pack leader Hubert Bonin, resigned from managing the local team. Depriving

³⁵ KRYŃSKA, E. J. – MAUERSBERG, S.: *Indoktrynacja młodzieży szkolnej w Polsce w latach 1945–1956*. Białystok 2003, p. 7.

³⁶ THEISS, W.: *Zniewolone dzieciństwo*. Warszawa 1996, p. 128.

³⁷ Certificate of employment dated October 1950, private collection (in Polish).

³⁸ Copy of a letter at the author's.

³⁹ His brother Witold died in Katyń. See: *Lista ofiar i zaginionych jeńców obozów Kozielsk, Staszaków, Starobielsk*. Ed. SZCZEŚNIAK, A. L.: Warszawa 1989, p. 161. Jerzy's son was denied access to university and was sent to the compulsory military service in a penal colony, where he worked in a coal mine.

him of this activity was caused by the fact that during the Second World War he actively participated in the sabotage operations of the conspiracy scout's organization.

The above-recalled short, individual stories of various persons indicate the trends in the staff policy in education after 1945. Unfortunately, those most active, best educated, having significant experience in didactic and social work were often cut off from the young society, whereas the others decided to resign from this profession.

Polish ethnic organisations in Brno between the wars and in the years 1945–1952 and their contribution to the development of Czech-Polish cultural and educational relations

František Čapka

The study describes the activities of the Polish ethnic organizations in Brno from the beginning of the First Republic (1918) till the early 50s of the 20th century. In the introductory part it briefly mentions some aspects of Czech-Polish relations from 19th century, crucial is the part describing the content of the activities of these associations. There are described the main directions of their activities. At the end there is an overview of six ethnic organizations.

Key words: ethnic organization; culture; public education; concerts; lectures; exhibitions; trips; books lending

Before the First World War, cultural relations between our nation and foreign nations were extremely sporadic, and were restricted largely to our nearest neighbours. Two historical moments in the nineteenth century that provided a certain inspiration to the Czech national movement should be noted in relation to the Polish nation. The first was the November Uprising in Warsaw (1830) and the Cracow Uprising in February 1846, which were followed with great sympathy by Czech patriots (K. H. Mácha, F. Brauner), followed by the Polish January Uprising against Czarist Russia in the years 1863–1864, attitudes towards which further deepened the rift between the two currents of opinion in the Czech National Party camp: the Old Czechs headed by František Palacký, who took a critical view of the uprising, and set against them the Young Czechs, who sympathised with the Polish insurgents. It is worth noting here that almost 200 Polish revolutionaries were imprisoned at Špilberk Castle in Brno in the years 1839–1848.¹

¹ See: TYROWICZ, M.: *Průvodce po Muzeu polských vězňů na Špilberku*. Brno 1960; BOGDAŃSKI, H.: *Polský revolucionář na Špilberku*. Brno 1932. Brno historian Z. Hájek studied this matter in detail, evidence of which is, for example, his study *Moravians and Polish Prisoners at Špilberk*. In: *Časopis Matice moravské*, 54, 1930, p. 337–376; *Why Political Prisoners Were Imprisoned at Špilberk*. In: *Vlastivědný věstník moravský*, 9, 1959, p. 63–68, 101–108.

The situation in the development of mutual relations in culture and education took on a new dimension following the establishment of the independent states Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1918. The Czechoslovak authorities, and in particular the Ministry of Education and National Culture, realised the importance of foreign relations in general terms, for which reason a department for educational and cultural relations with abroad was established at this ministry, becoming an independent division in 1929.

It is natural that the intensity of the development of these relations and official support for them more or less copied the current situation in the position of mutual relations at the international political level. Czechoslovak foreign policy was, first and foremost, oriented towards allied France and the Anglo-Saxon countries, followed by the Southern Slavs of Yugoslavia; special attention in this area was devoted to Russian and Ukrainian emigrant circles. Czechoslovak-Polish relations, in contrast, were not initially given particular consideration (particularly after 1918). Unsuccessful talks on the territorial issue of Cieszyn led finally in January 1919 to the "Seven-day War" between the two new states. The situation became calmer in the following years, it is true (particularly following agreement on a treaty between the two states reached in Spa in Belgium), but official relations with Poland were considered merely "standard" by Czechoslovakia throughout the entire inter-war period.

We will first take a brief look at the situation regarding the creation of the system of international educational and cultural relations from the national viewpoint. The instigation of the above-mentioned department for educational and cultural relations with abroad was followed by the establishment of branches of international organisations such as the Rotary Club and the Pen Club, for example. Diverse societies, committees, institutions and clubs were established to cultivate relations with foreign nations, one of which was a Czechoslovak-Polish Society. These bodies had affiliated organisations abroad devoted to spreading knowledge about Czechoslovakia. Lectorships in the Czech language were also established at foreign universities, including Warsaw and Poznań in Poland. International congresses and conventions focusing on diverse aspects of science, culture, research and education became extremely important links for establishing mutual contacts. Large international congresses held in Czechoslovakia at which Polish participation was recorded included, for example, a congress of secondary school professors (1923), an anthropological congress (1924), a congress of anatomists (1927), a congress of phoniaticians and speech therapists, and a congress of music and theatre critics

(1930). Such international gatherings also provided inspiration for direct contacts between scientific experts, which found concrete form in a mutual publication exchange and, perhaps most importantly, in the organisation of exchange lecture residences at universities and exchanges between conductors and orchestras. These were gradually joined by exchanges between university students, initially organised as summer holiday schools; a form of exchange scholarships followed at the beginning of the nineteen thirties. Merely for the sake of interest, the largest numbers recorded were with France (20), followed by Italy (5), Romania (4) and Yugoslavia (3). There was just one with Poland. Other activities of this kind included mutual student relations organised by the Central Association of Czechoslovak Students, its foreign division and the Information Office for Studies Abroad.²

In addition to these activities, the protection of Czechoslovak compatriots living abroad also developed along official lines in the form of diverse organisations at the local and provincial level, within both the Komenský Society and the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute, and coordinated by the Ministry of Education and National Culture in cooperation with the Foreign Ministry.

A large number of organisations of many and varied kinds were established in Brno in the period after 1918.³ We will first focus our attention briefly on the activity of the ethnic societies in Brno that comprised part of the rich structure made up by organisations of the most varied kinds in the city in the years of the First Republic (1918–1938) and in the post-war period (1945–1952).

A total of 69 ethnic societies were founded in Brno in the given years. Attempts at establishing societies of this kind had already been made before 1918, such as the Russian Circle (1900), the Slavonic Foundation (1900) and the *Polish Circle*, authorisation for the establishment of which was issued on 2 December 1910 and whose constituent general assembly was held on 16 January 1911. This organisation held courses, lectures and exhibitions and published various brochures, magazines

² PRAUS, F.: *Kulturní styky s cizinou*. In: Československá vlastivěda, Volume X. Praha, Osvěta 1931, p. 552–557.

³ Brno's register of clubs and societies during the period from the establishment of the Republic to 1948 distinguished such organisations according to their focus into the following categories: reading, fire fighters, business, humanitarian, cultural, consumer, lottery, religious, union, public education, music and singing, charity, legal, industrial, social, student, youth, shooting, school, technical, transport, commercial, physical education and sport, teacher, artistic, scientific, military and security, educational, hobby, health, and also ethnic. For more details see: The Moravian Archive (hereafter MA), B 26.

and other writings directed towards the “cultivation of social and cultural mutuality with the Polish nation”. President of the circle was MUDr. František Veselý. The organisation brought its activities to an end as of 29 July 1921.

The first ethnic societies in the City of Brno after 1918 included an Anglo-American Club, the Association Francoise, a Czech-Russian Association, a Yugoslav Academic Veterinary Society and a Yugoslav Academic Mensa, all established during the course of 1919. This list is a clear reflection of the above-mentioned course of official Czechoslovak international political orientation.

The largest numbers of ethnic organisations were established in Brno in the years 1920–1931 (a total of 47 clubs and societies). Ethnic societies, just like other societies, were established according to the Act of Association of the December Constitution of 15 November 1867; the constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic of 29 February 1920 adopted the provisions on associations of this pre-Austrian constitution. The number of new societies established in the years of the great economic crisis fell rapidly following this initial “fever” lasting until 1931. Government decree no. 97 of 31 March 1939 applied during the Protectorate (1939–1945), and specified that all organisations established in accordance with Act 134/1867 that wanted to continue operating must notify the state police authority pertinent to the location of the organisation of this fact, otherwise they would cease to exist as of 30 June 1939; this decree led to the majority of these organisations (including all those oriented towards Poland) to cease operations. After the liberation, many of these organisations applied for re-registration in the register of clubs and societies of the City of Brno.

During the period studied, there were a total of six ethnic organisations focusing on Poland in the City of Brno. The first to be established was the *Czechoslovak-Polish Club* on 16 February 1925, joined five years later (24 May 1930) by the *Society of Polish Students in Brno* (Związek studentów Polaków v Brnie) and shortly afterwards the *Society of Academic Poles from Lithuania in Brno – Samogitia* on 3 June 1930. Less than a year passed (21 February 1931) before university students from Warsaw in Brno founded their own *Warsaw Association of University Students in Brno*. The *Academic Circle of Friends of Poland* was short-lived, existing from 11 November 1933 to 30 May 1934. Following the liberation, a branch of the *Society for Cultural Relations with Poland* was also established in Brno (12 November 1946).

The foundation of the individual ethnic societies was accompanied by a number of inevitable instructions, directives and formalities from the

authorities. Each organisation had to apply for a licence from the pertinent police district (after the war the Provincial National Council in Brno) before it could be founded, followed by registration with the register of clubs and societies. The statutes of the society had to be submitted in four copies for this purpose, along with a colour depiction of the emblem of the organisation and the organisation's uniform, flag, etc. if and when appropriate in three copies. After the statutes and other supplements had been examined, the organisation was entered into the register of clubs and societies and issued with a licence certificate. A few days later, a constituent general assembly was to be held (the highest body of the organisation), which elected a committee. Auditors of accounts comprised other bodies of such organisations, while any disputes arising within the organisation were to be settled by a court of a justice of the peace. The organisation would be under continuous surveillance. Around a week before any planned events were to be held, its committee had to give notification to the police, who would generally send someone to "monitor" such activities and subsequently submit a report about them. Czechoslovak citizens and foreigners alike could become members of ethnic organisations; the committee would rule on the acceptance of members. An important feature of the statutes of these organisations was their democratic nature and their great plurality in the acceptance of members.

The activities of the individual organisations depended largely on the size of their membership; some had a membership in double figures, others such as the Society of Polish Students in Brno, for example, had more than a hundred members. Many of their activities – lectures, film screenings, concerts, exhibitions, social evenings, lending libraries of books, magazines and newspapers, language and conversation courses, excursions – would not have been possible without financial support from "outside", such as that provided by the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute or the Polish Embassy. Effective assistance was also provided by universities, namely Masaryk University and the Technical University in Brno, notably in the form of lectures, held mostly in Czech, though sometimes in Polish with a Czech translation. These organisations also co-operated with one another. Financial means (in addition to membership fees) were also obtained from the revenue from events held by the organisations such as, in addition to those mentioned above, dance evenings. The organisations were not allowed to conduct political activity of any kind, and their activities had to be of an exclusively non-political nature. The work of these organisations often included social assistance for students in the form of support for impoverished members,

food allowances or housing in student hostels. According to their statutes, the organisations would be terminated either by being officially dissolved or by voluntary dissolution. The reasons for voluntary dissolution were largely of a financial nature or a fall in membership.⁴

An overview of the activities of Polish ethnic organisations in Brno established after 1918

* *The Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno*

Established 16 February 1925, general assembly held 11 March of the same year at the Rector's Office at Masaryk University. The organisation's clubroom was the Mirror Hall at the Hotel Passage, Nová 23.

The president of the organisation was secondary technical college professor Maxmilián Kolaja; the membership of the club was comprised largely of students from Masaryk University and Brno Technical University.

Of the lectures given, we might mention two lectures by professor Zdeněk Hájek (at that time still grammar school professor) on the subject "The Relationship between the Population of Moravia and the Polish Prisoners at Špilberk" (5 February 1930) and "The 70th Anniversary of the Last Polish Uprising" (18 January 1933). His lectures were given in Polish. In addition to the above activities, the club also organised holiday jobs in Poland and issued a monthly "Czechoslovak-Polish Correspondence".

The organisation ceased to exist in accordance with article II of government decree 97/1939 Sb. z. a n. as of 30 June 1939. It was re-established on 30 March 1946, its president remaining professor Kolaja. The organisation was dissolved voluntarily in December 1947.⁵

* *The Society of Polish Students in Brno (Związek studentów Polaków v Brnie)*

The society was established on 24 May 1930. Its members were Polish students (as many as 68) studying at universities in Brno. They met up at the restaurant U Ševčků at Horova 46.

The society was headed in turn by the students Wiesław Wiszniewski, Evžen Raczunas and Jozef Wardas. The principal activities of the

⁴ See: KAMENSKÁ, E.: Národnostní spolky v Brně v první polovině 20. století. (Dissertation). Brno, The Faculty of Education at Masaryk University 1991, p. 14–26.

⁵ MA, B 26, kart. 2618, ref. no. 81240.

society were, in addition to lectures and talks, excursions in the area around Brno and the loaning of books and magazines. The society ceased to exist in connection with the political situation following the occupation of Poland by Germany. The society announced its “voluntary” termination as of 2 October 1939.⁶

* *The Society of Academic Poles from Lithuania in Brno – Samogitia*

The society was established on 3 June 1930. Around 20 members of the society met up in the clubroom at the Na Růžku inn at Tábor 20 for talks on Polish culture in Lithuania in history and the present day, and diverse cultural events were also held here. A peculiarity of the members of the society was the fact that they wore caps of a grey velvet colour with a narrow purple ribbon on which the monogram of the society was embroidered in silver. They also wore a sash, also of a purple colour, across the chest.

The position of president was held in turn by Wieslaw Wisczniewski, Ludvik Makiewicz and Eduard Borkowski. The society ceased to exist on 13 May 1938 as the result of a fall in membership.⁷

* *The Warsaw Association of University Students in Brno*

Established on 21 February 1931 by student Jiří Adler, the association used premises in a café in Dobrovského Street as its clubroom. The student Mieczyslaw Forelle became president of the association. Lectures and talks were held in Czech and Polish, while excursions into the area around Brno proved particularly popular. From the middle of the nineteen thirties onwards, the activities of the association gradually declined as a result of its falling membership until the association was finally dissolved voluntarily as of 19 March 1937.⁸

* *The Academic Circle of Friends of Poland*

The constituent general assembly of the organisation, at which JUDr. Jaroslav Standara was elected head of the Circle, was held on 11 November 1933 in the Great Hall at Masaryk University. The Academic Circle suffered from the very beginning from a small number of members, for which reason it proved impossible to implement its planned activities to the full. This eventually led to the dissolution of the organisation after around six months (as of 30 May 1934).⁹

⁶ MA, B 26, kart. 2613, ref. no. 81115.

⁷ MA, B 26, kart. 2575, ref. no. 56581.

⁸ MA, B 26, kart. 2570, ref. no. 40802.

⁹ MA, B 26, kart. 2531, ref. no. 831.

* *The Society for Cultural Relations with Poland, Brno branch*

The society received a licence on 12 November 1946, and its constituent general assembly was held at the Hotel Slávie on 16 January 1947. František Krejčí is stated as the founder of the society, but was replaced by M. Kolaja immediately following its foundation. The names of two distinguished personalities in academic life in Brno appeared among the leadership of the association – Chancellor of the Technical University in Brno and leading architect Jiří Kroha, and historian and Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Masaryk University J. Macůrek (both held the position of vice-president). Following his resignation from the position of president in November 1950, M. Kolaja was replaced by F. Krejčí.

In addition to traditional activities (lectures, excursion, concerts, exhibitions) the society also organised “Czechoslovak-Polish Friendship Weeks”. The exact reasons for the dissolution of the society are not available. The sources merely state abruptly that it “was dissolved on 14 October 1952”.¹⁰

¹⁰ MA, B 26, kart. 3305, ref. no. 130/52.

Areas of cooperation or competition – rapport or conflict? The Polish-Czechoslovakian relations exemplified by the activity of Polish cultural and educational associations in Czechoslovakia in the years 1947–1958

Mirostaw Piwowarczyk

The postwar Czechoslovakian and Polish relations were not the most cordial, as the cooperation was disturbed by mutual territorial claims, as well as by various expectations regarding the national minorities. It caused a rise in mistrust between the Polish and Czech as well as Slovakian nations, generating conflicts and mutual accusations. The state of the relations has changed after the 10th of March 1947 when The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the Republic of Poland and the Republic of Czechoslovakia was signed. Political agreement helped to improve relations regarding a number of contentious issues, particularly in the treatment of national minorities. One of the main provisions arising from the records of the Protocol-Appendix from the Treaty was necessity of the settlement of the Polish cultural and educational organization on the territory of Czechoslovakia. In June 1947 the government of Czechoslovakia completing the arrangements approved the statutes of the Treaty and allowed the operating of the Polish Cultural and Educational Association in Czechoslovakia. Association conducted a large-scale cultural and educational activity, and therefore played a great role in education and integration of Polish minority in Zaolzie. It affected the nature of the relationship, and mutual contacts between the Polish and the Czechs and Slovaks.

Key words: Polish-Czechoslovakian cooperation; Polish Cultural and Educational Union in Czechoslovakia

At the end of the Second World War a new political and economic deal began to shape in Europe and in the rest of the world. Central and Eastern Europe – remaining in the sphere of Soviet influence, began to experience a new quality of a political, social, economic, cultural and educational life. It was manifested by a strong, solid and coherent, economically and ideologically homogenous creation – the bloc of socialistic countries supervised by the USSR. At the same time, to join and strengthen the entire bloc internally, and to gain control over its

members became the top priorities in the policy of Soviet Union. Nevertheless, this process required regulating and empowering the mutual relations between the countries – members of the bloc.

The relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia in the early postwar period were burdensome, as on one hand they were determined by the political and economic specificity of the Eastern bloc (with the political, social and economic character of both countries), and on the other – by the historical resentments and the decisions of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance from 1947.

Attempts to regulate and normalize the mutual relations, reflected in the above-mentioned Treaty, had been already launched before the end of the Second World War, however, the Polish-Czechoslovakian agreement expected by the Soviet authorities did not follow. The basic obstacle on the way to reach such a consent was the unsettled issue of the frontiers between both countries. Czechoslovakia claimed southern areas of the former German Silesia, that were incorporated into Poland as a part of the Regained Territories on the basis of The Potsdam Conference, whereas Poland claimed Trans-Olza River Silesia which was under Czechoslovakian administration. It became a serious and continuous cause of mutually increasing territorial claims, misunderstandings, and in consequence – cool relationships.¹

Controversies around the state belonging of Kłodzko, Głubczyce and Racibórz, together with the issue of Trans-Olza Silesia, Spiš and Orava affected mutual relationships in the years 1945–1947, having impact on the contents as well as the quality of the Polish-Czechoslovakian relations. It disabled reaching compromises in many cases, becoming a subject of discussions, both between the two countries, as well as considering the entire bloc until 1958.²

Another issue hindering mutual understanding was the problem of acknowledging and recognizing political rights of the national minorities in both of the countries – i.e. the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia, and Czech as well as Slovakian minority groups in Poland. It also affected economic cooperation, e.g. natural resources and food distribution, for

¹ The main initiators of the territorial claims on Czechoslovakian side were the Czechoslovakian national and socialistic party, people's party and the Czechoslovakian social democracy. As the conflict between Poles and Czechoslovakians evolved, the territorial claims from Slovakian side also emerged, claiming Spiš and Orava located within Polish state in 1920 in accordance with the resolutions of the Council of Ambassadors in Spaa.

² Border treaty between the People's Republic of Poland and the Republic of Czechoslovakia was signed on 13th June 1958 in Warsaw.

instance in case of making Polish seaports accessible for Czechoslovakia.

All these issues – negotiated and discussed by both sides with no significant solutions provided whatsoever – constituted essential barrier disabling mutual approach and consent until the first half of 1947. The deadlock in mutual negotiations was made by Czechoslovakia on 24th April 1946, when Czechoslovakia applied to the authorities of the Western European countries to consider the territorial Czechoslovakian claims, addressed by the Czechoslovakian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The breakthrough in the relations took place on 24th July 1946, when the Soviet ambassadors addressed an appeal of the USSR authority to the Communist President of the Polish Republic Bolesław Bierut and the President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia Edvard Beneš, tackling the issue of Polish and Czechoslovakian relations. The Soviets, referring to the clause in the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship from 12th December 1943,³ predicting Poland would join the deal, called for establishing “in the nearest future” a political treaty between Poland and Czechoslovakia. According to the USSR authorities, it would soon facilitate circumstances to reach “mutual consent” concerning territorial claims. At the same time, the Soviets strongly emphasized the desire for Czechoslovakian authorities to resign from the idea of the assistance of the Western European countries in settling the territorial claims. The Soviet authorities came to the conclusion that the time, when it would be necessary to establish tight bond within the bloc to oppose those outside, is near. Therefore, they decided to eliminate all points of reference accessible for the Western bloc that could enable the participation of the USA and Great Britain in settling the issues of Central and Eastern Europe.⁴ Stalin simply did not want to provide any excuse for the West to take part in the problems of Eastern and Central Europe, hence awaited high agreement between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Both Czechoslovakian and Polish government accepted the Soviet proposal, still both sides submitted additional projects regarding the contents of the treaty. Responding to the Soviets, Polish government emphasized that they wish to sign additional document in which Czechoslovakian government would guarantee for Polish inhabitants of Zaolzie – whose rights in comparison with the period before 1938 had been significantly depleted – the possibility to exercise all political rights, such as

³ The treaty of friendship and cooperation with the USSR was signed in Moscow by E. Beneš.

⁴ KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: *Polsko-Czechosłowackie stosunki polityczne 1945–1948*. Warszawa 1990, p. 248.

legal activity within democratic rule of Polish organizations. Czechoslovaks were also to provide for Poles conditions of “unhindered cultural growth”.⁵

Intervention of the Soviet authorities launched Polish-Czechoslovakian talks on 12th August 1946 in Paris.⁶ Nevertheless, neither the talks in Paris, nor further discussion between the two parties (that took place in Prague), led to the signing of the treaty. The main problematic issue – territorial claims (Czechoslovakian authorities claiming Kłodzko, Głubczyce, Racibórz, Kozielsk and Wałbrzych districts) and acknowledging minority rights constituted an essential obstacle.

The discussion was also present in the Polish and Czechoslovakian press. Numerous articles considering the claims together with simultaneous declarations on Slavonic solidarity, accompanied by justification of own perspectives and proving the other side’s guilt for the lack of understanding only exacerbated situation that had already been bothersome. Long-lasting talks, as well as press and diplomatic polemics, proved that none of the partners was able to convince the other to own point of view. The Polish party merely managed to gain Czechoslovakian memorandum dated 9th January 1947 including the Czechoslovakian resignation from territorial claims on the international forum. Still, the problem of frontiers remained present both in the internal political games in Czechoslovakia, as well as in the mutual relations.⁷

Such situation was perceived by the Soviet leaders as unfavourable for the image of the “community of the friendly countries”. Therefore, in the context of approaching conference of the Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of USSR, Great Britain, France and the USA in Moscow (the event took place in March and April 1947), the Soviets found it necessary to intervene in the issues of the Polish-Czechoslovakian treaty. On 25th February 1947, the prime minister Klement Gottwald got a telegram from Stalin and Mołotow stating that “any further delay in reaching Polish-Czechoslovakian agreement on mutual cooperation will bring about a scandalous situation, causing unwelcomed reception both in the USSR and other friendly countries”.⁸

⁵ Ibidem, p. 51.

⁶ The talks took place in Paris – the place of The Paris Peace Conference (29th July to 15th October 1946), participated by 21 countries, among which Poland and Czechoslovakia had their representatives. Polish, Czechoslovakian and Soviet delegates met between the sessions of various commissions of the conferences in order to discuss problems related to the Polish-Czechoslovakian treaty. See: KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., p. 250.

⁷ PAŁYS, P.: *Kłodzko, Racibórz i Głubczyce w stosunkach polsko-czechosłowackich w latach 1945–1947*. Opole 1997, p. 62.

⁸ KAPLAN, K.: *Poválečné Československo*. Mnichov 1985, p. 214; See also: KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., p. 308.

On 10th March 1947 The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the Republic of Poland and the Republic of Czechoslovakia was ceremonially signed in Warsaw by Józef Cyrankiewicz and Klement Gottwald, as well as by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs – Zygmunt Modzelewski and Jan Masaryk.⁹ At the same time the period of „forced friendship” officially began.

In the Protocol-Appendix attached to the Treaty, two signatory parties committed themselves to settle the issues tackling territorial aspects within the next two years. Hence, formally the frontier issues remained open, however practically both sides came to terms with the current state location of Trans-Olza Silesia and southern as well as western districts of the Polish regained territories. It obviously did not end the discussions and polemics in diplomacy or in Czechoslovakian or Polish press.

The issue of territorial claims were mainly remembered by the non-communistic Czechoslovakian press where – contrary to Polish newspapers that threw positive light – sceptical voices assessing the Treaty emerged, emphasized lack of enthusiasm for further objectives of Czechoslovakian policy towards Poland.¹⁰ The issue of frontiers was finally settled in Warsaw where the on 13th June 1958, a border treaty between the People’s Republic of Poland and the Republic of Czechoslovakia was signed, finally resolving the border issue, ending the border dispute.¹¹ Concurrently, the question of exercising the stipulations and resolutions of the Appendix-Protocol from 10th March tackling the minority issues became of paramount importance.¹² Still, both signatory

⁹ Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Dz.U.R.P.) 1948 nr 7, poz. 47. (Polish Journal of Laws)

¹⁰ KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., pp. 312–314. Kamiński recalls the opinions from Czech and Slovakian press referring to the Treaty, e.g. periodicals such as „Rudé právo”, „Svobodný zítřek”, „Obzory”, „Čas”. In „Svobodné slovo” from 9th March 1947 it was stated that „the Poles are obliged to prove that they really want to establish peaceful relations with Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovakian party may only forget the part stigmatized by poor relations between the two countries solely because of Poles. Therefore, Poland should resign from Trans-Olza Silesia and give up claims for minority rights for the Polish living in Czechoslovakia, giving away the districts of Kłodzko, Głubczyce and Racibórz in exchange for Czechoslovakian support for the Polish frontier on the Odra and Nysa Łużycka river”.

¹¹ Dz.U.R.P. 1959 nr 25, poz. 159.

¹² The Protocol-Appendix to The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the Republic of Poland and the Republic of Czechoslovakia includes a mutual declaration that “the parties with settle on the way of agreement, not later that within two years (...) all territorial issues currently existing between both of the countries, and that taking into consideration possibly quickest economic and cultural reconstructions of the both countries, they will enter as early as possible talks leading to conclusion of the treaty for this purpose (...)”, Dz.U.R.P. 1948 nr 7, poz. 47.

states interpreted the conclusions in this document differently, therefore setting other objectives while accomplishing the acknowledged resolutions.¹³

The different perspectives of perceiving the case of bringing the resolutions of the Protocol-Appendix into effect became obvious upon discussion over ratification of the political Treaty. There were no doubts regarding economic issues, however the case of recognizing the minority rights, as well as regulating the frontier issues within two years, remained the subject of various, even contradictory aspirations of the both partners.¹⁴

For the minorities in both of the countries it had been crucial to exercise the resolution of the Appendix-Protocol, where both signatories obliged themselves to “within the rule of law and the principle of reciprocity, provide for the Poles in Czechoslovakia, as well as Czechs and Slovaks in Poland, opportunity to grow in national, political, cultural and economic sense, enabling the process of establishing schools, associations, or cooperative associations working on the basis of the cooperative integrity in Poland, relatively in Czechoslovakia”.¹⁵

Concluding the Treaty was welcomed in Poland with enthusiasm; the Polish party promised to establish Slovakian and Czech schools in Poland soon, predominantly in Orava and Spiš, then in Kłodzko district, or even in the areas inhabited by Moravians.¹⁶

Nevertheless, Polish authorities claimed that before establishing such schools it is indispensable to precisely determine the number of Czech minority in Poland. It was assigned as a task to a mixed, Polish-Czechoslovakian verification committee, set up in March 1947. The result of the committee works (carried out from 21st May to 26th July embracing the districts of Bystrzyca, Dzierżoniów, Jelenia Góra, Kamienna Góra, Kłodzko, Strzelin, Świdnica, Wałbrzych, Wrocław, Zgorzelec, Ząbkowice Śląskie) revealed there are 2 123 Czechs altogether. It appeared that in basin Kłodzko itself, the commission verified 965 persons, recognizing the unsettled issues of 196 persons (hence, Czechs made up 0,83 % of all 114 959 inhabitants living in this area). As a result, Czechoslovakian side was clearly dissatisfied with the gained results that per se questioned the reason for Czechoslovakian territorial claims towards the Polish territories.¹⁷

¹³ KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., p. 318.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Dz.U.R.P. 1948 nr 7, poz. 47.

¹⁶ PAŁYS, P.: op. cit., p. 63.

¹⁷ PUDŁO, K.: *Czesi na Dolnym Śląsku po roku 1945*. „Slezský sborník”, č. 1, 1995, p. 89; See also: KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., p. 334.

As it was declared by the Polish signatory, seven-grade school with Czech as the teaching language had already been established in September 1947 in Kudowa Zdrój. The second institution was also established in Lower Silesia (Gościęcice near Strzelin) in 1949. In both of the places literature, history, singing, geography, physics and biology were taught in Czech, whereas rest of the subjects were taught in Polish. In 1949 the school in Kudowa was attended by 453 pupils, however in the last year of its functioning (1953/1954) the number dropped to as little as 10 children. In relation to the predominantly declared German nationality by the Czech minority in Kłodzko district, the Czech school in Kudowa was transformed into German institution in 1954, with German as the teaching language. It operated until 1959/1960, when with reference to the departure of this nationality group to the Federal Republic of Germany, the institution lost its required number of pupils and was closed down. The school in Gościęcice operated longer, attended initially by 101 pupils, and in 1953 by 74 children. It was closed down in 1962, when a Polish school was opened.¹⁸

Between 1945 and 1956 there were few Czech organizations operating in Poland. In 1945 in Lublin Association of Czechoslovaks in Poland was established (operating until 1956), focusing mainly on assisting in administrative and legal matters the Czech citizens leaving to Czechoslovakia. Moreover, Czech Central Committee was established in Katowice, with a branch in Gościęcice. Czechs also set up their organization in Cieplice (Association of Czech and Slovaks) and Strzelin (Association of Czechs).

In June 1956 during meetings in Warsaw agreement was reached by the representatives of the environment of Czechs and Slovakian operating in Poland, what resulted on 9–10 March 1957 in establishing the Culture-social association of Czechs and Slovaks in Poland.¹⁹

Nevertheless, Czechoslovakian party did not present too much of submissiveness towards Polish minority, what was particularly noticeable in case of Vladimír Clementis, that despite accenting in his speeches the principle of reciprocity, intruded the minority resolution, reserving the right to curb the process of acknowledging any entitlement of Poles in Trans-Olza Silesia, demanding from Poles in Trans-Olza Silesia to manifest loyalty towards the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

Due to the fact that recognizing loyalty could be issued only by the Czechoslovakian administration, it was this institution that decided who,

¹⁸ PAŁYS, P.: op. cit., pp. 64–65.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 65.

or even what categories of Polish people should be deprived of the execution of the entitled rights.²⁰

Concluding the political Treaty ended a certain period in the history of postwar relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Since that time they would gradually lose their stringency and the load of the crucial issues shifted from problematic aspects towards other questions, vital for both partners. It did not mean all the matters were feasibly settled or solved once for all. For instance, after introducing the Treaty the territorial claims towards Poland did not disappear, particularly maintained by the members of national-socialist party. Moreover, the differences in perception of Polish minority remained. National socialists proposed two options – to exchange the people with Poland, or – opposing the reform of Polish schools or cultural organizations – to hasten the assimilation of the Polish community.

The end of the claims from Czechoslovakian non-communistic parties came with the February revolution of 1948, that eliminated these parties from the political life. On top of that, the political order became bipolar, hence it was in the interest of Polish Workers' Party as well as the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia not to contribute to the rift between Poland and Czechoslovakia on the territorial level, as it would simultaneously weaken the cohesion of the entire Soviet bloc. At the same time, the mutual relations slightly improved, although still being far from perfect.²¹

One of the consequences of the Protocol-Appendix was the necessity to establish Polish cultural organization in Czechoslovakia. Initially, there was no explicit standpoint on this matter, i.e. Czechoslovakian authorities did not know whether to allow the reconstruction of one of the prewar organizations (suspended after the Second World War), or to establish a new one. Moreover, there was no consent whether to allow Poles to have one or more associations. National socialists claimed there should be few organizations established, as their number would not interrupt the integration of Polish minority, making the Polish "elements" easier to control.²²

During the session of the National Front in Moravian Ostrava on 26th April 1947, the project of implementing the resolutions of the Protocol-Appendix were presented. The central authorities of communistic party,

²⁰ KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., pp. 312–313. See: the interview with Clementis recalled by Kamiński from „Rudé právo” dated 9th March 1947.

²¹ KUNDA, B. S.: *Polska mniejszość narodowa w Czechosłowacji w latach 1945–1950*. [in:] *Z polsko-czechosłowackiego sąsiedztwa. Studia i szkice*, (ed.) E. KAPCIA, Katowice 1995, p. 86.

²² KUNDA, B. S.: op. cit., p. 92.

contrary to the local authorities, agreed for two cultural and youth organizations to be established for Poles in Trans-Olza Silesia, so in each of the two districts in Trans-Olza Silesia there would be one of such association. Acknowledging this agreement was most likely motivated by the will to weaken the Polish organizations by fragmentarising them.²³

On 26th June 1947 the Ostrava branch of the Moravian-Silesian National Committee in Brno recognized statuses of four following Polish organizations: Polish Cultural and Educational Union (PZKO) in the Český Těšín district, Polish Cultural and Educational Association in the Fryštát district, and Polish Youth Association (SMP) in both districts. The statutes implied that these organizations could not be of political character, and that they shall “help the citizens of Polish nationality in comprehensive cultural development”.²⁴ The statutes contents had not been consulted with the Polish party, hence some of their articles were considered not in accordance with the Protocol-Appendix of the Treaty.

Since the aims of the organization did not imply political activity, the Polish party perceived the postulate of non-political nature of the associations as a sign of discriminating Poles. It was emphasized that the Protocol-Appendix guaranteed the rights for all Poles regardless of their citizenship, whereas in the statute the “state legalism” was required, referring solely to the Polish citizens of Czechoslovakia. The requirement of loyalty involved similar problems. Moreover, regardless of the circumstances, the statutes referred solely to the Czechoslovakian citizens of Polish nationality.²⁵

On the other hand, the Polish government did not imply any sanctions towards the partner whatsoever, indeed accepting the imposed solutions. Therefore, the Czechoslovakian side did not consider the formal protest. As a result, they managed to succeed in establishing organizations of non-political nature, gathering only Polish citizens of Czechoslovakia, of whom only those most loyal had the right to join the associations.

The four weak organizations with no central management could hardly oppose the pressure of local authorities to eliminate the opportunity of establishing coherent minority in Trans Olza Silesia, that would be able to protect own political, economic, and cultural interests.²⁶

²³ KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., p. 324.

²⁴ KUNDA, B. S.: op. cit., p. 92; See also: *Monografia Polskiego Związku Kulturalno-Oświatowego w CSRS 1947–1962*. Ostrava 1962, p. 8; See also: KACZMAREK, U.: *Organizacje kulturalno-oświatowe Polaków na Zaolziu w latach 1945–1989*. “Annales Silesiae” XXI, 1991, pp. 46–47.

²⁵ KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., p. 328.

²⁶ Ibidem, pp. 328–329.

Apolitical nature of the associations statutes restrained both of the organizations to stand for current vital interests of the Polish community of that time.

As soon as the four organizations were established, their leaders and members began dynamic organizational activities, so at the end of 1947 they managed to gather 7 296 members, with Polish Cultural and Educational Union having 78 branches in the two districts, and SMP running 50 branches.²⁷

At the initial stage of the works, the activity was meant to tackle in case of Polish Cultural and Educational Union economic and organizational activity, and as for the youth organization its main objective was to promote culture as such, as well as psychical culture and education. Polish Cultural and Educational Union was limited to cultural and education role, and the accepted goals were to be accomplished by: 1. Organizing cultural and educational lectures, evening meetings, theater and puppet shows, excursions; participation in biographical shows; 2. Holding assemblies, committees, session and courses; 3. Cultivating singing, music, music concerts, academies, parties, games and festivities; 4. Publishing periodicals and other publications referring to the statutory activities and objective of the Polish Cultural and Educational Union; establishing libraries and reading rooms, establishing, managing and supporting enterprises promoting popularization of culture and education, e.g. bookshops, stationery shops, museums, exhibitions, art and culture competitions; 5. Organizing and managing summer holiday camps for the members; 6. Establishing and managing day care centers, culture houses if needed with catering and accommodation facilities, shelters and mountain chalets, parks and playgrounds; 7. Establishing and managing permanent theatre if possible, otherwise establishing permanent mobile team, establishing amateur sections; 8. Establishing and managing puppet theaters, mobile groups and amateur puppet mobile groups; 9. Establishing and managing economic institutions; 10. Cooperation with other organizations of similar character; 11. Establishing and managing legal counseling providing free assistance for the members; 12. Organizing and managing local branches.²⁸

The initial period was extremely enthusiastic and spontaneous as far the Trans Olza Silesia inhabitants activities were concerned, engaging the

²⁷ *Materiał pomocniczy XI Zjazdu PZKO*. Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sygn. 145, p. 2.

²⁸ *Statut Polskiego Związku Kulturalno-Oświatowego w Czechosłowacji z siedzibą w Czeskim Cieszynie*, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sygn. 159, pp. 1–6.

members and the youth. Demand for Polish culture resulted in mass participation in the events. In the Český Těšín district in 1948 there were 36 theatre sections, 34 choirs, 18 sports teams, 6 male dancing teams, 7 female dancing teams, 8 day care centers, 2 music teams and a puppet theatre.²⁹

In July 1948 a change in the system of rule in Czechoslovakia occurred, as after The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia gained the monopoly to rule overtaking the power, hence the issue of implementing the resolution of the Protocol-Appendix was pushed forward. During the event of February, majority of Poles had supported the communistic party and the “socialistic democracy”, what in turn positively influenced the attitude of the new authorities towards the Polish community and their organization. At the same time apolitical Polish Cultural and Educational Union became distinctive in its ideological and political nature. Czechoslovakian authorities granted for the Polish associations the Polonia hotel in Český Těšín, the Praca house in Karviná, Polish Catholic House in Fryštát and a house in Třinec.³⁰ Polish schools and kindergartens were established, Polish language as the official language at schools and public offices was introduced parallel to the Czech language. Moreover, bilingual writings, signboards and posters were introduced in Trans Olza Silesia.³¹

The number of members of these two organizations also increased, as in October 1948 there were 9 000 members of Polish Cultural and Educational Union and in February 1949 there were 14 000 members, whereas the youth association embraced in February 1949 altogether 6 000 members. Nevertheless, the significance of these associations diminished.³²

First of all, the efforts of the Polish activists to join the local organization of Polish Cultural and Educational Union came to nothing. The Czechoslovakian authorities, preventing Polish Cultural and Educational Union from becoming stronger, strived for restricting the range of their activities. On the basis of the curricular letter dated 22nd October 1948 the association was prohibited to act on behalf of the Polish citizens in Czechoslovakian public offices. The Czechoslovakian authorities also decided that in the spring of 1949 the youth association would be incorporated into the Československý svaz mládeže, still retaining formal autonomy. Polish representatives recognized these changes on 30th October 1948 in Prague.³³

²⁹ KACZMAREK, U.: op. cit., p. 47.

³⁰ KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., p. 364.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 365.

³² KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., pp. 365–366.

³³ Ibidem, p. 366.

After the February events in Czechoslovakia there was no chance for any essential arguments between Polish and Czechoslovakian state to emerge, as the Eastern bloc countries, gathered around USSR, had to preserve internal integrity. Hence, at the end of 1948 the Polish stance regarding problems tackling Poles in Trans Olza Silesia changed. In the context of the new international political situation, in accordance with the directive acknowledged by the Political Office of Polish Workers' Party, the Polish party was to resign from the role of "exclusive" protector of the rights of Poles in Trans Olza Silesia. Therefore, from that moment, Polish embassy was able to tackle the issue of Poles in Trans Olza Silesia solely in indirect manner "providing the Communist party of Czechoslovakia leadership with accomplishment of Polish postulates, intervening solely in most extreme cases". The project of "linking Polish organizations with the local party" was also implemented, therefore Polish Cultural and Educational Union became an organization under significant influence and dependence from Communist party of Czechoslovakia. Therefore, the imposed political neutrality did not proceed, as in accordance to the Polish Cultural and Educational Union statute, the Communist party of Czechoslovakia gained the opportunity to systematically influence the overwhelming majority of the Polish society.³⁴

Moreover, at the end of 1948 Czechoslovakian authorities found a way to weaken the Polish elements in Trans Olza Silesia, as they reorganized administration in Trans Olza Silesia, and as a result the Polish community was allocated to two big districts of Karviná and Frýdek Místek. The procedures were extremely unfavourable for Polish people, disturbing their everyday life and disrupting the operating of Polish organizations. Moreover, it became even more complicated to implement and exercising the rule of bilingualism in the places where Polish minority was in majority.³⁵

In the period from 1950 to 1960 there had been significant changes introduced regarding Polish organizations which merged on 26th February 1950.³⁶ The aspirations for unification of the organizations appeared as early as at the time of their establishment. The formal division was avoided by establishing common section with the head office mainly in Český Těšín. As the time passed by, the demands for

³⁴ *Polski Związek Kulturalno-Oświatowy odznaczony orderem*. Ostrawa 1987, p. 13; See also: KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., p. 366.

³⁵ KACZMAREK, U.: op. cit., p. 47; See also: KAMIŃSKI, M. K.: op. cit., p. 367.

³⁶ On 26 February 1950 the I (unifying) convention took place in Český Těšín. At this time the organization consisted of 79 local branches gathering 12 543 members. See: KUNDA, B. S.: op. cit., p. 92.

organizational unification became more and more open and direct. Due to the fact that the Polish youth association was incorporated into the Czech organization, the youth organizations as well as separate sports organizations were closed down.

From 1950 radio programme in Polish was launched at a radio station in Ostrava. The only Polish social and literary monthly "Zwrot" was first issued in December 1949, and although it was meant to be a magazine of methodical and instruction character addressed the Polish Cultural and Educational Union members regarding their works, achievements, promoting the local communities, teams and initiative, it soon shaped its literary profile, including rich literary and journalism section.³⁷

From 1953 there were numerous artistic teams of which few quickly became representative, to recall Zespół Pieśni i Tańca "Górnik", Zespół Pieśni i Tańca "Olza", Chór Nauczycieli Polskich (choir of Polish teachers), and "Gorole" established as early as in 1947. Polish scene of Těšínske Divadlo launched its activities in September 1951.³⁸ The regional offices of the Polish Cultural and Educational Union in Český Těšín, Karviná, and Bohumín supervised the activities related to the promotion of culture, whereas the Head Office dealt with the economic aspects (managing catering and accommodation units, running the publishing house and two bookshops, "Zwrot" editorial office and the "Bajka" puppet theatre). The day care clubs became a significant element in cultural and education activities, as in 1950 (that year the association gathered 13 046 members) at the disposal of Polish Cultural and Educational Union there were 84 places of such type, with 64 theatre teams operating, 72 signing teams, 38 dancing teams, 26 reciting groups and 9 reading and declamation teams.³⁹ Moreover, Polish Cultural and Educational Union also ran 66 libraries.⁴⁰

Choirs played significant role in the cultural as well as educational activities, as they were the first ones to be reactivated after the war, quickly becoming a unique centers of the social activity. It contributed not only to the cultural mobilization of the society, but also was of paramount importance in shaping national awareness popularizing Polish and

³⁷ KACZMAREK, U.: *Kultura zbiorowości polonijnych Europy Środkowej 1945–1989. Czechosłowacja, Niemiecka Republika Demokratyczna, Węgry*. Poznań 1993, p. 149.

³⁸ KACZMAREK, U.: op. cit., pp. 46–47.

³⁹ MORŻAŁÓWNA, H.: *Statystyczne zestawienie świetlic – 1950*, [in:] PZKO. *Sprawozdanie z działalności za rok 1950*. Cz. Cieszyn 1951, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sygn. 143.

⁴⁰ KOŽUSZNIK, A.: *Biblioteki PZKO w roku 1950*, [in:] PZKO. *Sprawozdanie z działalności za rok 1950*. Cz. Cieszyn 1951, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sygn. 143.

regional music, hence stimulating rise in the level and quality of the culture of the entire community. At the same time they exemplified "a great school of social work". Moreover, on 22nd December 1948 (signing association transformed into Signing and Music Commission) was established at Polish Cultural and Educational Union. The number of operating choirs proved its prosperity as in 1950 there were 65 mixed choirs, 17 male ones and 41 other music groups.⁴¹

The results of the dissemination of theatre activities were equally impressive, as since 1948 there were courses organized for directors of theater teams, as well as courses for actors, stage designers, make-up artists, puppet actors and those interested in plays adaptations. In 1949 a theater council was established, later referred to as the Theater Commission. In 1950 the number of theater teams reached 66, with 1395 members, having staged 221 plays altogether.⁴²

Polish Cultural and Educational Union led a wide-spread educational actions by the use of traditional methods of educational activities organizing lectures, speeches, presentations, exhibitions, excursions, evening events, operating at the same time as a tool of educating and integrating Poles living in the area of Trans Olza Silesia. In 1947 there were 81 lectures organized for 4 040 participants, whereas in 1952 there were reported 512 meetings for 33 700 Poles.⁴³ Moreover, in 1952 there were other 14 artistic events organized including festivities and shows, with the participation of 1 600 people, whereas in 1950 there were 851 events for 170 000 participants organized altogether.⁴⁴ In 1953, in Karviná district there were 242 evening events organized, 188 in Český Těšín and 29 in the Bohumín area.⁴⁵

During the 7th Convention of Polish Cultural and Educational Union (10th April 1960) the model of the association organization was modified as the procedure centralization was implemented. The activities were to be managed by the Head Office of Polish Cultural and Educational Union

⁴¹ GUZIUR, E.: *Sprawozdanie Komisji Śpiewaczo-Muzycznej PZKO*, [in:] *PZKO. Sprawozdanie z działalności za rok 1950*. Cz. Cieszyn 1951, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sygn. 143.

⁴² FIRLA, J.: *Sprawozdanie Komisji Teatralnej za rok 1950*, [in:] *PZKO. Sprawozdanie z działalności za rok 1950*. Cz. Cieszyn 1951, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sygn. 143.

⁴³ *Materiał pomocniczy XI Zjazdu PZKO*. Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sygn. 145, p. 5.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

⁴⁵ *Sprawozdanie z pracy kulturalno-oświatowej za okres sprawozdawczy 1953–1954*, [in:] *PZKO. Sprawozdanie z działalności za rok 1950*. Cz. Cieszyn 1951, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sygn. 143, p. 3.

in Český Těšín. The regional committees were dissolved, and independent activities were eliminated (including the economic ones).⁴⁶

All in all, the influence of the Treaty on the situation of Polish group in Zaolzie was undoubtedly positive, however, postponing the agreement of stances considering foreign affairs did not contribute positively to the process of integration of the society in Trans Olza Silesia. By 1958, this clause had been considered by the majority of Poles living there as an ongoing promise of the final incorporation of Trans Olza Silesia into Poland, and encouraged to consider this actual state as temporary.⁴⁷

The postwar Czechoslovakian and Polish relations were not the most cordial, as the cooperation was disturbed by mutual territorial claims, as well as by various expectations regarding the national minorities. It caused a rise in mistrust between the Polish and Czech as well as Slovakian nations, generating conflicts and mutual accusations. The imposed and forced friendship did "cover", but did not eliminate the mutual resentments.

Nevertheless, this difficult period in the Polish and Czechoslovakian relations constitutes for the both parties inestimable source of experiences that may, and should, contribute to constant improvement of the cooperation, mutual relations, consent and genuine (not imposed) friendship on the eve of the 21st century.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 47.

⁴⁷ KUNDA, B. S.: op. cit., pp. 91–92.

Regional Education in Polish, Czech and Slovakian Borderline after 1945

Anna Haratyk

The policy of the Central and Eastern European countries disabled growth of regional movement. Changes that have been taking place since 1990s made it possible to reveal the cultural, spiritual and material abundance of given nations living in this part of Europe. The idea of Euroregion became a chance for many borderland regions, as thanks to them international cooperation in borderlands became possible. At the same time, regional education became crucial not only at schools but also while accomplished by local associations, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, publishing houses, periodicals etc. There are various initiatives undertaken within this range under auspices of the eight Euroregions on the Polish-Czech-Slovakian borderlands. Moreover, diversification and intensification of such activities is indispensable for the development of the borderland areas in Poland, Czech and Slovakia.

Key words: *Region; regionalism; Euroregion; regional education*

Nowadays, the issue of regionalism is a crucial aspect of the education of contemporary societies, not only in case of Poland, Czech or Slovakian, but generally in European Union. There number of local – regional initiatives, and associations supporting the process of shaping identities in, so called, little homelands is also rising. Focusing on life, development and getting to know own ethnic region does not imply isolation from the rest of the world, as regionalism should be understood as “searching for cultural and integrative values”, providing knowledge on local societies, regional groups and national communities.¹ It should be associated with abundance and diversity, as well as with spiritual and cultural differences that inspire the others, teach tolerance and make national and European cultural heritage richer.² Each region is shaped and strengthened both by ethno-cultural sphere of social awareness and material correlations, and their appearance and range sometimes vary in different areas.

¹ DAMROSZ, J.: *Obszary etnokulturowe a granice państw i regionów*. In: *Czym jest regionalizm*. Wrocław – Ciechanów 1998, pp. 16–17.

² BORZYSZKOWSKI, J.: *Regionalizm a świat uniwersalnych wartości*. In: *Czym jest regionalizm*. Wrocław – Ciechanów 1998, p. 9.

The factors distinguishing the regions may concern various phenomena and elements, but in most cases they refer to geographical – environmental, physiographical – landscape, spatial, functional (economic), administrative, social and a cultural model.³ The geographical-environmental regions in given physiographically distinguished area share common features of natural environment. Regionalism in such dimension is basically concentrated on empowering environmental protection of values of given area, plants and animals protection from the industry, agriculture and the automotive industry. It enables establishment of protection areas not only within the frontiers, but also between the neighbouring countries.

The physiographical and landscape regions are distinguished as far as the unique landscape values are concerned, significantly influencing the emotional identification of a human with the place and surrounding. Sustaining such uniqueness is possible thanks to activities aiming at protection of natural and cultural landscape, restoration of landscapes deteriorated by human economy, as well as conservation of valuable landscapes.

The space and functional regions are referred to as settlement and economical ones, and are connected with social as well as economic growth of the country. In such regions, it is common for a bigger city to become the centre point, as it connects within many smaller towns and villages by a network of relations. Administrative regions usually correspond to previous, historically shaped political, administrative and settlement division, unless they become disturbed by governmental decisions, such as the one made in Poland in 1975, when artificial division of Poland into 49 voivodships was introduced.

The social and cultural regions are established on the basis of the four above-mentioned elements, where – over the years – specific traditions, customs, linguistic differences, folk art, local architecture, religious life and ways of managing have been shaped.

Until 1990s, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe had been denied to cultivate local differences. The example of Yugoslavia and Soviet Union confirm the fact that there were no opportunities to emphasize and develop unique ethnic and national values. *In theory, the right of each nation to develop own culture, langue, customs and folk art was recognized, but in practice there was a restriction of the concession for cultural activity. In fact, very often regulations enabling or restricting, or even prohibiting to cultivate*

³ TUROWSKI, J.: *Regiony – regionalizm – lokalizm*. In: *Czym jest regionalizm*. Wrocław – Ciechanów 1998, p. 100.

*local, regional traditions were issued.*⁴ Such actions were the reflection of the national propaganda of that time, promoting the ideas of equality of rights of all nations, at the same time strengthening the position of the dominating nations in a given country as far as political, economic and cultural factors are concerned, therefore the policy exercised in such way made it impossible to develop local movements.

In the united Europe, regionalism is the basis for functioning of each and every country, with little homelands becoming territorial and administrative units, different in cultural (folk culture) or linguistic matters. Nevertheless, the growing sense of bonds with the ethno-cultural regions does not exclude the process of shaping European awareness.

Regionalism and the process of inspiring the sense of identity in regions such as Kashubia, Upper Silesia or Podhale, were evolving in different cultural circumstances and have been deeply rooted in the tradition referring to the historical background. It has been far more difficult to establish regional activities in the area of western and northern regions settled after 1945 by those re-settled from Eastern marches. One of the obstacles of shaping ethnic identities there, was the prohibition of cultivating tradition and handing it down from generation to generation, which was in force practically until 1980s. The Polish coming to Lower Silesia brought with them *enormous fund of own life experiences, different cultural contents, opinions, and behavioural patterns shaped in the area of their previous manifestation. The people were different in physical sense and very frequently, it was only in Lower Silesia that various regional groups were getting to know each other. Only then, they groups became aware of the existence of another ones upon confronting the cultural heritage, assessing their developmental level, noticing differences and similarities between them, emphasizing the diversity of community of ethnic, as well as cultural origin.*⁵

New, culturally and naturally different environment, became a problem for the settlers, hence to facilitate the process of their adaptation the activities of social and cultural unification were introduced in the so called Regained Territories.

The frontier between Sudeten region of Poland and Czechoslovakia of that time excluded free communication on all levels, including touristic

⁴ DĄBROWSKI, S.: *Uwagi o współczesnym regionalizmie europejskim*. In: *Czym jest regionalizm*. Wrocław – Ciechanów 1998, p. 32.

⁵ NOWOSIELSKA – SOBEL, J.: *„Na barkach nieśli krajobraz” – z problemów osvajania zastanej przez osadników przestrzeni na przykładzie powiatu jeleniogórskiego drugiej połowy lat 40*. In: *Trudne dziedzictwo. Tradycje dawnych i obecnych mieszkańców Dolnego Śląska*. Ed. J. Nowosielska – Sobel, G. Strauchold. Wrocław 2006, p. 110.

movement (difficulties in crossing the country frontiers, eliminating communication routes, lack of Polish touristic maps, disabling any kinds of regional initiatives), which had established the ground for economic and cultural growth in Sudeten region before the Second World War. Therefore, the Sudeten landscape was subject to “domestication”, but only within the borders of Polish state. Hence, the efforts were made to erase its German background, starting from polonizing geographical names, ending up with the legends (the legends of Lower Silesia present an example of old, German stories saturated with anti-German propaganda).⁶

The Euroregions became a chance for the areas divided and separated by countries frontiers, nevertheless still linked with common history, ethnic or cultural features, environmental values or economic activities.⁷ They integrate borderland areas belonging to different countries, that – despite the country divisions – share given common elements such as the history, environmental and landscape values, or similar ethnic cultures.

Shifts in countries frontiers influenced the ethnic regions located in their direct neighbourhood and it referred to legal and geopolitical aspects of the culture (e.g. change in the way of perceiving the historical facts determined by the government and its ideology). Changes on the map of Europe that took place in the 20th century were of paramount importance for the ethno-cultural regions. The rebirth of independent Poland and dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy after the First World War may set an example, similarly as new order of the borders after Jalta deal (when Poland lost 70 sq km of territory, Germany lost part of its territory, Finland lost the eastern region, Moldovan part of USSR was established, formerly Czechoslovakian Carpathian Ruthenia and Romanian Bukovina were incorporated into Ukrainian SSR), as well as changes of the borders and politics in Europe after 1989, resulting in the rise of independent countries such as Czech Republik, Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Moldova, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina,

⁶ Ibidem, p. 118 and others.

⁷ Euroregion is an isolated unit on the territory of two or more countries, a kind of trans-frontier cooperation between the regions of the EU membership countries, the members-to-be and the neighbouring regions, the representative of local and regional authorities' initiate and act within its structure, whereas the activities are regulated by international conventions of the Council of Europe and EU, for instance The European Framework Convention of Trans-frontier cooperation between the Communities and Territorial Authorities (The Madrid Convention dated May 21 1980), European Card of Local Self-government, European Card of Regional Self-government and European Card of Borderland and Trans-frontier Regions. <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euroregion>, 16. 11. 2012.

strengthening the position of united Germany, concurrently weakening the position of Russia.⁸ Still, it must be remembered that *change of any border means that the historically shaped ethno-cultural area becomes subject to influence of different state structures, another political pressures, and the dominating nation suddenly becomes the minority whereas the ethnic minority may reach the status of dominating nation, etc. It also implies sudden elimination of long-term shaped infrastructure, communication links and other connections (.....)*.⁹

There are common, international projects and activities taking place within the framework of 8 Euro-regions along the frontiers of Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia, including: Lusatian Neisse (established in 1993, joining Poland, Czech Republic and Germany), Carpathian Euroregion (established in 1993, joining Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, Hungary and Romania), Tatra (established in 1994, joining Poland and Slovakia), Glacensis (established in 1996, joining Poland and Czech Republic), Praděd (established in 1997 joining Poland and Czech Republic), Cieszyn Silesia (established in 1998, joining Poland and Czech Republic), Silesia (established in 1998, joining Poland and Czech Republic), and Beskids (established in 2000, joining Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia).

The essential principles on which the Euroregions function refer to the partnership, equality of all sides, protection of the national, state, local and regional identity, total freedom of membership in the relation, as well as in actions, initiatives and programmes; equal number of members and votes of each member in the status committee, equal participation in the costs within the enterprises, consensus of the parties in passing the law and regulations, and last but not least – rotation of the authorities¹⁰. Euroregions undertake and accomplish tasks in various areas, e.g. landscape architecture projects, spatial development, public utilities, industry, agriculture, environmental protection, communication and transport, cross-frontier transport and passenger traffic, trade and services, education and science, health, culture and art, youth contact and exchange, tourism, recreation and sport, crime prevention, mutual support in case of emergencies and natural disasters, etc.¹¹

Regional education, theoretically acknowledged in Poland in 1996 in the inter-departmental Programme of Regional Education, plays particularly important role in shaping and developing the regional identity,

⁸ DAMROSZ, J.: op. cit., p. 22.

⁹ Ibidem, pp. 25–26.

¹⁰ *Tatry i Podtatrze. Monografia dla szkół*. Ed. W. Skupień. Zakopane 2004, p. 252.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 252.

as a goal to be accomplished at schools and in the system of extra-curricular activities carried out by so called "subjects of cultural and educational nature".¹²

It facilitates the acquisition of knowledge on the region, its past, tradition, encountering the material, spiritual, intellectual, moral and religious values. It is of paramount importance for establishing own identity, shaping attitudes of tolerance and acceptance towards other cultures. (...) *it meets human expectations, shaping the ability to coexist, cooperate and the ancillary engagement in the "little homelands". It enables cultural continuity of a group and the most permanent communities of family and local origin, protecting the cultural canon, shaping the awareness of the cultural abundance, sense of security, pride of values and group belonging,*¹³ with its essential goal to *shape the respect for own cultural heritage, system of values, language, tradition, customs and habits.*¹⁴

However, its role is even more valuable in the borderland areas, where it becomes a source of new knowledge and continuous, mutual enrichment, open-mindedness and tolerance towards the Other and the Unknown one.

The borderland area is a source of new, inspiring cognitive opportunities, teaching to cooperate, co-work, to be open and friendly, referring to interactions, mutual interest, tolerance, recognition, dimension of interspersion and merging, constituting an area rich in negotiating and revealing, dialogue and compromise, at the same time enabling the protection and security of own, prime values, sense of rootedness while experiencing closeness, as well as the value of local patriotism.¹⁵

The frontiers joining nowadays the three countries – Poland, Czech and Slovakia determine on given section the quality of work and regional education. In the Euroregion Neisse or Glacensis, taking into consideration historical aspect, activities of different nature have to be undertaken as the cultural roots had been established there before 1945 by the Germans, and have been unfamiliar to the contemporary settlers in this area. On the other hand, the Euroregion Cieszyn Silesia functions differently, as its administrative border divided homogenous, ethno-cultural region, i.e. Beskids and Tatra, whose inhabitants have been for

¹² BUKRABA-RYLSKA, I.: *Czy regionalizm jest dla młodzieży?* In: *Edukacja regionalna młodzieży w rodzinie, szkole i środowisku*. Wrocław 2001, p. 77.

¹³ *Edukacja regionalna*. Ed. A. W. Brzezińska, A. Hulewska, J. Słomska. Warszawa 2006, p. 103.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 106.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

centuries creating own, separate, but in many ways interspersing, culture. In the case of the two first Euroregions the significant role is played by the interactive borderland, not requiring borrowings, community, linguistic nor tradition similarities, nor even common experiences and fate, as the basis for such borderland is the willingness to be noticed, get to know and understand, manifesting the readiness for dialogue and the willingness to integrate, despite the differences.

In case of the above-mentioned Euroregion Beskids and Tatra, we may refer to these as to territorial borderlands (on a given area there might be various ethno-graphic, linguistic, confessional and national groups existing) and cultural contents (customs, habits, rituals, values, rules and principles of traditional importance enabling one to notice one another, get to know to each other and co-exist).

The base of regional education is nowadays the combination of regional, national, European and even global culture, hence the key role should be played by the school using reading texts in a local language, course books providing knowledge on little homelands, revealing the spiritual as well as material heritage of the ethno-culture. *The culture of a region shall become more and more understood and beloved by all the inhabitants, as it is impossible to live among this, what is not understood and disliked, in consequence making it impossible to pass it over and develop.*¹⁶ Knowledge about the region, its natural resources, monuments, history, distinguished dwellers, as well as recent development passed on to another generations makes the region alive, grow and become intriguing not only for the local ones, but also for “others”, who will become attracted to the difference and diversity of given region, enriching their identities with new experiences.

Especially dedicated publications are helpful in education on the region, such as *Dolny Śląsk. Edukacja regionalna* (Siedmioróg Publishing House, Wrocław 2008), as they are becoming an indispensable resource for the teachers. In the first part of this book there are legends and folk tales from the region commented by an ethnologist, whereas the second part presents the poetry of Polish and German poets expressing attitudes towards the region and its values. The third part refers to the stories, memories and reportages tackling mainly the issues of historical events taking place in Lower Silesia. Literature, selected in such way, presents the history of the region to the Polish and German young generation. However, to depict the entire picture of the history of this part of Europe, there is still

¹⁶ DYCZEWSKI, L.: *Kultura w całościowym planie rozwoju regionu*. In: *Czym jest regionalizm*. Wrocław – Ciechanów 1998, p. 45.

missing a wider perspective embracing also the culture and the history of the Czech and German communities, living on the other, southern side of Sudeten. An ideal example of such study, considering entire area of Euroregion is the publication *Tatry i Podtatrze. Monografia dla szkół* edited by Władysław Skupień and published in Zakopane in 2004.

It was prepared by a team of Polish and Slovakian researchers specializing in various academic areas. The monograph consists of five chapters. The first one presents the nature of Euroregion Tatra dividing it into inanimate nature, fauna and flora of Tatra and Tatra foothills. The second one contains basic information on the history of Slovakian and Polish Tatra foothills, as well as recent news regarding administrative division, people, economy and communication in Tatra and Tatra foothills. The third chapter is dedicated to the culture and art, presenting specific and unique architecture of the Polish and Slovakian borderland of Tatra, fine arts, literature, theatre, music and the culture influencing the life of the highlanders. The fourth chapter gathers mainly practical information useful for Polish students and teachers, i.e. information on Slovakian language with a theme Slovakian-Polish dictionary, as well as descriptions of the landscape journeys considering the landmarks of this Euroregion. The last chapter consists of helpful indexes and lists. This book is not only a text book for the regional education addressed to teachers and pupils, but it also constitutes a source of knowledge for the inhabitants of Polish and Slovakian Tatra foothills, as well as for those studying for the Tatra's mountains guide exam, or simply Tatra, Podhale, Liptov, Spiš and Orava lovers. Working out similar studies shall become a priority in all Euroregions as they could become a compendium and valuable assistance, particularly for the teachers of regional education in the borderland areas. Another example of education from Euroregion Tatra is a quarterly "Tatry" published by Tatra National Park TANAP. The periodical tackles issues related not only to the nature and activities of TANAP, but also presents the history and culture of Podhale, Spiš, Liptov and Orava. It is prepared thanks to cooperation of Polish and Slovakian team of natural environment scientists, geographers, historians, ethnographers, art historians, guides, museologist and other experts. Special edition of the quarterly of the same title ("Tatry") is especially valuable, as it is published both in Polish and Slovakian. Publishing similar quarterlies tackling issues of given region provide undoubtedly excellent source of information, not only for the inhabitants of these areas.

The results of carried out research unfortunately proved that the youth often grow *in the circumstances of "cultural vacuum", where local heritage (but also national) is supplanted by the contents of European*

*culture, mostly the global one. (...) It may bring about disturbance of the intergeneration transmission and disable the cultural continuity in the local community, as well as in the entire nation.*¹⁷

Managing the regional education not only at the school level, but within broadly understood cultural and educational activity, shall become one of the leading goals for teams working and operating within the structures of given Euroregions, as it is similarly done in the above-mentioned Euroregion Tatra, gathering Polish and Slovakian regionalists, ethnographers, environmentalists, geographers, historians, literary scholars and many others, thanks to which such model works (supporting the education of young Polish and Slovakian generation) are published.

In contemporarily integrating Europe, the process of shaping and sustaining awareness and national identity determines the undisputable role of organizations and regional associations, hence consideration for protection, enrichment and continuous growth of ethno-cultural heritage among the local inhabitants is of paramount importance. Integration does not lead to the loss of the right to difference, and still enables the process of shaping distinguished, regional as well as national identity. Features and elements operating as any kinds of obstacles in the process of integration should be eliminated, in favour of differentiating ethno-cultural features still facilitating the process of integrating regional groups.¹⁸ The borders between given areas, functioning as a division of the territories, shall also join, not separate.

Therefore, it is essential to strive for further development of different forms of regional education in all Euroregions joining Czech, Poland and Slovakia. Its basis shall be constituted by the contents related to the landscapes, nature, and history, embracing knowledge on the events and figures distinguished for given area, architecture, material and spiritual monuments, language (dialects), folk art, verbal heritage – legends, tales as well as social customs, interpersonal and intergenerational relations.

Transferring this kind of knowledge shall also move beyond the school buildings and reach widest possible circles of the Euroregion inhabitants, offering to them various forms of activities, e.g. meetings, book publications, periodicals, trips, common celebrations, establishing museums, cultural heritage chambers, regional theme exhibitions, games, competitions (literary, singing, or those promoting knowledge on the region), and last but not least – common works for the sake of the closest surrounding.

¹⁷ BUKRABA-RYLSKA, I.: op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁸ DAMROSZ, J.: op. cit., p. 29.

Protection of the Cultural Heritage in the Polish, Czech and German Borderland as Educational Challenge

Krystyna Dziubacka

Cultural heritage and the necessity of its protection analyzed in the context of various (often unfavourable) phenomena of the contemporary world becomes one of the crucial aspects of the contemporarily tackled discourses. Reflections accompanying the discussion contribute to the attempts of formulating conclusions calling for initiatives towards educational activities that would minimalize the unfavourable tendencies. The assumption is that aware recollection of own roots and familiarity with the history of place and culture enable preservation and continuity of values important for establishing and sustaining cultural identity, reflected in the cultural landscape. It is the centuries-old synthesis of a nature and culture that shapes – as a consequence of long-term, often centuries-old – processes integrating the communities living in given area, in this case – a borderland. Such landscape is typically defined as historically shaped part of a geographical area, created as a result of integrating environmental and cultural influences leading to a specific structure of regional distinction.¹ It is a synthetic, non-counterfeit image of all that exists and takes place in such an area, whereas information (despite being imprecise) transferred thanks to it allows one to orientate within, depicting and enabling recognition of the places identity, teaching and causing emotions, stimulating to action.²

The culture of a place is the effect of ongoing process of world creation, composed by elements subject to changes over the centuries, as a matter of fact – still being in the process of change. Some of these elements irreversibly vanished, others changed their character, another in modified or the same form last up until today.³ This is a process also

1 MYGA-PIĄTEK, U.: Kulturowy zapis ewolucji krajobrazu Wyżyny Krakowsko-Częstochowskiej, In: *Kultura jako przedmiot badań geograficznych – studia teoretyczne i regionalne*. Ed. E. Orłowska, Wrocław 2002, p. 203.

2 PAWŁOWSKA, K.: Podstawy kulturowe architektury krajobrazu. In: *Kultura jako przedmiot badań geograficznych – studia teoretyczne i regionalne*. Red. E. Orłowska, Wrocław 2002, p. 203.

3 With regards to the cultural landscape its role is described by B. Lipińska as follows: “any human action leave a trait in the surrounding environment, particularly noticeable

occurring in Polish borderlands, which condition – significantly determined by the function of a border and processes it implies – is reflected in the condition of the cultural landscape. This statement constitutes a basic thesis of this paper, which aim is to draw attention to the meaning of given phenomena in the process of shaping the “ambience” of borderland regions, as well as to emphasize the necessity of initiating actions for the sake of protection and preservation of the cultural heritage of Upper Lusatia, paradoxically endangered by its trans-frontier location.

Upper Lusatia is a region at the junction of Polish, Czech Republic and German country frontiers. This unusual three-point border became a kind of heritage of unique for this cultural area a column-framework architecture (Lusatian half-timbered houses). First such housing appeared probably at the turn of 15th and 16th centuries joining the advantages of Slavonic framework construction with wattle-and-daub technique of German origin. It is said that the authors came from the region of historical Czech and Upper Lusatia, hence the further expansion reached northern Czech and a part of historical Lower Silesia. The peak growth of such architecture took place in the 19th century, as most of the contemporarily preserved objects date back to this period. Their number in all three countries is estimated at over 17 000. In some eastern Saxony cities as Ebersbach, Hirschfelde, Markersdorf they constitute a urban development setting (Umgebendehaus).⁴ The largest settlement of such houses is located in the Czech region (northern Czech), Germany (Saxony) and Poland, hence this area, due to the number of such objects was called the Land of Lusatian Houses.⁵

The region is not only a massive open-air ethnographic museum, but a place, where everyday life of the people working and living there takes place. And this it them, who are expected to undertake sustainable, competent and integrated actions in favour of preservation of the unique heritage of this region. In fact, this task is quite a challenge, as particularly in the Polish part of this area the technical condition of the inventory houses⁶ is the most deteriorated, and requires immediate actions enabling their preservation. Of course we may pose a question why actions to

in the three-dimensional sphere, i.e. in the landscape. Such trait signalized for years the economic and intellectual condition of the author in given moment of shaping and creating” LIPIŃSKA, B.: *Kultura użytkowania przestrzeni – problemy degradacji wizualnej krajobrazu wsi*. In: *Obszary wiejskie. Problemy. Bariery. Wizje*. Ed. E. Raszeja. Poznań 2002, p. 45.

4 PALM, P.: *Założenia co do budowlano-historycznego rozwoju górnołużyckiej zabudowy ludowej*. Second Edition, Maj 2009.

5 WYSZYŃSKA, M.: a draft of a presentation for international conference “Cultural landscapes of rural areas, educational challenges” that took place in Bogatynia in June 2011.

protect common goods are considered as challenge for the borderland community, as “mutual interspersion of cultural phenomena” and “sustaining social facts” is in a way inherent part of its definition. To answer this question we are led towards reflections concerning the borderland issues and the widely perceived processes of its contemporary formation. The essential aspect of this analysis is whether the borderland influences desired attitudes towards necessity of undertaking activities for the sake of protection of the cultural heritage, and if it does, how it takes place. On the basis of elaborate literature on the topic an attempt was made to present that both changeability of the borderline fate, as well as its character (the consequence of the function of frontiers), shaped attitude of disinclination and distance, or sometimes even hostility towards diversity and cultural difference. Empowered by the lack of knowledge, competence and creative engagement, these attitudes had constituted a long-term, direct threat to the cultural heritage of Upper Lusatia.⁷ The framework of this paper does not allow to elaborate on this issue, nevertheless I hope it may inspire the answer to the above-stated question, signalingizing some important aspect of this problem.

Borderland as a research category

Dealing with the borderland issues, the researcher should be humbly aware that it is an area of knowledge subject to many intense explorations from various, numerous academic perspectives, hence becoming a topic of many significant studies. It is worth to emphasize that the addressed issues refer to the attempt of defining the very notion of “borderland”, characterization of factors enabling its evolution and processes occurring within, as well as its constitutive features, which – according to the majority of those exploring this issue – include: “continuity, changeability, instability, vagueness of divisions, phenomena and processes taking place in the borderlands.”⁸

⁶ The Polish borderland had 400 object inventoried, of which half is located within the Bogatynia municipality.

⁷ The issue of protection of the cultural heritage of Górne Łużyce (Upper Lusatia) has been frequently tackled by me in publications. I paid attention to the significance of various factors conditioning given activities favouring the protection or causing devastation of the historical objects, with local industry significantly influencing such condition. See: DZIUBACKA, K.: Cultural Landscape of Upper Lusatia In the Face of Threats. In: Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal, V. 3/2011/2, Brno.

⁸ BABIŃSKI, G.: Tożsamości na pograniczach. In: Tożsamość bez granic. Ed. E. Budakowska. Warszawa WUW 2005, p. 99.

The above-mentioned multitude of studies shall not favour the idea that undertaking further recognition of the borderlands is not justified. Quite the contrary. Changes that were launched in Poland in 1989, followed by dynamic transformation of social and political origin in given Central and Eastern European countries facilitated the increase in interest towards the processes and issues taking place in borderlands. In the last decades there have been new phenomena occurring, different from the previous ones, followed by another way of their analysis, despite the fact that according to G. Babiński, in the rapidly growing literature the phenomenon of borderland tends to be defined traditionally. It might be just a new way of describing the processes, however there are also new phenomena occurring.”⁹ With reference to the contemporarily acknowledged ways of describing this phenomenon in the literature, it is worth to notice that it is commonly perceived as a sphere of the state or regional outskirts.¹⁰ Culturally and ethnically diverse, it becomes a territory where a specific type of coexistence between various cultural groups takes place, mainly affecting ethnographic, linguistic, confessional or national communities.¹¹ It may be concluded, that it is predominantly an area “that is subject to influences and mutual interspersions of cultural phenomena between two neighbouring nations in the relation of superiority, inferiority or equality, without termination of bonds with own national territory.”¹² The borderland perceived in such way – according to W. Wrzesiński – is a region with occurrence of social facts related to two competitive cultural patterns with concurrent process of generating new, different values derived from their confrontation, with such new phenomena never particularly related to one nation only. Hence, we may speak of borderland when at least two neighbouring nations are in contact with each other, creating opportunity to mutually get to know each other and make selection of values present in the surroundings, in consequence referred to as crucial ones. As Z. Kurcz claims, “borderland perceived in such way is the result of existence of various influences of linguistic, economic, ethnic, settlement, cultural and political origin.”¹³

⁹ BABIŃSKI, G.: op. cit., p. 100.

¹⁰ BUKOWSKA-FLOREŃSKA, J.: Pogranicze jako kategoria wewnątrzspołeczna i wewnątrz-kulturowa. In: Pogranicze jako problem kultury. Opole 1994, p. 165.

¹¹ NIKITOROWICZ, J.: Pogranicze. Tożsamość. Edukacja międzykulturowa. Białystok 1995, p. 11.

¹² WRZESIŃSKI, W.: Tradycje pogranicza polsko-niemieckiego i jego znaczenia dla kształtowania stosunków polsko-niemieckich. In: Stosunki polsko-niemieckie. Integracja i rozwój ziem zachodnich i północnych. Red. B. Jałowiecki, Katowice 1980, p. 12.

¹³ KURCZ, Z.: Problemy społeczno-gospodarcze na polskich pograniczach. [w:] Problemy rozwoju lokalnego, regionalnego i na polskich pograniczach. Ed.: W. Patrzatek, Wrocław 1996, p. 143.

Simultaneously, according to J. Róg, a borderland is a category that stimulates the social life, shaping new patterns of behaviour.¹⁴

Analysing the borderland as a research category, according to J. Nikitorowicz, there may be five ways of its understanding. The first refers to the notion of an **area-territory**, with a specific type of coexistence of at least two cultural groups, different in linguistic, ethnographic, confessional and national sense. "Given specific local features retain its distinction despite the fact the historical contact of cultures and the process of mutual radiation make stark contrasts blur."¹⁵ **Content-cultural** borderline implies functioning with reference to the multiculturalism, as "applied systems of values imply a specific fusion of various cultural systems. The material and cultural values determine the bond as well as directly influence the continuity and cultural identity. In the third of the recalled ways of describing borderland, Nikitorowicz indicates that **interactive** borderland is "a result of communication between individuals, which in consequence acquire the skill to life and coexist, despite the difference between them". The borderland of **state and acts of the consciousness** refers to the intellectual and research area which is considered forbidden, isolated or neglected. "Individuals' functions at the meeting point of many cultures enables thee consciousness to move beyond the area determined by settlement, reaching towards alternative solutions". Finally, there is formally and legally conditioned **inter-ethnic** borderland that constitutes a ground for diverse interpersonal interaction in a way undoubtedly – as Ź. Leszkowicz-Baczyńska claims – reflected in the relations between the partners of mixed marriages.¹⁶

In the opinion of M. Skrzypczyk, "the unusual increase of works and studies tackling this issue in the 1990s brought about interesting – according to the dialectic principles – attempts of its synthetic perception, far from dogmatic closure, as applying various typologies, apart from classically territorial concept, the borderline is presented in psychological meaning too."¹⁷

¹⁴ RÓG, J.: *Relacje społeczno-ekonomiczne na pograniczu polsko-czeskim*, Opole 2001, p. 20.

¹⁵ LESZKOWICZ-BACZYŃSKA, Ź.: *Małżeństwa polsko-niemieckie na pograniczu. Zarys problematyki badawczej*, In: *Transgraniczność w perspektywie socjologicznej*, Ed.: L. Gołdyka, J. Leszkowicz-Baczyński, L. Szczegółka, M. Zielińska, Zielona Góra 1997, p. 144.

¹⁶ LESZKOWICZ-BACZYŃSKA, Ź.: *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹⁷ SKRZYPCZYK, M.: *Społeczność pogranicza polsko-czeskiego i jej grupy odniesienia*. In: *Wybrane problemy życia społecznego na pograniczach*. Ed.: Zb. Kurcz, Wrocław 2002, p. 27.

The south-west Polish borderland in the process of shaping

It may be stated with certainty that the existence of widely perceived border is the crucial condition of shaping borderland. The function it serves determines both the borderland character, as well as the specificity of the mentality of its inhabitants. Despite some obviousness of this statement, I shall dare to claim that in the Polish circumstances of the previous social and political system, sole existence of the border was insufficient to shape a typical borderland.¹⁸

Shaping the borderland is of longitudinal nature, relating to the integration and cooperation processes participated by communities living on each of the borderland sides, whereas culture fusion – a condition for shaping and building the identity – is considered a fundamental criterion designating the borderland.¹⁹ Nevertheless, in the recalled period, we dealt in Poland at the borderland areas with peculiar situation, particularly on the border on the river Odra and Nysa Łużycka, which was established not as a consequence of a long-term historical processes, but on the basis of the treaty of Potsdam conference.²⁰ Hence, the new Polish borders established after the Second World War were artificial, and their automatic shift towards the West made this borderland – as Koćwin stated – “unusual in comparison to other European borderlands, as in this borderland Poles did not speak German and Germans did not speak Polish, in contrary to most of the European borders where the inhabitants were bilingual. The reason was the artificiality of such borderland, whereas the real Polish-German borderline remained on the old border, i.e. in the Poznańskie, Pomorskie and Śląskie region.”²¹

The new border was crucial as for the way of thinking and feeling among the inhabitants of all the parts of the borderland. Poles, Czechs and Germans found themselves in a brand new life situation. Dealing with

¹⁸ Such thesis was proposed with regard to Polish and Czech border by J. Tutaj. See: Tutaj, J.: *Rozwój kościołów i ruchów wyznaniowych nierzymskokatolickich na pograniczu polsko-czeskim*. In: *Wybrane problemy życia społecznego na pograniczach*. Ed.: Zb. Kurcz. WUW Wrocław 2002, p. 59.

¹⁹ SKRZYPCZYK, M.: *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁰ Although the current frontier of Czech Republic is quite an old one (it was outlined in 1919), the Polish and Czech borderland is relatively new. From the end of the Second World War it functioned in unchanged way until the revolution bringing about dissolution of Czechoslovakia leading to the establishment of Czech and Slovakia. This fact provided a ground for the process of building a new borderland. See: Babińska, M.: *op. cit.*, p. 43 and next.

²¹ KOĆWIN, L.: *Polityczne determinanty polsko-wschodniemieckich stosunków przygranicznych 1949–1990*, Wrocław 1993, p. 27.

new – in territorial, cultural and mental manner completely unfamiliar – borderland was particularly challenging for Poles coming from far east corners of Europe. The new inhabitants of the new borderland did not have the knowledge on the primary regional belonging of these lands, therefore were not mentally prepared to take care of the culturally unfamiliar, generally negatively perceived “inheritance”.

The area of Łużyce was not associated with the region, and the area of this historical land within new Polish borders was too small to establish separate integrity in social or economic way. Lack of emotional bond with the new place, combined with negative attitudes towards all that is German, along with long-lasting sense of temporality, did not facilitate consideration for the cultural heritage of this area. Function of the country frontiers of that time, as well as political relations between each of the country belonging to the Soviet block also affected the process of shaping borderland relations and the character of the borderland.

It is worth to emphasize that Polish borders had been used in the past as a barrier dividing, or even entirely excluding contacts between the communities on both sides. Despite the slogans of trans-frontiers cooperation, that sometime would bring about objectively positive results, the general circumstances and atmosphere of superficiality of such actions had nothing in common with the authenticity of human activities or national needs of the neighbouring nations.²² And although the existing borders of that time were referred to as “the borders of friendship” (e.g. the Polish-Czech friendship route” or “bridge of friendship” in Zgorzelec), in fact they borders were heavily guarded, whereas the inhabitants sometimes living close to each other for decades, had been separated by a practically non-crossed barriers. Hence, people living behind such borders remained strange to each other, not only verbally, but also because they were unable to read the needs and expectations of the neighbours.”²³ The borders were also impermeable as far as ideas, lifestyles, cultures or economic concepts are taken into account.²⁴

The relations between neighbouring countries were also unfavourable, “in the last century, the relations did not exist in the political strategies not only as dominating but also nor as secondary, locating and isolating the countries on the other sides of the line”.²⁵ Besides, personal Polish,

²² JAKUBIEC, J.: Euroregion „Nysa” (geneza, struktura, funkcjonowanie). In: Podstawy rozwoju zachodnich i wschodnich obszarów przygranicznych Polski. Biuletyn nr 7, red. F.Adamczuk i Z. Przybyła, Warszawa 1994, pp. 1–16.

²³ KURCZ, Zb.: Polskie pogranicza w cieniu przeszłości. „Odra” 3/1997, pp. 17–23.

²⁴ KURCZ, Zb.: op. cit., 1996, p. 142.

²⁵ TUTAJ, J.: op. cit., p. 60.

Czech and German experiences were affected by negative stereotypes referring to the period of the Second World War²⁶ and historical resentments (1938 in Zaolzie or invasion on Czechoslovakia in 1968)²⁷, disabling fast and painless creation of a new borderland. It all limited possibilities to establish linguistic-national, territorial or social borderland, hence fusion and creation of new values (as a result of aware borrowings of the values from the other side) were impossible or seriously handicapped.

Therefore, despite many similarities, cohesion of interests and aspirations of the Polish-Czech-German borderland dwellers (constituting perfect ground for shaping positive relations), many decades had to pass before the idea of integration and cooperation stimulated social life and creation of the new behaviour patterns.

Polish borderlands in their current shape began its creation as late as in 1990s. After 1989, not changing its borders, Poland gained (excluding the sea border) completely new neighbouring countries. Until 1990 Poland had had borders with USSR, GDR and Czechoslovakia, whereas from 1993 it has been country neighbours with Russia, Lithuania, Belorussia, Ukraine, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Germany. This new "neighbourhood" arose in modified social, political and economic situation determined by the market economy and liberal ideology affecting all spheres of social life and stimulating civil liberties. "The new changes to the surrounding reality made each societies, previously separated by a barrier-frontier, subject to political transformation, opening them towards the neighbours. Suddenly, "the ideological and economic barriers determining almost a half century-long impermeability, were annihilated,"²⁸ and their opening revealed number of problems resulting from years-long negligence, lack of contacts and no cultural merging.

Integrated education in the new borderlands

"The area where we live and function on a daily basis significantly influences the perception of what is happening around us, but also the way we perceive people we interact with."²⁹ The type of interpersonal

²⁶ KOĆWIN, L.: op. cit., p. 26 and next.

²⁷ TUTAJ, J.: op. cit., p. 60.

²⁸ KURCZ, Zb.: op. cit., p. 144.

²⁹ BABIŃSKA, M.: Cecha pogranicza czesko-polskiego, jego autostereotyp i postrzeganie nie tylko najbliższych sąsiadów. In: Wybrane problemy życia społecznego na pograniczach. Ed. Zb. Kurcz, Wrocław WUW 2002, p. 51 and next.

relations of those living in borderland significantly influences the process of overcoming or strengthening given stereotypes – simplified vision of the world and people – arose for the purpose of protection of own identity or state belonging”.³⁰ Such vision of the world as a result of direct experiences, as well as assumptions or beliefs, is empowered by given decisions undertaken at authorized level, and may become a serious obstacle for the participants of interactions on borderlands.

Being aware of the significance of the cultural heritage for establishing and sustaining regional identity and shaping positive relations between neighbouring borderland communities, after years of inertia, the local governments – within framework of integrated actions – launched a cooperation, including project enabling the preservation of Lusatian house architecture as an element unique for the region, simultaneously conditioning increase in its economic and touristic attractiveness. A common concept on regional development has been worked out (Open days of Lusatian houses), touristic brand (holiday in a Lusatian house) or the campaign “Love at second sight”, which goal is to find new owners for the abandoned or neglected Lusatian houses.³¹

Although activities undertaken in various countries, or ways of accomplishing different projects vary (Czech local governments and owners of given houses deal with refurbishment and renovation of the buildings, in Germany the focus is on finding new owners for the buildings renovated after 1990 thanks to the funds received after unifying Germany, whereas in Poland educational initiatives are launched in order to change the way borderland is perceived), the goal is common. In each of the three countries non-governmental organizations and academic centers cooperate with each other.³² The online notice-board presents a good practice for translocation of the Lusatian houses, advertising them on the real estate market.³³ In comparison to other borderland areas, technical condition of the houses in Poland is the worst, whereas level of

³⁰ BABIŃSKA, M.: op. cit., p. 51 i n.

³¹ <http://www.domyprzyslupowe.pl/>

³² The research on such type of architecture are carried out by the Department of Architecture at Politechnika Wroclawska.

³³ The pioneering enterprise of Elżbieta Lech-Gotthardt from Zgorzelec may set such example, as she has recently bought the last Lusatian house in the area of the currently non-existing village of Wigancice Żytawskie. She bought a devastated and nearly damaged, abandoned house „Dom Kotodzełja”. Having the acceptance and support from the restorer and conservation authorities of all levels she did a model work of entire cycle of the demolition, translocation and reconstruction of this object in its new location – in Zgorzelec, where she works as a renovator. See: Dodatek do *Gazety Wyborczej, Wieża Ciśnień*, dated 7th May 2010.

awareness as well as the level of identity with the culture of Upper Lusatia the lowest. Therefore, initiatives launched by local associations and organizations are particularly valuable, as through educational activities they encourage the inhabitants and owners of the Lusatian houses to carry out renovations and general improvement of their technical condition.³⁴ There are actions of individual renovations initiated, combining traditional form with modern interior and equipment. It stimulates and empowers the social support for the idea of „the Land of Lusatian houses” also on Polish side, raising the level of identification with the region.

Widespread popularising, social and educational campaign carried out concurrently in all three parts of the Polish-Czech-German borderland is projected to make the owners, inhabitants and dwellers of the region aware of their inheritance and contemporary role in taking care of the good of the deal and harmony of cultural landscape of his part of united Europe.

Conclusions

With reference to the previously posed question on the significance of the character and ambience of the borderland in shaping given attitudes of its inhabitants, we may conclude on the basis of the carried out analysis, that the negative approach towards the heritage of Polish-Czech-German borderland was determined by many factors. The political frontier played a significant part, since functioning as a border it had been dividing for decades the historically, infrastructurally and culturally joined spheres.

Not until the character of changes took place in Europe at the end of 20th centuries, the transformation of state border did begin, shaping new image of the borderland areas. Thanks to it “the borderlands are contemporarily more about cultural fusion than domination, interspersions and completion than completion or confrontation of various centres. (...) The role and significance of the notion “country frontier”, has also significantly changed in Europe, as – within European Union – they became solely administrative. Many new borders, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe were established or re-created where their borderland-generating potential was

³⁴ Initiative of the Towarzystwo Miłośników Ziemi Bogatyńskiej is worth emphasizing, as in 8th September 2010 they organized a workshop on cleaning and conservation of the Lusatian houses for the inhabitants of the areas flooded during the flooding in August 2010 (See: <http://www.tnzb.e...coctakt<eor.mid=9>).

minimal.”³⁵ The processes initiated by Poles in 1989 influences the increase of integration aspirations of other Central and Eastern European countries. And although they gradually diminished, they were of different dynamics, hence establishing differentiated borderlands in this regard. Luckily for the cultural heritage of the Polish-Czech-German borderland, the communities were profoundly engaged in the integrative process.³⁶

The relations between neighbours, the positive and the negative ones, are predominantly shaped there, where the neighbour lives in the closest vicinity, i.e. on the borderlands, whereas their quality and character always depends on the initiatives undertaken both by the authorities of the local governments from all sides of the frontier, as well as by those from the local communities living in such area. The inter-dependent individuals and groups, such as the societies of borderland, accomplish given tasks and reach aims together, contributing to the increasing level of integration and – by established cooperation – make the region more attractive.

³⁵ BABIŃSKORI, G.: op. cit., p. 101 and next.

³⁶ In December 1991, shortly after the Berlin Wall collapsed, the first in the entire Central and Eastern Europe Euroregion “Nysa” was established among the neighbouring districts and counties of Poland, Czech and Germany, under the patronage of V. Horaví, R. V. Weizsacker and L. Wałęsa, See: Jakubiec, J.: op. cit., p. 2. and next.

"Czechoslovakian Evenings" in post-war Poland

Lech Kościelak

The "Czechoslovakian Evenings" were an example of intellectuals education in the form of open-lectures. They were educational activities of the Institute of Silesia in Katowice. Mutual Relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1945–1948 had an impact on the implementation of the "Czechoslovakian Evenings". Organization of "Czechoslovakian Evenings" was a good example of the improvement of Polish-Czechoslovak the years 1947–1948. Implementation of the "Czechoslovakian Evenings" began in October 1947 and ended in May 1948. Liquidation of the Silesian Institute was also the end of the "Czechoslovakian Evenings".

Key words: *Post-war Poland; Polish-Czechoslovakian Educational Relations; Institute of Silesia; Czechoslovakian Evenings*

What were the "Czechoslovakian Evenings"? They were an example of intellectuals education that took the form of open-lectures on topics concerning Czechoslovakia's past and present. They were dedicated to anyone interested in the problems of Czechoslovakia. In a post-war reality it was not an unencumbered activity.

Poles developed their interest in Czechoslovakia after World War II, but their interest was dependable on Polish-Czechoslovakian inter-relations and the social-political situation in both countries. However, there were institutions that seek to actively interest Poles in "Czechoslovakian affairs" despite the precarious situation. Such institution was the Institute of Silesia in Katowice, the association existing since before World War II. The Institute led many cultural and educational activities. One form of relatively large-scale cultural and educational activities of the Institute were "Czechoslovakian Evenings". In order to understand the reasons behind organizing the Evenings, it is necessary to briefly describe the social-political situation in Poland after the war.

Social-political background of "Czechoslovakian Evenings"

Educational Relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1945 and 1946 were difficult for three reasons. Firstly, they were very minimal. In fact, those relations were limited to individual contacts between people within

literary and scientific circles. There was a clear lack of contacts between any institutions. Secondly, the causes of this situation were unsettled border disputes between Poland and Czechoslovakia, which resulted in a lack of bilateral agreements.¹ Thirdly, the immediate prospect of improving cultural and educational relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia required to reach agreements on the most pressing issues in their disputes.

1947 was a breakthrough year in the cultural and educational relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Most important was the signing of a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Poland and Czechoslovakia. That took place on March 10, 1947, in Warsaw, and more importantly the Agreement came into force simultaneously with its signing. Then, on 4 of July 1947 in Prague another agreement was signed on cultural cooperation, which entered into force in March 1948 for the duration of five years.² Concluded contracts did not remain on paper only but were, as noted by Mark Korowicz, systematically executed.³ The Cooperation Agreement was executed before it entered into force. A prime example were "Czechoslovakian Evenings" held from October 1947. But it was not the first example of an institutional interest in its southern neighbor before the signing of the Agreements. Developed in spring of 1946, the newly formed Society of Polish-Czechoslovakian Friendship.

In the years 1947–1949 there had been significant changes in the cultural and educational relations between Poland-Czechoslovakia, changes that shifted the perception of the southern neighbor in a number of Polish intellectual circles. First formed the Friends of Czechoslovakia in academia. Then they took active work within areas of "reciprocity" of Polish-Czechoslovakian scientific environments of Cracow, Poznań, Wrocław and Katowice. At the same time the issue of Czechoslovakia took a broad front on the pages of Polish scientific and social-literary works, such as "Życie Słowiańskie", "Przegląd Zachodni" and "Zaranie Śląskie".⁴ Weight of providing information and popularizing was assumed by two magazines, Krakow "Dziennik Polski" and Katowice "Odra". In the first appeared a special addition titled Slavonic Issues, and in the second there was an extra section called "Letters from Czechoslovakia".⁵ However, research and

1 The Polish-Czechoslovak border disputes after World War II, he wrote KAMIŃSKI, M.: *Polsko-czechosłowackie stosunki polityczne 1945–1948*. Warszawa 1990.

2 Instytut Śląski. Seria VI *Sprawy czechosłowackie*. Komunikat Nr 50, in June 1948, p. 1, (on quote Komunikat IŚ).

3 Ibidem, p. 2.

4 NAWROCKI, W.: *Szkice czeskie i słowackie. Z problematyki współczesnej literatury czeskiej i słowackiej oraz jej recepcji w Polsce w latach 1944–1984*. Kraków 1988, p. 231.

5 Ibidem, p. 232.

dissemination efforts of the Polish-Czechoslovakian rapprochement were most visible in Cracow, Poznań, Wrocław and Katowice. It was at the Institute of Silesia in Katowice where initiated work on issues Czechoslovak, which was established for the conduct of a separate Department of Czechoslovakia.

It is worth to raise the question as to why these actions were taken at the Institute of Silesia in Katowice. It was influenced primarily by the pre-war tradition of unfettered activity of the association. The Institute can boast of rich underground operations during World War II and fast reactivation of its activity soon after the liberation. It began with the reconstruction and development of the organizational structures. In this new structure, there was a special place for the Faculty of Czechoslovakia. All of those new measures would not have been possible if not for the people involved. Especially, deserve the recognition, the director of the Institute Roman Lutman and Mark Stanislaw Korowicz who undertook the organization of the Department of the Czechoslovakia.

Challenging task facing the Department of Czechoslovakia were as follow:

- Establishing and maintaining long-term cooperation in science and culture between Poland and Czechoslovakia.
- Dealing with Polish-Czechoslovakian issues from both the Silesian region as well as nationwide point of view.
- Interest in Czechoslovakia as a whole area.
- Using the assistance of experts in Polish-Czechoslovakian issues from all academic and journalistic circles in Poland.⁶

Program for the Department of Czechoslovakia had been well developed, although many points remained a decelerate intention. It was however specific in the following six points:

1. Action Publishing, which included literary and scientific publications for the mutual understanding of both Nations and their common interests abroad.
2. Action Reading, carried out systematically in Katowice and later in other Polish cities.
3. Mutual visits of Polish and Czechoslovakian researchers and writers.
4. Publishing works of Czech and Slovakian writers in Polish translation and posting Polish articles in Czechoslovakian periodicals.
5. Creating a major center for academic information on Czechoslovakia in Poland and on Poland in Czechoslovakia.
6. Appointment of "Committee for Czechoslovakian Affairs".⁷

⁶ Komunikat IŚ, Nr 1, in July 1947, p. 5.

⁷ Ibidem, pp. 5–6.

Organization of “Czechoslovakian Evenings”

Organizational assumptions of “Czechoslovakian Evenings” were defined by: pursued objectives, recipients towards whom they were addressed, the form in which they were to take place, the designation of their organization and the adoption of a program for each evening. Objective set by the organizers was to inform the Polish public about the important manifestations of the spiritual and material life of Czechs and Slovaks in the past and present. Recipients towards whom the Evenings were directed were people interested in Czechoslovakian affairs. The accepted form of the Evenings was a shared open lecture. The place selected for the Evenings was the lecture hall of the Institute of Silesia in Katowice. Outline of the program included official speeches, readings and performances by famous artists (opera singers, musicians, drama actors).

Implementation of the “Czechoslovakian Evenings” began in October 1947 and ended in May 1948. The first Evening on 28 of October 1947 had an extremely solemn and official character.⁸ It was the National Day of Czechoslovakia. The program consisted of an official presentation from director of the Institute of the Silesian Roman Lutman, speeches from delegate ambassador of Czechoslovakia in Poland, Silesia and Dąbrowa Governor Dr. Eugene Kral, and the Presidents of the Polish-Czechoslovak and Czech-Polish Friendship Societies. The second part of the evening was filled with performances by singers of Silesian Opera in Katowice, to the accompaniment of music. In 1947 the total of three evenings took place. The second from November 27 was devoted to the music and songs of the Czech and Slovak.⁹ The third evening was held on the 2nd of December during which a lecture on contemporary Czech literature was given. Poems from Czech poets were recited by an actress from theater in Katowice.¹⁰

Year 1948 was launched at the Institute of the Silesia Czechoslovak by the fourth evening on 20 January, and the lecture was devoted to a landmark moments in the history of the Czech Republic.¹¹ In the following months, February, March and April, there were three subsequent Czechoslovakian Evenings. The eighth Evening, as it later turned out the last, was held on 25 May 1948. The Evening held a lecture on

⁸ Komunikat IŚ, Nr 13, in November 1947, p. 6.

⁹ Komunikat IŚ, Nr 21, in November 1947, p. 6.

¹⁰ Komunikat IŚ, Nr 22, in December 1947, p. 4.

¹¹ Komunikat IŚ, Nr 26, in January 1948, p. 10.

“Czechoslovakia in the eyes of geography,” richly illustrated with light slides.¹²

Czechoslovakian Evenings were a well thought-out educational campaign. Meetings were held regularly, every month. Although there were always the so-called “Officials” guests, but they were followed by innovative, for those times, readings. The subject of readings were alternate. One time matters were related to Czech, the second time to issues in Slovakia and the third to the common issues in Czechoslovakia. What was extremely interesting was the form of presentation of those readings. Some of the lectures were illustrated with light slides, others were topped with recitations. All were held with musical setting, combined with opera singing.

Remarkable was also the dynamic of “Czechoslovakian Evenings”. The enthusiasm for organizing the Evenings was great. The audience was always in great numbers, and reacted not only during artistic live performances, but above all else during the preached lectures. Numerous live audience gathered to applaud excellent teachers. You could say that the lecture hall of the Institute of Silesia was always filled to the brim. Czechoslovakian Evenings were therefore an important educational and social event. The cyclical character of the meetings had a great influence on dynamics of the evenings. Unfortunately, last night happened after barely eight months. Sudden closure of “Czechoslovak affairs” in the form of Czechoslovakian Evenings was quite a surprise to the intelligence group of Katowice. Direct cause was the inclusion of the Institute of Silesia in Katowice into the organization of the Western Institute in Poznan. As he wrote many years later, Head of the Department of the Czechoslovakia in the Institute of Silesia Mark St. Korowicz, since mid-1948, followed by intensive Sovietization and Komunization of Poland.¹³ Under those conditions, it was impossible to independently work on the development of interest in “Czechoslovakian affairs”.

Although the “Czechoslovakian Evenings” went on only for eight months, we can attempt to answer the question: What have they given the Silesian society? In the first place they gave the opportunity to learn about the history and issues of their neighbors across the southern border, the Czechs and Slovaks who joined back in one country. An important component of an education at that time was the selection of information on post-war Czechoslovakia. Evenings brought an education in the form of lectures, where students could learn about Polish authors latest views

¹² Komunikat IŚ, Nr 47, in June 1948, p. 4.

¹³ KOROWICZ, M.: *W Polsce pod sowieckim jarzmem*. London 1955, p. 10.

on the topics of Czechoslovakia. It was a broad presentation of researches to a number of people, who later could become the potential readers of scientific publications. Evenings also brought an artistic education, because students had the opportunity to listen to the opera singing and classical music. In addition to that education they also had a chance to converse with the “officials” from political and diplomatic groups.

Final educational activities of the Institute of Silesia was three years after the resumption of its activities after World War II. Employees of the Institute was brought accusation that they are a bunch of reactionaries, which must be eliminated.¹⁴ The first step towards the end was the reorganization in 1948, involving the inclusion of the structure of the Silesian Institute into Western Institute in Poznań. An actual end of the Institute of Silesia happened the following year – 1949. The ending of the Institute happened during a special time, because at the end of the illusory democracy in education. Therefore, open for everyone “Czechoslovakian Evenings” went into oblivion. In addition, the organizer of the “Czechoslovakian Evenings” Mark St. Korowicz chose “freedom” in the United States of America.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 93.

Media Reflexion of Contemporary Polish History in Czech History Textbooks

Kamil Štěpánek

The present text deals with content analysis of Czech teaching texts with regard to presence of iconic text. The subject of the analysis is the image of Poland after World War II in Czech textbooks of history for the second stage of elementary education in the latter half of the past and the beginning of this century. Following summarisation, analysis and interpretation of the found visual material the author of this contribution concludes that the textbook authors still apply the stereotype of selective choice scheme and little activating teaching potential of the selected images.

Key words: Contemporary polish history; Czech textbooks; Iconic text; Teaching history

Authors of the present teaching materials definitely deserve admiration for their courage to write works to difficult and often unappreciative. At the same time, however, it needs to be said that in the present media time textbooks are unfortunately neither the only nor the most important source of historic information absorbed by children and young people today. Cognitive mediation becomes more and more dominated by internet, and yet there are themes pupils will continue to exclusively get acquainted with through school teaching and textbooks. I believe that this will also be the case of contemporary Polish history mentioned in the title of this contribution in the Czech Republic. Therefore I will try to analyze the teaching contents from the viewpoint of their representations by iconic text. To specify the objectives of this text in more detail: I will attempt at summarisation, analysis and interpretation of the found picture material in its entirety, or fragmentariness – introduction of the image of Poland in Czech textbooks of the latter half of 20th and early 21st centuries. The subject of the present research therefore included basic teaching aids for general population, i.e. for school children.

For the abovementioned intention to be fulfilled I analysed textbooks from three different periods of time: 1960s to 1980s, after 1989 and textbooks meeting the requirements of the present school reform. Selection of analysed materials from three detached time periods allowed

for better analysis of potential development and changes of the issue in question.

Knowledge of modern Polish history in the Czech environment is relatively little.¹ This applies even more to Czech children, whose nearly zero knowledge may and should be substantially deepened by their teachers and the teaching text and pictures in the educational media.

In the earliest analysed period mentioned above Marxist approach represented the only possible interpretation of history and all pupils were expected to be consistently taught this unified approach at schools.² The biased approach mainly affected interpretation of contemporary history. For example the role of personalities was reduced in favour of the role of "the people".... After November 1989 the Czech Republic entered a path towards creation of better quality textbooks and other teaching aids. I will try to characterise and summarise them as follows: Until recently the Czech history textbook market could be perceived as saturated. It was because it offered circa 60 textbooks or student books in nine series by six publishing houses for history lessons at Czech elementary schools after 1989.³ After introduction of more strict approval rules and preparation of educational changers implemented since the school year 2007/8 all these textbooks became obsolete and running out and three new series emerged written already according to the requirements of the ongoing reform. All textbook series were written for up to the ninth form of elementary schools and for the first to the fourth year of eight-year grammar schools inclusive.⁴

A couple of brief comments on the form and contents of this group of the analysed textbooks: All the series are characterised with a unified inner structure of teaching units. In addition to explanation of the basic curriculum content individual chapters include additional texts which were intended to inspire more interest in the taught theme in the pupils. In

¹ To-date literature usable by authors of textbooks for elementary schools, the summary History of Poland from mid 1970s is too tendentious for the period after 1918. Welcomed support was only offered by the Polish historian Andrzej Paczkowski and his book Fifty Years of Polish History 1939–1989 published by Academia, Prague 2000, 381 pages. The book by one of the most respected experts in contemporary history of Poland presents excellent educational and readable survey of Polish history of the five decades mentioned in the title.

² DOHNAL, M.: *Dějepis 9*. Praha: SPN, 1973; *Dějepis 8*. Praha: SPN, 1983.

³ The textbooks not involved in application of the school reform after 1989 include textbooks by Scientia Publishers 2002–2004 or SPL Práce Publishers 1993, still used by some schools.

⁴ Textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education of CR were published by FRAUS, Nová škola and SPN publishers.

sharp contrast to pre-November 1989 textbooks the text is combined with lots of illustrations and graphic symbols, simple maps, diagrams and other auxiliary materials helping the pupils with spatial and temporal orientation.

What is then the particular difference between the nature of visual information about modern Polish history in textbooks issued in the course of the past twenty years in comparison to the teaching texts of the communist era, if pictures were included in the pre-November textbooks at all?

The logical starting point of the research was production of the State Pedagogic Publishers from early 1970s, namely the unified textbooks issued by the State Pedagogic publishers in Prague for the final years of basic schools of the pre-November era.⁵ Neither textbook included any representation of the studied visual information. Although the textbook authors of the “normalisation era” could readily apply propagandistic visual presentation of building of real socialism in the country of our neighbour, they did not make use of this natural option. Absence of presentation of Polish historic events and civic commotion in 1956 can easily be interpreted by ideological atmosphere of the time and censor interference.

The edition of twelve textbooks issued by Práce Publishers was written at the turn of the final decade of the last century and maps history from the primeval era to late 1980s.⁶ The analysed iconic text is found in the final textbook by Jiří Jožák subtitled Czechoslovakia and the World 1945–1989 in Chapter 12 about 1970s and 1980s and characterised as a “period of transformations”. The colour picture is absolutely formal and does not inspire any further methodological and didactic approaches – you can only see many people in front of a gate with a sign over the entrance reading Gdansk Shipyards. The detailed explanatory comment inform not about the content of the picture but about genesis of independent Polish trade union. The context belongs to the paragraph describing the dramatic development in Poland leading towards the mass opposition movement called Solidarity.

The collective of authors working for Dialog Publishers⁷ extended their text for pupils of 9th form of elementary school with an unprecedented quantity of picture materials presented in the mosaic structure. Polish history in images is however only represented by a single picture – a photo of the editors’ office of the Solidarity movement.

⁵ DOHNAL, M.: *Dějepis 9*. Praha: SPN, 1973; *Dějepis 8*. Praha: SPN, 1983.

⁶ JOŽÁK, J.: *Nová doba, 4. díl. Československo a svět 1945–1989*. Praha: Práce, 1995, p. 94.

⁷ *Dějiny 20. století*. Liberec: Dialog, 2005, p. 162.

The two-page text on contemporary history of our northern neighbour by Vladimír Nálevka in the textbook by Fortuna Publishers is extended with a photo of striking labour of the Gdańsk shipyards during a prayer and the head of the Polish opposition movement Lech Wałęsa.

The State Pedagogic Publishers⁸ illustrates the described events in the textbook for the same form of elementary school with a single photo of demonstrating crowds and the date of origin of the independent trade union movement.

The textbook published by Scientia Publishers⁹ the relevant picture material shows three separate images of Pope John Paul II, Lech Wałęsa and members of Solidarity striking in Warsaw. Didactic objective of development of pupil activities is best met by the latter one. About half-page text subtitled "Signal from Poland" is combined with functional photographs.

A little less successful is the textbook published by FRAUS Publishers and already completely conceived in harmony with the ongoing educational reform. The thematic unit "The world and the Czech Republic after the war" is introduced with a map showing territorial changes in Central Europe clearly governed by "transfer" of the Polish territory towards the west.¹⁰ The following events in Poland are traditionally documented with photographs of Lech Wałęsa¹¹ and a summary text about the post-war world of members of Solidarity in the streets.¹²

The competitor textbook published by Nová škola Publishers in its thematic unit "Western integration, eastern disintegration" illustrates the role of Catholic church in the fall of communism by a photo of Pope John Paul II on a visit to Poland in 1979.¹³ The picture is accompanied with a factual question. The text aid closing the series of teaching texts represents the only of the thirteen analysed textbooks which extended description of the events of 1956 in the communist block with a picture of labour uprising in the streets of Poznań.¹⁴

The established selective scheme is also applied by the product of SPN publishers. The pupils find the only photo on page 142 showing the

⁸ KOCIAN, J – JOŽÁK, J.: *Dějepis nejnovější dějiny*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1999, p. 136.

⁹ ČAPKA, F.: *Dějepis 9 od roku 1918 do současnosti*. Praha: Scientia, 2004, p. 148.

¹⁰ *Dějepis 9*. Praha: FRAUS, 2011, p. 97.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 115.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 135.

¹³ ČAPKA, F.: *Dějepis Novověk, moderní dějiny*. Brno: Nová škola, 2011, p. 107.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 93.

meeting of Pope John Paul II with Prague Archbishop Cardinal František Tomášek in Prague in 1990.¹⁵

What to say as a conclusion to the image of contemporary Polish history in textbooks of history used in the course of the past fifty years in Czechoslovak/Czech elementary schools? Czech textbooks of history from the earliest period analyse, i.e. textbooks published before 1989, appear relatively meagre as a whole. But it needs to be noted that each textbook presentation naturally requires reduction of visual materials. Intentional deformation of information by authors of textbooks is no longer the case of textbooks of the past twenty years. The blunt descriptiveness of facts typical of the earliest analysed textbooks is replaced with other means of expression, often obviously at the cost of systematic information structure. Despite that the latter method of presentation better meets not only the requirements for modern teaching aids but also the needs of their recipients.

However, as shown, authors of textbooks apply the characteristic selective approach to choice of picture material, not only for older history of Poland. In our case I speak about the map of territorial changes in Central Europe accentuating Poland after World War II, pictures of crowded squares with banners of the trade union organisation Solidarity, photos of the trade union head Lech Wałęsa and Pope John Paul II. But this limited material at least introduces to Czech pupils Polish personalities of international relevance. If looking for a wider potential framework of historic events, which in the opinion of the post-November authors would deserve illustrations of their texts, legitimate attention might be justly claimed by the political upheavals in the communist block in 1956. However, in most of the texts pictures of demonstrations in Polish cities gave way to intervention of Soviet tanks in the streets of Budapest. The authors certainly hoped in increased curiosity of the pupils evoked by the more dramatic pictures. From the viewpoint of objectives and expected outputs of history teaching in the final form of elementary schools and preference of national to global history this selection might be acceptable, although providing completely insufficient and only fragmentary image of development of our northern neighbour.

From the didactic point of view, however, the basic illustrative level of the selected photographs with minimum informative value might be questioned. The principle of connection with other primary and secondary information is still observed. But the analysed set of photographs is clearly marked by absence of the potential of breaking

¹⁵ VÁLKOVÁ, V.: *Dějepis 9*. Praha: SPN, 2009, p. 142.

the possible undesirable stereotypes, whether ethnic, ideological or other. What is also missing is any presentation of the discrepancies and ambiguities inviting for examination, formulation of hypotheses by pupils and discussions, as well as appropriateness to the age of the pupils. These drawbacks on the part of the textbook authors are naturally reflected in the methodological application and provide little opportunity to the teachers for activating and developing ways of teaching.

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