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"New, United and Divided" Europe – Viewpoints on "Unity" and Disparity of a Pedagogical Discussion in Central, East and Southeast Europe in the Second Half of the 20th Century

The current European discussion affected by the global pandemic of coronavirus and ecological ambitious plan of "New Europe" uncovers new, deeper levels of the European society that co-determinate and co-create its order and "power".

One of such levels is the still important milestone of European history and culture occurring as the division of Europe in the year 1945 that had its particular effect on everyday life of the newly directed different political-social developments of its Western and Eastern parts. The 1945 division of Europe was ended by the so-called "fall of the Berlin Wall", however, borders were deleted only on a maps, not in mentality, emotions and experiences of Europeans experiencing the division occurred after 1945.

This dismemberment of Europe after the WWII was not openly thematised by the affected European societies, because only what was important for central and south eastern European countries after 1989 was the fast and at all costs successful "return to Europe". That happened without an important self-reflection of the experience of the communist regimes, and the narrative of the western European countries happened to uncritically construct the conception of Europe as without any "loss" and without any change in everyday life. Europeans settled in their standpoints and "stories" about the world, but they did not share them and did not reflected on them critically. As the result of this lack of self-reflectivity and of the uncritical adoption of the western European concept of life could be taken the "new" borders between "East and West" within only seemingly politically united, but still socially and culturally heterogeneous and partly divided Europe.

The first issue of Historia scholastica Journal from 2021 brings studies and discussion contributions and essays within Varia section; they thematise different European educational and pedagogical experience after the WWII until the fall of the communist regime.

New Soviet Man (Ḳestere & Fernández González) should have become the prototype in education for the central and east southern European countries. In addition, the educational tradition in these culturally and mentally heterogeneous parts of Europe should have been homogenized under the United pedagogical program. Of course, it was not possible and success of these efforts could have been only partial, but pedagogical discourse was by this effort strongly scarred in this part of Europe – it is obvious in the two published studies that thematise Marxism-Leninism as the "new direction" in high school education in Czechoslovakia (Devátá, Gabzdilová), and in the "case study" on the free time activities in Hungary (Polyák, Szabó & Németh).

Texts on transformation of social pedagogy in Poland in Stalinist period (Jagielska) and on development of educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina in communist regime (Šušnjara) have an overview character. The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina shows how diverse was the way of fulfilling the communist principles in south eastern, east and central Europe and how the effort to unitize the Soviet bloc did not fulfil the ideas and proclamations of many communist representatives.

Studies in the second part of this issue thematise impact of communism on pedagogical life and discussion in central and south eastern Europe in general (Kodelja, Wrońska, Rajský), seconded by the essay in part Varia (Hogan). Totalitarianism in WWII era is analysed on the example of physical education (Alfieri), the discussion contribution in Varia brings a standpoint on historiography of Holocaust in Czech lands (Cerman). Another text in the Varia section presents a reflection of Comenius' work and life in German Comeniology discussion after 1945 and its role and importance in the divided Europe (Lischewski). The last text of this issue is unrelated to the monothematic character of this issue, but by its topic of "the migration of the education" in the early modern age points to processes of natural and gradual unification of European education with its mechanics of its creation and processes

of its diverse focuses (Holý). Therefore, it is opposite to political division of European education in the second half of the 20th century.

Tomáš Kasper
Markéta Pánková

Studie
Studies

Educating the New Soviet Man: Propagated Image and Hidden Resistance in Soviet Latvia[1]

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Abstract The New Soviet Man has been studied primarily from the perspective of its creators, propagators of Communist ideology, while the recipients of the New Soviet Man project and its immediate end users, namely pupils and teachers were largely ignored. Hence, the present research, while capturing and utilizing the experience of Soviet Latvia from 1945 to 1985, sets the research questions as to how the image of the New Soviet Man was presented and introduced at schools and how the concept of the New Soviet Man was perceived and utilised by the "objects" of this state contract – teachers and pupils. The research corpus includes 26 textbooks, 265 school photos and 367 student profile records. For the research purposes, four discursive domains of the New Soviet Man project were identified, namely, socio-biological discourse (gender, body, sexuality and health); social discourse (social class); spatial discourse (nationality) and discourse of individuality (personality, character traits). Given that the dictatorship unavoidably engenders the conflict of interests and resistance, the research corpus allowed to detect some tiny openings for the oppressed to express their views, some elements of pupils' and teachers' subtle resistance to the creation of the New Soviet Man, by using horizontal solidarity, avoidance, and slipping into the Grey Zone.

Keywords New Soviet Man, propaganda, hidden resistance, Soviet education

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Introduction

The vision of a new, ideal person is as old as education. The list of visionaries is long – both the ancient Greeks and Romans, the utopians Campanella and Thomas More, and the activists of the New School movement, the New Man/Overman is also a concept in Nietzsche's philosophy of *Übermensch* (Prozorov, 2013, p. 210). Social reformers present the New Man as the ideal product of reform and it sells especially well in the field of education, as all education is a story of becoming in a must-be form. For educators, the idea of a New Man is close and exciting, because they always strive to create the ideal from the constantly criticised body of current students. Besides, as Burbules (2016) maintains, the word "new" has magical power, because the new will always be better than the old, the new is "exciting" and "cool" (p. 9). The New Man is also a promising research material for historians, as the New Man embodies the ideals and pedagogical practice of a particular era: for example, the dissatisfaction of decision-makers with educational output so that schools are repeatedly required to create new types of people.

Inevitably, the fabrication of a New Man was integrated in the Soviet school agenda. The New Man project complied with the Bolshevik utopian ideas of destroying the old world after the October Revolution of 1917 and creating a whole new society. The "old" members of society had to be reborn and at the same time had to nurture the New Soviet Man (see Ķestere & Rubene, 2017).

The New Soviet Man has been studied primarily from the perspective of its creators, propagators of Communist ideology (e.g., Ķestere & Rubene, 2017; Svičiulienė, 2016; Kogan, 2011; Savage & Velikanova, 2011), while the recipients of the New Soviet Man project and its immediate end users, namely pupils and teachers were largely ignored. Hence, the aim of this research is to compare the official concept of the New Soviet Man with the implementation of this concept in educational practice. The research poses two questions as to how the image of the New Soviet Man was presented at schools, and how the concept of the New Soviet Man was perceived and implemented by the "objects" of this state contract – teachers and pupils?

Though the concept of the New Soviet Man was supposed to refer to both genders, the public discourse in the Soviet Union was men-controlled and the New Soviet Man was to some extent their self-portrait. Likewise, the official texts clearly emphasise the masculine part of that Soviet creature – for example, "Communist morality covers various facets of man [...] as a worthy son of his nation" (Ogorodnikov & Shimbirev, 1946, p. 56). Therefore, the term "the New Soviet Man" is deliberately used in this study.

Discourses of the New Soviet Man

The project of the New Soviet Man was not a constant, stagnant concept. It changed with the transformation in the political course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the subsequent campaigning. However, the existing scholarship allows us to identify four stable discourses of the New Soviet Man, following Foucault (1972) terms where discourse is considered as a system of thought, knowledge, or communication which constructs our experience of the world.

The given discourses were established mainly on the basis of the following scholarship: (1) upbringing in the Soviet education system (Ķestere & Krūze, 2013); (2) Prozorov (2013, 2016) the concept of biopolitics, which is revealed through the state control exercised by Stalin's power over the bodies of its citizens; (3) Tromly's work on Soviet intelligence in the context of class relations in the USSR (2014), as well as research on the "most valuable" classes as identified by the communist rule (Ķestere & Rubene, 2017); (4) Depaepe's work (2009, 2012) on colonialism, which examines the relationship between colonisers and indigenous people, supported by the studies by Silova (2019) and Silova and Palandjian (2018) on the "nation learning" in the Soviet Empire.

These four discourses of the New Soviet Man remained unchanged and were perpetually rooted in all spheres of Soviet life, declaring certain state requirements in each of them.

Socio-biological Discourse: Gender, Body, Sexuality and Health

The socio-biological discourse focuses on the New Man as a biological being. The body, like everything in the Soviet Union, was no longer the

property of the individual, either figuratively or often even literally, but was governed, controlled, and regulated by state institutions (Hewitt, 2001, p. 228). The New Soviet Man set off in the land of the Soviets as a vulgar socio-biological concept, when in the spirit of eugenics of the 1920s, the fabrication of the perfect man was planned by coupling ideal communist men and women (Savage & Velikanova, 2011; Kogan, 2011, p. 165). However, from the 1930s onwards, the concept of a hereditary substance was denied in the USSR (Babkov, 2001), and in 1936, a Communist Party decree banned paedology (Kogan, 2011, p. 167) – a combined pedagogical, psychological and medical approach that emphasised heredity. The ideas of eugenics were put to an end in Soviet public space. However, the state's concern for the body of the New Man did not waver, only its fabrication was refocused from a biological task onto a pedagogical task entrusted to the Communist Party functionaries, scholars and teachers. The body had to be healthy and productive, and it was cared for and looked after by the state (Prozorov, 2013, 2016), supporting and funding regular health check-ups and physical activities (see Ķestere, Stonkuvine & Rubene, 2020). For instance, in 1931 a special state programme was implemented 'Ready for Labour and Defence of the USSR' (*GDA*) that defined physical condition criteria for all Soviet citizens aged from 10 to 60. The participation in this programme was mandatory for all USSR pupils until the very collapse of the Soviet empire in 1991.

Social Discourse: Social Class

This discourse defines the New Man according to the class affiliation, where class becomes a criterion of human value or race, creating obvious associations with the racial theory of Nazism. The flawless "coming from" the working class or the peasantry became the entrance ticket to the Soviet elite, leaving the bourgeoisie and the "rotten" intelligentsia "behind the gate" (see Tromly, 2014). A stamp of class affiliation was affixed to a Soviet pupil in official documents, indicating the occupation of his parents or defining his origin from 'workers', 'farmers' or 'servants', with the last category meaning non-productive workers, including intelligentsia. When the word 'intelligentsia' was mentioned,

the term 'Soviet' was added to emphasise that a new society had been established in the USSR, which also included this 'non-productive' group. For example, in the 1963 edition of the Soviet Latvia Demographic Report, 'intelligentsia' is named as follows: "[…] Soviet intelligence coming from the depths of the people" (Mežgailis, 1963, p. 113).

Spatial Discourse: Nationality

This discourse is, in fact, the discourse of colonisation. In colonised societies, the value of a man in the eyes of the power elite grows as he aligns himself with and acquires likeness of colonisers, who are always convinced of the superiority of their culture, language and lifestyle (see Depaepe, 2012; 2009). The New Soviet Man project, using the terminology of colonial studies, also envisaged the "civilising" of colonised nations or indigenous population, making them uniform Soviet citizens, with Russia playing the role of a model, "metropolis" or "elder brother" (see Kelertas, 2006). The blending of the nations living in the territory of the Soviet Union into the Russian-speaking Soviet people was declared in the Communist Party programme of 1961, which provided for the "eradication of national differences, especially language differences" (*XXII sjezd* […], 1962, p. 313).

Discourse of Individuality: Personality, Character Traits

This is the discourse of Soviet morality. The morality of the Soviet man was declared a new type – class morality, but in fact included all the traditional middle-class virtues – helpfulness, modesty, diligence, conscientiousness and kindness.

However, these virtues were framed by hatred. The New Soviet Man had to learn to hate, and his list of enemies was long: the bourgeoisie, the aristocracy, the capitalists, the exploiters, the instigators of war, the nationalists, the chauvinists, the racists, the philistines, the servants of religion, and so on. The Communist Party documents became a means to combat these enemies, and, thus, using Eastwood's (2011) term, "lessons of hatred" entered pedagogical books. For example, a textbook written by Ilyina (1969) and intensively and extensively

used by Latvian teachers for decades, mentions intolerance four times in relation to the violation of social interests, injustice, social parasitism, unfairness, careerism, and acquisitiveness, racial and national dislike and the enemies of communism (pp. 99–106). The essence of Soviet virtue education was clear: "communist virtue must be understood as an action, it calls to fight" (Jesipovs & Gončarovs, 1948, p. 246).

All four discourses were to materialise in the image of the New Soviet Man, a generalisation of "master fiction" (Calhoun, 2014, p. 27) created and controlled by the ruling regime, an "idealised presentation of themselves to their subordinates" (Scott, 1990, p. 54) – a benchmark to strive for (or pretend to be).

Our study approached the materialisation or representation of the New Soviet Man in theory and practice in three groups of sources: 1) in textbooks, 2) in photographs, and 3) in pupils' profiles. All selected sources cover the period from 1945, when the Soviet occupation returned to Latvia after the WWII, and until 1985, when Gorbachev's *perestroika* began.

The Propagated Image of the New Soviet Man: Textbook Testimonies

To reconstruct the materialised image of the New Soviet Man, school textbooks, especially primers and readers were analysed, because the primer and the first reader not only teach to read and write but also shape the child's worldview and the value canon (Grever & Van der Viles, 2017). To paraphrase Foucault, the textbook was another weapon of "normalization" next to teachers in a Soviet school. The textbooks in the Soviet Union were a very effective promulgator of the official state opinion, a guide in sifting "right" from "wrong" shaping the worldview of both teachers and pupils. The wife of the Bolshevik leader Lenin, an ideologist and founder of communistic education Nadezhda Krupskaya (1869–1939) emphasised that textbooks should be based on "large, principal political issues" (Krupskaya, 1931/1959). Hence, clear and evident is the message that the task of the textbooks in Soviet schools is not only providing knowledge but also propagating definite

political ideology. The watchful eyes of censors followed this performance.

The added value of textbooks is in the pictorial representation of the Soviet Man which accompanied the descriptions of the same. The image often illustrates the generalisation (Burke, 2001, p. 187), as well as sends a "moral message" (Dekker, 2012, p. 49). The Soviet textbooks included the entire Soviet world, and this world was impeccable and correct (Vails & Geniss, 2006, pp. 77–78). Thus, the image of the New Man in the textbook can be seen as a generalised ideal or role model. The regular repetitiveness of symbols ensures their efficacy (Calhoun, 2014, p. 35), and textbooks were a useful means to sustain this efficacy – the image of the New Man travelled from class to class up the educational ladder.

To identify the image of the New Soviet Man, 26 textbooks published in Riga and available at Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research collection (Braunschweig, Germany) were analysed.

Indeed, the ideal image of the New Soviet Man should be the Leader, who, like a saint or Cinderella, has gone through hardships and as a seasoned man fulfilled the dreams of the people and has acquired an unquestionable authority (see Svičiulienė, 2016). Yet, the Leader could only be worshipped, and it was not possible to reach his heights. The Leader was one and unique, hence, it was necessary to find an earthy model that an ordinary person could match. Therefore, the Soviet people were offered a generalised replica of the Leader, namely, a soldier of the Soviet Army (Lazda, 2005, p. 105, 107). He met well the values propagated in all four discourses of the New Soviet Man: the soldier was healthy and physically well built, otherwise he would not be able to fulfil his duties as a defender of the motherland against internal and external enemies. The soldier belonged to the "right" class, because the army in the Soviet Union was emphatically positioned as a unifier of all classes and groups of society, expressed by the slogan "People and the army are united". The nationality of the soldier did not matter, because the contingent of the Soviet army communicated only in Russian, while the uniform levelled down any social and national differences. A soldier also has all the declared moral qualities – he

is portrayed in textbooks as brave, disciplined, helpful, modest, he defends the weak and fights against enemies, he is a hero, he is a "real man" (see Citoviča & Arbitere, 1982, p. 41; Šprunka, 1955, p. 99).

Of the 26 textbooks analysed, 20 (76.9%) contain texts and pictures that offer a highly positive image of a Soviet army soldier. This construct, namely the soldier, was easy to understand, gave clear guidance for the collective identity (Calhoun, 2014, p. 34) and served perfectly all kinds of propaganda.

The ideal of a man is clear, but what should the New Soviet Man in a female body, as Gradskova (2007) says, be like? The existent scholarship reveals that the role of women in Soviet society was complex and multidimensional: to work like a man and produce a new generation of citizens, while also caring for the family, self-educating and doing sports (see Ķestere, Stonkuviene & Rubene, 2020). "She was glorified for her capacity to work like a man, and at the same time celebrated for her nurturance and her willingness to sacrifice herself for others" (Attwood, 1999, p. 11, 13). The image of a healthy, strong and working mother is communicated by a poem published in a textbook: the author asks, who is a person that cares for a baby with a smile on her lips and song in her voice, that operates a plane, works with the surgeon's knife, knows how to shoot and ski in the snowstorm? Who is the person that always performs her tasks excellently, moves through the path of life securely and proudly in both the sun and rain? (Landa & Ļebedinska, 1947, p. 70). One can find the answer at the end of the poem: this hero is a Soviet woman – the same soldier, only in a woman's body.

Implementation of the New Soviet Man Project at School

Thus, the state concept of the New Soviet Man was introduced into school classrooms with the help of an intensive and effective tool – textbooks. However, to what extend were the pupils and teachers of Soviet Latvia in practice ready to comply with the state request by being reborn in the New Soviet Man and raising him?

The image of the New Soviet Man entered Latvia with the Soviet army in 1940. Latvia – as well as other Baltic States, Estonia and Lithuania – were independent countries in the interwar period (1918–1940), but

were annexed into the Soviet Union in 1940 and remained under Soviet dictatorship until 1991. In each newly acquired territory, the troops are followed by a propaganda team, destroying the symbols and myths of the natives and replacing them with new ones. Likewise, in the territory of the Baltic States, along with the Soviet troops in 1940, intensive Soviet propaganda was launched, whose focus immediately became on the school: "[…] almost all ideological systems, whatever their nature, have tried to impose their values and norms by disciplining individuals through schooling. In this sense, schools were considered powerful instruments in socialising people according to the ideological or political references of the system" (Southwell & Depaepe, 2019, p. 2). Communist conceptions of world order were made known since childhood and were systematically reinforced throughout one's life, where educational institutions, as disciplinarians of body and spirit, occupied an exceptionally important place. The Soviet school helped to organise and discipline society, taught the individual to assess and control himself (Kogan, 2011, p. 166; Popkewitz, 1988, p. 88).

However, in Soviet Latvia, school classrooms were populated by former residents of free Latvia, and in later years – their descendants, who had grown up with parents' stories about the independent Latvian state. A clash between the Soviet dictatorship's efforts to sovietise the Latvian people and the interests of Latvians to preserve their identity, which was carefully safeguarded in their collective memory, was inevitable. However, Stalin's repression had taught Soviet citizens self-censorship. Since the 1960s, fear no longer dominated people's minds, but considering recent experience, all Latvian families in a public space reminded each other of being cautious (see Abens, 2015).

To reveal how the image of the New Soviet Man propagated in textbooks was adopted in the reality of a Latvian school, the official ambition was compared against unpublished photographs and pupils' graduation reports.

Since 2014, together with students, we have been collecting photos of Soviet pupils in the school environment. There are not many such photographs, because in the 1940s–1980s photography was not a daily occurrence. From a collection of more than 400 photographs,

256 images were selected for this study. In these photographs, the pupils are in the classroom, and they are undeniably conscious of the camera's and thus the photographer's "eye" – hence, it is a staged event, where the pupils are prepared to be "photographed" and have chosen how to look in the photograph. The pupils are also supervised by the teacher's watchful eye.

Undeniably, the choice of what to do in the official class photograph is limited – the pupils sit on school benches, stand in a group at the blackboard in front of the classroom, write in a notebook, look into a book or listen to the teacher's story. However, the synchronicity of pupils' activities is striking – if they write, everyone does so, if they read – everyone does the same, and the same with other activities. Of the 256 photographs, 203 (79.3%) attest to all the activities of the pupils being synchronous, the pupils are frozen in a certain position. The pupils are most often seen sitting on benches with their arms crossed on the desk: these are 123 (48.0%) images out of 256. When standing upright and holding their hands to the side, pupils are seen in 27 (10.5 %) photographs, while 53 photographs (20.7%) capture the whole class looking into the book, writing or listening to the teacher synchronously. The resemblance to the army is reinforced by the uniforms: everyone is well-groomed, wearing simple and cheap student uniforms and badges of affiliation with children's and youth communist organisations – Red Pioneers and Communist Youth (*Komsomol*).

The regiment of the New Soviet Man and his subjection to order revealed in the photos, permeated the whole educational process: Soviet pupils followed certain rituals – at the beginning of the lesson they stood up to greet the teacher, spoke only after raising their hands and receiving the teacher's permission, taking occasional walks in the school hallways during the scheduled breaks, and learning army-style marching in special training classes. It can be assumed that the pupils of Soviet Latvia studied "the performance of the other self" (Scott, 1990, p. 33), that is to say, the Soviet pupils trained daily to perform the New Soviet Man-soldier, the role scripted from above.

An assessment of the pupil's conformity to the image of the New Soviet Man was received upon graduation: each graduate of the Soviet

school received a graduation report, where teachers comprehensively assessed his performance during the school years. The school graduation reports were an important "entrance ticket" to the Soviet universities, where the number of study places was limited.

Among the transcripts and reports available in the Archives of the University of Latvia, a random sample of 367 student reports issued between 1947 and 1984 (ten reports per year) was selected. The school graduation reports were analysed, looking specifically for references to students' moral character.

Each characterisation of a pupil begins with a description of his/her family – parents' occupation, thus revealing the student's social background – for example, "The father is a warehouse keeper at the collective farm X, the mother is a milkmaid at the collective farm X. The family lives in good material conditions"[2]. The report assessed the pupil's health, attitude towards manual work and highlighted success in sports, if any – for example, "General physical development is good. Health is good. [...] Respects any job, loves to work. [...] Does sports"[3]. The report also assessed the pupil's academic performance and involvement in the Communist Youth organization, informing about belonging or non-belonging to this organization in the student's characterization record. The pupil's personality is described in detail, where such character traits as initiative, modesty, joviality, vigour, cooperation and friendliness are praised. The pupil's relationship with the team (collective) and the attitude towards the team are definitely described. Adapting to the team and supporting the interests of the majority is emphasised as a positive virtue.

The most frequently mentioned positive qualities of a Soviet school graduate are the following: responsibility (in 53.1% of the reports), discipline (38.4%) and readiness to do manual work (38.4%). For example, a typical report reads as follows: "An efficient high-performance

2 Secondary school of Latvia. *Reference Letter A,* 1975. Student's personal files, Fund 1340. University of Latvia Archives, Riga, Latvia, p. 2.

3 Secondary school of Latvia. *Reference Letter B,* 1969. Student's personal files, Fund 1340. University of Latvia Archives, Riga, Latvia, p. 2.

team-member. […] Reads newspapers. Ideologically sound. A Communist Youth member since October 1962. Behaviour is commendable. C. in a team is friendly, accommodating, open, sincere, self-critical. Respects manual work and does it well"[4]. As expected, there were many similarities between the moral characterisation of pupils uncovered in the reports and the official Soviet virtue discourse.

Thus, the characterization reports also show that the Soviet pupils conformed to the propagated image of a soldier, i.e. they were healthy, disciplined, included in the "frame" of the collective and politically educated, they were responsible, diligent and helpful.

Hidden Resistance

The dictatorship, however, unavoidably engenders the conflict of interests and resistance (Giddens, 1977, p. 348), but oppressors always leave some tiny space for the expression of oppressed interests (Scott, 1990, p. 18). The main task of our research was to identify the openings in the discourse of the oppressors for the expression of the oppressed interests.

Hidden or covert resistance is quiet, undeclared, without confrontation and coordination, without leaders and organizations, not politically articulated. Covert resistance is "non-dramatic", it is integrated into social life and is a part of "normality" (Babicka-Wirkus, 2018, p. 46; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013, pp. 2–3, 9). Gestures, facial expressions, clothing and language can betray resistance. Hidden resistance is a system of signs, codes that are visible and understandable only to the inner circle, insiders, but remain invisible, undecoded from the outside – by strangers.

Analysing the covert resistance in the Soviet school environment, the influence of Western culture on Soviet youth, represented by, for example, the images of a hippie in the 1960s and 1970s and the image of a punk in the 1980s was excluded from the focus of the study. It was

4 Secondary school of Latvia. *Reference Letter C,* 1965. Student's personal files, Fund 1340. University of Latvia Archives, Riga, Latvia, p. 2.

a clearly displayed counterculture of the youth, passionately opposed by both Soviet officials and teachers. The forms of resistance to school order that exist in any educational setting, such as avoiding wearing a school uniform were likewise excluded from our study. The objective was more intricate – to identify the "coded version of the hidden transcript" (Scott, 1990, p. 18). The three main findings of this research are presented below.

Firstly, the findings are related to the function of the Latvian national costume in the public space, where the national dress became a manifestation against colonisation or Russification understood by the insiders.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, girls put on Latvian national costumes for school graduations. Folk costume was not banned by the Soviet authorities. On the contrary, the old and familiar symbols were transferred to the new political reality, with the Communists hoping that by combining Soviet innovation with tradition, the Soviet model of life would become more agreeable and acceptable to the subjects (Calhoun, 2014, p. 27). Thus, the Latvian national costume was enthusiastically absorbed by the public parades of the Soviet people: for example, in the May 1 procession, women marched dressed in Latvian national costumes with red Soviet flags in their hands (See Petrenko & Jastržembska, 1955, p. 103; Lubāniete, Bērzāja & Vuškalne, 1955; Lubāniete, 1949, p. 87).

The Soviet elite saw the Latvian national costume as a mere decoration of the natives. The Latvians, on the other hand, had grown up with the history of this costume, passed down in families from generation to generation: since the Middle Ages the Latvian folk costume has been a testament to the pride of belonging to a marginalised nation. The Latvian folk costume was never worn by, and its meaning was not known to, the "nobility", so the folk costume became a specific code of affiliation, which the "strangers" saw but did not understand (see Ķestere, 2020). Under the Soviet dictatorship, the national costume became a manifesto against Russification, which took over Latvia's public space after the World War II: Russian-speaking migrants, including Soviet soldiers, arrived in Latvia from all over the Soviet Union, and the

number of Latvian schools dramatically decreased: if in 1945 78–79% of students studied Latvian, then in 1963 their number decreased to 55% (Bleiere et al., 2005, p. 358).

The wearing of folk costumes at the school graduation festival did not last long – in the late 1950s, "bourgeois nationalism" was condemned (see Prigge, 2015) and, as the photos show, both Latvian and Russian girls were dressed in white dresses and national differences in at least traditional graduation photographs were eliminated. However, Latvian identity codes continued to operate at school. The appearance divided the Latvian and Russian pupils, although both were required to wear the same uniform. The resistance to the visual image was also marked by what "Latvians do not do". Such a daily "lesson in the nationhood" is perfectly described by Silova (2019), telling a story from a Latvian Russian kindergarten, when parents had sent the girl to a photo shoot without a big ribbon in her hair, because these are "worn only by Russians", but the teachers presumed that the girl was not dressed up and duly took care of the situation while the main participant in the event had no idea about these identity struggles.

Yet, Latvians wore national woven decorative ribbons, which are integral to Latvian national costume, and are decorated with one of the oldest and most complex systems of geometric patterns. Only Latvians, never other nationalities, wore these decorative ribbons at school. If in the junior classes the decorative ribbons in combination with the school uniform was most likely the parents' choice, then in the senior classes, the decision to replace the tie with the decorative ribbons for boys and decorating the blouse or hair with the decorative ribbons for girls was already a deliberate manifestation of Latvian identity.

From the research point of view, it is important to note that this detail in pupils' clothing – the decorative ribbon – is recognised as a sign of covert resistance only by those Latvians who grew up in Soviet Latvia. Thus, understanding the details of the context is crucial for identifying covert resistance. If the elements of this resistance were seen and perceived by everyone, then it would no longer be called hidden resistance.

The present research considers the use of folk costume and its elements to be a deliberate, collective form of covert resistance. The use

of folk culture elements is a well-documented form of collective hidden resistance in Soviet spheres of influence, in particular regarding music and dance (see Loutzaki, 2001; Herzog, 2010; Balogh & Fülemile, 2008). Clothing behaviour had sometimes become the explicit symbol of resistance to the invaders, as in the case of the 'fustanella' costume, which was worn by the Albanian Royal Guard in interwar period and became a symbol of the Albanian resistance fighters during World War II, or the Georgian folk costume 'Chokha', which symbolizes still nowadays the resistance to Bolshevik Russia's takeover in 1921. But it also has a long story as a way of non-verbal resistance (see Crane, 1999).

Secondly, the research findings concern the moral upbringing of the New Man. Hence, judging by the characterization reports of students, the graduates of the Soviet school conformed to the perfect image of a soldier – they were sporty, disciplined and helpful, they fit well into the team. Although, given the guidelines in the pedagogy textbooks, Soviet pupils also had to be educated in hatred lessons, no single assessment of a student states that the student hates capitalists, bourgeoisie, religious servants, or any other group from a long list of communist enemies. Given how scrupulously the school observed the official Soviet discourse, this discrepancy between propaganda and school practice is striking. Probably hatred and the fight against communist-defined enemies were not really understood, not relevant in practice nor acceptable to both pupils and teachers. Likewise, 'patriotism' and 'internationalism', which were increasingly important virtues in the official discourse, were almost absent in the school graduation reports.

The avoidance of hatred education might be perceived as an unconscious but widespread form of collective hidden resistance.

Thirdly, the findings concern pupils who did not openly violate the rules of the Soviet school, but were "in betweenness", in the Grey Zone (see Pine, 2015), or in the space between open resistance and submission. The appearance of these pupils, as the photos reveal, is not challenging, but they look different. These differences are difficult to define and can only be seen by looking through hundreds and hundreds

of school photographs. Therefore, the statistical criteria are not applicable and the qualitative description of two photographs would illustrate the claim. For example, in a class photo taken in the late 1940s, all pupils listen synchronously to the teacher's narration, but a girl summons all the attention. She has put on a slightly different blouse than other girls and styled her hair, she has tried to be beautiful and feminine in the poor living conditions of the Soviets. Her image is the absolute opposite of the propagated woman-soldier. Another photo from the 1980s shows a guy who has tried to avoid the Soviet school's strictly declared demand for a short, army-style haircut. From the front, the haircut seems to match what is required, but at the back, the hair is left long. These images suggest an unconscious, individual form of hidden resistance to the image of the New Soviet Man-Soldier.

Further research into covert resistance through gestures, facial expressions, language and silence would be required.

Conclusion

The creation of the New Soviet Man was a typical educational reform that took place "from above" and satisfied the state's demand for effective, loyal and virtuous citizens. The Communists framed this age-old dream of the ruling elite with their specific demands, namely, the levelling of national differences by blending the common mass of the Soviet people, by hatred education, and by women's social productivity.

In the colonised territories of the Soviet Union, the people were quickly taught that open resistance was pointless and dangerous. Therefore, the "collective show of pretence" (Scott, 1990, p. 34) began. Soviet pupils started playing the role of a New Soviet Man-soldier, and they performed well.

Identification of pupils' hidden resistance specifically against political power is a difficult task, because power games are a daily occurrence in the field of education (see Ķestere, Stonkuviene & Rubene, 2015). The pupils always protest against school order, teachers and adult power in general. However, in Latvia, the power of adults was also the power of strangers, and therefore covert resistance was primarily related to the protection of the culture and national identity acquired

in the private space (family). The elements of folk culture fit into horizontal solidarity (Scott, 1990, p. 157) and became a collective form of hidden resistance.

Secondly, the Communists' demand for hatred education was likely to cause embarrassment in everyday school practice, and teachers chose to simply ignore it. Besides, the list of enemies announced by the ruling elite did not really coincide with the Latvian views on it. The avoidance became a form of hidden resistance.

Thirdly, slipping into the Grey Zone ("in-betweenness"), which is a symbolic place between the allowed and the forbidden, between two extremely different, anti-polar phenomena became yet another form of hidden resistance. Distinctive nuances in appearance became the Grey Zone between the overtly visible youth counterculture and the uniform solder-like Soviet pupil.

To notice hidden resistance, one must know the context of the Soviet dictatorship very well, because exactly for that reason it was covert and carefully hidden from the eyes of an outsider. Hidden resistance had no purpose, it did not aim at certain results, it merely sought to protect the dignity of the oppressed.

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Teaching of Marxism-Leninism in Czechoslovakia 1948–1989

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Abstract The article deals with one of the key tools of forming a socialist-minded intelligentsia at universities, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The author summarizes results of her research in which she focused, apart from a factual account, also on constituent actors and their mutual interactions. On the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the objectives it had in the beginning of the project and which it was pursuing and adjusting for decades afterwards. On teachers of Marxism-Leninism, who kept the project going and were also looking for some space for their own concepts in it, and naturally also on students' attitudes and approaches to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

Keywords Czechoslovakia 1945–1989, universities, Marxism-Leninism, education, ideology

The article intends to present the teaching of Marxism-Leninism at universities as a historical phenomenon throughout its long duration.[1] As a matter of fact, it is not related only to the periods of Stalinism or normalization, as research projects on its introduction after the advent of the Communist regime (Connelly, 2000, pp. 205–225 et passim; Urbášek & Pulec, 2012, pp. 217–220, 380–389; Gabzdilová, 2018, pp. 111–125) or after the 1967–1970 crisis (Urbášek, 2008, pp. 76–92)

1 The article is an output of the Czech Science Foundation project *Concept and Implementation of Communist Education in Czechoslovakia 1948–1989* (GA16-07027S). It draws from already published texts, particularly on a recent study (Devátá, 2020). The results of the research have not yet been published in English.

accomplished so far may suggest.[2] The text is structured chronologically and outlines principal development tendencies against the background of broader political developments in Czechoslovakia. The article aims points out that the teaching of Marxism-Leninism was in fact a comprehensive socio-political project with multiple levels and functions. Their common purpose was to fulfil the fundamental political task, namely the identification with the regime and its ideology.

The teaching of Marxism-Leninism at universities was not something that was specific for Czechoslovakia – since 1945, they had been gradually adopted by all Central and Eastern European countries in transition to socialism, which, in doing so, were more or less inspired by the Soviet Union (Connelly, 2000; Iacob, 2011, pp. 184–207; Horváth, 2017). Since the takeover in February 1948, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz), until then systematically educating only its members and sympathizers in Marxism-Leninism, started spreading its ideology mandatorily throughout the society, and the university milieu was no exception (Hermann, 2020). The teaching of Marxism-Leninism served as a tool to form (and subsequent to reproduce) new intelligentsia that will take over the role of "old intelligentsia", a period term coined and routinely used by Communist ideologists. Its successful mastering was considered a key task of the "socialist school" by the CPCz.

Initially, the introduction of Marxism-Leninism lectures into the university curricula was not very systematic, as the CPCz had not been quite prepared for the takeover of universities. The "reactionaries" among lecturers and students were to be expelled from universities, to be replaced by "progressive" teachers and students who were supposed to strengthen progressive elements and to make the social and political structure of students and academia consistent with that of the whole society, in which the workers' population had a majority.[3]

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2 See Devátá, 2020, pp. 174–178 et passim for a detailed analysis of the current state of knowledge.

3 According to census results between 1950 and 1970, workers (in all employees' positions) accounted for three fifths of the total population. KUČERA, Milan, 1994.

This requirement represented one of the long-term axioms pursued by the CPCz education policy. Repressive measures (which period terms labelled "democratization" or "cleansing") were implemented – just like all across the society – by so-called action committees, which expelled several dozen lecturers and over 11,000 students from Czech and Slovak universities (Urbášek & Pulec, 2012, p. 100; Gabzdilová, 2018, pp. 56–76). The introduction of the university admission procedure (since 1948), which prioritized entrants from worker's and peasant's families, admission of workers directly from factories, who needed only a minimum amount of preparation in worker courses (1949–1953) to become university students, and adoption of a new University Act (1950) eliminating the traditional autonomy of universities were the most important tools of the transformation and of assuming control of the hitherto "bourgeois" university milieu. As well as Marxism-Leninism lectures for students, schooling teachers in Marxism-Leninism and their political training (Connelly, 2000, pp. 260–266, 126–132, 190–192).

In the autumn of 1951, the courses in Marxism-Leninism were given a proper systematic framework copying the Soviet model. This marked the end of the transitional period when the teaching of Marxism-Leninism was more or less the same as general political training and was in fact organized along party lines (Devátá, 2020, pp. 177–90). A resolution of the CPCz Central Committee changed both.[4] The curricula were based on Marxist social science, i.e. Marxist philosophy (dialectic and historical materialism), political economy, and history of the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The last item was ascribed extra importance, in accordance with the tenet that "the history of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) is Marxism-Leninism in action". At the same time, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism was made a matter of extraordinary importance for universities as such, as the Central Committee transferred the responsibility

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Populace České republiky 1918–1991. Praha: Sociologický ústav AV ČR, p. 76.

4 CPCz Central Committee, 1951. *Resolution of the Political Secretariat on the Teaching of Marxism-Leninism at Universities.* Coll. 1261/0/22, Vol. 10, Unit 67, Item 13. National Archives, Prague.

for the quality and efficiency of political/ideological education to the rectors and deans and relevant ministries as well, but had retained decision-making powers, in particular conceptual or those concerning school personnel. The resolution also institutionalized the teaching of Marxism-Leninism – special departments were established or completed at universities. Compared to teachers of so-called vocational/expert (i.e. non-ideological) subjects, their lecturers were selected according to more stringent criteria; however, the Marxism-Leninism departments as such became gradually integrated as a standard part of universities. By 1955, there were already more than fifty Marxism-Leninism departments with 650 lecturers[5] at Czechoslovak universities (Devátá, 2020, pp. 191–201).

After the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), there was an outburst of dissatisfaction at many universities. Serious effects of Khrushchev's speech were mainly indirect; students started talking about Stalinist deformations in the policy of the CPCz, Czechoslovak political processes, inadequate and demeaning manifestations of the country's loyalty to the Soviet Union, banned books etc. They were also criticizing the teaching of Marxism-Leninism – the excessive amount of hours per week, its propagandistic nature etc. – and their resolutions were demanding a remedy. The party leadership was particularly concerned about the fact that the revolt of students, who were in some cases even boycotting Marxism-Leninism lectures, was taking place with a tacit consent of a part of lecturers teaching vocational/expert subjects and that it had also found its way into the public space in the form of caricatures presented during restored traditional students' carnival known as Majales. In Bratislava, students mocked the essential Marxist concept of base and superstructure by a banner reading "The base is strong, but the house is falling apart", while the Majales procession in Prague was led by "King Marxism" and "Queen Russian" (Matthews, 1998; Marušiak, 2009).

5 For more information see *Přehled vědecké a pedagogické práce kateder marxismu-leninismu*, 1965, a monothematic volume, Příloha 2, pp. 46–51.

There were two types of reactions: a harsh one aimed at activists among students – and resulting in the expulsion of several dozen students from universities, in spite of the resistance of leaders of some of the universities – and a conciliatory one towards others, resulting in some changes in the curricula of and lecture time allocated to Marxism-Leninism. Some of the changes were necessitated by circumstances, such as the reading of the essential compendium, *History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)*, dating back to 1938. That was naturally no longer possible after the 20th CPSU Congress. However, teachers of the history of the CPCz or those with an active and beyond-the-official-line attitude to changes of the political course also had problems and were severely punished. Exemplary sanctions, including losses of jobs and expulsions from the party, which were implemented, for example, against lecturers of the University of Economics in Prague (Devátá, 2014, pp. 75–79) and the Mining University in Ostrava (Biolková & Kašing, 2012, pp. 54–56), also overtly served as a warning for others. It was confirmed, in many respects, that Marxism-Leninism lectures were much more an ideological indoctrination (as critically claimed by students) than an interpretation of Marxism-Leninism as an integral science (as claimed by the regime). If not for anything else, then because of the fact that it always included a political training element which the CPCz saw as having the key educational function.

The examination of causes also revealed that the essential political and social change desired by the CPCz leadership in the late 1940s had not materialized as much as expected, as demonstrated by universities in Prague. It is true that, by 1959, a half of lecturers had become members of the Communist Party, but most of them had come from white-collar families and "old intelligentsia", and there were still many teachers from prominent entrepreneurial ("capitalist") families at technical universities. Over 50% of students also came from white-collar or intelligentsia families, while students whose parents were workers accounted only for 30%. A half came from Communist families,

but only less than 4% of students were organized in the CPCz themselves.[6] Compared to 1949, when students-Communists had accounted for a full fifth of all students during the revolutionary wave and the rule of studentocracy, i.e. the control of universities by their students (Connelly, 2005), it was indeed a significant decline.[7] The CPCz was trying to counter the trend by a renewed emphasis on positive discrimination of candidate students from working-class families during the admission procedure and a continuous recruitment of students into the party, closely tied to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

In the early 1960s, the Ministry of Education started cautiously supporting the opinion that the excessive time devoted to Marxism-Leninism limited the teaching of vocational subjects, particularly at technical universities. The amount of time allocated to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism was thus reduced to the previous 1951 level, i.e. 4 hours a week, as part of an overall restructuring of university education. The teaching process was gradually stabilized, especially as new, freshly written and translated Soviet textbooks, *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism* and *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1959), were introduced and *History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* (1961) was published. The CPCz expected the most significant change in the attitude of students from the introduction of a new course in scientific Communism. The new course explained the substance of scientific socialism in a broader and up-to-date context. It thus also presented a current "set of instructions and actions to build socialism and Communism" and it was also supposed to "win students for the policy of the CPCz" (Devátá, 2014, pp. 22–29). In addition to Marxist philosophy and political economy, scientific Communism was permanently integrated in the curricula as the third segment of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, while the history of the CPSU, which scientific Communism

6 CPCz Municipal Committee in Prague, 1959. *Report on the Ideological Life at Universities*. Coll. KSČ-MV Praha, Vol. 32, Unit 381, Inv. No. 730. Prague City Archives.

7 However, that was an exceptional situation in a long-term view. There were still some older students at universities in the 1948/1949 school year, who had not been able to study during the occupation, when universities were closed.

was partly replacing, was incorporated into a historical course interpreting the history of the international workers' movement and the history of the CPCz. This curricula structure of Marxism-Leninism remained practically unchanged until the fall of the regime (Devátá, 2020, pp. 201–212).

The most renowned Majales, which saw Allen Ginsberg, the American poet of the Beat Generation elected the king of the students' fete, took place in 1965 and was again an opportunity to caricature overused ideological slogans by students' own creations ("Soviet Majales – Our Model" or "Ginsberg the Majales' King – A Manifestation of Proletarian Internationalism"). However, there were also more serious displays of dissatisfaction, in particular the overall air and final resolution of the university conference (1965), which again concerned, inter alia, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and recommended to reduce or even replace its subjects "in favor of modern social science disciplines", such as sociology or political science, and to add contemporary Western philosophy and economy to the curricula. The low efficiency of ideological influencing was also revealed by a number of sociological surveys focusing on attitudes and opinions of university students, including those examining specifically their attitude to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.[8] Students made their distaste for the official policy of suppressing religion, and an appreciable part of them viewed the teaching of Marxism-Leninism as something they could do without. Low optimism among lecturers of Marxism-Leninism (the total number of whom had reached over 1,100 by 1965) was even more worrying; some of them even did not regard their own teaching job adequate and interesting. A significant part of them thought that students did not see their subject as something indispensable, and that the same attitude is shared by other lecturers at universities, mainly because Marxism-Leninism was taking up the place and time that could be put

8 See articles in *Přehled vědecké a pedagogické práce kateder marxismu-leninismu* and *Sociologický časopis* journals, 1965–69.

to a better use by vocational subjects.[9] Their skepticism was indeed something to be considered; although the CPCz always declared that the so-called political education work with students is a task of every lecturer, it never made any secret of the fact that the statement was addressed mainly to teachers of Marxism-Leninism, including their key role in recruiting students for membership in the party. At the same time, the average percentage of Communists among students dropped again after a temporary rise; in 1965, it was 6% nationwide and 5% in Prague (Devátá, 2020, pp. 212–219).

Simultaneously, a group of those who were pushing for changes and modernization was distinctly forming among Marxism-Leninism lecturers. Just like their students, they wished to make the teaching process more attractive by adding new approaches in social sciences which, having been officially outcast for many years, started returning to academia. The Ministry of Education did not oppose, and the necessity of changes was cautiously admitted even by the party. In 1966, experimental curricula bringing a more significant diversification of disciplines (e.g. between technical disciplines and humanities) and also new subjects, such as political science, sociology, anthropology etc., took effect. Several years of movements of ideas, including the academic year of 1968/1969, when universities enjoyed basically full autonomy as to what they will teach their students and how, were terminated by the process of a so-called consolidation and normalization. It hit Marxism-Leninism departments very hard, particularly at Czech universities, where they were summarily disbanded and universities ordered by the Ministry of Education to terminate employment contracts of the lecturers. The Slovak Ministry of Education did not resort to such unprecedented measures; still, to lecturers of Marxism-Leninism were paid special attention in a complex vetting process. The decision of the Presidium of the CPCz Central Committee ordering a temporary suspension of Marxism-Leninism lectures and a vetting of its lecturers was

9 See *Přehled vědecké a pedagogické práce kateder marxismu-leninismu*, 1967, a monothematic volume, Příloha 2, pp. 211–213, 284.

based on a political position according to which "perhaps 90% of them betrayed principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism during the Prague Spring".[10] It was a coerced confession that the entire project temporary ended in a fiasco (Devátá, 2020, pp. 220–227).

At the beginning of the normalization period – just like everywhere else throughout the society – vetting processes involving both party members and politically non-affiliated personnel took place at universities. Unlike after February 1948, when most people expelled from universities had been students, the post-1968 repercussions affected mainly lecturers. Political/ideological education and renewed lectures of Marxism-Leninism hinged on the acceptance of and identification with a keynote political document approved in December 1970. The *Lessons from the crisis development in the party and society after the 13th CPCz Congress* (i.e. after 1966) presented an indisputable and forced interpretation of the reform period as an attempted counterrevolution, which had to be suppressed by adequate means. The CPCz used the *Lessons* to demonstrate that it would decide how the social events would be interpreted and also how those who had been responsible, in its opinion, for the "crisis development" would be dealt with. New departments/institutes of Marxism-Leninism at Czech universities accepted 56% of lecturers of disbanded departments, who had passed a "professional-political" vetting; they had to undergo a subsequent party vetting, which was explicitly viewed as the final stage of the vetting process and which reduced their share to 27%. New Marxism-Leninism departments at Slovak universities accepted 77% of lecturers in the first stage. The CPCz viewed personnel of former departments as a "risky cadre factor" and was watching their numbers (Devátá, 2020, pp. 228–236).

The curricula were "cleansed" to produce a basic structure comprising Marxist philosophy, political economy, scientific Communism, and history of the international workers' movement and of the CPCz;

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10 CPCz Central Committee, 1969. *Measures Proposed to Deal with the Overall Political Situation at Universities*. Coll. 1261/0/5, Vol. 109, Unit 181, Item 6. National Archives, Prague.

domestic textbooks were replaced by new translations of Soviet and East German ones. Initially, some lecturers of Marxism-Leninism were confronted by senior students who had experienced the Prague Spring already as adults. The CPCz viewed rejecting reactions as something to be concerned about, one of the reasons being that they were not aimed at specific persons – university students were perceiving the lecturers as representatives of the party. With the arrival of younger students, however, the manifestations of negation were getting weaker and the attitude of students toward the teaching of Marxism-Leninism gradually returned to normalcy. Students viewed the subject as something to be put up with to successfully graduate, while the Communist Party was dissatisfied that it was denied essential importance. As a matter of fact, complaints about students viewing Marxism-Leninism as just another subject wind like a red thread through all party documents from the very beginning. However, the development of the percentage of students organized in the CPCz offered some reason for cautious optimism; dropping below 1% in 1972, it increased to 6.7% five years later. In 1978, when the number of lecturers of Marxism-Leninism departments reached more than a thousand again, the Ministries of Education issued new curricula structured according to fields of study and with considerably different time allocations which obviously corresponded with the ideological importance assigned to the future qualifications of the graduates. So, for example, students of philology had to put up with 390 hours of Marxism-Leninism (which was the basic allocation, also applied at technical universities), while the time allocation applying to students of history was 1,140 hours. For all fields of study producing teachers and journalists, the basic portfolio of subjects was expanded by the addition of scientific atheism, which soon started to be lectured at all universities (for most disciplines as a facultative course). Scientific atheism was being introduced since the first half of the 1970s, e.g. at faculties of education, although the so-called education toward scientific atheism and its development had been a topic for the CPCz since the late 1950s (Cuhra, 2020). At the same time, Marxism-Leninism curricula for postgraduate students were standardized,

accounting for approximately 10% of all lectures. Marxism-Leninism was also added to final master's and doctoral exams (initially only for some fields of study, since 1981 for all).

If another measures as opening the boarding secondary schools for working people in 1973 (until 1979), whose graduates were supposed to strengthen the workers' elements at universities, and mandatory training of all university lecturers in evening schools of Marxism-Leninism (according to CPCz resolution adopted in 1977) are taken into account, we will get a picture of all-embracing ideological indoctrination, similar to the attempted total reeducation in the 1950s. It also shows that the CPCz used the same tools over and over again when facing a crisis, without reflecting causes of the long-term inefficiency of the so-called political education work, which in fact continued to be identified with and deemed tantamount to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Its lecturers were expected to give more attention to students coming from worker's and Communist families and functionaries among students for two reasons: first, such students were a priori expected to be more "ideologically mature", and hence more identified with objectives of the Marxist-Leninist education; second, they were also expected to help lecturers break up the "false solidarity" of students and their resistant attitude. However, even this tool did not prove too effective in practice. On the other hand, responsible party officials naturally realized that students passed Marxism-Leninism exams successfully without necessarily identifying with it. They were also aware that social sciences were falling behind, which fact was largely attributable to mechanisms that the CPCz implemented in the early 1970s to prevent a repetition of the previous shock. Lecturers of Marxism-Leninism had to follow strict curricula, their publishing activities were subject to censorship of the Central Committee. The effort to prevent any activity from below resulted in the lectures' content being sterile and also in a formalistic approach of lecturers to teaching, which some of them admitted to have (Devátá, 2020, pp. 236–57).

It was only the Soviet perestroika and the more open criticism it had permitted which brought some movement of ideas into the project.

The CPCz was complaining about continuing stagnation of social science research and inefficiency of Marxism-Leninism courses. When the Central Committee discussed party work at schools in November 1988, supporting documents stated that the percentage of Communists or party candidates among students had again dropped below 5% (while the share of Communists among university lecturers had increased to a half). The decline of party members recruited among students of pedagogic disciplines, subsequently reflected in decreasing numbers of Communists among teachers at elementary and secondary schools, was viewed particularly unfavorably. The CPCz was, as always, seeing a remedy in strengthening the "educational function" of Marxism-Leninism lectures.[11] Lecturers of Marxism-Leninism were criticizing rigid curricula, limited access to information and censorship of publications. There were also some reservations aimed at so-called 1970s cadres, i.e. members of the party apparatus who were transferred to universities to teach Marxism-Leninism after Prague Spring, but did not have proper education (and refused to finish it). Together with certain unrest in the society, there was also an increasing level of criticism among students who considered the schematic and formalistic teaching untenable and kept asking why its contents and curricula were not the sole responsibility of the Ministries of Education (as in the case of all other subjects) and why they had to be supervised by the party (Petráň, 2015, p. 658 et seq.). Parallels between the Soviet perestroika and the Prague Spring, as seen and articulated by the public opinion in the West and the domestic opposition, made the position of the CPCz problematic, and this fact also affected decisions concerning changes in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. On the one hand, these changes seemed inevitable; on the other hand, it clearly reminded of the situation in the late 1960s. Before November 17, 1989, the CPCz was trying to find some understanding among students for alleged objective obstacles preventing a full implementation of the perestroika program

11 CPCz Central Committee, 1988. *Experience from Party Work at Nursery, Elementary, Secondary Schools and Universities after the 17th CPCz Congress*. Coll. 1261/0/20, Vol. S 79/88, Item 1. National Archives, Prague.

in Czechoslovakia. Marxism-Leninism lectures were terminated when university students started a strike, and lost any reason of existence on November 29, when the Parliament passed a Constitutional Act repealing the leading role of the Communist Party in the society and of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in cultural policy and education. The Ministries of Education formally cancelled the lectures immediately thereafter and decided to disband Marxism-Leninism departments. However, they also anticipated that the teaching of social sciences, of something like an "education minimum" in philosophy, economy, political science, sociology, ethics, etc., would continue in new social conditions. Nevertheless, this concept did not find support during the transformation process (Devátá, 2020, pp. 257–262).

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia introduced the project of teaching of Marxism-Leninism to universities as a part of broader social changes; officially, it was derived from the program statement of the 9th CPCz Congress in 1949, on the education of new, socialist intelligentsia. It was basically a carbon copy of concepts and objectives of the party's own educational program and took some time to achieve academic level, i.e. courses in Marxist social science. In a long-term view, however, it was its educational and indoctrination function aiming at the formation (and later reproduction) of intelligentsia agreeing with the Marxist ideology which was of key importance for the CPCz. But students never actually accepted the ideological segment and educational level of Marxism-Leninism lectures. Since 1956 at the latest, i.e. after the 20th CPSU Congress, there had been clear signals that the education structured along the above mentioned lines is devaluated to the level of propaganda and politics in the students' eyes. The CPCz did not want, or could not, react to this, and rejected any "softening" of the ideological indoctrination at universities. A proof of this was the party's 1969 decision to disband Marxism-Leninism departments, demonstrating the party's power over universities and fundamentally changing its attitude to the lecturers. Until that time, the latter had been regarded as builders of the Marxist science and education

system and as a part of the party's intellectual layer participating in the formulation of policies. When they were tagged as the cause of the project's destruction and two thirds of them were replaced, their role was in fact limited to reading prepared explanations and interpretations. They still held important ideological positions at universities, but they themselves were under continuous surveillance and their intellectual activities were curtailed (Urbášek, 2008, pp. 76–92). In the 1970s and 1980s, the task of forming a new generation of intelligentsia consensual with the policy of the CPCz became important again, as a substantial segment of the previous generation had fallen victim to normalization purges. However, the emphasis it placed on the *Lessons from the crisis development* made it untrustworthy for many students, as narratives of the Prague Spring experience in families and other social environments were different. As soon as a new external impulse, namely the Soviet perestroika, appeared, students started publicly criticizing the teaching of Marxism-Leninism again (Devátá, 2020, pp. 263–265).

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Ideological Imperative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Activity of Universities in Slovakia (1948–1953)[1]

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Abstract The paper on the base of archive materials, published documents and scientific literature analyzes situation that occurred at Slovak universities after Communist coup in February 1948, with a focus on ideological pressure of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in this segment of society. The paper documents means that Communist Party of Czechoslovakia used to transform educational process and other activities in such a way that universities became subservient to communist ideology – the Marxism-Leninism. The paper is devoting attention to setting-up the Marxism-Leninism as the self-standing topic into academic program of universities.

Keywords universities, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Marxism-Leninism

The aim of the paper is to describe situation at Slovak universities after coup that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC) enacted in February 1948 with focus on ideological pressure in sphere of university education. The paper points out by which means CPC imposed ideology of the Marxism-Leninism into educational process and influenced other activities of universities.

To the issues of university education in Slovakia during period of culminating Stalinism is in Slovak historiography devoted only

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minor attention. Not long ago a work by Soňa Gabzdilová titled *Ako sme študovali v totalite. Vysokoškolské vzdelávanie na Slovensku pod ideologickým diktátom Komunistickej strany Československa (1948–1953)* [*How We Were Studying during Totality. University Education in Slovakia under Ideological Dictate of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1948–1953)*] was published (Gabzdilová, 2018). In the sphere of universities a research realized by Slovak historians was focused on issue of persecutions of students and pedagogues after communist coup. Course of purges on universities during years 1948–1953 is documented in paper written by Marta Glossová *Demokratizačná čiara. Študentské čistky na slovenských vyskokých školách na prelome rokov 1948 a 1949* [*The Line of Democracy. Purges of Students at Slovak Universities at the Turn of Years 1948 and 1949*], published in *Soudobé dějiny*, and study written by Ivan Chalupecký *Príspevok k perzekúcii študentov a ich vylučovaniu zo škôl na Slovensku v rokoch 1945–1956* [*Contribution to Purges of Students and Their Expulsions from Schools in Slovakia during Years 1945–1956*] published in yearbook of Zips Historical Association *Z minulosti Spiša*. Several historians are researching status of university pedagogues in purges of all teachers at all degrees of schools – Jan Pešek, Jozef Žatkuliak (Pešek, 1998, pp. 186–193; Žatkuliak, 2001, pp. 655–680). Milan Olejník devotes his work to issues of ideological pressure applied upon particular areas of schools and universities (Olejník, 2018). At the Faculty of Pedagogy, University of Trnava, a collective researchers led by Blanka Kudláčová is probing education process in Slovakia (1918–1989) focusing on its pedagogical site. Results of other works are presented in several collective monographs and proceedings (Kudláčová, 2019; Kudláčová, 2016). Knowledge about status of university institutions are offering works published before year 1989, which, though affected by ideological concept , in factual sphere are offering many relevant information (Grešík, 1980). Czech historians are devoting their works to issues of education process after February 1948, namely to situation at universities, incomparably greater attention in numerous monographs, studies and articles. Development of Slovak universities had its own specific problems. Ideological content of highest degree of education was conceived and approved by highest institutions of CPC and was

identical for all universities in the Czechoslovak Republic. In this context, works of Czech historians are bringing relevant knowledge about universities also in Slovakia.

Education is an object of regulation of every state, however in democratic states there is a space for variability of educational content. This is different from authoritative and dictatorial regimes, which demand strictly defined form and content of educational process, including total subordination of pedagogues to ideological form of state at all levels of schools. Political parties of authoritative and dictatorial regimes, which have a monopoly of power, are sole authorities in determination of school policy.

This approach in a sphere of education in Slovakia was realized namely after the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, usurped in Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) absolute power over all parts of society, including educational institutions. After February 1948 the Communist regime in CPC paid a great attention to indoctrination of youth with ideology of communist parties, the Marxism-Leninism, which unlike religious world outlook and so called bourgeois pseudo sciences, was allegedly the only world outlook based upon "scientific" knowledge of society. According to the Marxism-Leninism, the main task of communist parties was removal of capitalist system and building new socialist society. This process was characterized by fight with so-called class enemies, into which were included capitalists, land lords, bankers, rich peasants, but also of middle class and small entrepreneurs among others. However, ideas of the Marxism-Leninism were at that time in Slovak society little known.

Leadership of CPC judged universities as ideologically unreliable, resistant to ideology of the Marxism-Leninism and perceived them as "hotbeds of hostile ideas". According to leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Resort of Schools it was necessary ideological transformation realized radically. In period when CPC usurped power in Czechoslovakia, universities worked essentially in same conditions as were active during the First CSR. They were thus perceived as corporative institutions, which managed academic senates led by rectors, in frame of faculties they were led by assembly of professors

and deans. State interfered into activities of these bodies only in minimal measure. It were academics senates and assembles of professors that guaranteed traditional autonomy of universities and this was for CPC unacceptable. University students had traditionally free choice of lectures and throughout control of their study was considerably limited and inconsistent.

Though after February 1948 no regulations, which would fundamentally change work of universities were issued, universities were affected by coup and became precursors of definitive subjugation of universities by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The monopoly of power CPC enabled already during 1948/1949 to implement, even without issuing appropriate legal norms, reforms limiting academic freedoms.

The most striking display of new ruling power in the sphere of universities were activities of action committees, which were emerging immediately after February 1948 in the whole society. In spring 1948 they gained a great power and they could extract from public life basically any person. Action committees organized purges namely in political and social organizations, but their activities affected also economic, cultural and sport areas. They were composed mostly of members of CPC, who took initiative in creation of all state organs. The only political organization, which had a full control over action committees was CPC. In Slovakia, according to decision the Presidency of Central Committee (CC) of Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS)[2], namely Secretariat

2 The Communist Party on Slovakia established in January 1921 and in May of this year united with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In May 1939 Slovak Communists became organizationally independent and assumed name the Communist Party of Slovakia. With CPC, CPS had common political line and common foreign leadership in Moscow, led by Klement Gottwald. After renewal of the Czechoslovak Republic in spring 1945, political line of CPS was increasingly influenced CPC. In line with gradual centralization of management of society after February, organizational unification CPC with CPC was initiated. The Communist Party of Slovakia became only territorial organization of CPC.

of CC CPS.[3] Action committees, which were not created by any legal procedure, became significant "revolutionary" institutions usurping power in the Republic.

A common denominator of establishment of action committees at universities was an initiative of left oriented students. Their communist representatives assumed active role in after-February purges at universities (Devátá & Olšáková, 2010, pp. 34–35). Therefore, members of action committees were composed, besides pedagogues, also from leftist students, who made decisions about further activities of professors and senior lectures at universities. Action committees were gradually established at all Slovak universities, faculties and at several university dormitories in Bratislava. Leading institution of action committees was the Central Action Committee of the Slovak National Front of Slovak Universities established on March 3, 1948. Action committees initiated a system of verifications in frame of which they probed attitudes of teachers and students toward regime and their political reliability (Straka, 1978, pp. 106–125; Černák, 2014, p. 252). These verifications targeted primarily persons who were suspected to be hostile to new regime. In frame of verification were removed from universities namely professors and senior lecturers, who belonged to elite of contemporary scientific community in Slovakia. Because of negative attitude of a large number of university pedagogues toward communist regime, universities became primary target of verifications (Jareš, 2012, pp. 20–53; Chalupecký, 2015, pp. 161–169). Though academic senates and professors assemblies, composed of professors and senior lectures, were still active, they were "cleansed of undesirable elements". These institutions were enlarged by newly appointed members of action committees from ranks of students and school employees, who were mostly members of the Communist Party. The Ministry of Schools, Sciences and Arts (MSSA) legalized this process via acts issued on 13 March and on May 3, 1948, which ordered that numbers of students and school

3 *Meeting March 1*, 1948. F. Central Committee (CC) of Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS), presidency, C. 789. Slovak National Archive (SNA), Bratislava.

employees would be no larger than half of total number of members of scientific community.

Verifications of students and pedagogues realized after February 1948 by action committees continued during years 1949–1950 as a part of fight for rebuilding of society in line with ideology of the Communist Party. In frame of "cleansing", euphemistically named "democratization", hundreds of students and tens of professors and senior lectures and assistants had to leave Slovak universities (Gabzdilová, 2018, pp. 56–85; Glossová, 2019, pp. 189–226). These people were marked as enemies of the Republic, reactionary elements, minions of capitalists, or persons who were under influence of religious ideology.

Since school year 1949/1950 applicants of universities had to absolve entrance interviews. Primary condition for admission was a "class" origin. A significant role fulfilled educational institutions named *the State Courses for Preparation Workers for Universities*, in which for a period of one year young workers and peasants without absolved high school should have been prepared for a study at universitites (Urbášek & Pulec, 2012, pp. 111–123; Gabzdilová, 2018, pp. 86–110). By implementation of this measure, CPC was pursuing to change the "class" structure of students of universities and this way to increase representation of workers and peasants at universities and by this way to broaden ideological influence among students. Communists did not trusted contemporary intelligentsia and their aim was raise a new "socialistic" intelligentsia, coming out of working and peasant families (Maňák, 2004, pp. 110–155).

However, after several verifications, which were realized during years 1948–1950, after implementation of admission interview and after entry of absolvents of state courses, leadership of the Communist Party and the Resort of Schools were not satisfied with situation, which existed at universities in sphere of ideology. During the gremial session of the Commission of Schools, Sciences and Arts (CSSA) it was concluded that "ideological issues, actual issues of internal and foreign political and economic life are not founding breeding ground at universities.

Universities are still torn off from life and are limp behind speedy tempo of our socialist build-up".[4]

On all levels of school system, including universities, leading position of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was established. Members of CPC were nominated into all leading positions of university institutions, starting with rectors, deans, vice-deans and secretaries or chairmen of departments. A significant role had organizations of Communist Party, created at individual faculties. Organizations of the Communist Party, established at faculties in Bratislava, managed the University Committee of CPS. The University Committee CPS were set-up also in the second university center in Slovakia at Košice (Grešík, 1980, pp. 134–137). Primary function of organizations of the Communist Party was to oversee implementation of decisions of the Central Party Organizations, control fulfilment of ideological program of the Party and an elimination of any signs of independent thinking among pedagogues (Olejník, 2018, pp. 50–51). Organizations were fulfilling an important role in implementation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology at universities.

An important obligation in process of realization of fundamental changes in organizational reconstruction of universities had pedagogues (Connelly, 2008, pp. 234–240). Their task was to raise students as persons devoted to new socialistic regime and identified with ideology of the Marxism-Leninism. Ideological rebirth of universities was, according opinions of leaders of the Resort of Schools and CPS, to a large extent determined by "Bolshevik ideology and communist resolution" of professors, senior lectures and teaching assistants.[5] However, as Viliam Široký mentioned at the IX Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia in May 1950, upbringing of young generation was frequently entrusted to deliberate enemies of socialism and of the Czechoslovak Republic (Protokol IX. sjazdu Komunistickej strany Slovenska, p. 71). Similarly critically judged university pedagogues the Commissioner

4 F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 178, Inv. No. 462. SNA, Bratislava.

5 F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 179, Inv. No. 467. SNA, Bratislava.

of CSSA Ernest Sýkora, according to whom namely pedagogues were the most unreliable segment of university environment.[6]

Similarly, at session of Secretariat CC of CPS on June 14, 1951, E. Sýkora declared that many university pedagogues are still oriented toward "decadent bourgeois science". In valuation of E. Sýkora, they were not "fired-up for socialism. They viewed scientific world outlook still as a political case, they detaching world outlook from scientific and pedagogical work, thinking that must be limited to lectures of social sciences. Even if they are studying the Marx-Leninism, they do not know how to apply it in their work".[7] According to E. Sýkora, many university teachers allegedly stagnated being burdened by obsolete knowledge. They held-on to "capitalistic science" which they had been studying in the past. Therefore, it was necessary to led them to study of Soviet literature and to demand from them that they included in their lectures works of Soviet authors. University teachers were criticized namely for their alleged failure and in many cases reluctance to acquire the Marxist-Leninist ideology and identify with it. Consequently, it was necessary "to take care about ideological accretion of teachers, mainly absolvents of bourgeois science, who many are possessing an honest endeavor to deepen their knowledge the Marx-Leninism".[8]

The University Department of Commission of Schools, Sciences and Arts (CSSA) organized during summer 1951 at time of summer vacations, political and professional classes of university teachers at Mlyňany and at Betliar. Three weeks lasting courses, organized in two segments, were attended by 130 university pedagogues, including professors and senior lectures.[9] According to CSSA, courses were carried

6 F. Central Committee (CC) of Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS), Secretariat, C. 12, Arch. Unit 29. SNA, Bratislava.

7 F. Central Committee (CC) of Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS), Secretariat, C. 20, Arch. Unit 22. SNA, Bratislava.

8 *Summer School of University Teachers.* F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 179, Inv. No. 467. SNA, Bratislava.

9 *The Report about Political-professional Schooling of University Teachers at Mlyňany and Betliar.* F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 180, Inv. No. 479. SNA, Bratislava.

on in atmosphere high working discipline.[10] Evenings, which were devoted to discussion, shown that university teachers till then did not devoted enough time and attention to the Marxism-Leninism and many of them were for the first time introduced to its ideas. During courses were given several lectures, which should have been sources of knowledge for university teachers, for example Socialistic public health, About idealism in chemistry, Chemistry and socialistic production, Class nature of science and art, About Pavlov and its lore, Foundations of economy of capitalism, Foundations of economy of socialism and many other lectures.

The CSSA[11] valued courses positively and highlighted their contribution to formation of new ideological attitudes and positive relation to socialistic society in ranks of university pedagogues. Participants of session, organized by CSSA in October 1951, acknowledged that "it was a grave mistake when in last school year was not realized a similar course, which, as confirmed by this year experience, is helping

10 Schedule of work was as follow: time from 8.00 until 12.00 was reserved for individual study recommended literature , during afternoon (13.00–20.00) study of scientific works covering scientific specification of participants, evening hours were reserved for discussion.

11 In CSR after World War II. existed asymmetrical model of political arrangement. On the whole level was active central government and central parliament. In Slovakia the Board of Commissioners – an executive institution and Slovak National Council, which had legislative power. However, in Czech part of the Republic such institutions did not existed. During one year (June 1945 – June 1946) the National Front, central government in Prague and the Slovak National Council concluded three Prague Agreements. They divided competences in legislative and executive sphere among Slovak national institutions. A radical interference into competences of Slovak institutions brought namely third Prague Agreement. Chairmanship of the Slovak National Council, similarly as before, named the Board of Commissioners, but its composition must be approved by the central government. Commissioners administered oath to prime minister. The third Prague Agreement established an individual responsibility of commissioners to ministers, which was binding for commissioner in relation to minister of schools. Minister of school of Prague government was authorized to perform its authority via members of its office with knowledge of commissioner. Commissioner of schools was subordinated to minister of schools.

overcome lofty academic attitude and individualism exhibit by university teachers and explain to them political and economic tasks of our socialistic build-up and get them for its fulfilment".[12]

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia principally refuted political neutrality of educational institutions. Especially negative approach expressed CPC after its IX Congress in May 1949 and on Slovakia also CPS after its IX Congress year later. The Minister of Schools, Sciences and Arts, Zdeněk Nejedlý, in his speech at IX Congress of CPC in May univocally defined the Marxism-Leninism as the ideological base of education in Czechoslovak Republic, as allegedly only scientific discipline (*Protokol IX. řádného sjezdu Komunistické strany Československa*, p. 127). Commissioner E. Sýkora in article *Our Schools after IX Congress of CPS*, published in periodical *Jednotná škola* (*United School*), expressed opinion that schools never stayed outside of politics, always had class character and served ruling class. "It is true, natural and fully understandable, that if bourgeois society wanted with help of schools to achieve its dirty exploiting goals, which were in conflict with aims of working people, it must somehow obscure its aims [...]. Equally self-evident matter is that after acquiring power by workers, aims which serve working people will be not kept secret [...] but they will be always openly accentuated. Our political goal is build-up of socialism. Hence, schools must serve to this goal and raise young builders of socialism"(Sýkora, 1950/1951, p. 13).

Similarly, in a concrete form expressed this demand after IX Congress of CPS to universities Igor Hrušovský,[13] when he said that political nature of "university is manifesting itself in principle that all educational and scientific work is penetrated via method of the dialectic materialism. All work at universities must come out from basis of the Marxism-Leninism and at the same time be developing in fight against pseudo-scientific and idealistic theories. Only by fulfilling this condition our professional and scientific cadres will be able to be close

12 F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 180, Inv. No. 476. SNA, Bratislava.

13 Igor Hrušovský during period of school years 1950/1951 – 1952/1953 was rector of the Slovak College of Technology.

to builders of socialism, to our working class"(Hrušovský, 1950/1951, p. 118).

The base of education and activities of universities were clearly defined. Education, but also scientific work at universities had to be in harmony with elementary thesis of the Marxism-Leninism. According to opinions of leaderships of CPC and CPS, pedagogues and students were obligated not only to learn, but primarily to identify with ideas of communist ideology. Different opinions were not accepted, refused was any free discussion, which was natural in academic environment before February 1948. At universities was in the year 1948 studying the generation born in the early 1930s. They could only remember period of the First Czechoslovak Republic. They have more accurate memories on the First Slovak Republic and years after the World War II. A majority of them was religious, mostly Catholics, who were raised in religious families and schools. Therefore, to "reeducate" these young people who were older that eighteen years, to change their ideological outlook was not simple. However, not all university students were religious, a minority of students inclined to leftist ideas, including communist ideology.

Whilst during existence of the First Slovak Republic educational institutions of all levels were upbringing pupils and students according Christian outlook, which was prevalent faith among majority of Slovak population, after February coup ruling the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was by all means, including violent measures, trying to impose the Marxist-Leninist ideology as the only correct and true world outlook. Other ideologies were classified as bourgeois, reactionary and hostile to socialist society (Zavacká, 2017, pp. 103–109). According to leadership of CPC and the Resort of Schools , it was necessary that young generation "would enter life armed by the most progressive outlook, by the Marx-Leninism, world outlook of working class [...] the Marx-Leninism must become in hands of our new intelligentsia a mighty weapon against reactionary ideology of dying-out

bourgeoisie – against bourgeois nationalism, cosmopolitism and religious obscurantism".[14]

A significant tool of change was to be teaching of the Marxism-Leninism at universities. Educational process started gradually and in Slovakia started during summer semester of academic year 1948/1949 via implementation of topic named social sciences, which were included in study program of universities. Lectures were read at all faculties in Slovakia to the extent of two hours weekly. Initial theme was *Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science* and *People's democracy on Road to Socialism*.[15] Thereafter space was given to study of dialectic and historic materialism. During second, third and fourth year was at universities during winter semester lectured *the History of the Communist Party of Soviet Union* and during summer semester *the Political Economy*.[16]

Because insufficient number of qualified pedagogues, lectures were realized for all students of one year of given faculty jointly. In year 1949 the Secretariat of CC CPS nominated fist lecturers. They were Jaroslav Čelko (professor of the Faculty of Pedagogy, Slovak University Bratislava, Leopold Hanzel (director of the Central Political School of CPS), Andrej Sirackỳ (professor of the Slovak University), Štefan Rehák (rector of the College of Economic Sciences), Štefan Jaššo (member of CC CPS) and Ľudovít Bakoš at that time acclaimed authority in pedagogic.[17]

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14 *Učiteľské noviny*, 1952. Year II, No. 39, September 25, p. 1.

15 Lecturers of the first part of course were: Leopold Hanzel, Miloš Gosiorovský, Milan Lajčiak, Anton Smutný, Jozef Čihák, Lívia Ivaničová, František Pazúr, Ignác Rendek, Igor Hrušovský, Andrej Sirackỳ, Topoľský, Rehák, Jaroslav Čelko-Nikluščin, the second: Július Šefránek, Eugen Palásthy, Ladislav Kurták, Pavol Király, Blanka Svoreňová, Samuel Takáč, Daniel Okáli, Oskár Jeleň, Jozef Valentíni, Jozef Fraňo, Viliam Šalgovič. F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 1, Inv. No. 4. SNA, Bratislava.

16 *Proposal for Nomination of Professors at Universities.* F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 17. SNA, Bratislava.

17 *Proposal for Nomination of Professors at Universities.* F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 17. SNA, Bratislava. Next year were added Ján Gero, Vladimír Mikuláš, Jozef Djubek, Jozef Beniska, Mária Janzová, Štefan Chochol, Jaroslav Klaučo, Gertrúda Gyárfášová, Václav Vačok, Róber Hrbek, Ján Kocka, Vladimír Cirbes, Kalo Slivka, Andrej Červený.

Lack of pedagogues qualified to teach topics of social sphere was solved in several ways. Some pedagogues began to teach after completion state lectures for preparation of workers for attending universities. The most "progressive" absolvents became assistant teachers of social sciences immediately. Others participated on six months lasted courses organized by the Central Political School of CPS. Another group of students begun to study dialectic and historic materialism at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Slovak University in Bratislava. A selection of students "dedicated to the Party" was selected from various faculties, who after undergoing "systematic preparation" at the Central Political School of CPS, entered university pedagogic process as assistants. However, a majority of lectures was realized by external readers, who could not devote to preparation to lectures sufficient attention which had a negative impact to quality of teaching. People responsible for social sciences teaching, were obliged to participate on various courses, frequently organized in their personal free time and during summer vacations. Lectures of social sciences content should became "significant tool of ideological transformation" of universities, but as is quoted in the Report about Universities "they in their majority were perfunctory, eclectic, vulgarized the Marx-Leninism and were suffering from lifeless formalism".[18] Organizational structure of social sciences teaching was not covered by educational institutions, but provided by organizations of Communist Party. This division contributed to diminished interest on part of functionaries of faculties who were responsible for realization of lectures. A negative factor was also perception of topic of social sciences in academic environment. University pedagogues and students perceived social sciences only as secondary topic. Teaching of social sciences is possible to perceive rather as schooling of agitation about fundament of ideology, than study of the Marxism-Leninism corresponding to level of university education (Devátá, 2020, pp. 178–179).

18 F. Central Committee (CC) of Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS), Secretariat, C. 22, Arch. Unit 20. SNA, Bratislava.

Ideological upbringing of students was initiated by the Political Secretariat of CC CPC on November 2 and November 8, 1951 (Devátá, 2020, pp. 192–194). At all universities in Czechoslovak Republic ideology of the Marxism-Leninism according to Soviet example, were to be implemented into a study program. The teaching time of this topic was decided to by four hours weekly. Determined were also changes in teaching content of (the most significant was increase of teaching hours devoted to history of the Communist Party of Soviet Union) and decision about systemization of departments of the Marxism-Leninism. The Ministry of Schools, Sciences and Arts (MSSA), after cited decision adopted by CC CPC, issued organizational directives for establishment of departments of the Marxism-Leninism fundaments. Teaching of the Marxism-Leninism should have been realized at three types of departments: 1. departments of fundaments of the Marxism-Leninism; 2. departments of dialectic and historic materialism and 3. departments of political economy. According to MSSA establishment of departments was necessary, because "one of the most important tasks of universities is constantly improving quality of teaching of the Marx-Leninist ideology".[19] MSSA was setting-up following structure of departments, which should realize teaching of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. It was decided that at the Slovak University in Bratislava and at schools of fine and performing arts going to be operational three departments – 1. department of fundaments of the Marxism-Leninism, 2. department of dialectic and historic materialism and 3. department of political conomy. At the Slovak College of Technology and at the College of Economic Sciences, Departments of fundaments of the Marxism-Leninism and Department of political economy. At colleges in Košice departments of the fundaments Marxism-Leninism and political economy.[20] Above mentioned departments were attached to rectorates (deans) of universities and were secured teaching at corresponding departments.

19 F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 397. SNA, Bratislava.

20 In Košice there were following colleges: the College of Agriculture and Forestry, the Veterinary Faculty and the Branch of the Faculty of Medicine of the Slovak University and the Branch of the Faculty of Pedagogy of the Slovak University.

All internal pedagogues teaching at above mentioned departments were subordinated to rectorates, or dean offices of schools where departments were established. Activities of departments were organized and managed by directors, who were nominated (recalled) by minister of education, in Slovakia commissioner. In frame of the department, in case of need, could rector, in agreement with dean, establish cabinets of the Marxism-Leninism.

The task of departments was primarily to provide teaching of the Marxism-Leninism on the base of curriculum issued by MSSA containing lectures, workshops and consultations and conclude course via examination. The task of departments was also to develop "ideological life" at universities and last but not least, to assist university pedagogues in study of the Marxism-Leninism.[21] Examinations of the Marxism-Leninism were specific. The goal of examinations was not only verify level of knowledge of students, but to evaluate the whole profile of students, their political development and activities in social and political organizations. Students could have been excellently prepared for examination, "but if they ignore required activities, if they are passive in social and mass organizations, if they are slovenly, they cannot obtain best marks. We are endeavoring to utilize results of examinations educationally and either positive or negative valuation justify in front of collective".[22]

In Slovakia first departments of the Marxism-Leninism were established in the winter semester of academic year 1951/1952. However, on the end of 1951, all departments were without directors and workshops were prepared by students attending second, third and fourth year of colleges. According PSSA they manned almost 95% of teaching

21 *A Report about State of Study of the Marxism-Leninism at Universities.* F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 397. SNA, Bratislava.

22 *A Statement about State of Study of the Marxism-Leninism at Slovak College of Technology and Partial Evaluation of Other Examinations.* F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 397. SNA, Bratislava.

positions.[23] In such state, curious situations occurred. For example at the Slovak Technical College in Bratislava, where workshops were lead exclusively by students and politically conscious members of CPC, "drawback was that these students were leading workshops in their own class".[24]

Gradually, also departments of dialectic and historic materialism and of political economy were established. The Ministry of Schools, Sciences and Arts instructed rectors and deans to set-up and equip departments of dialectic and historic materialism until March 1, 1952 and department of political economy latest until June 30, 1952. The Commission of Schools, Sciences and Arts as a follow-up of measures adopted by MSSA, dispatched to all rectorates and deans offices a letter in which emphasized that "teaching of the Marx-Leninism at colleges must become the most important part of study of all students. Therefore, it is necessary that our rectors and deans functioning at universities and colleges increase care about teaching of the Marx-Leninism at schools".[25]

At the outset of 1952 the Commission of Schools, Sciences and Arts and CC CPS initiated survey activities realized by departments of fundaments of the Marxism-Leninism (departments of historical and dialectic materialism and political economy were not working yet). In report submitted by Ľudovít Bakoš during session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of CPS in May 1952, informed that pronounced drawback of teaching of the Marxism-Leninism is "disaffectedness" from praxis of socialistic build-up. The most relevant issues were allegedly lectured without giving reason for their explanation, in a dry manner and uninterestingly. According to Ľ. Bakoš, lectures were

23 *A Report about State of Study of the Marxism-Leninism at Universities*. F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 397. SNA, Bratislava.

24 *A Report in Regard to Activities at Department the Marxism-Leninism during the Winter Semester of Acad. Year 1951/1952*. F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 397. SNA, Bratislava.

25 *In Regard to Improvement of Teaching of the Marxism-Leninism at Colleges – Recommendation of Two Publications*. F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 397. SNA, Bratislava.

lacking needed professional level and vulgarized ideology of the Communist Party. Similar situation existed allegedly in workshops, which initially should have been led by assistants, but their number was very low. As was already mentioned, this task was assigned to students, frequently in their own year of study. Only the Department of the Marxism-Leninism associated with the Slovak Technical College in Bratislava, after accession Ivan Rohaľ-Iľkiv to function of director, was evaluated positively. However, I. Rohaľ-Iľkiv stated, that the Department will be able to fulfil all its tasks depends on immediate (February 1952) increase of 25 qualified staff members.[26]

During academic year 1951/1952 were active at departments of the Marxism-Leninism 47 pedagogues, of them 20 (42.55 %) were external employees.[27] The number of pedagogues teaching at departments of the Marxism-Leninism was gradually increasing and on at the outset of academic year 1952/1953 a number 58 pedagogues was reached, including 10 external teachers.[28] During following years personal situation at departments of fundaments of the Marxism-Leninism, historic and dialectic materialism and political economy at Slovak colleges was improving.

Ideological transformation of Slovak universities after February was realized by CPC gradually. Initially were active action committees, established at faculties of Slovak universities, which organized verifications of pedagogues and students. Verifications continued also during years 1949–1950 and, paradoxically, were designed as democratization process. An important tool were admission interviews of students applying for university study and participation at *State Courses for Preparation Works on Universities*. A radical step, according to Soviet

26 *A Report about State of Study of the Marxism-Leninism on Slovak College of Technology and Partial Evaluation of other Examinations.*, F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 397. SNA, Bratislava.

27 F. Central Committee (CC) of Communist Party of Slovakia (CPS), Presidency, C. 817, Arch. Unit 15. SNA, Bratislava.

28 *A Report about Beginning of Study of Academic Year 1952/1953 at Colleges*. F. Committee of Schools (CS), C. 397, Inv. No. 1589–1590. SNA, Bratislava.

example, was implementation of ideology of CPC – the Marxism-Leninism, as the independent topic into study program of all universities in Slovakia, which was mandatory for all students, Process was initiated during summer semester of academic year 1948/1949 via implementing courses of topic designed as social sciences. A change was broad by the Political Secretariat CC CPC in November 1951, which established at universities study of essential Marxist-Leninist disciplines. Since then teaching of the Marxist-Leninist ideology was realized by departments of Marxism-Leninism (departments of fundaments of the Marxism-Leninism, of dialectic and historic materialism and political economy), which in Slovak conditions were beset by many difficulties (especially by dearth of qualified pedagogues, absence of teaching materials, text books etc.). The Marxist-Leninist ideology was implemented into teaching of all departments, regardless of their professional orientation.

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Physical Education for Italian School Children during the Totalitarian Fascist Regime

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Abstract Recent general and educational historiography suggests that, under Mussolini, physical training was viewed as a key instrument for disciplining children's ideas and values as well as their bodies, and thus for inoculating them with fascist ideology. In this essay, I trace the evolution of the regime's totalitarian educational project in relation to the teaching of physical education in primary schools, a novel topic and heuristic perspective that has been typically overlooked by historiographers. To this end, I analyse national legislation, school curricula, ministerial circulars, and teachers' manuals and journals, examining developments in physical education for school-age children in terms of both its pedagogical or ideological meanings and the teaching methods adopted.

Keywords Italian fascism, childhood, 20th century, Italian schooling, physical education

The Topic and My Heuristic Point of View

This paper explores physical education for Italian children during the totalitarian fascist regime (1922–1943), a topic that speaks to two crucial issues in the history of education under European totalitarian dictatorships: childhood and the body. Indeed, as we know, totalitarian experiments with political and ideological education were initiated during childhood – a life stage that was believed to be marked by purity in that it was uncontaminated by past experience – and drew on physical training as a key means of shaping the desired "new man" (in the case investigated here, the new Italian man). Specifically, I present a study of physical education as an elementary school subject during the fascist period, following recent heuristic perspectives on the history

of schooling (see Chervel, 1998; Viñao, 2006 and, in relation to Italian research in this domain, Polenghi, 2014).

The Mussolini regime "used, above all, youth organizations" – and especially physical activities – to control and fascistize children by inculcating them with "new values, attitudes and beliefs" (Ponzio, 2015, p. 4; on this theme, see also La Rovere, 2002). This agenda was mainly pursued in extra-curricular settings, but elementary schools played a key role too. Indeed, they were seen as a sort of bridge between children and the fascist organizations, especially in the domain of physical training.

Analysis of national legislation, school programs, ministerial circulars, and teachers' journals and manuals enables us to trace the evolution of physical education as a subject on the elementary school curriculum, also indicating whether and how "school culture" – in terms of both educational ideas and teaching practices – was influenced by the ideological meanings of the body promoted by the regime's broader educational project and propaganda.

The Tradition of Gymnastics in Italian Elementary Schools and the Neo-idealistic Reform of 1923

Physical education became a compulsory subject in Italian primary schools in 1878. Broadly speaking, both the first school gymnastics programs of 1878 and the second ones introduced in 1886 might be defined as adaptations for schoolchildren of exercises devised by the German gymnastics movement.

Physical activity for primary children consisted of methodical group exercises to be performed at the teacher's command. Simple body movements designed to regiment the school group – such as line-ups, marches, jumps, climbing, exercises with basic gymnastics equipment, and structured games – could be performed in the gymnasium, schoolyard, or school hall. Other easier exercises – such as standing up, standing on tiptoe, arm movements, clapping, and so on (known as "gymnastics among the desks") – could be executed in the classroom. Hence, during the reformist period under liberal governments following Unification, gymnastics combined two purposes: educating schoolgoing

boys and girls to be disciplined citizens, in keeping with the ideals of nation building, and improving their health, as per the recommendations of positivist medicine (Alfieri, 2017, pp. 99–166).

A similar approach was reflected in the gymnastic school programs of 1893, which however omitted the acrobatic and choreographic aspects of the methodical exercises, placing greater emphasis on the health goals of physical education and, above all, on its ludic value. Accordingly, games were now recommended to take up two thirds of the lesson-time assigned to physical training. These programs remained in force over the following years, but in practice were not applied, due to a lack of preparation on the part of teachers, the conservative spirit of contemporary educational theory, and, above all, the rising tide of nationalism in the early twentieth century (Bonetta, 1990, pp. 133–147). Another key contributing factor was the lack of suitable indoor and outdoor spaces for physical training; this meant that gymnastics were almost exclusively practiced in the classroom (Brunelli & Meda, 2017). The status of physical education in secondary schools was not much better, especially after the World War I.

The failure across the Italian school system to implement a proper gymnastics program was noted by Giovanni Gentile (Ferrara, 1992, p. 218), the famous neoidealist philosopher, who, after being appointed Minister of Education in the first Mussolini government, managed to introduce a wide-ranging school reform in 1923 (Charnitzky, 2001, pp. 93–188). In March of the same year, Gentile founded the ENEF (National Institute for Physical Education), with responsibility for the physical training of adolescents and youths, a brief that included the management of physical education in secondary schools and the training and recruitment of specialist instructors (Ponzio, 2009, pp. 20–28).

In primary schools, on the other hand, gymnastics continued to be the responsibility of class teachers. The new general curriculums for primary schools – issued in November 1923 – largely confirmed the gymnastic programs of 1893. The new guidelines for teachers stressed the health benefits of physical training and, above all, the educational value of games, discouraging choreographed group routines. Team games were to be viewed as a means of getting to know the pupils'

personalities, fostering solidarity among them, and strengthening the bond between pupils and teachers, who were supposed to occasionally join in as "teammates". Scout troop activities were also recommended, as were nature walks (*Programmi di studio*, 1923, pp. 337–338).

These programs were developed by Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, a professor of Education who served under Gentile as Director of Primary Schooling at the Ministry of Education. According to Lombardo Radice – whose perspective was informed by neoidealist philosophy, but also influenced by some of the ideas of the progressive education movement – physical training should be experienced as a joyful activity and – along with drawing, music, singing, folklore, and dialectal varieties of speech – serve to foster the children's spontaneity (Ostenc, 1981, pp. 75–89).

Clearly, the text of these gymnastic programs also made a few references to disciplining the pupils, even comparing schoolchildren to soldiers. At the time, however, this was a legacy of the nineteenth-century gymnastics tradition and not yet an expression of fascist ideology; the references to discipline attest Lombardo Radice's intention to revive patriotic education among Italian children as part of his broader educational project (Chiosso, 2019, pp. 119–153).

Nevertheless, something was already changing in Italian elementary schools. Since 1922, Dario Lupi, an early supporter of fascism and undersecretary at the Ministry of Education, had been introducing new school rituals. The most important of these was the school ceremony of saluting the flag, to be venerated – in Lupi's words – as a "new Eucharist" (Gentile, 1993, pp. 60–63). Such were the early beginnings of the new political religion of fascism and accordingly of a process of fascistization of the Italian school system.

Indeed, Fascist party leaders soon began to criticize Gentile's reform. In June 1924, Lombardo Radice resigned from his ministerial role, but his journal *L'educazione nazionale* defended the reform measures, including Radice's physical education curriculum for primary schools (Lombardo Radice, 1924; Ottorino, 1926).

The Opera Nazionale Balilla

When the fascist movement developed into a dictatorship in 1925, physical training became a central focus of its political program. The Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB) was set up in 1926[1]. According to its founding legislation, the ONB was to have special responsibility for the welfare of young people, as well as for their physical, moral – and consequently political – education. The new organization set out to sign up all Italian boys and girls in the course of a few years. Members were divided into sections based on their age.[2] There were also hierarchical subgroups – *squadre* [*squads*], *manipoli* [*maniples*], *centurie* [*centuries*], *coorti* [*cohorts*] and *legioni* [*legions*] – named after the various units of the Ancient Roman army. In practice, the ONB was a paramilitary organization. In their spare time (and especially on Saturdays), large numbers of boys and girls in uniform would perform choreographed gymnastic displays and participate in military parades and other public ceremonies. Group play was organized, too; the boys played at war with toy muskets, the symbol of fascist militaristic ideology for childhood. The ONB was also tasked with providing both academic and non-academic assistance to the youth: under this heading, it provided school materials and organized summer camps, especially for poorer boys and girls (Betti, 1984; Ostenc, 2019).

As stated above, the ONB was an expression of the regime's project to create a "new man" – who was healthy, virile, bold and daring – and a "new woman" – who was healthy, strong and ready to become a prolific mother and faithful wife. For this reason, the ONB's core mission was physical education. In 1927, the organization's periodic bulletin

1 Balilla was the popular nickname of a child-soldier who had become famous as a patriotic hero during the Unification of Italy.

2 Initially in 1926, there were only two boys' sections: the *Balilla* for 8- to 14-year-olds and the *Avanguardisti* [Avantgardists] for 14- to 18-year-olds. In 1927, two new female sections were set up: *Piccole Italiane* [Little Italians] for younger girls aged 8–14 years and *Giovani Italiane* [Young Italians] for teenage girls aged 14–18 years. In 1933, the ONB added two final sections for younger children aged 6–8 years: *Figli della lupa* [Sons of the she-wolf] and *Figlie della lupa* [Daughters of the she-wolf].

stated that: "Solving the problem of physical education means addressing the entire educational problem, it means revisiting the entire Italian school system" (Di Donato, 1984, p. 191).

Indeed, in the same year, the ENEF was dissolved and the ONB was given the sole charge of all physical education in schools. In 1928, the Fascist Male Academy of Physical Education was founded to train male gym teachers for secondary schools; a counterpart female academy was set up in 1931 (Ponzio, 2009).

Over the same period, the ONB also came to have more direct influence on gymnastics programs in elementary schools, and especially more direct authority over elementary school teachers. Indeed, in 1929, the organization came under the control of the Ministry of Education (*Regio decreto-legge*, 1929).

At that time, the minister of education, Balbino Giuliano, remarked: "Now, physical education has been restored in the new schools which [are] the forge of national education" (1930). Indeed, elementary school gymnastics programs were now delivered by the ONB itself; they were devised by Eugenio Ferrauto, a famous "gymnasiarch" who was the right-hand man of ONB's president, Renato Ricci (Finocchiaro, 2013).

As we can see from an official gymnastics manual for teachers published by the ONB in 1931, the exercises prescribed were not strikingly different from those of the liberal tradition, but they bore new ideological meanings. For example, all physical activities in elementary schools were meant to start and end with the Roman salute, a practice that, together with the imposition of triple marching by Minister Giuseppe Belluzzo in 1928 (Del Nero, 1988, p. 114), established a direct parallel between physical education classes in elementary schools and paramilitary displays. The same manual advised teachers not to neglect their most talented pupils, but nevertheless to prioritize the needs of the group because all students were required to attain a median level of physical competence (O.N.B., 1931, p. 14). Nevertheless, in keeping with the previous tradition, Ricci and Ferrauto rejected any spirit of competition and athleticism (Ferrara, 1992, pp. 242–244). Not surprisingly therefore, sports and pre-sports activities were severely neglected in elementary schools.

By the early 1930s, the fascist regime was devoting increasing effort to fostering the large-scale practice of physical activities in Italy, including the provision of gymnasiums and sports fields[3]. In parallel, the fascistization of elementary schooling was also going from strength to strength. In 1930, the so-called "*Testo unico di Stato*" [*Universal State-prescribed Textbook*] was introduced as "a vehicle of ideological and political propaganda" (Sani, 2008, p. 323). Similarly, the ONB continued to act as bridgehead for fascism within the elementary school system. As early as 1927, the Ministry of Education had initiated a recruitment campaign for the fascist organizations, aiming for: "As many Balillas and Little Italians as there are children in elementary schools" (Del Nero, 1988, p. 91).

However, in addition to this successful striving for quantitative gains[4], the regime also worked on bringing about qualitative improvements in physical education. The ONB offered summer courses in physical education for elementary teachers (Ibidem, pp. 119–120) and allowed them to take leave of absence to attend the above-mentioned Fascist Male Academy of Physical Education (*Regio decreto-legge*, 1931).

Indeed, in 1932, the journal *La scuola fascista* argued that the "teacher of the future" would be "the academist" and hoped that "teacher selection would be based on physical criteria, like in the army", given that "weakness of the body is an expression of moral weakness" (*Ufficiali dell'ONB*, 1932). This suggests that physical education had become, more so than in the past, a means of ideologizing elementary school teachers and of fostering a politicized and militaristic spirit in schools.

This same spirit also permeated the general elementary school curriculum introduced in 1934, which may be viewed as a truly fascist program because it stressed the role of schools in involving children

3 In Italy, gymnasiums and sports fields numbered 502 in 1928 and 4,199 in 1933 (Ferrara, 1992, p. 241).

4 In 1927, there were 405,954 youths enrolled in the *Balilla* and 128,000 in the *Piccole Italiane*; by 1932, the former group numbered 1,427,318 and the latter 1,184.424 (Charnitzky, 2001, p. 520).

in the regime's rituals and organizations (Catarsi, 1990, pp. 108–119). Although no changes were made to the gymnastics syllabus at this time, physical education was embedded in the pedagogical debate about elementary school education both prior to and following introduction of the new curriculum.

The key point under discussion was the following: was the new general curriculum so different from the 1923 program developed by Lombardo Radice? (Catarsi, 1990, pp. 108–114); and, thus, should the relationship between school and the ONB be made even closer? Openly fascist intellectuals proposed merging the two institutions. An editor of the magazine *La scuola fascista* wrote that the aim of the "universal program" was "to militarize the students of the fascist nation" (G. M., 1935); another wrote that the aim of the new program of schooling was to "educate the schoolboy-balilla", "a unique concept", because – he said – "1923" was "faraway" (Alla, 1935). Nevertheless, the same journal also carried divergent, albeit less mainstream, opinions. For example, the author of another article maintained that school and ONB fulfilled different functions: school was called to pursue primarily intellectual goals, while the task of the ONB, as "a fiery horse", was to prepare pupils to be bold soldiers for the nation (Celsi, 1935).

At least implicitly, this debate concerned the ideological meanings of physical education – as conveyed by the ONB – and the influence of these meanings on everyday teaching-learning activities in schools.

The Fascist Youth Movement Gioventù Italiana del Littorio

In the late 1930s, Italian colonial expansion, an aggressive foreign policy, and increasing industrialization made it even more urgent to foster a strong spirit of moral, political, economic and racial unity across the fascist nation. Young people continued to be viewed as the point of departure for advancing this agenda. In 1937, a new Italian youth movement, *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio* [*Italian Fascist Youth*] (GIL) was

founded[5]. This organization was directly controlled by the Fascist party and reflected the regime's ambition to build up an all-pervading totalitarian educational system (Ponzio, 2015, pp. 152–170). Hence, a new school reform was prepared in 1939 by Giuseppe Bottai, the education minister. The so-called School Charter was inspired by fascist corporatism and designed to ensure greater continuity between school and the GIL (Charnitzky, 2001, pp. 440–469). The outbreak of the war prevented application of the reform, but not the spread of its spirit, which, in relation to elementary schooling, particularly emphasized the value of vocational and, once again, physical training.

In 1940, Ferrauto drew up new gymnastic programs for elementary schools with an accompanying set of guidelines for teachers. The ideological underpinnings of this curriculum were expressed in the motto: "Believe, obey, and fight", one of the most widely circulated slogans produced by the fascist propaganda machine. There were also explicit references to the relationship between physical education and "preserving" the Italian race (Ferrauto, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 5–12), in keeping with the provisions for the defence of the race that had been introduced in Italian schools in September 1938 (De Fort, 1996, pp. 450–455).

The proposed regime's approach to teaching physical education in elementary schools was now a robust blend of subject-specific goals, ideological contents, health awareness, and elements of play, as illustrated by the sample class presented in the manual: a short warm-up game followed by miming exercises, a group walk, simple regimental exercises, running and marching, further basic exercises, and singing (Ferrauto, 1940, Vol. V, p. 28). Of especial importance were the miming exercises, consisting of body movements imitating the motion of animals and natural phenomena (such as the wind or waves), but especially seafaring activities (rowing, swimming), agricultural labour (the farmer sowing, mowing, digging and hoeing) and other occupations such as those of bell-ringer, carpenter, knife grinder, weaver, or driver

5 As is well known, the *fasces lictoriae* (in Italian *fascio littorio*) were ancient Roman symbols of the authority of magistrates and symbolized strength and aggressiveness through unity.

(Ferrauto, Vol. VI, pp. 41–68). In Ferrauto's opinion, these routines fulfilled physical and health goals, along with educating the children for real life and preparing them to contribute to the development of a powerful and hardworking nation (Ibidem, p. 71), in keeping with Mussolini's ideal of the "harmonious collective" (Gentile, 1993, p. 52).

Yet, although these clearly ideological meanings were associated with all school gymnastics programs by 1940, the actual exercises – as earlier noted – were not majorly different from those of the previous tradition. Indeed, the actual implementation of physical education in elementary schools continued to be more or less the same as in the past. This is also attested to by the contents of proposed physical education programs submitted by teachers to competitions organized by the GIL (P.N.F., 1942a; 1942b). Such methodological continuity was especially reflected in the persistence of classroom gymnastics, mainly due to the continued lack of facilities in Italian school buildings, despite the regime's efforts to build new gymnasiums and sports fields.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we might say that during the fascist period elementary school pupils continued to perform exercises that were very similar to those taught to the generations of the liberal era, especially in terms of classroom gymnastics. Nevertheless, the regime undoubtedly emphasized the value of physical education, increasingly imbuing it with ideological meanings. Gymnastics became a sort of Trojan horse through which fascist youth organizations went about imposing their own conceptions of the body and influencing the broader school culture as they advanced their totalitarian and militaristic educational project.

Efforts to defascistize the primary curriculum after the collapse of the regime also affected physical education. In new physical education programs introduced in 1945, teachers were urged to avoid "all forms of military-style authoritarianism" (*Programmi, istruzioni e modelli*, 1945, p. 375), while the new guidelines for teaching physical education in the second half of 1940s were aimed at dismantling the fascist ideological apparatus (*Programma di Educazione fisica*, 1946).

Yet, the strong ideological imprint of fascism went on conditioning the Italian educational *imaginary* over the following years, slowing down the shift towards more innovative forms of teaching physical education in elementary schools. Indeed, in 1959 – thirteen years after the birth of the Republic and, thus, in the newly democratized contest – the famous gymnasiarch Eugenio Enrile wrote: "The pairing of physical education with fascism survived. In the immediate postwar period, teaching gymnastics meant giving way to political nostalgia and summoning ghosts" (1959, p. 116).

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The Political Religion of Communism in Hungarian Children's Choir Compositions between 1958–1989[1]

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Abstract Like all cultures, totalitarian regimes develop their own symbols and rituals. As such symbols, music and music making play an important role in expressing values, norms of the community, as well as in providing models for living in it (Geertz, 1973). They are especially valuable tools for educating children. This paper summarizes the result of a pilot study in the lyrics of choral pieces for children, that were distributed along with the state-published methodological journal, *Énektanítás* [*Teaching Singing*] and its continuation, *Az ének-zene tanítása* [*Teaching Singing-Music*] between 1958–1989. Using political religion (Gentile, 2006) as conceptual framework for content analysis, the study presents: 1) how different characteristics of the communist doctrine appeared in the lyrics of choral pieces and 2) how they changed over time, outlining the life-cycle of the regime itself from militant mass movements to giving place to expressions of individualism and alternative faiths until it would dissolve in the end.

Keywords communism, Hungary, political religion, music education, choral music

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Introduction

All human societies consider music as a powerful means to convey feelings and messages. Every community finds or creates music that expresses and shapes the values that unite them. Similarly, totalitarian regimes, such as communism[2], which strived to create a distinct culture[3], developed their own musical expressions. Recognizing the "emotionally effective, indirectly agitating power"[4] of music (Horváth, 1960), the Hungarian Working People's Party [Magyar Dolgozók Pártja] (Hungarian Communist Party until 1948) aimed to use it in order to support the laying and consolidating the foundation of socialism and the creation of a "new man". It also turned school music lessons and choir activities into modes of political indoctrination for children soon after it came to power in 1948/49. After over thirty years of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist state in Hungary, it worth observing the "musical relics" of the era in order to understand this segment of the totalitarian mission for a communist utopia.

As first installment of a broader research into Hungarian music education journals using political religion (Gentile, 2005, 2006) as a conceptual framework for content analysis, as well as testing the concept's utility for such research, this paper summarizes the results of a pilot study that focused on the youth choral movement and choral works that were published as supplements to the Ministry of Education's methodological journal for school music teachers and conductors.

Communist Political Religion

The concept of political religion (PR) and its connection to totalitarianism dates back to the 1930s, and its origin is most often associated

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2 In this paper, we use socialist and communist interchangeably, but during the observed period, it was often seen as a continuum from socialism to communism according to Marx's stages of development.

3 "If I were to choose to provide a mediocre *socialist culture* or a very high but antisocialist [...] if I must choose [...] I will vote for the mediocre one," said János Kádár, General Secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party in 1959 (quoted by Péteri, 2013, p. 124 – italics by Zs. P.).

4 All translations from Hungarian were made by Zs. P.

with Eric Voegelin's work, *The political religions* (1938/1999). Although Voegelin later abandoned the term, it was taken up and further developed by scholars such as Gurian (1953/2013) or Koenker (1965).

Inspired by the work of Emilio Gentile, the PR concept gained renewed prominence around the turn of the 21st century as a framework and analytical tool "to explain the character and function of the major new ideologies in a largely secular era" (Payne, 2005, p. 172). Despite some criticism of both Gentile's framework or the PR concept in itself (cf. Gray, 2014, pp. 524–526), Gentile's work remains the cornerstone of most scholarship on political religions.

According to Gentile (2005, p. 29), "sacralisation of politics occurs all the time by virtue of the fact that a political entity, for instance, the nation, the state, race, class, the party, assume the characteristics of a sacred entity". Secular religions can be described by their: 1) definition of the meaning of life and human existence; 2) their commandments of a public ethic for its followers; 3) political liturgy: sacred texts, dogmas, and also myths, symbols, rituals as representation of their "sacred history"; and 4) "chosen people".

In this definition, political religion is the totalitarian form of secular religions, which is characterized by 1) unchallengeable monopoly of power; 2) ideological monism; 3) the obligatory and unconditional subordination of the individual and the collectivity to its code of commandments. It is intolerant, invasive, fundamentalist, and "it wishes to permeate every aspect of an individual's life and of a society's collective life" (Gentile, 2006, p. XV).

This all-encompassing nature of the communist doctrine, and the regime based on it, makes it possible to interpret it as a distinct culture, understood as defined by Clifford Geertz: "It denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (1973, p. 89).

The inclusion of symbolic and interpretive anthropological lens (following Geertz and Turner) offers a deeper understanding the function of the symbols – in our case, the musical pieces and the rituals

of choral celebrations – within the system. Following Geertz's (1973) definition of religion[5], these choral works and songs, as symbols, transmitted ideals of the society and guidelines for living in it – models *of* and *for* a cultural life.

In Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the ultimate goal is salvation and communist utopia (Ehlen, 2007), a world without oppression and exploitation, a classless society of a community formed by "new [type of] men". The development of the "new man" became a central issue in Communist regimes: "One of the important conditions for the realization of socialism is the transformation of people's consciousness and behavior, the formation of a socialist person" (Radnai & Tóth, 1961, p. 296).

This quest for a "new man" is a shared trope with the new religious movements of the late 19th – early 20th century that envisioned a joyous, just society. The difference lies mainly in the way they aimed to achieve it: through peaceful self-development or as a forced result of a revolution (Németh & Skiera, 2018, p. 22).

Communist/socialist totalitarian regimes come with totalitarian pedagogy (Gentile, 2006, p. 47) that builds and maintains the new order by educating "the socialist man to tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands" (Földes, 1970, p. 237). Music teachers were no exceptions from it.[6] Their means were music lessons and choir activities, their tools were the music pieces they taught.

Youth Choral Movements before and after the Communist Takeover

Socialist youth choral movement in Hungary built upon the traditions of the Singing Youth Movement of the previous two decades

5 "Religion is (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic" (Geertz, 1973, p. 92).

6 It would go beyond the aim and scope of this paper to discuss how the constant declarations of commitment and impact of their work may also be interpreted as advocacy for music lessons – a generally marginalized subject, in the curriculum.

(Pethő, 2018). Inspired and led by founders[7] of the Hungarian Chorus Publishing House [Magyar Kórus Zenemű- és Lapkiadó], this grassroots movement of youth choirs attracted many followers countrywide. The Publishing House's music pedagogical journal, *Énekszó* [*Singing*] (1933–1950) included pieces for children's choirs, and served as the main platform of the youth choral movement.

Singing Youth also had a culture- and society-changing mission, following Zoltán Kodály's vision of a "network of choral societies founded with serious artistic ends would thread our social life together" (Kodály, 1929/1974, pp. 122–123). However, he and his followers hoped to achieve this change by the effect of making and enjoying music of "intrinsic value". As Losonczi (1974, p. 142) concluded, in this case, the music developed its movement, not the other way around, where music was born out of the ideological crusade.

Besides the adult workers' choirs, workers' youth choirs also existed, but their full history is yet to be written. Literature from the socialist era, following the principle of creating a "sacred heroic history", often describes the early musical movements of young workers' during the interwar period in terms of tribulations and oppression: "They were politically or culturally restricted in forming circles or communities […] on one hand by the terrorist actions of the Horthy-police […] and by manipulations of church workers' organizations which aimed to dismantle political movements" (Losonczi, 1974, pp. 46–47). Only the most "forward-thinking", "socially conscious" avant-garde were brave and dedicated to undertake a different cultural activity that supports their political goals: for them, community music making was not only self-expression but also served as a cover for their social agenda.

After World War II, choirs were regarded as important tools of political propaganda: they were needed for election campaigns, village tours, business life, political and street rallies, and May Day celebrations. "Public participation in the country's blood circulation was

7 Composers Gyula Kertész (1900–1967), Lajos Bárdos (1899–1986) and György Kerényi (1902–1986).

clearly a political activity. The way of this participation determined its content. In other words, if a choir stood in front of an audience, according to what they sang, they were saying 'I want to take part in building the country' [...] It is almost self-evident that workers' choirs were at the forefront of work" (Révész, 1975, p. 22, p. 25).

The Communist takeover in 1948 institutionalized and centralized the choir movement as well. The Party established the Bartók Béla Association [Bartók Béla Szövetség] (1949–1950), but soon the Music Department of the National Art Institute [Népművészeti Intézet] took over its duties in developing formation, operation, and repertoire guidelines for choirs and the companies that founded them.

Likewise, most school choir events were also organized by local educational offices and they expected (but not explicitly mandated) all schools under their supervision to take part. This was in a sharp contrast to the voluntary participation of the Singing Youth movement (Szabó, 1989, pp. 104–106).

In 1957, the Hungarian Communist Youth Alliance[8] [Kommunisták Ifjúsági Szövetsége] took control of the Hungarian Pioneer Association [Magyar Úttörők Szövetsége], and together they started a series of annual cultural events, competitions and celebrations to motivate pioneers to join cultural activities all year round. Each year had a specific theme, often commemorating important historical events such as the "Liberation"[9], the 1848 revolution (March 15)[10], or the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

In 1971, the first meeting of the Singing Squads [Éneklő rajok] (smaller pioneer groups) was organized, and, in the same year, the Singing Youth movement was also revived, led by one of its original founders,

8 Kommunisták Ifjúsági Szövetsége or KISZ (1957–1989) – the youth organization of the Party, modelled after the Soviet Komsomol.

9 A common term used for the Red Army "liberating" Hungary from the German occupation at the end of WWII. April 4 was a national holiday dedicated to celebrate the event.

10 Commemoration day of the 1848/49 Hungarian revolution and freedom war against the Habsburg Empire.

Lajos Bárdos, creating first a radio program that renewed the country-wide mass choir festivals.

Youths did not and could not have their own musical expressions in the first decade of the new social order (Losonczi, 1974, p. 154). A totalitarian ideology and rule did not permit conflicts and separations between generations within the community, everyone had their own role to play in the united work for the "holy cause": "[T]here is an urging demand from more and more directions: *common songs for the people*: the youth, the military, the masses competing and fighting in work, so they can move more effectively on the path laid down by progress[11]" (Jankovich, 1949, p. 1, italics by Zs. P.).

Many of the songs and choral works that were taught for children conveyed the obligations of the youth in building socialism, and remained in them throughout the era, even though with varying intensity. In the following part of the paper we will summarize the outcomes of a content analysis of lyrics that were distributed by the official musical pedagogical journal between 1958 and 1989.

Énektanítás [*Teaching Singing*] and *Az ének-zene tanítása* [*Teaching Singing-music*]

Énektanítás [*Teaching Singing*] was a methodological journal for school music teachers. Published by the Ministry of Education between 1958–1989, it aimed to address theoretical, ideological and practical issues in music education. The first issue opened with a greeting from Zoltán Kodály: "we should rejoice that after a decade-long break, a music pedagogical journal has been started" (1958, p. 3). While it was not a full decade-long break, school music educators were without any professional periodical since the previous journal, *Énekszó* [*Singing*] (1933–1950) folded after the socialization (and consequently, the termination) of its publisher, the Hungarian Chorus Publishing House.[12]

11 According to the Marxist interpretation of history.

12 In the interim, school music education was occasionally discussed in the *Köznevelés* [*Public Education*], or in short-lived journals dedicated to instrumental music

Énektanítás was published in six issues during a year,[13] and each issue came with one or more score supplements for children's choirs. Besides publishing music from established composers, the editors also encouraged aspiring songwriters to send in their work. Occasionally, the journal issued a call for compositions (Editorial board, 1959, p. 17), however, like the one in 1959, sometimes it resulted in a failure because of the poor quality in both music and lyrics.

In 1963, the journal was renamed to *Az ének-zene tanítása* [*Teaching Singing-music*] because the new curriculum (1962 – implemented in 1963) changed the subject's name from "Singing" to "Singing-music"[14]. Starting from 1964, the National Pedagogical Institute [Országos Pedagógiai Intézet] (under the Ministry of Education) published the journal until it folded at the end of 1989.

During its 31 year-long run the journal published over 300 choral compositions or unison songs with or without piano accompaniment, and selections of Hungarian and foreign folksongs. From the second half of the 1970s, the number of musical scores gradually decreased, reduced to 1–3 per year by the 1980s, and in certain years (1972, 1975, 1978, 1983, 1987) there were no such appendices at all.

The Editorial Board, in agreement with the Ministry, explicitly recommended the teaching of these pieces, first in 1959, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic [Tanácsköztársaság][15]:

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education or the choral movement, such as the *Zenepedagógia* [*Music Pedagogy*] and *Éneklő nép* [*Singing People*].

13 Also, in four issues during the 1970s.

14 In Hungary, elementary music education has two institutions: 1) *public schools*, where the subject of music is called "Singing" or "Singing-music" (short form of "singing and music"), highlighting that general music education is vocal-based; and 2) mostly state-financed, *afternoon music schools* [zeneiskola] for instrumental teaching. *Parlando*, the dedicated journal for afternoon music schools, was established in 1959.

15 A short-lived communist regime between March 21 and August 1, 1919. Its commemoration day was March 21.

"1. Besides the compulsory material, every month all classes countrywide (at least from 4th grade and above) should learn a pioneer song or mass movement song from the score supplements or recommendations of *Énektanítás*. This way, they can develop a common musical literature of the country's studying youth[16].

2. Besides the choir's performance, the school's entire studying youth should sing these songs together during celebrations" (*Felhívás*, 1958, p. 1).

We would need to explore concert programs to determinate how well-known and widely-used these pieces were in practice. Some of them, like the workers' movement songs of the first half of the 20th century, were also included in choral and pioneer song collections, school textbooks and teacher handbooks, even prior to the beginning of the journal, and many of the newly composed ones made their way into these publications over the decades. Therefore, it is safe to assume that many students learnt or heard them during their studies, school and public celebrations and pioneer activities.

Methods[17]

The sample of 247 compositions comprised choral and accompanied unison pieces (most often for children's choir and not for solo singers), excluding unison, unaccompanied folksongs cycles, and textbook supplement songs. We analyzed the lyrics of 200 compositions for youth choir and accompanied unison songs from 84 issues[18] in this pilot study as the score of 45 compositions were missing and were unavailable from other sources, and 2 pieces were without text. Using words as units of observation, we searched instances of political religion via semi-automatic content analysis (Krippendorf, 2004).

16 The "studying youth" turn of phrase imitates the "working adults". As the lyrics of a pioneer song says: "Our work is studying, knowledge is a treasure trove" (Lyrics from: Song about the school [Dal az iskoláról]).

17 We wish to acknowledge the ideas and remarks provided by László Galántai.

18 11 issues were not accessible with unknown number of compositions in them.

The categories were predetermined by the communist PR conceptual framework: such as "moral commandments/virtues" and disposition of the ideal communist person; "pioneers" as future builders of communism, "enemies"; "holy battle"; "heroic history", "heroes" and their "celebrations"; "liberation/freedom"; "worker's class" as the chosen people and their leaders, the "Party".

After that, we took an inductive approach to build subordinated code groups and the related dictionaries for the semi-automatic coding, using the text data (lyrics) as the starting point (Ignatow & Mihalcea, 2018, pp. 47–48). The poetic nature of the sample necessitated that we double-check the software's coding in order to eliminate potential false positive results. We found that the number of false results were not high enough to significantly change the outcome, however, this technique slightly reduced the reliability of the process compared to a fully automatic coding (cf. Janis, 1965).[19]

In order to see how the different aspects of the political religion changed over the course of the era, we grouped the compositions to four periods according to the implementation of new elementary school curricula.

During the communist era between 1948 and 1989, four national curricula were introduced (1950, 1956, 1962, 1978). In 1985, the government implemented a new law on education (*1985. évi I. törvény az oktatásról*, 1985) that fundamentally changed the role of the national curriculum. Its § 14 allowed schools to diviate from the national curriculum and develop their own local curricula, which indicated a decline in the power and totalitarian aspirations of the regime. Therefore, we regarded 1985 as a beginning of a new period with the introduction of not a new central but several local curricula.

Besides musical skills (singing, musical reading and writing, music appreciation), the overall aims and tasks of Singing lessons and choir activities also emphasized the ideological aspects of music education:

19 Due to limited space, we do not indicate all details of the coding process (e.g. elements of the dictionary). For more information, please contact the authors.

the development of socialist disposition with the help of music teaching (1950), political-ideological education and patriotism (1956), facilitate the building of socialist community, instill the love of parents, working people, homeland, pioneer life, and celebrations (1962)[20] (Györgyiné Koncz, 2007).

The journal itself offers the first clear caesura as the publishers changed the title from the 1963/1 issue in response to the new curriculum. While the 1962 curriculum was introduced in schools from September 1963, the journal made the change from the first issue of that year. We followed this practice for the rest of the periods and regarded the beginning of the year in which the curriculum or the new law on educational in 1985 were implemented the start of a new period (1963, 1978, 1985).

As curricula reflects the requirements and aims of the socio-political environment, these periods also correspond with changing trends within the so-called "Kádár era" (1956–1988)[21] – named after János Kádár, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt, MSZMP] and Chairman of the Council of Ministers between 1956–1958 and 1961–1965.

1) 1958–1962: János Kádár and the Party consolidated its power after the revolution in 1956. In November 1962, the VIII. Congress of the MSZMP declared that they had laid the foundations of socialism, therefore, the construction of a socialist system came to the fore, which was

20 The explicit ideological phrases (such as socialist society, communist man, etc.) are missing from the Music chapter in 1978, but "developing the socialist man" is mentioned in the overall aims of the curriculum. Socialist celebrations, for example November 7 (commemoration day of the Great October Socialist Revolution), March 21, etc. and the inspiring aspect of movement and pioneer songs is emphasized in the Instructions published along with the curriculum.

21 Historians generally agree that 1962/63 marks the beginning of a new period, however, there is no widely accepted consensus about the rest of the era. For example, Bihari (2005, pp. 300–301) identifies seven main periods of the "Kádár era" (1956–1962; 1963–1968; 1968–1972/73; 1973–1978; 1979–1981; 1981–1985; 1985–1988) based on political and economical changes.

to be marked not by continuous class struggles, but a peaceful and prosperous period.

2) 1963–1977: The era of social compromise, symbolized by the iconic slogan, "who is not against us is with us"[22], as opposed to the "who is not with us is against us", which was used to describe the rule of the previous Hungarian Communist Party General Secretary and former prime minister, Mátyás Rákosi (1892–1971) between 1948 and 1953.[23] The compromise meant that if society relinquished its demand for freedom, democracy and independence, agreed to three main axioms (alliance with the Soviet Union, one-party rule, and that '56 was a counter-revolution[24] and not a revolution), the regime guaranteed a continuous improvement of living conditions. "The essence of 'Kádárism' [...] was 'compromise for standard of living', *depoliticizing public and private life*, pragmatic politicking, and *de-ideologizing society*" (Szabó, 2006, p. 307, italics – Zs. P.).

3) 1978–1984: The period is marked by latent economic and political crisis, rapidly accelerated by the 1979 Oil Shock.

4) 1985–1989: Open crisis both in Hungary and the entire Soviet Bloc that led to the regime's fall in 1989.

Instances of Political Religion in Choral Pieces

The most common genre (60%, see Table 1) in the sample were of the regime's typical one: political mass movement songs and its children's version, pioneer songs. In order to suit for agitation purposes, these songs were to be easily disseminated with a direct emotional effect, conveying ideas that move and captivate the entire nation (Losonczi, 1974, pp. 168–170). Pioneer songs were expected to express

22 In full: "Yes, we take it: whoever is not against the Hungarian People's Republic is with her; who is not against the MSZMP is with it; and who is not against the people's front is with them" (*Aki nincs ellenünk* [...], 2012).

23 In fact, both statements originate from the Bible (Cf. The Bible, Matthew 12:30 and Luke 9:50).

24 In the official rhetoric of the Kádár era, the events of October–November 1956 were a counter-revolution against the (in Marxist-Leninist sense) revolutionary communist regime.

joys of pioneer life, ideological-political dispositions of pioneers, and the building of socialism/communism. As mentioned, the songs as symbols transmitted the ideals, morals of the community and showed the virtuous way to live in it. Performing them also intended to consolidate this effect via communal declaration of values and messages in choral celebrations (Szécsényi, 1975).

Due to the all-pervading nature of totalitarian political religions, the rest of the genres also gained new, communists interpretations: Hungarian folksongs and historical songs came to represent emotions and aspirations of poor people, memories of heroes, and desire for freedom; music of communist allies ("friendly nations") showed that themes were common in the socialist world order, thus strengthened the idea of unity of socialist nations.

Table 1. Number of choral pieces in each era by themes and genre

Genre	1958–1962	1963–1977	1978–1984	1985–1989	TOTAL
pioneer song	54	41	0	0	95
mass movement song	25	28	1	0	54
children song arr.	3	22	3	1	29
folksong arr.	4	12	5	1	22
folksong-like arr.	1	3	2	0	6
non-political	0	13	1	0	14
art song/opera aria	1	4	0	3	8
Mother's Day	2	3	0	0	5
religious	0	0	0	1	1
unknown*	2	0	0	0	2
other	3	7	1	0	11
TOTAL	95	133	13	6	247

* The scores were missing and we could not determinate the genre and theme from the titles.

Contemporary Hungarian composers were the majority (221 pieces) among the authors, seven composers were from other socialist countries (Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Vietnam), the rest of them represented France, Italy, Austria, Greece, and the United States[25].

The recommended themes for choral pieces were friendship among people, ideals of international labor movements, their struggles and victories; honor of work, examples of heroes, and "the serene optimism of our lives" (Szécsényi, 1975).

One of the most conspicuous qualities of mass movement and pioneer songs is the lack of tropes, especially in comparison with the highly symbolic character of Hungarian folksongs and folk poetry. Deprived of potential symbolic/metaphoric interpretations, repeated descriptions of natural phenomena (green meadows and trees, colorful flowers, fluttering butterflies, singing little birds, sunlight that "kisses" pioneers, etc.) soon became trite phrases in pioneer songs, expressing nothing beyond the joys of camping, and maybe aiming to instill a love for nature into children. This was most likely the result of the general requirement to make the message of mass songs clear and easy to receive.

Even the scarce number of tropes were only allowed to be interpreted according to Party lines. For example, spring[26], an ancient metaphor of renewal, came to represent "liberation" and "revolution" within this context, especially since in Hungary, most officially celebrated

25 George Gershwin: Excerpts from Porgy and Bess and Jerome Kern: Ol' man river, and a missing spiritual. The opinion on jazz and spirituals underwent a change by the mid-1960s: from decadent entertainment of the "rotten capitalist West" to expressions of oppression and suffering of black people.

26 An interesting exchange took place in the 1962/4 issue between the editors and György Kerényi about a youth spring festival. In his review of the event, Kerényi quoted a line from a poem by Sándor Petőfi (1823–1849), and used it to illustrate that spring may not come, and the season may change directly from winter to summer referring to the unusually cold springs in those years. He was harshly reprimanded by the editors: "The 'youth of today' knows spring! The spring of liberation! [...] In our opinion, Petőfi's quote should not be used and updated in this way. Even a school child knows that Petőfi's waiting for spring symbolizes the freedom expectation of the people of the world!"

historical events – March 15 (1848 revolution), March 21 (1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic), April 4 ("liberation" by the Soviet Red Army in 1945) – happened in spring. Because of this dual meaning, and the additional spring celebration of May 1, spring was mentioned in the lyrics more often than all the other seasons combined.

The other obvious lack was a missing humor. Funny, playful songs appeared only from the second half of the 1960s in greater number. The explanation lies with the purpose of the genre of mass and pioneer songs. As an author (Nemcsik, 1963) complained about a worrying trend of parodies: revolutionary songs and movement songs were inherently unsuitable for parody and humorous lyrics, since it destroyed their intended emotional effect.

"Holy Battle" for the Inner-Worldly Heaven

Reaching Heaven on the earth, the communist utopia required continuous work and never-ending battle against its enemies. According to Hoffer (1951/2019, p. 113), "mass movements can rise and spread without belief in the God, but never without belief in a devil". The ever-present threat of an enemy also made unity and subordination necessary. Enemies that were named in the lyrics, in the order of their frequency: capitalists, nobles, church (clerical reaction), all instigators against the Communist cause. They are especially dangerous if they join forces:

> "Thousands are the burdens, problems of people.
> Ignorant and shackled; the priest dulls, capital oppresses:
> Brothers are the church and the factory."
>
> (Hungarian verses for the Marseillaise from 1919, published in the journal in 1969)

Similar to Jobst's (2009) and Baska's (2015) findings from their analysis of journals and newspapers from the Stalinist era in Hungary (1948–1956), almost all metaphors in mass movement and pioneer songs were war-related, commonly expressed in Hungarian as "battle" or "fight" [harc] against enemies of the regime. The emblematic

catchphrase of the "holy battle" was "peace-war" [békeharc]: fighting for and defending peace, which immediately declared the "warriors" righteous in their actions. Children and youth were expected to be worthy successors of previous generations in this fight, and had to be prepared to continue it:

> "Led by the victorious Party, come, proclaim its power loudly.
> [...] The young hearts and hands are ready to fight and win
> if we rush to battle together."
>
> (Defend the Peace, Youth [Védd a békét, ifjúság], 1959)

Their weapons included "studying", "song", "science", "work", "diligence", "attention", and "unity", their slogan was an old battle-cry: "Forward!" [Előre!], which appeared on the pioneer flag, and 19 times within this sample.

The recruitment into this "happy and peaceful army" was always present in the form of calls to "join", "come with us", "go together". The constant voicing of unity (chums, brothers with one heart and soul, shoulder to shoulder) implicitly also meant the suppression of independent will and action, and the subordination of these to aspirations of the community.

As peculiar late successors of soldier recruitment songs[27], the joyful life of pioneers was the third common theme in the lyrics, making life within the socialist order more attractive to children:

> "Come, the gardens are blooming, come, the meadow is green.
> Chum[28], children are happy here, we sing, life is beautiful.
> Come to our ranks, we will step together."
>
> (Pioneer call [Úttörőhívogató], 1958)

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27 For example: "*The life of a good cavalry soldier is very fine, He eats and drinks in the tent, he has nothing to worry about. Hey life, such golden life, it cannot be more beautiful, Become a soldier only if you love such a life!*" (A good cavalry soldier [A jó lovas katonának], folksong).

28 Chum [pajtás]: member of a pioneer group.

Moral Commandments

Following the expressions of war, virtues and dispositions of children and good subjects of the State were the second most common theme in the songs. The 1950 curriculum summarized the characteristics of ideal children as self-conscious, disciplined citizens of the People's Republic; faithful sons of the working people; builders of socialism; selfless in their service of the community, people, and homeland; who love and respect work. These principles changed little over the four decades of socialism (Györgyiné Koncz, 2007).

Pioneer songs deepened the commitment to the pioneer moral and behavioral commandments expressed in the "12 laws of pioneers" (Úttörő fogadalomtétel, 2007) that were formulated according to the Party's expectations of children. As builders of socialism, being aware of their duties to the future is also prominent. Children are to be cheerful, peaceful, enthusiastic, hard-working, patriotic, brave, honest, diligent in their studies, and respectful of their parents and teachers (obedient to authority!):

> "To live worthy of man, intellect, clear eyes,
> two hands are not enough,
> it needs heart, spine and resilience, and what chases
> troubles away: merry laughter."
>
> (The land is full of colors [Csupa szín ez a táj], 1970)

Rituals, Celebrations

Rituals are fundamental to human societies as practices that connects members of a cultural group together by establishing social connections, organize human relations and give meaning to them. They reinforce the sense of continuity by connecting past, present and future. Communist political religion also had its celebrations and rituals: processions, mass celebrations heroes and revolutionary events, and worship of the supreme leader and its apostles (Kula, 2005, p. 379).

The classic Stalinism in Hungary ended by the time the *Énektanítás* journal appeared. Denouncing the personality cult of previous leader,

Mátyás Rákosi[29] and all of the mistakes and terror of that period was an important element in the Kádár era. Therefore, typical instances of personality cults were few in the lyrics, except for Lenin (20 mentions) in songs commemorating the 90th and 100th anniversaries of his birth:

> "A new Christ has come. But he is still so close today,
> this generation is yet to see,
> and no one whispers in minutes of holy passion:
> Lenin! Lenin!"
>
> (Árpád Pásztor: Lenin! 1917, set to music in 1969)

However, many pieces commemorated the exemplary fight of named and unnamed heroes and martyrs: György Dózsa's peasant war (1514), the revolutionaries of 1848 and 1919, members of Hungarian and foreign illegal Communist movements:

> "In trouble that comes to us, the rich never helps,
> but helps, supports the Red Aid: the dark hides
> its brave ambassadors from view."
>
> (Lullaby about Flóra Martos[30] [Bölcsődal Martos Flóráról], 1961)

Kula (2005, p. 372) argued that "Stalinist thought held that our lives were predetermined, but that the progression of historical phases had to be helped along. Hence the concept of the need for revolution to carry out this progression of formations. […] it was necessary to identify historic revolutionary movements that had allegedly carried out these transformations". Creating a historical lineage by treating and celebrating past events as antecedents of the current regime aimed to prove

29 On the leader cult built around Mátyás Rákosi, General Secretary of Party (1945–1956), see for example Apor (2004) and Klimó (2004).

30 Flóra Martos (1897–1938): chemist, member of the communist movement and the illegal Communist Workers' Party. She was imprisoned twice and died from an incurable illness she caught in prison (*Martos Flóra*, 2001).

its legitimacy as a natural step in the progress to the ultimate emancipation of humanity.

Rituals of state celebrations also served this purpose. March 15, March 21, April 4, May 1, November 7 all had their dedicated musical pieces to complement ritual festivities. Teachers emphasized the educational power and value of these celebratory events (Horváth, 1960), and how communal music-making was a powerful way to create emotional connections between heroes and events of the past, invoking feeling of belonging to the community, and sense of mission to carry on the work for communism:

> "Kuruc[31] army and old-old dance, Kossuth's[32] word,
> which is still flying,
> and what Petőfi said here about sword and chain
> are alive and will live in our hearts!
> The song is about our sweet homeland today
> and about freedom, which is the song itself."
>
> (Vow proudly, pioneers! [Fogadjuk büszkén, úttörők!], 1971)

Timeline

Table 2 shows the most common themes as code-groups organized according to their corresponding PR characteristics. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of these codes in time. Since the number of musical pieces varied between the periods, we adjusted the table to show code occurrences per 1000 words. The number of words in each group were: 1958–1962: 5,177; 1963–1977: 6,892; 1978–1984: 572; 1985–1989: 610. As much less scores appeared in the last decade than in the previous two eras, the results have limited validity. However, they still outline some trends.

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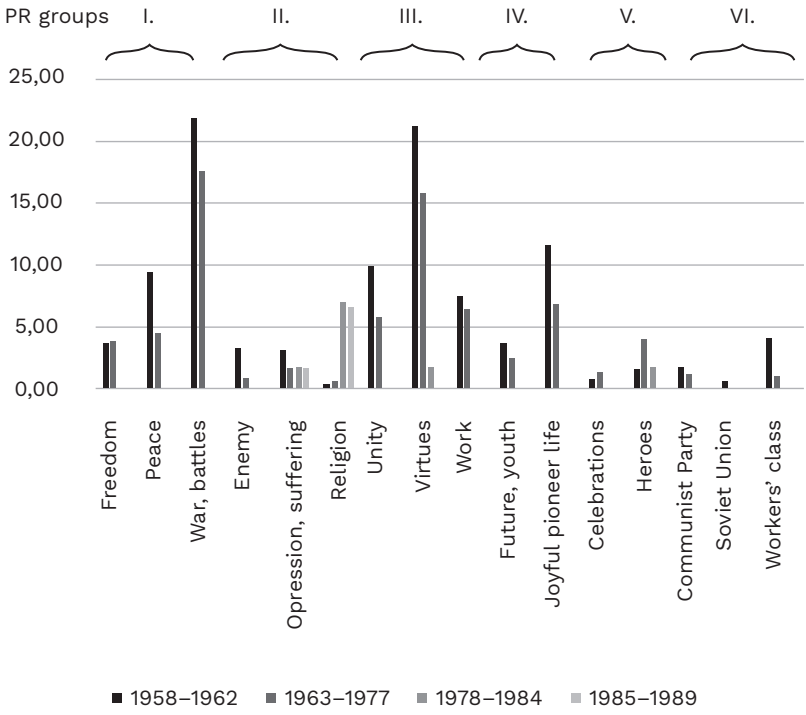
31 Ferenc Rákóczi's army in the Freedom war (1703–1711).

32 Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) and Sándor Petőfi (1823–1849): iconic personalities of the 1848/1849 revolution and freedom war.

Table 2. Code-groups according to characteristics of a PR

I. “Holy battles”	Freedom, Peace, War, battles (incl. revolution)
II. Enemy	Enemy, Oppression, suffering, Religion
III. Moral commandments	Unity, Virtues, Work
IV. Pioneers	Future & youth, Joyful pioneer life
V. “Heroic history” and celebrations	Celebrations, Heroes
VI. “Chosen people”	Communist Party, Workers’ class, Soviet Union

Figure 1. Distribution of the most frequent code groups



Changes in themes and genres of songs (Table 1) show the effect of de-ideologization and "social compromise" starting from 1963: agitation, propaganda and mobilization of masses became less prominent over time, and the movement songs almost completely disappeared by the early 1970s.[33] Pioneer songs lasted longer, they published the last ones in 1977.

Playful, humorous children song and folksong arrangements stared to appear from the mid-1960s. Love and romance (at first, in folksong arrangements), a very personal emotion in contrast with the communal feeling of united mission, also became more and more frequent from the late 1960s. We may interpret this as a sign of turn from matters of community to the matter of individual.

While mentions of the God and Jesus were not missing completely in the previous periods, albeit only in historical texts such as poems by Sándor Petőfi, they appeared more often in the 1980s. The first explicitly Christian religious content (an original poem for a melody by Franz Liszt) appeared in 1985, the year from which the crisis of the regime became widely apparent to the general public. The journal featured a newly composed religious song in 1988, thus, signaling the end of the hegemony of the religion of communism.

Conclusion

As every society develops its own cultural symbols and practices to unite and guide its members, the values of communism were transmitted in the songs that were taught to children. The communist totalitarian regime could not bypass the emotional and educational impact of music making, so mass singing events and the children's choral movement itself became useful in its quest for creating a new socialist man and society, and in setting children's roles in this system.

33 The only two that were published in the 1970s were pieces to commemorate April 4 (1977) and May 1 (1979).

The results of the pilot study showed how changes in the political climate reflected in musical pieces that a music pedagogical journal published and distributed with the intention to educate children.

It also revealed the utility of PR as a conceptual framework for content analysis in historical and educational research to understand the characteristics and life-cycle of a totalitarian regime: changing from militant mass movements to giving place to expressions of private life and individualism, and alternative worldviews until it loses its totalitarian rule, and becomes one of many possible co-existing civil religions.

With such a small sample, the validity of these results is, of course, limited. In order to fully understand their function in the totalitarian system, we should place and observe them in a wider historical-social-political, professional, and maybe also international context.

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Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Communist Regime: an Outlook on Educational Policy

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Abstract Bosnia and Herzegovina as one of the nine republics of Yugoslavia was always among the poorest republics in the former state. However, the school system, as it was the case in the totalitarian regimes, was under direct control of the state. The state had the power to influence school programs and to decide who could apply for school profession. After World War II, education became compulsory for all children and the state could have influenced easily all aspects of education. The state conception how to educate a new society and how to produce a common Yugoslav identity was in focus of the new ideology and those who did not agree with this concept were exposed to negative connotations and even to persecution. Human rights of an individual were openly proclaimed but not respected. Totalitarian societies commonly expect the system of education to operate as a main transformational force that will facilitate the creation of the new man in the social order they have proclaimed. After the split of the Soviet model of pedagogy (1945–1949), the changes occurred in education when the communists established a new regime with universal characteristics of the Yugoslavian education which differentiated among the republics in accordance with their own specificities. Bosnia and Herzegovina with its multi-ethnic nature occupied a special place inside the common state as a model that served as a creation of possible, multiethnic, socialist Yugoslavia.

Keywords Communist regime, teachers, education, ideology, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) were one of the republics of the newly established state after World War II, Yugoslavia. This new country started to build its society on a new ground in a difficult postwar situation. New political concept was introduced to the people and those

who disagreed with it were forced to accept it or to leave. Many people disappeared after the war. There was only one political party, the Communist one. This party started to spread its ideological aims through education aiming to children as the most absorbing power. Children were educated to hate enemies (those who lost the war) and love partisans. This was black and white situation. Tito was the president of the Yugoslavia and was celebrated as the son of the nation. Children and youngsters used to repeat Tito's famous idea "Work as peace will always be here and be prepared as the war would start tomorrow", in accordance to the Latin expression *Si vis pacem para bellum* (If you want peace, prepare for war). My attempt is to discuss the general tendencies in the school system in BiH under the Communist regime as well as to uncover ideological inputs that stayed behind the official politics. Through the history, BiH was always exposed to the interests of those who ruled in this particular region (the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Education was framed in accordance with the prevailed politics. BiH peoples were subordinated to diverse rulers and educational institutions only followed orders given by the current authorities. However, the politics was never created *in the name of people* as it was case in Yugoslavia. The principles of the new educational politics were formulated in a way that "school becomes institution for entire society and serves to its progress and liberation. School is free of the Church and religious influence and basis educational activity on science and Marxist theory. The whole society is interested for conditions of upbringing and education and through its representatives, it supports school to maintain this task" (Krneta, 1966, p. 184). The intention of the state politics was to construct the new system of education which would be completely divided from previous ones without influence of any religious. Therefore, the Communist Party's main goal was to establish new state as a secular, socialist and independent of any outside influences. In Yugoslavia, BiH was considered as a multicultural and multiethnic republic, religiously diverse including Catholics, Muslims, Christian Orthodox, and Jews. Therefore, it served as a good model for promoting the so-called 'brotherhood and unity' that was widely used ideological slogan referring

to the formation of a multi-ethnic Yugoslavia (Lozić, 2015). There were two challenging narratives related to the construction of BiH-identity, one "as a symbol of a united Yugoslavia", another as "a unique cultural heritage distinct from the neighboring states of Serbia and Croatia" (Alić & Gusheh, 1999, p. 12).

Influence of the SSSR on Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav Federation was made in accordance with the model of SSSR. It followed this pattern in political, social and economic aspect of people's life. Tito's 'final solution' of national problem was a blind application of Soviet example. The Soviet federation was publicly proclaimed as the positive example of solving relations among peoples in the history of humanity. As one communist concluded: "It is true that we made first steps into the new federation by following Stalinist mode" (Vujica, 1972, p. 45). The socialist Yugoslavia institutionalised and recognised the national identities that were pre-existing in 1945 similar to the USSR. After 1945 Yugoslavia copied the Soviet constitutional arrangement and the principles of its implementation in reality (Brubaker, 1996, pp. 23–54). "The Communist Partisans, like other Marxists, were highly influenced by Stalin's work on the national question and the Yugoslavia that they constructed as a federation of republics in 1946 was modelled closely on the Soviet Union" (Carmichael, 2015, p. 95).

In accordance with this, schooling and education were strongly influenced by the Soviet pedagogy in Yugoslavia in the postwar period. Soviet authors were recommended and their books were imported and translated into a local language. Looking at the Soviet example, educational staff was united into the Trade union that was established after the war. Those who were in charge of this union informed that the number of *teachers of the new type* increased on a daily basis. The main task of the Trade Union was to promote the quality of educational work including the constant learning and struggling for better political instruction of the teaching staff (Vidović, 1946). The new regime diminished and ignored all educational efforts and results of previous regimes naming them as a formalism of the old school. They

criticized verbalism, learning of definitions, formulas and facts (Begić, 1946). They claimed that new elementary school needed to be under the influence of a new spirit that would deal with a real life. This meant an introduction of the new contents and instruction of a teacher on how to educate children properly. Teachers' activity was controlled and observed by the inspector for education who evaluated their work. This gave an opportunity to the national authority to check on educational work and give a final word (Čaldarević, 1946). The authors of the magazine called *Educational laborer,* published in Sarajevo (1946–1949), who wrote about the situation in education used to quote Lenin or Stalin introducing school practice from the SSSR. Therefore, one of the authors quoted Lenin who claimed: "it is not possible to work without a plan, the longstanding plan for a serious success. Do not be afraid of longstanding plans: without them we cannot promote economic change. You should put all your strength in every place to fulfil this aim" (N. N., 1946, p. 27). In accordance with this proposition, a five years plan in education was promoted in SSSR. The same plan was supposed to be an example how to modernize education in Yugoslavia. There were two phases of the development of the school system and pedagogical theory promoted under the strong influence of the state ideology. First presented a development of socialistic pedagogy and schooling under direct Soviet influence until 1950s. Second phase meant a starting point of making a third path of self-managing socialistic pedagogy and schooling from 1951. The first phase suffered under complete domination of state ideology while the second phase recognized a slow decrease of state influence and politically proclaimed ideology (Radeka & Batinić, 2020).

In a meantime, the Yugoslav new regime decided to stop its cooperation with SSSR and Stalin. Tito said his historical "no" to Stalin and Yugoslavia started to follow its own path in history. In December 1949, the Third Plenum of the League of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (SK KPJ) introduced new qualities in education freed from the Soviet ideas. The policy makers set an account on dogmatization in science and pedagogy. They concluded that the aim of education was to form of an "universally educated free constructor of socialism, who is distanced

from bureaucracy and narrow mindedness" (Subotić, 1984, p. 112). Nevertheless, the Yugoslav regime kept being a totalitarian one creating its own strategies and policies. It continued to control education and school functioning proposing a creation of the school programs by infiltrating ideology and ideas in every aspect of school activity. The regime distanced itself from the Soviet influence but created its own approach to the real life. The schoolbooks were full of war topics and glorification of the partisans and their battles. In every segment of the people's life this ideology was evident. The republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was not an exception, quite the opposite. After dividing from the influence of soviet pedagogy, the intention of all educational subjects was to include more practical work in schools, focusing on the education of future laborers. An official uniformed educational policy that was full of normative tendencies did not permit any new initiatives within the educational practice (Šušnjara, 2015). It was declared "we need education which would prepare and educate our children for life in which only work and labor results define the position of human beings within society. The individual should be formed according to the Marxist standard and its world view. The school has an irreplaceable role in the development of self-managed socialistic awareness of the young generation. This is an important condition for the young generation if we want them to take over responsibility for further self-managed development of our society" (Mesihović, 1987, pp. 4–5). The communist government attempted to fill the people, especially youngsters, with a national and ideological consciousness using education and schoolbooks in an attempt to construct mindfulness, legitimize ideology, and shape everyday life and attitudes (Potkonjak, 1977). However, the whole educational system in the socialistic Yugoslavia was under continued supervision of the ideology that influenced and directed education. The school policy concept was completely monolithic one. There were only two ideas that dominated in all 50 years: unity of education as a symbol of social justice and generator of state identity and development of education in the self-managing system (Medveš, 2020, p. 65).

The Marxist standard and its world-view were an example to follow. New makers of education glorified work and labor results as the only tools that would create a proper socialist man. Therefore, practical work in school was the preferred topic with an intention to create loyal future laborers. Leading politicians pointed out that intellectualism needed to be expelled from schools. More practical work was recommended. Consequently, children would be more physically active and trained to develop their potential. The school practice indicated that educational policy was uniformed and full of normative tendencies. Young generations were seen as the promoters of the self-managing society and they needed to be properly instructed and educated (Šušnjara, 2015). "The subject of students self-management should be defined by starting with general normative definitions of self-management (as a basic social relation), and later review a natural perspective on the role of students labor which they carry out, as well as from the position of their ages" (Bročić, 1972, p. 17).

Therefore, the leading politicians considered that children would be adequately educated in the conditions of self-management. They also thought that children needed to be under an integral care and influence of the labor class if they wanted them to be promotors and constructors of a modern socialistic society. There was also a need for teachers to be enlightened in this spirit because they had responsibility in transferring their knowledge to the students. Even though the self-managing society proclaimed the equality of everybody's work, the teachers' position was not changed very much in comparison to previous regimes, at least in BiH. Thus, pedagogues discussed this issue pointing out that the status of educational laborers was not at the satisfying level. According to the law, education was considered as an activity of national importance, but teachers found themselves as hard working laborers not adequately recognized within society. Their material status was lower than of those who worked in other social spheres (Šušnjara, 2016). "The material position of the educational laborer was not at a satisfying level, even though the general law of education determined the educational sphere as an activity of major social importance. Therefore, such contradictory and unfavorable conditions provoked a belief

concerning educational laborers that they were not adequately recognized socially and their material status was lower than that of others with the same qualifications within the social and economic spheres" (Ilić, 1989, p. 311). In spite of these objections, the material conditions of teachers did not considerably enhanced in the years that followed. The leading politician Rodoljub Čolaković gave an interview in 1983, expressing regrettably: "Today we have about 150,000 teachers. This in military terms is, 15 divisions and – imagine what they could have done if they consisted of enthusiastic individuals, members of the SKOJ![1] Do you know what power this is? [...] Yes, but look how badly teachers are paid! We do not call them teachers any more, but [...] I can't even say this word which has changed that beautiful teacher's name [...]" (Subotić, 1984, p. 239). The fact that Čolaković was the first prime minister of the new BiH Republic, a long-term Communist (Carmichael, 2015) and later on the minister of education did not improve teachers' status or situation in education as such. Up to 1990, politics in BiH was entirely dominated by former partisans (Carmichael, 2015).

Bosnia and Herzegovina' Educational Efforts

The years between 1945 and 1950 corresponded with a campaign of industrialization and collectivization, encouraged by the successes of similar programs in the Soviet Union. From 1946 onwards the republican authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina began the construction of new school building and education of professionals. Through these efforts, the partisans aimed to bring children from different national groups and different social backgrounds together in a school in which they could learn from each other and be together. They also would receive appropriate exercise and political instruction related to important moments from the National Liberation Struggle. Regardless the way in which the state ideology changed after 1948, the transformative impulse in education lasted in some form until at least the middle of the 1950s. The development of education and teaching staff was

1 Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije (Aliance of the Communist Youth).

a political-national necessity inseparably linked to the National Liberation Struggle (Yeomans, 2010).

BiH was among the poorest republics in the former state. It was mostly agricultural region nearly without industry. The school system was undeveloped and population was mainly illiterate. In 1941, more than 70% of population in Bosnia and Herzegovina was illiterate. In the periods before the war, the majority of people did not attend schools. At that time, Bosnia and Herzegovina did not have any faculty except the theological ones (Šušnjara, 2013). In order to ensure a necessary number of teachers, the authority founded the higher pedagogical school in Sarajevo in 1946. In 1948, there were only 4,000 highly educated persons in BiH (Bevanda, 2001, p. 106). The national government and its representatives made orations during the opening of this higher school emphasizing "the attempt of this school is to create a new type of teachers for secondary schools. Progressive, constructive and full of excitement this teacher would be a patriot who is tied up with his nation and his task is to educate youngsters and peoples in the spirit of the progress and love towards science, traditions of NOR[2], homeland and nation and its healthy historical and cultural traditions" (Šamić, 1946, p. 14). Šamić (1946) also wrote that the best guarantee that the students of this school would be able to become teachers in two years is working and revolutionary élan that would overwhelm the entire population, especially youngsters. Every third adult resident was illiterate. During World War II, Bosnia and Herzegovina was destroyed and devastated without appropriate school network. From the beginning of the republic's development, the government recognized that there was a problem with a lack of trained and ideologically-conscious teaching staff (Šušnjara, 2013). Despite the longstanding plans, the lack of teachers was evident and delaying every further process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The fact that some teachers lost their job because of their disagreement with the new ideology did not make this situation better. "These are not easy questions

2 Narodno-oslobodilački rat (National Liberation War).

for the larger number of older teachers […] for often the intentions are completely unfruitful when we are dealing with teachers who are principally and consciously against new concepts" (Papić, 1981, p. 104). The minister of education from the newly established government, Rodoljub Čolaković, encouraged this action claiming "pay more attention to constructing schools and short-term courses because it is better to have less qualified literacy courses as opposed to illiterate children" (Petranović et al., 1985b, p. 342). As a result of such a practice, children got poor education. Teachers who agreed to follow this instruction were also ready to follow the new ideas and to get a position. The same minister of education kept pointing out that the profession of teacher was very difficult profession and therefore teachers should be individuals who were aware of this fact. The new regime had power to influence school programs as well as to make a choice of school staff. Namely, a person who wanted to work as teacher had to be registered as the member of the Communist Party which was the only political party in Yugoslavia (Šušnjara, 2016).

Teachers were seen as promotors of the new models of living and behaving, especially because of their role in shaping the new generations. Thus, the new authority started with revolutionary changing of the society. Everything what reminded to the old system and society were proclaimed as 'bourgeoise', 'reactionary', 'decadent' and 'backward' (Dobrivojević, 2011, p. 7). In order to build a new socialist society and a 'socialistic' man, the struggle with the previous remains of the regime turn out to be a necessity. The political opponents became unwanted and persecution of those who were considered as 'radical' or 'dogmatic' started intensely. Intellectuals were under a special control. The new authority was afraid of their influence and ideas that they could promote among people. Education became a weapon in the political struggle during the process of creation a new socialist society (Šušnjara, 2016).

In other to bridge this gap, the authority organized short-term courses to train future teachers. About three-fourth of the accessible teachers after the war had finished a basic course instead the teacher training school. To address this, the Ministry for education invented

a series of courses to train and educate teaching staff. There were numerous difficulties in implementation of these courses, not least of which was local resistance on both the administrative and individual level. One of the main obstacles was the attitude of the Regional People's Committees which had frequently not joined the "mobilization of youth" and had not sent the needed number of course participants "despite our reports and urgency" (Yeomans, 2010, p. 75). Government officials blamed older generations for this resistance of youth. They considered that youth inherited the primitive attitudes from them as well as negative attitudes towards education. Despite initially dallying of education accomplishments throughout of history, BiH persistently followed the course of education in Yugoslavia after World War II.

The first University in BiH was opened in 1949 and it was an opportunity for many students to attend various faculties. It was emphasized: "The establishment of the University in our Republic is a significant event in the history of our nation. This is not only important for our Republic but for all the people of Yugoslavia. On the one hand, the foundation of our University is so important in the terms of the paths and progress of Bosnia and Herzegovina throughout history. On the other hand, it is important in terms of the needs that our socialist homeland has for the professional and highly skilled staff, and above all, the needs of our man for cultural and educational improvement" (Papić, 1981, p. 181). Nevertheless, those who supported the regime and favorably followed the directives of various political commissars, who were hardly literate themselves, were the progressive ones. This was apparent due to the membership of the party's first university professional team consisting of famous war participants and party members who had "played a major role in bringing the youngest University of Yugoslavia into line with the most advanced institutions of higher education", as stated in the Regulation of the Divisions for faculties, adopted in 1950 (*Službeni list BiH*, 1950, p. 337). The idea of the unified school became an option towards the unification of the system including program and subject matters. Working school prevailed in the teaching as well as Herbartian approach. As Papić emphasized: "Just as the level of primary education is the most evident sign of the broadness

in which the enlightenment of one nation has been based on, thus the university reflects the rise of the country in its educational and scientific achievement" (Papić, 1981, p. 181). The University was completely integrated and students of different religions studied together in Sarajevo. Later on, in the 1970s, universities were opened in Tuzla, Banja Luka and Mostar (Šušnjara, 2015; Carmichael, 2015).

The new regime mainly focused on youngsters through education. The party made it clear that old customs (such as traditional dress of BiH women, ethnic and religious customs) had to be exterminated. They were considered as a sign of oppression and new society needed to accept modern visions of living. The state encouraged matrimonial relations across ethnic lines, free of religious influence. Therefore, mixed marriages were stimulated positively and a large percentage of the leading political elite in BiH were in mixed marital partnership. Such an ideological understanding of social reality had intention to eliminate ethnic identity or class privilege (Ančić, 2004). The idea was to create "the ethnically mixed Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which no nation can claim titular status [...] as a region with different religions but one nation" (Burić, 2010, p. 234).

The Constant Lack of Teaching Staff

There were seven teacher training schools in BiH in 1948: Mostar, Sarajevo, Travnik, Bihać, Banja Luka, Tuzla and Derventa with 1600 pupils. Teachers used to get their diplomas at Higher Pedagogical School and Faculty of Philosophy. The five years plan ordered that after finishing teacher training schools, candidates had obligation to be at service to the people and homeland. This task was given to youngsters by comrade Tito's message: "We need to send a huge number of youngsters to teacher training schools in order to ensure future generation of teachers" (Đikić, 1948, p. 6). Nevertheless, at the end of the 1960s, BiH still faced the same problem in not providing enough of its own teachers. Therefore, teachers were imported from other parts of Yugoslavia, particularly from Serbia and Montenegro (Dizdar & Bakaršić, 1996).

An increased need for teaching profession went together with the increasing need for laboring force of other professions, such as engineers,

doctors and agronomists. Accordingly, it was important to establish secondary schools for these professions as well. Hence, there were complains that the process of resolving illiteracy had to be priority as well as the founding of primary and secondary schools that were still lacking. There were even protests related to the process of establishing many faculties, in a time when more than 50% of children did not join primary school, or more than 60% of adults were illiterate (Papić, 1981). Furthermore, there were about 39 municipalities in BiH without a primary school on its territory, or if they succeeded to organize school functioning, the quality of the teaching staff was insufficient. Approximately three-fourths of the teachers had completed a basic teaching course instead of a teacher training school (Petranović et al., 1985a).

The compelled establishment of elementary schools without suitable teaching staff and material and substantial objective conditions influenced considerably pupils' educational achievements. "It was not a rare case that the sixth classes were founded in the school hallways, without the most basic teaching aids and equipment. There were usually three educators so that their working time lasted for 8 or more hours. Moreover, if we add the period of preparation for classes, then the figure rises to 12 hours per day, which exceeds the real possibilities and norms of these teachers. In such conditions where one teacher is in charge of 2 departments and teaches 10 or more hours of part-time, it is impossible to achieve quality" (Ivanić, 1963, p. 5). Up to 1964/65, the post-war expansion of education in BiH showed significant characteristics: an important increase of all educational institutions, pupils and students; the solid development of secondary and higher education; and slow development of primary education (Milišić, 2007). Consequently, whole school system faced a crisis in 1967. The primary school system that had a special significance for social development suffered a lot. The dispersion of students from the first to the eighth grades rapidly emerged. Just about half of the students from the fifth grade were not able to finish primary school in eight years. Dispersal started in the fifth grade when pupils were not able to adjust themselves to a greater number of teachers and dissimilar teaching methods. Moreover, the many parents regard as a primary school a four-year

school. They also considered secondary schools as higher grades that children from rural areas did not really need (Šušnjara, 2013, p. 101).

Enduring Problem of Illiteracy

According to the Statistic data from 1973, BiH had 672,000 (23.2%) illiterate population in the age of 10 and more. By comparison of this data with the number of inhabitants in BiH (3,746,000) it is evident that every sixth inhabitant was illiterate. Even Sarajevo as a capital city had 18,000 illiterate citizens (Nikić, 1973a, p. 2). This continuous occurrence of illiteracy confused educational workers, especially the fact that 122,000 illiterate people was in the age of 10–34. The number of illiterate people in the age of 35–64 had been reduced symbolically. Namely, a majority of the villagers, especially women, avoided alphabetical courses or attended them irregularly. The party officers also acknowledged that alphabetical courses were "mostly running for numbers than the real status of those made literate" (Dobrivojević, 2011, pp. 14–15). In reality, there were numerous examples about people who forgot how to read and write were asked to take the course again and afterwards were reported as literate once more (ibid., 2011). This group included about 30% of the active population. Villages noted an alarming number of illiterate people (589,280, about 90%), while 65,540 or 10% of urban population was also illiterate. However, a deeper analysis would discover the real situation, every eleventh citizen and every fourth peasant were illiterate (Nikić, 1973b). Female population was also a large problem. From the total number of female inhabitants in BiH, 34.63% were illiterate, almost every third woman was illiterate. The number of illiterate women in the age of 10–19 was 4.60% or 23,582 women, in the age of 20–34 – 15.33% or 78,590 women. In total sum, there were 19.93% or 102,172 illiterate women in the age of 10–34 (D. G, 1973). "This is too much. These women are mostly mothers or they intended to be. They are first educators of youngsters. Therefore, it is a large problem. Even literate people have problems to follow modern life directions. How can we ask this from illiterate mothers who are expected to offer some explanations to their children in order to

help them even in a situation when they are not capable to do so?!" (D. G, 1973, p. 4).

Table 1. Illiteracy of women in 1973

Women in 1973	Age 10–19	Age 20–34	Age 10–34
Illiterate	23,582	78,590	102,172

The problem of illiteracy was not only a result of "a cultural heritage" but it was the equivalent of an unfortunate history and "the darkness of the occupations that oppressed our poor people" (Šipovac, 1975, pp. 531–536). Šipovac declared that an illiterate man "is not a complete person, neither in his family, neither in production nor in the whole of society. Illiteracy is the real illness of our social sphere of life; it is one that has the biggest and darkest pains" (ibid., p. 536). Even though some constructive efforts evidently were taken in order to increase literacy, young people and the working class were mostly illiterate. "In this moment of our socialistic development, illiteracy cannot be tolerated. An autonomous society requests conscious citizens who need to be educated in order to contribute to their development" (ibid., p. 534). Therefore, it was concluded that illiteracy was not simply the concern of educational institutions but a problem of the entire society. It is important to emphasize that in 1975, from 109 municipalities of BiH, half of them had the status of economically undeveloped areas. Therefore, a majority of these areas got 70% financial support from the Republic to build elementary schools, whereas developed municipalities sponsored this process from their own financial resources. (Hromadžić, 1982, p. 4).

Ideologization through Education, Example of Tito's Pioneers

As mentioned before, during the construction of the new state, BiH was often presented as 'Jugoslavija u malom' (miniature Yugoslavia) because of its multiethnic character. Therefore, this republic represented a unique opportunity to political observant to see how education

could be advanced and modified within the context of great state-building efforts in an ethnically varied society (Lanahan, 2017). The Communist experiment of 'brotherhood and unity' was much more successful and well applied in BiH, more than anywhere in Yugoslavia. As it was already mentioned, education was seen as an appropriate tool for creating new citizens and loyal members of the socialistic society. Schoolbooks, poetry, literature, physical activities, arts, excursion, all of these school activities were colored by the present ideology and glorified Tito as the biggest son of the Homeland. Schoolbooks dealt with outstanding nation's spirit based on the epic traditions of Yugoslav past, particularly the traditions of the People's Liberation War. Children had to learn about heroic battles and important dates from new history. Pupils participated at the competitions during the manifestation known as *Tito's revolutionary trails* (Batinić, Radeka & Šušnjara, 2016).

Example of the continuous impact of the ideology was obvious in the process of initiation of small children into Tito's pioneers. Namely, children from the first grade were initiated into Tito's pioneers and stayed there until they become old enough to commence with a new role, one of the Tito's youngsters. Pioneers did not have any alternative. Then, they could have become members of the Socialist Communist Youth of Yugoslavia. Everything served for spreading ideological ideas of the Communist regime. The very word *PIONEER* was an acronym – Persevering, Industrious, Open-minded, Noble, Earnest, Enlightened and Reliable (Batinić, Radeka & Šušnjara, 2016). In practice, Yugoslav socialism involved a reduction and suppression of people's rights. The Communist Party, police, and secret service were the main tools of implementation of this regime. Education was seen as the place where reinforcement of ideological approaches could have found its place. Therefore, the collective socialist consciousness was applied through Pioneer and Youth organizations (Ognjenović & Jozelić, 2016).

The Communist regime found power of words as very influential and good in promotions of their ideas. With constant repeating of these words the state succeeded to connect the greatest terms in political dictionary with their own movement. When someone listened or read terms such as: freedom, progress, democracy, patriotism, nation,

national, it seems that they were made just to describe communism and its aims (Vujica, 1972). Therefore, they created slogans which had an important role in enforcing the communist ideology and promoting a personality cult. The slogans were elements of school decorations, especially during various celebrations. The slogans like "Death to fascism – freedom to the people!", "Tito, the Party, the Youth, the action!", "We are all Tito!", "We belong to Tito, Tito belongs to us!", "Brotherhood-unity!" were yelled by children, without understanding of their sense or connotations. Pupils and students were involved in different programs celebrating various occasions and they sang or recited songs and poems which glorified Tito and his distinguished role in the war. He was presented as the hero who fought for their better future and position in the world liberated from the bourgeoisie and removed from the bad capitalist world. Children's songs projected for festive occasions had a stronger influence on pupils and had an additional significant purpose – creation of enjoyment and pride to live in such country (Batinić, Radeka & Šušnjara, 2016). Symbols were also instrumentalized for political aims to shape the public perception. Red star was the main symbol and its supremacy was absolute. Even BiH's flag became a symbol of this Republic's specificity, a red flag with a small Yugoslav flag in the corner pointing out in this way that this republic is an actual copy of the main state.

Ideological and political learning was a part of education. Political decisions were present in every aspect of schools' life. The prominent professionals of that time invested in the schools "comrade Tito's thoughts on education". Professor at faculties quoted Tito's ideas or thoughts as "motivation and a warning regarding what was recommended to be done and what was not allowed" (Šušnjara, 2015, p. 85). Nikola Filipović, professor at the Department of Pedagogy, University of Sarajevo, claimed that Tito had a knowledge how to make strong interaction between the party's policy and pedagogy. He explained that the reason for this laid in fact "[…] the domination of policy over pedagogy was 'cultivated' and accepted as normal fact which had a positive effect towards understanding the behavior of political and professional

employees in ministries, committees and boards, as well as pedagogues in different institutions" (Filipović, 1971, p. 512).

Even the free time of children was under the influence of politics aiming to correctly develop their abilities and to shape them properly in accordance with the proclaimed educational goals. In reality, questions about free time and leisure were profoundly ideological, with the different kinds of a reading material. Magazines for children and youth always "give a special attention to education [...] and very precisely indicate the ideological, moral and other aims that they want to present and root into new generations" (Javor, 2010, p. 3). Pupils were encouraged to read at least one children magazine (*Vesela sveska*, *Male novine*, *Modra lasta*) that dealt with school issues and usually presented national and state holidays, explaining their significance supported by children paintings or poetry (Batinić, Radeka & Šušnjara, 2016). These magazines presented contents in the spirit of the social times in a way suitable for children and youth to understand. Thus, they were able "to be engaged in indirect, implicit and 'seductive' education" (Lončar, 2019, p. 25). Free time and leisure were wider political, social, and cultural streams and were innately linked. Apart of the schools and other educational and cultural institutions, other factors of socialistic education needed to influence children free time, such as magazines, radio or TV (Potkonjak, 1977). At the same time, ideology still played an important role in the school itinerary and extracurricular activities, including competitions as well as national and partisan dances. Erdei (2006) claimed that only correctly ideologically influenced children and youth could be a seed of a better future and guarantee a lead of the historical development in the right direction. BiH was a polygon of such an effort and this could be a reason why Yugo-nostalgia is still very much present in this country where echoes of the Socialist past were louder than in other former republics.

Conclusion

As it was presented, the state-wide project did not recognize borders between formal and informal education, or between family, school and social life. Everyone was expected to work towards the same

goal in educating the new Yugoslavian man of socialist orientation in accordance with the declared ideology of the Communist Party in all republics. Education was subordinated to undemocratic ideological requests of a single-party state. The republics had to follow instruction given by the main authority and the same contents and beliefs were presented to the children. There was no alternative to such education or exclusion from some festive occasions organized by school. Children were a small army in the hand of the dominant party that controlled every step of people's movement. Certain political experts perceived BiH as a proper place for checking Yugoslav concept because of its multi-ethnic nature. Therefore, they used to call this Republic as a small Yugoslavia (Kamberović, 2018, Lučić, 2008). Because of its specificity, BiH was under the constant influences of political interests that encouraged certain actions that were not so much present in other republics. From abovementioned facts, it was evident that the primary education developed slowly in BiH which then reflected to other aspects of people's life, interests and choice of future career. Position of teachers kept being underestimated and not adequately recognized in the society. People, especially those from rural regions, were unenthusiastic to send their children to the schools after they completed four-year education. However, the authority made a lot of efforts to explain the importance of education to its citizens. The pioneer and youth organizations were in charge to attract education to their peers from distant regions. They organized some festive events and social circles as well as sport activities. In BiH "modern foundations of basic education were being placed, significantly weakening these elementary efforts due to the materialistic and political difficulties, social prejudices and more or less indifference of the middle class" (Babić & Kovačević, 2000, p. 6). Despite all these actions and promotions, illiteracy maintained as a constant and longstanding problem in BiH. Unfortunately, female population in rural regions were mostly deprived in regard to this issue. A social aspect of this phenomena showed that BiH required higher investment in education and changes in public perception of education as an essential tool for prosperous life. As Kamberović claimed "because of the fact that modernized processes were not an input in all social

spheres (especially politics), it was discovered at the end of this period that the Bosnian society did not go over the borders of traditionalism and therefore, did not enter into the category of modernized societies" (Kamberović, 2000, p. 185). The period of socialism left imprisoned in the memory of BiH inhabitants looking for the experts to investigate it properly.

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Polish Social Pedagogy in the Stalinist Period (1945–1956)

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Abstract The social pedagogy is an important, specific part of the Polish pedagogy, with a unique character – since it began to emerge at the end of the 19th century in Polish lands. Although it developed very dynamically in the interwar period, both theoretically and institutionally and in terms of practical activities, after 1945 it experienced some great difficulties in returning to normal functioning in the scientific world, as did all the social sciences, considered by the new communist authorities to be dangerous for the "new" man and the society. The purpose of this article is an attempt to describe the situation of social pedagogy in Poland at the beginning of introduction of political, economic and social changes inspired by the ideology of communism in the so-called Stalinist period, i.e. between 1945 and 1956, with reference to the two currents in which it functioned at that time – one focused around the person and the concept of Helena Radlińska and one created on the borderline of pedagogy and social teaching of the Catholic Church.

Keywords social pedagogy, social eduaction, Polish pedagogy, humanistic social pedagogy, Stalinist period

Introduction

The period of the World War II made research and education of students in the Polish territories occupied by the Germans and Russians very difficult. The end of the acts of war and the return to normal functioning of the state since 1945 were associated with the resumption and intensification of both scientific and educational work. The new political and social order, however, introduced by the communist authorities caused problems for the free, unrestricted development of all research disciplines – especially in the humanities and social sciences, which referred in their assumptions to philosophical or ideological

foundations considered hostile or unfavourable by the communism. The Stalinist period (1945–1956) in Poland was a time of the reconstruction of the entire social system, including the Polish science.

This situation also affected the pedagogy, which was cautiously implemented to play the role of a systemic tool used for the upbringing of the "new human". Its purpose was to help the authorities with rebuilding social consciousness and shaping the socialist reality (Hejnicka-Bezwińska, 1999, p. 64). It was the result of plans to make Polish science and higher education similar to the Soviet – ideological, utilitarian, politically controlled, strictly subordinate to the state and the Communist Party (Connelly, 2000, pp. 19–23, Zysiak, 2019). The social pedagogy was therefore also subject for political and ideological pressures. The purpose of this article is an attempt to describe the situation of social pedagogy in Poland at the beginning of introduction of political, economic and social changes inspired by the ideology of communism in the Stalinist period. In article I firstly describe Polish social pedagogy, its specificity and phases of the development. The next two parts refer to the two currents of social pedagogy which functioned in 1945–1956: one focused around the person and the concept of Helena Radlińska and one created on the borderline of pedagogy and social teaching of the Catholic Church. I want to show how ideologization of the Stalinist period resulted in interrupting development of these trends and then attempting to ban it or adapt it to the new political and social conditions.

Development of the Polish Social Pedagogy as a Human Science

Social pedagogy is one of the pedagogical sub-disciplines, which began to emerge in the Polish territory at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, becoming one of the rapidly developing research fields in Poland during the interwar period (cf. Cichosz, 2009, pp. 7–9, Theiss, 2018). That term was adopted by the Krakow scientific community, but in 1918–1939 it quickly spread throughout Poland (see Drynda, 1992, pp. 11–12; Kawula, 2003, p. 41). Helena Radlińska is considered to be its creator, thanks to her scientific and didactic work, which enabled

the creation of the theoretical and practical foundations of this academic discipline (cf. Theiss, 2018, p. 10).

Social pedagogy is nowadays widespread in Continental Europe and recently in English-speaking world and Latin America, but axiological, political or ideological dimensions have large implications for building its theoretical framework and the way its practice (Moss & Petrie, 2019, pp. 394–396; Hidalgo & Ucar, 2020, pp. 715–716). In Poland it has a certain specificity especially related to the time of its creation and the political and social situation on Polish land at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (cf. Kamiński, 1978; Przecławska, 1998, p. 99). The Polish state regained its independence in 1918 after 123 years of the invaders' occupation; then it was merged from the lands of three different countries. The intense and varied attempts to regain independence in the 19th century and the following processes of intensive reconstruction of the country during the interwar period strongly affected the social pedagogy that was created at that time, influencing its interests, goals and contents. The specificity of the Polish social pedagogy was mainly expressed in a broader circle of research interests than in the case of other countries, which still remains a characteristic feature of this discipline (Przecławska, 1998, p. 99). This is noticeable, for example, in various approaches to the social pedagogy and attempts to define its research area.

For example, referring to the well-known, classic attempt to define this discipline, according to Radlińska (1961, pp. 361–362), social pedagogy "is a practical science, developing at the crossroads of human, biological and social sciences with ethics and cultural studies, all through its own point of view. It can be shortly described as an interest in the mutual relationship between the individual and the environment, the influence of the living conditions of cultural circles on ensuring the existence to values through their adoption, promotion and the processing of environments by human forces in the name of the ideal". Its subject matter is therefore very broadly defined here. A similarly extensive approach to the social pedagogy is presented by its more contemporary representatives. For example, according to Roman Jusiak, the subject of the social pedagogy is the analysis of environmental conditions

of the educational process and constructing of the human environment in an optimal way for its development (2003, p. 63). Tadeusz Frąckowiak also proposes a very broad approach to that pedagogical discipline. He claims that the social pedagogy is humanistic reflection on human, its life and the environment which has many dimensions: philosophical, religious, ethical, pedagogical, political (2007, p. 54). According to Wiesław Theiss, this discipline deals with the environmental conditions of care and educational processes in the human life (2018, p. 10). The selected attempts to define the research area of the social pedagogy show the multiplicity and extensiveness of problems and issues that are subject to the research identification within this pedagogical discipline, indicating its specificity. They also provide a framework for a consideration: what kind of pedagogical thought or its elements can be considered as belonging to the social pedagogy.

It is also important to outline the basic phases of the development of the Polish social pedagogy in order to create a context for reflection on its situation during the Stalinist period. Mariusz Cichosz distinguishes three basic time periods of the social pedagogy development in Poland. The first is the period of the sub-discipline formation, covering the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, related to the scientific and practical activities of its precursors, who took up issues characteristic for the social pedagogy or created its foundations within their scientific disciplines, with Helena Radlińska playing the leading role. The second is the time of the institutional and scientific development of the social pedagogy after World War II, especially in the 1960s and 1970s of the 20th century, related to the scientific work of Ryszard Wroczyński, Aleksander Kamiński, Stanisław Kowalski and Irena Lepalczyk. The third period is a time of changes in the practice of the social pedagogy after 1990, associated with the social and systemic transformation and new opportunities for learning without restrictions from the socialist order (Cichosz, 2009, pp. 7–11). A similar distinction can be found in the considerations of Andrzej Radziewicz-Winnicki (2008, pp. 80–84) and Wiesław Ciczkowski (2003, pp. 49–55). The latter draws attention to the years 1950–1956,

which he describes as a time of stagnation in the development of the social pedagogy, caused by the harsh actions of the communist authorities against any social sciences, including the social pedagogy (Ciczkowski, 2003, p. 51).

A more detailed analysis of the periods of the social pedagogy development can be found in Marynowicz-Hetka's study (2009, pp. 213–215), which indicates 6 phases. The first is the period "before the social pedagogy", covering the end of the 19th century until 1925, when the social and educational practice dominated and the beginnings of theoretical thought appeared. The second is the time between 1925 and 1950, when an intensive process of creating academic discipline and its institutionalisation takes place. The third period distinguished by the author concerns the years 1957–1970 and is described as a high intensity re-institutionalisation. It is related to the emergence of the Chairs of the Social Pedagogy and the numerous publications on her research subject. The next phase of development is the years 1970–1980, when new research centres, new trends, directions, research fields are created – the range of the social pedagogy and research in this field is growing in strength. The next phase of development of this discipline, in the years 1980–1990, is a period of theoretical doubt, new challenges and dilemmas and the search for identity. Whereas the next, last phase of the social pedagogy development began in 1990. This is related to the processes of the social and political transformation, which allowed, on the one hand, to return to the roots, issues and concepts rejected by the communist censorship, and on the other hand, to develop many new concepts, trends, problems and studies with diverse philosophical, theoretical or ideological foundations (Marynowicz-Hetka, 2009, pp. 213–215). It seems that this division details and clarifies the previously indicated approaches to the development of the social pedagogy, pointing to the breakthrough moments for the development of this sub-discipline.

In this article I would like to take a closer look at the social pedagogy in the years 1945–1956, the so-called Stalinist period. It was definitely a difficult time for the humanities and social sciences. The World War II significantly limited the development of the social pedagogy,

leaving the richness of the scientific discipline practised in the interwar period suspended. The end of the war raised hopes for a return to a differentiated view of the problems of the human and the environment, but for ideological reasons the new government began to repress social sciences that were not cultivated according to the Communist ideology, which did not allow for the introduction and consolidation of the new order.

The Social Pedagogy Related to Helena Radlińska and Her Concept in 1945–56

After the World War II the social pedagogy began to recover in the form it had acquired before its outbreak. As Cichosz (2009, p. 29) points out, its continuity has been preserved thanks to the didactic and scientific activity of many pre-war social educators. Others resumed their research work after the war (Ciczkowski, 2003, p. 51). The Stalinist period (its first part) is treated as an extension of the development of the social pedagogy during the pre-war period, although under changed political and social conditions (Cichosz, 2016, pp. 249–252).

In 1945 the first Chair of Social Pedagogy under the direction of Helena Radlińska was established at the University of Łodz, and in 1947 the first congress of students of the Studium Pracy Społeczno-Oświatowej Wolnej Wszechnicy Polskiej [Study of Social and Educational Work of Free Polish Academy of Sciences] (which organised secret teaching during the occupation) and the Chair of Social Pedagogy (Cichosz, 2009, pp. 29–31) took place. Polski Instytut Służby Społecznej [the Polish Institute of Social Service] was also established in that time, closely cooperating scientifically and practically with Radlińska and her Chair (Cichosz, 2009; Theiss, 1997, p. 33), and Wydział Społeczny Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego [the Social Department of Rural Farming] in Lodz, also in cooperation with Radlińska (Theiss, 1997, p. 33). Helena Radlinska's circle of pedagogues, which was centred around the Chair of the Social Pedagogy of the University of Lodz, included such pedagogues as: Ryszard Wroczyński, Aleksander Kamiński, Irena Lepalczyk, Elżbieta Zawacka, Aleksandra Majewska, Tadeusz Pudełko, Wanda Wyrobkowa-Pawłowska, Anna Walicka-Chmielewska, Maria Aszoff,

Henryk Dinter, Emilia Manteuffel-Szoege, Tadeusz Szymański (cf. Theiss, 2018; Lepalczyk, 2002). She also collaborated with representatives of the other social sciences and community activists: Eugeniusz Ajnenkiel, Józef Chałasiński, Jan Muszkowski, Edward Rosset, Wacław Szubert, Kazimiera Zawistowicz-Adamska (cf. Lepalczyk, 2002).

At that time, publications in the field of the social pedagogy are issued – by Radlińska and her associates (cf. Cichosz, 2009, pp. 30–31). They include: *Oświata dorosłych: zagadnienia, dzieje formy, pracownicy, organizacja* [*Adult Education: Issues, History of Form, Employees, Organisation*] (Radlińska, 1947); *Badania regionalne dziejów pracy społecznej i oświatowej* [*Regional Research on the History of Social and Educational Work*] (Radlińska, 1948); *Sieroctwo: zasięg i wyrównywanie* [*Orphanage: Reach and Aligning*] (Wojtyniak & Radlińska, 1946); *Pomoc wychowawcza: wyniki wychowania w rodzinach zastępczych* [*Educational Assistance: Results of Upbringing in Foster Families*] (Majewska & Radlińska, 1948). The publication of *Książka wśród ludzi* [*Book among People*] was also repeated (Radlińska, 1946). The following 1951 student script should not be omitted here: *Egzamin z pedagogiki społecznej* [*Examination in the Social Pedagogy*], which was a new approach to the concept of the social pedagogy according to Radlińska. It has been reprinted in her collected works (Radlińska, 1961, cf. Theiss, 2018, p. 17).

During the Stalinist period, there were also works created by Radlińska's students, who began to operate scientifically on a larger scale in the 1960s and 1970s, forming the core of the social educators of that time. These publications partly referred to the social pedagogy or dealt with its history. They included: *Pedagogika Antoniego Makarenki* [*Antoni Makarenko's Pedagogy*] (Kamiński, 1948b), *Nauczanie i wychowanie metodą harcerską* [*Teaching and Education Using the Scouting Method*] (Kamiński, 1948a), also *Programy oświatowe pozytywizmu w Polsce na tle społecznym i gospodarczym* [*Educational Programmes of Positivism in Poland against a Social and Economic Background*] (Wroczyński, 1950) and *Myśl pedagogiczna i programy oświatowe w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX w.* [*Pedagogical Thought and Educational Programmes in the Kingdom of Poland at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries*] (Wroczyński, 1955). Other authors wrote practical handbooks: *Od czego zależą dobre*

wyniki nauczania. Pogadanki dla rodziców [*What Does Good Teaching Results Depend on? Causeries for Parents*] (Chmielewska & Szurek, 1954) – paying attention to the environmental determinants of education processes. An indication of the ongoing research work were also monographs reviews (e.g. Muszyński, 1947; Kowalski 1948; Kamiński, 1948c). Also Radlińska's associates representing other social sciences at that time published books of great importance for the development of social pedagogy due to raising throughout the part pedagogical or social issues, or the advance of research methodology (e.g. Chałasiński, 1946, 1948; Muszkowski, 1951; Szubert, 1948; Zawistowicz-Adamska, 1948a, 1948b, 1951). Therefore, in this short period, many publications were published, at least partially related to the research area of social pedagogy.

Until around 1948, the social pedagogy took up problems and scientific research conducted before the war. Until 1947, universities operated on the basis of legal regulations from the interwar period (Radziewicz-Winnicki, 2008, p. 80). Since 1948, when the highest authorities launched the so-called "ideological offensive", the research based on the assumptions of the Second Polish Republic was limited (cf. Hejnicka-Bezwińska, 1999, p. 63; Cichosz, 2009, p. 31). The newly-built socialist society, based on the vision of a "new man" thinking and acting in the categories of Marxism-Leninism, could not be based on the science practised in the individualistic and class currents from the perspective of the communist authorities (Cichosz, 2009, p. 31). The "new" social pedagogy was based on the principles of communist ideology and to become a tool for building a socialist state.

In connection with the "ideological offensive", there was a top-down criticism of the social pedagogy related to Radlińska, who was criticised for scientific utopism, incompatibility with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, dismissal of the government and its policies in social and economic issues (Cichosz, 2009, pp. 32–33). In the academic year 1950/51 recruitment for the philosophy, sociology and pedagogy studies was suspended (Radziewicz-Winnicki, 2008, p. 81). In connection with the criticism of Radlińska, Lepalczyk and Kamiński, they were sent on compulsory health leave in 1950, while in 1952 the Chair of the Social

Pedagogy of the University of Lodz and the Institute of Public Service were completely closed (Cichosz, 2009, p. 33, Theiss, 1997, pp. 33–35). Until the end of the 1950s, no important work within the social pedagogy was created in Poland, and it was only possible to do so while maintaining the socialist ideological line and referring to the works of the Soviet educators (Cichosz, 2009, pp. 35–39). The stagnation in the social pedagogy and social sciences in general was interrupted by the political thaw after Stalin's death (Radziewicz-Winnicki, 2008, p. 81). In its aftermath the social and political changes in the Communist Party allowed for the re-establishment of the Chairs of the Social Pedagogy and the recruitment of students for pedagogical studies. A return to the institutionally practised scientific activity took place in 1957, when the Chair of Social Pedagogy at the University of Warsaw was established, and the social and political conditions allowed the social issues to be taken up again, although to a limited ideological extent (Cichosz, 2009, pp. 41–52). The 1960s and 1970s became a period of development of this discipline in various academic centres. However, the state took control of the universities, and quite independent research could only be implemented after 1990 (cf. Radziewicz-Winnicki, 2008, p. 82).

The history of the social pedagogy centred around the person and concept of Radlińska in the years 1945–1956 is actually well known and described in many publications (e.g. Witkowski, 2014; Cichosz, 2009; Cichosz, 2016; Theiss, 2018; Lepalczyk, 1995). The Stalinist period is interesting, as it shows the mechanisms of functioning of science tamed in the course of the ideologisation of the political and social life – and even concepts that come from the same roots. As Cichosz (2016, p. 88) indicates, Radlińska's perspective were always connected with the left-wing current, but she was never radical. She preferred the real fate of every human being over the ideology. Her approach also inspired the students around her. Therefore, it seems that the best described and well known current of social pedagogy in Poland can be defined as referring to the left-wing traditions. Despite this, Radlińska's scientific and didactic activity, openness of the courts and anti-utopism (Theiss, 2018, p. 18) did not gain recognition in the eyes of the communist authorities of that time. This changed partially in the 60s and 70s,

when her concept was alive again and many of her works were published thanks to the efforts of her students.

Humanistic Social Pedagogy Developed on the Borderline of the Catholic Social Teaching in 1945–1956

Although textbooks and other publications in the field of the social pedagogy mainly describe the origin and development of this discipline in connection with Helena Radlińska, this trend was not the only one. The Polish pedagogical thought in the interwar period was diverse and open and it referred to various philosophical or ideological directions. Many of its creators in their concepts as well as many practitioners dedicated to the social and educational activities relied on the Catholic social teaching, which is often not mentioned in contemporary studies (cf. Kostkiewicz, 2013, pp. 13–16; Theiss, 2013, pp. 47–49; Kostkiewicz, 2016; Cichosz, 2016). Some of them also took up this issue after the war.

Recognizing the already mentioned broad approach to the subject of the social pedagogy proposed by Jusiak (2003, p. 75), it should be noted that the social pedagogy and social teaching of the Church are concentred on the individual development connected with the social progress, and therefore the personalist foundings developed by the Catholic social teaching and concerning of the relationship between the individual and the community can be seen as a basis for a common research and educational practice. What is more, Janina Kostkiewicz (2016) points to the humanistic social pedagogy as one of the forgotten or neglected currents of the social pedagogy, emerging on the borderline between this pedagogical discipline and the Catholic social thought. For various reasons, its theoretical and practical achievements have been overlooked or discriminated against, but indication of the pedagogical social theory and practice in this area will enrich social pedagogy as the sub-discipline of social science and strengthen the sense of freedom of the scientific research (Kostkiewicz, 2016, p. 53). The rich relations between the pedagogy and the Catholic social teaching therefore allows for a reflection on the social pedagogy as one of the trends within this discipline.

Kostkiewicz's reflections (2016) pointing to the social pedagogy of Catholic origin, referred to as humanistic social pedagogy, cover the interwar period, but the analysis conducted by this author may become the basis for a detailed study of this current in all the periods of development of this discipline. Taking into account the artists who were classified by Kostkiewicz as representatives of the humanistic social pedagogy, I will try to trace the history of this trend during the Stalinist period.

Among the scholars in the field of the humanistic social pedagogy in interwar Poland who survived World War II, Kostkiewicz (2016, pp. 59–65) mentions: Stanisław Adamski, Ignacy Czuma, Ludwika Dobrzyńska-Rybicka, Marian Pirożyński, Jan Piwowarczyk, Michał Sopoćko, Jacek Woroniecki, Aleksander Wóycicki, Stefan Wyszyński. They are all mentioned as co-creators of the Catholic social teaching, but their achievements (or part of them) can be treated as a part of the humanistic social pedagogy because of the issues raised, anchored in the Christian values. It should be noted that – in accordance with the distinction between the phases of development of Cichosz's social pedagogy (2009, pp. 7–11) – the creativity and activity of all the mentioned representatives of the humanistic social pedagogy belongs to the first stage of development of the social pedagogy. This implies broad connections with the philosophy and religion, the emergence of collateral pedagogical issues, while developing other issues. Due to its character – situated on the borderline between the pedagogical sciences and the Catholic social science – philosophical, theological, social, pedagogical, economic and other themes intertwine in the work of the aforementioned representatives of the humanistic social pedagogy.

Most of these authors had a direct relations with the Catholic Church – they were priests at various levels of the hierarchy. It is impossible not to mention here Stefan Wyszyński (1901–1981), Cardinal and Primate of Poland, President of the Polish Bishops' Conference, professor of the Catholic social science, social activist, publicist (Nitecki, 1995, pp. 201–203). The representative of the Catholic Church was also Stanisław Adamski (1875–1967), bishop, politician, social activist, chairman of the Episcopal Pastoral Commission, after World War II

participated in the introduction of the Polish church administration in Silesia (Stopniak, 1991; Szafraniec, 2011, pp. 181–184); Jacek Woroniecki (1878–1949) priest, lecturer in ethics and moral theology, educator and pastor (Karmelewicz, 1995); Michał Sopoćko (1888–1975), priest, theologian, educator and pastor (Ciereszko, 2010, pp. 10–17); Marian Pirożyński (1899–1964), priest, Church historian, publicist, participant in the action to save the Jews during the German occupation, Home Army liaison officer (Stopniak, 1994); Jan Piwowarczyk (1889–1959), priest, ethicist, sociologist, publicist, editor-in-chief of *Tygodnik Powszechny* in 1945–1951 (Strzeszewski, 1994); Aleksander Wóycicki (1878–1954), priest, social activist, Ph.D. in political and social sciences, professor at the Catholic University of Lublin, Stefan Batory University in Vilnius, Warsaw University (1945–1948).

Another representative of this way of thinking was Ignacy Czuma (1891–1963), professor of fiscal law, politician, social and Catholic activist, who dealt with the pedagogical issues on the sidelines of his basic interests. In 1945 he became a professor at the Catholic University of Lublin, where he was involved in his scientific and social activities after World War II (Chraniuk, 2012, pp. 105–178), as well as Ludwika Dobrzyńska-Rybicka (1868–1958) – one of the first women with the postdoctoral degree at the Jagiellonian University, philosopher, educator, sociologist, associated with the University of Poznan, participated in its reactivation after 1945, retired in 1947 (Wincławski, 2001, pp. 146–148).

Most of the identified representatives of this trend after the World War II were already of advanced age, but did not interrupt their scientific, educational and social work based on the Catholic teaching of the Church. Most of them were also repressed and imprisoned by the communist authorities due to their activities. The interest in the Catholic social teaching and its educational aspect, however, also could be seen among young people. These issues were widely discussed among the academic youth immediately after the war, especially at the Catholic University of Lublin, and later also at the Theological Faculties in Krakow, Warsaw, Pelplin, Wroclaw, Wloclawek and Poznan, as well as in the clerical seminaries (Zowczak, 2018, p. 259). In 1949–1950 the

communist authorities banned the creation and functioning of Catholic associations and organizations, and in 1949 the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Catholic University of Lublin was liquidated. The theoretical reflection on the Catholic social science continued in the practical philosophy section of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL) – the practice of social science was camouflaged, and a Chair of the Catholic social science was later established there (Zowczak, 2018, p. 259). The religion and all the ways of thinking about the reality that it entailed were the products of bourgeois society for Marxism-Leninism, which undermined its view of reality, and therefore must have been fought in the pursuit of communism. The social sciences were also treated as dangerous. The humanistic social pedagogy, due to its nature, was therefore doubly suspicious, and people associated with it had to be under surveillance during the Stalinist period.

What is important is that during the Stalinist period, the representatives of this trend published books in whole or in part from the borderland of the Catholic social science and pedagogy. These include *Kościół i państwo* [*The Church and the State*] (Woroniecki, 1946) containing a reflection on the relations between the secular state and the Catholic Church, important for the social pedagogy as a description of macrosocial conditions of the human development. *Umiejętność rządzenia i rozkazywania* [*The Ability to Rule and Command*] (Woroniecki, 1947) is the analysis of the ability to rule and command as the basic determinants of the proper functioning of society, which translates into the possibility of optimal development of a person. There is an indication of individual development in the area of certain skills, characteristic for Woroniecki, which positively supports the social development, and this in turn allows the individual to achieve further skills in an increasingly perfect way. Wyszyński (1947) in *Chrystus społecznik* [*Christ the Social Worker*] indicates the socio-economic activity of Christ and how Catholicism affects the social disposition of man. It is therefore directly linked to the development of individual people to the social conditions, indicating how they can influence the satisfaction of needs and creating a person. In turn in *Duch pracy ludzkiej. Konferencja o pracy* [*The Spirit*

of Human Labour. Conference on Work] (Wyszyński, 1946) he shows the Catholic view of the role of work in the human life, emphasizing its educational character.

One of the important social problems of that time is taken up by Sopoćko (1949) in *Alkoholizm a młodzież i jej wychowanie* [*Alcoholism and Youth and Their Upbringing*], pointing out the extent, the consequences and the possibilities of combating alcohol dependence, and emphasising the role of upbringing and self-reliance in preventing and overcoming the addiction. *Moralny koszt współczesnej wojny* [*The Moral Cost of the Modern War*] (Czuma, 1946) is in turn about the cost of war to the human morality, to the nation, to the humanity. The author describes the conditions and circumstances influencing the contemporary functioning of a man who survived the World War II, analysing them mainly from a moral perspective. *Katolicka etyka społeczna* [*Catholic Social Ethics*] (Pirożyński, 1948) was also published during the Stalinist period – it is a script of lectures given at the Seminary in Krakow on the social teaching of the Church, indicating the importance of good, morally justified social and economic conditions for the human development.

Also, during the Stalinist period, periodicals and books published in the interwar years were reprinted. *Chrześcijański ustrój społeczny* [*The Christian Social System*] (Piwowarczyk, 1945) are the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* by Leo XII and *Quadragessimo Anno* by Pius XI with the introduction and explanations by Fr. Piwowarczyk – in the commentary he refers to the Christian social system for upbringing and education. The next issue of *Kształcenie charakterów* [*Training Characters*] (Pirożynski, 1949) emphasises the link between the individual and social education, pointing out the importance of social conditions and self-activity for the development of character. After the World War II, *Katolicka etyka wychowawcza. Etyka ogólna* [*Catholic Educational Ethics. General Ethics*] (Woroniecki, 1948a), where the last chapter is devoted to the upbringing, and *Katolicka etyka wychowawcza. Etyka szczegółowa* [*Catholic Educational Ethics. Detailed Ethics*] (Woroniecki, 1948b), which deals with the upbringing of different authorities, human skills and abilities, was published once again. This title is the result of Woroniecki's views,

who understood the pedagogy as the implementation of ethical principles, subjecting it to the ethics (cf. Kostkiewicz, 2013).

During the Stalinist period in Poland, guides promoting the human self-education in the field of the humanistic social pedagogy were also published. Attempts to explain in practice the application of the principles of the Catholic self-government in relation to the social conditions in which a human being functions, can be found in the following: *Baczność młodzieńcze!* [*Attention, Young Man!*] (Pirożyński, 1946b) for young men, *Panna chrześcijańska* [*Christian Miss*] (Pirożyński, 1946a) devoted to young girls, and *Nauka przedślubna* [*Pre-marital Learning*] (Sopoćko, 1948), which points, inter alia, to the social functions of the family and the need to prepare well for marriage because of its importance for both individual and social development.

It seems there were not many books of a theoretical and practical nature containing at least some elements of humanistic social pedagogy, but – taking into account the "ideological offensive" intensifying during the Stalinist period and repressions against people connected with the social sciences and representatives of the Catholic Church in Poland – their publication in such difficult conditions can be considered as a success. The social and educational activities of the Church and the Catholic circles, which are very broad in scope, should also be emphasised (cf. Theiss, 2013). Through its objectives, content, underlying principles and the nature of the activities undertaken, it is part of the social pedagogy. The period of the People's Republic of Poland was the time of a large number of initiatives aimed at people and their environment, which were supposed to strengthen those living in the conditions of real socialism. They built the framework of educational programmes that continue today.

The humanist social pedagogy of Catholic origin, although more widely unknown or forgotten, practised a little "at the opportunity" by other scientific interests of its representatives, has nevertheless been and continues to be an important part of the reflection on the relationship between the man and his environment and importance for the personal development. Its location on the borderline between the pedagogy and the Catholic social science predestines for further research

to determine its scope, content and concepts. There is no doubt, however, that it is an important part of the Polish social pedagogy, and during the Stalinist period it was subject to even greater repression and restrictions because of its roots in the Catholic religion.

Conclusions

The social pedagogy is an important, specific part of the Polish pedagogy, with a unique character – since it began to emerge at the end of the 19th century in Polish lands. Although it developed very dynamically in the interwar period, both theoretically and institutionally and in terms of practical activities, after 1945 it experienced some great difficulties in returning to normal functioning in the scientific world, as did all the social sciences, considered by the new communist authorities to be dangerous for the "new" man and the society. The Stalinist period and the ideologisation of the social and academic life introduced at that time, despite attempts to revive scientific and didactic work and to reflect on the relationship between the man and the environment, which referred to the tradition of pre-war thinking, resulted in both of these trends of its development being interrupted and then attempted to ban it or adapt it to the new political and social conditions. Both currents survived this difficult period and started to develop after the political thaw of 1956. However, the direction of their development has changed. While Radlińska's student community was more or less formally active within the imposed ideological framework, the humanist social pedagogy remained strongly linked to the Catholic social teaching and attempts to negate the socialist order.

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Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsmigration von Kindern und Jugendlichen aus Böhmen und Mähren im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert

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Abstract **Journeys Undertaken by Children and Adolescents from Bohemia and Moravia to Attain Education in the 16th and Early 17th Century**

The presented synoptic study focuses on the question of the educational migration of children and adolescents in the early modern Czech state. Based on analysis of a variety of sources together with the results of previous research, the study looks at the gender, age, nationality, and social composition of these individuals as well as a number of other aspects of this topic, such as what institutions and regions children and adolescents set out for in order to seek education, what type of education they might have received, how such journeys were organized and paid for and how these nonadults viewed them, etc. Set within the broader context of the cultural, religious, and educational history of the early modern period, the study examines not only peregrination to attain university education but also the journeys undertaken in search of preuniversity education. Furthermore, the paper attempts to trace key developmental trends and, in closing, suggests areas for continued research on this topic.

Keywords migration, Czech lands, education, early modern period

I.

Die Bildungsmigration von Individuen und Gruppen gehört spätestens seit dem frühen Mittelalter zur Geschichte Mitteleuropas. Auch wenn die Quellen für das Mittelalter einschließlich des 15. und des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts nur äußerst fragmentarisch überliefert sind, scheint

es, dass die Intensität solcher Migrationsströme im Laufe der Zeit nach und nach zunahm. Selbstverständlich hing sie von einer ganzen Reihe unterschiedlicher Faktoren ab, etwa davon, wie im jeweiligen Zeitraum und in der jeweiligen Region das Netz der Bildungseinrichtungen aussah, von den damaligen Bildungstrends im Allgemeinen sowie in den einzelnen sozialen Schichten, von den Möglichkeiten der materiellen Absicherung des Studiums außer Haus, davon, ob die betrachtete Region von irgendwelchen Unruhen betroffen war, und dgl.

Das 16. Jahrhundert erscheint für die Bewohner der böhmischen Länder, auf die sich dieser Beitrag primär konzentriert, als Zäsur. Neben anderen Faktoren – beispielsweise der spezifischen konfessionellen Situation in Böhmen und Mähren, die nach 1517 zur Intensivierung der Beziehungen zum protestantischen Europa führte – war dies vor allem durch die allmähliche Rezeption des Humanismus gegeben, der nicht nur die reale Gestalt des damaligen Bildungssystems beeinflusste, sondern auch die Vorstellungen über die Notwendigkeit der Bildung (seinerzeit besonders der Lateinbildung) in den einzelnen sozialen Schichten prägte. Im Laufe der Zeit nahmen im Zusammenhang mit der Bürokratisierung der Gesellschaft und mit weiteren gesamtgesellschaftlichen Prozessen auch die praktischen Nutzungsmöglichkeiten der Bildung zu.

In ihrem Streben nach Bildung verließen im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert bereits tausende Bewohner der böhmischen Länder – vor allem als Kinder und Jugendliche – ihr Zuhause. Wie war die altersmäßige, nationale, soziale und konfessionelle Zusammensetzung dieser Gruppe? Migrierten eher Kinder aus Regionen mit geringeren Bildungschancen oder spielte dieser Faktor bei der Herausbildung einer solchen Migration keine entscheidende Rolle? Welche Regionen und Institutionen waren Ziel solcher Reisen? Was waren die Inhalte dieser Bildung? Wie waren solche Bildungsreisen organisiert? Wie nahmen die Kinder und Jugendliche diese Migration selbst wahr? Wie prägten die Reisen den kulturellen, geistigen und geografischen Horizont dieser Kinder?

Der vorliegende zusammenfassende Beitrag versucht, nicht nur diese Fragen zu beantworten, sondern die Problematik auch in den breiteren Kontext der Kultur-, Bildungs- und Religionsgeschichte des

16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts einzuordnen. Im Unterschied zur bisherigen Forschung, die sich primär mit der auf Hochschulen zielenden Bildungsmigration aus den böhmischen Ländern beschäftigte und nicht ausschließlich, sondern dominant auf tschechischen Leser orientiert war, werden im Zentrum dieses Beitrags auch Wanderungsbewegungen zum Zwecke der voruniversitären Bildung stehen, bei denen die Beteiligten deutlich jünger waren und welche auch von einer Reihe weiterer, bislang wenig erforschter Besonderheiten geprägt waren. Daneben wird sich der Beitrag auch mit einigen Tatsachen befassen, die nicht so stark mit der Bildung als solcher, sondern eher mit der frühneuzeitlichen Migration allgemein verbunden sind.[1]

II.

Schauen wir uns also schrittweise die einzelnen Fragen an. Ihrer Beantwortung ist jedoch in einigen Fällen durch die Menge der überlieferten Quellen (vor allem der Evidenzquellen) Grenzen gesetzt. So ist es beispielsweise nur schwer möglich, die altersmäßige, nationale oder konfessionelle Zusammensetzung der Migrierenden in der „vorstatistischen Zeit“ genau darzustellen. Eine elementare Charakterisierung kann jedoch vorgenommen werden. Das Alter hing vor allem von der Art der Bildung ab, derentwegen die oft juristisch Minderjährigen ihr Zuhause verließen bzw. davon, um welche Art von Bildungseinrichtung es sich dabei handelte – und zwar ungeachtet dessen, ob dies die Migration im Rahmen des gesamten frühneuzeitlichen böhmischen Staates oder das Reisen ins Ausland betraf. Es handelte sich vor allem um Reisen, die zwei Typen von Bildungseinrichtungen zum Ziel hatten – nämlich zeitgenössische partikulare Lateinschulen und ferner

1 Von der älteren Literatur vgl. Menčík (1897, S. 250–268); Šimák (1905, S. 290–297 u. 419–424; 1906, S. 118–123, 300–305 u. 510–539); Černá-Šlapáková (1934, S. 347–362 u. 548–564); Hlaváček und Hlaváčková (1962, S. 139–169); Odložilík (1964); Hrubý (1970); Rejchrt (1973, S. 43–82); Svatoš (1977, S. 89–105; 1982, S. 29–63); Pešek und Šaman (1986, S. 89–111); Pešek (1986, S. 97–108); Svatoš und Pešek (1989, S. 51–54); Svatoš (1997, S. 241–250); Holý (2010a, S. 169–187). Weitere Literatur zur Migrationen siehe Matschinegg und Müller (1990); Holý (2010c, S. 31f).

Akademien bzw. Universitäten. Daneben können der Bildungsmigration auch Reisen zugeordnet werden, die nicht vorrangig an Bildungsinstitutionen führten, sondern gewissermaßen spezifische Bildungsziele hatten. Ich meine hiermit vor allem die sogenannten Kavalierstouren.[2]

In den partikularen Bildungseinrichtungen konnten – trotz aller Wandlungen des Bildungssystems an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit – nicht nur die Elementarkenntnisse (Lesen und Schreiben) gefestigt werden, welche die Schüler häufig bereits durch Privatunterricht erlangt haben, sondern es sollten den Schülern vor allem jene Kenntnisse vermittelt werden, die für deren weiteres Studium an den damaligen Hochschulen notwendig waren. Auch wenn sich diese Schulen zum Teil im Angebot der Fächer, dem Tempo der Behandlung des Schulstoffes, der Anzahl der Klassen und dgl. von einander individuell unterscheiden mochten, war das wichtigste Ziel all dieser Schulen, den Schülern vor allem aktive Lateinkenntnisse in Wort und Schrift und daneben auch einen Teil der sogenannten Sieben freien Künste (Bild 1) beizubringen. Schon während des untersuchten Zeitraums wurden an dem genannten Schultypus auch weitere Fächer in den Unterricht aufgenommen – sowohl im Zuge des Wandels der zeitgenössischen pädagogischen Theorie als auch im Anschluss an die sich verändernde Nachfrage nach bestimmten Bildungs- bzw. Wissensbereichen. Neben einigen weiteren klassischen und biblischen Sprachen handelte es sich dabei vor allem um Geschichte, Geografie, Ethik, um die Grundlagen der Jurisprudenz etc. An einigen höheren Partikularschulen, die beispielsweise die Bezeichnung Gymnasium Illustre oder Gymnasium Academicum trugen, überschnitt sich sogar ein Teil des Unterrichts mit Fächern, die bislang nur an Universitäten gelehrt wurden.[3]

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2 Zu den Kavalierstouren der Nobilität aus den böhmischen Ländern vgl. Hojda (1993, S. 151–160), Maťa (2004, S. 307–327), Holý (2004, S. 65–90), Pánek und Polívka (2005, S. 53–69), Schwabiková (2006, S. 25–131), Holý (2010c, S. 347–383) und Kubeš (2013).

3 Vgl. zumindest Winter (1901, S. 24 ff.), Koch (1959), Schipperges (1980, S. 1058–1063), Wagner (1983), Rüegg (1996, passim), Musolff (1997), Holý (2012, S. 105–119).

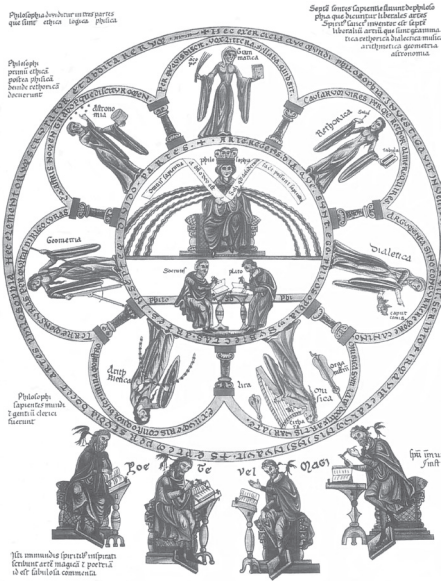


Bild 1. *Septem artes liberales* – Hortus delitiarum Herrad von Landsberg (übernommen aus A. Straub – G. Keller, *Herrade de Landsberg*, Hortus Deliciarum, Strasbourg 1901).

Kehren wir jedoch zur Altersstruktur der Bildungsmigranten zurück. Obwohl – gemessen an den europäischen Verhältnissen – das Netz der Partikularschulen in den böhmischen Ländern im 16. und im frühen 17. Jahrhundert eher ungewöhnlich dicht war, zeichnete sich die Edukation in jener Zeit durch eine hohe Mobilität einzelner Schüler aus, die eine voruniversitäre Lateinbildung anstrebten. Dies lag zum Teil weniger an mangelnden Studienmöglichkeiten in einer bestimmten Region oder Örtlichkeit, sondern eher an den damaligen Bildungstrends, zu denen die Bildungsmigration eindeutig gehörte. Es war also üblich, dass viele Kinder zwar mit sieben oder acht Jahren anfingen, eine Schule in der Nähe ihres Geburtsorts zu besuchen, während des Partikularstudiums jedoch auf andere Bildungseinrichtungen wechselten. Die insgesamt meist fünf, sechs oder mehr Jahre dauernde voruniversitäre Bildung erwarben also viele Bewohner der böhmischen Länder an zwei, drei oder noch mehr Lateinschulen, und zwar sowohl in den böhmischen Ländern als auch in der Lausitz, in Schlesien, den Österreichischen Erblanden oder anderswo im Ausland. Ich werde darauf noch später eingehen.

Name	Matthäus Borbonius von Borbenheim (1566–1629)[4]	Johannes Matthias von Sudet (* um 1570)[5]	Ladislaus Velen von Zierotin (1579–1638)[6]
Soziale Herkunft	arme böhmische untertänige Familie in Kolinec bei Klattau	altes Patriziergeschlecht aus Budweis	altes mährisches Herrengeschlecht
Preuniversitäre Bildung	Trivialschule in Kolinec bei Klattau; dann Lateinschulen in Schüttenhofen (1576), Klattau (1577–1581), Prager St. Stephan (1581), Prager St. Michael (1582), Rakonitz (1583–1584), Kolin (1584–1585), Chrudim (1585–1586), Großmeseritsch (1586–1590)	Schlossschule im Sitz der Adelsfamilie Čabelický von Soutice, dann Lateinschulen in den südböhmischen königlichen Städten Pisek und Wodnian, danach in Niederösterreich in Linz	Brüderschule in Leipnik in Mähren (bis 1590), dann Stadtschule in Wien (1590–1591), weiter Gymnasium in Straßburg (1591–1592).
Hochschulstudium	Universität Basel 1597 Dr. med.	seit 1588 mehr als 10-jähr. Studium in Leipzig, Marburg, Helmstedt, Straßburg, Heidelberg, Altdorf, Padua, Siena	1592–1599 Kavalierstour mit Aufenthalten u.a. in akademischen Zentren in Basel, Heidelberg, Genf, Padua, Siena
Profession	bekannter Arzt	Jurist, Prof. an der Prager Universität	Mährischer Magnat, Haupt des Ständeaufstands in Mähren (1619–1620), später in dänischen und schwedischen Militärdienst tätig

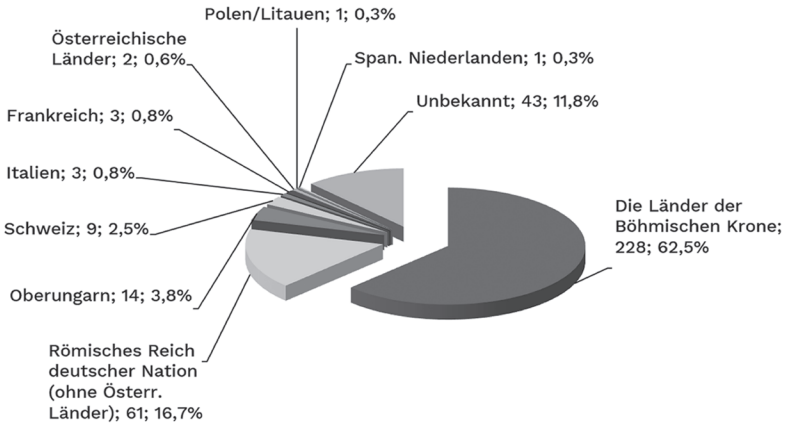
4 Zu dieser Persönlichkeit vgl. Hejnic und Martínek (1966, S. 218–222), Svatoš (1995a, S. 29–40) und Holý (2011c, S. 58–82, 139f). Borbonius hat auch ein in mancher Hinsicht wertvolles Tagebuch geführt (Dvořák, 1896; Gellner, 1938; Storchová et al., 2020, S. 188–195).

5 Siehe mindestens seine Biogramme in Hejnic und Martínek (1969, S. 294–297) und Holý (2011c, S. 233f).

6 Zu dieser Persönlichkeit vgl. Šimák (1906, S. 119), Hrubý (1930), Wackernagel (1956, S. 397), Stelling-Michaud (1959, S. 125), Odložilík (1964, S. 41f., 104f.), Hrubý (1970,

Im Zusammenhang mit dem oben Gesagten ist also ersichtlich, dass die Bildungsmigranten in vielen Fällen sehr jung waren. Wir finden zahlreiche Beispiele dafür, dass Kinder, die nicht einmal zehn Jahre alt waren, ihren Wohnort oder ihre erste Bildungsstätte verließen, um eine dutzende bis hunderte Kilometer entfernte Partikularschule zu besuchen. Dazu kam es in allen sozialen Schichten. Es muss jedoch gesagt werden, dass entferntere Orte meist nicht von den Kindern alleine, sondern oft in Begleitung älterer Geschwister oder Verwandter bzw. weiterer Personen aufgesucht wurden. Entweder begleiteten sie die Kinder nur an den fernen Ort oder blieben dort mit ihnen auf Dauer. Dies gilt vor allem für die höchsten Vertreter des Bürgertums sowie die Nobilität, deren Bildung außer Haus üblicherweise von ihren aus verschiedenen Ländern Europas stammenden Erziehern überwacht wurde (siehe Diagramm 1).[7]

Diagramm 1. Geographischer Herkunft von privaten Erziehern der Nobilität aus den Böhmischen Ländern



S. 257–279 und passim) und Svatoš (1982, S. 39).

7 Zu den Privaterziehern des Adels aus den böhmischen Ländern im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert vgl. Holý (2011c).

Das Alter der Bewohner Böhmens und Mährens, die wegen dem Universitätsstudium weggingen, war im untersuchten Zeitraum oft niedriger als heute. Da die Hochschulmatrikeln wesentlich besser überliefert sind,[8] können wir auch viel besser das Alter der Studierenden bestimmen, als das bei den Partikularschülern der Fall ist. Allerdings stoßen wir auch hier auf gewisse Grenzen. Auch wenn wir wissen, wann das Universitätsstudium angefangen wurde, bleibt das genaue Geburtsjahr der Studierenden häufig im Dunkeln.

Trotzdem kann festgestellt werden, dass ein mehr oder weniger fließender Übergang von den Lateinschulen an Akademien und Universitäten am gängigsten war. Dieser Schulwechsel erfolgte im Falle der niederen – also der artistischen – Fakultäten wohl am häufigsten im Alter von 15 bis 20 Jahren. Unter den Immatrikulierten finden wir aber in manchen Fällen auch Personen im Alter von 12, 13 oder 14 Jahren. Dies ist allerdings nicht nur durch das spezifische frühneuzeitliche Phänomen der sog. *Depositio cornuum* gegeben, dem Schüler der höheren Klassen der partikularen Lateinschulen an den Universitäten unterzogen wurden (Bild 2) (Füssel, 2005, S. 605–648).[9]

Das Studium an den höheren Fakultäten – also Jura, Medizin oder Theologie – wurde von den Bewohnern der böhmischen Länder zumeist im Alter von 20 Jahren oder älter aufgenommen. Diese Fakultäten wurden aber nur von einem Bruchteil der Studenten absolviert; die meisten begnügten sich damit, ein bis drei oder vier Jahre an artistischen Fakultäten zu studieren, was nur zuweilen mit dem Erlangen eines akademischen Grades gekrönt wurde. Die Bedeutung der Titel nahm zwar im untersuchten Zeitraum zu, war jedoch viel geringer als in der späteren Zeit.

Schauen wir uns nun die nationale und konfessionelle Zusammensetzung der Gruppe von Bildungsmigranten an. Sie lässt sich leider in keinem der beiden Fälle genau feststellen – nicht allgemein und

8 Zu diesem Quellentyp vgl. im Allgemeinen (Matschinegg, 2004, S. 714–724). Ein Überblick über die wichtigsten europäischen Universitätsmatrikel bringt Holý (2011c, S. 371–378).

9 Zum böhmischen Milieu vgl. Winter (1899, S. 218 ff.) und Holý (2010c, S. 109 f.).

Bild 2. *Depositionsszene aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* (übernommen aus Emil Reicke, Lehrer und Unterrichtswesen in der deutschen Vergangenheit, Leipzig 1901).

meist auch nicht bei jenen Personen, die eine konkrete Bildungseinrichtung besuchten, sei es nun in den böhmischen Ländern oder im Ausland. Bei der national-sprachlichen Struktur ist jedoch offensichtlich, dass neben Personen, deren Muttersprache Tschechisch oder Deutsch war, auch mit zweisprachigen Personen zu rechnen ist, vor allem mit jenen, die aus national gemischten Familien stammten. Ihre Kenntnis beider Landessprachen war im untersuchten Zeitraum übrigens sowohl für eine Karriere im Dienst der Städte oder des Landesherren als auch beispielsweise in der Kirchenverwaltung von Vorteil. Ein interessantes Phänomen ist ferner die bisher kaum geforschte Bildungsmigration von Ausländern in die böhmischen Länder, die jedoch den Rahmen dieses Beitrages sprengen würde.

Die konfessionelle Zusammensetzung der Migranten war sehr bunt. Die meisten von ihnen gehörten den nichtkatholischen Konfessionen an, was nicht nur im völligen Einklang mit der konfessionellen Struktur der Gesellschaft Böhmens und Mährens vor der Schlacht am Weißen Berg war, sondern auch den Bildungsmodellen der Angehörigen der einzelnen Bekenntnisse entsprach. Auch wenn sich gewisse Unterschiede zwischen den Bildungsmigrationen im Inland und jener ins Ausland feststellen ließen, kann allgemein gesagt werden, dass wohl die meisten Migranten sg. Utraquisten waren. Neben ihnen finden wir auch Angehörige der Brüderunität, ferner Lutheraner und vor allem

am Ende des untersuchten Zeitraums auch Kalvinisten, bzw. Kryptokalvinisten.[10]

Wurden Bildungsreisen nur von Jungen absolviert oder auch von Mädchen? Hier kann man eindeutig feststellen, dass es sich in überwältigender Mehrheit um Jungen handelte. Bis zur allmählichen Verbreitung des speziellen Mädchenschulwesens im Laufe des 17. und vor allem während des 18. Jahrhunderts war das zeitgenössische Bildungssystem fast ausschließlich für Jungen bestimmt. Dies bedeutet aber nicht, dass Mädchen, die üblicherweise auf Privatunterricht angewiesen waren, gänzlich von der Migration ausgeschlossen gewesen wären, deren Ziel unter anderem auch die Bildung war. Wir können dies z. B. in spezifischer Form beim Adel, vor allem bei den Herrengeschlechtern, beobachten. Die weiblichen Angehörigen der Nobilität verließen nämlich auch wegen ihrer eigenen Bildung – die sich jedoch zum Teil von der Bildung der Jungen unterschied – als Kinder oder Jugendliche ihr Zuhause. Viele von ihnen hielten sich auch im Ausland auf, vor allen an Höfen unterschiedlicher Art. Einigen von ihnen ließ man in jenem Umfeld eine hochwertige Bildung – besonders Sprachkenntnisse – zuteil werden, wovon ihr Briefwechsel sowie weitere Quellen zeugen.[11]

Wenn wir uns die soziale Zusammensetzung der Migrierenden ansehen, finden wir darunter Angehörige aller Stände, also unfreie Untertanen, Personen aus den sogenannten königlichen Städten sowie Angehörige des Ritter- und Herrenstandes. Natürlich können wir gewisse Unterschiede in ihren bildungsbezogenen Reisen beobachten. Dies hängt nicht nur mit den gewissermaßen heterogenen Bildungsstrategien der einzelnen Stände zusammen (so interessierte sich beispielsweise

10 Zum Phillipismus, bzw. Kryptokalvinismus vgl. mit weiteren Literaturhinweisen (Bahlcke, 2007, S. 301ff. [hier auch Hinweise auf weitere Literatur]; Crusius, 2008, S. 139–175).

11 Zur Mädchenbildung in mitteleuropäischen Raum vgl. Mindestens Císařová-Kolářová (1942, S. 44f., 145–168, 215–238, 259ff. u. 327ff.), Czarnecka (1996, S. 45–71), Hufschmidt (1996, S. 55–72; 2001, S. 59–118), Ryantová (2001, S. 187–193), und Holý (2010, S. 385–397). Zu Ursulinen siehe Conrad (1991; 2005, S. 243–254) und Macková (2007).

in den böhmischen Ländern der Adel nur für bestimmte Typen der hiesigen Schulen, an denen nichtadelige Schüler überwogen; andere Präferenzen können wir beim Adel auch bezüglich der Bildung im Ausland sehen, wo das spezifische Phänomen der sogenannten Kavalierstouren nach und nach an Bedeutung gewann).[12] Auch die Möglichkeiten der materiellen Absicherung des Studiums außer Haus spielten ihre Rolle. Aber ebenfalls den Mittellosen stand dank der wachsenden Bedeutung der einzelnen Formen des Bildungsmäzenatentums (vor allem der Studienstiftungen) eine ganze Reihe von Möglichkeiten offen, sich im In- und Ausland zu bilden. Andererseits konnten sich Adelige und reiche Patrizier einen langfristigen Studienaufenthalt im Ausland doch eher leisten als Personen, die aus Untertanendörfern stammten. Letztere konnten jedoch solche Aufenthalte im deren Gefolge absolvieren – auch im Kindes- oder Jugendalter. Eine hohe Mobilität, die durch den mehr oder weniger häufigen Wechsel der Schulen in Böhmen bzw. im Ausland gekennzeichnet ist, ist somit für alle sozialen Schichten typisch.

Was die Regionen und Institutionen als Ziel der Bildungsmigration der Bewohner des böhmischen Staates anbelang, kann zwar für die böhmischen Länder keine genaue Statistik für den untersuchten Zeitraum erstellt werden, aber es ist eindeutig, dass die meisten Migranten in den böhmischen Ländern die sogenannten städtischen Partikularschulen zum Ziel hatten, vor allem solche, die sich in einigen Dutzend königlicher Städte befanden. Gerade diese Schulen bildeten im 16. und im frühen 17. Jahrhundert das Rückgrat der voruniversitären Bildung in Böhmen und Mähren.[13] Daneben wurden seit der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts auch immer häufiger Kirchenschulen aufgesucht, sowohl katholische – vor allem Gymnasien der Societatis Jesu,[14]

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12 Siehe Holý (2010c, S. 115–383). Zu den Kavalierstouren vgl. Anm. 2.

13 Vgl. Winter (1901), Holinková (1967), Palacký (1970, S. 345–368), Hejnic (1972; 1979), Pešek (1991, S. 336–355; 1993, S. 30–58) und Holý (2016, S. 61–69 u. 130–134; 2019, S. 39–51). Von Bedeutung sind auch einige herausgegebene Quelleneditionen, vor allem Dvorský (1886).

14 Siehe Winter (1899, S. 11 ff., 269–315 u. 387–485), Kroess (1910, passim), Čornejová (1995, S. 247–268), Bobková-Valentová (2006) und Bobková-Valentová, Holý und Ondo Grečenková (2012, S. 211–268).

die auch unter der nichtkatholischen Mehrheit im Lande oder sogar unter den ausländischen Studenten[15] schnell an Beliebtheit gewannen – als auch protestantische.

An dieser Stelle muss besonders auf die Schulen der Brüderunität hingewiesen werden, die nicht nur von den Anhängern dieser bis 1609 de iure illegalen einheimischen Kirche besucht wurden, sondern auch von konfessionell anders Gesinnten, und zwar auch aus dem Ausland (Schlesien, österreichische Länder).[16] Auch jenseits der Grenzen ihrer Region waren in den böhmischen Ländern einige weitere Bildungsinstitutionen voruniversitärer Art berühmt – beispielsweise das Gymnasium Illustre in Groß Meseritsch (Bild 3), die Rosenbergerschule in Sobieslau oder das Prager lutherische Gymnasium bei der Salvator-Kirche.[17] Beliebt waren aber auch einige Privatschulen, vor allem in Prag, wo verschiedene Gelehrte auch privaten Unterricht anboten. Diese finanziell anspruchsvolleren Bildungsmöglichkeiten wurden jedoch vor allem von den reichen Schichten des Bürgertums und vom Adel genutzt, und zwar sowohl aus den böhmischen Ländern, als auch aus dem Ausland.[18]

Das Angebot an universitären Studien war in den böhmischen Ländern ziemlich begrenzt. Während der ersten Hälfte des untersuchten Zeitraums wirkte hier lediglich die altehrwürdige Karlsuniversität, wo allerdings nur an der artistischen Fakultät gelehrt wurde. In der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts und in den ersten Jahrzehnten des

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15 Das hohe Vorkommen von ausländischen Studenten ist außer anderen Kollegien (Prag, Olmütz) zum Beispiel für das jesuitische Gymnasium in Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus) belegt. Vgl. Großgrundbesitz Neuhaus. Sign. III Kb, Buch Nr. 85. Staatliches Gebietsarchiv Třeboň (Wittingau), Arbeitsstelle Neuhaus. Zu dieser Schule, deren Entwicklung unter aderem erhaltene Chronik dieses Kollegs dokumentiert (Historia Collegii Novodomensis Societatis Iesu. Sign. III Kb, Buch Nr. 84. Staatliches Gebietsarchiv Třeboň (Wittingau), Arbeitsstelle Neuhaus.), vgl. auch Novotný (1993, S. 243–255; 1998, S. 371–386) und Holý (2010c, S. 167–173).

16 Siehe Ball (1898), Molnár (1956), Uhlířová (2004, S. 54–61), Holý (2010b, S. 43–71) und Bobková-Valentová, Holý und Ondo Grečenková (2012, S. 211–216).

17 Zu allen diesen Bildungseinrichtungen vgl. mit anderen Literaturhinweisen Holý (2010c, S. 131–137; 2011a, S. 93–107; 2016, S. 85–94, 110–114 u. 149–152).

18 Siehe Holý (2010c, S. 100–113 u. 137–152).

Bild 3. Renaissancegebäude des Gymnasium illustre in Groß Meseritsch (Zustand 2007; Foto vom Autor).

17. Jahrhunderts kamen die Jesuitenakademien im Prager Klementinum und in Olomouc (Olmütz) hinzu.[19] Dort konnte man neben Philosophie vor allem Theologie studieren. Um in den Genuss einer juristischen oder medizinischen Bildung zu kommen, mussten sich die Bewohner der böhmischen Länder während des gesamten untersuchten Zeitraums ins Ausland begeben. Im Falle der Protestanten galt dies auch für das Theologiestudium. Diese Tatsachen spiegelten sich natürlich deutlich im Charakter der untersuchten Bildungsmigration wider.

Viele Bewohner der böhmischen Länder ließen ihrer präuniversitären Bildung wegen die Grenzen des Königreichs Böhmen und der Markgrafschaft Mähren hinter sich. Unter den Lateinschulen waren nicht nur die Gymnasien in den sogenannten Nebenländern der Böhmischen Krone – also in der Oberlausitz und in Schlesien (z. B. in Görlitz, Zittau, Bautzen, Brieg, Beuthen an der Oder, Goldberg oder Breslau) – überaus beliebt, sondern auch solche, die sich in anderen Teilen des Heiligen Römischen Reiches, einschließlich der Österreichischen Erblande, befanden. Von Vorteil waren solche Orte, wo man nicht nur zum Teil oder komplett das präuniversitäre Studium durchlaufen konnte, sondern dort auch an einer Hochschule weiterstudieren konnte. Auch deswegen gehörten beispielsweise Altdorf, Herborn oder Straßburg, die relativ weit von den böhmischen Ländern entfernt lagen, zu

19 Siehe Tomek (1849), Nešpor (1947), Svatoš (1995b), Kavka und Petráň (2001) und Fiala et al. (2009). Siehe auch in Anm. 14. zitierte Literatur.

häufig aufgesuchten Studienorten. Soweit die Matrikeln der erwähnten Institutionen überliefert sind, können wir deren Anziehungskraft nicht nur für einzelne soziale Schichten, sondern auch im Laufe der Zeit verfolgen. Sie wandelte sich natürlich mit der Zeit und hing von vielen einzelnen Faktoren ab (den Persönlichkeiten, die an der Spitze der einzelnen Schulen standen, dem Wandel des Unterrichts, der steigenden oder sinkenden Popularität anderer Bildungsstätten etc.).[20]

Die überlieferten Quellen zum Studium an den damaligen Akademien und Universitäten erfassen für den untersuchten Zeitraum einige Tausend Bewohner der böhmischen Länder an einigen Dutzend Institutionen. Auch angesichts der konfessionellen Zusammensetzung der Gesellschaft der böhmischen Länder gehörten die nichtkatholischen Studia Generalia zu den damals am häufigsten aufgesuchten Schulen im Heiligen Römischen Reich, und zwar sowohl die lutherischen als auch die kalvinistischen (Frankfurt an der Oder, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Jena, Marburg, Wittenberg – siehe Diagramm 2), daneben auch die nichtkatholischen Hochschulen in der Schweiz (Basel, Genf), in den Niederlanden (Leiden) oder in England (Oxford, Cambridge). Unter den katholischen Universitäten erfreute sich – auch im untersuchten Zeitraum – einer gewissen Beliebtheit die Universität Wien, die auch von einigen Protestanten besucht wurde. Nichtkatholiken besuchten zusammen mit ihren katholischen Landsleuten häufig katholische Universitäten in Frankreich und Italien (Orleáns, Paris, Bologna, Padua, Perugia, Rom, Siena etc.). Einige gingen auch an die Universität in Löwen.[21]

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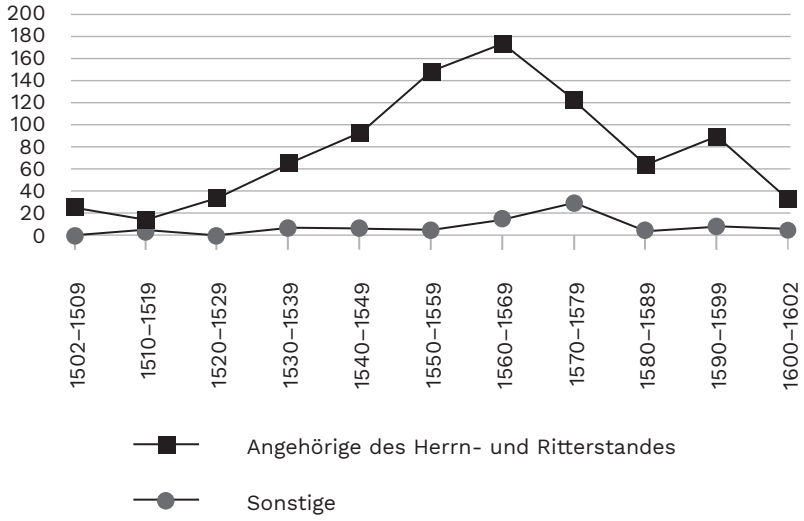
20 Vgl. auch mit anderen Hinweisen Holý (2010c, S. 200–313). Zu Herborn und Altdorf und der Atraktivität hiesiger Akademien für die Studenten aus den böhmischen Ländern siehe auch Zedler und Sommer (1908), von Steinmeyer (1912), Šimák (1906, S. 119ff.), Hrdina (1919–1920, S. 47ff.), Kunstmann (1963), Menk (1981), Mährle (2000) und Holý (2011b, S. 51–68).

21 Vgl. vor allem die Auszüge aus den Matrikeln der europäischen Universitäten sowie weitere in Anm. 1 angeführte Literatur. Siehe auch Schwabiková (2006, S. 25–131) und Holý (2010c, S. 361–366).

Diagramm 2. Die Frequenz der Universität Wittenberg seitens der Studenten aus den Böhmischen Ländern in den Jahren 1502–1602



Dass italienische und französische Universitäten relativ häufig auch von böhmischen und mährischen Protestanten besucht wurden, hing nicht nur mit der hohen Qualität des Studienangebots – besonders auf dem Gebiet von Medizin und Jura – zusammen, sondern auch mit dem sich entwickelnden Phänomen der bereits erwähnten Kavalierstouren, das nicht nur den Adel betraf, sondern in gewissem Maße auch die Bildungsmigration nichtadeliger Schichten der böhmischen Gesellschaft in der Zeit vor der Schlacht am Weißen Berg beeinflusste. Da dieses Thema bereits für das mitteleuropäische Milieu relativ gut bearbeitet ist, werde ich an dieser Stelle nicht näher darauf eingehen.[22]

Ich komme nun zur Organisation der Bildungsreisen. Diese hing von mehreren Faktoren ab, beispielsweise von den gewählten Zielen, der Dauer der Reise oder des Aufenthaltes an einzelnen Orten, davon, ob die Reise von den untersuchten Personen alleine oder in Gruppen

22 Siehe Anm. 2.

absolviert wurde, von der geplanten Unterkunft etc. Ein eigenes Kapitel bilden sozusagen die Studienaufenthalte von Adeligen: diejenigen, während derer die Adeligen ihre präuniversitäre Bildung erlangten, wie auch solche, die Bestandteil ihrer Kavalierstouren waren.

Allgemein kann man die langfristigen Studienaufenthalte von Kindern und Jugendlichen aus Böhmen und Mähren außer Haus unter verschiedenen Aspekten betrachten. Wertvolle Quellen sind dabei nicht nur Rechnungen, die leider nur sehr fragmentarisch überliefert sind, sondern auch Ego-Dokumente, vor allem die Korrespondenz der Schüler und Studenten selbst, sowie jene ihrer Eltern, Lehrer, Erzieher usw. Wichtig sind dabei auch einige ihrer Tagebücher und Autobiografien sowie Stammbücher.

Diese Quellen zeugen nicht nur von dem Verlauf der eigentlichen bildungsbezogenen Reise, vom Alltag der Verfasser während der Reise oder im Ort ihres Studienaufenthalts, von ihrem Tagesprogramm, den Personen, mit denen sie Kontakte pflegten, von ihrem Unterkunftsort und der Art der Verpflegung, sondern auch vom Inhalt des institutionalisierten oder privaten Unterrichts, den sie dort besuchten etc. Ebenfalls wertvoll sind Informationen zur finanziellen Seite solcher Peregrinationen. Die Kosten waren nicht gering. Dabei sind nicht nur die Reise-, Verpflegungs- und Unterkunftskosten in Betracht zu ziehen, sondern auch Zahlungen, die mit dem Besuch eines konkreten Gymnasiums oder einer konkreten Universität verbunden waren (Immatrikulations- und Promotionsgebühren etc.), die nach der sozialen Herkunft der Studierenden abgestuft waren, und ähnliche.

Nicht gering waren auch die Mittel, die man für die Anschaffung von Schulbüchern und weiteren Lehrmitteln benötigte, bei längeren Aufenthalten fiel auch beispielsweise der Kauf von Schuhen und Kleidung an. Bei den oberen Schichten des Bürgertums und beim Adel waren auch die Zahlungen an ihre Gefolgschaft zu berücksichtigen (ein oder mehrere Erzieher, verschiedene Diener etc.). Auch ihre Repräsentationskosten waren deutlich höher. Nicht selten nahmen sie neben dem Schulunterricht auch kostspieligen Privatunterricht – sie lernten

beispielsweise romanische Sprachen, Fechten, Tanz, ein Musikinstrument und dgl.[23]

Das für solche Ausgaben bestimmte Geld konnten die hier untersuchten Personen zum Teil von Zuhause mitnehmen – sei es von ihren Eltern, Vormunden oder weiteren Personen bzw. von einer der vielen Studienstiftungen.[24] Zum Teil konnte man auch bei verschiedenen örtlichen Firmen oder Kaufleuten Kredite aufnehmen. Diese Möglichkeit blieb aber vor allem jenen Personen vorbehalten, an deren sozialer Herkunft und dem Wohlstand ihrer Familie am Ort der Kreditleistung kein Zweifel bestand. Auch finanzielle Transaktionen, die mit Hilfe von Wechselbriefen durchgeführt wurden, kamen im untersuchten Zeitraum in Frage.[25]

Die erwähnten Ego-Dokumente bringen in einigen Fällen weitere Informationen darüber, wie die Akteure selbst die Bildungsreise empfanden, wie sie sich oft in zartem Alter mit dem Verlassen des bekannten heimischen Milieus (Familie, Land) auseinandersetzten etc. Vor allem in der Korrespondenz und in den Tagebüchern, die oft schon ab einem Alter von zehn bis zwölf Jahren geführt wurden, können wir in einigen Fällen auch die geistige Entwicklung ihrer Autoren verfolgen, die Herausbildung ihrer Meinungen zu ihrer eigenen Umgebung,

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23 Vgl. zumindest die Möglichkeit der Rekonstruktion von erwähnten Fragen am Beispiel von drei Tagebüchern und den Korrespondenzen im Falle der Kavalierstouren von fünf Adeligen des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts (Julius Graf Schlick, Johannes von Wartenberg, Karl der Jüngere von Zierotin, Zdeněk von Waldstein auf Pirnitz und Pertold Bohobud von Leipa) In: Holý (2010c, S. 271–284; 2011c, S. 45–80; hier auch Hinweise auf konkrete Quellen).

24 Von der neueren Literatur zum mitteleuropäischen Bildungsmäzenatentum vgl. Moškoř (1990, S. 229–255), Flöter und Ritzi (2007), Hlaváček (2009, S. 169–184), Bahlcke und Winkelbauer (2011 [hier auch einige Studien zu den böhmischen Ländern von M. Holý, K. Bobková Valentová, H. Kuchařová und Ivo Cerman]) und Holý (2016; zu den Studienstiftungen hier v.a. 195–417).

25 Zur Finanzierung von Kavalierstouren vgl. vor allem Vorel (1998, S. 754–778), Leibetseder (2004, S. 54–82) und Holý (2010c, S. 359ff).

zu verschiedenen zeitgenössischen konfessionell-politischen und anderen Fragen und dergleichen.[26]

Auch das Netz der Kontakte, das während der Reise sowie von den Orten des Studienaufenthalts aus mit der Heimat unterhalten wurde, lässt sich in der Regel am besten mit Hilfe von Ego-Dokumenten rekonstruieren.[27] Vor allem bei den höheren sozialen Schichten zeigt sich, wie bei vaterlosen Kindern die Frau bzw. Mutter die Rolle des wichtigsten Garanten ihrer Bildung übernahm, die beispielsweise beim Adel häufig zum sogenannten mächtigen väterlichen Vormund bestellt wurde. Neben ihr hatten auch weitere Vormunde das Recht, über die Art der Erziehung und Bildung der Kinder zu entscheiden. Sie stammten meist aus den Reihen der Verwandten oder weiterer Personen.[28]

Vom Hauptgaranten hing nicht nur die Planung der jeweiligen Reise ab, sondern vor allem die Sorge um ihren reibungslosen Ablauf sowie die gesamte Beaufsichtigung davon, auch wenn sie auf die Ferne mittels Briefen ausgeübt wurde, die nicht immer zufriedenstellend zugestellt wurden. Auf den Schultern der Hauptgaranten ruhte auch die Last der kontinuierlichen finanziellen Absicherung der Bildungsreisen. In einer

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26 Schon ab diesem Alter haben eigene Tagebücher zum Beispiel die schon genannten Adeligen Ladislaus Velen von Zierotin oder Zdeněk von Waldstein auf Pirnitz (1581–1623) geführt. Beide haben vieljähriges Studium an lateinischen Schulen in den böhmischen Ländern und im Ausland sowie die Kavalierstour in Italien, Frankreich, England usw. absolviert. Zu Zierotin vgl. sein Tagebuch in der Apostolischen Vatikanischen Bibliothek in Rom (Bibliotheca Reginae n. 613), zu Waldstein siehe auch Polišenský (1982, S. 37–44), Maťa (2004, S. 326f.), Holý (2010c, passim) und Podavka (2017). Auch das Original des Tagebuch von Waldstein ist in der Apostolischen Vatikanischen Bibliothek in Rom aufbewahrt (Ephemeris seu Diarium, id est annotatio rerum, actionum et studiorum unius cuiusque diei inde ab anno exuberantis gratiae 1597 domini Zdenconis Brtnicensis, baronis a Waldstein (1597–1603), Bibliotheca Reginae n. 666, Abschrift in Nationalarchiv Prag, Handschriftensammlung B, Sign. B21). Bisher wurde es nicht ediert. Vgl. nur Teiledition des Textes in Groos (1981) und Dudík (1855, S. 237ff.).

27 Zu den Stammbüchern in mitteleuropäischen Milieu vgl. Fechner (1981), Klose (1988; 1989) und Ryantová (2007b; 2007a, S. 91–108).

28 Siehe Kapras (1904) und Holý (2010c, S. 53ff). Zu der sozialen Kategorie der „Herrn und Freunde“ vgl. Reinhard (1979; 1998, S. 127–141), Bůžek (2002, S. 229–264) und Maťa (2004, S. 641–656).

etwas anderen Situation befanden sich wiederum jene, die solch eine Reise auf Kosten einer der damaligen Studienstiftungen oder im Gefolge oder Dienst eines anderen unternahmen.

III.

Abschließend möchte ich mich zur letzten Frage äußern, nämlich zur Bedeutung der untersuchten Migrationen auf der individuellen und supra-individuellen Ebene. Zur individuellen Ebene kann eindeutig festgestellt werden, dass die bildungsbezogenen Reisen, die im untersuchten Zeitraum das Leben vieler Tausend Bewohner der böhmischen Länder prägten, nicht nur zur Erweiterung ihres eigenen Bildungsniveaus beitrugen, sondern zugleich auch auf bedeutende Art und Weise ihren allgemeinen kulturellen und geografischen Horizont erweiterten. Sie ermöglichten ihnen zugleich verschiedenste spezielle Kenntnisse und Fertigkeiten zu erlangen und nicht zuletzt auch höhere akademische Titel, die sie zu Hause nicht erhalten konnten und die zusammen mit den Kontakten, die sie während solcher Studienreisen geknüpft haben, eindeutig beim Aufbau und Ausbau ihrer beruflichen Karriere von Nutzen waren, und zwar in vielen unterschiedlichen Bereichen. Dies betrifft übrigens nicht nur niedrigere soziale Schichten, sondern in gewissem Maße auch wohlhabende Bürger und Adelige.

Die allgemeine Bedeutung der Bildungsmigration ist auf mehreren Ebenen ersichtlich. Sie wirkte sich nicht nur auf die allgemeine Steigerung des Bildungsgrads und des intellektuellen Niveaus der Gesellschaft in den böhmischen Ländern im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert aus, sondern trug auch zu ihrer gewissen Kosmopolitisierung bei. Dies spiegelte sich beispielsweise im Lebensstil, der Denkweise, der literarischen Tätigkeit etc. wider. Die Auslandsaufenthalte der Bildungsmigranten, vor allem die Kontakte, die dabei geknüpft und häufig auch nach der Zeit der Erziehung und Ausbildung weiter unterhalten wurden, haben aber ebenfalls zur gewissen Radikalisierung der intellektuellen und politischen Eliten in den böhmischen Ländern beigetragen und wurden somit zu einer der Ursachen der Eskalation der konfessionellen und politischen Situation unmittelbar vor dem Ausbruch des Dreißigjährigen Krieges.

Aus Sicht der weiteren Forschung wäre es gut, nicht nur die Migration im untersuchten Gebiet mit ähnlich ausgerichteten Bildungswegen aus anderen Regionen/Ländern zu vergleichen, sondern sich insbesondere auf die viel weniger erforschte Zeit nach dem Weißen Berg und die Auswirkungen der Dreißigjährigen Krieg und vielen gesellschaftsweiten Veränderungen nach 1620 (Rekatolisierung, Exil, Konfiskationen, soziale Umstrukturierung, Rezeption und Auswirkungen der Kultur des Barocks usw.) im Bereich der Migration von Kindern und Jugendlichen aus den tschechischen Ländern zu konzentrieren. Derzeit fehlt hierfür jedoch nicht nur eine größere Anzahl von Teilsonden, sondern vor allem eine umfassendere Ausarbeitung allgemeinerer Entwicklungstrends in der Bildungsgeschichte in der Zeit nach dem Weißen Berg. Ich würde auch die Verarbeitung bisher praktisch unerforschter Bildungsmigrationen von Ausländern in die tschechischen Länder sowohl für die Zeit vor dem Weißen Berg als auch nach 1620 als sehr nützlich erachten, weil sie eine Schlüsselrolle in vielen Aspekten der gesellschaftlichen, kulturellen, politischen sowie religiösen Lebens der frühneuzeitlichen Mitteleuropa spielte.

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Totalitarianism and the Violation of Human Rights in Education. The Case of Slovenia

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Abstract Slovenian schools were victims of the totalitarianism of Italian Fascism from the advent of fascist rule in 1922 until the capitulation of Italy in 1943 and of German Nazism during World War II (1941–1945). However, the question remains whether schools in Slovenia were victims of totalitarianism after the war, too. The answer depends on whether the socialist regime was merely undemocratic or also totalitarian. But even if the state at that time was not totalitarian, it violated human rights also in the field of education. According to the European Court of Human Rights, the State is forbidden to pursue an aim of indoctrination in public schools – as was the case in Slovenia – because indoctrination is considered to not respect parents' religious and philosophical convictions. In this paper it will be shown that the state also violated two other human rights of their citizens which are in close connection to this parents' right, namely, the right of parents to choose private schools based on specific moral, religious or secular values; and (if there are not such schools) the right to establish them. Both of these rights were violated because private schools, except religious schools for the education of priests, were forbidden. These rights were violated in the socialist republic of Slovenia even though ex-Yugoslavia (one of whose constitutive parts was at that time Slovenia) signed and ratified these international documents on human rights.

Keywords indoctrination, human rights, public schools, totalitarianism

Slovenian schools were the first victims of Italian fascism before World War II in Europe. In addition, during the war, in one part of Slovene territory schools were subjected to the repression of German Nazism as well. In both cases, they were, therefore, the victims of totalitarianism.

There are several definitions of totalitarianism.[1] Since the purpose of this paper is not to analyse the various philosophical and sociological definitions of this concept, we proceed from the generally accepted view that fascism, Nazism and communism were totalitarian regimes.

"Slovenian" Schools in the Time of Fascism

Before World War I, the entire territory of present-day Slovenia was under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Slovenians were able to study in their mother tongue, since the state law on universal rights of citizenship of 1867 clearly stated in Article 19 that "the state recognizes the equality of all provincial languages at school" (Schmidt, 1988, p. 320).

After World War I, a large part of Slovenian territory, Primorska – or the western part of the territory – belonged to the Kingdom of Italy. The pre-fascist liberal governments acknowledged the existence of Slavic minorities in Italy and, by a resolution filed in parliament by the Socialists, assured them that they would be able to use their language and cultivate their culture and religion without restrictions or obstacles. However, these promises were not fulfilled, and with the advent of fascist rule in 1922, things changed fundamentally (Kacin Wohinz & Verginella, 2008, p. 31). The recognition of the existence of national minorities was incompatible with the fascist doctrine of the superiority of the Italian people. Fascist politics was based on the denial of the existence of national minorities, on the belief that they were undeveloped second-class groups that were doomed to assimilation and Italianization (ibid., pp. 33–34). The Italianization policy was felt by Slovenes in Italy in all areas of social life, in administration, in the Church,

1 One of the most widely accepted definitions of totalitarianism is the definition of Carl J. Friedrich and Zbignew K. Brzezinski in *The Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (1956). This definition served as a reference for US policy during the Cold War and as a conceptual framework for a whole generation of researchers in political science and history for the study of the USSR. It focuses on six fundamental characteristics: an official ideology embracing the totality of life; a single party of mass and subject to a charismatic leader; a police control resorting to terror and directed by a secret police; a monopoly of the means of mass communication; a monopoly of arms; a planning and centralized control of the economy.

in the economy, in language, in culture, and in education. The use of the Slovenian language was banned in all public places. Slovenian schools were hit with a decisive blow by the so-called Gentile[2] school reform in 1923, especially by the reform's fourth and seventeenth articles. Article 4 stated that instruction in all primary schools should be provided in the state language, i.e. Italian. Slovene could be taught at extra hours at the special request of parents, but this option was abolished in 1925 with the Fedele reform. Article 17, however, provided that, as of the beginning of the 1923/24 school year, Italian should be introduced as the language of instruction in all first grades of foreign language primary schools. Slovenian was thus to be gradually phased out by the 1928/29 school year, but this happened earlier than required by law. Gradually, all Slovenian secondary schools were also abolished. The only public institution where Slovene could be taught in the interwar period was the Small Seminary in Gorizia, at which the Vatican permitted the Slovene language to be used even after the introduction of Gentile's school reform (Vižintin, 2013, pp. 21–23; Kacin Wohinz, 1990, p. 71; Okoliš, 2008, p. 90).

In addition to Italianization, children were also subjected to indoctrination in schools. Fascism spread its ideology in schools as well. Pupils were automatically enrolled in the departments of the unified youth organization the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* (founded in 1926), renamed the *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio* in 1937. In the mid-thirties,

2 Giovanni Gentile (1875–1944) was an Italian neo-Hegelian idealist philosopher, educator, and fascist politician. The self-styled "philosopher of Fascism", he was influential in providing an intellectual foundation for Italian Fascism, and ghostwrote part of *The Doctrine of Fascism* (1932) with Benito Mussolini. As a minister of Mussolini's government, he was the author of the fascist education reform, known to Primorska Slovenes as Gentile's reform. It was adopted on 1 October 1923. This was part of the fascist plan to denationalize the annexed Slovene and Croatian territory, or more precisely the ethnocide against Slovenes and Croats in Italy. On the basis of this plan, all Slovene and Croatian schools, which until then had managed to maintain their mother tongue lessons (more than 400), were abolished and replaced by the teaching of Italian, which they carried out in the very rude ways ('Giovanni Gentile' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2021; *Wikipedia*, 2019).

organizations for pre-school children – *Figli* and *Figlie della Lupa* – were created. These organizations wanted to bring youth into fascist society through military discipline, sports, political events and propaganda (ibid., pp. 58–60). Schools in general became a means of consolidating a totalitarian fascist state. In the interwar period, almost all Slovenian teachers were forcibly replaced by Italian teachers so that lessons were taught exclusively in Italian. All Slovenian teachers who did not flee to Yugoslavia or abroad were expelled under police control to the south of Italy. Teachers played a major role in the spread of fascist propaganda among young people. Children used to sing fascist songs, learn fascist slogans and listen to Mussolini's speeches. The teachers had to be welcomed by the students with a fascist salute. In addition to the compulsory lessons, students were also required to attend so-called Fascist Saturdays, which extolled the fascist regime and glorified Mussolini. They had to wear special uniforms of fascist youth organizations that varied by the gender and age group of the students.

In this context, the results of a survey of the memories and feelings of Slovenes who attended Italian schools is interesting (Vižintin, 2013, pp. 38–39, 50–54). The author of the research says that those who started schooling before the introduction of Gentile's reform and who had previously studied in the Slovene language have negative memories. In particular, those who first encountered fascism as teenagers and in high school already had a largely national consciousness and were most affected by the reform. In contrast, most of those who began their education in Italian have positive memories. They say that other than the reality that they spoke Slovenian at home and Italian at school, they were not at all aware of any injustice. There is also a difference between village and bourgeois children. The village children were taught in Italian, but during the breaks they were mostly able to speak in Slovenian without serious consequences. In the ethnically mixed cities of Gorizia and Trieste, the regime was stricter and Slovene could not be used even on the street. Many therefore felt inferior. Those who came from poor families also have positive memories of schooling during fascism. Schools enabled them to play and socialize with peers within the framework of so-called Fascist Saturdays, enjoy

food and appearances at public holiday gatherings, and attend summer colonies at the seaside, etc. The vast majority of those who fondly remember their fascist education say that despite their parents' warnings, they were not aware that they were manipulated and indoctrinated at school. This still gives them a sense of guilt.

A little better was the position of Slovenes in the province of Ljubljana, which was annexed to Italy in 1941 after the disintegration of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In the province of Ljubljana, cultural autonomy was recognized for Slovenes, unlike before the war in Primorska, by a special statute. The former Yugoslav school system remained unchanged, changing only the curricula for history (emphasizing Italian-Roman history), geography and national science. At all levels of education, compulsory instruction was in Slovene, and Italian was optional. This arrangement was supposed to be only temporary, and the Italian authorities also here wanted to completely replace Slovenian education with Italian. Fascist pressure was exerted on schools in the Ljubljana region by introducing a mandatory fascist salute and by forcibly recruiting children and teachers into fascist youth and workers' organizations. Here too, the fascists tried to gain the affection of children with various benefits, from organizing school meals to participating in sports organizations and giving gifts. With the strengthening of the Slovenian liberation movement, the Italian occupier became increasingly violent. Many Slovenian teachers and even entire classes of students were imprisoned in Italian internment camps. At the Gonars camp, at the end of the 1942/43 school year, students even took the *matura* exam (Okoliš, 2008, pp. 102–104).

Slovenian Schools under the Nazi Regime during the World War II

In April 1941, Slovenia was occupied by the armies of three neighbouring countries: Germany, Italy and Hungary. The German occupier was the most ruthless and violent of the three regarding the procedures and methods of assimilation. The occupied Slovenian territories of Styria, Carinthia and Gorenjska were annexed to the Third Reich. All Slovenian schools were abolished, many Slovenian teachers were cast

out to Croatia and Serbia or deported to German labour camps. In the occupied territories, German schools and kindergartens were introduced with German teachers who mostly did not have a proper pedagogical education and did not know the Slovene language. The use of Slovenian was forbidden also during breaks. German language classes, which were not only language lessons but also propaganda for Hitler and the Third Reich, were introduced. Nazi youth organizations, like the *Deutsche Jugend* and the *Volksbundjugend*, were closely associated with the schools (Okoliš, 2008, pp. 100–102). These organizations were a very important part of Nazi education, which is usually interpreted as indoctrination since it was based on racist ideology and anti-humanism (Reboul, 1977, pp. 131–171).

Although there are similarities and differences between fascism and Nazism, both are generally considered as paradigmatic examples of totalitarianism. In both cases, Slovenian schools in the territory under fascist and Nazi powers were therefore victims of totalitarianism. However, there is no consensus on whether schools were victims of a third totalitarianism after the war: communism. Some believe that the post-war socialist regime in Slovenia was undemocratic, but not totalitarian in terms of the regimes in Eastern Europe.[3] In any case,

3 "In 2011 the Constitutional Court of Slovenia designated the entire political order during 1945–1990, [...] as 'totalitarian'. However, the Constitutional Court did not invoke any systematic treatments of totalitarianism, nor did it analyse this phenomenon and its presence in the time period referred to. One cannot deny that in 1945 Yugoslavia was established predominantly as a totalitarian state" (Flere, 2013, p. 116). But Slovenian sociologist Sergej Flere in his analysis "denies that the order in Yugoslavia after the 1960s was totalitarian, and in particular not with respect to any of the elements laid down by Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski in their classic study (1956). In Yugoslavia during the 1960s, e.g. millions of copies of religious materials were freely published annually, economic firms did not operate within a non-monetary planned economy; although the political system was officially a one-party one, republics (as of 1971 also provinces) acted as autonomous political entities, taking care of their interests and conflicting mutually. Although Tito was appointed president with a life mandate and his cult proliferated, his actual power was limited by the federal nature of the state and opposing federal units. Also, with respect to no other elements noted by the authors there is no reason for Yugoslavia to be designated a totalitarian state as of the middle of the 1960s"

this was a regime in which some human rights were violated because private schools were banned, and in public schools, if they followed the demands of the Communist Party, they would have to indoctrinate, that is, to inculcate Marxist ideology.

The Violation of the Right of Parents to Establish and Choose Private Schools after World War II

The right of parents to choose private schools would be worthless if at the same time the right to establish private schools did not exist.[4] And the opposite: the right to establish such schools would be worthless without recognition of the right of parents to choose them. It is evident, therefore, that the question of which of these two rights comes first makes no sense if we judge it from the logical point of view, for there is no before and after. But looking from the historical point of view, the right to establish such schools comes before the right to choose them and makes the choice possible (Bobbio, 1986, p. 17).

The right of parents to choose private schools – or more precisely, schools other than those established or maintained by the public authorities – for their children is recognised as a human right in two important international documents: firstly, in the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*,[5] and secondly,

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(Ibid.). The political alliance between the Soviet Union and Federal Yugoslavia (of which Slovenia was part) lasted only from 1945 to 1948, when the Yugoslav Communist Party was expelled from the Soviet-dominated international communist organization. The political break with the Soviet Union in 1948 did not however, mark a clean break with Soviet educational thinking. Nevertheless, from 1950 the Soviet model of educational theory was gradually replaced with more independent educational thinking.

4 Since 1950 religious communities have been allowed to establish religious schools for the education of priests (The Constitution of the SR of Slovenia, 1974, Article 229; Šimenc, 1996, p. 39). However, their right is limited and very different from the right to establish private schools, as it is formulated in the international documents on human rights.

5 "The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to choose for their

in the *Convention Against Discrimination in Education*.[6] In both documents, this right of parents is defined as a right to *liberty of choice*. That is to say, it is defined as the liberty of parents to choose private schools. This right is correlative to the duty of the State to refrain from imposing on them an obligation to send their children to public schools. Defined in such a way, the discussed right is understood as *freedom from* the State monopoly in education. Therefore, this right of parents, as well as other individual human rights, requires the State to limit its power.[7] All States that have ratified the mentioned international documents on human rights have voluntarily accepted this limitation of their sovereign power in relation to their citizens.[8] However, this was not enough for protecting the discussed parents' right. The former Yugoslavia ratified, among other international documents on human rights, the *Convention Against Discrimination in Education* in 1964 and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* in 1971. But despite this, all private schools except seminaries and faculties of theology were legally prohibited on its territory not only before but also after ratification. In Slovenia, for example, private schools were abolished after World War II, when the Republic of Slovenia became a constitutive part of Yugoslavia, and they have been permitted again since 1991, when Slovenia became an independent state.[9] In this case

children schools, other than those established by the public authorities" (*International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 1966, Art. 13.3).

6 "It is essential to respect the liberty of parents and, where applicable, of legal guardians, [...] to choose for their children institutions other than those maintained by the public authorities" (*Convention Against Discrimination in Education*, 1960, Art. 5. 1.b).

7 Cf. Haarscher, 1993, pp. 11–12, 38–39.

8 The States have themselves limited their internal sovereignty (Rendel, 1997, p. 23). Internal sovereignty is subordinate to international law, which is a product of consensualism, but limits the arbitrary exercise of power. Nothing can be imposed on those who govern without their consent. National sovereignty is in this way safeguarded (Bettati, 1996, pp. 91, 100–101).

9 In 1945, all private schools were banned. The exception was religious schools for the education of priests, which have been allowed to be established by religious communities since 1950. But the certificates of these schools did not have

it is totally clear that the State respected neither the liberty of parents to choose private schools for their children, nor the right of individuals and bodies to establish and direct private schools.

However, although the previously mentioned international documents on human rights guarantee the right of parents to choose private schools, this does not mean that parents' liberty of choice is unlimited. On the contrary, it is restricted. On the one hand, parents have freedom in their choice of schools only in relation to the State, but not necessarily also in relation to the religious communities or churches to which they belong. Parents belonging to the Catholic Church, for instance, have a duty to send their children to Catholic schools wherever this is possible.[10] On the other hand, parents are permitted to choose only those private schools "which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State" (*International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, Art. 13.3) or "by the public authorities" (*Convention Against Discrimination in Education*, Art. 5.1.b). Therefore, the State is not only obliged to permit parents' liberty of choice but also to limit it.

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public validity. Two such Catholic secondary religious schools were established, but their completion allowed enrolment only in the Faculty of Theology. If graduates of these schools wanted to enrol in other colleges or universities, they had to pass exams at state gymnasiums (cf. Šimenc, 1996, p. 39). This means that these schools were in some sense private, but all other types of private schools (including religious ones) that we usually think of when we talk about private schools were banned. Since 1991, the existence of private schools has again been permitted thanks to the new concept of the educational system in Slovenia, which is founded on the basis of human rights and other political, cultural and moral values which lie at the root of a civilized society: pluralist democracy, tolerance, solidarity and the rule of law (*The European Dimension of Education: Teaching and Curriculum Content*; *Résolution de la Conférence permanente des Ministres européens de l'Education sur 'la dimension européenne de l'éducation: pratique de l'enseignement et contenu des programmes'*, 1991, p. 3, 5).

10 "Parents are to send their children to those schools, which will provide for their Catholic education. If they cannot do this, they are bound to ensure the proper Catholic education of their children outside the school" (*Codex Iuris Canonici*, 1983, Can. 798).

Nevertheless, although this parental right is limited, there is no doubt that it was violated in Slovenia after World War II, when it was one of the six socialist republics of federal Yugoslavia. If we consider two additional facts – firstly, that parents were legally obligated to send their children to public schools, and secondly, that the education in these public schools was, or at least was supposed to be, based on Marxist ideology – then we can conclude that the State violated another internationally recognised parent's right, the right "to ensure religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions" (*The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 13.3) in public schools.

The Violation of the Right of Parents to Educate their Children in Conformity with Their Own Religious or Philosophical Convictions in Public Schools

According to the European Court of Human Rights, the State is forbidden from pursuing an aim of indoctrination in public schools because indoctrination is considered to not respect parents' religious and philosophical convictions (*Digest of Strasbourg Case – Law relating to the European Convention on Human Rights*, 1985, pp. 810–811). According to its interpretation, the State must "protect the children of certain parents from compulsory religious or philosophical instruction which is not directed at providing information but which is concerned with indoctrinating children with unacceptable beliefs, convictions or ideologies" (ibid., p. 801).[11] Countries where the parental right has been violated were formerly the communist, including Slovenia – there were parents legally obligated to send their children to public schools in which education was, or at least was supposed to be,

11 Here, once again, it is not clear whether indoctrination is forbidden because beliefs, convictions or ideologies are unacceptable, or because indoctrination itself is not acceptable. Unacceptable for whom? It seems for parents. But would indoctrination of children be acceptable if these beliefs, convictions or ideologies were acceptable for their parents?

based on Marxist ideology.[12] But this phenomenon of indoctrination was not unique to communist regimes. Before World War II, the Catholic Church in some European countries also required that all school subjects in public schools, even mathematics and the natural sciences, would be permeated with Catholicism.[13] In these cases, Marxism and Catholicism were seen as indoctrination and, as such, a violation of the right of parents to educate their children in public schools in accordance with their own religious or philosophical convictions.

But in the context of the discussed international documents on human rights, two things are not clear enough. Firstly, it is not obvious what exactly is meant by indoctrination. The Court's interpretation gives the impression that only one criterion of indoctrination has been used: aim or intention. Accordingly, indoctrination is forbidden as the aim of religious or philosophical instruction in public schools.[14] Secondly, it is not evident why indoctrination is forbidden. It is clear, of course, that it is forbidden because it is seen as something bad. But the question remains: is it forbidden because it is bad in itself or because it is bad only as a violation of parents' right to educate their

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12 In 1974, the Communist Party demanded: "It is urgent […] that young and adult accept Marxism as their worldview. […] This binds all factors of education to be combative and critical in the educational work of all non-scientific, anti-Marxist theories, ideas and ideologies that are alien to socialist self-government, as well as to their bearers" (*Deseti kongres*, 1974, p. 321).

13 In the Encyclical on Christian Education (*Divini Illius Magistri*) given by Pope Pius XI in 1929, it is clearly stated: "It is necessary not only that religious instruction be given to the young at certain fixed times, but also that every other subject taught, be permeated with Christian piety" (Point 80). Even more, "it is necessary that all the teaching and the whole organization of the school, and its teachers, syllabus and text-books in every branch be regulated by the Christian spirit, under the direction and maternal supervision of the Church" (ibid.).

14 Yet, if the requirements – that the State "must take care that information or knowledge included in the curriculum is conveyed in an objective, critical and pluralistic manner" (*Digest of Strasbourg Case – Law relating to the European Convention on Human Rights*, 1985, pp. 810–811); and that the exemption from "compulsory education in one religion" must be allowed because it means teaching "unacceptable beliefs, convictions or ideologies" – are understood as prevention of indoctrination, then the method and content criterion of indoctrination have been used too.

children in conformity with their own religious or philosophical convictions? If it was forbidden because it is bad in itself, then we would expect it to be forbidden also in private schools and at home as well. Since indoctrination is not explicitly forbidden there, it might make someone believe that it is forbidden because it is in opposition with the previously mentioned parents' right. If so, then it seems that we should conclude either that indoctrination is something good when the indoctrinators are parents or teachers in private schools who indoctrinate children in accordance with their parents' religious or philosophical convictions, or that indoctrination in such cases is not possible. If we understand indoctrination in the sense which it has in predominant philosophical theories of indoctrination, then both conclusions are false, since indoctrination is in contemporary philosophy of education commonly seen as something bad and immoral.[15] If so, then indoctrination is a bad thing also when children are indoctrinated by their parents or by teachers who indoctrinate children in accordance with their parents' religious or philosophical convictions in private schools. On the other hand, there is no evidence that indoctrination in such cases would be impossible. It might be argued that just the opposite is true. Religious education is namely often given as a paradigmatic case of indoctrination (Snook, 1972, pp. 76–79). But this does not mean that all religious or philosophical education is indoctrination. It means that some forms of religious or philosophical education could become indoctrination, while others are – at least according to the European Court of Human Rights – not understood as indoctrination if such teaching "is conveyed in an objective, critical and pluralistic manner" (*Digest of Strasbourg Case – Law relating to the European Convention on Human Rights*, 1985, pp. 810–811).

15 In the past, indoctrination was not always understood as blameworthy. In the Middle Ages indoctrination indicated the implanting of Christian doctrine. As such, "indoctrination" was synonymous with education and it did not have a pejorative connotation. Later on, indoctrination "gradually assumed the connotations of a coercive type of education" and has acquired a negative meaning (Gatchel, 1972, pp. 11–13).

These conceptual differences must be considered when we speak of indoctrination as a violation of the aforementioned human rights. It would also be a mistake to see such a violation of human rights as something specific only to communist countries. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the violation of these human rights was an important feature of what was then Slovenia, even if it was not – as some claim – a totalitarian country.

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Philosophical Pedagogy in the Service of Ideology in the Times of the Polish People's Republic

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Abstract In my paper, I would like to consider the problem of entanglement of philosophy of education in the communist ideology. I will show it on the example of one Polish concept, created by Karol Kotłowski. He was a disciple of Sergiusz Hessen and developed his own concept of philosophical pedagogy, presenting the philosophy of dialectical materialism, that is Marxism as a perspective in which the entire philosophical thought culminates. Reading Kotłowski, we can see, on the one hand, his rooting in broad philosophical thought, on the other hand – his adherence to the ideology of the socialist state, which demands that education serve the political system and prepare people to be the builders of the system. The theoretical basis for my analysis is Arendt's concept of totalitarianism and Tischner's view of *homo sovieticus*. The analysis is preceded with an historical overview of the situation in Poland in the first decade after World War II with reference to academic pedagogy.

Keywords philosophical pedagogy; Marxism; ideology of the socialist state; education

Introduction

Education in the hands of the state has a long history. From the Polish perspective, the worst associations it evokes are the policies of invaders towards the Polish population during the Partitions of Poland. These include denationalisation, Germanization, Russification and subordination to monarchy. A completely different picture presents itself when we look at the way how the state organized education after Poland regained its independence in 1918. At that time, the Polish state engaged in the reconstruction of all the subsystems that made up the entire reborn of the state and nation, including the reform

of education. The pedagogy of that time boasted a great openness to the trends developed throughout Europe and America, not only in research on education but also more widely in the humanities and social sciences. Philosophical pedagogy was already competing with empirical, psychological and sociological pedagogy, but also with different varieties of ideological pedagogy (Wołoszyn, 1998). There was therefore no shortage of criticism of the state's educational policy, which was allegedly imposing its own patterns on the minds of the young generation (Kozłowski, 1932, Wrońska, 2020). Today, the Polish state is again pursuing an intensive educational policy with injurious consequences for pedagogy. Pedagogy is regarded either as superfluous or newly necessary and subservient: the former if it does not adapt itself to the educational goals of the state; the latter if it can be made to serve these goals.

In this paper I would like to look at a period "in between", i.e. the Polish People's Republic (1945–1989) when academic pedagogy, pushed onto the margins of research on education, was assigned tasks strictly connected with building a new system in Polish society, precisely by means of upbringing (cf. Friedrich & Brzeziński, 1965). How did it perform its role in training educators and teachers, and to what extent was it helped by philosophical reflection? Does not today's ideological offensive of the right-wing government in Poland begin to resemble the past period of communism? Are we, as educators, immune to it, and how helpful can cooperation between pedagogy and philosophy be (or practicing pedagogy as both social and humanistic science of humankind)? What lesson can we learn from that period as educators, both practitioners and theoreticians? The system of totalitarian communist power did not leave an open space for independent thought (not to mention one critical of the ideology of power) and this had to affect not only pedagogy as such but also philosophical pedagogy. I would like to examine the "in between period" by looking at the views and activities of Karol Kotłowski (1910–1988), a student of Sergei Hessen and creator of philosophical pedagogy of the times of the Polish People's Republic recognised by the state authorities. In addition to making explicit how pedagogical research and practice during this period were constrained

to serve the interests of the communist state, some telling lessons for today may be uncovered, both for Poland and other countries.

In order to face up to this task and to answer the questions formulated, I propose the following plan. To begin with, I will present a summary of historical events and political decisions which are the background for academic pedagogy and the training of educators in Poland after the end of the World War II. Then I will present theoretical approaches on which I will base my analysis of the pedagogical concepts developed by Kotłowski. The analysis will draw firstly on Hannah Arendt's historical-philosophy research on totalitarianism and Józef Tischner's concept of *homo sovieticus,* then it will avail of Sergei Hessen's distinction between philosophy and ideology. Against this historical and theoretical background, I will present the silhouette of Kotłowski and his research activity, and strictly speaking, his own concept of philosophical pedagogy practiced at the University of Łódź. I will focus primarily on his axiological assumptions in this normative pedagogy, including these: proletarian humanism and collectivism, internationalism, as well as self-discipline and respect for social property, thanks to which pedagogy (by instilling these values in pupils and teaching them to their parents as well) could help to consolidate the new socio-political system. In such a manner, I will attempt to show that Kotłowski's philosophical pedagogy was a Marxist pedagogy, serving to build a new socialist model of society, dependent on state power and ultimately ideological. In addition to evaluating the work of Kotłowski, I would also like to highlight some ways of preventing the recurrence of totalitarianism – political or educational – and to highlight the part to be played by pedagogy in this event. The period of the Polish People's Republic has been widely explored. Latest research in social sciences and humanities allows us to see various aspects of life in Poland and other communist countries after World War II, not limited to the perspective on 20th century totalitarianisms (e.g. Bren & Neuburger, 2012, Giustino, Plum & Vari, 2013, Klich-Kluczewska, 2017).

A Historical Glance at Polish Pedagogy and Pedagogical Training in the Early Communist Era

The open ideological offensive on education in Poland did not start immediately after the country regained its independence (Wołoszyn, 1964, p. 738, Szulakiewicz, 2006, pp. 43–44). Until 1948, universities employed pre-war scholars as well as professors connected with the Universities of Lviv and Vilnius before the war. The University of Łódź was founded in 1945, building, *inter alia*, on the work of the branch of the Wolna Wszechnica Polska (Free Polish University) that had operated there in the interwar period. Kotłowski conducted his scientific activity here in the years 1947–1980 (Szulakiewicz, 2006, pp. 205–206). Although Łódź did not have a university tradition, it was here where such scholars as Sergei Hessen, Bogdan Nawroczyński, Helena Radlińska and Bogdan Suchodolski worked immediately after the war (Kotłowski, 1976b, p. 119). They did so only briefly, because in 1948 the ruling Communist Party, not seeing enough support from scholars for the state authorities (Mauersberg, 1981, p. 327), intensified its actions to subordinate education and science (including pedagogy) to Marxist-Leninist ideology, i.e. the policy of totalitarian state (Hejnicka-Bezwińska, 2015, pp. 117–142; Okoń, 2003, p. 297). According to Wincenty Okoń, another student of Hessen, and his description of the situation at the University of Łódź, in 1948, his master Hessen was dismissed as the Chair of General Pedagogy. It was taken over by Dr. Marian Gluth, who guaranteed a new line of pedagogy and training of pedagogical staff in accordance with the policy and ideology of the state (Okoń, 1989, p. 188; 2003, p. 302). Similar decisions were made at other universities, affecting other pre-war scholars.

Key parts of the ideological offensive were changes in education, starting with new education curricula. As we read in a textbook on the history of education, since the school year 1948/49, the assumptions of the didactic-pedagogical work "have been based on materialism in the Marxist-Leninist perspective. An important directive of upbringing has become the development and justification of a belief in the superiority of political, legal, cultural and ethical socialism over capitalism". Thus, "the decisive stage of fights and disputes over

the ideological and educational direction of the Polish schooling has ended. In the late 1940s, the Polish school was incorporated into the national process of socialist construction" (Mauersberg, 1981, p. 356). The authorities planned to change the school system and carry out a school reform. To achieve this goal, changes in the training of future educators were needed. First, however, inadequate implementation of directives had to be accounted for, and Polish science had to shift to the methodology of dialectic materialism. Such a task was given to the authorities of state universities, and within them, to the newly established pedagogical institutes. Their management required dissociation from the theories of pre-war scholars, whose research had to be criticized. In the language of the authorities, their theories were false and reactionary, proclaimed "under the pressure of petty bourgeois ideology" (Mauersberg, 1981, p. 353). The titles of some of the new papers, created in accordance with the communist authorities' recommendations, speak for themselves: *Wychowanie w rodzinie socjalistycznej* [*Upbringing in a Socialist Family*] by Karol Kotłowski, 1949, *Przełom musi nastąpić* [*Breakthrough Must Happen*] by Aleksander Lewin, 1950, or *Reakcyjna teoria nauczania* [*Reactionary Theory of Teaching*] by the above-mentioned Marian Gluth, 1950. As expected by the state authorities, these academic papers included criticism of pre-communist pedagogy, including the cultural pedagogy of scholars like Hessen and Nawroczyński, for its alleged bourgeois and idealistic past. The new state-aligned pedagogy paved the way for a progressive, materialist ideology that would, purportedly, bring about the liberation of the oppressed working and peasant classes in the new reality of the People's Republic (Okoń, 2003, pp. 300–302). Kotłowski, an heir to this criticized thought, also spoke about the attitude towards pre-war pedagogy, but I will come back to this later.

Apart from pedagogy, the ideological offensive also reached other social sciences and humanities, including philosophy, all the more so because the environment of philosophers very quickly and strongly manifested its resistance to the introduction of Marxism into scholarly research. In 1946, scientists from the Jagiellonian University and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków expressed their

stance, saying that "science should be free from ideology and politics" (Mauersberg, 1981, p. 327). Soon, however, a course on Marxism-Leninism was introduced at universities for all students, also later a course on socialist economics. Staff had to be prepared to run these courses[1]. In many officially approved series of scholarly publications between 1945 and 1989, the inclusions and exclusions in texts are quite revealing. The texts are elaborated and edited in close conformity with the educational and scientific policy of the Polish People's Republic. The publications in question include the series of the PWN Biblioteka Klasyków Filozofii (Polish Scientific Publishers' Library of Classical Philosophy), as well as the series of Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library). These latter contain the exemplary editions of the most valuable works of Polish and foreign literature published by the Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (Ossoliński Institute). The Enlightenment *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d'Alembert may serve as an example. In the 1952 Polish edition, under the title *Encyklopedia albo słownik rozumowany nauk, sztuk i rzemiosł*, there were selected entries from the first edition of the encyclopedia, according to a key that leaves no illusions about the profile of this choice. Among many blank spots, the lack of the entry for "education" is noticeable, although we know how important this issue was for the Enlightenment. Moreover, the selection also affected *Rozprawa wprowadzająca wydawców* [*Publishers' Introductory Dissertation*] in this work, from which fragments inconsistent with the binding methodology of dialectical materialism were removed (Encyclopedia, 1952, pp. 8–9). Jan Kott's *Wstęp* [*Introduction*] was also written according to the same ideological key and simply makes reading it today difficult. The following decades were used to consolidate Communist power, and pedagogy was practiced in the spirit of Marxism (Wołoszyn, 1964, p. 738). For reasons of space this extensive and many-dimensional topic can be mentioned only in passing here; but it serves to identify the force and extent of the ideological shift

1 I remember that while I was studying pedagogy in the second half of the 80's, both were included in the compulsory study programme.

accomplished by the Communist authorities. This historical background, moreover, calls for further analysis and theoretical elaboration. But for now, let us turn to the first of the approaches I want to avail of in reviewing Kotłowski's philosophical pedagogy – namely Hannah Arendt's monumental study of totalitarianism.

Hannah Arendt and the Notion of Totalitarianism

The author of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*[2] found the sources of totalitarianism in the condition of contemporary man. Arendt claimed that the keys to understanding the novelty of this form of government were the concentration camps, viewed as laboratories of totalitarian rule, working to change the very essence of humanity. Both Hitler's and Stalin's camps were based on a monstrous lie, the omnipotence of the secret police and the cult of the leader. This form of government was to be distinguished from authoritarian forms by the need to mobilize the masses, the role of official ideology and the lack of pluralism in various areas of life (Grinberg, 1993, pp. 7–24). As Arendt argued, "lawfulness is the essence of non-tyrannical government", while "lawlessness is the essence of tyranny". And if so, "then terror is the essence of totalitarian domination" (Arendt, 1976, p. 464). To this end, terror must eliminate the freedom already attested by "the fact of the birth of man" and whose sense is in its "capacity to make a new beginning" (Arendt, 1976, p. 466). Thanks to lawfulness, she continues, power is legal. In a democratic system, lawfulness "is the stabilizing force"; it sets the boundaries of action but "is insufficient to inspire and guide men's actions". In a totalitarian system, however, the function of laws is taken over by terror, but terror is also "not sufficient to inspire and guide human behaviour" (Arendt, 1976, p. 467). Therefore, convictions, as the human motive for action, must be removed by way of purges. As Arendt wrote, "the aim of totalitarian education has never been to install convictions but to destroy the capacity to form any" (1976, p. 468). And the inhabitants

2 Arendt's books were not during the communist era in Poland published until 1988, when the dissident Independent (uncensored) Publishing House NOWA issued *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

of a totalitarian state must be "thrown into and caught in the process of nature or history for the sake of accelerating its movement; as such, they can only be executioners or victims of its inherent law" (Arendt, 1976, p. 468). The preparation for this double role, instead of a principle of action, is to be ideology.

Writing about ideologies, Arendt, just like Leszek Kołakowski, generally criticized their pseudo-science and pseudo-philosophy, although the attitude of ideologists indicated their scientific and philosophical ambitions. Even though 19th century *Weltanschauungen* and ideologies did not yet have a totalitarian character for Arendt, she warned that all ideologies can turn totalitarian under the influence of totalitarian movements. As she wrote, "the real nature of all ideologies was revealed only in the role that the ideology plays in the apparatus of totalitarian domination" (Arendt, 1976, p. 470). This can be seen most clearly in relation to 20th century racism and communism, but according to the author of *The Origins of Totalitarianism,* three totalitarian elements can be seen in every ideology, characterized simply by ideological thinking. They concern, first of all, the ambition of total explanation of past historical events, total knowledge of the present and projections of the future. Secondly, instead of a description of reality based on facts, there appears the art of suspicion, i.e. searching for hidden meanings, conspiracies, impure intentions, etc. In this way, ideological indoctrination is taught at various established educational institutions. Thirdly, there is in ideological thinking the ambition to order facts in an absolutely logical way, based on the premises and deduction "with a consistency that exists nowhere in the realm of reality" (Arendt, 1976, p. 471). Deduction, on the other hand, is understood either logically or dialectically; in this way, ideological thinking could be freed from the burden of experience that was weighing ideologists down. Similar to Arendt, Karl Popper criticized the rules of dialectics in *Conjectures and Refutations* as part of the theory of falsificationism (1963), as did

Leszek Kołakowski in his acclaimed critical study *Główne nurty marksizmu*[3] [*Main Currents of Marxism*] (1981, Vol. III, pp. 157–163).

Arendt, in her understanding of ideology as a tool of totalitarian movements, discussed also the problem of loneliness (in connection with isolation and impotence), which in the 20th century became "an everyday experience of the evergrowing masses of our century", further enhanced by a sense of uprooting and superfluity (1976, p. 478)[4]. Without changing the historical context too much, I will move on toward the second theoretical approach, which may be equally useful in understanding the phenomenon of philosophical pedagogy under communism in Poland.

Homo Sovieticus in the Philosophy of Józef Tischner

Already in the 1960s, Józef Tischner identified invidious practices in the field of education, comprising what he called a totalistic pedagogy. For Tischner, totalism meant the denial of human freedom and the seizure of it by a teacher, parent, or priest, fighting for their authority (Tischner, 1966, pp. 1340–1344, Wrońska, 2019b, pp. 59–64). When this was transferred to the political ground of the communist era and communist power, similar relations were formed between citizens and officials of the ruling party. According to Tischner, the totalistic pedagogy and education scheme was also present in the formation practices in clerical seminars, still far from the spirit of post-conciliar changes in the Catholic Church. What permeated the entirety of these practices was the concept of *homo sovieticus* – an enslaved man and a client of communism. While examining this issue, Tischner referred to Czesław Miłosz's book *Zniewolony umysł* [*The Captive Mind*]. In order

3 Like *The Origins of Totalitarianism,* Kołakowski's book *The Main Currents of Marxism* was banned in the Polish People's Republic. The book was first published in 1976 at Instytut Literacki in Paris and in 1981 in Poland as a reprint (samizdat) at an underground publishing house.

4 However, given the scale of this paper, I am only signalling this issue, knowing that from today's perspective – in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic – loneliness is becoming an urgent and important problem in itself, regardless of its link with totalitarian power (although still a fertile soil for it).

to show the entanglement of people of science and letters that entered into alliances with the authorities. Miłosz undertook to describe the captive mind using specific examples of intellectuals and writers seduced by the communist system (Tischner, 2018, p. 175, Miłosz, 1989, Lilla, 2003). *Homo sovieticus* is an abstract category but, according to Tischner, everyone is subject to it if they have been exposed to a total ideology for a long time. It is a post-communist form of escape from freedom. The fate of a slave who, after liberation, escapes to become a different slave. Their consciousness determines their existence. As a consequence of the harm suffered, the humiliation experienced, the loss of their place in the world of politics and the threat of losing their job, they will choose to retaliate and say "no", i.e. negate the common good (Tischner, 2018).

According to Tischner, communism would not have been possible without intellectuals. They were a channel through which deceptive speech was flowing into the world, covering the actions of the oppressors. The workers joined the party and the intellectuals supported the doctrine. Those who doubted the perfection of the system deceived themselves by claiming that, despite everything, communism proved to be the only effective form of fight against the threat of fascism and therefore must be accepted. One form of deception is the public confession of belief in communism, the other is the introduction of ideology into one's field of science. Positive science becomes communist when it supports the theses of Marxism-Leninism, the theoretical basis of communism. There is no objective truth, but there are backward and progressive truths, and everyone should engage their forces in the fight for progress. Political reason required that no science should contradict the principles of Marxism-Leninism. All the activities of reason were to be subjected to the power of the political reason. According to Tischner, humanities, more than other sciences, were entangled in ideology. The communists proclaimed that man can only be free in a socialist system, which is a guarantee of human dignity based on the humanism of socialist democracy. "After all" was uttered by liberals, enemies of capitalism, moralists, Christians and Catholics and, of course, also by educators. Thus, scientific reason became an obedient

servant of political reason. The language of intellectuals was becoming a language full of ambiguity, inhibitions, courting and allusions – far removed from direct experience. Even if one belonged to the opposition, the question "where are the limits of a permitted compromise" was like "a splinter in the conscience of an independent intellectual" (Tischner, 2018, p. 182).

Homo sovieticus in Tischner's description was a one-dimensional and terrorized creature. They could not possess, but learned to use, or to possess in such a way that it was not known that they possessed. As a client, they consumed not only the means of temporal life, but also the means to secure eternal life, and so they penetrated into the party as well as into the churches. Tischner describes *homo sovieticus* as being "always full of claims, ready to blame others and not themselves, morbidly suspicious, saturated with awareness of misery, unable to sacrifice themselves, they went from Wawel to Jasna Góra and back again as an annoyance and remorse of the priests" (Tischner, 2018, p. 189). Christianity approached communism as a version of European neopaganism. It wanted to overcome it, not simply inflict defeat on it by seeing itself mixed up in pagan superstitions. In this description, attention is drawn not only to the mechanism of subjugation of society by the power, but also to the effects it leaves for the longer term in that society. In Tischner's opinion, the Polish overcoming of communism has not been finished, because it brought up a whole multitude of clients, both in the party and outside of it: sovietized people deprived of a sense of responsibility. Pedagogy contributed to this malign order of things, preparing teaching staff, educators and parents for over 40 years of Communism in Poland.

Philosophy and Ideology in Sergei Hessen's View

The third theoretical approach, historically foregoing those presented, is related to Sergei Hessen's concept of pedagogy of culture. He developed it in the interwar period, calling it personalistic and treating it as an applied philosophy. It was inspired by neo-Kantianism, which he came across during his philosophical studies in Germany. According to this concept, he understood education (including upbringing)

as a spiritual process "in which the personality of man is fulfilled and at the same time the continuity of cultural tradition is ensured" (Hessen, 1939, p. 6). In the course of it, the human being is incorporated into the world of cultural values, passing through the stages of existence from anomy, through heteronomy, to autonomy (voluntary submission to the higher principle). Hessen made a very clear distinction between philosophy and ideology. While the former is distinguished by its aporetic character, i.e. the realization of difficulties (contradictions in our view of the world), as well as openness and dynamism, born out of the spirit of protest against the prevailing worldview, the latter is placed on the opposite side. It is a transformed worldview with a distinctive sense of certainty, closed, exclusive and party-related. Secondly, philosophy uses doubt as a tool to achieve the truth, while ideology is characterized by a lack of surprise and little or no awareness of ignorance. Thirdly, the former does not reject different worldviews but starts a dialogue and argues, while the latter rejects any opposing viewpoints and any problems they might highlight. Philosophy is distinguished by its attitude of surprise and its awareness of ignorance; lust for power is foreign to it. Ideology, however, is fixed in dogma, wants to vanquish through coercion. Finally, Hessen points out the dangers of transforming philosophy into ideology. This happens when, in philosophical thinking, the tension disappears between the truth being enclosed in a worldview and the full truth rising above being (Hessen, 1939).

In this philosophy of education (including upbringing), the concept of worldview stands out. It means an individual view of the world, which in the process of man's spiritual development is overcome in a creative act of personality, assuming the form of a cultural world. It becomes a creation of an objective spiritual world (as philosophy, science, law, morality, religion, art). In turn, when the worldview insists on its distinctiveness, then it degenerates into an ideology and requires recognition through coercion. In Hessen's argument philosophical pedagogy was part of an objective spiritual world, while ideological pedagogy was already an emanation of ideology itself (Hessen, 1939, Wołoszyn, 1998).

Karol Kotłowski – Profile and Pedagogical Activity in the People's Republic of Poland

As a student of Hessen, Karol Kotłowski naturally aspired to continue his master's school of thought, but after the removal of Hessen from the chair of general pedagogy in 1948 and handing it over to Gluth, Kotłowski developed his concept of pedagogy first in the Department of the History of Education (1947–1951). Then as head of the Department of Pedagogy (1958–1970), in time assuming senior positions as director of the institute (1970–1975) and faculty dean (1970–1972) and finally as head of the Department of Theory of Education (1972–1980). He wrote a text in 1976 on philosophical pedagogy in the University of Łódź during three decades of the Polish People's Republic (Kotłowski, 1976b). An exploration of this manuscript may help in disclosing Kotłowski's real position. At the very beginning, the author explains that philosophical pedagogy should not be comprehend as a separate trend, because "no direction of pedagogy can ignore philosophy". After all, "only philosophy can explain to the educator the meaning of his work" (Kotłowski, 1976b, p. 120). In this sentence, Kotłowski declared his loyalty to the ideas of Hessen, a world-renowned cultural philosopher. Going further, in accordance with the historical criterion, he divided philosophical pedagogy into pre-Marx and Marxist pedagogy. The former was not a monolith, i.e., a unified doctrine; on the contrary, it represented various trends, including the humanities, practised by e.g. pedagogues of culture (Hessen, Nawroczyński). But, as he says, "the full victory of socialist pedagogy could have been achieved, among other things, by fighting the old pedagogy" (Kotłowski, 1976b, p. 120). There were three possible ways of dealing with the heritage of cultural pedagogy, i.e.: accepting and continuing it, rejecting it because it is incompatible with the ideology of Marxism, or overcoming it with the Marxist philosophy. The first way, according to Kotłowski, was unacceptable for ideological and material reasons (he judged that in Hessen's version there were supposedly some deficiencies, while in Nawroczyński's version there were fewer, but still a revision was needed from the point of view of Marxist pedagogy). The second way would also be inappropriate, given the merits of its creators for pedagogy (such as

extremely important analyses of freedom and coercion); it would be, as he admitted, a mistake and impoverishment of the mentality of pedagogy graduates. There was only the third possibility left: to overcome it (Śliwerski, 2001). This was also the path Kotłowski chose when he decided to pursue philosophical pedagogy, showing the philosophy of dialectical materialism, i.e. Marxism, as a perspective in which all the earlier philosophical thought culminates. He consistently applied this version by building an axiological basis for the theory of upbringing, based on the personality model of a socialist builder, a system of socially recognized norms, based on ideas generated by ideology and the scientific worldview as a set (conglomerate) of intellect, feelings and will. Kotłowski's choice of the third strategy allows us to see, on Arendt's analysis, the application of dialectics as a variety of ideological thinking. The new normativity of socialist pedagogy, accomplished through overcoming idealistic bourgeois philosophy, is also reminiscent of the strategy of the Church, building its doctrine on overcoming communism as a variation of European neo-paganism.

Axiological Bases of Karol Kotłowski's Pedagogy

It is worthwhile at this point to take a closer look at the ideas, values and norms that are the distinguishing features of Kotłowski's normative socialist pedagogy (1976a). This pedagogy presents an ideological rather than philosophical justification for the presence of values in education (cf. Cichoń, 1980). The author admits that axiology, with its different stances, aroused suspicion of Soviet ethicians, but Marxist pedagogy needed a reference to values. The concepts used thus far guarded the interests of the class ruling the society. After the victory of the proletariat, it has the right to impose its system of moral values, with the difference that proletarian norms are created for all working and wronged people. Not relativism (of which certain stances are accused), but perfectionism, the conviction that ethical norms and people are constantly improving, is the position of Marxist ethics. Despite their durability, their functionality is determined by class standards. Proletarian humanism recognises the primacy of the group over the individual; its greatest enemy is private property. Collectivism does

not oppose the individual personality to the society, but connects them dialectically, making it possible to identify a mortal personality with an immortal society. This is the first pair of ethical ideas of the socialist state. The second pair, according to Kotłowski, are: patriotism – internationalism, the third: work – conscious discipline and respect for social property. Together they are determinants of the norms governing relations between people inside and outside countries. These ideas are an amalgamated and commonly accepted set, the source of norms (obligations and prohibitions) regulating mutual relations among people. If, in turn, one considers "as adequate the definition of the worldview as a set of beliefs in relation to the objective and subjective world determining human activity", then the discussion on the independence of ethics from worldviews becomes, according to Kotłowski, pointless. All "action that is conscious and relevant to the personality, i.e. primarily action judged in ethical terms, is dependent on the ideology and worldview adhered to" (1976a, p. 69).

Going further, the postulated model of the builder of socialism is based on the universally binding value system. When bringing up a child, one should not wait until the child grows up to various values. Hessen and Nawroczyński, as we remember, described phases of moral development from anomy through heteronomy to autonomy, and the allocation of animal, normative and absolute values to particular phases. But this was, according to Kotłowski, "overly subordinated to philosophy" (1976a, p. 86). As he argued, all three pairs of norms must be made available from the very beginning, only in an age-appropriate manner. Humanism, according to him, is the ethical value of our whole civilization; it has many contact points with Christianity, the only difference being in private property. In turn, the model of a teacher-educator must submit to the rigors set by a responsible group of people who form the state "in the spirit of socialist ideology" and cannot "decide individually on the basis of their conscience what is true and what is false, what is right and what is wrong. Then the teacher would become an anarchizing factor for the youth, not an educator" (1976a, p. 180). In accordance with the teacher's distinctive feature, i.e. devotion to the idea, they should be convinced that socialism,

for which they work, "is the source of the most perfect system of ethical values that modern mankind can create, and that making it a reality on a global, human scale will bring happiness [...] it is their duty to be a socialist themselves and to educate young people entrusted to them in this spirit" (1976a, p. 183). The educator is also to be responsible for the pedagogical training of parents in order to overcome the contradiction between family and school, and to promote complementarity between the two environments. But still, the dominant role is played by the school, which is "an institution fighting to strengthen" the system of ethical values of socialism in people's consciousness (1976a, p. 196).

Kotłowski's Philosophical Pedagogy in the Service of Ideology

Reading Kotłowski, one can see, of course, that while being deeply rooted in philosophical thought, he is also dominated by his support for the ideology of the socialist state, which demands that pedagogy serve to the system and prepare children for being system builders. Upbringing, understood as moulding the new man, becomes the primary goal. It will outweigh education, which will lose the status of an autonomous goal as in Hessen. The teacher is supposed to be an ideological guide, has indoctrination at his disposal, although Kotłowski will consider it unnecessary in socialism. The revolution has already happened and it is enough to build on the claims of the scientific worldview.

However, Kotłowski's search for an agreement with the ideology of the state did not succeed fully in making pedagogy a passive instrument or a servant to the system. It should be remembered that it was among the pedagogues at the University of Łódź, after the political changes in 1989, that the initiative to establish the Society of Philosophical Pedagogy was born, also with Kotłowski's achievements in mind. On the other hand, there is no doubt that such pedagogy served the state and its ideology. Each text by Kotłowski presents Marxism as the culmination of historical transformations where everything comes true, all contradictions are removed and conflicts are resolved. Referring directly to the ideology of the socialist state which brings happiness to its citizens is a declaration and willingness of an intellectual to serve it in his scientific workplace. Kotłowski's rejection of indoctrination – a key

instrument of totalitarian and communist power – may indicate his conflicted attempts to negotiate a way in a difficult situation: involving survival, conformism, or a search for compromise.

Moreover, when analyzing Kotłowski's achievements, it stands out that only one text does not take up his usual theme of upbringing. It is a text about schools in England after World War II, published in 1960. And although it is based on texts on education, the author aptly recognizes that these refer to instruction/teaching and not to upbringing young English people. And its final message, based on Spencer's phrase ("The old must continue so long as the new is not ready, this perpetual compromise is an indispensable accompaniment of a normal development"), is a confirmation and approval of the English education system, which is developing through evolution, allowing "dead branches to exist in education but taking care of the young shoots as well" (Kotłowski, 1960, p. 162). In his other works (e.g. *Problemy wychowania w rodzinie*, 1966, *Filozofia wartości a zadania pedagogiki*, 1968, *O pedagogicznym kształceniu rodziców*, 1968, *Rzecz o wychowaniu patriotycznym*, 1974, *Aksjologiczne podstawy teorii wychowania moralnego*, 1976) Kotłowski's attention is focused on upbringing. However, it would be difficult to find in them his own, philosophically well-established definition of upbringing. This is because he assumes a single, problem-free interpretation of upbringing, as a way of moulding the personality of pupils according to the model and goals adopted in the socialist society, which was in force in the communist pedagogy for many years (e.g. Kotłowski, 1976a, p. 73). Upbringing has been defined in the Pedagogical Dictionary by Wincenty Okoń as a deliberately organized human activity aimed at "inducing specified changes in human personality" (1975, p. 333; 1992, p. 233). In Kotłowski's case, we find a justification for such an understanding of upbringing, optimally implemented in the "spirit of the socialist ideology" (1976a, p. 180), both in the family and at school. This was, for Kotłowski, an upbringing leading to collective freedom and introduction to self-discipline, cleared of the contradictions in which freedom was entangled in the bourgeois pedagogy (1968, pp. 156–186).

Conclusion

This review of Kotłowski's approach illustrates that while he sought to claim the standing of philosophy, his writings served the political reason of the communist authorities. This emphasis prevailed through the whole official pedagogy in the Polish People's Republic. Fortunately, the circle of power was not so strong as to rule out other pedagogical positions that did not conform to Marxist ideology (Friedrich & Brzeziński, 1965). As Tischner wrote, there was also an intellectual opposition that applied one of two attitudes: it either nurtured pure scientific objectivity, or openly criticised the very foundations, exposing the lies of the system and its crimes. But this is another story that can only be briefly indicated here.

Paradoxically, all the extensive knowledge about upbringing collected by pedagogical research, including Kotłowski's philosophical pedagogy, may prove to be a fund of promising sources for tackling a new generation of threats to education in the policy reforms of neoliberal governments internationally (Wrońska, 2008, 2019a). As a result, even recognised philosophers, such as Alasdair MacIntyre, make judgements about education in the sense of teaching as a set of skills and not as a social practice with its own internal goods that develop its participants (MacIntyre & Dunne, 2004). Instrumentalization of education is a new version of subordinating it to the state and its goals (in this case economic but also ideological, e.g. religious, national and other). Today's tendencies in politics, not only in Poland: the turn towards nationalism, criticism of liberal democracy (Zielonka, 2018) increasing authoritarianism, intolerance and xenophobic social moods, allow us to see some ominous similarities to the ideologies of the 20th century. In this regard the ideology-infused origins of totalitarianism demonstrated by Arendt provide a salutary warning.

Tischner's concept of *homo sovieticus* is useful when we think about the risk of a recurrence of similar opportunistic adaptation strategies in our society. So it is also a warning, especially for pedagogy (particularly when it weakens its relationship with philosophy). At the same time, it shows well the very attitudes that many of our compatriots had and that helped the authorities to rule according to the prevailing

ideology. Totalitarianism in Arendt's view plays a similar role but can be a warning not only for post-communist countries.

Answering the question of how to prevent the recurrence of totalitarianism, with the participation of pedagogy, my proposals are following: one relates to politics and the state, or the surroundings of pedagogy, the other – to pedagogy itself. Firstly, it is worth rebuilding trust in liberal democracy as a system that fosters the development and autonomy of individuals within civil society. A political philosophy that is in thrall to the excesses of neoliberalism and nationalism is far from conducive to this undertaking. Secondly, in pedagogy itself, it is worth pursuing in-depth philosophical reflection on education (including upbringing) in parallel with empirical research on the quality of learning. The latter cannot replace the former and is likely to be diminished without it.

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They Were "Heroes". Conceptual and Narrative Analysis of the Figure of a Free Teacher in a Totalitarian Society[1]

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Abstract Despite the context of contemporary post-heroic indifference, our intention is to re-analyze the concept of heroism, not in the modernist (totalizing and iconic), or in the post-modernist (de-heroizing and ironic) way, but in the optics of hermeneutic re-reading of the specific teachers' stories from the Stalinist years of the totalitarian regime. In the contribution we bring a conceptual identification of features of the ethical-characterial understanding of "hero without a halo", by which we want to break the simplistic dichotomy between heroic and everyday – we introduce a third concept – "a hero of everyday life". We point out how the mythical-idealistic idea of heroism perverted to a collective ideology and how the reality of the communist totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia demanded heroes – heroes of everyday life. The aim of the research is to find the occurrence of the identifying features of the "everyday hero" in particular stories of three teachers from the times of socialist Czechoslovakia, with the help of narrative analysis.

Keywords totalitarian regime, communism, heroes, persecution, teachers, microstories

1 The study originated with the support of the projects of Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic VEGA No. 1/0106/20 Freedom versus Unfreedom in Education in Slovakia in 1948– 1989 and No. 1/0056/19 Moral Reflection as a Primary Component of Character Education under Conditions of Implementation of the School Subject Ethical Education.

"Unhappy the land that has no heroes."

Bertolt Brecht

Introduction

To this exclamation of Andrea Sarti, uttered with a youthful pathos, teacher Galileo responds with a statement which unwittingly foreshadows post-heroic irony: "No, unhappy the land that is in need of heroes" (Brecht, p. 130). "They always laughed at the heroes," Brecht says through a boy's mouth a few moments later. Despite the fact that Brecht is far from postmodernism, the authors of post-modernist, post-historical and post-heroic theories of the late 20th century like to refer to this passage from the play.

The concept of post-heroism (cf. Petrusek, 2006) originated in sociological circles as an extension of the wave of post-isms characterizing time, society and culture "after the fall of great narratives" (Lyotard, 1979, Czech translation 1993). According to this concept, self-legitimizing modern interpretations of social cohesion and history needed to rely on the symbolic characters of public heroes and their cult to justify their own ideological-value reinforcement, including the implicit violence used "for the holy cause". After the fall of ideologies and the arrival of the so-called the last man (cf. Fukuyama, 1993, Czech translation 2002) there was also a "fatigue of the heroes", their unnecessariness and even undesirability. Mike Featherstone (1995 In: Petrusek, 2006) in this sense distinguishes the *heroic mode* from the *everyday mode*, which are facing each other, arranged in ten oppositions (e.g. public recognition – recognition of family and friends; cult of power – peaceful compromise; risk – certainty). Contemporary man thus enjoys and satisfies his consumerist smallness and hedonic mediocrity, without being disturbed by high ideals.

In thus described context of contemporary post-heroic indifference, or even anti-heroic irritability, my contribution about heroes

and prophets may sound as anachronistic bizarreness at first sight[2]. On closer reading, however, I believe it will be clear that my intention is quite current: to re-analyze the concept of heroism, not in modernist optics (totalizing and iconic), or even in postmodernist optics (de-heroizing and ironic), but in hermeneutic re-reading of particular stories of teachers and in conceptual identification of signs of ethical-characterial understanding of the "hero without a halo".

A modernist romantic-idealistic image of a hero unfolds as he represents an exceptional individual, into whom the providence of history is embodied. The romantic hero was given an extraordinary historical role to perform as an instrument of history (cf. Hegel, 2004, pp. 26–29). The modernist hero, the *Great Man*, despises democracy because it gives power to the immature, the uneducated and the weak, while the natural force triumphs in favour of the strong, the intelligent and the noble. Mentality of the servants has no understanding for the hero: "no man is a hero to his valet" (Carlyle, 1966, p. 184), repeats the well-known sentence mentioned by Hegel. The hero can also be immoral, he transcends moral duty, moral questions are a manifestation of weakness and conventionality for him. In contrast to the a-moral mythical-idealistic concept of heroism stands the ethical-characterial concept of a virtuous individual. An exceptional, virtuous individual, a person with an excellent character, is not necessarily a "public hero", canonized or legitimized in the legends and symbols of public and political life. His excellence is the result of a cultivated respect for himself and others. The history of ethics, from Aristotle to the current authors of the so-called ethics of virtue, calls this concept of heroism "virtuous heroism".

2 It should be noted that the sociologist Miloslav Petrusek revised his initial enthusiasm in his assessment of post-heroism in last writings and ironically criticized the postmodern loss of sense of uniqueness and heroism. The post-heroic self-satisfaction of the hedonic man proved to be a temporary, fashionable trend that could not face the real difficulties in a society shaken by the crisis (cf. Petrusek, 2006).

I want to break the simplifying (and interpretatively comfortable) dichotomy between the heroic and the everyday by creating, or better said by renewing of the *third concept* – the "hero of everyday life". I do not mean the tendentiously heroized suffering fatalist "Million Man" (Hronský Cíger, 1969, p. 5), nor the collective man with a "dove-like nature" or a member of the "plebeian nation" (Mináč, 2014, p. 49), or even the indifferent and passive "Man Without Features" (Musil, 1930). The hero of everyday life is a moral hero with formed character traits, who, risking his own losses, actively acts in favor of a higher good (cf. Kohen, 2013). Despite the fact that his acting separates him from the homogenizing stream of the anonymous mass of "ordinary people", his heroism does not have to be connected with the publicity or with legitimization or canonization processes generating traditional heroes (in epics, hagiographies, political and media constructions).

Research Aims and Methods

This concept of *virtuous hero* and heroism follows the classical concept of moral character, which is winding as a civilizational formula of the "good man", beginning with the eudaimonical ethics of the ancient Greeks and experiencing a renewal in the current ethics of virtue (D. Carr, A. MacIntyre, M. Slote, M. Nussbaum, K. Kristjánsson, T. Irwin, L. T. Zagzebski, Ch. Swanton etc.), or in contemporary humanistic psychology and pedagogy (cf. Franco et al., 2016; Zimbardo, 2014; Franco, Efthimiou, Zimbardo, 2016; Allison, Goethals, Kramer, 2017 a. o.)[3]; in contrast to the (also classical) mythical-romantic concept of heroism, which in the 20th century resulted in totalitarian political ideologies[4].

3 One of the surveys of heroism researches states Z. E. Franco et al. in article *Heroism Research: A Review of Theories, Methods, Challenges, and Trends* (2016).

4 The romantic-historicist „hero" ceased to be an exceptional individual, collectivized himself, became a monologue "we" versus the reactionary "they/it". On the contrary, the "reactionary forces" (representatives of the lower race, or the enemy class) have been placed in the position of sufferers, necessary historical victims, who have had to endure the "collective heroes" carrying out their "historical mission". There occurred a per-version of heroism: the self-proclaimed heroes of the "great stories" (in Lyotard's words), celebrating the necessary victory of history,

Zimbardo's ordinary, *banal heroism*, contrasts with the "banality of evil", which is most revealed in the environment of totalitarian machinery (cf. Arendt, 2016). In contrast to the "normalcy" of systematic betrayal, pretense and deception, the examples of "banal heroes" who behaved correctly and internally freely, despite the unfortunate consequences, are all the more radiant. In his book *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil* (2007; in Czech translation 2014), Zimbardo lists *four attributes of heroism*: 1. It must be voluntary; 2. It must involve a risk or a potential sacrifice; 3. It must be a service to a person or people; 4. It must not include any secondary gain expected at the time of the act (cf. Zimbardo, 2014, p. 542). He considers courage (bravery and perseverance), justice (with respect to the others and the whole) and a sense of transcendence (higher moral and religious values) to be the hero's basic virtues. Resisting evil, especially structural evil in the totalitarian dehumanizing societies, "we care about heroic stories because they serve as powerful reminders that people are capable of resisting evil, of not giving in to temptations, of rising above mediocrity, and of heeding the call to action and to service when others fail to act" (Ibid., p. 537).

In my contribution, I highlight the enduring personal virtuous heroism, which is a condition for the real continuity of civilization in society, but at the same time is – embodied in specific life patterns – an inspiring model of moral education of students. The historical-educational text thus connects the current pedagogical challenges of character education and moral leadership of students with the sources of our own historical experience as a source of knowledge and inspiration.

On the other hand, the text helps to uncover parallel "small" cultural history of the 20th century which illustrates the unofficial, averted lines of development and life of teachers in a totalitarian regime. Although radical social historians of the time rejected the narration of stories as a way to legitimize and overestimate the importance of great

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forced the "footmen" to inadvertently and unintentionally become the "heroes of everyday life". Dissidents of totalitarian regimes were forced to become moral heroes, remaining true to their day.

leaders at the expense of simple men and women, they later acknowledged that a return to storytelling is necessary precisely because of historical coverage of ordinary people's lives (cf. Burke, 2011, p. 154) – people of the "periphery" play a constitutive role in the formation of the "center" of history (cf. ibid., p. 71). I base my thesis on the theoretical premise that it is not possible to faithfully capture the history of education, schooling and the teaching situation in Slovakia in the time of the Stalinist political monolith without the descent to the micro-stories of socially "discarded" teachers. "Victim history" is an organic part of contemporary historiography (cf. Ginzburg, 2009), including the historiography of education, especially when it comes to examining the period in which the political system inevitably produced dissidents.

The aim of my research is to find the occurrence of the identifying features of the "everyday hero" in particular stories of teachers from the times of socialist Czechoslovakia, with the help of narrative analysis. After preliminary determination of the conditions for defining the concept of "virtuous hero" (I am inclined to the four attributes of heroism according to Ph. Zimbardo) – in contrast to the concept of "collective heroism" of the ruling class[5] – I set two historical-educational research questions: What signs of moral heroism are repeated

5 Slovak or Czech term "hrdina" comes from the Proto-Slavic gъrdъ, „gᵘrd", which suggests expressions as heavy, slowly moving, proud, dignified. The Latin *gurdus* (heavy) also comes from Indo-European gᵘer – (cf. Králik, 2015, p. 209). The Greek term ἥρως was also reflected in the Russian герой, *geroj*. In our linguistic cultural context, this term acquires a sarcastic, pejorative expression – a geroj is someone who mechanically makes himself worthy of admiration. The ironic use of the originally Russian term *geroj* is a result of the violent overuse of this word, imported into our countries during Soviet hegemony. The term "gerojstvo" (heroism) is an ideological variant of normative heroism, used today with the symptom of irony. In the socialist narrative, existed also the concept of the "hero of everyday life", but it did not refer to a character-moral individual, but to the anonymous "hero of socialist labor", a man without autonomy, dissolved in the collective. Current sarcastic use of originally Russian word *geroj* carries the experience of resistance to cultural dictation, which sought patheticism, but forced pathos arouses fear or ridicule, certainly not admiration.

in the stories of persecuted teachers in a totalitarian state? Is there a typical heroic characteristic of teachers that the regime has ostracized?

At the beginning of the historiographical part of the study I illustrate, how the reality of the communist totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia demanded heroes – heroes of everyday life. The study contains a record of the individual destinies of three "ordinary" teachers who, in their personal and professional history, lived the mode of an ordinary hero, facing persecutions and shaping their lives in accordance with their moral conviction that did not correspond with the demands of political dictate.

The choice of three stories is practically random, they are connected only by a similar experience of heroic enduring and facing persecution. In my study, protagonists act as representatives of the persecuted teacher status, i.e. the entire social group, which was manipulated by power and in many cases pushed not only out of education, but also out of the possibility of their professional and civic employment.[6] In the final part, I identify selected features of ethical-characterial understanding of the hero in the stories mentioned. The attitudes of these protagonists are thus shown in a contrasting light to the publicly proclaimed and perverse "collective heroism" of the communist state.

6 There were a large number of analogous cases of persecuted teachers in Slovakia, but they have not yet been systematically processed historically. There is no corpus of collected stories of teachers who had to face persecution during the communist regime. The only review publication on this topic is *Pohon na učiteľov: Dokumenty zločinov komunizmu na Slovensku zv. 1* [*Hunt for Teachers: Documents of the Crimes of Communism in Slovakia Vol. 1*] by Jozef Janek (1999), which contains a list of about 350 persecuted teachers with short medallions. In the book, he mentions a total of 660 teachers who were "deprived of bread" during totalitarianism (Janek, 1999, p. 163). However, it does not provide more detailed stories to the extent that the three stories in this article are listed.

"Free" Teachers in Unfree Conditions: Three Examples of Heroism

After the Communist Party's violent takeover in February 1948 and the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship, the representatives of the state were extremely interested in the consistent control of schools and education[7] because in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, education should have been the instrument of mass ideologization and discipline of the population (cf. Olejník, 2018). The regime included teachers among closely monitored social groups and considered their ideological education to be one of the most important tasks (cf. Žatkuliak, 1996, p. 77).

Personal stories of the persecuted teachers in Slovakia have not been systematically processed yet. Nation's Memory Institute in Bratislava recently established the Research Center for the Period of Non-Freedom, which also includes the Department of Audiovisual Works (former Oral history), which manages records of people persecuted by the communist regime. There is no special category of persecuted teachers among the statements. Among the published testimonies, only two concern teachers (Ján Goč and František Maník, cf. ÚPN, Witnesses from the period of non-freedom). The publication of Jozef Janek (1999) is relatively rich in personal memories and stories of persecuted teachers. He briefly wrote and included in his study a number of these cases, based on a call he published in the newspaper *Slovenský denník*, *Učiteľské noviny*, *Katolícke noviny* (he received 350 letters). The experience of the persecuted teachers can be expressed by the synthetic statement of one of them, the writer Ondrej Chudoba: "I had to leave the teaching

7 Especially some years (1948, 1956, 1969) became milestones, followed by waves of increased sanctions for teachers: the first wave (1948–1952) occurred immediately after the communists seized the state, the second wave (1956–1962) came after the death of J. V. Stalin and K. Gottwald and after suppression of the Hungarian uprising and the third wave (1969–1973) of persecutions followed the violent end of the so-called "Prague Spring", the arrival of the occupying forces of the Warsaw Pact and the onset of the so-called normalization (cf. Žatkuliak, 2001, p. 655). However, the strict surveillance and persecution of educators, especially for religious and political reasons, lasted throughout the whole totalitarian period.

occupation because, almost simultaneously with my teaching qualification, I obtained the dreaded 'class enemy' qualification. My family and I were affected by the repression of the 1950s. However, it was not an extraordinary or atypical story. Thousands of such unhappy stories took place at that time and their trauma is still growing in the memories of those born earlier. Needless to say, I do not need to describe the details, it is enough to mention that one day I became an exile and sometimes even a homeless person, until later I was helped by my parents-in-law roof…" (Janek, 1999, p. 59).

In my contribution, I present three specific cases in which the heroes of upbringing and education appear in a struggle with the communist power of totalitarian Czechoslovakia[8]. If we define a "character hero" above as a banal, hidden, or everyday hero, with certain attributes of heroism (cf. Zimbardo), we could consider as heroes hundreds, thousands of teachers who, in a situation of life dilemma (to subject to violent pressure from the regime and to collaborate[9] *versus* maintain self-esteem and endure the ensuing social and economic repression) decided for personal integrity and, as a result, faced persecution. From this number – in representation, as a *pars pro toto* – I choose three microhistorical stories, on which I document the heroic features of persecuted educators. Three cases are representative in relation to a number of similar ones (cf. footnote 6). I draw the first two from the work

8 Here we will focus mainly on the period of the 1950s, during which the "purges" were the cruelest and most massive among teachers. In the name of the "class struggle", former officials somehow connected to the war Hlinka Slovak Folk Party's government were being removed from schools, as well as teachers representing the post-war Democratic Party, even exponents of social democracy. The most common reason for persecution was the active affiliation of teachers to the church and to religion.

9 Many educators, as civil employees existentially dependent on state power, joined the Communist Party during 1948 (their number more than tripled), some out of conviction, but mostly out of danger, most teachers cooperated with the regime, albeit by force, relatively a small number of teachers fell into the group of those who resisted and suffered severe consequences (cf. Žatkuliak, 1996, p. 78 et seq.).

of Ivana Višňovská (2015), the third I documented in person, with the help of archival research and interviews with participants.

Vilma Dovalová (1905–1997)

Persecutions of the 50s at the level of exemplary trials did not escape teachers either. The most pointed out of this was the trial of the controversial Moravian teacher Josef Vávra-Stařík, which ended with the execution on 26th August 1953 (cf. Kaplan & Paleček in Višňovská, 2015, p. 178). Other political trials with educators did not have fatal conclusions but caused lifelong trauma to the victims and their relatives anyway. The purpose of the processes was, in particular, to intimidate the teacher status, to warn other teachers to put themselves fully and unreservedly at the service of the regime[10]. This was also the case with Vilma Dovalová. During the reconstruction of her story, Ivana Višňovská drew on interviews with relatives and friends of Dovalová and from archival documents.

Vilma, born Igazová (born on 20th December 1905 in Biskupice, near Bánovce nad Bebravou) came from a simple peasant family, after graduating from a city school in Bánovce, she graduated from the teacher's institute in Bratislava in 1925. She married Ján Doval, they had two children together. At first, she worked at the State Folk School in Šrobárová near Komárno, where her husband worked as a headmaster, from the beginning of 1938 both were transferred to the Folk School in Dolné Držkovce, where her husband again held the position of the headmaster. The locals liked the Doval family, the students remember Vilma as strict, pedantic but kind. The school inspection in 1949

10 Teachers were under constant pressure from the political authorities, their demands for indoctrination curricular, extracurricular, political and educational activities escalated, whereas the regime abused them – as "bearers of state ideology" – for its own purposes, under the threat of various punishments. During the first wave, e.g. the number of professors and associate professors at universities in the Czechoslovak Republic decreased from 1,430 to 887, about 5% of all teachers were dismissed from education and more than 6,300 teachers of national schools were transferred to other workplaces due to sanction reasons (Kaplan in Žatkuliak, 1996, p. 80 and 87).

evaluated her as capable, qualified and trustworthy, so she easily passed the inspections in 1945, also in 1949, she even became the headmaster of the school. It can be assumed that she was ideologically satisfactory as well, although she never hid her Catholic affiliation.

The school year 1949/50 was fatal for her. Already in September, at the order of the state, the praying at the school in the Catholic spirit was forbidden and the so-called unified prayer was established, which Dovalová reluctantly accepted but complied with the instruction. In October, she warned some boys at school who had longer hair to be cut several times and she asked their parents to do so as well. When they disobeyed it, she entangled red ribbons into their hair as a sign of warning and ridicule. Parents of the pupil Štefan Veľký, who supported the Communist Party in the village, came with the accusation that she had ridiculed their son but what was worse, she allegedly wanted to ridicule the Communist Party (whose symbol was red colour). The school inspector, recently appointed and coming from their village, probably instructed the other communist parents to report the actions of teacher Dovalová as anti-state.

On November 28, 1949, she was indicted by the District Prosecutor's Office in Bánovce nad Bebravou, on January 16, 1950, she was taken into custody by the Regional Court in Nitra. She was accused of a double offense of spreading an alarm message, of a crime of sabotage, of participating in the offense of outrage against the republic, of an offense of defaming the republic, and finally of an offense of defaming the allied state. She was to commit a double offense by expressing dissatisfaction with the ban on cross prayer at school after mass in front of the church and by saying to pupils at school, "Children, we must not pray or cross pray at school, we are forbidden to do so". The outrage against the republic was to be committed by having the pupils' hair cut and tied with red paper ribbons around their heads and led them around school in derision, knowing that they were the children of local communists. According to the accusation, she was to take the ribbons from the paintings of K. Gottwald and probably also V. I. Stalin, with which the paintings were decorated. However, witnesses told the researcher Višňovská that the incident did not take place this way

and that she should have taken the ribbons from her own supplies. Husband Doval sent letters to the public prosecutor's office, as well as several requests for pardon, directly to President Gottwald but without an answer. On June 6, 1950, Dovalová was found guilty by a court verdict of all the acts attributed to her in the accusation. However, Dovalová constantly claimed that her act was not politically motivated. Vilma Dovalová was sentenced to 7 years and 8 months in prison and to a secondary sentence of loss of honorary civil rights, she was also fined CSK (Czechoslovak crowns) 40,000, in case of unenforceability another 4 months in prison and confiscation of half of her property. The conviction also contained the following reasoning: "Educational work is one of the most difficult and responsible, especially in the time of building socialism in our people's democratic state. […] The state hands over great values to the hands of teachers in the person of school children. […] Today, the teacher must be the first builder of a socialist society. When we ask ourselves whether the defendants performed their civic duties as teachers, we get an overwhelmingly negative answer. They did not perform their duties as required by the teacher of our pride – the unified public school. In fact, they became unworthy of the trust of the working class, which entrusted them with their treasures – the children. How they could proclaim discipline when they themselves were disrupting that discipline. […] Let the activity of the defendants be a deterrent to how a good educator should not continue. Let this case be at the same time a lesson for teachers working in our unified schools […]" (Višňovská, 2015, p. 197). Dovalová served her sentence in the Ilava prison. After being appealed to the Supreme Court, her sentence was reduced to two years imprisonment, a fine of CSK 10,000 and the loss of honorary civil rights to five years. She worked as a tailor in prison. She was released on January 17, 1952.

The fine and reimbursement of costs were a liquidation for the family. After her release, Dovalová did not return to Dolné Držkovce, she returned to children and her husband in Nové Zámky. She was no longer allowed to do pedagogical work, and due to her poor health, she remained a "housewife". Her husband even joined the KSS (Communist Party of Slovakia), albeit for existential reasons, so that their

daughter Hilda could have studied at university despite her mother's poor staff profile. Vilma later lived only from retirement of her husband, who died in 1960 and she privately tutored students. As a part of the rehabilitation of political prisoners after 1990, she asked for her name to be cleared but her request was rejected, despite the fact that she was legally convicted and punished for "anti-state activity". She lived in Nové Zámky and Bratislava, with her daughter, among grandchildren and great-grandchildren, she died at the age of 92.

Edita Mikulová (1931–2014)

The young teacher Edita was judged and convicted together with her older colleague and headmaster Dovalová. Her conviction was also a consequence of the political order of the time, she herself became an unintended and almost "accidental" victim of the hunt for deterrent cases. Mikulová was born on May 8, 1931 in Poltár, her father was a police captain, her mother a housewife. Witnesses stated that her family was anti-communist, she was not afraid to express her opinion out loud. She graduated from folk school in Bánovce nad Bebravou, where she also attended a city school. She graduated in 1949 in Trenčín at the Vocational School for Women's Professions. From the beginning of September, she joined the folk school in Dolné Držkovce as an assistant teacher of handicrafts. She was not qualified for a full-time teacher but she also worked as a class teacher of the 2nd year. She was very handy and especially popular with female students.

Edita Mikulová was indicted at the same time as the headmaster Vilma Dovalová, she was taken into custody on March 9, 1950 and charged with the offense of outrage against the republic, the offense of defaming the republic and the offense of defaming the allied state. The reason was that at Dovalová's instruction in October 1949, in her class she cut hair, tied red ribbons to the heads and allegedly led five pupils whose parents were members of the Communist Party – and Mikulová knew about it – around school with the headmaster and to ridicule them. She was charged with the same charges as Dovalová for this act, except for spreading of an alarm message. Relatives also tried to help her, her father Štefan Mikula testified in her favor by letter to

the public prosecutor's office, he asked her to be released from custody until court time but without a response. The mother of the pupil concerned, Júlia Veľká, also testified in her favor, arguing that Mikulová was obedient to the instructions of her superior. Mikulová was found guilty by the court reasoning that her actions intended to jeopardize the important interest of the republic, publicly outraged the republic and its establishment, publicly damaged and removed the colors of the republic with the intention of showing contempt and also publicly damaged and removed the colors of the allied state to show contempt. All the alleged acts for which she was convicted were in the nature of "bad intentions". Edita did not feel guilty by these acts, certainly not from "anti-state intentions".

The main sentence of imprisonment for 1 year and 10 months and the secondary sentence in the form of loss of civil rights, as well as a fine of CSK 20,000, possibly 2 months of imprisonment and confiscation of one quarter of property, was – thanks to Vilma Dovalová's appeal to the Supreme Court – reduced to one year of imprisonment and a fine of CSK 10,000. She served her sentence in the women's prison in Ilava, where she worked in the laundry but also took part in the prison theater. She was released on April 10, 1951, a month later than it was set by the judgment because she was unable to pay the fine.

After release, Edita did not return to the teaching profession, she was not allowed to earn a teaching qualification. At first, she worked in a dressing room and later, until her retirement, as a controller in Zornica clothing factory. After her release from prison, she married Štefan Kobyda, they lived in a house in Bánovce, they had two children together and they also took care of the son of her sister, who died prematurely. After 1990, she finally experienced official rehabilitation and became a member of the Confederation of Political Prisoners of Slovakia. Edita Kobydová, nee Mikulová, died in March 2014. The self-governing region of Trenčín posthumously granted her veterans' decree for participating in the anti-communist resistance.

Ondrej Lajcha (1919–2000)

Ondrej Lajcha is not one of those teachers who was punished by a court but political reprisals and pressures had a negative effect on his life and the life of his family. For his religious and moral convictions, he lost at one point a job, employment opportunities in education, home for the whole family (school apartment), prospects for a good education for his children and any prospects for professional development.

Ondrej Lajcha was born on September 14, 1919 in the village of Skala (today Skalka nad Váhom) in a peasant family as the last of seven children to parents Ondrej and Anna, nee Verková. After graduating from the national school in Skala in 1931, as he liked to study, he continued his studies at the state real grammar school in Trenčín, where he graduated with honors in 1939. Since he came from poor conditions, he had already earned money at the grammar school by tutoring younger pupils and also helped his family from earnings[11]. He was the only child in the family who graduated from high school – according to his earlier statements, he accepted the recommendation of his former teacher Alexander Trška to continue his studies, as he was gifted, although he had to support himself (his father died in 1935). He enrolled at the Faculty of Arts of the Slovak University in Bratislava, where he graduated from History and Latin with the professional qualification of a secondary school teacher in 1943. He spoke classical Latin and Greek, German, Russian and French. In the school year 1943/1944 he worked as a temporary teacher at the grammar school in Zvolen, in 1944 he was allowed to move closer to his birthplace and worked as a professor at the grammar school in Piešťany. In 1945 he acquired a teaching ability in the Russian language, later he taught mainly mathematics and, according to the memories of his daughters, also the German language. On March 3, 1946 he married Helena, nee Trškova, with whom they had three children, Anna in 1949, Margita in 1953 and Karol

11 VIZVÁRYOVÁ, Margita, 2020. *Statement of Mgr. Margita Vizváryová, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Skalka nad Váhom), PA of the author; RAJSKÁ, Anna, 2020. *Statement of Ing. Anna Rajská, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Trenčín), PA (private archive) of the author.

in 1956. They lived together in a nice office apartment in Piešťany on Mudroňová street. He had good relations with colleagues, they visited each other with colleagues Pomajbo, Klepanec, husband and wife Krohovec[12]. After the reform of the school system in 1953 he transferred to the Eleven-Year High School in Piešťany, where he worked as a professor until September 15, 1957.

The decisive reason why his employment was terminated after 14 years as a high school professor was the fact that his eldest daughter Anna, who was already attending primary school, attended religious education. His religious and moral convictions were known in his surroundings before, his colleagues and superiors knew about that and tried to persuade him to "go to church" in the surrounding villages and not express their faith so much[13]. Ondrej was an inner anti-communist but for security reasons he did not show it publicly. Throughout the 1950s, he sought to "get along" with the regime by participating in non-party but regime-supported organizations, such as the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship (Zväz československo-sovietskeho priateľstva, SČSP, in which he was even a district officer since 1950), or Revolutionary trade union movement (Revolučné odborové hnutie, ROH, the only trade union during the communist era). He went through all the political checks, during the summer holidays in 1952 he passed an examination in political literature, which was prescribed for individual study by the Commission of Education, Science and the Arts, Decree No. 666/1952-K/1 (confirmation of completion with a detailed list of literature and examinations is in the author's private archive – PA). The extensive questionnaire, which he had to fill out as a teacher on November 2, 1953, shows that he worked 50 hours of voluntary work (the questionnaire is in the author's PA). He did this in order to keep his job and to "close his eyes" to his superiors. Nevertheless, he felt that he was not acting in full accordance with his inner attitude, that he was going to the edge of what he could still bear in conscience.

12 RAJSKÁ, Anna, 2020. *Statement of Ing. Anna Rajská, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Trenčín), PA (private archive) of the author.

13 Ibidem.

However, as far as his faith was concerned, he knew no compromises. He had to give a direct answer to the direct question. The turning point, the culmination was the pressure to deregister his daughter from Religion classes, which he could not do. He felt an internal contradiction to what had been forced on him for a long time. "He received an ultimatum: either he stopped going to church and deregistered me, or he had to leave school."[14] Lajcha replied that he could not compromise with his own conscience in this. He had to leave school immediately.

After the beginning of the school year 1957, he remained with his family, three small children (the youngest son was 1 year old) without a job, without a roof over their head (they had to move out of the teacher's apartment), without further prospects. The wife's sister and her family helped them and let them live together under their roof in the two-room flat in Skala and during the winter and the following summer they helped them build a second apartment attached to a house next door from the other side, where they then spent almost their entire lives. Lajcha was employed as a worker in a nearby quarry[15], working manually from September 1957 to the end of 1958. As an intellectual, he was not used to working hard manually, he was beaten, exhausted and hungry, fainted once exhausted and had to call for emergency[16]. He was honourable in the village as a "professor", it was very prestigious at the time, "when people saw him working in a quarry, they looked

14 RAJSKÁ, Anna, 2020. *Statement of Ing. Anna Rajská, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Trenčín), PA (private archive) of the author.

15 Dislocating teachers to lower positions in worse conditions has become a mass tool of punishment and intimidation. An even tougher measure was the reassignment of teachers to production: e.g. only in the Prešov region in 1950 there were dismissed and reassigned to production 550 teachers (Janek, 1999, p. 55); subsequently (in 1952) there were 1152 missing teachers of national schools in Slovakia and the numbers were supplemented from the ranks of 500 retrained manual workers (Žatkuliak, 1996, p. 86).

16 RAJSKÁ, Anna, 2020. *Statement of Ing. Anna Rajská, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Trenčín), PA (private archive) of the author.

at him as a rarity"[17]. He fed a young family, earned little[18] compared to the professor's earnings in 1956 (1,993 Czechoslovak crowns per month; calculation in the author's PA) fell below 1,000 crowns (only in April 1958 he became a "quarry master" and his salary rose to 1,200; documentation in the author's PA), while building a new home from scratch. His wife used to put a fried cumin soup with a piece of bread in his thermos for lunch[19]. At the same time, he wanted to improve his qualification, so in the school year 1957/58 already, he began a two-year evening study of civil engineering at the Industrial School of Mechanical Engineering in Nové Mesto nad Váhom, where he graduated for the second time in June 1959. Subsequently, he completed a two-year distance learning course in the field of quarrying and processing of stone, clay and kaolin at the Industrial School of Civil Engineering in Bratislava. With a construction education, he created better earning opportunities and until his early retirement he worked in various positions in the company Cestné stavby (Road constructions) in Trenčín. Around 1960, members of the State Security Service (ŠTB) came and offered him cooperation, threatening to destroy his family and set fire to his house. He experienced anxiety but resisted and later it passed[20]. In 1968, his colleagues called him to teach at the grammar school again, he considered it very much because he loved teaching but normalization came quickly and "as if he came, so he would go"[21]. In the afternoon, he sometimes tutored pupils and students, taught

17 VIZVÁRYOVÁ, Margita, 2020. *Statement of Mgr. Margita Vizváryová, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Skalka nad Váhom), PA of the author.

18 The social consequences for the lives of teachers and their families have been extremely severe. The regime's repressive measures, in addition to prisons, job losses and downsizing, included stopping of promotion, exclusion from public life, bans on publishing and public engagement, prevention of the admission of their children to university studies but also to grammar schools, etc.

19 RAJSKÁ, Anna, 2020. *Statement of Ing. Anna Rajská, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Trenčín), PA (private archive) of the author.

20 RAJSKÁ, Anna, 2020. *Statement of Ing. Anna Rajská, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Trenčín), PA (private archive) of the author.

21 VIZVÁRYOVÁ, Margita, 2020. *Statement of Mgr. Margita Vizváryová, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Skalka nad Váhom), PA of the author.

German privately in the evenings and sometimes substituted as a teacher at a vocational school. Apparently, his experience of physical and mental strain and work exhaustion deprived him of his health and he was released to a disability pension in December 1977 due to heart attacks and other cardiological problems.

All the time, he took good care of children who managed to graduate from technical and pharmacy colleges, although daughters Margita and Anna would like to study pedagogy or humanities but as daughters of a former teacher who was "unreliable" for the regime, they would not be allowed to do so[22]. The children experienced hostility of the system that made them feel their revenge when they could not be educated spiritually, e.g. musically and artistically[23]. However, the father never sold off faith and moral conviction, he also imprinted moral and religious principles into his children, who also did not compromise in life thanks to parental upbringing. In the village, he was considered a man who retained his character despite persecution, he deserved respect. Former students maintained a warm relationship with him, visited him and called for meetings, held him in high esteem and loved him. "He was a great hero. He was faithful to his conscience, honest, good character and [...] for the truth. That was heroism at that time. [...] This was not a common thing. [...] He said several times that if it came back, he would never have done otherwise."[24] He lived with his wife in the care of his children and grandchildren, he died in Trenčín on December 12, 2000.

Conclusion

In identifying the attributes of heroism in its ethical-characterial understanding, I am inspired by Zimbardo's four key features of heroism:

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22 Ibidem; RAJSKÁ, Anna, 2020. *Statement of Ing. Anna Rajská, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Trenčín), PA (private archive) of the author.

23 VIZVÁRYOVÁ, Margita, 2020. *Statement of Mgr. Margita Vizváryová, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Skalka nad Váhom), PA of the author.

24 RAJSKÁ, Anna, 2020. *Statement of Ing. Anna Rajská, daughter of Ondrej Lajcha* (14th February 2020, Trenčín), PA (private archive) of the author.

(a) it must be engaged in voluntarily; (b) it must involve a risk or potential sacrifice, such as the threat of death, an immediate threat to physical integrity, a long-term threat to health, or the potential for serious degradation of one's quality of life (social and economic status); (c) it must be conducted in service to one or more other people or the community as a whole or an ideal; (d) it must be without secondary, extrinsic gain anticipated at the time of the act (Zimbardo, 2014, p. 542), in connection with his choice of the three basic virtues of a hero: 1. bravery (courage and perseverance), 2. justice (including the defense of human rights) and 3. sense of transcendence (higher moral and religious values). Volunteering is a necessary precondition for human action to qualify as a moral act for which the actor is responsible. In Zimbardo's four-dimensional model of heroism (Ibid., pp. 554–557) there is also a distinction of the so-called active and passive heroism, with the "passive hero" becoming the one who endures violence and persecution for his actions, carried out in integrity with his moral convictions. An active hero is one who develops activities for good reasons, in which he faces unfavorable circumstances and hostile positions of people.

We can identify the above four features of heroism in all three "discarded educators". I base it on preserved records and archival documents.

(a) Voluntariness. Our teacher heroes have been victims of persecution and repression because of their long-term attitudes, they have not been active or "action" heroes. The voluntary nature of their actions was that they maintained their internal attitudes, despite threats and pressures to adapt. Dovalová tried to act in favor of the religious rights of children (mobilized parents). Despite her position as director, she continued to attend services, which was contrary to political expectations. The scene for which she was sentenced (weaving red ribbons in children's hair) was motivated by her pedagogical intuition, she wanted to achieve respect for school rules. Although Mikulová only obeyed her superior, her degree of voluntariness in the proceedings that led to the trial and imprisonment was lower than that of Dovalová, but she did not deny her share of the free act and did not look for an alibi strategy

to get rid of the accusation. Among our three teachers, the highest level of volunteering seems to be with Lajcha. The sacrifices and suffering of his family that followed his expulsion from the teaching services were the foreseeable consequences of his conscious decision.

(b) Threats. In addition to unjust imprisonment (Dovalová & Mikulová), they bore degrading social and economic consequences, such as the loss of opportunities to continue working in teaching services, social degradation to the level of manual workers (Dovalová, Mikulová & Lajcha), income reduction and often experiencing poverty and material deficiency (all three), difficult conditions for the education of children (especially Lajcha) with dignity. Through their actions, teachers faced obvious risks of persecution and political punishment, yet they acted with courage and perseverance. Dovalová and Mikulová spent years unfairly in prison. Lajcha was unjustly dependent on material poverty, he experienced anxiety in securing the family, he sacrificed his health as a result of his decision. In facing these circumstances, they all necessarily exercised their virtues of bravery and fidelity.

(c) Serving others and an ideal. Through their actions, the teachers served the ideal of personal inner freedom and the right of self-esteem (all three), as well as the defense of moral and religious values (Dovalová, Lajcha). In none of the cases was the victim's self-pity or a victim syndrome recorded in their further lives, although they fairly demanded rehabilitation after the change of regime (Dovalová, Mikulová). In their actions, they were focusing on the good of other persons, their loved ones (Dovalová, Lajcha) but at the same time they wanted to be faithful to the truth and a high transcendent ideal (Lajcha). Even after expulsion from the teaching services, they tutored students in the evening and maintained good long-term relations with them (Dovalová, Lajcha). They did not reject their profession, they carried it further as a personal mission. They were willing not to merge with the crowd of silent or conformist people, who formed the majority, their actions were not reduced only to dreaming or silent rumble but expressed their attitude with specific manifestation. Fidelity to internal principles was also their defense of justice and human rights and freedoms in general. These principles and religious faith (Dovalová,

Lajcha) formed a transcendent pillar for them, on which they relied during their lives.

(d) Gratuity. The actions of all three at the time of the act were not motivated by any profit; on the contrary, they knew or assumed that their actions faced existential risks. Their heroism was not a manifestation of just one unique act but it was the result of a long-term continuous effort, the formation of their characters and beliefs. However, their exceptional behavior did not lead to exclusivism, superior attitudes towards others, their heroism can be described as "inclusive" – involving others in friendship, solidarity and their own educational influence (e.g. in relation to their own children but also colleagues at work or former students). Even without great gestures and self-presentations, their story had an exemplary dimension, had an educational and prophetic effect on the people around them (Dovalová, Lajcha).

Characterial heroism proved to be varied and plural here, too: there is no "one" heroism, there are many different ways of realizing heroism. The micro-stories of the three selected teachers are the evidence of a large number of similar teacher destinies, which can be qualified as stories of hidden heroes[25]. In contrast to the totalitarian notion of the extra-moral campaign of this victorious class, the "little" virtuous heroes who illustrate the stories of our three teachers clearly come to the fore.

In answering the research questions, I identified four key features of moral heroism and traced their occurrence in the stories of selected teachers. In the synthesis of these four characteristics, it is possible to summarize the typical heroic characteristics of teachers, which the regime ostracized.

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25 This study presents only three cases in which teachers resisted and endured the repression of a totalitarian state. A more massive, book-collection of the stories of fourteen teachers who resisted the persecution of the Nazi state in Germany (1933–1945) is presented by Lutz van Dick in *Lehreropposition im NS-Staat. Biografische Berichte über den „aufrechten Gang"* (1990). The fates depicted in both publications show analogous features of teachers who "walked upright" to maintain their dignity. Van Dick's publication can be a challenge to us for a similar treatment of the stories of persecuted teachers in Slovakia.

In terms of historical research, this probe opens a window to a parallel reality that has no strong support in official archival documents: private daily history of oppositional persons can be captured mainly on the basis of "weak" sources such as letter correspondence, memories of witnesses and testimony of direct participants. Official documents (e.g. minutes of interrogations, court decisions and judgments, administrative institutional documents, then official interpretations of events in the press and in historical texts) were prepared with bias and in the lens of the fight against the class enemy. Given that we do not have a collected and historically processed corpus of cases of persecuted teachers in Slovakia, this paper is a stimulus and a challenge to continue mapping the other side of the socialist education story, to further collect and analyze similar stories forming a systematic historical and social phenomenon.

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning the current moral-educational aspect of the presented research. In reviving the interest in *character education* in contemporary education (cf. Brestovanský, 2019, 2020), the re-establishment of the topic of ethical heroism also has a specific pedagogical significance. One of the pillars of character education is also the study of following worthy good role models, whose exceptional features can be attractive in shaping young people's own personalities. Real historical patterns from their own cultural environment have a positive educational influence. Historical narrative research on teacher-heroes, the probe of which is contained in this article, is a valuable source for this type of educational activity[26].

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26 To illustrate, several examples from around the world and from Slovakia. At The Jubilee Center for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham, they systematically develop character education through heroic imagination, e.g. in the *Knightly Virtues* programme (Arthur et al., 2014). Dan Wright, Headmaster of the London Oratory School, has produced the *Hero's Quest* – a character education course for 16–18 years old (available at: https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/2851/character-education/teacher-resources/the-hero-s-quest). There is a *Hero Construction Company* in Australia and the USA, an educational nonprofit that helps create a culture of heroism in regular schools (cfr. https://www.herocon-struction.org/lessons). Philip Zimbardo and co-workers founded the *Heroic*

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Imagination Project (https://www.heroicimagination.org/), aimed at developing everyday heroism; its branch also operates in the Czech Republic (https://hipczechia.wixsite.com/hrdinavnas) (cfr. Kohen et al., 2019). In Slovakia, inspired by the concept of character and virtues education at the University of Birmingham, a project of the Academy of Great Works (*Akadémia veľkých diel*, Kolégium Antona Neuwirtha) was created, in which hundreds of students learn "how to become a hero" (https://www.akademiavelkychdiel.sk/). Finally, again in Slovakia, the project Inconspicuous Heroes (*Nenápadní hrdinovia*) has been running for thirteen years, in which the task of students is to find people (or individuals) who behaved heroically at a time when power was controlled by the organs of communist totalitarianism in 1945–1989, and through study of written sources, interviews with memorials to document the story of the "inconspicuous hero" (http://www.november89.eu/).

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Varia

The Recurring Conquest of Hearts and Minds: Reflections on Totalitarian Currents in Education

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Authoritarian Precedents: a European Historical Background

Paternalistic or authoritarian conceptions of education have been quite common, even dominant, in the history of Western civilisation. For ten centuries of Western history, roughly from the 9th to the 18th century – or from Charlemagne to the French Revolution – virtually all formal learning fell under the control of the Christian church. I should stress that "Christian Church" here does not mean the diverse communities of believers that characterised Christianity in the early centuries after the death of Christ. It refers, rather, to the powerful institution that the church became from the fourth century A.D. onwards, after Emperor Constantine favoured Christianity over the traditional pagan religions of the Roman world. With this historic development Latin increasingly became the language of learning throughout Western civilisation.[1] Hand-in-hand with this, the papacy achieved the most far-reaching supervision over what could be thought and what could be taught. During the five centuries from Constantine (Emperor 306–337) to Charlemagne (Emperor 800–828) Christianity became a defining

1 By Western civilisation I mean all the countries of Europe that inherited foundational cultural influences from Greek and Roman origins and from Christianity, together with the decisive spheres of influence of this civilisation in the wider world from the late 15th century onwards – e.g. America, Australia.

institution of Western culture and education. Equally important was the *kind* of Christianity that became foundational for the West, i.e. what happened to the heart of Christianity itself as this institutionalisation was accomplished. Among the many factors that played a part in this story, two are decisive from an educational point of view and it is worth looking briefly at each.

The first factor is the replacement of the diverse early Christian communities with a uniform set of doctrines that came to achieve a monopoly status (MacCulloch, 2009, Ch. 6; Freeman, 2009, Chs. 23–24). Adding to the Council of Constantinople (381) and the Council of Nicaea (325), Emperor Theodosius decreed in 381 that the orthodox contents of the Nicene Creed were to identify the sole religion of the Empire. All other religions, moreover, were to be banned. The second factor was no less far-reaching. It concerns the moral teachings of the new orthodoxy. These signified a decisive shift of emphasis from god-loving to god-fearing: from the priority of the twofold command to love God and neighbours to a priority with human sinfulness and waywardness, and with the need to combat these. The theology of Augustine of Hippo (354–430) was crucial here, as it shaped the essentials of the kind of Christianity which was in time to become firmly established throughout Europe. From Neoplatonism Augustine adopted some of the basic features of his theological outlook. These included an upper world of eternal truth and beauty and a lower world of sensual desires and illusory honours. Already here we can see the basic structure for his major work *The City of God*, with its striking contrasts between a heavenly city and an earthly city. He tells in his *Confessions* that he was drawn to an ascetic Christianity which convinced him that his previous life had been enslaved to sinfulness. The following passage from Book VIII of *Confessions* reveals the ecstatic character of that asceticism.

> "I had turned my eyes elsewhere, and while I stood trembling at the barrier, on the other side I could see the chaste beauty of Continence in all her serene unsullied joy, as she modestly beckoned me to cross over and to hesitate no more.

> She stretched out loving hands to welcome and embrace me, holding up a host of good examples to my sight."
> (1986, p. 176)

For Augustine the lower world, or earthly city, was not merely a cave-like realm of illusory beliefs and pleasures, as it had been for Plato. More importantly it was a morally depraved world; an evil place of sensual lusts, from which its captives could be rescued only by throwing themselves prostrate before the undeserved grace of God. In this theology the darker themes of St. Paul's Letter to the Romans ("I know that good does not live in me") were given a prominence that frequently overshadowed the emphasis on compassion and reconciliation in the four Gospels of the New Testament. The institutionalising of this rather severe theology in Latin Christendom became decisive in the following centuries.

As Latin Christendom expanded northwards and westwards after the barbarian invasions it also became the distinctive cultural context for formal education and higher study. Latin was the language of learning and schools were typically attached to monasteries, or cathedrals. Control of education was thus secured by the Church hands for many centuries. An extensive supervision of both texts and masters kept a vigilant eye on any thoughts or teachings that might be regarded as heresy. Even bold spirits who were not easily intimidated could be dramatically brought to grief. The condemnation of Peter Abelard's works by the Council of Sens in 1140 serves as a striking example of how a leading thinker and teacher could be ruined (Clanchy, 1999). Similarly revealing are research studies of the condemnations of the University of Paris curriculum in 1277, and of the maintenance of theological orthodoxy in the emerging universities (Grant, 1982; Thijssen 2018). Learning was highly regarded in Medieval Europe, but the tenor of that learning settled into well-trodden paths that were, for the most part, more compliant than venturesome.

The Reformation that began with Martin Luther's revolt in 1517 produced sudden shocks to the long-prevailing authoritarian pattern in the pursuit of learning. Luther vehemently asserted his desire to be

free of the shackles of papal theological authority. His refusal at the Diet of Worms (1521) to recant his 95 theses was a remarkable act of fearlessness in the face of the by now awesome power of the papacy. But ultimately, Luther's break with Rome led to new forms of custodianship in education. So did the breaks of other reformers, such as Calvin in Switzerland and Knox in Scotland. The reformulation of their own teachings by the newly sectarian forms of Christianity made these teachings doctrinally more exact, and also more exacting. The Catholic Counter-Reformation, powerfully launched by the Council of Trent (1545–1563), added its own influential contribution to this. The Reformation, and the Catholic reaction to it, reinforced authoritarian outlooks – mutually hostile outlooks at that – within the now separate Christian churches. These developments ultimately advanced a vigorous restoration of a long-standing custodial order of things, as distinct from the Reformation's early promise of a removal of oppressive constraints on learning and teaching.

Later generations of educational thinkers, inspired by Rousseau (1712–1778), Kant (1724–1804), Pestalozzi (1746–1827) and others, sought in their different ways to advance an understanding of education as an emancipation of mind and heart. These efforts envisaged the cultivation of a capacity for independent thought, of an ability to question, of a willingness to contribute that would benefit others, oneself and society more widely. And it is true that this pioneering tradition of pedagogical research remains fertile, if frequently embattled, in our own day. It is also true that in the aftermath of the Enlightenment and French Revolution, church control of education was increasingly challenged, but chiefly by secular forces that regularly proved to be as overbearing as their clerical predecessors. For instance, Napoleon's scheme for nationwide education in France established new precedents and showed that a centralised state power could be as hierarchical as anything in the *Ancien Régime* had been. In fact, in many countries, the nineteenth century battles between church and state to influence the aims and curricula of schools resembled the replaying of an old tune in a new key. In keeping with the political or religious outlooks of the controlling powers, teachers and school leaders regularly had

to comply with draconian constraints and inspections, and sometimes with restrictions on their personal lifestyles. Yet, there often remained, for teachers who were so inclined, some scope to take pedagogical initiatives locally; to allow some measure of curricular venturing, however limited this might be. Something more intrusive and more vehement was coming however, with the arrival in the arena of education of the mass ideologies of the twentieth century.

Fascism and Totalitarianism

Four major new ideological movements came to pervade education in countries like Italy (Fascism), Spain (Falange-Francoism), Germany (Nazism) and the Soviet Union (Stalinism) in the first half of the 20th century. The first three were all variants of fascism while the last was a severely doctrinaire version of Marxism, but one that had adsorbed some fascist ideas. In each case the ideology attempted to define anew what it meant to be Italian, Spanish, German or Russian. But the manner in which they did so was totalitarian, not merely authoritarian. That is to say, there was a relentless drive to compel every individual to embrace the official characterisation of personal and national identity being propagated. This compulsion produced forms of surveillance that were as intolerant in their understanding of differences in belief and outlook as they were comprehensive in their reach into people's lives. That reach extended not only to those who were active in politics, trade unions, or various forms of community activism. It also permeated cultural and sporting organisations, workplace communities and not least individual households.

Of the three fascist ideologies, the first to take root was Italian Fascism (with a capital F in Italy), associated with Mussolini's take-over of power in 1922. The rationale for Italian Fascism owed much to Giovanni Gentile (1875–1944). Gentile, already internationally known as a philosopher, became Minister for Public Instruction in 1922. He co-wrote *The Doctrine of Fascism* with Mussolini, and also penned a number of other pro-fascist documents. Gentile was a Hegelian philosopher who rejected the materialism of Marxist interpretations of Hegel. He was drawn instead to the possibilities of the Hegelian notion of "spirit"

(*Geist*) to renew an Italy and a wider Europe which he perceived as civilisations in decline. In the notion of "spirit" Gentile saw an immensely powerful motivating principle for action: one that combined a captivating idealism with a proud nationalism, based on inspirations from a glorious imperial past. And the "spiritual attitude" of fascism envisaged something new: a "totalitarian" organisation of society, introduced in *The Doctrine of Fascism* in the following words:

> "The Fascist conception of the State is all embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, Fascism, is totalitarian, and the Fascist State – a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values – interprets, develops, and potentates the whole life of a people."
> (Mussolini & Gentile, 1932, p. 2)

This meant that there would be "no individuals or groups (political parties, cultural associations, economic unions, social classes) outside the State" (p. 2). Gentile saw nothing sinister in this conception of the State (always with a capital S). It was through the State that the proudest ideals of nation and fatherland received their vital character and preserved their uplifting attractiveness for the hopes of the people. As distinct from "that form of democracy which equates a nation to the majority", Fascism was to be seen as a supremely unifying force, "advancing, as one conscience and one will, along the self-same line of development and spiritual formation" (p. 3). Accompanying this aggressive conception of identity were the twin notions of self-sacrifice and militarism.

> "Fascism does not, generally speaking, believe in the possibility or utility of perpetual peace. It therefore discards pacifism as a cloak for cowardly supine renunciation in contradistinction to self-sacrifice. War alone keys up all human energies to their maximum tension and sets the seal of nobility on those peoples who have the courage to face it."
> (p. 4)

Denunciations of liberalism, positivism and democracy feature prominently in Italian Fascism. What is absent from its documents in the early 1930s, however, is any targeting of a particular group, for instance Jews, as a prime enemy, although this was to change by the end of the decade.

In Spain the Falange movement, founded in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera (1903–1936), promoted a characteristically Spanish kind of fascism, echoing strongly the main features of its Italian counterpart. These included: liberalism and democracy as discredited ideals; the state as that which gives vitality and virility to the ideals of nationhood and fatherland; the state as a unitary and supreme force. Any form of Communism was repulsive to the Falange's conceptions of Spanish tradition. This stance was potentially explosive, as a popular front of disparate left-wing republican parties had won the Spanish General election of February 1936. Just five month later, an uprising of right-wing forces against the government started the Spanish Civil War.

As in Italy, Spanish fascism viewed itself as a spiritual source for the resurrection of a unique national identity – imperial, Catholic, and indeed masculine in character. As warlike as the Italian version, Spanish fascism had an additional passion and intensity, a consciously romantic allure, as the following extract from the speeches of Primo de Rivera illustrates:

> "Our place is in the open air, beneath a clear night, embracing a rifle, with the stars high above. Let the others carry on with their feasts. We are outside, in a tense vigil, fervent and confident, we anticipate the dawn in the joy of our beings."[2]
>
> (1933)

2 PRIMO De RIVERA, José Antonio, 1933/2020. "Discurso de José Antonio Primo de Rivera exponiendo los puntos fundamentales de Falange española, pronunciado en el Teatro de la Comedia de Madrid, el día 29 octubre de 1933". Full text available at: http://www.segundarepublica.com/index.php?opcion=6&id=78. The extract I have quoted in English is the concluding sentence of the speech: "Nuestro sitio está al aire libre, bajo la noche clara, arma al brazo, y en lo alto, las estrellas, Que sigan los demás con sus festines. Nosotros fuera, en vigilancia tensa, fervorosa y segura, ya presentimos el amanecer en la alegría de nuestras entrañas".

Following the execution of Primo de Rivera by Republican authorities in November 1936, the influence of the Falange on the nationalist (anti-republican) side grew immensely during the Spanish Civil War. It was a marginal political force before the war. But Franco's endorsement and subsequent recasting of its ideals set the foundations for the dictatorship that began with the final defeat of the Republicans in April 1939 and continued until Franco's death in 1975.

The intolerance evident in Italian and Spanish fascism became even more emphatic in the case of German fascism. In this instance, the national ideology did not merely deny individuals a right to affirm a sense of German identity that differed from the Führer's conception. The state continually asserted its power to seek out such differences, by using terror where expedient, and to eliminate them. Underlying all of the Nazi *Volk* rhetoric, summoning Germans to arise and embrace the superior destiny of their race, lay the relentless, calculating machinery of terror. This machinery was turned with particular violence on Jews, but few who resisted the Nazi order of things could hope to escape its ruthless reach. Education was to have a strategic importance in shaping and maintaining this new order.

It was in the Soviet Union under Stalin however, and later China under Chairman Mao, that totalitarianism achieved its most complete scope and effectiveness. China lies outside our scope here, but focusing on the Soviet example shows how key strands of fascist thinking became embodied in the kind of Communism that took root with Stalin's rise to power in the USSR (1922). Two of these strands became prominent in Stalinism, and they reveal the mendacity of Soviet claims to have won a liberating war against fascism in 1945. The first strand concerns nationalism. The second concerns the State and the question of individual identity. In relation to the first strand, one of the defining features of classical Marxism is its *inter*national character; international not in any imperial or colonial sense, but in the sense of seeking to liberate workers worldwide who were oppressed by deeply ingrained practices of capitalism. Far from affirming the different identities and languages of the various "republics" that constituted the Soviet Union, Stalin imposed an official Russian identity as superior and predominant.

This "Russification", which replaced a previous policy of cultivating local ethnic identities (*korenizatsiia*) was accomplished mainly from 1932 onwards, not least through an extensive control of curricula and textbooks in schools (IDFI, 2019). In relation to the second strand, education was given a central role – in schools and in youth movements (*Komsomol*) – to ensure that younger generations became loyal members of the Soviet state and to eliminate "anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary sentiment". Recent archival research, including evidence from Stalin's own native "republic" of Georgia, shows how Soviet totalitarianism had incorporated key elements of fascism and made them its own. Any failures by school leaders to align the school's work with the official doctrines of the all-powerful state could lead to a summary trial and the "repression", or execution, of the persons accused (IDFI, 2019).

Totalitarianism and Education

Examples like those reviewed in the previous two sections serve to illustrate that authoritarianism is not the same as totalitarianism. Fascism, from Mussolini and Gentile onwards, is totalitarian, if not always overtly so. Sometimes the difference between authoritarianism and totalitarianism may be one of degree, rather than a difference in kind. But where education is concerned, a predominance of actions like the following indicates that a system of schooling is more totalitarian than authoritarian in character: the *systematic alignment* of school curricula and textbooks to the State's doctrines and directives; the *infiltration* of the teaching profession, and of teacher education institutions, by state-sponsored agents of surveillance; the wide-scale *mobilisation* of youth though closely monitored ideological and physical training programmes; the official *propagation* of ideas like "the formation of the Soviet man" or "the formation of the new man", as if these were naturally educational ideas; the *denouncing* of non-compliant colleagues, publicly or secretly, to the state authorities; the *punishing* of alleged infringements committed by teachers or students through an intensive machinery of interrogation and terror; the *selection and advanced propaganda training* of future leaders in elite, state-run academies.

This list of actions is drawn from concrete practices that give a totalitarian character to the conduct of education. It is a representative rather than an exhaustive list. Such actions range from Spain in the West to the Soviet Union in the East, from Latvia in the north to Greece in the south, with a concentration in Central and Eastern European countries. From a philosophical perspective, I believe that Hannah Arendt's monumental study *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (first published in 1951) offers an illuminating background for reviewing some of the key issues. In that study Arendt identifies important features that distinguish totalitarianism from previous forms of tyranny in Western history. The following are some of these features – ones that make totalitarianism particularly important to understand from an educational perspective:

1. It seeks to wipe out the individuality of each person, harbouring a particular suspicion of artists and intellectuals, whose work regularly undermines the best efforts of propaganda.
2. It seeks to remove the dignity and personal privacy of individuals on a mass scale.
3. It furnishes instead a sense of identity that is largely ready-made, and embodied in a powerful either/or doctrine: e.g. true patriot or enemy of the people.
4. It advances its influence and power by representing politics as a mass movement of the loyal that denounces any opposition.
5. It involves a vast use of undercover surveillance to make whole populations conform through fear, or even terror. (Arendt, 1951/1968, Ch. 12).

Any conception of educational practice that embodies features such as these goes well beyond the traditional kinds of authoritarian education we reviewed in the opening section. Such traditional conceptions viewed education primarily in terms of transmission – of beliefs, of values, of preferred forms of knowledge. The main underlying purpose was to pass on to younger generations traditions that were handed down through many previous generations, sometimes by renewing them in radical ways and providing new directions for the future; for instance

the efforts of Luther and Melanchton on the one hand, or those of Rousseau or Kant on the other. Totalitarianism by contrast, regards education not in terms of transmitting a cultural heritage, whether a renewed one or not. Rather its purposes are those of *removal* and *replacement*, drawing on the most resourceful forms of compulsion and violence to accomplish its goals. In this respect it recalls one of the most questionable remarks in Plato's writings – a remark that carries a chilling shock if taken literally: "They will take the city and the characters of men, as they might take a tablet, and first wipe it clean" (*Republic*, 501a). The political presumption that such a wiping-clean is in fact possible, reveals the drastic educational import of totalitarianism. So also does the presumption that public education can replace the demolished social order with a radically different one, tailored to a newly-conceived design and implemented through a series of oppressive enforcement plans. Apart from the historical impossibility of success with such goals, we are confronted here with an effort at the total removal of education as a kind of endeavour that has its own possibilities and responsibilities. I would now like to explore that very endeavour more closely, if also briefly.

Public Education as a Practice in its own Right

The ancestry of the idea of education as a practice in its own right, at least in Western civilisation, reaches farther back than Aristotle and Plato. It can best be found in the collective enquiries of Socrates and companions in the Agora and other public places of ancient Athens, as disclosed in the earlier, though not the later, Dialogues of Plato. As a practice in its own right, education is committed to the idea that each human being is unique; that each has her/his own way of being human, and of becoming more so, through sustained engagement with rich inheritances of learning (e.g. scientific, artistic, mathematical, literary, religious, musical, historical etc.). Such a practice, or family of practices, cultivates learning environments where each pupil is helped to discover her own most promising pathways; to learn to negotiate successfully her own strengths and limitations.

Such a practice moreover is much less concerned with transmission than it is with encounter. Preoccupation with transmission – whether of cultural heritage, of moral and religious values, of knowledge and skills etc. – quickly throngs the arena of educational discourse with controversial questions: Whose heritage? Which religious and moral values? What knowledge and skills? Such matters are not irrelevant of course. But making such questions the primary point of departure yields too much of the educational arena itself to ongoing conflicts, and to the combative energies they stimulate and consume. Such preoccupations curtail, even obscure, a more fruitful kind of educational undertaking, namely the core purposes of education as a particular kind of encounter. The notion of encounter, as distinct from transmission, envisages educational practice as an emergent interplay between human experience on the one hand and a range of inheritances of learning on the other. If this initially sounds like an abstract notion it must be replied that it captures more accurately what goes on in classrooms anyway, whether in successful or disfigured forms, than does any notion of transmission. Students always take some attitude to what is addressed to them – boredom, enthusiasm, rejection etc., whether that attitude is manifested in some physical reaction or experienced silently. Dewey called this "collateral learning" (1938/2008, p. 48), and stressed that it is crucially important in the longer run. That is to say, the attitude that is evoked, or provoked, in the student may have a deep and enduring influence. It predisposes the student, this way or that, in any further lessons with the teacher or subject in question. Being alert to what happens in "collateral learning", to its possibilities as well as its pitfalls, enables teachers to realise that an immense amount of what is merely transmitted may fall on infertile ground.

The purpose of encounters that are properly educational is to enable the student – in a sustained and progressive way – to discover something of the historian in himself, or something of the scientist in herself, or something of the linguist, craftsperson, mathematician; or something of a religious sensibility; or more broadly, some authentic combination of these. Here, subjects are seen less as knowledge to be mastered than as inheritances of learning, from the classical and

ancestral to the *avant garde*; each inheritance having its own internal riches *and* tensions. For an educational encounter to be fruitful, an inheritance of learning must first be *alive* in a teacher. It seeks to come to voice through the practice of a teacher and thus to uncover and engage those potentials that are most native to the plurality of participants in a particular learning environment. Equally important, it is through *the quality of learning practices themselves* that any skills or values of enduring importance come to be appreciated and internalised. They cannot be just transmitted. This also means that anything of enduring importance in moral education, or in the cultivation of co-operative capabilities, arises from the quality of the learning experience itself. The real *ethos* of education is thus more related to the successes and failures in the joint efforts of teachers and students than to any aims of transmission that are prescribed from above or outside. This remains the case no matter how worthy or admirable such aims might be. In short, genuine educational practice promotes an unforced discovery of personal *identity* and *capability*. It does *not* put either onto pre-ordained pathways; whether those of a church, a political party, or other institutionalised interest.

Two key ideas in Arendt's *The Human Condition*, "natality" and "plurality", are particularly pertinent to the characterisation just drawn. "Natality" signifies not only the fact of new birth, but also, in each case, that "the newcomer possesses the capacity of beginning something anew" (1958, p. 9). "Plurality," in Arendt's own words, "is the condition of human action because we are all the same, that is, human, in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live" (p. 8). As core characteristics of educational practice, natality and plurality involve engaging with inheritances of learning in ways that open up new imaginative neighbourhoods. Educational practice involves countless ways of disclosing to students the manifold character of their own emergent identities. Educational practitioners here – as teachers, school leaders, or researchers – are dedicated first and foremost to promoting a profusion of human flourishing.

On the analysis presented here then, education as a practice in its own right involves precisely the reverse of the main features of totalitarianism identified by Arendt.

1. It seeks to cultivate the individuality and communicative capability of each person.

2. It seeks to build learning communities where participants learn to understand the reality of human difference and the right to be different; also to respect the personal dignity of each.

3. It enables each student to uncover something of the historian in herself, or the scientist, the linguist etc., thus gradually disclosing a sense of identity and capability that is fulfilling and sustaining.

4. It *practises* teaching and learning through daily actions that allow ideas like justice, plurality, tolerance and excellence to be made manifest in experience, and thus to take deeper root.

5. It encourages the development of a healthy scepticism of the claims of institutions, particularly where such claims involve invasive features like surveillance or lack of transparency.

Policies along lines such as these just listed feature to a greater or lesser extent in the discourse of educational policymaking and in the pedagogical actions of schools in most democracies today. In few countries however are such features the prevailing ones in the educational system as a whole; and in many cases such aspirations are "honoured more in the breach than in the observance". There is evidence moreover of some counter-trends. These are most frequently associated with neoliberal outlooks of many democratic governments today, particularly where such outlooks are combined with uncritical conceptions of "evidence-based" policy. I would like to conclude by identifying some emergent concerns from this milieu – concerns the betoken the re-appearance on the horizon of potentially new forms of mass captivity in the recurring conquest of hearts and minds.

New forms of Conquest?

With the collapse of the "Iron Curtain" from November 1989 onwards, one might initially expect that educational practice in the former Soviet

satellite countries might become freer to manage its own affairs. Such discretionary scope had been a notable feature of the educational systems of many Western democracies, especially from the mid 1960s to the mid 1980s. But by the end of the 1980s this tolerant order of things was decisively confronted by a strident new political orthodoxy in the West. This sprang from the Thatcher-Reagan ideological axis, combining a fervent commitment to the privatisation of public services with a newly-coercive centralisation of political power. The results of this major shift were dramatic on an international scale in the early 21st century, not least where educational policy was concerned. With notable exceptions (e.g. Finland, to some extent Ireland and Scotland), the international tenor of educational reform in recent decades has detrimentally reshaped public education. This reshaping makes education again an essentially submissive practice, conforming firstly to the demands of the current party or administration in power. Policy-borrowing, or policy-imitation, based on this new orthodoxy, became extensive in Western countries as these reforms spread. By the time some former satellite countries looked Westwards for democratic exemplars in educational policy, the influential models of the sixties and seventies had been largely eclipsed be the international predominance of neoliberal policies.

A curious pattern is evident here: the widespread decline *in democracies* of the democratic idea of education as a participatory, co-operative and semi-autonomous endeavour. What replaces it is an endeavour that equates *quality* in education with the notion of *indexed quantity* (of grades, scores etc.), and that values competitive ranking as the best means of carrying out evaluations. This new pattern requires, on an unprecedented scale, the gathering of data that can be readily indexed and compared; especially data on performances of schools, of teachers, and of individual students. What lies essentially beyond the scope of such data-gathering is nothing other than the educational heart of the matter: the experience of teaching and learning itself, in its inherent individuality and diversity.

Currently, many educational research studies are exploring features of this decline, and its harmful consequences for educational

practice. Important themes in such research include the following three: (a) critical investigations of the propagation by international bodies like the OECD and the World Bank of new models of the "good teacher" – models devoid of context or historical reference (Robertson & Sørensen, 2018); (b) penetrating revelations of the widescale "datafication" of teachers, i.e. the electronic tracking of their work and the systematic use of data to promote compliance and conformity (Lewis & Holloway, 2019); (c) analysis and review of the use of value-added models (VAMs) that claim to determine the worth of individual teachers for purposes of reward, penalty, or remediation (Amrein-Beardsley & Holloway, 2017).

While trends such as these three hardly amount to new forms of totalitarianism, they clearly signify a recurrence of historic authoritarian impulses in education, but now on a global scale. One can moreover see in the rise of digital surveillance of teachers' practice something tyrannical in an embryonic sense; something that ominously recalls the final feature of Arendt's characterisation of totalitarianism. Of course this rise in digital tracking is not accompanied by any of the traditional machinery of terror. It does not need to be, as fear can insinuate itself here in less blatant, yet powerful forms. For instance, fear that one's distinctive contributions a teacher will be ignored and that one will be passed over for promotion in favour of one's higher-ranked conformist colleagues; or fear as a school principal that the school's caring initiatives will count for nothing, and that the school will lose funding, if performance indicators for students and teachers aren't as good as, or better than, last year's. And what goes for individual teachers and schools in this regard may also go for educational policymaking at a national level. This becomes more likely to the extent that predominance is given to the country's participation in high-stakes initiatives like the PISA programme of the OECD.

Any lasting release from burdens such as these just considered is crucially connected with the necessity to acknowledge public education as a distinct practice in its own right; not as a subordinate or submissive endeavour to the state, or church, or other institutional interest. But let us be clear: this does *not* mean some kind of absolute independence for educational practice. As a practice in its own right, education

is properly answerable to the public for the fruits of its labours, and for how it uses the resources it receives from the public purse. For its part however the state, as guarantor of the public interest, is responsible – inescapably responsible – for safeguarding the integrity of educational practice. This represents a political challenge that is to be embraced rather than evaded by democracies. It is also bad news for any inclinations of a totalitarian kind.

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Did the Czechs Want the Holocaust? On a Modern History of the Jews in the Bohemian Lands[1]

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The Holocaust and the history of the Jews should certainly have a place in the teaching of modern Czech history. However, teachers who reach for the book *Prague and Beyond* by an American-Czech-German team should be aware that it is not an entirely correct piece of work. While early modern history is deplorably neglected here, their interpretation of the Holocaust tends to reinforce anti-Czech xenophobic prejudices. At the same time, this is a work that has been published with a massive promotional campaign. While we are reviewing here the German-language version, an English version entitled *Prague and Beyond* is already in publication, and the Czech and Hebrew versions are to follow. The book, which is to be "the first scientifically-based survey of the history of Jewish life in the Bohemian lands", received financial support from a number of institutions: the Collegium Carolinum, the German Federal Ministry for Culture and Media, the Czech Science Foundation, the Rothschild Foundation and the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung.[2]

1 ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina & KIEVAL, Hillel J. (eds.), 2020. *Zwischen Prag und Nikolsburg. Jüdisches Leben in den böhmischen Ländern*. Translated from English by Peter Groth. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 428 p. ISBN 978-3-525-36427-7; ČAPKOVÁ, Kateřina & KIEVAL, Hillel J. (eds.), 2021. *Prague and Beyond. Jews in the Bohemian Lands*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 384 p. ISBN 9780812253115.

2 We use data from the cover and the dedication of the book. The quotation is from an invitation to a book launch and from promotional material. Cf. https://prag.diplo.de/cz-cs/themen/05-Wissenschaft_cz/3_Deu-CzeZusammenarbeit/

Based on the editorial reviews of the English version, it has been examined by three reviewers who are respected in their fields, but none of them specializes in Czech history.[3] I am wondering whether they have been told about the errors revealed by experts from the Jewish Museum in Prague and other Czech historians (Cermanová, Baránek & Putík, 2020, pp. 18–19; Cerman, 2020, pp. 725–750; Pešek, 2020, pp. 81–94). Given the reviewers' expertise in Polish history, I understand they may not be aware of the inadequacies of this book, but I do not see how one of them could argue: "The book should be greeted with enthusiasm not only by Czech historians and historians of modern European Jewry, but by European historians more generally and by other readers with an interest in the lost world of pre-Holocaust Europe."[4] I can only hope that this review article will also be greeted with enthusiasm by readers who are not willing to be misled.

Methodical Principles and Historiography

According to the promotional text on the cover, the work claims to be characterized by innovative methodological procedures and a number of 'firsts'. It is to be the first work to portray the history of the Jews as "an integral and inseparable part of the history of Central Europe". It is meant to be the first work that will not be limited to Prague, but will consciously focus on the regions. The theoretical introduction by Kateřina Čapková and H. Kieval in the book (pp. 1–26) thus complements another methodological innovation: their interpretation

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zwischen-prag-und-nikolsburg. The English version will bear the title *Prague and Beyond. The History of the Jews in the Bohemian Lands*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania U.P. (to be published in 2020).

3 Promotional texts on the website of Pennsylvania University Press: *Prague and Beyond. Jews in the Bohemian Lands*. Edited by Kateřina Čapková and Hillel J. Kieval [online]. University of Pennsylvania Press [cit. 2021-06-18]. Available from: https://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/16264.html.

4 Promotional texts on the website of Pennsylvania University Press: *Prague and Beyond. Jews in the Bohemian Lands*. Edited by Kateřina Čapková and Hillel J. Kieval [online]. University of Pennsylvania Press [cit. 2021-06-18]. Available from: https://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/16264.html.

is to consciously ignore the history of administration and focus instead on the cases of individual Jews (or "jüdische Erfahrung"). The editors believe that the use of sources from the provenance of the state administration was a major mistake in earlier Czech research, and allege that only more recent research rectified this shortcoming (p. 11). In the chapter on the First Republic, the joint authors added their voices to the charge that Czechoslovak historians of Jewish history allegedly focused solely on early modern times and economic history (p. 262).

However, the poetic list of new topics to be opened up to researchers when they leave the topic of state administration (p. 11) also shows that the editor, Kateřina Čapková, aims to exclude the state itself from this interpretation. Perhaps it could be admitted that this methodological dreaming is an attempt to allow interpretation from the point of view of actors, not from the point of view of external observers, but in a synthesis aimed at processing the history of a larger population, it is not applicable. One cannot simply build on subjective perspectives; it is also necessary to know how things were organized. Ignoring the history of the state, law and government can have drastic consequences, especially when authors aim to construct accusations of collective guilt. Fortunately, the chapters on earlier history did not follow the methodological guidelines from the Introduction at all, but unfortunately in the chapter on the Holocaust this principle has been followed with tragic consistency. To some extent, this also applies to Kateřina Čapková's own chapter on attitudes towards the Jews in the Czechoslovak (Socialist) Republic after 1945, where the role of the socialist state in the spread of anti-Zionism is gravely underestimated.

At the same time Čapková, as the editor, is of the opinion that it is new authors who have become interested in the "Jewish experience" who have joined forces to collaborate on this book. This may be true in the cases of H. Kieval and Martina Niedhammer, but it can hardly be said of all the members of the author's team, as well as the works listed in the historiographical survey (p. 12). In the survey of innovative works, Čapková presents Michal Frankl's books on anti-Semitism (2007; 2011), which deal not with the history of the Jews but with anti-Semitism, and show us how Jews were regarded by their enemies. She also

mentions Jan Láníček's bizarre work on the period of the Protectorate (2013; 2018), which also deals with the views of external observers, and lastly her own work on the Jews during the First Republic, which perceives Jews and the republic as antagonists (Čapková, 2005; 2012). To summarize, the works that Čapková mentions primarily follow the relationship of Jews with the majority of the population and describe it *a priori* as a conflict. It is certainly not possible to accept her claim that these works re-emphasize friendly "contact and association" ("Verflechtung und Verbindung", p. 11).

On the other hand, this historiographical survey (pp. 6–12) ignores a number of more recent Czech works which actually try to trace the history of Jews rather than anti-Semitism, and noted "contact and association" in relation to the majority. There are, for example, a programmed work about the Hebrew censor Karel Fischer, a study of the history of Hebrew book printing, and one about the history of education.[5] Even in regional historiography, which was frequently written under the influence of Hugo Gold's topographical lexicons of Jewish communities (1929, 1934), bilateral contact was often noted. The novelty of the period after the Velvet Revolution is rather the topic of anti-Semitism and pogroms, which is now no longer associated only with the German Nazis of the 20th century but also with earlier periods and the Czech majority[6]. With the rehabilitation of T. G. Masaryk

5 CERMANOVÁ, Iveta & MAREK, Jindřich, 2007. *Na rozhraní českého a židovského světa. Příběh hebrejského cenzora a klementinského knihovníka Karla Fischera 1757–1844*. Praha; PUTÍK, Alexandr (ed.), 2009. *Cesta života. Rabi Jehuda Leva ben Becalel kol. 1525–1609*. Praha; GANS, David, 2016. *Ratolest Davidova*. Praha (eds. ŠEDINOVÁ, Jiřina, SLÁDEK, Pavel & BOUČEK, Daniel); SLÁDEK, Pavel (ed.), 2008. *Malá encyklopedie rabínského judaismu*. Praha; SLÁDEK, Pavel (ed.), 2019. *Jehuda Leva ben Besal'el Maharal, Lampa přikázání / Ner micva*. Praha; SIXTOVÁ, Olga (ed.), 2012. *Hebrejský knihtisk v Čechách a na Moravě*. Praha (English edition from 2012: *Hebrew Printing in Bohemia and Moravia*, Praha); the Sefer publishing House publishes Edice Judaika.

6 For example, VESELÁ-PRUDKOVÁ, Lenka, 2003. *Židé a česká společnost v zrcadle literatury*. Praha; PUTÍK, Alexandr, 1996. The Tumult of Mladá Boleslav (Jungbunzlau, Bumsla) in the Messianic Year 5426/1666. *Judaica Bohemiae*. Vol. 34, pp. 4–106. Cf.contributions in the journal *Judaica Bohemiae* and in the series of proceedings

came a greater interest in Czech anti-Semitism during the Hilsner affair (Kovtun, 1994). However, research into the history of Jews had to cover several topics, and the Jewish Museum in Prague and its journal *Judaica Bohemiae*, whose post-1989 activities are not taken into account at all here, played a crucial role in maintaining a comprehensive focus.

Given the importance that editors attach to the Holocaust era, it is surprising that Miroslav Kárný's historical survey is not mentioned here at all.[7] It is discussed only in Frommer's chapter on the Holocaust, with a manipulative commentary that suggests that Frommer is developing Kárný's initiatives (p. 268). In the post-1989 period, a number of studies of anti-Semitic agitation during the Second Republic were composed, the most impressive of which is the work of Jan Rataj (1997), and the Jewish Museum has also published a high-quality collection on Czech anti-Semitism in the post-war years (1945–1948) in which there are incisive and solid contributions by Jan Rataj, Radka Čermáková and Blanka Soukupová (Soukupová, Salner & Ludvíková, 2009). Lastly, it is startling that in her survey Čapková does not mention the Czech historian Blanka Soukupová, who had already carried out systematic research on the topic that Čapková is working on here. This is the life of the Jews under socialism, of which Soukupová has actually produced a concise synthesis (2016). To a foreign public it appears that the "international team" is bravely opening up new taboo topics to the Czechs, although this is by no means the case.

In her introduction Čapková lays down interpretative principles (pp. 12–25), in which she applies the main theses to individual epochs of history from the 16th century to the present. In earlier history, these theses describe almost exclusively the activities of the state, but in the 20th century they view a kind of stateless majority population, i.e. the Czechs, as the only agent. She characterizes interwar

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Židé a Morava (bibliography [online]: https://www.muzeum-km.cz; [cit. 2020-07-30]).

7 KÁRNÝ, Miroslav, 1991. *„Konečné řešení." Genocida českých židů v německé protektorátní politice*. Praha. Cf. MILOTOVÁ, Jaroslava, 2002. Miroslav Kárný (1919–2001). *Terezínské studie a dokumenty*, pp. 22–39.

Czechoslovakia unilaterally as a "nation state", not as a republic (p. 4), and describes its democratic character as the product of Czechoslovak propaganda (p. 4). The evidence for this is an oft-quoted book by the American author Andrea Orzoff which is based on the Nazi work of propaganda *Secret Funds of the Third Section* (1943)[8]. Unfortunately, Čapková did not verify the sources of this legend at all but repeated it uncritically.

In comparison with Kateřina Čapková's earlier work, there is a significant shift towards a negative image of interwar Czechoslovakia. Under the influence of the works of Ines Koeltzsch and Wolf Gruner, she emphasizes the importance of the Holešov pogrom of 1918 here, elevating its status to that of a defining event. However, it is not stated here that the perpetrators were brought to trial; the republic did not support such pogroms (p. 19)[9]. It is completely wrong to deduce anything about the character of the republic from this event. Contrary to the introductory arguments concerning friendly "contact and association", it is already clear in this introductory historiographical review that the main theme of the chapters on the 20th century is to be the hostility of the Czech majority towards the Jews.

Early Modern History (up to 1918)

After this introduction, there follow chapters on early modern history; it makes no sense to analyse the contents of these in detail. In conceptual terms, it should be noted that the chapters do not have the same thematic structure. In some there is a section on the legal context or on economics and geography, while in others there is not.

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8 ORZOFF, Andrea, 2009. *The Battle for the Castle. The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe*. Oxford – New York, p. 69; URBAN, Rudolf, 1943. *Tajné fondy III. sekce*. Praha. In this work of Nazi propaganda, it is claimed that the positive image of Czechoslovak democracy was created by foreign Jewish journalists in return for generous bribes paid by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Orzoff copied the whole argument; she merely left out the allegation that Jews were responsible.

9 FIŠER, Zdeněk, 1996. *Poslední pogrom*. Kroměříž. Cf. KOELTZSCH, Ines, 2011. Antijüdische Straßengewalt und die semantische Konstruktion des ‚Anderen' im Prag der Ersten Republik. *Judaica Bohemiae*. Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 73–100; GRUNER, Wolf, 2016. *Die Judenverfolgung im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren*. Göttingen, p. 24.

The level of interpretation of earlier history is indicated by a notable mistake made by the editor Kateřina Čapková in her introductory theoretical theses. Here she mistakenly informs readers that in Bohemia Jews were expelled from royal cities in the 16th century (p. 13). In reality, however, Jews in Bohemia were only forbidden to reside in mining towns (i.e. towns with mining rights)[10], not in all royal towns. More interesting, however, is the source of this error. It is probably the popularizing work by Tomáš Pěkný[11] which this "first scientifically-based historical survey" aims to replace. If we take a further look at the topic of cities, we will find that even in the chapter on the early modern period the authors Kasper-Marienberg and Teplitsky had not discovered the above-mentioned fact about mining towns (p. 36). H. Kieval repeats the same mistake in the chapter on the 19th century, where he speaks of the prohibition banning residence in royal cities (p. 121). In the chapter on the second half of the 19th century, there is a metaphysical interpretation of "Jewish spaces", which speaks of non-settlement in large cities and dispersal throughout the countryside, without distinguishing between Bohemia and Moravia (p. 164). None of the authors has made use of the recently-published editions of the censuses of the Jewish population by Ivana Ebelová (2002–2006; 2008).

In the chapter on the early modern period, the authors neglect such basic topics as accusations of ritual murder or the organization of Jewish communites, but pay disproportionate attention to the post-White Mountain nobility, and in particular to Johannes Adolf von Schwarzenberg. The choice of this topic is incomprehensible, especially as the authors gradually progress towards a one-sided interpretation of the economic role of the Jews. They therefore make the same

10 DVORSKÝ, František (ed.), 1906. *K historii Židů v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku 906 až 1620*. Sv. I, Praha, pp. 509–510, Document No. 713 (1568).

11 PĚKNÝ, Tomáš, 1993. *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě*. Praha, p. 60 and 394. However, even Pěkný's interpretation, which may be ambiguous and does not mention mining cities, does not claim that the expulsion of Jews "from royal cities" applied to Bohemia. The expulsion of 1454, ordered by Ladislav Pohrobek, applied to Moravia.

mistakes of which their co-authors falsely accuse earlier Czechoslovak historiographers (p. 262). When Marienberg-Kasper and Teplitsky try to explain the specific case of the Jewish community in Česká Lípa, they rely on Gold's old lexicon of Jewish communities, which is, indeed, not an original approach (p. 44). However, the authors make a truly deplorable mistake in the passage on the messianic movement, where they focus their attention on the banner of the Messianist Shelom Molch (p. 63)[12]. In fact, however, they confuse it with a banner that was carried in Jewish processions in Prague.

The brief chapter on the 18th century, written by Michael L. Miller (pp. 84–111), begins well with an outline of state legislation. It does not follow the principles set out in the introduction, but this is only to its advantage. However, the core of the chapter, which the author compiles on the basis of the work of Pawel Maciejko (2015), focuses on the messianic movements of Shabatianism and Frankism. At the same time, there is a clear effort to foreground exotic moments (including alleged "orgies") and significantly overestimate the extent of these heresies in Bohemian and Moravian Judaism (pp. 99–101). However, in the next stage of interpretation, there is already too much about the state context, and there is a complete lack of any statement of interest in the "jüdische Erfahrung" of ordinary Jews. The Haskalah is given a deplorably brief treatment on two pages of the text (pp. 110–112). Under the influence of the author's interest in Moravia, the significant Prague Haskalah, including the Jeitteles family, is crammed into a brief introductory mention. The society of scholars around Baruch Jeitteles, and the activity of the Hebrew censor Karel Fischer in mediating between Jews and Christian scholars, are left ignored. Likewise, the importance of the Prague Tandlmarkt and the University Library as meeting places for the Christian and Jewish worlds in the period after the Josephine reforms is ignored. Nor is there anything about the life of rural communities.

12 The banner and robe are on display in the permanent exhibition of the Jewish Museum in the Maisel Synagogue in Prague.

In the chapter on the pre-liberal period (1790–1860) by H. Kieval, attention is given to places of mutual encounter (pp. 120–121), but once again there is no explanation of the state context of Jewish life. Due to the faulty coordination of the chapters, any mention of the Jewish systemic patent of 1797, as well as the transformation of Jewish communities into Jewish religious communities after the Josephine reforms, has completely disappeared, so that the reader cannot gain any idea of long-term development. Here it should also be important to reconstruct the transitional period when the municipalities no longer had a Jewish judiciary system but still had some self-governing functions. After 1867, so-called political religious communities existed only in Moravia (Urbanitsch, 2018, pp. 39–64). The vast majority of the chapter is devoted to education and the university, followed by a brief passage on the events of the 1848 revolution. Only at the end is there a brief mention of the end of the Prague ghetto, and there is no mention of rural communities. Once again, this chapter fails to encompass the "jüdische Erfahrung".

The chapter on the liberal period (1860–1917) and the chapter on the period of the First Republic were compiled by a trio of authors (Michal Frankl, Ines Koeltzsch & Martina Niedhammer). The chapter on the liberal period alone offers a comprehensive interpretation, paying balanced attention to the geography of settlement, the legal status of communities, reflections in literature, anti-Semitism and important Jewish personalities of the period. There is an interpretation of the law of 1890 which definitively regulated the status of Jewish religious communities. Even in the passage on anti-Semitism (pp. 189–195), its author Michal Frankl follows Czech, German and Catholic anti-Semitism in a balanced way. In the following chapters, however, the last two types of anti-Semitism disappear without explanation. The authors focus on the legal status of "emancipated Jews" after 1867, but reduce it solely to freedom of movement, while the right to own land remains unmentioned.

However, given the serious accusations that occur in the next chapter about the First Republic, it should be noted that the author of this passage, Michal Frankl, does not assess the degree of Jewish

freedom on the basis of contemporary civil and religious rights, but on the basis of a loosely constructed "discourse" in journalism. Nevertheless, since he is interested solely in anti-Semitic journalists, the outcome of such research is obvious in advance. It could be objected that in the period 1890–1914 not only journalists but also social scientists commented on the social situation from the Czech side. If any of these Czech scholars commented on nationalism in general terms[13], the equality of citizens in the legal system[14], or a non-conspiratorial interpretation of economic life (Tobolka, 1911), their conclusions were also applicable to the position of Jews, although they were not specifically mentioned[15]. In addition, there was the strong anti-religious movement of monism that highly honoured the Jew Baruch Spinoza (Krejčí, 1914, pp. 46–47). Secularization also occurred among Jews. In my opinion, 20 years ago it was sufficient to stick to the discussion of Czech anti-Semitism in journalism[16] because it was a new topic, but today we can recognize that this debate is not about a biography of anti-Semitism. The point is to find out what views were current regarding the organization of the state and society, as otherwise it is not possible to draw general conclusions that society or the emerging state relied on a solution that excluded the Jews.

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13 For example, CHALUPNÝ, Emanuel, 1905. *Úvod do sociologie s ohledem na české poměry*. Sv. II, Praha, Dodatek III, pp. 469–488.

14 For example, WEYR, František, 1908. *Zum Problem eines einheitlichen Rechtssystems*. Archiv für öffentliches Recht 23, pp. 529–580.

15 They were occasinally mentioned: for example, KREJČÍ, František, 1904. *O filosofii přítomnosti*. Praha, pp. 450–451; KREJČÍ, František, 1922. *Positivní etika*. Praha, pp. 388–392; CHALUPNÝ, Emanuel, 1908. *Havlíček. Obraz psychologický a sociologický*. Litomyšl, pp. 209–211; CHALUPNÝ, Emanuel, 1917. *Sociologie*. Díl V. Praha, p. 123. Despite their Jewish origins, the leading authorities for Czech scholars of this period were Georg Jellinek, Henri Bergson, and eventually Hans Kelsen.

16 Cf. FRANKL, Michal, 2001. The Background of the Hilsner Case. Political Antisemitism and Allegations of Ritual Murder 1896–1900. *Judaica Bohemiae.* Vol. 36, pp. 34–118.

Jews in the 'Nation State'

In contemporary American historiography, the demise of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic are described as the transition from a multinational empire to a "nation state"[17] (pp. 213–214), which increasingly oppressed minorities, including Jews, until in 1945 it reached its fully mature form with the creation of an "ethnically pure state".[18] This perspective has also been adopted by the authors of the chapter on the First Republic (pp. 209–263). At the same time, it is obvious that at the level of factual reality both the Habsburg monarchy and the Czechoslovak Republic were multinational. At the normative level, though, the monarchy did not have a guaranteed multinational character, and the Czechoslovak Republic was not legally constructed as a "nation state", but as a republic with the priority of individual rights. Its basis was not the collective rights of nations but the rights of individuals. However, the chapter on the First Republic does not deal at all with the characteristics of the normative regulation of the status of Jews as citizens, nor with Judaism as a religion, but pronounces categorically condemnatory judgments on both.

Their first argument in support of an intolerant society is the fact that during the riots at the end of the war and the beginning of the republic there were also attacks on Jews, to which the authors attribute

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17 On the idealization of the Habsburg monarchy in the USA, cf. JUDSON, Pieter, 2016. *The Habsburg Empire: a New History*. Cambridge, MA; MILLER-MELAMED, Paul, 2019. What the Habsburg Empire Got Right. *The New York Times*, 10. 9. 2019.

18 For example FROMMER, Benjamin, 2005. *National Cleansing. Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia*. Cambridge; ZAHRA, Tara, 2008. *Kidnapped Souls. National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands 1900–1948*. Ithaca, NY; ORZOFF, Andrea, 2009. *The Battle for the Castle*. Oxford – New York; DEÁK, István, 2015. *Europe on Trial*. New York; FEINBERG, Melissa, 2017. *Elusive Equality: Gender, Citizenship and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia 1918–1950*. Cambridge; GERLACH, David W., 2017. *The Economy of Ethnic Cleansing. The Transformation of German-Czech Borderlands after World War II*. Cambridge; CONNELLY, John, 2020. *From Peoples into Nations. A History of Eastern Europe*. Princeton. Similarly in Europe HEIMANN, Mary, 2009. *Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed*. Cambridge; SCHMIDT, Victoria (ed.), 2019. *The Politics of Disability in Interwar and Socialist Czechoslovakia. Segregating in the Name of the Nation*. Amsterdam.

a higher definitive meaning (pp. 214–218). At the same time, they describe these events as if Czech politicians and the public had been in control of the situation since 1917 and consciously "used violence as a substitute for expressing the principles according to which the national community would be organized in the future" (p. 215). They disregard the fact that in this climate of social unrest Czechs also stood against Czechs, and the city against the villages. The reader is left to believe that only attacks on Jews took place and anti-Semitism was the only driving force behind the violent mobs. However, the riots were also triggered by social problems, or – as in Holešov – by a desire for revenge for accusations allegedly made against a local citizen during the war. There are no interpretations of the character of the state in this chapter, and nothing about the "Soviet Republic" of Kladno or the communists. Instead, the riots are portrayed as a coordinated nationwide campaign to create a society that excluded Jews[19]. It is not stated here that such a community and such a state did not materialize. The civic status of women and Jews is thus construed on the basis of a discourse in the press about "loyalty" (pp. 218–230). This is similar to the procedure employed in the previous chapter.

The fact that Jews were guaranteed equality before the law and the right to vote is ignored in this chapter. This interpretation pays unilateral attention to the newly recognized identity of Jews as a nationality (p. 218, pp. 230–237) and ignores the traditional identity of Jews as followers of the Jewish religion. In this respect, they are following the one-sided interpretation of Kateřina Čapková (pp. 33–46, pp. 197–206). Although the authors ignore the republic's relationship to the Jewish religion, they make a categorical judgment: "Unlike other countries,

19 This distorted interpretation arose from the fact that Ines Koeltzsch, who was the first to emphasize the anti-Semitic character of these early disturbances, did not locate them within the actual context of place and time, i.e. within the context of the social unrest of 1918–1921, but within the theoretical concept of "exclusionary riots". With the help of this metaphysical span, she "proved" the exclusive character of the state which was in the process of emerging, without being interested in what this state was like. Cf. KOELTZSCH, Ines, 2011. *Antijüdische Straßengewalt*, p. 77.

[Czechoslovakia] did not grant Jews even partial cultural autonomy" (p. 218). The horrifying nature of this sentence becomes clear when we realize that at that time these "other countries" also included Hitler's Germany, which actually imposed "cultural autonomy" on Jews in the Nuremberg Laws, as the goal of Nazi ideologues was to mark out assimilated Jews and to separate them as a nation from the *Volksgemeinschaft* (Forsthoff, 1933, pp. 38–42; Globke & Stuckart, 1936, pp. 1–34). The Czechoslovak Republic did not in fact provide the Jews with this kind of cultural autonomy. On the other hand, Judaism was protected by law; just as under the Habsburg monarchy, Jewish religious communities were given the right to enforce claims by executive measures; they could associate in five unions of their choice, and in 1937 a uniform set of regulations was drawn up (Valeš, 2013, pp. 31–34). In religious education, the republic recognized Slovak cheders as private schools and, in addition, granted public rights to the famous Bratislava yeshiva, which provided for the religious education of future rabbis (Grünsfeld, 1932, pp. 22–25; Epstein, 1938, pp. 254–255). However, this fact is covered up in the book.

In conclusion (pp. 262–264), the authors describe the satisfaction of Jews with life in the Czechoslovak republic as "positive myths", which Jewish historians such as Hugo Gold allegedly created *ex post facto* in exile as a false memory of the glorious past. At the same time, it is once again surprising that the writers of these lines did not take into account the fact that Czechoslovak democracy of the interwar period was co-created and defended by Jewish legal scholars and publicists while they were still living in Czechoslovakia. We should mention Alfred Meissner, the (co)-creator of the Czechoslovak Constitutions of 1918 and 1920, Alfred Fuchs, the propagandist of Czechoslovak democracy, Franz Adler, the author of critical commentaries on constitutional law, and the social democrat Emil Strauss, the author of a "pro-Czechoslovak" history of the peasantry; we should also mention Arnošt Kraus, the historian of German literature in Bohemia… They were not dreamers; they knew what they were writing about, they co-created this state themselves, and, conscious of the risk, they defended their work against the German Nazis. Most of them paid for it with their lives.

Now these historians are arguing that these were positive myths and that they need to be scientifically refuted. However, they consider the character of the interwar republic as a summary of the moral attitudes of its Czech inhabitants as individuals. Instead of monitoring whether religious tolerance was recognized and ensured in law, they speculate about whether individual residents were tolerant. They conclude that they were not. "As recent research has shown," they conclude, "neither religious nor ethnic tolerance [of the population] was the reason for the decline of anti-Semitism" (p. 263). The proof is once again a loosely constructed contemporary "discourse", this time about refugees, which is proved by reference to the work of the book's co-author Michal Frankl (p. 264). On the other hand, we should concede that in this chapter there is a very good passage on the organization of communities (pp. 237–250).

"The Czech Holocaust"

This shift in perspective is followed by a chapter on the Holocaust (pp. 267–318) written by the American historian Benjamin Frommer[20]. He also applies, to a much greater extent, the method of proof by means of individual examples, while the administrative framework of the German occupation is not described here even in its basic features. Foreign readers will not learn at all from his interpretation that even the regulations of the Protectorate government were valid only after approval by the German occupying power; they will not learn about the parallel German and Czech administrative systems, or about the double law, which differed for Germans and Czechs (Kárný, 1991, pp. 47–49; Maršálek, 1999; Maršálek, 2012, pp. 64–84). If Frommer states that the adoption of the Nuremberg definition of a Jew in the Property Act of 21 June 1939 allegedly "ended the efforts of the Czech authorities" (p. 280), and that "the Beran Cabinet" of March 1939 debarred Jews from a number of professions, it appears as if the Protectorate government itself initiated

20 He is preparing a book on this topic: *The Ghetto without Walls: The Identification, Isolation, and Elimination of Bohemian and Moravian Jewry, 1938–1945*.

the decrees to separate Jews from society. He does not state (Kárný, 1991, pp. 29–34; Milotová, 2002, pp. 63–94; Petrkův, 2011, pp. 70–76) at all that the Protectorate government's proposal did not come into force. Nor does he claim that the "Czech definition" was milder than the Nuremberg Laws. At the same time, he makes a mistake because, being unaware of the double law, he does not realize that the Nuremberg regulations applied to "German" Jews immediately after the proclamation of the Protectorate. In the emotional description of the exclusion of children from Czech schools, which he describes as a Czech action (p. 291), he does not state that the Protectorate's Minister of Education tried to preserve compulsory school attendance for Jewish children (Kasperová, 2010, pp. 50–70).

The result is an approach to scholarship that allows the author to attribute the main initiative to the Czech population without having to bother explaining how this could be possible in the conditions of the occupying administration. Frommer replaces the missing administrative context with a narrative about the growing hostility of the Czech population towards Jews which continued to increase until it culminated in the Holocaust. It is this narrative that gives his interpretation the semblance of coherence.

Frommer's interpretation is designed as if the autonomy of the Protectorate was genuine, and the Czechs, together with the Germans, became Aryan lords over the local Jewry.[21] The anti-Jewish measures are described as being introduced by the occupying power solely under pressure arising from Czech street riots and the "local authorities". It is as if he were repeating Wolf Gruner's notion that the Holocaust was enforced by means of Czech "local initiatives".[22] With this turn,

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21 He describes the Czechs as Aryans on p. 293, 304. What was more important was who possessed citizenship of the Reich according to the Nuremberg Laws. Frommer does not even take into account the inferior racial classification of Czech forced labourers. In his opinion of the Czech Aryans, he actually agrees with the Czech Nazi sympathizer Lukáš Beer. Cf. BEER, Lukáš, 2014. *Hitlerovi Češi*. Brno.

22 GRUNER, Wolf, 2016. *Die Judenverfolgung,* pp. 7–22, 138–270. The book was published in an English translation, *The Holocaust in Bohemia and Moravia. Czech Initiatives, German Policies, Jewish Reponses*. New York – Oxford, 2019, and in Czech,

Gruner bypasses the fact that during the Protectorate, self-government, i.e. elected councils, which included municipalities, districts and "lands" during the First Republic, ceased to exist. Not only did the local authorities not reflect the will of the people even in the administration of their own affairs but they could no longer initiate decisions by the supreme authorities "from below".

Frommer's thesis of bottom-up initiatives is based not on new discoveries about local government but on manipulative stylistics. Frommer consciously uses terms such as "Czech government", "local authorities", and "Czech leaders" (p. 272) to evoke a semblance of real autonomy and continuity with the First Republic. For example, in his interpretation of the Beran government's anti-Jewish measures of 17 March 1939, after the occupation, he claims that these were only a "sharpening of measures" initiated by the "Czechoslovak government" (pp. 275–276); in the burning of synagogues and the demolition of Jewish buildings, Frommer suggests a semblance of continuity with the republic by speaking of the period "before the occupation" (pp. 288–289), followed by an interpretation of the demolition of these objects during the occupation.[23] Here, too, details taken out of context come to his aid; in this case there are repeated reports that this or that city paid for the demolition or for the land, which once again creates the impression that the cities themselves initiated these actions from anti-Jewish motives.

He also creates continuity and generality by tagging the agents behind anti-Jewish street riots during the Second Republic and the early years of the Protectorate with general designations such as "Czech fascists", "radicals", "local authorities" or even "tschechische

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Pronásledování Židů v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava: místní iniciativy, centrální rozhodnutí, reakce Židů, Praha, 2019. Cf. the review by Vojtěch Blodig (*Judaica Bohemiae*. 2017, Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 141–152).

23 He takes the data about demolished synagogues from Jakub Machala's article from 2014 'Unbearable Jewish Houses of Prayer. The Nazi Destruction of Synagogues Based on Examples from Central Moravia'. *Judaica Bohemiae*. Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 59–88.

Faschistenbanden" (p. 275). In reality, however, the cases he mentions are those of the Vlajka (Flag) and Národní tábor fašistický (Fascist National Camp). However, Frommer does not deliberately give concrete details to provide a semblance of universality. He specifically mentions Vlajka only in connection with the attack on the empty Jewish cemetery chapel in Pilsen of 6 March 1939 (p. 274).[24] This case is deliberately chosen to support the appearance of general anti-Jewish riots even before the German occupation. However, Frommer does not state that Vlajka was already a banned organization during the Second Republic, as early as 11 November 1938 (Rataj, 1997, p. 36). The "Czech" police intervened against its demonstrations during the Second Republic, even in the first years of the Protectorate. Frommer deliberately gives the impression that the street actions of Vlajka members and fascists during the Second Republic and the occupation were a kind of expression of the prevailing Czech position, and that they had the support of "leading Czech circles" (p. 272). Frommer does not take into account that Vlajka never had the support of the government, the Národní obec fašistická disintegrated at the beginning of the occupation, and the popularity of Vlajka members and fascists in Czech society weakened. They never managed to form a mass organization.[25]

The second significant event to illustrate pressure by the Czechs is the attacks on Jews in Brno in the summer of 1939. This is also Frommer's only attempt to reconstruct the mechanism that was supposed to lead from local initiatives to anti-Jewish measures (pp. 281–282). Frommer sets the demonstration in the context of "pressure from both German and Czech authorities on district officials to impose further restrictions [on Jews]", but does not say that these were in fact demonstrations by the Národní tábor fašistický. This was a series of demonstrations that had more to do with power struggles within fascist organizations, and the Protectorate police always intervened to oppose them. Frommer, however, seizes on the famous attack on the Café Esplanade

24 Cf. ŠPIRKOVÁ, Věra, 2000. *Židovská komunita v Plzni*. Domažlice, p. 78.

25 Cf. PASÁK, Tomáš, 1999. *Český fašismus 1922–1945 a kolaborace 1939–1945*. Praha.

of 15 August 1939, during which the police were unable to intervene because members of the SA and SS also took part in it (Pasák, 1998, pp. 127–128; Konečný, 2013, pp. 42–43). According to Frommer, this was a march by a crowd of 800 "Czech fascists and Germans" in the centre of Brno during which they allegedly beat 14 Jews and caused the death of Paul Drexler. In reality, it was the act of a fascist faction that did not have the support of the Protectorate government, but in Frommer's vague presentation it has the air of one of the ubiquitous rampages by Czechs yearning for a decree separating Jews and Czechs in public spaces. The result was indeed the issuing of such an order by the Protectorate Minister of the Interior. Frommer is apparently referring to the decree on relations between the Aryan and non-Aryan populations of 3 August 1939.[26] However, it is obvious that the pro-German Minister of the Interior Josef Ježek, who issued it, was cooperating with the Germans of his own free will, not out of fear of a handful of Brno demonstrators. Moreover, even this regulation could not come into force without the approval of the German occupying authorities.

Using similar methods, Frommer approaches the portrayal of the relationship between Czechs and Jews, which he describes as one of escalating hostility and oppression, which, surprisingly, intensified even during the occupation. At the same time, Frommer conceals Czech expressions of solidarity with Jews from 1939–1941. He also describes this period as one of growing hostility (pp. 271–272 and 275, 280–283, 299–300).

As evidence, he uses quotations from the memories of survivors, from which he chooses only carefully selected items. Looking at the original, we find that he has completely distorted the meaning of the original account.

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26 PASÁK, Tomáš, 1998. *Pod ochranou*, p. 128. The assumption about „local initiatives" was copied by Frommer from an article by GRUNER, Wolf. *Protektorát Čechy a Morava a protižidovská politika v letech 1939–1941. Terezínské studie a dokumenty*. 2005, pp. 25–58, here: p. 34; similarly PETRŮV, Helena, 2011. *Zákonné bezpráví*, pp. 89–91 (in agreement with Gruner).

Drawing on Heda Kaufmannová's memoirs, he proves the "explosive hostility and anti-Semitism" of the Czechs "immediately after Munich" (pp. 271–72 and 273). Although Kaufmannová describes the bitter experience of her dismissal from the Institute for Social Medicine at Charles University, she also adds her own reflections on Czech anti-Semitism, which by no means confirm Frommer's suggestions. She describes the decent behaviour of her Czech colleagues and, when asked by her Jewish friends how the Czechs were treating her now, replies: "Well, just the same as before, and even better; they helped us in our troubles as much as they could. But I'll have more to say about them another time" (Slavíček, 1999, p. 28).

Dagmar Lieblová's memories are supposed to be another testimony to the ubiquitous hostility of the Czechs. An unknown perpetrator was said to have stuck a poster on her father's office door with the words "Jewish doctor – life-threatening" (p. 272). Dagmar Lieblová does in fact mention this incident, but gives in addition an overall picture of the situation which is once again completely different. "In Kutná Hora, though, our family did not encounter strong anti-Semitism, apart from a few publications and provocations" (Lauermann, 2013, p. 34).

As for help given by Czechs to Jews, Frommer cites only the case of "one official" who was arrested because "he was a friend of the Jews" (p. 299). In his submission, this seems to be an exception to Czech behaviour. However, he does not fail to provide an example of Czech cruelty by narrating a bizarre attempt by a group of pro-German Czech fascists to exploit the situation after the German invasion of 15–16 March 1939 and occupy the small border town of Ivančice. As Frommer says without supplying any context, a certain Otto Ehrlich in Ivančice committed suicide "in response to an attempt by local Czech fascists to take control of the town" (p. 275). Frommer does not even consider whether the fact of the German occupation itself played a part in this. In addition, a few days later, a factory owner, Friedrich Placzek, committed suicide in the same small town because he was being bullied by his own German employees. The regional historian Silvestr Novaček cites both cases in his book about Ivančice during the Occupation, but Frommer chooses to highlight only one of them (Nováček, 1984, p. 24, 26). This

raises the question: why did the American historian emphasize the one that was related to a bizarre action by Czech fascists which had no further impact? The case of Placzek was cited by Frommer without mentioning his name, and was downplayed as a "quarrel with German employees" (p. 275). If the historian had really wished to understand how the Holocaust was organised in this small town, he would have had to discuss the local informant Heinrich Ottava and the local German community (Nováček, 1984, pp. 29–35).

The intention to portray the Czechs as co-oppressors compels Frommer not to mention situations where German repression affected Czechs and Jews mutually. He applied such a method in describing the repression in Kladno after the "murder of a German officer" (p. 279). His submission involves unilateral measures against the Jews, when in fact, after the assassination of the German constable Wilhelm Kniest in June 1939, civil martial law was declared throughout the whole of Kladno. The mayor of Kladno, František Pavel, also fell victim to this (Hrošová & Šebelová, 2005, pp. 33–49; Vykouk, 2013, pp. 103–110).

The preparatory phase of the Holocaust was the exclusion of Jews from public life, which Miroslav Kárný aptly likened to a "ghetto without walls" (Kárný, 1991, p. 50). To this Frommer adds a description of several cases in which Jews were concentrated in certain places before the establishment of Terezín. These places were known to Czechoslovak historiography from the 1960s onwards[27], but it is true that Kárný did not include them in his synthesis. However, Frommer describes the origin of these assembly points as concessions to the Czechs, whose will in this case was to be expressed by the "local authorities" and cities.

Frommer focuses on three alleged ghettos that originated before Terezín (p. 287). First of all, there was the castle of Mladá Boleslav, where Jews were concentrated as early as 1940[28]; then there is Třešt

27 BUBENÍČKOVÁ, Růžena, KUBÁTOVÁ, Ludmila & MALÁ, Irena, 1969. *Tábory utrpení a smrti*. Praha, pp. 135–167. Nowadays lists of assembly points are also available online, e.g. the project see online [cit. 2020-07-30]. Available at: https://zapomnicky.pamatnik-terezin.cz/.

28 Cf. CERMAN, Ivo et al., 2018. *Střední Čechy 1918–2018. Průvodce historií*. Praha, p. 154.

in the Vysočina region, to which Jews from Jihlava were evicted[29], and finally Uherský Brod, to which Jews from the "Zlín region" were to be evicted. In all three cases, Frommer states that the ghetto was created on the orders of the Oberlandrat, but frames everything with an explanation of the exclusion of Jews from public life, which he describes as if only to retroactively confirm and unify measures that were said to have been taken in Czech cities by the free will of the Czechs (pp. 281–282).

He describes the establishment of the ghetto in Mladá Boleslav as a concession to Czech cities, which were now said to understand that they had permission to get rid of the Jews (p. 287). Later on, the "local authorities" in Mladá Boleslav and Uherský Brod were reportedly upset that the transports had been delayed and that they had to live with the Jews longer than other cities (p. 308). In the case of the ghetto at Mladá Boleslav Castle, though, Frommer does not say that the Jews were taken there to make their flats available to the Germans. Moreover, the Jews continued to have to pay rent for them...[30] This definitely constituted a step favouring the Germans and ordered by the German authorities. Without an explanation of the existence of a dual administration, however, the foreign reader will not even understand that the *Oberlandrats* were part of the higher German administrative system.

The operation of transports and the mass murder of Czech Jews in the years 1941–1945 (pp. 297–318) are also described by Frommer as activities that happened with at least the vigorous assent of the Czech population. In describing an early attempt to transport Jews from Ostrava to Nisko in 1939 (p. 300), Frommer even conceals the fact that Czech protests were taking place (Kárný, 1991, p. 44). Only in the case of transports from Prague does he admit that they were "perceived as disturbing", but only because the Czechs were afraid for themselves. They saw here "an ominous sign of what might later be in store for the Czech majority" (p. 304). Frommer does not take into account

29 Cf. VÍTKOVÁ, Romana, 2009. *Židé na Dačicku*. Prague. Diploma Thesis, Faculty of education, Charles University.

30 Report by Otto Seidler [online]. Recorded on 22 June 2016, accessed on 26 July 2020. Available at: https://www.pametnaroda.cz/cs/seidler-otto-1930.

that the Czech public spoke out against Nazism and Nazi anti-Semitism even before the occupation, at a time when free discussion was still possible.[31] Even the ageing president T. G. Masaryk took the trouble to write a refutation of Hitler's Mein Kampf (Masaryk, 1935).

For the organization of transports from the regions (pp. 302–306), Frommer makes banal general statements that "Jews travelled by train, bus, horse-drawn carriage, or on foot from villages and towns" (p. 303) to "central locations" (p. 306). He continues to adhere to the principle of ignoring the history of administration. Surprisingly, the role of the Czechs is also forgotten in his interpretation of the end of the war in Terezín. Frommer emphasizes that the camp, in which spotted typhus was spreading, was handed over to the "administration" of the Red Cross (p. 318), but does not say that the Czech physician Karel Raška provided medical care on behalf of this organization, nor that at in those days the inmate Alfred Meissner, a former (co)-author of the Czechoslovak constitution, was an important member of the local government.[32] There is nothing about the Czech relief event for Terezín, nor about the self-help care for child survivors which was organized by Přemysl Pitter (Lajsková, 2015; Cerman, 2018, p. 184).

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31 In chronological order, e.g. KOZÁK, Jan B., 1932. 'Národ jako úkol'. In: *Tři přednášky o nacionalismu*. Praha, pp. 48–76; FISCHER, Josef Ludvík, 1932. *Třetí říše. Úvodem do současného politického stavu*. Brno, pp. 13–17; KŮRKA, Václav, 1932. *Hitler a hitlerismus*. Brno; FUCHS, Alfréd, 1933. Hitlerovská hesla a jejich ideologický podklad. *Moderní stát*. Vol. 6, pp. 326–328, BAUER, František, 1933. *Hitlerova třetí říše a náš stát*. Praha; MEISNER, Josef, 1934. *Rasismus hrozí kultuře*. Praha; WEIGNER, Karel et al., 1934. *Rovnocennost evropských plemen a cesty k jejich zušlechťování*. Praha; RÁDL, Emanuel, 1935. *O německé revoluci*. Praha; CHALUPNÝ, Emanuel, 1935. *Povaha evropských národů, zvláště Němců*. Praha; RÁDL, Emanuel, 1935. *Zur politischen Ideologie der Sudetendeutschen*. Praha; MODRÁČEK, František, 1935. *Politické a mravní ideje rasového nacionalismu*. Praha; BAUER, František, 1936. *Můj boj: Hitler o sobě a svých dílech*. Praha (2nd edition 1937); MODRÁČEK, František, 1937. *Fašistické převraty*. Praha, pp. 24–28, 40, 82–93; FISCHER, Josef et al., 1937. *Jejich boj*. Praha; KOZÁK, Jan B., 1938. *Věda a duch*. Praha; Homo Ferus [SUK, Vojtěch], 1938. *Divoši ve střední Evropě. Mýthus rasistů o nás*. Praha.

32 BENEŠOVÁ, Miroslava, 1990. Situace v Terezíně po skončení války. *Terezínské listy*. Vol. 18, pp. 7–31; SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka, 2016. *Židé*, pp. 32–36 (a reprint of the report by František Fuchs about the situation in Terezín).

In Socialist Czechoslovakia

If we relinquish the idea of innate Czech anti-Semitism, only the communist period brought a longer era in which anti-Semitic accusations became part of the ideology disseminated by our Czechoslovak government. This period alone signified long-term manipulation of the population by the media in the spirit of anti-Semitic prejudices. However, the main theme of this state anti-Semitism was its attitude towards the state of Israel, which also reflected the traditional accusations against Jews of greed, world domination, the killing of children and, more recently, imitation of the Nazi Third Reich. The importance of the foreign policy issue was all the greater because only a small fraction of the Jewish population was left.[33] Many of the survivors migrated to Israel.

However, Kateřina Čapková does not monitor the socialist state's long-term attitude towards Israel in her chapter on the period from 1945 to the present (pp. 320–375)[34]. The author aims primarily to refute the notion of the Czechs' friendship with the emerging state of Israel (pp. 337–338). It is said to be merely a narrative which dissolves after a "more thorough analysis of documents", which shows that the main motive of the government in enabling migration was to get rid of Jewish refugees from Poland who were passing through Czechoslovak territory. Another motive was said to be the desire of President Edvard Beneš to create a pure "nation state" (pp. 329, 339). Following the bizarre work by Jan Láníček, Čapková constructs a parallel with the expulsion of the Germans (p. 339). She explains military support for Israel only in terms of attempts to get rid of alleged overproduction by the arms industry and a surplus of looted weapons (p. 339).[35] These revelations

33 Cf. LENDVAI, Paul, 1971. *Anti-Semitism without Jews. Communist Eastern Europe*. New York.

34 This chapter is the result of GAČR Grant project 16-01775Y, 'Začlenění židovského obyvatelstva do poválečného Československa a Polska', which Kateřina Čapková and her colleagues have been working on since 2016.

35 Here Čapková refers to two articles by Edvard Beneš in *Foreign Affairs* 23, 1944, No. 1, pp. 35–47; 24, 1946, No. 3, pp. 397–410. In the first article, however, Beneš does not say that only Czechs and Slovaks will be allowed to live in the state, but politely speaks of the hope that the future state will be "home to Czechs, Slovaks

are followed by a brief acknowledgment of ideological motives within hostility towards Israel (p. 340), bringing the subject to a close. Of the Arab-Israeli wars, Čapková mentions only the Six-Day War, but solely in connection with the negotiations of the IV. Congress of Writers and the cancellation of celebrations marking a thousand years of Jewish presence in Bohemia (p. 362). The chapter is written in such a way that it significantly underplays the importance of communist ideology and the socialist state in spreading anti-Semitic accusations that lasted until 1989. As in Frommer's chapter, there is a lack of basic information about the context that would allow the reader to construct an overview. The reader is manipulated into accepting the idea that anti-Semitism proceeded naturally from the local population.

For this reason, a disproportionately long passage is devoted to the short period from 1945–1948, i.e. before the Communist takeover of 1948 (pp. 320–341). The author introduces the feelings of three survivors on the basis of three interviews (pp. 321–322), followed by an explanation of the difficulties experienced by German-speaking Jews who decided to save themselves from an intolerant environment by leaving for Germany (pp. 329–332). The author claims that the Czechs were indifferent to the suffering of the Jews because the Jews were not mentioned by name in the Great Retribution Decree (p. 333), forgetting to mention that crimes against the Jews formed a separate chapter in the Czechoslovak documents for the Nuremberg trial.[36] As there is no clear explanation of restitutions and communist influence, readers are left to believe that intolerant Czechs were collectively responsible for all the wrongs, and that President Beneš was especially to blame as the

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and Carpathians" and states that pre-war conditions cannot be restored. There is nothing about ethnic purity here. In the second, he dreams of a Central European federation and notes the ongoing deportation, saying that it will be better to have a "nation state" inside, without Germans and Hungarians. He mentions Jews as victims of the Nazis who need to be compensated (p. 408). There is nothing about the expulsion of the Jews. This is probably the result of uncritical acceptance of quotations from the book by LÁNÍČEK, Jan. *Czechs*, pp. 47–53.

36 *Československo a norimberský proces. Hlavní dokumenty norimberského procesu o zločinech nacistů proti Československu*, 1946. Praha, pp. 111–118.

main driver (pp. 329–339). They will not learn about the legal basis for restitutions prepared by the government in exile in London, or about the early ideological resistance of communists to restitution of large amounts of property to "capitalists", or about anti-Jewish speeches by the Communist Minister of Information Václav Kopecký, the Communist Interior Minister Václav Nosek and Julius Ďuriš, the Communist Minister for Agriculture.[37] They do not learn about the objective problems caused by German measures (killing of the original owners, the unacceptable Nuremberg definition of a Jew, removing transport numbers from objects) or the Soviet confiscation of gold and factory equipment as spoils of war. They do not know about the ideological background to the dispute over the Varnsdorf textile factory, in which the court gave a verdict in favour of the Jewish claimant for restitution, but the unions prevented the restitution by striking. The reader does not learn that the Czech legal experts criticized the practice of restitution (Krčmář, 1946, pp. 257–261), and that the Communist Interior Minister Nosek was nevertheless forced to issue a decree in September 1946 recognizing that Jews were victims of Nazism, and another decree excluding German-speaking Jews from expulsion (Kuklík et al., 2015, p. 176).

Čapková does not talk about these wrongs in a factual way, but with an emphasis on details, such as the statement that the migrants were transported in "cattle wagons". At the same time, she fails to mention the Communist interior minister Nosek, and instead calls the "Czechoslovak government" or "Czechoslovakia" as a whole the culprit (p. 339). In this interpretation, Czech nationalism is to blame, and the reader will not learn that the consent of part of the non-Communist public to nationalization did not proceed from nationalism but from the conclusions that citizens drew about mistakes made by the interwar republican democracy. Instead of this, she explains these injustices,

37 Cf. KUKLÍK, Jan et al., 2015. *Jak odškodnit holokaust? Problematika vyvlastnění židovského majetku, jeho restituce a odškodnění*. Praha, pp. 135–194.

among other things, by the conflict between "transnationally involved" Jews and "acutely nationalist Czech/Czechoslovak society" (p. 336).

This is followed by the Slánský trial, where the author focuses on describing idealistic motives that allegedly led Jews, including Slánský, to join the Communist Party (pp. 341–342). She justifies this by their alleged desire to escape oppression and prevent the return of Nazism, although all the main defendants belonged to the Communist Party before the war (Slánský and Geminder even since the 1920s). The trial allegedly took these idealists by surprise. If we take into account Slánský's role in the forced collectivization of agriculture, church trials and other repressions, this argument sounds very unconvincing indeed.[38] On the other hand, in giving motives for the trial, Čapková conceals accusations of cooperation by the alleged conspirators with Israel, which is, however, important for an understanding of the aims of the trial.[39] The Party needed this trial to explain its sudden change in policy towards Israel and domestic economic failures, aided by an old stereotype of Jews who were said to work treacherously in public office for their own good and for that of Israel. The trial also blamed the alleged conspirators for aiming to take control of the Varnsdorf textile factory, about which Čapková says nothing at all in the book.[40] Čapková ignores the propaganda machinery and instead claims that anti-Semitic demonstrations by the public arose naturally from a basis of Czech anti-Semitism; this was not a "Soviet import", as evidenced by StB reports on the behaviour of the population and the experiences of two German Communists (p. 343).[41] We should add that Čapková claims at the outset that post-war anti-Semitism had domestic roots

38 JECH, Karel, 2001. *Soumrak selského stavu 1945–1960*. Praha, p. 38; KAPLAN, Karel, 1993. *Nekrvavá revoluce*. Praha, pp. 73–75, 294; VEBER, Václav, 2014. *Třetí odboj. ČSR v letech 1948–1953*. Pardubice (passim).

39 *Proces s vedením protistátního spikleneckého centra v čele s Rudolfem Slánským*, 1953. Praha, p. 26, 30, 67, 77, 117 and elsewhere.

40 Ibid., p. 30.

41 The individuals concerned were Louis Fürnberg and C. F. Wieskopf. In this Čapková uncritically paraphrases a book by GERBER, Jan, 2017. *Ein Prozess in Prag. Das Volk gegen Rudolf Slánský und Genossen*. Göttingen.

("*... es handelte sich um hausegemachte Vorurteile*", p. 24). In other words, she suggests that the Czechs held innate anti-Semitic views independently of state propaganda.

She remains faithful to this thesis in the following interpretation, where she simultaneously ignores all the phases of anti-Zionist state propaganda and at the same time suggests, based on a reductive reading of the work of the Czech-Canadian sociologist Alena Heitlinger, that Czechs behaved anti-Semitically of their own accord and that thanks to their expressions of hatred, the object of discrimination allegedly realized his Jewish identity (p. 353).[42] Reading such literary clichés, one cannot rid oneself of the impression that Čapková is endeavouring to conform to stereotypes about Eastern Europe.

Such an interpretation relieves the Communist Party and committed journalists of any responsibility for spreading anti-Semitism. Moreover, the way in which Čapková understands this topic raises suspicions that she was probably not familiar with the real arguments of Communist propaganda at all.[43] In the first phase from 1952 to 1967/1968, when older economic accusations were combined with charges of serving international imperialism, Communist propaganda was not limited to a one-sided positive pretence that the Czechs did not discriminate against Jews in "our" country, as Čapková claims. (p. 340). I consider it important to state that the Minister of Information Václav Kopecký, who does not figure in her book at all (!), was capable of claiming on the one hand that anti-Semitism existed only in the West, but at the same time of publicly refusing to return property to Jewish "capitalists"; he was threatening Jews with investigation

42 HEITLINGER, Alena, 2006. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust and Communism. Czech and Slovak Jews since 1945.* New Brunswick – London (Czech edition from 2007: *Ve stínu holokaustu a komunismu. Čeští a slovenští Židé po roce 1945*, Praha). Cf. SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka, 2009. 'Modely životních osudů českých Židů po šoa'. In: SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka, SALNER, Peter & LUDVÍKOVÁ, Miroslava (eds.). *Židovská menšina*. Praha, pp. 81–91.

43 The texts of anti-Zionism were made available as part of the ÚSTR's materials for teaching in schools as early as 2018. Available at: http://antisemitismus4589.de-jepis21.cz/kapitola/uvod/ [cit. 2020-07-28].

of their activities during the war, while simultaneously expressing sympathy with the Jewish victims of the Holocaust.[44]

We must distinguish from this the second, racist phase from 1967 to 1989, which was current at the time of normalization, when propaganda began to portray Israelis as successors to the Nazis who considered themselves a superior race, viewed the Arabs as inferior, and waged wars because they were innately bloodthirsty. The foundations of this approach had already been laid by the Communist journalist Ladislav Mňačko when he was sent in 1961 to report on the trial of Eichmann (Mňačko, 1961, pp. 189–212). In her book Čapková only mentions Mňáčko's pro-Israel speeches from 1967–68, which, however, came only after a turnaround caused by the Six-Day War (p. 362).

For incomprehensible reasons, she is silent about the Communist attempt to interpret the Prague Spring as a conspiracy organized by Israel, led by Eduard Goldstücker, which again leads to an apology for the Communist state.[45] Nor does she mention the demonstration by Czech Jews in support of Israel on 1 May 1968 which is not widely known.[46] Such "gaps" in interpretation should be described as serious shortcomings because these expressions of support for the Jews and Israel are at odds with the image of popular "spontaneous"

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44 In a book published in 1945, Kopecký promised that property would not be returned to wealthy Jews, adding that "Every citizen of Jewish descent will be treated as strictly as he behaved nationally in the past and […], strict investigations will also be carried out into how he treated his own Jewish fellow believers during the Second Republic, during the German occupation". KOPECKÝ, Václav, 1945. *Antisemitismus poslední zbraní nacismu*. Praha, p. 15; other speeches from 1951–1952 in KAPLAN, Karel & BULÍNOVÁ, Marie (eds.), 1993. *Československo a Izrael 1945–1956, dokumenty*. Praha.

45 JEVSEJEV, Jevgenij, 1970. Doslov. In: IVANOV, Jurij. *Sionismus*. Praha, pp. 154–189; *Poučení z krizového vývoje ve straně a společnosti po XIII. Sjezdu KSČ*, 1971. Praha, p. 19; BOHATKA, Jiří, 1972. Sionismus bez masky. *Tribuna,* 8. 3. 1972. Cf. LENDVAI, Paul, 1971. *Anti-Semitism*. New York, pp. 260–300; SOUKUPOVÁ, Blanka, 2016. *Židé*. Bratislava, pp. 213–230.

46 Thanks to Martin Borges, a participant in this event, for drawing my attention to it. It is documented in footage that was used in the Soviet propaganda report on 1968 (in the possession of the author).

anti-Semitism which Čapková describes here. The foreign reader probably does not know and will not understand that the Czechs saw the fate of Israel as a parallel to the fate of Czechoslovakia at the time of Munich. It is my opinion that the sympathy of the Czechs for Israel is also proved by František Kolár's ideological pamphlet "Zionism and Anti-Semitism", which was composed after the Prague Spring in order to eradicate these sympathies.[47] It even contains printed letters from Rudé Právo readers expressing support for Israel as a parallel to Munich (Kollár, 1970, pp. 83–84). We should add that this author was also capable of fighting against anti-Semitism and showing pity for the victims of the Holocaust (Idem). During the 1970s and 1980s, a number of journalists spoke out against Israel (Milan Mádr, Milan Jelínek, Josef Skydánek, Jiří Bohatka, Alexej Pludek, Josef Šebesta), and television and newspaper reports were written in the same spirit.

From these journalistic texts, about which Čapková remains silent, we can see that anti-Zionist arguments did not originate spontaneously "from the people", but were created and disseminated by Communist journalists and politically engaged intellectuals. Soon this was joined by visual journalism produced by Czechoslovak television.[48] This propaganda drew its content from the Arab-Israeli conflict. On the one hand, Palestinian terrorism was covered up; on the other hand, Israeli reactions were portrayed as gratuitous violence. On the one hand, terror at the 1972 Olympics in Munich was depicted in relative terms; on the other hand, the Israeli army was criticized for the Yom Kippur War of 1973, which was portrayed as aggression.[49] Despite its peaceful

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47 KOLÁR, František J., 1970. *Sionismus a antisemitismus*. Praha; NOVÁK, Jan, 1970. Židovská otázka u nás neexistuje. *Pravda,* 27. 7. – 28. 7. On Kolár, see SOUKUPOVÁ, *Židé*, pp. 242–250.

48 On the ÚSTR website (http://antisemitismus4589.dejepis21.cz/) we have published excerpts from two films from the ČT archives as part of the teaching material (*Pravá tvář sionismu*, late 1960s, author unknown; *Obyčejný sionismus*, c. 1982, author unknown).

49 For example, BOHATKA, Jiří & DOLEJŠ, Svatopluk, 1973. Světový sionismus a mír na Středním východě. *Rudé Právo*, 22. 8.; MÁDR, Milan, 1973. Viník se jmenuje Izrael. *Rudé Právo,* 20. 10.; MÁDR, Milan, 1973. Výchova k nadřazenosti. *Rudé Právo*, 20. 10.

rhetoric, the Egyptian-Israeli peace, based on the Camp David agreement of 1978, was deprecated. This propaganda created artificial parallels with Czech history, especially with the Lidice massacre. At the time of normalization, Deir Jassin was characterized as the Palestinian Lidice (Mádr, 1973; 1982, p. 17), and during the war in Lebanon in 1982, the Israeli army was accused of killing civilians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, which was caused by Lebanese phalanxes. The term "occupation" was used consistently, which was supposed to support the association between Israel and the Nazis. The last major event before the fall of the regime was the 1987–1989 intifada. The images created in these campaigns are with us to this day. None of this work by the socialist media, nor the work of left-wing intellectuals, is mentioned in the book.

The image of Charter 77, too, is somewhat idealized here. The fact is concealed that even dissent has not been able to free itself from the effects of anti-Zionist propaganda; thus the author describes the Chartists as unequivocal friends of Judaism (pp. 367–368). She cites a document about Jewish monuments of 5 May 1989, signed by the right-wing Sasha Vondra and two other speakers[50], but does not mention Petr Uhl's far-left wing anti-Israeli focus[51], nor the anti-Israeli articles in the independent newspaper Lidové noviny, which supported the intifada[52]. The result is a simplified picture of Czech reality that suits the stereotypical ideas of Western readers.

The account of the internal life of Jewish communities displays an uncritical judgment about the politics of the socialist state. The claim that these communities experienced unusual prosperity in the 1950s (p. 345) is scarcely credible, given that this was the period of the

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50 *Prohlášení 28/89*, 5. IV. 1989. In: PREČAN, Vilém (ed.), 1990. *Charta 77. Od morální k demokratické revoluci*. Scheinfeld-Schwarzenberg – Bratislava, pp. 349–370.

51 UHL, Petr et al., 1982. *Program společenské samosprávy*. Köln, p. 225. After the Velvet Revolution Uhl signed the anti-Semitic petition *Dopis Palestinců Havlovi* (A Letter from the Palestinians to Havel) of September 2010, which was directed against Václav Havel.

52 For example, [-mp-], 1988. Bezvýchodný blízký východ?. *Lidové noviny*, May 1988, p. 13; [-ir-], 1988. Palestina: stát bez území. *Lidové noviny*, December 1988, p. 15.

extinction of rural Jewish communities which had no members. In the era of socialism, the author surprisingly focuses on pious Jews, namely refugees from Carpathian Ruthenia. She touches on the conflict between them and the religiously lukewarm Czech Jews, but in its presentation this looks like a narrative about the difficult coexistence of refugees with intolerant Czech society. We should add that Blanka Soukupová, whose well-substantiated studies are not even cited here, has already explored this same topic (Soukupová, p. 204). While in Blanka Soukupová's work the life of communities under socialism is embedded within a systematic interpretation of organization, church politics, the internal life of communities and memory, in Čapková's work we find a formless accumulation of data about cultural and religious life, selected to support the image of an intolerant Czech society. Nor will we discover anything about the popularity of Ota Pavel's short stories here.

Even in the period after the Velvet Revolution, Čapková does not continuously monitor the relationship with Israel, and she no longer attempts to establish periodic milestones in Jewish life. She does not mention the new migration to Israel which took place after the borders were opened because she could hardly interpret it as an effort by the government to create an "ethnically pure space". Neither the more friendly attitude of the Czech government towards Israel nor the initiatives of Václav Havel in this field are listed here. Instead, Čapková devotes attention to the 2004 internal conflict within the leadership of the Prague Jewish religious community, whose cultural significance is somewhat overestimated.

On the other hand, she pays no attention to the fundamental change in the cultural climate in the Czech Republic which occurred after Israel's war with Hezbollah in 2006. I believe that this return to anti-Zionism was linked to a parallel positive reassessment of socialism which manifested itself in particular in attacks on the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and the rejection of any criticism of socialism as "unscientific". The novel feature was that the arguments of Communist anti-Zionism now merged with the anti-Israeli arguments

of the Western left, which were based on criticism of colonialism.[53] This cultural shift was brought about by left-wing intellectuals, newspapers and public television, not by ordinary people. Few of us historians and scholars within the humanities confronted it.

The final chapter on demography provides an encyclopaedic list of individual Jewish communities (pp. 377–410). It is based on quality research on this topic which co-author Lenka Matušíková has been carrying out for a considerable time.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that this book is certainly not an instance of a "scientifically-based survey of the history of Jews in the Bohemian lands". Due to poor coordination, there are large gaps that make such an overview impossible. The chapters on the 20th century thus bear the stamp of fabricated propaganda. Its aim is to portray the Czechs as representatives of an innate anti-Semitism who deliberately created an ethnically pure state. A side-effect of this argument is the deplorable dishonouring of the democratic era of the First Republic (1918–1938). This interpretation is not new; it is an imitation of the style in which the country is written about in the USA, and it is not even based on new sources, but merely on manipulative stylistics. It addresses xenophobic stereotypes about the people of Eastern Europe. In an honest approach, the empirical historian should try to establish concrete facts and generalize only if it is possible to explain how a larger collective might be involved in technical terms (i.e. the use of the media, state coordination, legislation, etc.). In this work, we encounter more of an unsuccessful attempt to generalize on the basis of speculations about the nature of majority thinking even prior to 1945, when public

53 The political scientist Pavel Barša in particular contributed to the new legitimization of anti-Zionism, following Communist propaganda and at the same time imitating the American Norman Finkelstein. Cf. BARŠA, Pavel, 2006. 'Doslov – humanistické židectví proti kultu Holocaustu'. In: FINKELSTEIN, Norman, 2006. *Průmysl Holocaustu*. Praha, pp. 107–126; idem, 2011. *Paměť a genocida. Úvahy o politice holocaustu*. Praha.

opinion was not yet being scientifically determined in our country. The alleged anti-Semitic outlook of the whole nation is then proved with the help of questionable sources (e.g. quotations from memoirs, "discourses" about concepts, and StB reports). For the community of historians, this book is a warning against the impending return of propaganda to historiography.

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Johann Amos Comenius und Deutschland. Grundzüge einer Rezeptionsgeschichte nach 1945

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3. Rezeptionslinien von der Nachkriegszeit bis zur Gegenwart

Im *geteilten Deutschland* der Nachkriegszeit entwickelten sich auch die Comenius-Interpretationen zunehmend auseinander. Zwar gab es Ansätze zu einer gemeinsamen Beschäftigung mit Comenius, wie etwa im wirkungsgeschichtlich nicht unbedeutenden *Schwelmer Kreis*, einer 1952 gegründeten Vereinigung ost- und westdeutscher Pädagogen, die den Dialog über eine gemeinsame Zukunft nicht abreißen lassen wollten (Dudek, 1993, S. 48 f., 132, 171 u. ö.). Dennoch kam es in der Folgezeit zu zwei deutlich unterscheidbaren, für die Zeitlage jedoch auch typischen Ausformungen der Comenius-Interpretation: Diese folgte in der *Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* vor allen Dingen den Maßgaben des Historischen Materialismus, weshalb man hier insbesondere die „fortschrittlichen Gedanken und Bestrebungen" (Alt, 1953, S. 16) des Comenius in der Zeit des aufstrebenden Kapitalismus hervorzuheben bemüht war. In der *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* war die Deutung dagegen stärker existentialistisch gefärbt und lief darum zuletzt auf eine „Darstellung des Comenianischen Denkens in seiner ganzen ‚Unmodernität'" (Schaller, 1962, S. 14) hinaus.

Mit der *Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands* in den Jahren nach 1989/1990 war die streng materialistische Deutung weitgehend obsolet geworden, so dass die modernitätskritisch aufgeladene Comeniusdeutung ihre Vorherrschaft zunächst behaupten und ausbauen konnte;

während parallel dazu alternative Zugänge – zum Schaden der Comeniusforschung – zunehmend marginalisiert wurden. Zugleich lassen sich Entwicklungen aufzeigen, die in ihrer Gesamtheit inzwischen stärker zu einer *nicht-affirmativen* Comeniusdeutung tendieren. An diesen wird die deutsche Forschung auf Dauer nicht vorbeigehen können.

3.1 Die deutsche Nachkriegscomeniologie des *geteilten Deutschlands* wurde zunächst wesentlich von der Frage umgetrieben, ob Comenius nun eher „als Vorläufer und Eröffner der Moderne" oder doch eher im Gegenteil „als ihre noch unverarbeitete Kontrastfigur" (Scheuerl, 1979, S. 68) betrachtet werden solle. Denn beide Seiten hatten schnell ihre Fürsprecher gefunden.

Im Osten Deutschlands, also auf dem Staatsgebiet der ehemaligen *Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, wurde die wissenschaftliche Forschung schon früh über politische Bedürfnisse definiert und daher auch zunehmend von staatlichen Stellen reglementiert. Diese „bildungspolitische Überlagerung" (Lost, 1992, S. 5) der Wissenschaft hat eine offene Auseinandersetzung mit dem comenianischen Werk zwar sehr erschwert. Dennoch hat sie zu einer spezifischen Sichtweise auf Comenius geführt, für deren weitere Entwicklung exemplarisch ein kleines Büchlein von Robert Alt stehen kann. Es trug den Titel „Der fortschrittliche Charakter der Pädagogik Komenskýs", war ausdrücklich „vom Standpunkt des dialektischen und historischen Materialismus aus" (Alt, 1953, S. 7) geschrieben und deutete Comenius entsprechend als einen richtungsweisenden Pädagogen, der entscheidend an der Überwindung des feudalistischen Bildungsmonopols seiner Zeit mitgewirkt habe. Seine wichtigsten Anliegen – sein Einsatz für Frieden und religiöse Eintracht, für soziale Gerechtigkeit inmitten frühkapitalistischer Produktionsverhältnisse, für die nationale Befreiung der Böhmen von der Herrschaft der Habsburger und nicht zuletzt für eine wahrhaft allgemeine Beschulung aller Kinder – seien nämlich nur vor dem Hintergrund seiner umfassenden Kritik der damaligen Gesellschaft her angemessen zu verstehen; und so entsprächen nicht zuletzt auch seine Forderungen nach einer durchdachten pädagogisch-didaktischen

Systematik sowie einer rationalen Organisation des Schulwesens der „objektiven Notwendigkeit einer ausgedehnteren und intensiveren, planmäßigen und geordneten Erziehung“ (ebd., S. 36) im beginnenden bürgerlichen Zeitalter.

Auf dem Boden der *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* wurde die Nachkriegscomeniologie dagegen maßgeblich von Klaus Schaller geprägt. Sein Ausgangspunkt war eine radikale Kritik an der neuzeitlichen Moderne, die allerdings bedenkenlos mit technischen Herrschaftsansprüchen und egoistischer Willkür identifiziert – und damit im Kern als Verfallsgeschichte interpretiert – wurde: sei es ihr doch immer nur um die reflexive Subjektivität des Menschen und seine schrankenlose Ermächtigung gegangen (Schaller, 1962, S. 156–170). Gerade diese Fehlentwicklungen habe Comenius aber weitsichtig vorhergesehen. Sein „unhumanistischer Ansatz“ ziele daher weder zuerst auf das Wohlsein der Menschen, noch gehe es ihm in erster Linie um einen gesellschaftlichen Fortschritt. Ganz im vormodernen Geiste ziele die comenianische Pädagogik vielmehr auf eine „Verbesserung der Welt“ als solcher, auf die „Verwirklichung des göttlichen Weltplanes“ nach den Maßgaben der Pansophie. Auch die *Pampaedia*, an deren Erstübersetzung Schaller damals maßgeblich beteiligt war, sei darum als eine solche „Pädagogik im Dienste Gottes“ auszulegen, „als praktische Theologie“: Herausführung (*e-ducatio*) des Menschen aus seiner primären Verkehrtheit als reflexives Subjekt – und Einführung (*in-stitutio*) in die eine pansophische Wahrheit als der feststehenden Norm dessen, was in der Welt zu tun sei, damit diese wieder heile werde. Wohl wissend, dass die vormoderne Schöpfungstheologie in den 1960er Jahren nicht mehr umstandslos als Grundlage pädagogischer Theoriebildung aktualisiert werden kann, deutet Schaller das comenianische Modell darum – auf dem Hintergrund der neuplatonischen Lehre vom Ausfluss der Welt *aus* und ihrem schließlichen Rückfluss *zu* Gott – als Thematisierung des „Ganzen“ der Welt, als Rückgabe des eigenwilligen, partikularisierten und sündigen Menschen der verfallenen Moderne an das große „Pan“, das eigentliche „Sein“ der Welt, und als Überwindung der „Unmenschlichkeit“ der humanistischen Bildung zugunsten einer „Medialität und Instrumentalität des Menschen“ (ebd., S. 65), durch

welche er sich als Werkzeug Gottes und in dessen Dienst gebrauchen lassen solle.

Beide Zugangsweisen haben auf durchaus sinnvolle Interpretationsperspektiven hingewiesen, die darum in der Folgezeit auch nachhaltig rezipiert wurden. Auch kamen sie darin überein, dass sie das comenianische Projekt einer *emendatio rerum humanarum* zuletzt als eine wesentlich *politische* Forderung lasen, die sich dann jeweils für die eigenen Zwecke bequem weiterdenken ließ. Im Abstand von rund 60 Jahren werden aber auch die Grenzen dieser Ansätze zunehmend deutlicher.

Eine streng materialistisch orientierte Auslegung hatte sich spätestens mit dem Fall der Berliner Mauer und dem Zusammenbruch des DDR-Regimes überlebt, auch wenn von ihr angestoßene charakteristische Themen – wie das der sozialen Gerechtigkeit – in der Comeniusforschung auch weiterhin präsent blieben (exemplarisch Dieterich, 2003, S. 151 f.). Dennoch sahen bereits die Zeitgenossen auch bei Schaller einige Schwachstellen, die es heute umso dringender in Erinnerung zu rufen gilt, als dass sie in mancherlei Hinsicht paradigmatisch für einen Großteil der deutschen Comeniusliteratur bis in die Gegenwart geworden sind. So beruhte seine Deutung nicht nur auf einer unterkomplexen Modernitätskonstruktion, die sich beständig an *stark vereinfachten Oppositionen* abarbeitete – Comenius vs. Descartes und Bacon; pansophische Pädagogik vs. bloße Didaktik; selbstermächtigende Subjektivität vs. Instrumentalität des Menschen; authentische Comeniusdeutung vs. verkehrende Inanspruchnahmen usw. Vielmehr bereitete auch die eigentümliche *Ahistorizität* seines Zugangs mancherlei Schwierigkeiten. Wie bereits angedeutet, hatte es schon lange *vor* 1960 und der von Schaller für sich in Anspruch genommenen Wende zur ‚modernen' Comeniologie durchaus zahlreiche Texte gegeben, die sich mit dem Verhältnis der comenianischen Pädagogik zu seiner Pansophie beschäftigten – und der von Schaller in der Tat nicht selten erweckte Eindruck, dass „bis zum Erscheinen seiner eigenen Schriften […] die neuere Comenius-Forschung in den deutschsprachigen Ländern nur Belanglosigkeiten oder baren Unsinn zutage gefördert" hätte, mutete manchen Zeitgenossen schon damals „höchst merkwürdig und ein

wenig peinlich an“ (Kramp, 1963, S. 303). Aber auch *nach* 1960 war Schallers Interpretation keinesfalls so alternativlos, wie sie es rezeptionsgeschichtlich dann wurde. Schaller hatte es durch eine geschickte Theoriepolitik verstanden, abweichende Deutungen aus dem Diskurs weitgehend auszuschließen – und entsprechend hat er sich mit kritischen Einwänden und Bedenken niemals wirklich auseinandergesetzt (Lischewski, 2008, S. 602 f.). Eine wesentliche Weiterentwicklung hat seine Comeniusdeutung daher nie erfahren, zumal er es auch bis zuletzt versäumt hat, seine ‚starken‘ – und schon damals ebenfalls umstrittenen – Thesen am Gesamtwerk der *Consultatio Catholica* zu überprüfen, die er zwar selbst einst als Meilenstein der Comeniologie gefeiert hatte, die jedoch selbst in seiner letzten zusammenfassenden Comeniusdarstellung (Schaller, 2004) zuletzt keine Rolle mehr spielte.

3.2 Umso nachdrücklicher muss darum der Hinweis ausfallen, dass die deutsche Comeniusforschung schon zu jener Zeit faktisch durchaus sehr breiter aufgestellt war als es heute weitgehend bekannt ist. Gleichsam stellvertretend für die *späterhin marginalisierten Zugänge* sollen darum vor allen Dingen drei Interpretationsversuche stehen, an deren Einsichten zu erinnern heute durchaus angebracht sein mag.

Die mit Abstand wichtigste Alternative zu Schallers Comenius-Deutung bietet die ebenfalls bereits in den 1960er Jahren entstandene Habilitationsschrift von Herbert Hornstein, deren zentrale Leistung darin zu suchen sein dürfte, dass sie Comenius nicht von einer *aktuellen Modernitätskonstruktion aus rückwärts* interpretierte, sondern ihn statt dessen aus dem Deutungsrahmen *seiner eigenen Voraussetzungen* zu verstehen suchte. Obwohl er Schallers Arbeiten durchaus zu würdigen wusste, kritisierte Hornstein darum insbesondere den von ihm favorisierten neuplatonischen Deutungsrahmen als unzureichend, um statt dessen auf den zentralen Stellenwert der christlichen Logos- und Weisheitstheologie einschließlich ihrer patristischen und mittelalterlichen Traditionsbezüge hinzuweisen (Hornstein, 1968, S. 24 f., 119–123, 156 f., 161 f. u. ö.). Nicht von einer abstrakten *Ideen-*, sondern von der christlichen *Schöpfungs-*Lehre her wurde Comenius darum ausgelegt: von der personal bestimmten Ebenbildlichkeit des Menschen, von der

Auslegung der geschöpflichen Gegenstände als *vestigia Dei* und nicht zuletzt von jener „spekulativen Christologie“ her, die für Hornstein „das theologische Herzstück der Pansophie“ ausmachte (ebd., S. 160 f.). Das alles hatte aber Auswirkungen auf die Interpretation: anthropologisch, weil Hornstein den Sachbezug der Bildung nicht *gegen* die individuelle Subjektivität dachte, sondern immer auch – analog zum freien Heilshandeln Gottes – als ein Werk der willentlichen Freiheit des Menschen begriff (ebd., S. 40, 45, 52 u. ö.); aber auch didaktisch, weil hier nicht mehr eine technologisch missverstandene und für beliebige Inhaltsvielfalt offene Methodik *gegen* eine grundsätzlich nur auf das Ganze hin orientierte Pädagogik ausgespielt wurde, sondern Lernen als ein komplexes Wechselspiel von impliziten und expliziten Momenten erschien, bei welchem die zunächst nur unbestimmte Kenntnis des Ganzen zwar den Anfang machte, Bildung jedoch – durch einen differenzierenden Unterrichtsfortschritt – in der Kenntnis des vielfältig Besonderen seine Vollendung fand (ebd., S. 141 f., 144 f., 148 u. ö.). Die Einsicht aus dem Ganzen heraus sollte dann aber zuletzt wiederum die Transzendierung der einzelnen Dinge auf ihren göttlichen Urheber hin ermöglichen, die Rückverfolgung der Geschöpfe zu ihrem Schöpfer, der jedoch nicht mehr nur zu erkennen, sondern auch in gläubiger Versenkung zu ergreifen war. Hier erhielt die Bildung ihren letzten, eschatologischen Sinn (ebd., S. 25, 153, 177 f.), der sich daher trotz aller Weltzuwendung nicht mehr einfach auf ‚Sachlichkeit und Mitmenschlichkeit‘ reduzieren ließ. Hornsteins Comeniusdeutung scheint solcherart der Selbstauffassung des Theologen Comenius weit näher zu kommen als seine vom Standpunkt der Moderne zurückblickende Einordnung in die neuzeitliche Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Auch dachte Hornstein überhaupt sehr viel stärker in Differenzen als in Oppositionen, so dass seine Interpretation insgesamt komplexer ausfällt. Und eben darum musste er hier ausführlicher dargestellt werden.

Inzwischen weitgehend vergessen ist ferner die Auslegung von Günther Buck, der Comenius zunächst in Anlehnung an Schaller ebenfalls als einen betont *vor*-modernen Denker betrachtete und ihm daher auch auf eine analoge Weise „eine Art Gegenposition zum späteren, in der Tat neuzeitlichen Bildungsbegriff“ (Buck, 1984, S. 33) bescheinigte.

Dennoch ging Buck von einer *alternativen Modernitätskonstruktion* aus, die daher auch eine *alternative Wertung* dieser Entgegensetzung ermöglichte. Neuzeitliche Bildung wurde von ihm nämlich nicht mehr als selbstermächtigende Verabsolutierung des partikularisierten Subjekts verworfen, sondern vielmehr unter dem Aspekt der Offenheit und Unbestimmtheit des modernen Menschen betrachtet, dem seine eigene Lebensgestaltung zu einem „im Schlimmen wie im Glücken enden könnenden Unterfangen" geworden sei, „zu einem riskanten und eigentlich schwindeln machenden Abenteuer" (Buck, 1984, S. 73 f.). Der Gegensatz des Comenius zur Moderne erschien damit unter einer gewandelten Perspektive. Wo die neuzeitliche Bildungstheorie ein durch und durch geschichtliches Wesen denke, das seine Bildung frei-schöpferisch wagen und dabei auch prinzipiell scheitern können müsse, da habe Comenius noch ganz an einer streng teleologischen Vorherbestimmtheit des Menschen und seines weltgestaltenden Handelns festgehalten. Es ließ sich damit zwar der überschwängliche Optimismus des Comenius erklären; als eine willkommene Alternative, die es gegen die modernen Entwicklungen erneut zu aktualisieren gelte, konnte die comenianische Pädagogik solcherart aber *nicht* mehr in den Blick kommen.

Ein letztes Werk, von dem die deutsche Comeniologie ebenfalls viel hätte lernen können, ist dasjenige von Franz Hofmann, einem in Halle an der Saale tätigen Erziehungswissenschaftler und Bildungshistoriker, der unter den konkreten Bedingungen der damaligen Verhältnisse in der DDR eine dennoch imposante Forschungsleistung aufzuweisen hat, die als bloße Ideologie abzustempeln kein Anlass besteht. Auch Hofmann hatte sich in einer – bis heute nicht veröffentlichten – Habilitationsschrift mit dem Zusammenhang von Pansophie und Pädagogik bei Comenius beschäftigt; und so war auch für ihn selbstverständlich klar, dass das demokratische und humanitäre Anliegen der *emendatio* als das „einigende geistige Band" (Hofmann, 1960, S. 174) des comenianischen Gesamtwerkes betrachtet werden müsse. Dennoch war sein Zugang in mehrfacher Hinsicht ein durchaus originärer. So war es ihm immer ein Anliegen gewesen, die ideengeschichtliche Betrachtung der Pansophie mit ihren *fortschrittlichen Elementen* auch in

die *realgesellschaftlichen Bezüge* einzuordnen: in die Dynamik der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Veränderungen des 17. Jahrhunderts, aber auch in die wissenschaftstheoretischen Entwicklungen der damaligen Zeit (ebd., S. 226 ff.), innerhalb derer sich die *Pampaedia* als eine erste Bekundung von Pädagogik als methodisch und systematisch angelegter Wissenschaft zeige. Ferner sah er den systematischen Ertrag einer Beschäftigung mit Comenius gerade darin, dass die von ihm deutlich aufgeworfene Frage nach den für *seine* Zeit verbindlichen Bildungsinhalten – auf die er mit seiner Pansophie eine Antwort zu geben versucht – letztlich *alle* historischen Epochen betreffe: Müsse doch jede Zeit neu bestimmen, welches die wesentlichen Momente ihrer jeweils notwendigen *Allgemeinbildung* sei, ihre zentralen Bildungsgüter- und inhalte (ebd., S. 230 f.). Dennoch wusste Hofmann sehr genau, dass sich eine moderne Allgemeinbildung nicht *ausschließlich* durch den Blick auf das comenianische ›Pan‹ begründen lasse, sondern auch das durch Descartes eingebrachte Moment der ‚Psyche' eine notwendige Berücksichtigung finden müsse (Hofmann, 1973, S. 39). Und so erweist sich Hofmann gerade auch hier als ein Denker, der durch seine historisch-systematische Arbeitsweise zu durchaus differenzierten und ausgewogenen Urteilen zu gelangen vermochte. Nicht zu vernachlässigen sind schließlich Hofmanns unschätzbare Verdienste um eine Berücksichtigung der *Consultatio Catholica* als eines wichtigen Gesamtwerkes für die Interpretation des Comenius; und es ist sicherlich die Behauptung nicht völlig abwegig, dass Hofmann überhaupt der *einzige* deutsche Comeniusforscher war, der eine umfassende Kenntnis dieses opus grande besaß. Schon wenige Jahre nach der Erstpublikation des Beratungswerkes veröffentlichte er umfangreiche Auszüge in deutscher Übersetzung (Hofmann, 1970); und später folgten dann noch vollständige deutschsprachige Ausgaben der *Panorthosia* (Allverbesserung, 1998), der *Pannuthesia* (Allermahnung, 2001) sowie der *Panaugia* (Allerleuchtung, 2002). Dass sich Hofmann darum – trotz all seiner Bewunderung für die Leistungen des großen Mähren – vereinzelt auch kritisch zu den totalitären Neigungen des comenianischen Spätwerkes äußern konnte, sei nur am Rande bemerkt.

3.3 Unter dem Eindruck der Jubiläumsfeiern zum 400. Geburtstag des Comenius (1992) nahmen im jüngst *wiedervereinigten Deutschland* die Forschungsaktivitäten – und in ihrem Gefolge auch die Veröffentlichungen zu Comenius – deutlich zu. Und es werden seitdem auch Themen behandelt, die vorher zumeist eher ein Schattendasein gefristet hatten.

So ist etwa ein deutlicher Anstieg *theologischer und religionspädagogischer Veröffentlichungen* bemerkbar, die sich teils mit der historischen Einordnung des Comenius in die protestantischen Hauptströmungen seiner Zeit, teils mit der systematischen Auslegung seines Werkes – insbesondere als einer praktischen Theologie – beschäftigten, und zu einem nicht geringen Teil aus dem Umfeld des Münsteraner Comenius-Instituts hervorgegangen sind. Ferner gehören einige deutschsprachige Veröffentlichungen hierher, die zwar nicht unmittelbar in Deutschland entstanden waren, für die deutsche Comenius-Rezeption aber dennoch nicht ohne eine gewisse Bedeutung waren. So fand 1992 unter der maßgeblichen Leitung der Hussitisch-theologischen Fakultät der Karls-Universität eine Tagung im Prager Kulturpalast statt, deren Vorträge über alle wichtigen Themen des Brüderbischofs – vom Bibelverständnis und der Bedeutung der Predigt über die Schöpfungslehre und sein trinitarisches Denken bis zu Fragen des Chiliasmus und der Ökumene – später in einem überwiegend deutschsprachigen Sammelband veröffentlicht wurden (Dvořák & Lášek, 1998). Besonders wertvoll sind ferner jene umfangreichen Veröffentlichungen, in denen der Züricher Theologe und Kirchenhistoriker Daniel A. Neval den theologischen Kern der comenianischen Pansophie zu klären versuchte und damit zugleich einen wichtigen Beitrag zur systematischen Comeniusdeutung lieferte (Neval, 2006; 2007). Und nicht zuletzt gehört in diese Reihe auch eine an der polnischen Universität Siedlce entstandene Dissertation, die sich insbesondere mit den comenianischen Bemühungen um einen ökumenisch-konziliaren Dialog im Kontext des Colloquium Charitativum von Thorn 1645 beschäftigt hatte (Richter, 2013).

Erwähnenswert sind aber auch einige Texte, die sich nunmehr vertiefend mit den *politischen und historischen Zusammenhängen* des comenianischen Werkes beschäftigten. Wiederum machte zunächst eine Tagung den Anfang, zu der man nunmehr in Niederösterreich

zusammengekommen war, um das reformerische Bemühen des Comenius vor allen Dingen aus seinen gesellschaftlichen, wirtschaftlichen und machtpolitischen Kontexten heraus zu verstehen, wobei nicht selten auch auf die verbleibende Widersprüchlichkeit der comenianischen Haltung hingewiesen wurde (Mack, 1992). Es folgten sodann einige Veröffentlichungen, die sich facettenreich mit dem comenianischen Motiv des ›Friedens‹ beschäftigten und insbesondere nach 2001 neben historischen Situationsanalysen auch ausgedehnte Überlegungen über das irenische Potential des pansophischen Denkens zur Lösung wichtiger politischer Probleme der Gegenwart boten (Korthaase u.a., 2005). Nachdrücklich hinzuweisen ist schließlich noch auf die historische Einordnung der comenianischen Irenik in die Vorgeschichte einer grundlegenden Kommunikationsreform der wissenschaftlichen Wahrheitssuche durch Hans-Joachim Müller. Mag nämlich das Thorner Colloquium von 1645 die erhoffte Einigung in inhaltlichen Fragen auch nicht zustande gebracht haben, so scheinen doch die von Comenius wesentlich mitgeprägten Auseinandersetzungen über die formalen Bedingungen eines interkonfessionellen Religionsgespräches bereits jenen langfristigen Wandel anzubahnen, der – kommunikationstheoretisch betrachtet – von den noch deutlich kontroverstheologisch und polemisch ausgerichteten Mechanismen des Wahrheitsschutzes zu den eher eklektisch ausgerichteten Prozessen gemeinsamer Wahrheitsfindung führen sollte (Müller, 2004, S. 518 ff.).

Obwohl im Kontext der Jubiläumsfeierlichkeiten nicht zuletzt auch das *pädagogische Denken und Wirken* des Comenius im Kontext einer internationalen Tagung der Universität Bremen über die Entwicklung des Bildungswesens in Mitteleuropa seit dem 17. Jahrhundert ausgiebig gewürdigt wurde (Boldt, 1993), hat gerade die *erziehungswissenschaftliche Comeniusforschung* in den letzten 25 Jahren einschneidende Änderungen erfahren, die darum eigens erwähnt werden müssen.

Da wäre zum einen auf die durchaus selbstständige Weiterführung von Schallers Interpretationsansatz durch Käte Meyer-Drawe hinzuweisen, deren Ausgangspunkt zwar ebenfalls der im 17. Jahrhundert einsetzende Weltverlust des neuzeitlichen Menschen war, die Comenius in diesem Prozess allerdings sehr viel deutlicher problematisierend

verortete (Meyer-Drawe, 1997, S. 26f.): dachte sie doch Comenius nicht mehr oppositionell als historisch einmalige Alternative zur neuzeitlichen Verfallsgeschichte, sondern vielmehr dialektisch als eine systematische Korrektur an jenen Bildungstheorien, welche die Herausforderung durch die Dinge und damit das jeweils Andere im Bildungsprozeß nicht mehr adäquat berücksichtigen können. An die Stelle des Anspruches, eine authentische Comeniusdeutung zu geben, trat darum der Versuch, das ambivalente Verhältnis zwischen Comenius und Descartes produktiv zu wenden und in die Richtung einer phänomenologisch-responsiven Bildungstheorie weiterzudenken, die das Fremde und Unverfügbare im Bildungsprozess berücksichtigen kann, ohne deshalb die subjektiven Konstitutionstätigkeiten des Menschen einfach pauschal als bornierte Selbstüberheblichkeit verdammen zu müssen.

Eine zweite Möglichkeit, Comenius weiterzudenken, ergibt sich aus der bildungshistorischen Forderung, weniger seine persönlichen Leistungen als vielmehr jene zeitübergreifenden Diskurse in den Mittelpunkt der Forschung zu stellen, in die hinein auch Comenius verwoben war (Tenorth, 2008, S. 524). Thematisiert werden darum inzwischen weniger die großen Visionen des Comenius von der universalen Lichterkenntnis und Weltbefriedung, als vielmehr jene, teilweise nicht unproblematischen Aspekte seiner Pädagogik, die eben deutlich in den neuzeitlichen Diskurs um die Entfehlerung, Ermächtigung und Optimierung des Menschen gehören – die spezifisch menschlichen Momente seiner Negativität, Ohnmacht und Unvollkommenheit dabei aber nicht berücksichtigen können (Wulf, 2001, S. 22–24; Conrad & Maier, 2017). Ferner wird das bekannte Problem, dass sich die comenianische Pädagogik zuletzt als ein „totalitäres Territorium" konstituierte (Harten, 1997, S. 215), inzwischen aus neuerer Perspektive in der bildungshistorischen Raumforschung thematisch, in der die comenianischen Pläne zu einer „zentralperspektivischen Anordnung von Schulräumen" auf ihre verborgenen „Machteffekte" hin befragt werden (Rieger-Ladich & Ricken 2009, S. 188; Lischewski, 2017). Und nicht zuletzt sind auch verschiedene Untersuchungen aufschlussreich, die sich mit den von Comenius gebrauchten Metaphern beschäftigen – und solcherart auf wichtige *mentale Bilder* verweisen, von welchen die

eigentlichen *Theoriebildungen* immer schon unterfangen sind: so gelten Bücher und Bibliotheken als Apotheken der Seele (Werle, 2007, S. 271 f.), der Weisheitstempel spiegelt das Bild einer sakralen Architektonik wider (Miletto, 2004, S. 155 f.) und auch die Metaphern vom Paradies und der Druckerpresse bieten Konnotationen, die uns bei der Interpretation der pansophischen Pädagogik helfen können (Guski, 2007, S. 227–274). Und selbstverständlich gehört auch das ‚Labyrinth' hierher, dessen komplexe Metaphorik noch längst nicht ausreichend erschlossen ist (Lazardzig, 2010; Lischewski, 2018). Alle diese Forschungen scheinen aber zuletzt auf die Einsicht hinauszulaufen, dass Comenius von seinem Selbstverständnis her weniger ein *Friedens*-, als vor allen Dingen ein *Wahrheits*-Denker war, der die Weltreform von der einen und unumstößlich sicheren pansophischen Einsicht aus durchgestalten wollte – und dabei ein Scheitern seiner Bemühungen aufgrund der chiliastischen Naherwartung nicht mehr ernstlich in Erwägung ziehen konnte (Lischewski, 2019, S. 37 ff.). Dass alle diese Zusammenhänge für die Deutung der comenianischen Erziehungs- und Unterrichtsvorstellungen schwerwiegende Konsequenzen haben, weil es damit schlechthin unmöglich wird, sie noch weiterhin im ausschließlichen Kontext von ‚Friedenspädagogik' oder ‚Kommunikativer Pädagogik' auszulegen, dürfte offensichtlich sein (ebd., S. 48 f.).

3.4 Nicht zuletzt ist noch ein kurzer Seitenblick auf einige neuere Forschungsbeiträge zu werfen, die etwas abseits der großen comenianischen Hauptthemen von Theologie, Politik und Pädagogik liegen, und dennoch auch für die Comeniusforschung durchaus anregend sein könnten. Da wird etwa der comenianische Einsatz für die Verbreitung der Prophezeiungen Nikolaus Drabiks mentalitätengeschichtlich im Kontext frühneuzeitlicher Traumdiskurse verortet, denen vor allen Dingen die Funktion zugeschrieben wird, politische Handlungsorientierungen zu liefern und für deren Ausführung entsprechende Allianzen zu schmieden (Kintzinger, 2008). Und eine ähnlich angelegte Studie, die sich mit dem comanianischen Auftrag an Johann Jakob Redinger beschäftigt, die Prophezeihungen für die Türkenmission zu nutzen, scheint diese Einsicht zu stützen. Denn das zentrale Motiv

dieser Mission wird darin gesehen, die Türken zum wahren – und das heißt für Redinger immer: zum *nicht*-katholischen – Christentum zu bekehren und sie damit *zugleich*, ihrer heilsgeschichtlichen Sendung gemäß, für den Krieg gegen den Papst als Antichristen und das katholische Haus Habsburg zu gewinnen (Zeller, 2018). Andererseits weist ein interessanter Vergleich mit Georg Philipp Harsdörffer deutlich auf einen grundsätzlichen Unterschied im Verständnis des ‚Spiels' hin, das bei Comenius lediglich der kindlichen Einübung in eine, durch religiöse Heilserwartungen bereits abgesicherten Wahrheit diene, während es von Harsdörffer als ein geselliges Gesprächsspiel begriffen werde, in dessen Verlauf betont unterschiedliche Perspektiven eröffnet würden, die lediglich der gemeinsamen Abwägung dienen sollen und darum durchaus in Unentschiedenheiten enden könnten (Rohmer, 2017). Das traditionelle Bild eines unbegrenzt friedliebenden und in jeder Hinsicht kommunikativ ausgerichteten Comenius scheint hier faktisch keine Rolle mehr zu spielen.

4. Auf dem Weg zu einer nicht-affirmativen Comeniusforschung

Dass es sich bei diesem Überblick nur um eine begrenzte Auswahl von Themen und Autoren handeln konnte, versteht sich von selbst – und das gilt gerade auch für den Versuch, abschließend noch kurz die gegenwärtige Situation der Comeniusforschung zu skizzieren. Denn faktisch wird Comenius natürlich nach wie vor in vielen, sehr unterschiedlichen Kontexten thematisch (Zemek, 2008; Goris u. a., 2016); und wer sich einen aktuellen Überblick verschaffen möchte, der sei darum auf das *Comenius-Jahrbuch* der *Deutschen Comenius-Gesellschaft* verwiesen, in dem regelmäßig die neueste deutschsprachige Comeniusliteratur nachgewiesen wird (Schäfer, 2020).

Dennoch scheinen die jüngsten Entwicklungen darauf hinzudeuten, dass sich die deutsche Comeniusforschung in einem langsamen, aber stetigen Wandel befindet. Etwas überspitzt formuliert: Standen lange Zeit synthetisch orientierte Großkonzepte im Mittelpunkt der Interpretation – Weltfriede, Ökumenismus und Modernitätskritik –, deren Ausgangspunkt die vermeintlich immer schon bekannte ‚Ganzheit' der Pansophie war, welche dann wiederum zugleich auch die Bedeutung

der Persönlichkeit des Comenius als eines die gesamte Neuzeit überragenden Denkers legitimieren sollte: so sind es inzwischen überwiegend konkretere Einzelstudien, die Comenius bewusst von thematisch mehr oder weniger eng gefassten Fragestellungen aus – Machtproblematik, Metapherngebrauch oder die Problematik der Prophetien – behandeln, ihn dabei in die vielfältig möglichen Diskurse einordnen und daher insgesamt auch nicht selten zu durchaus kritischeren Einschätzungen seiner ‚Leistungen' kommen.

Werden diese Entwicklungen als Markierungen auf dem Weg zu einer *nicht-affirmativen Comeniusforschung* gedeutet, so ist damit freilich nicht der Übergang in ein permanentes Kritikastertum gemeint. Ernst genommen würde damit lediglich die berechtigte Einsicht in die notwendige „Dialektik von Einzelstudien und synthetischen Arbeiten" (Hofmann, 2000, S. 19 f.), durch welche die vielfältigen Facetten der postulierten ‚Ganzheit' zuallererst erschlossen werden müssten – einschließlich ihrer nüchtern zu betrachtenden und nicht immer unbedenklichen Kehrseiten; und nicht minder ernst genommen würde der ebenfalls nachvollziehbare Hinweis, dass es die eine, immer wieder in Anspruch genommene ›authentische‹ Comeniusdeutung selbstverständlich *nicht* geben kann: Denn wer sollte in einer Zeit, die historisch zu denken gelernt hat, die „vielen ‚hermeneutischen Bürgerkriege'" um die ‚eigentliche' und ‚wahre' Comeniusdeutung beenden können?

> „Nur ein Gott könnte den endlosen Streit um die richtige Auslegung entscheiden; aber diese Gottesperspektive ist irreversibel verloren gegangen und an deren Stelle die Vielfalt der streitbaren Meinungen getreten. In der Moderne müssen wir davon ausgehen, dass sich jede Rezeption selektiv des Sinns eines Textes bemächtigt und ihn damit konstruktiv immer wieder neu erzeugt."
>
> (Treml, 2001, S. 47)

An dieser Einsicht kann eine zeitgemäße Comeniusforschung auch dann nicht vorbeigehen, wenn sie – berechtigterweise – an der konkreten

Textgestalt als dem eigentlichen ‚Probierstein' eines jeden Deutungsversuches festhält.

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