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The Communist Movement in Pardubice region
(The development of the communist movement in Pardubice
region during the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic
and its ideological transformations.)

Theses of Doctoral Dissertation

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Theme and Main Topics of Doctoral Thesis

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which appeared on the political scene of the interwar republic in 1921, quickly became a firm part of it. From the moment of its establishment, it was manifested as an anti-system party strongly critical of the existence of the "bourgeois" Czechoslovak Republic. Already in the first weeks of its existence it proved to be a viable political organisation, which soon acquired a solid organisational structure based on an elaborate network of local organisations. In Pardubice and Pardubice itself, the far left, united under the banner of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, had a relatively strong position from 1921. Research into the development of the Pardubice communist movement during the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic is the subject of this dissertation.

From the author's point of view, the choice of the topic seems to be a logical choice, which builds on previous research. In my thesis I dealt with the far-right political current collectively and simplistically called Czech fascism at the regional level of Pardubice in the same time period. Therefore, tracing the development of another of the extreme political currents in the same period and in the same region is, in the author's opinion, justified.

The present dissertation is written chronologically. The period under study is the era of the First Czechoslovak Republic defined by the border points of 1918 and 1938. The emergence of an independent state marked a return to political competition, but this took place in the shadow of the dying First World War and its consequences in the form of a turbulent political situation, economic difficulties, the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the emergence of successor states, local conflicts and attempts to establish a stable international security system.

In the chosen period, the political current under study is traced continuously, with emphasis on key moments in the development of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the extreme left as a whole. These are in particular the years 1921 (the formation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia), 1925 (the onset of

Bolshevisation and relative success in the parliamentary elections), 1929 (the completion of Bolshevisation at the Fifth Party Congress), the early 1930s (the period of economic crisis), 1935 (support for the presidential candidacy of Edvard Beneš and the beginning of the path of defence of Czechoslovakia) and 1938 (the official dissolution of the party and the controlled transition to illegality).

It goes without saying that in order to understand the emergence and subsequent development of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, it is necessary to focus on the period before the establishment of Czechoslovakia, even well before the beginning of the world conflict. In a way, the origins of the far left in our area can be found already in the first period of the existence of the Social Democratic Party. That is why the historical excursus in the section devoted to the Czechoslovak and Pardubice communist movements coincidentally begins in the nineteen seventies.

The end of the period under study by no means marked the end of the Communist Party's activity, even though it had to operate underground for the next seven years. Therefore, this dissertation very briefly mentions the activities of the Communist Party in the first weeks of the Second Czechoslovak Republic, explaining that the author intends to address the topic of the development of the Communist Party at the regional level also in the post-1938 period.

Main Aim of the Thesis

The thesis deals with the communist movement in Pardubice region during the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic. The research on the regional communist movement is set in a wider context, where the first part of this thesis focuses on the development of the ultra-left and communist movement throughout the history in a broad geographical perspective. The second part of this work is about communist movement in Czech lands in the period under the study, with a time span to the 19th century or to the era shortly after the end of the First Czechoslovak Republic. The most important and extensive part of this thesis consists of research on the origin and development of the Pardubice communist movement and its

connections with the headquarters of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

So the basic questions asked are:

1. How did the Pardubice organization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia?
2. How did the Pardubice Communists react to the directives of the central authorities? How did they react to the often significant programmatic changes of the Communist Party of Pardubice, especially in the mid-twenties and mid-thirties?
3. Can regional specificities of the local communist movement be found?
4. What were and how did the personnel changes in the local leadership organization? Did the personnel changes correspond to the programmatic changes of the Communist Party during the interwar period? Were these changes in any way linked to central bodies and did they go to them at the behest of the Prague headquarters?
5. Can parallels be found between the Pardubice communist and fascist movement?

Structure

The present work is structured chronologically and is divided into several basic sections. The first part focuses on the development of egalitarian ideas across European history towards the constitution of the modern concept of a classless society. Subsequently, this section examines specific attempts to establish far-left ideas in political practice, not only in Soviet Russia, where this political trend became a state ideology, but also in countries where it gained influence only temporarily or became a marginal addition to the political scene. In order to place the issue under study in a broader context, it is also impossible to ignore the development of the ideology represented outside Europe, both in Asia and, for example, in the USA.

The second part is a section devoted to the Czechoslovak form of the communist movement. However, due to the necessity of placing it in a broader historical context, the first event presented is not

the establishment of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia itself, but rather partial attention is paid to the beginnings of the socialist political current on our (meaning within the Austrian and then Austro-Hungarian monarchy) political scene. Most of the attention is, of course, devoted to the era of the First Czechoslovak Republic, with a slight shift to the period associated with the end of the First Republic and the beginning of the Second. Even here, the description and analysis of the political phenomenon under study is not exhaustive, since the core of the research is only the following section, devoted to the chosen region. Nevertheless, an analysis of the development of the far left in Czechoslovakia, with an emphasis on the development of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, cannot be absent in a work of this type in order to establish the historical context and the basis for subsequent comparison with the development of the topic under study in Pardubice. The sub-chapters of this part are timed to key moments in the development of the Czechoslovak communist movement and subsequently the Communist Party itself.

The first subchapter traces the development of the left-wing political scene in the Czech lands until the end of the First World War. Here the focus is on the development of the Social Democratic Party. The next period is the interregnum between the end of World War I and the founding of the Communist Party, i.e. the years 1918 to 1921. Here the emphasis is on explaining the circumstances of the split in the Czechoslovak Social Democracy and the role of other political entities, especially the German Social Democrats, in the formation of Communist organisations. The far left wings, supported by other extreme groups, then subsequently participated in the transformation of the Marxist wings of their parties into a united Communist Party. Another period of internal strife and the search for a party identity is framed by the formation of the Communist Party of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1921 and the parliamentary elections of 1925. During this period, a solid party structure was being formed, with simultaneous party squabbles between the various factions, which accused each other of being insufficiently radical or, on the contrary, of being too radical. The successful outcome of the parliamentary elections in the mid-twenties then, in a way, enabled the emergence of the radical wing, represented by the young Klement Gottwald.

Therefore, the next chapter focuses on the process of Bolshevization of the Communist Party, which became a puppet in the hands of

the leadership of the Moscow headquarters of the Comintern. Despite considerable vicissitudes, Gottwald's group of young party members rose to the leadership of the party and, at the Fifth Congress in early 1929, completed the transformation of the Communist Party into a radical political entity that, by narrowing the party base, lost mass appeal but ultimately increased in action and radicalism. The year 1929 was, in a way, a fateful year for the Communist Party. Not only the completion of Bolshevisation, but also the collapse of the stock market in New York, USA, brought the Communists the opportunity they had dreamed of. Therefore, the next subchapter focuses on the activities and development of the Communist Party during the economic crisis. Here, the Communist Party sought to establish itself as the protector of the socially vulnerable workers who were being impoverished by the bourgeois state in Communist rhetoric. Then the rise to power of the Nazi Party in Germany and the increasing Nazi danger not only to Central Europe became absolutely fundamental. So the Communist Party changed tactics again, lumping its left-wing competitors in with the far right and the fascist forces it saw literally everywhere. The catch-all and, in a way, contentless term social fascism is clear proof of this.

The Communists demonstrated how programme priorities can be changed almost overnight in the second half of the 1930s. The final subchapter therefore focuses on the upheaval in the communist program and the advent of left front tactics. This programme, in many ways impossible to achieve, was intended to unite yesterday's inveterate enemies under the banner of fighting the far right and especially the Nazi danger. The second of the key sections of the work then concludes with a brief mention of the end of the legal activities of the Communist Party and its controlled transition to underground status with the arrival of the winter months of 1938.

The most important parts of the present work are the following sections, primarily dealing with the far left and especially the communist movement in Pardubice. It is a part that logically follows the previous chapters. The division into sub-sections therefore follows the structure used in the previous sections in order to fulfil one of the main objectives of the research, which is to compare the development of the political phenomenon under study in the chosen region with the party centre. Therefore, after the necessary historical excursus into the development of the left-wing political

scene up to the end of the First World War, the focus is on the circumstances preceding the establishment of the communist organisation as well as on the course of the constitution of local and regional party organs. The next subchapters then focus on the period of the Communist movement's gathering strength in Pardubice from the founding of the Communist Party in 1921 to the municipal and then parliamentary elections in 1923 and 1925 respectively. The repercussions of the party struggles that shaped the image of the Communist Party externally in the first half of the 1920s and their manifestations in Pardubice are also traced.

After the parliamentary elections in 1925, the slogan "Bolshevization" became the main theme of the communist movement, which also significantly influenced the functioning of regional organisations, including the Pardubice communists. Bolshevization, which was then completed at the V Congress, also resonated in Pardubice, and even here it is evident that a significant part of the membership base left the party, and even a party opposition formed for a short time around several capable political cadres who had been behind the founding of the Pardubice organisation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, but who subsequently expressed their disagreement with the Bolshevization and radicalisation of the party.

The following decade is also divided into two shorter periods. During the economic crisis, radical political parties, not only those of the far left, came to the fore again. During this period, the state authorities and local political leaders realised that, at a time of deep economic crisis and escalating social tensions, the activities of extreme political parties were dangerous to the democratic establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic. Therefore, from the beginning of the 1930s, official supervision over the activities of the Communist Party of Pardubice increased significantly. For the research activity, this means that clearly the most archival sources from this period have survived, which could be used in the following text.

In the 1930s, the Nazi Party's rise to power in Germany was a turning point, and the accompanying phenomenon was a sharp deterioration of the security situation not only in Europe. A change in the political line was therefore also evident in Pardubice, when the communists in the East Bohemian capital tried to establish active cooperation with their recent enemies - the Social Democrats and the National

Socialists. The intensification of these efforts and the call for the realisation of the idea of a popular front can then be observed in the period following the parliamentary and then presidential elections of 1935.

Similarly to the previous section of the thesis, the author's attention in the case of the Pardubice communist movement ends with the period of the end of the First and the beginning of the Second Czechoslovak Republic.

As a supplement to the research on the communist movement in Pardubice, two chapters on the main representatives of the local movement are subsequently included. The social composition of the Communist Party included mainly persons about whom not much information has survived in archival fonds or other sources of historical information. Nevertheless, the author was able to gather more detailed information on a few selected persons. Therefore, in the relevant chapter, the medallions of the representatives of the local communist movement are presented in alphabetical order.

An exception is the personality of Alois Hartman. In addition to a larger number of archival sources, not only of an official nature, more information has been gathered about this Pardubice restaurateur, businessman and, above all, Communist Party representative, which is linked in the relevant chapter into an interesting and hopefully useful probe of the personality of this doyen of the Pardubice Communist movement. In a way, his fate follows the ups and downs of the Pardubice Communist Party, and above all, it connects the research of a political current with a specific person.

Research Process and Method

For the present dissertation, the author has chosen a synchronic approach, which will allow for a thorough comparison and analysis of the development of the political phenomenon under study in the chosen region and in Czechoslovakia.

The result of the thesis should be a detailed regional probe into the development of the non-democratic political movement. However, in order to define the characteristics of the regional communist movement, it is necessary to place the whole issue in

a national framework. At the same time, the development of the communist movement in interwar Czechoslovakia is placed in an even broader framework of the development of communist thought during previous historical epochs. The result should thus be a clear statement of whether there were certain regional differences between the political line of the central organs of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Pardubice Communist organisation.

Thus, the comparative method offers an ideal option, which allows to define the characteristic features of the Czechoslovak communist movement against the background of the functioning of the superior bodies, especially in the form of the Communist International, and then, using the same method, to compare them in detail with the development of communist ideas and communist organisation in the chosen region, which is Pardubice.

In addition to comparing the region with the national movement and comparing the Czechoslovak communist movement with the development of this political current on an international scale, the present work uses a partial comparison with other political parties. Thus, in several places in the thesis there is a comparison of the approach of competing political entities to the same issues or circumstances of the time. Thus, the comparison of the approach of the extreme right and the communist organisation to the solution of the economic crisis or to other borderline moments of interwar politics in Pardubice is interesting. It is also useful to follow other left-wing parties in the form of the Social Democrats and the National Socialists, whose political programme did not differ much from the communist one in some points.

Among the methods offered for the chosen topic and for the chosen historical research procedure as complementary, we can mention the oral history method and the biographical method. The already mentioned oral history method is applied to the portrait of one of the typical figures of the Pardubice communist movement. The great-nephew of Alois Hartman provided the author of the thesis with very valuable information and, above all, with a personal view of his relative's personality, which is different from historical sources in many respects, and thus hopefully successfully completed the mosaic of facts representing a selected figure of the local Communist Party not only on the basis of official sources.

Due to the chosen comparison of the whole and the selected region, the author prefers qualitative methods, which follow a thorough source research as well as the study of available literature and other sources of information.

The method of historical probe is also represented in the present work. This, as already mentioned, in the form of tracing a selected political movement at the regional level and comparing it with developments at the national level.

Conclusion

In addition to tracing the development of the communist organisation in Pardubice during the First Republic, with an emphasis on the key moments in the development of the Communist Party (1921, 1925, 1929, 1935 and 1938), the local communist movement was examined in order to answer the questions posed in the introduction to the thesis. The first question was: How did the Pardubice Communist Party organisation come into being, how did it develop and how did it function?

At this point it can be stated that the birth of the Pardubice communist organisation fully followed the development in the centre. Also in Pardubice, due to the poor social situation after the end of the war, the socialist parties, led by the National Socialists and especially the Social Democrats, came to the fore. Already in the election campaign for the municipal elections, some Social Democrats had called for the creation of a socialist republic, which clearly showed the growing resonance of the Russian Bolshevik regime. After a confrontational campaign, the Social Democrats won a majority of seats in the municipal council and took control of the city council and key departments in line with the party's programmatic statement. The fracturing of the Social Democratic Party became apparent in the early 1920s, when supporters of the left came to the fore at party meetings. Following the events at the Prague headquarters and its directives, an attempt at a general strike was made in Pardubice in December 1920. Several days of riots, at the centre of which stood the Workers' House, ended in criminal proceedings involving the central figures of the local communist movement – Melichar,

Richter, Sýkora, Novotný and others. Nevertheless, the executive committee of the Marxist Left in Pardubice continued its activities and as early as January openly provoked a discussion among the membership that was to lead to the acceptance of the terms of joining the Comintern, which at that moment meant breaking with the parent party and founding its own political organisation. At the constituent congress of the Communist Party, Pardubice and the adjacent municipalities, which are now parts of Pardubice, were represented by almost twenty delegates.

In the first years of its existence, the Communists defined themselves as an anti-system party, which was manifested, for example, in their opposition to the adoption of the Law for the Protection of the Republic, passed after the assassination of Finance Minister Rašín. In the first elections, which the Pardubice Communists took part in as an independent party in 1923, they confirmed their firm place on the local political scene and won seven seats on the city council. From 1925 onwards, a trend towards Bolshevisation can be observed in the Pardubice organisation. At meetings and at meetings of local and regional bodies, calls were repeatedly made for the movement to become more active and radicalised. All this was to be accompanied by the definitive elimination of the remnants of social democratic thinking. Although the Communist Party became the second strongest in the parliamentary elections of 1925, criticism was voiced from within the ranks of Pardubice over the unfinished control of at least the left part of the political spectrum and the failure to implement the united front project.

By the end of the 1920s, the local communist movement saw an increase in public speeches in which the dangers of war began to be emphasized. Foreign events, which resonated not only with European public opinion, were more often on the agenda of the contributions made at meetings. Everything was under the control of the Prague headquarters, which indoctrinated the local party organs with the idea of the necessity of complete Bolshevisation. This effort then brought the expected personnel disputes and further departures from the leadership of the local organisation. Radicals completely committed to the Prague headquarters and especially to the idea of transforming the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia into a narrow Bolshevik-type party came to the fore, which was also reflected in Pardubice in the decline of the membership base and in the decline of voter

preferences in the municipal and provincial elections of 1927 and 1928.

The definitive transformation of the Pardubice communist organisation into an obedient part of the Bolshevised Communist Party can be dated to the period of a few months before the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. During this period, the rest of the members who advocated a more pragmatic approach left. On the other hand, supporters of the Bolshevik line set out by Klement Gottwald definitely settled in the leadership. The aggressive style of politics soon became apparent during the Semtín strike, which occupied public opinion in Pardubice from April to August 1929.

The outbreak of the economic crisis, which did not escape Pardubice, served the communists as proof of the dysfunctionality of capitalism. In the following months, they were therefore actively involved in increasingly frequent actions in support of the unemployed or against the government coalition or President Masaryk, whom the communists saw not as the founder of an independent state but rather as a warmonger. From the beginning of the 1930s onwards, not only a quantitative increase in public actions prepared centrally by the party headquarters, which were then joined by local communists or independently organised by local communists, but also an escalation in their aggressiveness.

During the economic crisis, the communists in Pardubice increasingly came into conflict with another extreme political current in the form of the Czech fascists, who held one of the strongest positions in the whole of Czechoslovakia. The confrontational tone of the communist stance was soon met with the same tactics from the National Fascist Community. The police authorities dealt with a number of incidents ranging from physical insults at meetings of both fascists and communists to unauthorised meetings and clashes in the streets of Pardubice. However, the election results were not favourable to the Communists. Once again, the number of votes received was reduced, and thus the number of seats in the city council fell.

Since 1932, a change of tactics can be observed in the Pardubice Communist organisation. The Communists still presented themselves as a political force defending the interests of the unemployed and socially weaker inhabitants of the city, but they began to show their

willingness to cooperate with other political entities. In particular, the Social Democrats and, to some extent, the National Socialists found themselves on the lookout for possible political partners. However, no concrete cooperation has yet taken place.

In 1935, however, a drastic change came. Communist rhetoric ceased to associate criticism of foreign militarism with the political system of Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, because of the growing influence of the Nazi Party in Germany and the unquestioned democratic nature of the Czechoslovakia, the attention of the communists shifted to the issue of the defence of the homeland. The Nazi regime was contrasted with the progressive establishment in the Soviet Union. After the unsuccessful parliamentary elections, the Pardubice Communists therefore took the route of supporting the idea of creating an anti-fascist front.

In the fateful year of 1938, when the first Czechoslovak Republic ended, the local organisation could be seen trying to support state policy aimed at the defence of the republic. That is why the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Pardubice also evaluated the partial mobilisation in May very positively and the demonstration of the strength of the Czechoslovak army, including the smooth entry of the conscripted reservists to their units. It was in this atmosphere that the municipal elections were held, which were successful for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the first time in a long time. The winning of five seats can be described as a positive result. However, the time of the free republic was slowly approaching, and therefore one of the last appearances of the Pardubice Communists took place during the stormy September 1938, when at a meeting at the Grand Hotel, alongside representatives of other parties, the Communists also spoke, and they too demanded an active defence of the Czechoslovakia and non-resistance to the demands of Nazi Germany. However, this was their last public appearance, because the following month saw the ban on their activities and the subsequent dissolution of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ). The members of the political party in question thus went underground, but this is no longer the subject of the present thesis.

In addition to tracing the development of the communist organisation in Pardubice itself, another question was asked at the beginning of the work: How did the Pardubice communists react to the directives of the central authorities and how did the significant programmatic

changes of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia affect their activities? The Communist organisation was one of the most unified political parties in interwar Czechoslovakia. All activities not only in the Pardubice organisation, but also in all superior structures, were carried out under the close supervision of the central authorities. The system of decision-making in intra-party politics was mainly vertical. This means that the directives of the headquarters were passed down to the regional, district and local or factory organisations and cells below, which then carried out these orders. The Central Committee and other central party structures did not expect the regions to express an opinion on the directives sent, but in the vast majority of cases, on the contrary, a report on the implementation of the directives was expected, accompanied at most by details of success or failure. Opposition from below was undesirable for decision-making within the Communist Party.

The third question, "Can the specifics of the local communist movement be found? This is probably the most difficult question because it is difficult to find clear criteria for a traditional region to compare Pardubice with. I will therefore first try to answer with measurable facts. In the light of the election results, they replicated the national results. If we focus only on the city of Pardubice itself, the Communist Party almost always achieved slightly better electoral gains than the national average, but the differences were not dramatic. On the other hand, the agrarian hinterland of Pardubice recorded rather below-average results compared to the overall gains of the Communist Party in individual elections. However, even here the rural environment of the immediate surroundings of Pardubice did not differ significantly from similar regions in other parts of the Czech lands.

If we were to try to find differences from areas where the Communist Party held stronger positions, for example, the author would venture the opinion that in Pardubice the Communists did pursue an active policy throughout the party's existence, as evidenced by dozens of events of various kinds, but only rarely did violent clashes occur, and even in these cases the conflicts were based on insults or minor physical insults, not violence in which the lives of the participants or the intervening gendarmes and soldiers were threatened or even destroyed. Therefore, one can express the opinion that this was a specific feature of Pardubice that was caused by the personnel

composition of the leadership of the Pardubice communist organisation, which mostly managed to keep its political activities within the limits of the law. Thanks to this, the approach of the representatives of the city and district administration can also be described as moderate and, at some moments, constructive.

The next of the key questions was: What was and how did the staffing in the leadership of the local organization change, and did the personnel changes correspond to the programmatic changes of the Communist Party during the interwar period? As has been mentioned many times on the previous pages, the personnel composition of the leadership of the Pardubice Communist organisation underwent considerable changes, especially at the time of the party's turn towards the Bolshevik line. Many of the "original" communists did not agree with this approach and therefore left their positions in the leadership of the local organisation or left the party. Therefore, as an answer to the last question, the medallions of the main leaders of the Pardubice organisation can be used to show who was at the head of the organisation at its birth and who, on the other hand, represented the new generation of members who came to the leadership of the local organisation at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s. Personnel changes corresponding to the changes in the party line can also be seen in the editorial staff of the Red East, where, especially after the Fifth Congress, a significant number of editors were replaced and thus the rhetoric of the paper changed. A typical example of this is the personality of Josef Žalský, who came to Pardubice as a typical representative of an indoctrinated editor with an offensive Bolshevik style of expression.

The last question can be understood as a supplementary reflection: can parallels be found between the Pardubice communist and fascist movements? Unlike the communist movement, the Czech fascist movement was not widespread throughout the whole territory of interwar Czechoslovakia. Only a few regions can be spoken of as territories where the National Fascist Community (the main grouping of the aforementioned political current) had a stronger position. One of the regions was Pardubice. It is for this reason that it is interesting to briefly compare the activities of the two movements. Both the Communists and the Czech fascists presented themselves as an anti-system political entity, because in their programmes they criticised and subsequently rejected the democratic system of

the Czechoslovak Republic. The communists hoped for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, while for the Czech fascists the declared goal was a corporate state ruled by an authoritarian regime. Both movements also used similar mechanisms to influence their supporters. Both fascists and communists were characterised by populism and demagoguery, and did not shy away from making full use of undemocratic propaganda or even publicly endorsing the use of violent methods of political struggle if they were to serve to achieve their programmatic goals. Despite the above-mentioned similarities, however, the two political movements stood in opposition to each other, which corresponds exactly to their position at opposite poles of the party spectrum. It is somewhat paradoxical that both the communists and the fascists primarily targeted similar social groups, which they attempted to reach with a completely different programme.

In the author's opinion, the above answers to the basic questions show that the presented work has largely succeeded in fulfilling its main goal, which was to fill in the imaginary white space in the post-Soviet historiography of Pardubice and to correct the distorted facts that appeared in the regional historiography dealing with this topic. In the post-1989 period, the attention of regional historiography quite logically turned towards other topics, and it is only now that the time is right for research on the communist movement, thanks to the greater time gap and the possibility to evaluate the activities of the communist organisation without ideological ballast. In contrast to titles that were written at the time of their appearance, the present work emphasizes rigorous historical criticism based mainly on archival sources and the contemporary press. For this reason, a section with medallions of the main leaders of the local communist movement has also been included in the present work.

The present work also brings a new perspective on the available literature and historical sources. In the relevant sections of the thesis, the available literature on the topic under study has been evaluated in relation to the time of its creation. In the interests of objectivity, all titles written before 1989 cannot be condemned as unusable simply because they date from the communist dictatorship.

Overview of the Sources and Literature

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