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TÉMA ANGLICKY:

London-based Czechoslovak exile government's radio broadcasts

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Tato diplomová práce se zabývá rozhlasovým vysíláním československé exilové vlády v Londýně v průběhu druhé světové války na stanici BBC. V teoretické části je prezentována historie exilové vlády, historie rozhlasové stanice BBC a významné osobnosti spojené s vysíláním. Teoretická část se věnuje také situaci médií, zejména rozhlasu, v průběhu 2. světové války na území Protektorátu Čechy a Morava.

V praktické části je analyzováno mediální pokrytí BBC významných válečných událostí rozhlasem.

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Anotace

TAUCHMANOVÁ, Věra. *London-based Czechoslovak exile government's radio broadcasts*. Hradec Králové: Pedagogická fakulta Univerzity Hradec Králové. 112 s. Diplomová práce.

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klíčová slova: BBC, rozhlasové vysílání, československá exilová vláda, média v průběhu druhé světové události, kvalitativní analýza, ilegální vysílání, válečné události

Annotation

TAUCHMANOVÁ, Věra. *London-based Czechoslovak exile government's radio broadcasts*. Hradec Králové: Faculty of Education, University of Hradec Králové, 112 pp. Diploma degree thesis.

This diploma thesis is focused on the London-based Czechoslovak exile government's BBC radio broadcasts during the Second World War. In the theoretical part, media's impact on people and the history of the BBC radio station are presented. The theoretical part is also devoted to the situation of media, especially the radio, during the Second World War in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

In the practical part, the BBC radio's coverage of significant events of the Second World War is presented.

key words: BBC, radio broadcasting, Czechoslovak exile government, media during the Second World War, qualitative analysis, illegal broadcasting, wartime events

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Introduction

“We live in the age of the masses; the masses rightly demand that they participate in the great events of the day. The radio is the most influential and important intermediary between a spiritual movement and the nation, between the idea and the people. And we shall place the radio in the service of our idea. While others build up troops and organize armies, we want to mobilize the army of public opinion. The army of spiritual unification.”¹ – Joseph Goebbels

During the Second World War, the radio was technically the most advanced means of media. Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda of Nazi Germany, was not the only person who realized how powerful the radio was and who wanted to take power over it. Later on, the radio was, in terms of importance, replaced by television and television was then replaced by the Internet. The fight over who is going to control media is an ongoing one, and that is one of the reasons why audiences should carefully decode all received information.

The topic of this submitted diploma thesis is the London-based Czechoslovak government-in-exile and the BBC broadcasting in the period of the Second World War.² The Czechoslovak government-in-exile, led by the Prime Minister Jan Šrámek, was officially appointed on July 9th 1940, but some of its members had already participated in the BBC broadcasting before that date. Together with journalists from the Czech Section of the BBC, they started a long-lasting period of the Czech language hearable on the airwaves of the BBC.

The BBC broadcasting from London was, together with broadcasting from France and from the Soviet Union, a very important source of information about the real situation in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. However, only for a short time were the journalists and politicians appreciated for their work done in London during the war period. It was when the Second World War finished, and this period lasted only three years. Then, for forty-one years, the communist regime criticized the London-based exile government for their deeds during the Second World War. After the Velvet Revolution in 1989, when the western world was no more presented as merely exploitative, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile stopped being criticized for the collaboration with the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, questions and discussions about what this Government did or did not do will always linger on.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters; the theoretical framework is presented in the

¹ David Vaughn, *Battle for the Airwaves* (Prague: Radioservis, a.s., 2008), 32.

² The London-based exile government has been referred to with more terms. In transcripts of the BBC broadcasts, the term *Czechoslovak government-in-exile* was the most frequently used one, and hence it is used in this diploma thesis.

first three ones. The first chapter opens with an overview of general points of view concerning the impacts the media have had on people both diachronically and synchronically. It also presents the major theories of media impacts. The second subchapter of the first chapter outlines the evolution of people's reactions to media, the evolution of critical thinking about media, and the position of media literacy and critical thinking in school curricula. Types and features of propaganda, and guidelines given to propagandists on how to influence people are then followed by case studies illustrating one example of successful propaganda and one example of unsuccessful propagandistic efforts. The next part is devoted to the language of propaganda. Furthermore, the general features of Nazi Germany's propaganda are presented together with the ways in which this totalitarian regime imposed this propaganda on particular groups of people in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during the Second World War. The very last part of the first chapter is devoted to the language of propaganda.

The second chapter is divided into three subchapters which present information about official and illegal media existing in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the information about the legal system and the system of the control of media. The chapter also focuses on the radio broadcasting in the Protectorate and on the official propaganda.

The main topic of the third chapter of the diploma thesis is the BBC broadcasting in the Czech language performed during the Second World War. The chapter opens with some facts about the history of the BBC. The first subchapter presents basic facts and information about the beginnings of the broadcasting in the Czech language, about its aims, guidelines and principles, and also about the broadcasting times and people who contributed to the broadcasting. Subsequently, the position taken by the BBC broadcasting in the occupied area is discussed. The third chapter focuses also on the ways in which people listening to the broadcasts were persecuted.

In the fourth chapter of the thesis, the applied methodological principles of the media analysis are presented. Each phase of the research process, from the selection of the topic through the data collection and the data analysis, is described there.

The fifth chapter presents the results of the analysis of the selected events that happened in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during the Second World War, together with the general and overall picture of the broadcasting and the ways in which propaganda was used in the broadcasting.

The sixth chapter refers back to the seven maxims of propaganda and presents the results of analytical research whose aim was to find out whether the BBC broadcasters observed or did not observe the maxims.

The seventh chapter then presents a proposal and layout of activities through which upper-secondary school students can be made familiar with the BBC radio broadcasting and through which they can improve their speaking and presentation skills in English.

The Appendices are an inseparable part of the thesis. All of them are connected with Chapter 7 - they are supposed to be used as teaching and learning materials presenting pictures and materials taken from the already published works, and materials specifically designed for the activities outlined in the seventh chapter.

Three different types of primary sources were used when processing the theoretical part of the thesis. The first one are printed monographs written in the Czech language and in English. The main monograph referred to in the first chapter is the book *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, in which its author, Denis McQuail, deals with media effects. To introduce the theoretical background linked with people's critical response to media, monographs *Boj o média* [Fight for media] by Dieter Prokop, *Agenda setting* by Maxwell McCombs and *The Gutenberg Galaxy* by Marshall McLuhan were used. The key source concerning propaganda is *Propaganda Boom* by A. J. Mackenzie. It is highly important to mention the fact that this work had been published only two years before the Second World War started, so this monograph offers the opinion on the propaganda prevalent during the analyzed time period. Monographs *Hitler Youth, Growing Up Female in Nazi Germany* and *Language of the Third Reich* were used for the subchapter about Nazi propaganda and its aspects. To present general facts about the BBC broadcasting during the Second World War in the second chapter, the monograph *London Calling the World* was used. To present the information about the broadcasting in Czech, Czech-written monographs were used as no works focusing on this particular issue have been published in English yet.³ These works offer information about the Czech Section of the BBC, the guidelines applied to the broadcasting, and also information about the exile government. The only available literary work written in English and mentioning the BBC broadcasting in Czech was *Battle of the Airwaves*, from which the quotation at the beginning of the Introduction was taken. However, this work did not seem as much useful for this thesis as it focused more on broadcasting of the official radio station in the Protectorate and on broadcasting from Nazi Germany. Owing to the fact that no detailed information about the content and the language of the BBC reports has been found, and the related fact that reactions of the audience were rarely mentioned in the accessible works, the author decided to focus on these issues in the practical part of the diploma thesis.

³ These monographs were for example *Volá Londýn* [London Calling], *Rozhlas v okupaci* [Radio in the Period of the Occupation], *Tvorba v okupaci* [Production in the Occupation].

Due to the real lack of sources it was impossible to extend the third chapter of the thesis. The sources used in the second chapter and referring to the media system in the Protectorate are principally monographs written by significant Czech historiographers, such as Jan Jirák, Barbara Köpplová or Petr Bednařík. In the fourth chapter, publications which contain guidelines for qualitative research like *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection* or *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis: Introducing Qualitative Methods series* are used. The second major type of the sources were online books available on the website *Books.google.cz*. These books were not accessible in the Czech Republic. That is why mainly the Internet sources were used in case of references to authentic legal documents about media education or censorship and also in case of references to the information about the BBC. The third major type of primary sources, transcripts of the war time radio broadcasting, mostly available both in Czech and in English, was used in the practical part of the thesis.

The diploma thesis aims at four objectives. The first one is to analyze how the BBC reports informed about specific events that occurred during the Second World War. The second one is to provide characteristic features of the propaganda of the radio station, and to provide reflections on the theory by A. J. Mackenzie. It is required that the audience should be as important to journalists as their messages are – that is why the thesis also focuses on the impact which the BBC broadcasting in Czech had on Czech people. The analysis of this impact is the third objective the thesis seeks to fulfill. The fourth aim is to propose a kind of educational activity suitable for upper-secondary school students, this activity is supposed to be related to the findings presented in this thesis. Media surround people since their earliest childhood and it is necessary to understand them. The power of media has been abused in the history of mankind. Students should be taught about their potential, and they should be aware of problematic issues. Additionally, being taught about the BBC broadcasting in the Czech language during the Second World War, pupils and students can learn something about official and unofficial propaganda during the war and also about messages of encouragement sent to the Czech nation during the wartime.

1 Media's impact

This chapter of the thesis presents the types of media effects on people, people's reactions to media and propaganda used in media. Media are generally thought to have a significant impact on both individuals and on the society these individuals belong to, which has been claimed in published studies of various types focusing on examining media's effects from both the diachronic and synchronic points of view. The following paragraphs present three cases of interpretation of media effects – one interpretation is given from the diachronic point of view (which is presented together with the summaries of various theories), and the other two are presented from the synchronic point of view. From numerous studies on this topic that have been carried out since the 1930s, these are recommended by syllabi for university students who attend courses in media effects.⁴

In the following subchapter, the interpretations mentioned above will be supplemented with comments made by the author of this submitted thesis. The comments will focus on people's critical opinions of media.

1.1 General impacts of media

Denis McQuail divided the ways how media generally affected people in the 20th century into four phases. For the first three decades of the century, the power of media was regarded as unlimited, which led McQuail to call them *media all-powerful*. McQuail points out that “the then new media were credited with considerable power to shape opinion and belief, to change habits of life and mould behaviour more or less according to the will of their controllers.”⁵ It was claimed that media played a very important role in lives of ordinary people, and they contributed to significant historical milestones of that thirty-year period, such as the First World War, the Russian Revolution or the beginning of the rise to power of the Nazi Party. If we evaluate the first phase retrospectively, we can say that not all the potential power of media was made use of and that owners and reporters were focusing only on the immediate reactions of recipients of media contents who were thus being told what to

⁴ for example the University of Warwick, see: “EN982 Translation and Mass Media Communication,” assessed June 9, 2018, <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/english/currentstudents/pg/masters/modules/en982/>

⁵ Denis McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000), 456.

do and how to act.⁶ A lack of speculations about media effects and the fact that no studies about their effects were carried out were reflected in the opinion that the process of impacting people's minds was not systematic.

Since certain doubts about the power of media started to appear, and the media effects were taken into consideration in the following phase lasting from the 1930s to the 1960s, McQuail called that phase as the phase of *theory of powerful media put to the test*.⁷ *The People's Choice* is a famous study by sociologists Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Bernard Berelson.⁸ The title of this case study may sound ironic when one considers its conclusions. It was suggested that there are two steps before news reaches the audience: "...ideas often flow from radio and print to the opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of population."⁹ These opinion leaders could be either politicians and other higher authorities or ordinary people capable of influencing others. "The closer the relationship opinion leaders had with people they influenced, the easier influencing and persuading was as opinion leaders were entrusted."¹⁰ Numerous studies and case studies which were carried out from the 1930s to the 1960s were mainly informative. No advice of what to present in media in order to affect people in a tolerable extent was given in them.

The expansion of a new type of media – television – restored popularity and influential potential to media. The reality of the 1960s and 1970s was hence reflected in calling the third phase of media effects as *powerful media rediscovered*. In these two decades, key media theories were proposed.¹¹ In 1972, Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw carried out a study based on what appeared in media in the presidential campaign in the United States of America in 1968. The aim of the study was to "match what Chapel Hill voters said with key issues of the campaign with the actual content of the mass media used by them during the campaign."¹² The study discovered that various types of media "have exerted a considerable impact on voters' judgments of what they considered the major issues of the campaign"¹³. The more information about a certain issue appeared in media, the more this issue was considered by the audience. The study showed that media can determine what

⁶ McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, 457.

⁷ McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, 461.

⁸ Elihu Katz and Paul Felix Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence, the Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications* (Livingston: Transaction Publishers, 1966), 308.

⁹ Katz, and Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence, the Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*, 313.

¹⁰ McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, 456.

¹¹ McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, 458.

¹² Maxwell McCombs, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (1972), 185.

¹³ McCombs, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," 180.

people talk about and think about – McCombs and Shaw called this newly-found concept *agenda-setting*.¹⁴ Another important theory which helped to define this phase of media effects was proposed by a late German sociologist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, who specialized in the public opinion research. Noelle-Neumann chose twelve topics which were regarded as more or less controversial in the early 1970s, such as the issues concerning the abortion law, unmarried couples living together or the corporal punishment law. Noelle-Neumann made investigations into the issue whether people were willing or unwilling to discuss controversial topics and what their reasons for such willingness/unwillingness were. Noelle-Neumann claims that this willingness or unwillingness of people to talk about certain topics depended mainly on their personal characteristics (for example: their age, sex, occupation) and on the acceptability of their opinions – some people were afraid that their opinions were not, or would not be, the opinions of the majority.¹⁵ According to Noelle-Neumann's opinion expressed in *The Spiral of Silence a Theory of Public Opinion*, people used media as a source which helped them decide what to say.¹⁶ Noelle-Neumann defined a social-psychological mechanism called *the spiral of silence* in the following way: “The mass media have to be seen as creating public opinion: they provide the environmental pressure.”¹⁷ Furthermore, people should not let media influence their lives too much. They should maintain their critical point of view and they should not behave, think or express themselves only in the way media want them to.

The fourth phase of media effects, which is still ongoing, started in the 1980s and is referred to as *negotiated influence*. In this phase, media have been currently seen as a means through which social reality is created. They offer this reality to people who can choose which information they want to receive and which they do not.¹⁸ The audiences have been in the centre of attention of numerous studies. In 2005, Antonio La Pastina summarized the principles of ethnographies based on his case study into media engagement in rural Brazil. He came to the conclusion that in Brazil telenovelas have generally had a huge impact on people thanks to ethnography. Having got to know people living in the rural area and having talked to them, La Pastina realized that telenovelas help people to escape their own problems, to discover urban areas of their country and to have something to dream about. La Pastina praised ethnography for enabling the examination of the phenomena in a larger historical

¹⁴ McCombs, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media,” 189.

¹⁵ Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, “The Spiral of Silence a Theory of Public Opinion,” *Journal of Communication* 23, no. 2 (1974): 49.

¹⁶ Noelle-Neumann, “The Spiral of Silence a Theory of Public Opinion”, 46.

¹⁷ Noelle-Neumann, “The Spiral of Silence a Theory of Public Opinion,” 51.

¹⁸ McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*), 458.

framework and hence for “insertion in the broader regional, national, and global context.”¹⁹ Finally, people have not been seen only as passive recipients who do not differ from each other, but as individuals who have gained a freed choice to pick up what they really want to receive.

More than to the history of media influence, researchers currently devote their attention and studies to revealing the effects of particular media or of mediated contents on particular groups of people (based on their sex, age, occupation or sexual orientation) at a particular moment or period of time – the approach taken from the synchronic point of view is applied. According to the British media specialist, Graeme Burton, the particular media’s effects can be divided into *short-term* ones (individual and collective reactions, media campaigns, obtaining information from the news) and *long-term* (socialization, spreading innovations, cultural and institutional changes).²⁰ Elizabeth M. Perse grouped media’s effects into *direct*, *conditional*, *cumulative* and *cognitive-transactional* ones. Media have direct effects when the audiences are “still incapable or unable to analyse and/or evaluate media messages.”²¹ Conditional effects are exerted on more active audiences who “selectively interpret the content along with needs, interests, and experiences, and recall messages within their own individualized mental frameworks.”²² Cumulative effects appear when people are constantly exposed to media. In fact, when people are exposed to similar content for an unlimited period of time, media construct reality.²³ When people are active in selecting media content and hence respond cognitively towards media content, media thus have *cognitive-transactional* effects.²⁴ Denis McQuail focused on changes which can be (or cannot be) evoked by media. According to him, types of changes that media can cause are *intended*, *unintended*, *minor*, *facilitative* or *reinforcing* (which means that no changes are evoked).²⁵ According to studies which were carried out in the past, people who work in media can learn lessons from their predecessors and achieve the effects they seek. From the above mentioned characteristics of the effects, we can deduce that not all of them are favourable for the audiences. Therefore, people, while receiving media messages, should be cautious and should not consider media to be sources of absolute truth.

¹⁹ McQuail, *McQuail’s Mass Communication Theory*, 458.

²⁰ Graeme Burton, Jan Jiráček. *Úvod do studia médií* (Brno: BARRISTER & PRINCIPAL, 2001), 350.

²¹ Elizabeth M. Perse, Jennifer Lambe. *Media Effects and Society* (London: Routledge, 2016), 51.

²² Lambe, Perse, *Media Effects and Society*, 57.

²³ Lambe, Perse, *Media Effects and Society*, 64.

²⁴ Lambe, Perse, *Media Effects and Society*, 72.

²⁵ Lambe, Perse, *Media Effects and Society*, 464.

It is necessary to emphasize the fact that people are generally seen as becoming more active in evaluating media messages. The following paragraphs are going to be therefore devoted to people's critical insight into media.

1.2 People's responses to media

In the introduction to his book *Boj o média* [Fight for Media], Dieter Prokop, a German sociologist, presents four basic functions of media: emotional, propaganda and discursive ones and that of social guidance and orientation. According to Prokop, media systems have been created on the basis of never-ending fights between various groups of people who have wanted to take power over media. Having gained this power, they can possibly profit from the functions of media and turn them into benefits.²⁶ Recipients should be oriented in the media system, find all its advantages and be aware of its pitfalls. *Media literacy* is the term referring to all necessary skills and abilities linked with using media. Its importance was highlighted for the first time in 1967 by Marshall McLuhan, a media theorist, who predicted that thanks to electronic media, the world would become a global village. With a wide spectrum of media content in all parts of the world, it was necessary to orient in them.²⁷ In the text called *Study on the Current Trends and Approaches to Media Literacy in Europe*,²⁸ which was issued at the instigation of the European Commission, seven areas of competences related to media literacy were defined. One of the abilities of a competent person – in terms of orientation in media – is to “analyse critically the techniques, languages and conventions used by media and the messages they convey.”²⁹ Having this ability, people can avoid the risk of being influenced by media directly.

Interconnections between media literacy and critical thinking have been proved by numerous studies. *The UNESCO International Bureau of Education* defines critical thinking as a process “that involves asking appropriate questions, gathering and creatively sorting through relevant information, relating new information to existing knowledge, re-examining beliefs and assumptions, reasoning logically, and drawing reliable and trustworthy conclusions.”³⁰ Having read this definition, we can come to the conclusion that media literacy

²⁶ Dieter Prokop, *Boj o média* (Prague: Karolinum, 2005), 9.

²⁷ Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 294.

²⁸ José Manuel Pérez Tornero, “Current trends and approaches to media literacy in Europe,” accessed April 10, 2018, http://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/culture/library/studies/literacy-trends-report_en.pdf

²⁹ Tornero, “Current trends and approaches to media literacy in Europe.”

³⁰ “Poll on critical thinking about media – Results,” accessed April 10, 2018, https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/en/pub/viewpoints/polls/poll_critical_thinking_and_me.htm

cannot exist without critical thinking. No one should unquestioningly accept what is communicated by media. All recipients should be able to decide, based on their previous knowledge, whether the presented content is true or false. They should be also able to form their own opinions about contents and then they should be able to justify these opinions. Critical thinking is only one aspect of media education, and the question “How much attention should be actually paid to it?” needs answering.

In the Czech Republic, the process of media literacy’s improvement has been supported by media education as one of the cross-curricular topics in the national curriculum for basic schools since 2007 and in the grammar schools’ curriculum since 2009. In the thematic outlines of media education in the Czech Republic it is proposed that pupils are to be taught how to think critically about searching for information in media, about every component of media system, about media texts as a whole, and also about accompanying texts and audio-visual materials.³¹ It seems convenient to integrate media education into the mother tongue and foreign language classes. The last chapter of this thesis presents a specific case of training in media literacy – an outline of one school day fully devoted to working with media presentations and practising language and presentation skills in a foreign language.

In the previous subchapter, Denis McQuail’s four phases of media effects were mentioned. However, critical thinking does not appear in his theory. Nevertheless, from the text it is possible to draw certain conclusions concerning the necessity of critical thinking about the 20th century’s media. The first thirty years of the last century can be characterized as a period in which the situation when people did not think critically about media and contents presented by them was really beneficial for the authorities. Media were used to shape public opinion of masses and anyone whose opinion was different was considered as a potential threat. Critical points of view were then probably highly undesirable as ordinary people were expected to accept all media reports without any objections and doubts. From the 1930s to the 1960s, recipients and their reactions were in the centre of media’s attention. The fact that recipients were divided into two groups – opinion leaders and the others – means that it was necessary only for the first group to think critically about media. It is likely that the opinion leaders wanted to shape the public opinion, and they probably did not want the rest of the audience to think critically about the contents. In the 1970s (i.e. in the second part of the third phase described by McQuail), the concept of *agenda-setting* was established. Its authors,

³¹ “Mediální výchova,” accessed May 10, 2018, <http://www.prurezovatemata.cz/Metodikav%C3%BDukypr%C5%AF%C5%99ezov%C3%BDcht%C3%A9mat/Medi%C3%A1ln%C3%ADv%C3%BDchova.aspx>

Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, pointed out the fact that when an agenda is being set, those who are involved in the process should be careful about the arguments they choose and about the way their messages are written or said as some topics may be regarded as more important by the audience.³² The audience and their points of view were considered to be something to which those who transmit media messages should pay attention. Members of the audience were not divided into more prominent and less prominent ones. In the period of the fourth phase of media impacts, the biggest role of the audience was admitted. Since the 1980s, people have been thought to use media as one of the means to create their own reality by selecting only those facts which seem convenient and useful to them. This is why critical thinking is really necessary. To sum up, proceeding from McQuail's theory, we can conclude that critical thinking has evolved from an inadmissible process to a process desired by the authorities. Nowadays, critical thinking is considered necessary for understanding media.

In connection with the last chapter of this thesis, which is devoted to working with contents presented by British media and to making presentations in English, it seems convenient to briefly mention the United Kingdom's system of media education. The beginnings of this type of education (which date to the 1930s) were connected with the necessity to understand films, and this education was, moreover, "aimed at opposing harmful media influences."³³ In the 1950s and 1960s, the studies about media were hence given the name *screen education* and teaching was realized within English language lessons. In those two decades, media education was still focused on films. But this changed in the 1970s and 1980s. The role of new media and information technology was becoming more important and it was crucial for pupils and students to understand those phenomena. The biggest efforts to do so were made in the sphere of interpretation of media texts. Media education was provided within the framework of other subjects, mainly languages and social sciences. The real progress achieved in media education was evident in the 1990s and the 2000s. This type of education was focused on by academic researchers. The first journals devoted to this topic started to be published in the 1990s. However, at primary and secondary schools in the United Kingdom, media education was carried out only in irregular block schedules, occupying only one to two weeks a year.³⁴ Since 2014, media literacy has been considered to be crucial and it has had to be improved not only within the classes of media education but also across classes in other subjects because: "Media education in the UK is integrated across different

³² McCombs, *Agenda setting* (Prague: Portál, 2009), 126.

³³ Alexander Fedorov, "Media education around the world: Brief History," *Acta Didactica Napocensia* 1, no. 2 (2008): 56-58.

³⁴ Fedorov, "The Spiral of Silence a Theory of Public Opinion," 51.

subjects.”³⁵ When speaking about the evolution of critical thinking and the level of media education, one can state that there is a direct proportionality between them; people are now seen to understand media contents much better than in the era when media education was neither a school subject nor a cross-curriculum topic.

The fact that critical thinking has gradually become a skill which is necessarily required by all recipients of media contents is reflected not only in the current position of media education in school curricula of the United Kingdom but also in the curricula and educational documents of the Czech Republic. This reality can be hardly considered as being negative because the present media impacts are enormous. The ability of critical thinking is essential in connection with the most influential kind of specific media impacts presented in the following subchapter.

1.3 Specific media impacts

General impacts of media were already discussed in subchapter 1.1; this subchapter will be focused mainly on their most intentional kind of specific impact – on propaganda. The term appeared first in the name of the organization *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, which was an organization established by the Roman Catholic Church with the intention to spread the Catholic faith and to denigrate other religions.³⁶ Garth Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell claim that propaganda is “a form of communication that attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.”³⁷ The main aim of propaganda then is to satisfy the needs of a propagandist, while the needs of the audience are not regarded as important. The *Encyclopaedia of American Journalism* expands on the definition of propaganda, stating it is “the spreading of ideas, information, or rumour for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person; and ideas, facts, or allegations spread to further one’s cause or to damage an opposing cause.”³⁸ According to the above mentioned sources, the negative connotation has been linked with propaganda almost since the first time this term was ever used in the 17th century. It is pointed out that propaganda actively supports someone or something and at the same time it tries to damage someone or something else.

³⁵ Lászlo Hartai, “Report on Formal Media Education in Europe,” accessed April 10, 2018, <https://eavi.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Media-Education-in-European-Schools-2.pdf>

³⁶ Stephen L. Vaughn, *Encyclopaedia of American Journalism* (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), 424.

³⁷ Garth Jowett, Victoria O’Donnell. *Propaganda and persuasion* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2012), 1.

³⁸ Vaughn, *Encyclopaedia of American Journalism*, 6.

Generally speaking, propaganda can be assessed from two points of view which are based on two primary criteria – on the criterion of its objective and that of its style. Oliver Thompson, a propaganda theorist, came up with seven different types of propaganda based on its objective: *political* (to gain and to keep political power), *economic* (to sell more products), *military* (to demoralize enemy, to encourage soldiers), *diplomatic* (to make people love friends and hate enemies), *didactic* (to educate people), *religious* (to spread ideology) and *escapist* (to divert people’s attention).³⁹ According to its style, the following types of propaganda can be distinguished: *rational* (facts that help with the manipulation of people are highlighted, the others are concealed), *quasi-rational* (associations are used to support weak arguments) and *emotional* (subjective thoughts are presented).⁴⁰ These days, however, one cannot think about the objectives separately as all parts of society are connected. When a person, an institution, or an organization wants to affect the society, they have to concentrate on that society as a whole and, therefore, all objectives need to be considered simultaneously.

Propaganda has various characteristic features. Jacques Ellul, a French sociologist, highlights the following ones in particular: propaganda deals with beliefs and ideas; masses are more important than individuals; all technical means are utilized; propaganda is continuous and usually lasts for a longer period of time; and it is controlled by a specific institution.⁴¹ Propaganda also divides the world into two different parts: *our world* and *the world of the others*. While *our world* is considered to have only good qualities, *the world of the others* is, on the contrary, full of enemies against whom it is necessary to mobilize one’s hatred. Enemies are presented as savage, barbaric and inhumane creatures who want to destroy *our world*.⁴² If there are any bad qualities of *our world*, they are concealed and on the contrary, good qualities of *the world of the others* must not be mentioned. This “black and white” vision of the world has been used mainly by totalitarian regimes.

From the following text it is clear that successful and/or unsuccessful propaganda efforts can be observed in both totalitarian and non-totalitarian regimes. The results of the research which revealed that successfulness is not connected with the social regime itself but is connected with certain maxims, and examples of successful and unsuccessful propaganda efforts are presented furthermore.

³⁹ Karen Egolf and John McDonough, *The Advertising Age: Encyclopaedia of Advertising* (London: Routledge, 2015), 1295.

⁴⁰ Egolf, and McDonough, *The Advertising Age: Encyclopaedia of Advertising*, 1295.

⁴¹ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 4-32.

⁴² David Welch, “Depicting the enemy,” accessed April 1, 2018, <https://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/depicting-the-enemy>

1.3.1 Successful and unsuccessful propaganda

A. J. Mackenzie carried out research and came with the idea of revealing what makes propaganda successful.⁴³

This claim is based on qualities of the audience. Calling his findings *seven secrets of propaganda success*, he defined seven maxims that must be followed so that propaganda could be considered successful. The first maxim is *repetition*. With a large number of pieces of information coming from various types of media every day, people naturally forget some of them.⁴⁴ If we want people to remember certain information, we must repeat it as frequently as possible.⁴⁵ The second maxim is *colour*, which means that a propagandist should pay attention to the components s/he comprises his/her message of and s/he should make the audience agree with the way how the information is presented. One of the characteristic features of propaganda is distortion of reality. The third maxim of propaganda claims that it should contain *a kernel of truth*. Extended facts may be adjusted but the core of information must be based on true and credible facts. If the recommended features – rhythm, appositeness, spontaneity and an emphasis on the positive – are present, *slogan*, the fourth maxim of successful propaganda can make people understand and feel what is the significant part of the events, and then thus also make them act the way they are demanded to act.⁴⁶ The fifth requirement of successful propaganda is setting a *specific objective* and make efforts to reach it. Audiences are unpredictable, and one never knows how people will react to propaganda. The behaviour of the audience can make reaching of the objective more complicated, but the process must not be interrupted. The audience may know that efforts are made to persuade its members about certain issues, but it should never know that its members are purposefully being manipulated. This is why propagandists are obliged to *conceal the motive*.⁴⁷ The seventh maxim is *timing*: “In a campaign the propagandist must space out his appeals at definite intervals of time.”^{48,49} In particular, Mackenzie also sees the members of the audience not only as passive recipients but also as recipients who further work with what they receive.

⁴³ Alexander J. Mackenzie, *Propaganda Boom* (London: The Right Book Club, 1938), 51.

⁴⁴ The amount of information addressed to various kinds of the audience has multiplied since 1938 when Mackenzie’s book was published. Nowadays, it is even possible to receive information from two or more media at the same moment.

⁴⁵ Alexander J. Mackenzie, *Propaganda Boom* (London: The Right Book Club, 1938), 48.

⁴⁶ Mackenzie recommends dramatic and simple phrases, passionate appeal and alliteration.

⁴⁷ Mackenzie, *Propaganda Boom*, 52-69.

⁴⁸ Mackenzie, *Propaganda Boom*, 75.

⁴⁹ Mackenzie compiled the guidelines in 1938 and having read the detailed descriptions of these principles, we can conclude that he based his claims mainly on the propaganda made during the First World War and the propaganda of Nazi Germany.

Despite the possible merits of propaganda, he thus warns propagandists against underestimating the power of the public.

It is not an easy task to say which propaganda is successful and which is unsuccessful. This is caused mainly by the fact that impacts of propaganda are now seen differently, or that fewer people than expected have been influenced. Three propagandistic efforts are going to be discussed below to illustrate this issue. All the examples are purposefully connected with war time periods because one of the world wars is the core of this thesis. However, different wars are concerned since a timeless characterization of propaganda is being sought.

Based on their immediate effects, one of the presented cases of propaganda can be regarded as successful, one of them as unsuccessful. The third one, the propaganda of Nazi Germany, will be presented in a later separate subchapter. There are more reasons for presenting the Nazi propaganda in more detail and after the text devoted to the propaganda language. The Nazis used a very systematic and very well-worked-out kind of propaganda, people were more or less permanently exposed to it. Moreover, this propaganda was timely simultaneous to the BBC propaganda which will be analysed later.

The first presented case of propaganda refers to so called Four Minute Men who were spokespersons appointed by Woodrow Wilson in 1917 to persuade the citizens of the United States about the fact that entering the First World War was necessary, or even desirable. The Four Minute Men were numerous students and teachers of American universities who gave four-minute speeches in cinemas where people were gathering frequently as a new type of media – film – appeared. Considering the characteristic features of their speeches, they can be claimed to have met the requirements imposed on successful propaganda as defined by Mackenzie. The Four Minute Men worked with slogans, such as calling the First World War *Danger to Democracy, Danger to America*.⁵⁰ They gave their speeches repetitively in regular intervals and highlighted important information again and again. They combined components of their speeches to affect people's emotions and, more importantly, to make them believe that not entering the WWI would have a catastrophic impact on them and on their families. The latter was obviously true, however, the U.S. government knew that winning the War would also strengthen the dominant position of the United States in the world.

On the contrary, *The Corpse Factory Story of World War I* published by the Allied countries, whose aim was to manipulate opinions of the people living in the countries of the Allied Powers about the atrocities caused by the Germans, was soon revealed to be a hoax.

⁵⁰ Lisa Mastrangelo, "World War I, Public Intellectuals, and the Four Minute Men: Convergent Ideals of Public Speaking and Civic Participation," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 19, no. 2 (2009): 607-634.

Articles in newspapers published in England, France and Belgium contained information that “the Germans were boiling down their own dead soldiers to make useful products – pigs’ food, fertilizer, glycerine, lubricants and soap.”⁵¹ However, this information was based on non-existing sources, on wrong translations of German words into English, and on using unrelated images with texts. *The Corpse Factory Story of World War I* thus made some people sceptical about believing in what they are presented. This is why, later, the information about what was really happening in concentration camps during the Second World War and about Holocaust was for a long time thought to be another hoax, another atrocity story.⁵² *The Story* was not a case of successful propaganda as it did not meet the essential requirements imposed on propaganda – it was not based on true events, and this fact was detected by the audience.

1.3.2 Language of propaganda

The term of propaganda is close to that of persuasion.⁵³ Both the terms refer to efforts to influence people’s minds, both of them have to use linguistic means specific for the given purpose. Nevertheless, there are some differences between them which are going to be summarized on the following lines: Propagandists manipulate the audience to accomplish the objectives of propaganda and they do not care about the needs of the audience, they are not worried about causing damage to people. Persuasion is “interactive and attempts to satisfy the needs of both the persuader and the persuadee.”⁵⁴ Propaganda and persuasion use a special kind of language. Victor Klemperer, a German writer who carefully studied the language of Nazi Germany, found out that the essential principle is not to invent words but to give old words a new value and use them until they are understood the way this value is accepted.⁵⁵ Propagandists and persuaders present their attitudes. Messages frequently contain the authors’ personal opinions, they are presented with the objective to manipulate the audience, to persuade them about the correctness of these opinions and hence to make them trust in these opinions. The information which is often presented in the form of narration interlaced with

⁵¹ Randal Marlin, Joachim, Neander, “Media and Propaganda: The Northcliffe Press and the Corpse Factory Story of World War I,” *Global Media Journal – Canadian Edition* 3, no. 2 (2010), 79.

⁵² Marlin, Neander, “Media and Propaganda: The Northcliffe Press and the Corpse Factory Story of World War I,” 67-82.

⁵³ Jowett, O’Donnell, *Propaganda and persuasion*, 1.

⁵⁴ Jowett, O’Donnell, *Propaganda and persuasion*, 1.

⁵⁵ Victor Klemperer, *Language of the Third Reich* (London: A&C Black, 2006), 103,

<https://books.google.cz/books?id=wILUAWAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=language+of+the+third+reich&hl=cs&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjvNCFhqbaAhVFzqQKHeyBCdoQuwUILzAA#v=onepage&q=language%20of%20the%20third%20reich&f=false>, accessed May 4, 2018

dialogues and fixed phrases. Scenes are depicted vividly so that audience's imagination and emotions are involved. The audience is addressed directly with challenges or warnings.

A special attention should be paid to media pictures of the representatives of *our world* and of *the world of the others*. If the members of *our world* are referred to, their whole names, degrees and titles should be used. If we refer to those who represent *the world of the others*, we should reduce their titles. Referring to our enemies, we should not forget to blame them.⁵⁶ To appeal to the audience's emotions, evaluating adjectives and adverbs, rhetorical devices such as hyperbole or euphemism are used. The less the addressees know about the failures of the regime, the better. When it is inevitable to inform about something negative or unsuccessful, then that failure is presented as a sporadic event. To alleviate disappointment caused by failures, information about achievements should be repeated.

As it was already mentioned above, one of the most systematic and best-worked-out kind of propaganda was that of Nazi Germany. The Nazis worked perfectly and systematically with the language through which they addressed the audience and to which the audience was exposed. For the reasons given in 1.3.1 subchapter, Nazi Propaganda will be devoted one separate subchapter of this thesis.

1.3.3 Nazi Propaganda

“If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it.”⁵⁷ Through this memorable quotation, Joseph Goebbels clearly expressed the idea that it was necessary for the masses in Nazi Germany to be constantly exposed to the ideological propaganda because then they could believe it. Being permanently exposed to the Nazi ideology, people were also expected not to search for any additional “facts” or confidential information. To ensure the efforts of propaganda were successful, the Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment was established by Adolf Hitler in 1933. He wanted to have control of and over all the information spread in Germany as well as in the countries which he wanted to take power over. For this reason, the Ministry exerted control over the information in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.⁵⁸ Although Goebbels was not the

⁵⁶ Jowett, O'Donnell, *Propaganda and persuasion*, 303.

⁵⁷ Joseph Goebbels, “On the Big Lie,” accessed April 1, 2018, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/joseph-goebbels-on-the-quot-big-lie-quot>

⁵⁸ “Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment,” accessed April 1, 2018, <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10008224>

only person who was responsible for the propaganda of Nazi Germany, he was recognized as its main symbol.

The cult of personality is an important characteristic of totalitarian regimes. Nazi authorities like Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler or Reinhard Heydrich were celebrated.⁵⁹ It was only Adolf Hitler, however, who was glorified so much that the “cult of the Führer” was built around him. Portraits of Hitler were hanging on the walls inside all the official state institutions and at homes of people devoted to the regime or those who at least pretended their devotion. In those portraits, Hitler was captured surrounded by children and women; songs and poems praising him were written. The phrase *Hail Hitler!*, celebrating the Führer, was the most common greeting used mainly by the Nazi authorities.⁶⁰ When real deeds of the Nazi authorities were divulged after the Second World War, it was clear that false pieces of information about them were presented. Nevertheless, some people of Nazi Germany believed that the ideal pictures of the Nazi authorities were true.

Furthermore, the Nazis did not forget to spread propaganda among children, young adults and women. Hitler knew that propaganda would have bigger effect on those who had little or no knowledge about the situation before the Nazi party had come into existence. To educate strong men who would believe in the Nazi ideology and new political leaders, the organization for young and adolescent boys from the age of ten to the age of eighteen was established in 1922. In 1930, the organization was given its official name the *Hitlerjugend* [Hitler Youth]. The activities offered by the organization included biking, boating, camping, field trips, camping, music, shooting and lecturing about racism.⁶¹ While boys were gathered in the *Hitler Youth*, girls had their own organization, *Der Bund Deutscher Mädel* [the League of German Girls]. In the *League*, girls received physical and psychological education to be prepared for their future motherhood. However, Jutta Rüdiger, the main representative of the League, stated that the main objective of the *League* was not oriented on the family lives of the girls: “first and foremost, what we wanted was to educate them to have a bright and cheery life as young girls.”⁶² Pictures of women who were obviously supporting the Nazi party were not rare, however, women did not seem to have any political or military value for

⁵⁹ Claudia Koonz, *Svědomy nacizmu* (Praha: Columbus, 2009), 95.

⁶⁰ Koonz, *Svědomy nacizmu*, 99.

⁶¹ “Hitler Youth Activities,” accessed April 4, 2018, <http://histclo.com/youth/youth/org/nat/hitler/act/ha-act.htm>

⁶² Dagmar Reese, *Growing Up Female in Nazi Germany* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 49, <https://books.google.cz/books?id=5qA4My-C2nkC&printsec=frontcover&dq=league+of+german+girls&hl=cs&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiX94Hes6XaAhWSx6YKHcmdAJ0QuwUILTAA#v=onepage&q=league%20of%20german%20girls&f=false>, accessed April 4, 2018

Nazi Germany. The ideal for the leadership was that of a “more feminine woman.”⁶³ The aim of the prominent propaganda was thus to influence women to believe that the only right place for them was their home where they should attend to their chores and looked after their husband and children.

Nazi propaganda will be presented in a more detailed way in subchapter 2.2 of this thesis. However, referring back to the seven maxims of propaganda, we can come to the conclusion that only one of the maxims can be doubted in case of Nazi propaganda – a kernel of truth. The importance of the didactic objective of the Nazis’ propaganda is definitely worth mentioning.

The first chapter opened with general facts about media and their impacts on people, it dealt with people’s attitudes to media and then with specific media impacts. A survey of general features of propaganda was presented, some specific examples of propaganda were given. The closing part of the chapter was devoted to Nazi propaganda. This propaganda occurred in all official media of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, people living in that territory were constantly exposed to it. That is why the issue of Nazi propaganda will be included also in the following chapter, which focuses more specifically on the media in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

⁶³ Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1987), 179.

2 Media in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

Since the establishment of the independent Czechoslovak Republic, the media system of this country has been included in the legislative system. In the 1930s, attempts to protect the Czechoslovak society against the growing influence of the fascist ideology were also made in the media legislation. In 1933, the ban on importing certain journals from Nazi Germany was enforced.⁶⁴ However, all endeavour appeared to be unsuccessful. The media system of the First Czechoslovak Republic, which was more or less democratic, came to its end after the Munich Agreement was signed and the Second Czechoslovak (or Czecho-Slovak Republic) was established. During that period, laws started to be applied in order to serve the purposes of the totalitarian regime.⁶⁵ New totalitarian laws and regulations which restricted numerous human rights were enacted in the period of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The legitimacy of media and media system, the official propaganda of the Nazi regime and the position of radio broadcasting are presented in the following paragraphs.

2.1 Media and the media system in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

The objective to have media under a complete control appeared to be the essential one for official authorities. This aim was fulfilled immediately after the General Mobilisation on September 26th 1938. The *Central Censorship Commission* was established as a body of the Nazi Ministry of Interior. The task of controlling everything which could appear in media and which the public could see and read was then entrusted to censors of *Ústřední cenzurní komise (ÚCK)* [Central Press Office of the Council of Ministers] in December 1938. These censors were subject to the regulations of the department called *Tiskový odbor Předsednictva ministerské rady* [Press Department of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers].⁶⁶ In case of unclear issues, the *Press Department* could address its asking for help to the section called *Tisk* [Press], which was subordinate to the cultural and political department of *Úřad říšského protektora* [Office of the Reich-Protector] (or Acting Reich-Protector eventually). One of its top executive officers, Wolfgang Wolfram von Wolmar, remains the greatest symbol of censorship. Although the *Press* was officially established only as an advisory body, it actually

⁶⁴ Barbara Köpplová, ed. *Dějiny českých médií v datech*, 356.

⁶⁵ Köpplová, ed. *Dějiny českých médií v datech*, 369.

⁶⁶ Köpplová, ed. *Dějiny českých médií v datech*, 372.

had the real power and was superior to the *Press Department of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers*. The *Press Department* existed only until 1942 when it became a part of the Protectorate's Ministry of Education and People's Enlightenment, whose Head was Emanuel Moravec.⁶⁷ Censors followed the document *Souborný přehled pokynů pro tiskovou přehlídku* [Collective Overview of the Directives for Press Inspection], which was enforced on September 17th 1939 by the Government of Nazi Germany. This document was binding for all editors. Editors-in-chief, however, were those who bore the full responsibility. These editors-in-chief with the other editors, met censors at regular weekly meetings at which the editorial activity was being evaluated.⁶⁸ The radio broadcasting was going through a similar process of censorship – this process is presented in one of the subsequent subchapters.

It is important to mention the fact that *Česká tisková kancelář* [Czech Press Office], the successor to *Československá tisková kancelář* [Czechoslovak Press Office] established in 1918, kept being the main information source for all the media also in the Protectorate. From the beginning of the occupation, the *Czech Press Office* had access to information which was not supposed to be made available to the public. Since some of the authorities of the *Czech Press Office* were in the resistance, the *Czech Press Office* was made completely subordinated to the *Office of the Reich-Protector* and to the major news agency of Nazi Germany, *Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro*.⁶⁹ The employees were carefully checked not to let the public know the pieces of information which could be “harmful” for Nazi Germany.

Czech press was originally responsible for all the paper media existing during the period of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. This changed when these media got subdivided into three groups – legal, illegal and exile ones. Legal paper media were published officially and their contents had to be authorized in order to meet the requirements of Nazi Germany.⁷⁰ These needs were presented in the *Collective Overview of the Directives for Press Inspection*. This document consisted of nine chapters. The first four chapters and the last one were devoted to the general tasks of the press, the other chapters presented directives regulating which information could be published about specifically given topics (such as emergency situations, Nazi Germany and the Protectorate, economic and social affairs,

⁶⁷ Jakub Končelík, “Řízení a kontrola českého tisku v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava,” in *Média dnes: reflexe mediality, médií a mediálních obsahů*, ed. Foret, Lapčík, Orság (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2008), 295-31.

⁶⁸ Jakub Končelík, Pavel Orság and Pavel Večeřa, *Dějiny českých médií 20. století* (Prague: Portál, 2010), 90-91.

⁶⁹ Končelík, Orság, Večeřa, *Dějiny českých médií 20. století* (Prague: Portál, 2010), 90.

⁷⁰ Končelík, Orság, Večeřa, *Dějiny českých médií 20. století*, 90-91.

internal affairs of the Protectorate).⁷¹ In the first chapter of the *Collective Overview*, the essential role of press was formulated in the following way:

“The state of war, which was foisted to Nazi Germany despite its effort to maintain peace requires all partial and selfish interests and everything that diverts attention to be displaced and to focus all moral and material strengths in unison in order to achieve the main objective of the military and diplomatic battle.”^{72,73} The chapter also specified what should not be published: “Everything which would belittle the Nazi Germany – that means which would make impression of any form of hostile or hateful attitude – must be suppressed. (...) Reports and articles about interventions or indications of these interventions of the Reich-Protector and his cabinet are unacceptable.”^{74,75}

The two quotes above clearly illustrate that the Government of Nazi Germany sought for the country to be seen as a victim; victim whose aim was not to start the war. Another aim was to unify all people. People were required to act as a collective, not as individuals. Moreover, this collective was supposed to serve the Protectorate. It can be also deduced from those quotes that the Government of Nazi Germany was scared of publishing the truth. If information about the real behaviour and acts of the Reich-Protector had been known, it is highly probable that members of the resistance in the Protectorate would have defended their nation with greater ardour than they actually did. It can also be inferred that people who did not agree with the regime but did nothing against it would have joined the resistance.

In any case, the Nazi censorship was tightening up. With the ongoing war, the increasing number of newspapers were banned. In total, 1,887 Czech newspapers or magazines and 53 German ones were banned or merged with other paper media.⁷⁶ The censorship had impact on all kinds of media – media of different circulation, national and local ones, those of general-interest or the specialized ones.⁷⁷

⁷¹ “Souborný přehled pokynů pro tiskovou přehlídku platných ode dne 17. září 1939,” accessed February 28, 2018, <http://www.fronta.cz/dokument/souborny-prehled-pokynu-pro-tiskovou-prehlikku-platnych-ode-dne-17-zari-1939>

⁷² This part of the *Collective Overview* was in Czech formulated in the following way: “Válečný stav, který byl říší přes její snahu o zachování míru vnucen, vyžaduje, aby byly bezohledně odsunuty všechny zájmy dílčí a sobecké, všechno, co odvádí pozornost jiným směrem, a aby všechny síly mravní a hmotné byly jednotně soustředěny na dosažení hlavního cíle zápasu vojenského a diplomatického.”

⁷³ “Souborný přehled pokynů pro tiskovou přehlídku platných ode dne 17. září 1939.”

⁷⁴ In Czech language, this part of the *Collective Overview* was formulated in the following way: “Musí být potlačeno vše, co by uvádělo v nevážnost říši a její orgány aneb budilo dojem stanoviska nepřátelského nebo nevraživého ať již v jakékoliv formě (...) Nepřípustné jsou zprávy a stati o zásazích říšského protektora a jeho orgánů ve věcech protektorátních, i náznaky takových zásahů.”

⁷⁵ “Souborný přehled pokynů pro tiskovou přehlídku platných ode dne 17. září 1939.”

⁷⁶ Tomáš Pasák, *Soupis legálních novin, časopisů a úředních věstníků v českých zemích z let 1939-1945* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1980), 79.

⁷⁷ Pasák, *Soupis legálních novin, časopisů a úředních věstníků v českých zemích z let 1939-1945*, 79.

Another important change was the change of political orientation of the daily newspapers. In the First Czechoslovak Republic, newspapers were owned by political parties. As there was only one allowed political party in the period of the Protectorate, the National Partnership, all newspapers belonged to this party. Eight daily newspapers remained to be published until the very end of the Second World War – *České slovo*, *Lidové listy*, *Lidové noviny*, *Národní politika*, *Národní práce*, *Polední list*, *Večerní České slovo* and *Venkov* [Czech Word, People's Papers, People's Newspaper, National Politics, National Labour, Mid-Day Paper, Evening Czech Word and Rural Area]. These official newspapers usually employed the journalists who collaborated with the Nazis. The most famous of them was Karel Lažnovský, who eventually died after a meeting with other journalists, probably having eaten a poisoned open-face sandwich. This event became known as the *open-face sandwich affair*, and it turned Lažnovský into a martyr. In fact, the Nazis accused the Protectorate government of his death.⁷⁸ The Nazis profited from his death as they showed Czech people that they could not believe the Protectorate government as they were capable of killing a Czech man. The truth about Lažnovský's death will, however, remain unresolved. It is the question whether it was the Protectorate government who was responsible for Lažnovský's death, or whether the Nazis served him poisoned food; or whether it was only an unfortunate accident.

It is necessary to mention two typically propagandistic newspapers, *Vlajka* [Flag] and *Árijský boj* [Aryan Fight].⁷⁹ They were published by journalists who collaborated and sympathized with the Nazi regime. They were following the principles of propaganda of Nazi Germany and their aim was to assimilate the Czech people who were mentally and visually appropriate for the assimilation into the German nation.⁸⁰

Illegal press was published by the resistance groups. Its distribution was ensured by the railway network and by members of resistance groups who gave out the copies only into the hands of the people they trusted. The published information was about the resistance activities and then, thanks to the transmitters brought by the paratroopers from the United Kingdom, also about the exile government's activities. Out of 140 illegal newspapers which were published during the Second World War, the newspaper *V boj!* [Fight!] was the most widely read. Within the two years of its existence, two editorial boards were executed by the Nazis.⁸¹ The illegal press practically disappeared after the assassination of Reinhard

⁷⁸ Petr Bednařík, Jan Jirák, Barbara Köpplová, *Dějiny českých médií* (Prague: Grada, 2011), 204-205.

⁷⁹ Bednařík, Jirák, Köpplová, *Dějiny českých médií*, 204-205.

⁸⁰ Bednařík, Jirák, Köpplová, *Dějiny českých médií*, 207.

⁸¹ Bednařík, Jirák, Köpplová, *Dějiny českých médií*, 209.

Heydrich. Its subscribers were often members of resistance and they were either executed or deported to concentration camps. Moreover, the general level of fear was becoming higher.

Exile paper media were published by institutions abroad. London became the capital of the Czech exile journalism. Newspapers and magazines of general interest like *Čechoslovák* [Czechoslovakian], *Mladé Československo* [Young Czechoslovakia] and *Nové Československo* [New Czechoslovakia], or the specialised ones such as *Československá žena* [Czechoslovak Woman] were published there. The Communist resistance on the Eastern Front in the Soviet Union published the daily newspaper *Denní noviny* [Daily News] and the weekly newspaper *Naše armáda v SSSR* [Our Army in the USSR].⁸² It was impossible to transport paper media from abroad to the Protectorate. Therefore, only people living abroad could rely on them as sources of information.

2.2 Nazi propaganda in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

On September 11th 1940, Joseph Goebbels presented his speech to journalists and artists visiting Berlin. Goebbels was well aware of the fact that these professionals were addressing people through media. He was also aware of the fact that it was necessary to influence both the whole Czech nation and journalists, to make them believe in the ideology of Nazism and to make them applicable opinion leaders. During the whole presentation of his speech, he appealed to the actors and journalists that they should forget about being Czech and they should be proud of having a chance to belong to Nazi Germany: “You and the Czech people will have to make up your minds. Do not tell me that the Czech people wants this or that. I think I know something about leadership. A people thinks the way its intelligentsia teaches it to think.”⁸³ Goebbels wanted to take advantage of the influence his audience had and claimed that they, as people of certain position, could influence others – ordinary people who were not likely to have their own opinion as strong as actors did, and who only followed the people they admired and looked up to.

The task of creating Nazi propaganda was entrusted to the institutions which secured censorship – the section of the *Press* and the cultural and political department of the *Office of the Reich-Protector*. The first Reich-Protector, Konrad von Neurath, was not exceptionally beneficial to the purposes of propaganda. This situation changed later on when his successor,

⁸² Bednařík, Jirák, Köpplová, *Dějiny českých médií*, 210-211.

⁸³ Joseph Goebbels, “The Coming Europe,” accessed March 18, 2018, <http://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/goeb31.htm>

Reinhard Heydrich, came to Prague, willing to follow the steps of his idol, Joseph Goebbels. According to the Deputy Reich-Protector, paper media and the radio should serve to the germanisation of the Protectorate.⁸⁴ The closest person who von Neurath and Heydrich worked with was the top officer of *The Press*. Within the existence of the *Office of the Reich-Protector*,⁸⁵ three men were appointed to the position of the top officers of the *Press*: Karl von Gregory, Wolfgang Wolfram von Wolmar (both were fired because of their corruption scandals) and Martin Wolf, whose work is now believed to have been the most effective. His propaganda was focused mainly on the presentation of the best possible image of Reinhard Heydrich. This presentation covered Heydrich's life from his arrival in Prague until his death – he was presented as a protector of poor people and as a universally gifted man.⁸⁶ After the end of the Second World War, it became publicly known that Heydrich was not as appreciated by the Nazis as it was presented by their propaganda. On the other hand, one of the most significant features of the cult built around Heydrich, his musical talent, was based on the truth.⁸⁷ Hence Heydrich's failures were successfully concealed, his musical talent was, on the other hand, presented as one of his most significant features.

To spread propagandistic beliefs in the Protectorate, it was necessary for the Nazis to present them to people and to have people on their side. Among collaborationists, Emanuel Moravec, a former legionary and then the Minister of Education and People's Enlightenment, had become known as the most prolific one. Before the Munich Agreement, he had been defending Czechoslovakia but his opinion changed after he visited Nazi Germany. Having found that country flawless, Moravec wanted the Protectorate to look as similar to Germany as possible. He frequently gave speeches on the radio, and in them he was trying to persuade people about the perfection of Germany. He was frequently mentioning negative deeds of Edvard Beneš, who had left the country when he, as the President, was the most needed. In May 1945, Moravec committed suicide.⁸⁸

After the war, journalists and radio personalities who had collaborated with the Nazis were summoned to court and most of them were sentenced to death. In their testimonies, they usually said that the only reason why they had written propagandistic articles was that they

⁸⁴ Jaroslava Milotová, "Organizace nacistické propagandy a její působení v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava," *Historie a vojenství* 49, no. 2 (2000): 87-99.

⁸⁵ It existed until the end of the Second World War, although the position of the Reich-Protector remained empty after Reinhard Heydrich having been assassinated.

⁸⁶ Milotová, "Organizace nacistické propagandy," 87-99.

⁸⁷ Milotová, "Organizace nacistické propagandy," 87-99.

⁸⁸ Radek Žitný, *Protektorátní rozhlasový skeč* (Prague: Nakladatelství BVD, 2010), 16-17.

wanted to protect their families and themselves.⁸⁹ It is difficult to judge the situation more than seventy years after the Second World War ended. More importantly, there is not enough evidence about how journalists were persuaded to work for the Protectorate.

It was already mentioned in the previous subchapter that the document which presented guidelines for censorship was called the *Collective Overview of the Directives for Press Inspection*. In this document, most of the guidelines were outlined in a negative way, we can thus talk about so called negative propaganda.⁹⁰ According to the guidelines, media were to present the situation in the Protectorate as favourable and people as being happy to live there. To achieve this way of presentation, publishing of information about numerous suicides which were committed, or about protest events and acts of illegal groups, was strictly banned.⁹¹ The real truth about the situation in the Protectorate might have come to the surface if people had had knowledge about the situation abroad and if they had compared their conditions with the conditions of others. To prevent people from such comparisons, no news about the economy of foreign countries (mainly about the financial situation of the inhabitants of Nazi Germany) was published. There was a ban on publishing anything about the Jews and the Jewish issue.⁹² On the contrary, particular pieces of information about the Jews who were deported to the Theresienstadt concentration camp were disseminated to some countries and organizations like the Red Cross to make them believe that even in those camps it was possible to live fully-fledged lives. The real and terrible conditions (35,000 people died in those camps)⁹³ under which the Jews lived there, however, were withheld.⁹⁴ Even though people could, more or less, guess what was happening to the Jews in concentration camps, ordinary people and also the Allies did nothing to stop the atrocities.

Enemies of Nazi Germany were depicted as cowards and traitors. Against those who had left Czechoslovakia to join the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, the biggest hatred was mobilized. The person who was portrayed as the arch-foe was Edvard Beneš. He was presented as a coward who was only using others to fight for his own cause at the expense of other people's lives. Other members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile were said to

⁸⁹ Jan Cebe, "Vladimír Krychtalek – osud neslavně slavného novináře," in *Ztraceni v davu; Osudy novinářů ve 20. století*, ed. Foret, Lapčík, Orság (Praha: Matfyzpress, 2005), 141.

⁹⁰ Tomáš Pasák, "Český periodický tisk na počátku okupace ve světle cenzury a jejich opatření," *AUC Phi et Hi* 48, no. 5 (1975): 147-148.

⁹¹ Pasák, "Český periodický tisk na počátku okupace ve světle cenzury a jejich opatření," 167-168.

⁹² Pasák, "Český periodický tisk na počátku okupace ve světle cenzury a jejich opatření," 167-168.

⁹³ "Expozice památníku: Památník Terezín," accessed March 20, 2018, <http://www.mesto-terezin.cz/expozice-pamatniku.php>

⁹⁴ František Červinka, *Česká kultura a okupace*, (Prague: Torst, 2002), 106-107.

inherit his habits, to live calm lives in England and to do nothing to reach their goals.⁹⁵ This was a completely different approach than that of the heroic Germans who all were ready to fight, no matter what their role in the society was. Unlike the Czechs, the Germans were depicted as people who never left their fellow countrymen dying behind. That is why everyone was to avoid any kind of collaboration with the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, otherwise, they could lose their lives.⁹⁶ Although it was forbidden to write about the Jews in the Protectorate, information about the suspicious international Jewish conspiracy was welcomed. According to Nazi media, this conspiracy was controlling most of the world's powerful countries except for Nazi Germany which would never allow the Jews to do so.⁹⁷ Radio sketches supported the depiction of the enemies. People who were the symbols of the period of the First Republic and of the Allies – artists, important politicians and their wives – were the main characters of the sketches, and Czech actors and employees of the *Czech Radio* played their roles.⁹⁸ Presenting of these personalities as indecisive, stupid and aggressive people with repulsive appearances was a far cry from how they were seen before the Nazi occupation. The propagandists did not probably expect the audience to believe that the broadcasts presented really true characteristics of the personalities. They, however, may have believed that the broadcasting would at least change people's opinions on enemies of the Nazi regime.

The official propaganda also affected the young generation. Gathering the youth in the Hitler's Youth inspired Emanuel Moravec to establish an organization where children and young adults living in the Protectorate would be brought up and educated. Moravec chose a medical worker and a firm believer in the Nazi regime, František Teuner, as his fellow worker. On May 28th 1942, they managed to establish an extracurricular organization which was called *Kuratorium pro výchovu mládeže v Čechách a na Moravě* [Curatorium for the Youth Education in Bohemia and in Moravia]. The membership in this organisation was compulsory for everyone aged from 10 to 18.⁹⁹ Moravec and Teuner then met with the youth at official events and gatherings, and they spoke to them about their duty in the society.¹⁰⁰ The aim of the *Curatorium* was to educate convinced Czech Nazis who could spread the ideology

⁹⁵ Pavel Večeřa, "O „zbabělosti“ hrdinů a „hrdinství“ zbabělců v tištěných médiích protektorátu," in *Hrdinství a zbabělost v české politické kultuře 19. a 20. století*, 282.

⁹⁶ Večeřa, "O „zbabělosti“ hrdinů a „hrdinství“ zbabělců v tištěných médiích protektorátu," 284.

⁹⁷ Večeřa, "O „zbabělosti“ hrdinů a „hrdinství“ zbabělců v tištěných médiích protektorátu," 278-279.

⁹⁸ Radek Žitný, *Protektorátní rozhlasový skeč* (Prague: Nakladatelství BVD, 2010), 20-21.

⁹⁹ However, various complications appearing in the organization caused that only about one fifth of teenagers and young adults joined the *Curatorium*.

¹⁰⁰ "Archiv Plus: Mládež za protektorátu," accessed March 18, 2018,

http://www.rozhlas.cz/plus/archivplus/_zprava/archiv-plus-mladez-za-protektoratu--1714299?print=1

to future generations, to train the boys to become physically strong soldiers and to support the development of the girls into women who would look after their households. The members of the *Curatorium* had to participate in sports events to be educated physically and they had to participate also in meetings and courses to gain the required opinion about the Nazi ideology.¹⁰¹ The *Curatorium* published propagandistic paper media for its members and for its teachers and instructors. The *Zteč* [Assault] magazine, which aimed mainly at older members of the *Curatorium*, was published once every two weeks from October 1942 to April 1945. From all magazines, *Assault* was the most propagandistic, it presented the most radical opinions, and information about “dreadful” acts of enemies and Nazi mottos. It also included articles which originally appeared in newspapers for adults.¹⁰² There was no place for pleasure reading in *Assault*. On the contrary, the biweekly magazines *Správný kluk* [Good Boy]¹⁰³, for boys, and *Dívčí svět* [Girl’s World]¹⁰⁴ for girls aged from 10 to 14 contained adventurous stories and comic strips. As the main task of the magazines was to make the children really devoted Nazis, propaganda was present in all the articles. One example of a frequent plot of the stories can be given at this point – boys and girls had been unhappy in their lives but then everything changed and became bright after they had joined the *Curatorium*.¹⁰⁵ Appealing on children and the youth was rather omitted in illegal paper media. The Nazi propagandistic efforts were then more likely to have effect on children and the youth, however, they were not successful. This was caused probably by the parents’ and teachers’ resistance to the Nazi ideology. Children, pupils and students were warned against the Nazi ideology specifically by their parents and teachers.

From the above mentioned text it is clear that the official Protectorate’s media made big efforts to impact the Czech nation. It must be obvious that the Czech nation was also exposed to Nazi propaganda transmitted by the official radio. The official radio broadcasting is the issue highly important for this thesis, that is why it will be focused on in the following separate subchapter.

¹⁰¹ Radka Šustrová, “Děti a válka,” in *Válečný prožitek české společnosti v konfrontaci s nacistickou propagací*, ed. kol. (Prague: Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 2009), 60-71.

¹⁰² Petr Nezdařil, “*Propaganda a mládež za protektorátu: Kuratorium a strategie působení na mládež prostřednictvím časopisů / Propaganda and youth in Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren*” (Diploma thesis, Charles University, 2010), 74.

¹⁰³ “*Správný kluk – tři čísla z roku 1944*,” accessed on March 18, 2018, <http://www.detske-casopisy.cz/spravny-kluk-tri-cisla-z-roku-1944/>

¹⁰⁴ “*Poprvé – Dívčí svět – 2. ročník – 1944*,” accessed on March 18, 2018, <http://www.detske-casopisy.cz/tag/divci-svet/>

¹⁰⁵ “*Poprvé – Dívčí svět – 2. ročník - 1944*”

2.3 Radio broadcasting in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

The tradition of periodical radio broadcasting in Czechoslovakia was established on May 18th 1923 by the private corporation *Radiojournal*, which also gave the station its name. The first programme content included official news prepared by the *Czechoslovak Press Agency* and a weather podcast. The items of sports news, financial news and international news were added to the programming of *Radiojournal* the same year. One year later, that means in 1924, the programme content was enriched by including educational, cultural and political topics. Live events, such as concerts or sport matches, were broadcasted as well. In contrast to the numerous laws regulating the printed media, there was only one law that regulated the radio broadcasting in the interwar period – that of No. 60/1923 Coll. on telegraphs.¹⁰⁶ The radio signals were transmitted by transmitter stations. The first station of this kind was built in Kbely in 1928, and by the end of 1938, nine transmitter stations were erected, including a specific one in Mělník, which was intended for broadcasting only in German.¹⁰⁷ Thanks to the live radio broadcasting, people were informed about then current events at the time when these really happened.

The audience was informed about the events that preceded the establishment of the Protectorate mainly by František Kocourek – he informed about the General Mobilisation on September 23rd 1938 and about the Munich Agreement on September 29th 1938.¹⁰⁸ After the Munich Agreement was signed, the first changes in the administration of the Radio were made. *Radiojournal* was renamed to *Czecho-Slovak Radio*. Jindřich Dobiáš was appointed as the Head of the Board of directors and the sectional Head of the *Press Department of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers*. He replaced the Chief Executive Officer of *Radiojournal* corporation, Ladislav Šourek, in this position.¹⁰⁹ With eight state officers appointed to the ten-member council, it was easier for the state to control the radio broadcasting.¹¹⁰ On March 15th 1939, the *Czecho-Slovak Radio*¹¹¹ broadcasted information about the German occupation of Czechoslovakia. On that day, the first radio reporter fell victim to the regime – Pavel Dobner committed suicide by jumping out of the window when

¹⁰⁶ Lenka Čábelová, *Radiojournal: rozhlasové vysílání v Čechách a na Moravě v letech 1923-1939* (Prague: Karolinum, 2003), 34.

¹⁰⁷ Köpplová, ed. *Dějiny českých médií v datech*, 39.

¹⁰⁸ Köpplová, ed. *Dějiny českých médií v datech*, 41.

¹⁰⁹ Ladislav Šourek remained the chief executive officer of *Radiojournal* until the end of the Second World War. Afterwards, he was a member of the board of directors of the state-owned *Czechoslovak Radio*.

¹¹⁰ Hrdlička, "Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945," 149.

¹¹¹ *Czecho-Slovak Radio* which was renamed back to *Radiojournal* one day later, and then, in June the same year, renamed to the *Czech Radio*.

the first soldiers appeared in the building of the Czech Radio in Prague.¹¹² On March 19th 1939, a famous live broadcasting on the parade of the Wehrmacht troops in the Wenceslas Square was one of the reasons why its author, František Kocourek, was sent to the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau, where he later died.¹¹³ On the above given date, František Kocourek was standing on a balcony of the building from which he had a direct view of the troops. He was not scared and was reporting about the parade as about a gruesome event, his wording about a black crow watching it became one of the most famous in the history of radio broadcasting.¹¹⁴ František Kocourek became a symbol of the Czech cultural resistance. Thanks to him and his other courageous colleagues, people became familiar with the fact that not all journalists in the Radio believed in the Nazi ideology and not all of them supported the German Reich.

Being aware of the importance of the Radio, the executive authorities enacted bodies to control this type of media just after the beginning of the German occupation. The censorship work concerning the radio broadcasting was being carried out by a special group of people appointed by the cultural and political department of the *Office of the Reich-Protector*. The decree for the radio broadcasting was issued by the Prime Minister Alois Eliáš.¹¹⁵ In the first year of the war, the Board of directors made – based on the directive of the Government of Nazi Germany – personal and technical changes. Reporters who were not racially pure or those who criticized (both directly and indirectly) the Nazis were fired. Moreover, the Government of Nazi Germany took control over three radio transmitters in the Protectorate with the desire to use them only for broadcasting in German. However, only the radio transmitter in Mělník became the official transmitter of Nazi Germany in Protectorate.¹¹⁶ In August 1940, the *Czech Radio* became a part of *Reichs-Rundfunks Gesellschaft* [Radio Corporation of German Reich] and started to be directed and controlled by the German commissariat, which created the programme content of the Radio broadcasts.¹¹⁷ In March 1942, the *Radio Corporation of German Reich* became the only

¹¹² Hrdlička, “Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945,” 150.

¹¹³ “František Kocourek: slova jako živá voda,” accessed March 3, 2018,

http://www.rozhlas.cz/archiv/zamikrofonem/_zprava/frantisek-kocourek-slova-jako-ziva-voda--1044923

¹¹⁴ “František Kocourek: slova jako živá voda.” : “Dovolte, abych se zmínil o podrobnosti čistě nevojenské. Odkudsi zdaleka přiletěla nad Prahu také velká černá vrána, která se spustila a plachtila od Muzea dolů k Můstku. Divila by se asi tomu obrazu pod sebou.“ [“Let me mention one purely non-military detail. From somewhere far away a big black crow arrived, she lowered and glided from the Museum down to Můstek. She would probably be surprised by the scene she saw underneath.”]

¹¹⁵ Hrdlička, “Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945,” 210-211.

¹¹⁶ Hrdlička, “Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945,” 157.

¹¹⁷ Hrdlička, “Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945,” 156.

owner of the *Czech Radio*.¹¹⁸ As the Germans wanted to demonstrate their superiority, all announcements were firstly given in German and only then in the Czech language.

František Hrdlička outlines what Nazis wanted to achieve in particular fields of the radio broadcasting at that time. He mentions that as it was not possible to establish illegal radio stations in the Protectorate, it was easier to control radio broadcasting than paper media.^{119,120} Radio programmes commemorating the Czech culture and its richness were given only a very limited additional time. Contrastingly, due to the reduction of the broadcasting related to the Czech culture, the audience was being made to believe that the Czech nation actually belonged to Germany and that was why people had to adhere to the German culture. To ensure that, people's attention was drawn to the past connections of the Czech and German cultures. Authors of the Jewish origin or authors who got inspired by the Jewish culture were strictly banned. According to Hrdlička, broadcasts were also focused on educating the audience. Thanks to certain radio programmes, people could study foreign languages (German and Italian) or learn something about their health. The audience also had the opportunity to listen to live broadcasts from sports events. A specific attention was given to political broadcasting of which two features were typical – political sketches and the announcement “Pozor, očekáváme zvláštní zprávu!” [“Attention, a special message alert!”].¹²¹ This alert was broadcasted in cases of serious and emergency situations, such as after the attack on Reinhard Heydrich. Only journalists who were fully entrusted could report about political events.¹²²

It is important to mention the fact that the Nazis did not add any special propagandistic programmes but they included their propaganda in the already existing traditional programmes. This strategy can be found as really well-chosen as the audience kept listening to the programmes they were used to listening to before.

On May 5th 1945, the Battle of the Radio began. Zdeněk Mančal, one of the reporters, refused to announce news in German, music by forbidden composers was played and uncensored pieces of news were offered to the audience. At 12:33 p.m., the Nazi Army invaded the building of the *Czech Radio*. The reporters started live calling for help, and people began to build barricades around the building. Nazi soldiers were unsuccessful in finding the studio from which it was broadcasted, so they left the building and the fight

¹¹⁸ Končelík, Orság, Večeřa, *Dějiny českých médií 20. století* (Prague: Portál, 2010), 100.

¹¹⁹ Hrdlička, “Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945,” 157.

¹²⁰ However, the exile broadcasting did exist, this issue is presented in the second chapter of the diploma thesis.

¹²¹ Hrdlička, “Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945,” 159.

¹²² Hrdlička, “Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945,” in 162-168.

continued the following day and then on May 7th. That day, people were called on to get rid of all symbols of the Nazi regime and to help in streets of Prague. All Germans living in Prague were asked to leave the city immediately.¹²³ This event provides ample evidence of the fact that the radio was with people at the beginning of the war and so was at its end.

From the aforementioned text it is obvious that the Nazis had a very well-worked-out and organised system of impacting the Czech people through media. The facts about the official radio broadcasting were presented in more detail since they were highly important also for journalists and politicians broadcasting from London who can be expected to react to the Protectorate's broadcasts. The BBC broadcasting during the Second World War is in the centre of our attention in the following Chapter 3.

¹²³ "Rozhlas v květnu," accessed March 10, 2018, http://www.rozhlas.cz/archiv/1945/_zprava/rozhlas-v-kvetnu-1945--1392999

3 The BBC radio broadcasting in Czech during the Second World War

In connection with Chapter 7 of this thesis, which involves a historical outline, a very short historical survey is regarded as a convenient introduction of this chapter.

The history of the British Broadcasting Company (the BBC) began on October 18th 1922, that means seventeen years before the start of the Second World War. After more than four years of broadcasting without any rules, the BBC was officially established by the Royal Charter.¹²⁴ Regarding the significant pre-war milestones of the corporation, the opening of the British Broadcasting House in May 1932, the moment when King George V addressed, as the first British monarch ever, the people in December 1932 or the opening of the BBC Television Service as the first television service in the world can be mentioned.¹²⁵ With the aim to provide the whole world with London's news service, the radio broadcasted in 44 languages during the Second World War. One of these languages was Czech. Although the broadcasting in Czech was planned to be cancelled after the end of the war, it continued also during the period of the communist regime (from 1948 till November 1989), when the radio waves were jammed, and then also during the period starting with the Velvet Revolution (November 1989) and finishing in 2005. Since then, it has been possible to listen to the BBC radio broadcasting in English all around the Czech Republic on airwaves of private radio stations.¹²⁶

The next text of this chapter focuses on the following topics: on general characteristic features of the BBC radio broadcasting in the Czech language during the Second World War, on reporters whose voices could be heard on this radio and on the status of this broadcasting in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

3.1 Characteristic features of the BBC radio broadcasting in Czech

The BBC radio broadcasting during the Second World War, its organized system, production and mission were presented in the book *London Calling the World*. It was

¹²⁴ "History of the BBC – 1920s," accessed April 15, 2018, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/timelines/zxqc4wx>

¹²⁵ "History of the BBC – 1920s."

¹²⁶ "Vysílací frekvence BBC," accessed April 15, 2018, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/czech/institutional/frequencies.shtml>

addressed mainly to members of the British Council to make them familiar with the situation in the radio. Besides phrases full of self-esteem which were probably supposed to present the radio station in the best possible light, the publication presents also real facts about the broadcasting itself. The main goal of the BBC was to make people increasingly certain about the fact that whatever would happen anywhere, the BBC (or the Voice of London, as it was called since all news started with the announcement: “This is London calling. Here is the news.”¹²⁷), would never leave people alone. The news service, whose sources of information were the news agencies such as Reuters, Associated Press or Exchange Telegraph, was interrupted only during bomb attacks on London and/or when the electricity was cut off in the BBC Broadcasting House at Portland Place. The announcers were supposed to be not only good speakers, but they also had to have good knowledge about current affairs and announcers’ commentaries, which helped them to concentrate on and get oriented in the most important messages appearing in the broadcast.¹²⁸ The censorship of information was carried out by the British Ministry of Education.¹²⁹ The British government received transcripts of broadcasts in English and when it was necessary, censors stroke out or – less frequently – rewrote transcriptions.

The time the BBC devoted to broadcasting in the Czech language varied. In 1939 and 1940, the radio broadcasted in Czech in three fifteen-minute blocks every day (at 6:00 a.m., then at 4:30 and 8:30 p.m.). The programme consisted only of news from abroad and from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. At the end of 1940, broadcasts started to be presented also in the Slovak language. The fifteen-minute blocks addressed to people in the Protectorate became more numerous as two more blocks were added in the afternoon and one was added in the evening. From 1941, night blocks (starting at 11:15 p.m.) became a part of the BBC broadcasting, and not only news was broadcasted in Czech but also entertaining programmes like drama plays, sketches or music programmes appeared.¹³⁰ This original broadcasting production became a part of the Czech exile culture of the Second World War’s period. Examples of this production include *Pražské děti a meč svatého Václava* [Prague children and the sword of Saint Wenceslas]¹³¹, a fairy tale for children broadcasted at Christmas in 1940;

¹²⁷ Frank Singleton, *London Calling The World* (London: British Council, 1943), 32.

¹²⁸ Singleton, *London Calling The World*, 11.

¹²⁹ Singleton, *London Calling The World*, 16.

¹³⁰ Bořivoj Srba, *Múzy v exilu* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2003), 229.

¹³¹ František Langer, *Tvorba z exilu* (Prague: Akropolis, 2000), 82.

Patnáctý březen [The fifteenth of March]¹³² and *Praha* [Prague]¹³³, two radio dramas about one night of the occupation in 1939.

For the very first time, the audience could hear the Czech language on the airwaves of the BBC on September 6, 1939. The first broadcast was, like all broadcasts of the Second World War, opened by the transmission of the Morse Code of letter V, standing for victory. Thanks to the permission given by the British Labour Party, the Czech politician Josef Kosina, a member of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, was allowed to speak into a microphone in the BBC studio as the first Czech person ever. During a broadcast one day later, Jan Masaryk put emphasis on his vision and belief that he would meet with the audience listening to him again in Prague.¹³⁴ The audience than may have believed that the Protectorate would be liberated soon as it was unlikely that Masaryk would have told lies.

There were two groups of people whose voices appeared in the Czech broadcasts. The first group was represented by journalists and reporters who were employed in the Czech Section of the BBC, the other one was represented by members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. A significant difference between these two groups was their attitude to the Protectorate government. The Czech Section of the BBC distinguished two types of the members of the Protectorate government – those who were trying to protect the people, and those who posed threat to the nation. The other group (the members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile) criticized the Protectorate government as a whole.¹³⁵ Members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile certainly had deeper knowledge about politics, so they knew more about the real situation in the Protectorate. Moreover, they better worked with the already mentioned concept of *our world* and *the world of the others*.

The Head of the Czech Section was Sheila Grant-Duff, a British journalist who had been interested in Czechoslovakia long before the Second World War broke out. The other section, however, was not headed by anyone at the beginning of the war. Having the uncensored freedom of speech, members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile sometimes spoke too radically (especially Jan Masaryk, who was not afraid of using vulgarisms) or argued with each other, which was criticised by the British Section of the BBC. The arguments appeared mainly due to different opinions on the personality of Edvard Beneš. In

¹³² Langer, *Tvorba z exilu*, 85.

¹³³ Langer, *Tvorba z exilu*, 105.

¹³⁴ Milan Kocourek, *Volá Londýn. Historie českého a slovenského vysílání BBC* (Prague: Ottovo nakladatelství, 2013), 26.

¹³⁵ Kocourek, *Volá Londýn. Historie českého a slovenského vysílání BBC*, 31.

the due course it became necessary to appoint an Advisory Committee.¹³⁶ Josef Kosina claimed that the main objective of the broadcasting was to tell the truth. Another major objective was to inform about any bad events from London earlier than the audience could hear about them from the official Nazi radio stations in the Protectorate. This requirement, that means the requirement that the BBC radio should be the first informer, was considered by Kosina as highly important.¹³⁷ Josef Kosina was highly aware of the power of the Nazi propaganda appearing in the official broadcasting. During the war, the BBC broadcasting apparently could not ignore the Nazi propaganda and had to react to and reflect on the Nazi broadcasting and media in the Protectorate. For this reason, the above given Chapter 2, informing about the media in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, is included in this thesis.

The BBC broadcasting in Czech, as it was mentioned above, was principally the same as the BBC broadcasting in all the other languages. It had to follow the guidelines of the British wartime propaganda issued by the Ministry of Information. The document emphasized three leading principles: 1) *Call to Arms, to Effort, to Self Sacrifice.*; 2) *What is at Stake.*; 3) *The Way to Victory.*

The Czechoslovak government-in-exile broadcasted to the Protectorate until the end of the Second World War and then for one more week, until May 15, 1945.¹³⁸ Afterwards, those personalities whose voices had been heard in during the War time returned to their liberated home country.

3.2 Reactions to the BBC broadcasting in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

The Protectorate government banned listening to foreign radio stations on the very day when the Second World War started, which means several days before the beginning of the BBC broadcasting in Czech. Three paragraphs of *Narizení o mimořádných soudních opatřeních* [Emergency courts regulations measures] clearly claimed that those who would listen to foreign radio stations would be sentenced to jail or death. Those who would spread information received from the broadcasts would be punished as well. Special courts were

¹³⁶ František Hrdlička, "Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945," in *Od mikrofonu k posluchačům: z osmi desetiletí českého rozhlasu*, ed. Eva Ješutová (Prague: Český rozhlas, 2003), 174.

¹³⁷ Kocourek, *Volá Londýn. Historie českého a slovenského vysílání BBC*, 34.

¹³⁸ Hrdlička, "Rozhlas v okupaci 1939-1945," 174.

entrusted with issuing judgments.¹³⁹ The Nazis were searching for people listening to foreign radio stations, and used prevalingly the methods of random checks and interrogations. Those who were accused of listening to banned radio stations were tortured. The fact that people did listen to the BBC became clear after September 14th 1941 when the BBC appealed to people to boycott press in the Protectorate. Since the sale of papers subsequently fell by 70 %, it was obvious that the impulse for such a boycott was heard in the whole country. Apparently, it must have been transmitted by the radio. Considering the fact that the appeal was transmitted on the day when the death of the first Czechoslovak president, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, was commemorated, and that the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London was known for sympathizing with this personality, the BBC was the main suspect of transmitting this appeal.¹⁴⁰ This event led to tightening up of the precautionary measures. The BBC, like most of other foreign radio stations, was broadcasting on short waves. To prevent people from listening to unapproved foreign radio stations completely, a new law was enacted in 1943. Short wave listening components had to be removed from radio receivers. People then had to show their radio receivers to official authorities, who checked whether the short wave listening components had been really removed. However, having installed a special coil which substituted short wave listening components in their radio receivers, some people managed to continue to listen to foreign radio stations.¹⁴¹ During the Prague Uprising in May 1945, the BBC broadcasted publicly on streets.¹⁴² The BBC was thus with the people of the Protectorate from the beginning to the end of the Second World War, it kept informing the nation about important events, and more importantly, it was giving them hope that the victory of the Allies would eventually come.

The communication flow was bi-directional. From London, information was transmitted to the Protectorate, but, at the same time, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile and the Czech Section of the BBC needed to be informed about the situation in the Protectorate. Then, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile was thus able to evaluate that situation and to come up with new plans on liberating the territory. In its broadcasting, the Czech Section of the BBC was able to present selected information received from the Protectorate, and add special commentaries on the presented events. The flow of communication from the Protectorate was provided by transmitters which were operated by members of the resistance. These so-called *black transmitters* were officially banned and the

¹³⁹ Barbara Köpplová, ed. *Dějiny českých médií v datech* (Prague: Karolinum, 2003), 371.

¹⁴⁰ Jakub Končelík, Pavel Orság and Pavel Večeřa, *Dějiny českých médií 20. století* (Prague: Portál, 2010), 21.

¹⁴¹ Köpplová, ed. *Dějiny českých médií v datech*, 53.

¹⁴² Kocourek, *Volá Londýn. Historie českého a slovenského vysílání BBC*, 32.

Nazis wanted to destroy all of them. It was therefore necessary for the Czechoslovak government-in-exile to transport new transmitters to the territory of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The paratrooper group called Silver A was in charge of transporting the transmitter Libuše to the Protectorate's territory. The fact that this transmitter was found near the village of Ležáky after Reinhard Heydrich's assassination was given as the reason for the annihilation of the village. All men, women and all but two children were killed as the whole village was accused of helping the resistance with the organizing of the Assassination.¹⁴³ The whole world was devastated by the tragedy. It can be anticipated that also the BBC broadcasts were full of emotional expressions, which is further discussed in the practical part of the thesis.

Madeleine Albright once said that listening to the BBC was like listening to a prayer to whom the audience's minds got fixed.¹⁴⁴ We can conclude Chapter 3 with stating that the BBC broadcasts had to follow the officially given guidelines of the British wartime propaganda, these guidelines did not ignore the maxims mentioned in 1.3.1 subchapter of this thesis. Thanks to news, commentaries, lectures and artworks broadcasted by the BBC, people could get to know about the facts that were being hidden from them by the official propaganda. Moreover, one can assume that the broadcasting encouraged people, instilled their confidence and deepened their national feeling. This assumption will be further discussed in the practical part of this thesis.

¹⁴³ Mario R. Dederichs, *Heydrich: The Face of Evil* (Philadelphia: Casemate Publishers, 2009), 152.

¹⁴⁴ Kocourek, *Volá Londýn. Historie českého a slovenského vysílání BBC*, 26.

4 Methodology

The type of the analysis chosen for this thesis is qualitative media analysis. Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin claimed that qualitative media analysis is “any type of research that produces findings not arrived by statistical procedures or other means of qualification.”¹⁴⁵ Differently from quantitative analysis, the results of qualitative analysis can be influenced by a cultural or a historical context and authors themselves. Moreover, authors can respond flexibly to results of the analysis.¹⁴⁶ This chapter presents the research process applied in this thesis, and is divided into three subchapters, each of which is devoted to one step of the research – the selection of the topic, data collection and data analysis.

4.1 Selection criteria concerning thematic content

The choice of the topic of this thesis reflects the author’s university studies and professional interests – teaching English and the sphere of media. Her bachelor’s degree thesis was focused on the ways in which media reflected on three events that took place in the modern history of the United States of America. In case of the diploma thesis the author decided to focus on issues more directly connected with the Czech Republic, respectively with Czechoslovakia, and at the same time connected with an English speaking country. Thus, the first step was to search for an issue in which the sphere of media, English-speaking countries and the author’s home country would be interconnected. The topic of the radio broadcasts transmitted on the airwaves of the BBC in which the London-based Czechoslovak government-in-exile was involved was chosen for the reasons states on the following lines.

There are available sources on the basis of which the topic can be further processed. Several books about the radio broadcasts addressed from London to the audience in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during the Second World War have been published. These books were used as the sources for the theoretical part of this thesis since they reflect on an important milestone in the history of the radio broadcasting, guidelines applied to the broadcasting, facts about reporters, and also on ways in which people in the Protectorate were punished for listening to the radio broadcasts from London. Two theses which dealt with similar topics were found in the thesis repository of Charles University – the rigorous thesis

¹⁴⁵ Juliet Corbin, Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998), 10.

¹⁴⁶ Jan Jirák, Barbara Köpplová, *Masová média* (Prague: Portál, 2009), 281.

*British Broadcasting Corporation during the Second World War*¹⁴⁷ and the diploma thesis *Jan Masaryk as radio commentator in war time BBC*.¹⁴⁸ The former presented general facts and features of the BBC broadcasting, and the latter focused on one of the most appreciated politicians and commentators. However, neither of these two theses documented detailed facts about the ways in which concrete war time events were presented in Czech. Moreover, Erica Harrison, a screen writer and photojournalist from England, said in an interview in 2016 that she had started to analyse the broadcasting.¹⁴⁹ However, no further details about her research were found.

This thesis seeks to analyse how particular events of the Second World War were presented on the airwaves of the BBC. The place from which the data was outsourced was the Archive of the Czech Radio in Prague (12 Vinohradská st., Prague 2), where the records and the transcriptions of the radio war time broadcasting are available mostly both in Czech and in English. These recordings come from the period from the beginning of 1940 to the end of the Second World War. The materials available from the Archive influenced the decision which events to analyse.

4.2 Data collection

The collected data are of the qualitative character (they provide qualitative reflections and they do not provide quantities or numbers). In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection* it is stated that while collecting data, “we are not working with raw data but data that are selected, formatted, conceived, and processed on the basis of our research interests and approaches.”¹⁵⁰ This statement is quite essential and it clarifies that before we start to collect data, it is necessary to decide what we want to analyse and where we can look up the facts needed for our analysis.

The process of collecting the data took place in the Archive of the Czech Radio in Prague in the period from January to February 2018. In the research room of the Archive, the author read the transcriptions of the radio broadcasts in English and searched for the

¹⁴⁷ Dušan Radovanovič, “*Príspevek ke studiu fungování British Broadcasting Corporation za druhé světové války (1939-1945) / British Broadcasting Corporation during the Second World War*” (Rigorous thesis, Charles University, 2008).

¹⁴⁸ Anna Dvořáková, “*Jan Masaryk jako rozhlasový komentátor ve válečném vysílání BBC / Jan Masaryk as radio commentator in wartime BBC*” (Diploma thesis, Charles University, 2015).

¹⁴⁹ “London Calling,” accessed on April 7, 2018, <http://www.radio.cz/en/section/one-on-one/london-calling-researcher-erica-harrison-on-fascinating-history-of-czechoslovak-exile-governments-wartime-bbc-broadcasts>

¹⁵⁰ Uwe Flick, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2017), 8.

information useful for the analysis. The focus was on the broadcasts about the following events: Reinhard Heydrich's arrival in Prague and the first martial law, Reinhard Heydrich's assassination, the Battle of Sokolovo, the Moravian-Ostrava Offensive and the Prague Uprising together with the end of the Second World War in Europe.

The choice of these five events was connected with the fact that they are considered to be generally known for having tested national consciousness and national identity of the people of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

In case of the arrival of Reinhard Heydrich in Prague and his assassination, the reports which appeared within one-month period (starting on the arrival day, respectively on the day of the assassination) were evaluated. In case of the Battle of Sokolovo, the Moravian-Ostrava operation and the Prague Uprising the analysis was carried out on the basis of the reports appearing from the starting points of these events until their end. Working with the Archive materials, the author discovered other interesting reports coming from the period before the analysed events. The facts included in these reports were also used, mainly for outlining the general image of the BBC radio broadcasting.

4.3 Data analysis

It can be anticipated that in the BBC broadcasting, Nazi Germany and the Nazis were denigrated, which means that propaganda efforts were made. To establish how the Czechoslovak government-in-exile itself worked with propaganda, the following research questions concerning the issue how the broadcasting observed or did not observe the seven maxims of successful propaganda proposed by A. J. Mackenzie were asked:

Did the BBC broadcasts work with repetition? Did the BBC broadcasts work with colour? Did the BBC broadcasts work with the kernel of truth? Did the BBC broadcasts build their propaganda around a slogan? Were the BBC broadcasts directed toward a specific objective? Did the BBC broadcasts conceal motives? Did the BBC broadcasts use appropriate timing?

The observation of the maxims will be analysed for each event separately in the respective sections. Apart from finding answers to the aforementioned questions, other conclusions resulted from the work with the analysed materials and data will be made. Based on that process, the following "additional" aspects of the broadcasts will then be analysed: elements typical of both the British and Czech culture, attempts to unite the Czech and the

Slovak nations together, and ways of appealing to and addressing women and the youth living in the Protectorate. The attention is also focused on depiction of the enemy – the Nazi Germany – and on how the BBC described the situation in the exile. To complete the general image of the broadcasts, the answer to the question *Which impact did the broadcasting have on the atmosphere in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia?* will be sought. The general image of the BBC radio broadcasting will be presented in the Conclusion of this thesis.

From various existing types of qualitative media analysis, discourse analysis was chosen as the most convenient. In the handbook called *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*, this type of analysis is divided into two phases: structure analysis and fine analysis.¹⁵¹ Structure analysis refers to the characteristics of the medium and the context. This analysis is presented in the theoretical part of the thesis devoted to characterizations of the BBC and the context of its broadcasting (Chapter 3). The empirical part will be devoted to the phase of fine analysis, in which text surface and rhetorical means are focused on.

Discourse analysis generally focuses on “the kind and form of argumentation, certain argumentation strategies, the intrinsic logic and composition of texts, implicit implicatures and insinuations, the collective symbolism or figurativeness, idioms, sayings, clichés, vocabulary and style, actors, references or the particulars of the sources of knowledge”¹⁵². These features of the radio broadcasting will be analysed in the practical part of the thesis.

The above mentioned three components – data, procedures (applicable by a researcher to interpret and organize the data) and reports – which are, according to Strauss and Corbin, essential for each qualitative research analysis are represented in this thesis as follows:

- Data: the transcription of radio broadcasts, the discussion of the focus group;
- Procedures: each event is analysed separately, then the general image of the broadcasting is outlined;
- Reports: the obtained data are presented separately for each analysed event; one separate chapter is devoted to the general image of the broadcasting

Subsequently, information which is presented in the following chapter and which is seen beneficial for upper-secondary school students will be included in Chapter 7 outlining learning activities suitable the students.

¹⁵¹ Michael Meyer, Ruth Wodak, *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis: Introducing Qualitative Methods series* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publishing, 2009), 28.

¹⁵² Meyer, Wodak, *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis: Introducing Qualitative Methods series*, 28.

5 Analysis of the selected events

In this chapter of the submitted diploma thesis, the results of the analysis of the BBC broadcasts of five events are presented. These events are regarded as trials of people's national consciousness during the Second World War in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Each subchapter is devoted to one event and consists of three parts: a summary of the generally known facts followed by a summary referring to the radio broadcasts about that particular event and then by the results of the broadcast analysis referring to the already presented theoretical findings.

5.1 The arrival of Reinhard Heydrich in Prague

Whereas Adolf Hitler's main residence was in Berlin, he entrusted some of his fellow Nazis with the charge of ruling over the occupied countries to those particular European territories. Konstantin von Neurath, a former minister of Germany and an aristocrat, was entrusted with ruling over the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and he was thus given the function of the Reich Protector. He was in office for two years, after which he was replaced by Reinhard Heydrich on September 27th 1941. The replacement was justified by von Neurath's worsening health, although von Neurath officially remained in the function until 1943. Then, the position of the Reichsprotektor was cancelled. The real motive for appointing Heydrich the Deputy Reich Protector, however, is deemed to have been von Neurath's tendency to allow local leaders of the Protectorate to have too much power.¹⁵³ Heydrich started his military career in the German Navy, in which he reached the rank of a lieutenant. In 1931, thanks to contacts of his wife-to-be, Heydrich was interviewed by Heinrich Himmler and appointed to establish the new Intelligence Group of the Nazi Party, whose main task was to exterminate political and racial enemies of Nazi Germany. The climax of his work in the Intelligence Group, officially called Sicherheitsdiens, was his chairmanship of the Wannsee Conference where the Final solution to the Jewish question was proposed.¹⁵⁴ Immediately after Heydrich's arrival in Prague, a state of emergency was declared, and newly established summary courts sentenced to death or sent to concentration camps about five thousand Czech

¹⁵³ Fred Ramen, *Reinhard Heydrich: Hangman of the Third Reich* (New York City: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2001), 86-89.

¹⁵⁴ Ramen, *Reinhard Heydrich: Hangman of the Third Reich*, 93.

people.¹⁵⁵ The decreasing number of their enemies inspired and encouraged the Nazis to increase their power in the Protectorate.

Heydrich was open when talking to the Nazis about his plans with the Czech people, who were divided into four categories:

“For those of good race well intentioned the matter will be very simple – they will be Germanized. For the others – those of inferior racial origin with hostile intentions – these people I must get rid of. There is plenty of space in the East. In the middle group will be the well-meaning people of inferior origin and those with hostile intentions but a good racial background. They will probably have to be employed somewhere in the Reich and ensure that they have no more children. If that does not work, we will put them against the wall.”¹⁵⁶

Heydrich’s plans with the Czechs were probably perceived as the biggest threat to the nation and the existence of these plans was the main reason why the Czechoslovak government-in-exile started to plan his assassination.

No transcripts of the broadcasts related to the first two days following Heydrich’s arrival in Prague were stored in the Archive.¹⁵⁷ On September 29th 1941, Josef Kodíček reflected on potential consequences of Heydrich’s increasing power. Kodíček presumed that Heydrich’s plan was to intensify the terror, to force the Czech nation to “commit a suicide”, to surrender. People were expected to fight against Heydrich not because the BBC broadcasting told them to do so, but because they should behave in accordance with their inner feelings.¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ On September 30th, František Hrdina told people to get inspired by all the Czech martyrs who died for their nation while protecting the country against their enemies of the German origin. Hrdina was fairly sure that the souls of the martyrs would not let anyone else die, on the contrary, they would lead the nation towards the final victory.¹⁶⁰ Another broadcast informed people that, as the world media declared, the world was with them and everyone admired their will to fight.¹⁶¹ The martyrs were commemorated once again by Dr. Hubert Ripka, who claimed that the martyrs chose death over enslavement.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁵ Chad Carl Bryant, *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2007), 145.

¹⁵⁶ Fred Ramen, *Reinhard Heydrich: Hangman of the Third Reich* (New York City: The Rosen Publishing Group, 2001), 113.

¹⁵⁷ According to the administrator of the Archive, they were lost on the way from London to Prague.

¹⁵⁸ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, September 29nd, 1941, :45 p.m.

¹⁵⁹ All transcripts were stored in the Archive of the Czech Radio.

¹⁶⁰ Hrdina, František. *BBC Broadcasting*. Tuesday, September 30rd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁶¹ Braun, Lev. *BBC Broadcasting*. Tuesday, September 30rd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁶² Ripka, Hubert. *BBC Broadcasting*. Friday, October 3rd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

The broadcast of October 1941 presented the senselessness of the Nazis who, in their ongoing destruction of the whole Europe, also destroyed their future. The hope for the awakening of the Nazis in order to see possible consequences of their behaviour was expressed in the broadcasts.¹⁶³ One can assume that the intended aim of the broadcast was to calm down the nation, claiming that the atrocities would stop one day. František Langer, a legionary, reminded the audience that the Germans had wanted to take power over the whole world, albeit unsuccessfully, for centuries. The Nazis in the Protectorate were called cowards as they were not able to fight actively, but they only gave out orders who had to be executed.¹⁶⁴

In the broadcasts which preceded Heydrich's arrival, Emil Hácha, the President of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, was depicted as an enemy of the nation. However, on October 2nd, Hácha was not any more considered as an enemy, he was called "a former respected judge"¹⁶⁵, and Heydrich was criticized for daring to visit the President and to dictate conditions. In general, Heydrich's ruling was expected to have a tragic ending, such as those in Shakespearian tragedies.¹⁶⁶ In the military broadcast on October 2nd, on behalf of Czechoslovak fighters, the revenge was promised. The Nazi authorities (Heydrich, Hitler, Goebbels and Himmler) were directly addressed and threatened that the last day of their lives would come soon.¹⁶⁷ According to the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, there was a noticeable contrast between Heydrich and Hácha as Heydrich was seen as a useless man who had never managed to succeed in anything, and he was said to be a bad soldier and a stupid man who has no moral qualities.¹⁶⁸

Josef Kodíček accused the Nazi authorities in the Protectorate of acting like primitive gangsters and of violating all rules of human decency. On Sunday, October 5th, the BBC informed about the arrest of General Alois Eliáš, the Prime Minister of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Eliáš was described as a hero who was not afraid to help the Resistance. Members of the Protectorate government, who were assumed to have been listening to the BBC, were asked to follow his example.¹⁶⁹ With the increasing number of victims of the terror, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile suspected people of informing the Gestapo about their fellow countrymen. Two different broadcasts were devoted to those

¹⁶³ Fraenkl, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, October 1st, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁶⁴ Langer, František. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, October 1st, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁶⁵ Drtina, Prokop. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, October 2nd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁶⁶ Drtina, Prokop. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, October 2nd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁶⁷ Schejbal, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, October 2nd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁶⁸ Drtina, Prokop. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, October 2nd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁶⁹ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Saturday, October 4th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

people suspected of giving information. In one of them, people were kindly reminded that they did not have to believe the so-called Nazi explication of the terror.¹⁷⁰ In another one, the division of the nation into two groups was propounded: the first group consisted of the people who remained faithful to the nation and the second one of the people who betrayed the nation. Those of the second group were cautioned that they would be killed after the Second World War.¹⁷¹ The author of the first broadcast did not mention potential consequences of collaboration with the Gestapo, presumably since he did not want to frighten the listeners.

According to the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, the Nazis were scared to death from the Czech nation's potential. The people were appealed to demonstrate their power and they were promised that they would be given help from London and from Moscow. This was highlighted by the phrases of encouragement: "We hear you, Prague!" or "We are with you, Prague!"¹⁷² The Czechoslovak government-in-exile expressed their pride of the Czech nation. The number of executed people was seen as a proof that these people are brave enough to give up their lives. The fact that the executed people were of various jobs and ages was seen as a proof of the national cohesion. Despite speaking about deaths of people, no expressions of grief were present in the broadcast.¹⁷³ On October 14th, Josef Kodíček explained differences between the feeling of fear and of aversion. People were scared of the Nazis, but they were repelled by them even more. The Nazis, mainly Heydrich and Goebbels (they were accused of hiding in their offices full of fear from being sent to the war front), were compared to ugly rats.¹⁷⁴

Broadcasts from the second half of the analysed period were focused on the future. On October 17th, Prokop Drtina asked rhetorical questions like "What if they would never stop? What if the situation would be even worse?"¹⁷⁵ People were told to be alert against the possibility of the Nazi victory and to do everything to chase the Nazis away from the Protectorate. Those who worked for the Gestapo as informers were warned that this would not save their lives as the Nazis would kill them eventually anyway.¹⁷⁶ On October 19th, after

¹⁷⁰ Hála, František. *BBC Broadcasting*. Tuesday, October 7th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁷¹ Ducháček, Ivo. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, October 8th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁷² The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday October 9th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁷³ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Tuesday October 12th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁷⁴ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Tuesday, October 12th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁷⁵ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, October 14th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁷⁵ Drtina, Prokop. *BBC Broadcasting*. Sunday, October 17th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁷⁶ Fraenkl, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Tuesday, October 19th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

General Eliáš was sentenced to death, the injustice of his case was pointed out and condemnations of other politicians and authorities were expected.

The liquidation of the Czech school system was seen by London government as another future danger. The aim of the Nazis was to establish primary schools which children would attend only for five years and in which they would be taught only by German teachers. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile appealed to all Czech teachers and parents to teach the young generation the Czech history and Czech language before this would happen.¹⁷⁷ The audience was also informed that the Allies would not try to agree on the peace treaty with Nazi Germany. Moreover, one month after Heydrich's arrival, on October 27th, Heydrich was promised to be killed by the Czech workers.¹⁷⁸ The difference of tone between the broadcasts addressed to the audience in the first analysed month and in the second analysed month was remarkable, and in the latter broadcasts, the triumph of the Nazis was referred to as highly probable.

Based on their vision of the future of the Protectorate, the broadcasts after Reinhard Heydrich's arrival were of two kinds – the earlier broadcasts presented quite an optimistic vision, while the latter ones were rather pessimistic. In the first two weeks, people were ordered to fight mentally and not to surrender to Heydrich's tyranny. Although the Czechoslovak government-in-exile criticized Heydrich and despised him, his power was not underestimated and his acts were anticipated to have tragic impact. The orders to fight were only general and not concrete, their main aim was probably only to give people courage. Those who would fight were promised to be praised after the Second World War and those who would not were threatened to be punished. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile therefore anticipated that they would rule the country one day again. With the growing number of victims of the reprisals, members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile seemed to be losing their hope for a better future in the third and in the fourth week after Heydrich's arrival. Threats addressed to the Nazi authorities, such as the one addressed to Heydrich which was mentioned above, were only rare. Instead, in the broadcasts, the future was then seen more or less as the period when the Nazis would rule the country. The audience was advised how to defend themselves against the Nazis, the conviction that the Nazis would win the war, was more or less present in the vast majority of the broadcasts. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile did not broadcast any concrete information about the plan Heydrich had

¹⁷⁷ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, October 21st, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁷⁸ Langer, František, *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, October 27th, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

with the people in the Protectorate. One could estimate that even if they had been familiar with the plan, they would not have wanted to scare people and they thus kept the information for themselves. However, it could have been one of the reasons why the broadcasts were so pessimistic. The number of the victims of the reprisals was growing and it did not seem that the reprisals would be stopped, which could have led to the speculations that the reprisals would continue until the moment the plan was fulfilled.

In the theoretical part of the diploma thesis, it was mentioned that Heydrich was presented by Nazi propaganda as a protector and as a universally gifted man.¹⁷⁹ It was thus supposed that the Czechoslovak government-in-exile tried to denigrate such image, however, they did not. The broadcasts were not focused on Heydrich's personality and his qualities to a great extent, just his future deeds were put in the centre of attention.

Speaking about the BBC broadcasts addressed to Czech people in the approximately one-month-long period starting with Heydrich's arrival in the Protectorate and referring to 1.3 and 1.3.1 subchapters of this thesis, we can come to the conclusion that elements of mainly diplomatic propaganda (to make people love friends and hate enemies) were present in the BBC broadcasts. The mainly observed maxims was that of repetition and of specific objective (to encourage people to fight against the enemy). The BBC broadcasts clearly divided the world into *our world* and *the world of the others*. At this point it is necessary to mention the fact that these two worlds were "developing" - for example Emil Hácha was first depicted as an enemy but then he "moved" to *our world*.

5.2 The assassination of Reinhard Heydrich

Some soldiers who left Czechoslovakia after its occupation had started were chosen by the members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile to form the Czech Division in England. The process of the formation of this division was connected with the preparation phase of the *Operation Anthropoid*, the aim of which was to assassinate Reinhard Heydrich. After the five-month-long preparation process, the assassination was carried out in Prague. Jozef Gabčík and Jan Kubiš, two soldiers of this division, were selected for *Anthropoid* and were airlifted out in the Protectorate on December 28th 1941. After the five-month-long preparation process, the assassination was carried out in Prague. It was on May 27th 1942,

¹⁷⁹ See the subchapter 3.3 Nazi propaganda in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

when Heydrich was being driven to Prague Castle, that Gabčík stood in the way of Heydrich's car attempting to fire, however, the submachine gun failed. Kubiš immediately threw a grenade at the car, and the explosion wounded Heydrich. He then succumbed to his injuries on June 4th 1942. Gabčík and Kubiš managed to escape despite being chased and searched for by the Gestapo, the Waffen-SS and the police troops for more than twenty days. After being betrayed by their fellow paratrooper, Karel Čurda, they were – together with other five soldiers from other paratrooper groups – found in their hiding place in Ss. Cyril and Methodius' Cathedral. The fighting between the paratroopers and the Waffen-SS took seven hours and at the end of it, six paratroopers committed a suicide, Kubiš died in hospital. The act was followed by the German reprisals in which about 5,000 people were killed and by the annihilation of two Czech villages – Lidice and Ležáky.¹⁸⁰ In the international context, the assassination consolidated the position of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile and former Czechoslovakia in the preparation of the post-war settlement as the Munich Agreement was declared to be void.¹⁸¹ In spite of the heroism and bravery of the overall paratroopers and members of resistance movements and all the people who helped, the act of the assassination was criticised by representatives and supporters of the communist regime. Their biggest reprehension was aimed at the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, the body responsible for that act. In the current era, the assassination is, at last, generally appreciated in our country as much as it has been appreciated abroad. The paratroopers should be praised for their courage to risk their own lives and lives of their families in order to kill the person responsible for murders of thousands of Czech people; they should be also praised for their willingness to fight for a better future of their homeland.

The first BBC broadcast on Reinhard Heydrich's assassination appeared on the 28th May 1942, one day after Heydrich had been attacked by the paratroopers. It cannot be said with certainty that the authors of the broadcasts about the assassination knew who had attempted to kill Heydrich, However, the perpetrators' names were never revealed. In the first broadcast about the assassination, the BBC clearly presented their feelings about the Deputy Reich-Protector and about those who had assassinated him. Heydrich, the Nazi authorities and the Germans were described by adjectives and nicknames with extremely negative connotations. On the contrary, the paratroopers were referred to in a positive way as "heroes".

¹⁸⁰ Adam Leong Kok Wey, *Killing the Enemy: Assassination Operations During World War II* (New York: I.B.Tauris, 2015),

<https://books.google.cz/books?id=sPO5CwAAQBAJ&pg=PT194&dq=operation+anthropoid+heydrich&hl=cs&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjemKKToqnbAhVHZ1AKHYbtBxkQuwUIPDAC#v=onepage&q=operation%20anthropoid%20heydrich&f=false>, accessed May 20, 2018

¹⁸¹ Wey, *Killing the Enemy: Assassination Operations During World War II*, accessed May 20, 2018

The BBC called them as assassins or attackers only when the broadcasts reported how these heroes were referred to by the Government of the Protectorate.

On 28th May 1942, Heydrich was called “the lowest of creatures ever to appear in modern history”¹⁸², and the attack was considered as the climax of the tension which he had created in the Protectorate. Those who tried to kill him were not labelled as murderers by nature – they would have never committed an act like this one if their background had not forced them to do so. For that reason, the assassination must have been an extremely hard act for them to carry out. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile also warned the nation about the terror which was inevitable to come and which would result in killings of whole families including infants. The beliefs were expressed that the nation would stay strong and would cope with future events: “They will not break it down even with the threats of mass murder. The Czechs will not betray their fighters, will not desert the cause of the nation and the world, will not betray their freedom.”¹⁸³ The assassination itself was considered to be an important milestone which represented the atmosphere of the whole Europe since similar events were expected to come – “The nation will never forget these heroes in the historical moment in which everything is involved.”¹⁸⁴ From the broadcasts of that day, it could be possibly concluded that the Government in exile had taken part in the preparation of the assassination as President Edvard Beneš was praised on his contribution to the act while words of congratulations on his 58th birthday were expressed by the said government.¹⁸⁵

One day later, on May 29th, at the very beginning of the broadcasts, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile defined their stands in the events which were to occur. They addressed all the Allied nations and decent people to remind them about the fact that the Germans had also attacked other people of Europe and urged them to realize that the Czech nation should not be the only one punishing them for doing so. At the end of the broadcast, it was declared that: “The Government calls all Czechoslovak patriots to stand firmly by one another, to help one another in danger and to swear everyone who should violate the nation’s honour.”¹⁸⁶ This declaration stemmed from the repressions that were occurring in the Protectorate. The broadcasts did not give any detailed orders to the nation about what to do specifically to protect their honour. This issue was explained in another broadcast of the day – an example of a family of four members was presented. These four people were the victims of the

¹⁸² Kodíček, Josef.; Fraenkl, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday May 28th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁸³ Kodíček, Josef.; Fraenkl, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday May 28th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁸⁴ Kodíček, Josef.; Fraenkl, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday May 28th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁸⁵ Korbel, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday 28th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁸⁶ Ripka, Hubert. *BBC Broadcasting*. Friday 29th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

repressions since they were suspected of having helped the assassins. Adding the personal point of view and speaking as if to the dead of the said family, addressing them directly, the broadcasters stated that everything what these people had done contrary to what the Nazis had told them to do was right. Even if it meant being killed for their attitude, resistance was required from all people.¹⁸⁷

The broadcasts at the very end of May and at the beginning of June were focused mainly on the future. It was claimed that after Heydrich, it was time to assassinate someone who was even higher in the Nazi hierarchy, Adolf Hitler.¹⁸⁸ Heydrich was considered merely as a product of the Nazi propaganda,¹⁸⁹ and the attack on Hitler would destroy Nazi Germany and the regime completely. Tragic days full of suffering were expected in the times of the biggest struggle, but glorious days and victory were seen as a reward.¹⁹⁰ The nation was also encouraged to be resistant against the persuasion of the Nazis claiming that the assassination was done for the Czechoslovak government-in-exile and not for the nation itself. The only aim of the Nazis was to split the nation, and hence the advice given to the audience was “Don’t let them do so!”¹⁹¹

The nation was praised after Heydrich died on June 4, 1942: “It would be insincere to deny the satisfaction of the world at the fact that it was the first enslaved country – the Czech lands – which is the first to restore the balance of the justice of the universe.”¹⁹² However, the assassination was not mentioned. The repressions in the Protectorate were growing and the Nazis declared the intelligentsia of the nation to be the most responsible for the situation. Workers were being persuaded not to follow the intelligentsia, so the BBC encouraged them to ignore such persuasions: “Czech workers, it is only fear, anxiety and terrible uncertainty that speaks through the voice of these miserable creatures.”¹⁹³ People, however, were alerted not to believe the commentaries which saw repressions in a positive way.¹⁹⁴

On June 11th, the BBC broadcasted about the Lidice Massacre. From all the broadcasts, the first one about this terrible act probably contained the most of hatred. The Nazis were compared to a “mythological creature symbolizing the greatest evil.”¹⁹⁵ The only act that would be considered even worse than the massacre would be that of cannibalism. It

¹⁸⁷ Korbel, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Friday 29th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁸⁸ Laštovička, Bohuslav. *BBC Broadcasting*. Saturday 30th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁸⁹ Svatý, Pavel. *BBC Broadcasting*. Sunday 31th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁹⁰ Hronek, Jiří. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday June 3rd, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁹¹ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday June 3th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁹² Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday June 4th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁹³ Laštovička, Bohuslav. *BBC Broadcasting*. Friday June 5th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁹⁴ Hronek, Jiří. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday June 8th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁹⁵ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday June 11th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

was clear that after this massacre, every person all over the world would be against the Nazi regime. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile said that it had informed the whole world about the act which would never be forgotten¹⁹⁶ and that it strongly protested against the whole act.¹⁹⁷ This act was seen as another proof that the Nazis were so desperate that they had turned to such acts because of which no one could be certain of his own life, and that they gave the nation an ultimatum.¹⁹⁸ The BBC also informed that Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State of the United States, condemned this act and compared it to something what the Barbarian tribes used to do centuries ago. Everyone, starting with Adolf Hitler and finishing with members of the lowest social class of the Third Reich, was promised to be punished.

After these expressions of anger, the broadcasts did not mention the Lidice Massacre until June 15th. On June 15th, the example of Lidice was used in the Appeal to Women. By the horrible act, the Nazis were claimed to have proved that they did not understand the importance of the family as of an institution. This is how the nations differ because the Czech nation praised the family, and that the given time was the time for women as for mothers to show their fighting spirit and vengeance against the idea of their posterity living in an uncertain future. The broadcasts continued in informing people about the urgency of being cautious against the Nazis.

On June 19th, Josef Fraenkl broadcasted about the capturing of the perpetrators. From the broadcasts, it was evident that the Nazis could only tell lies. Although it was said the assassins had been shot dead, such claimed was highly improbable. If they had been captured, they would not have been killed. The allegation that the Czechoslovak government-in-exile had ordered the assassins to kill Heydrich was also considered to be a lie as the Nazis did not have enough evidence for that. They would have tortured the paratroopers to gain information about who had given them the task. From the fact that the Nazis referred to the assassins only as to “two unnamed men” it was clear that they wanted only blood. The nation was praised by the BBC for protecting the so-called assassins for so long. Those who had betrayed them were hence considered to be the enemies of the whole nation.¹⁹⁹ The government thought about and warned against possible consequences of the capture: “the myth of infallibility of Gestapo will be required to be maintained, the Germans may suddenly stop their terror, the Nazi will use the deed as a weapon against the Czechoslovak government in London, names of the

¹⁹⁶ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday June 11th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁹⁷ Fraenkl, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday June 11th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁹⁸ Jurnečková-Vorlová, Marie. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday June 15th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

¹⁹⁹ Fraenkl, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Friday June 19th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

informers will not be known.”²⁰⁰ People were to be worried mainly about the first two consequences as members of Gestapo were expected to be even more cruel.

The BBC informed about the Massacre of the village Ležáky, a village near Chrudim, on June 23rd 1942. Compared to the way the radio commented on the Lidice Massacre, the broadcast about this second massacre was less emotional. Only at the end of the broadcast, it was outlined how lives of people who had died in Ležáky – together with lives of those who had died in Lidice – would have continued. When the Allies attacked the German part of Bremen, the BBC told the listeners that it was a revenge for the events that took place in the Protectorate within the past month – “One blow starts series of other blows.”²⁰¹

It can be concluded that the BBC broadcasts which followed the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich manifested four already mentioned characteristic principles of propaganda in the assassination’s presentation. The first one was the constant and repeated appeal to people to fight. From the beginning of the war, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile was encouraging people to believe that the Axis would be defeated eventually, but only rarely before the assassination were people asked to do something. Since 1942, people were directly appealed to to fight mentally against their enemies, as well as to keep having their own opinions which were not to be changed by anyone. The audience were reminded that all their deeds would not influence only their lives, but also everyone else’s lives. This was being repeated all the time on almost every occasion. Unexpectedly, people were not cautioned against giving information about the assassins away. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile probably trusted the Czech nation so much that they did not even expect anyone to betray the assassins and thus the whole nation. No direct appeals to fight physically appeared in the broadcasts. The reprisals after the assassination increased the level of hatred towards the Nazis, so we can assume that if there had been any appeals of this character (to fight physically), people might have followed them. By telling people to fight for their own future, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile disproved the appeals of the Nazis to Czech people to assume their belonging to Nazi Germany.²⁰²

The second principle was the constant and ever-present reminder of the existence of *our world* and *the world of the others*, and the reminder of the evil of the Nazis and of the Germans in general. The enemies’ depiction developed - before the Massacre of Lidice, not all Germans were considered to be as evil as the Nazis, but after the assassination, all

²⁰⁰ Hronek, Jiří. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday June 23rd, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

²⁰¹ Hronek, Jiří. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday June 26th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

²⁰² see subchapter 3.3 *Official propaganda in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia*

Germans were considered to be enemies of the Czechoslovak nation. They were called “criminals,” “murderers” or “weaklings”. Emotional language expressions were carefully chosen; synecdoche was used for example when the Germans were referred to as “quislings” (after the Norwegian collaborator Vidkun Quisling). While it was clearly defined who the enemies were, the broadcasts did not declare who could be seen as a supporter for the nation and whom the nation could trust. The paratroopers were not mentioned anymore and they could not be anticipated to help people in the Protectorate anymore. This leads to the conclusion that the Exile government wanted people to rely only on themselves and thus to do nothing which would put them and the whole nation in danger.

The third principle was the concealment of the role of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in the assassination (i.e. maxim no. 6 mentioned in the 1.3.1 part was observed). The only exception was the birthday wish addressed to Edvard Beneš. Despite the suspicions expressed by the Protectorate government and the Nazis, the Exile government never confirmed that they had planned the assassination. They only repeated the statement that there was not a single proof for claiming this. The only role which the members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile acknowledged themselves to have was the role of mediators between the Protectorate and the rest of the world. The aim of this role was to persuade the whole nation about the qualities of the Czech nation and about the bestiality of the Germans. The reason for the concealment was definitely the protection of the Protectorate and the families of the persons involved in the assassination act. If the Nazis had known with certainty who had planned the assassination, they would have probably been even more cruel, searches for paratroopers and their helpers would have been more intensive, and more people would have been killed. Moreover, as it was known who the members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, their relatives who had not left the Protectorate would have been killed.

The fourth principal feature of the broadcasts after the assassination was the stress put on the fact that the nation was seen as more important than individuals, which can be considered as a kind of didactic propaganda mentioned in 1.3 subchapter. People were asked to do everything for the nation and its honour. The broadcasts gave the impression that the Exile government tried to persuade people that their own lives were less important than the fate of the whole nation. This attitude was the most obvious after the Lidice and Ležáky Massacres, when quite a little space was devoted to speaking about the lost lives. The Exile government spoke much more about the importance of keeping on fighting.

5.3 The Battle of Sokolovo

It can be assumed that the BBC broadcasts about the battle of Sokolovo will differ from the two aforementioned mentioned events. One of the reasons for such an assumption is given by the fact that the battle was fought neither on the Protectorate's territory, nor on the United Kingdom's territory. The other reason reflects the fact that the Exile government's attitude to the Soviet Union was rather reserved. Differences can be expected not only in the content and kinds of propaganda but also in the time devoted to this event.

The first Czechoslovak military units were formed in the third year of the Second World War, in January 1942. The Soviet Union called all people who had emigrated there from Czechoslovakia to gather in the city of Buzuluk (in the south-west of Russia). This call must have been really heard as about 1,300 people, both men and women, arrived in Buzuluk and they underwent military training, being given weapons and other military equipment by the Soviet Union.²⁰³ This formation was called The First Czechoslovak Independent Field Battalion, and in March 1943 it was given its first task – to stop the troops of the Wehrmacht from advancing their front to the east, to the area of today's Ukraine, principally to the largest city of the area, Kharkov. Hence the Field Battalion with its commander Ludvík Svoboda (who later became the president of Czechoslovakia, in the office of which he was active from 1968 to 1975) fought in the village of Sokolovo, from March 8th to March 13th. Out of approximately 360 soldiers, approximately one third were either killed in the battle (about 86 soldiers, including the First Lieutenant Otakar Jaroš) or they disappeared or were taken into captivity.²⁰⁴ Despite the losses, The First Czechoslovak Independent Field Battalion won the Battle of Sokolovo. The troops of Wehrmacht had to move their front back to the west.²⁰⁵ The Battle of Sokolovo started the history of the Czechoslovak military units in the Second World War, which means that the Soviet Union gave the Czechoslovaks the opportunity to form their own division earlier than the United Kingdom did. However, it is important to mention the fact that the Czechoslovak soldiers were trained in the United Kingdom, they joined Royal Air Force or, like paratroopers who assassinated Heydrich, they were chosen for special tasks. The Czechoslovak Independent Armoured Brigade Group was formed in the United Kingdom in September 1943 and was deployed for the first time in the Battle of

²⁰³ "Buzuluk," accessed June 2, 2018, <http://www.bojovali-za-ceskoslovensko.cz/cs/vystava/41-11>

²⁰⁴ Miroslav Brož, *Hrdinové od Sokolova* (Praha: Ministerstvo obrany ČR - Agentura vojenských informací a služeb, 2006), 4.

²⁰⁵ Brož, *Hrdinové od Sokolova*, 6.

Dunkirk from September 1944 to May 1945.²⁰⁶ Certain comparisons of the soldiers' positions in the United Kingdom and in the Soviet Union can be expected to be mentioned in the broadcasts.

On the first two days of the Battle, no comments on it appeared in the broadcasts. On March 10th, the significance of the combat was analysed. The Battle of Sokolovo was seen as a demonstration of the alliance of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union against their common foe. The real triumph would be achieved only when both the countries were free. It was mentioned that the first military collaboration of these two countries had begun more than a quarter century before and that it would definitely continue after the end of the Second World War.²⁰⁷ In another report of that day, the alliance with a Western country, the United States of America, was presented. The Prime Minister Šrámek expressed his delight about the act of American soldiers who had given their flag to the Czechoslovak Field Battalion. The flag was seen as a symbol which represented the faithfulness and which could be read as the highest symbol of faith and bravery. It was also seen as the evidence of how much the United States believed in the power of the Czechoslovak soldiers in Sokolovo.²⁰⁸ Two days later, the news from the Battle was brought together with the warning against believing the Nazi broadcasts full of false information about the Wehrmacht winning the Battle. At the same time, however, the Czechoslovak soldiers were warned not to underestimate the anger of German soldiers.²⁰⁹ In the broadcasts, the members of The Czechoslovak Field Battalion who were fighting in Sokolovo were presented to the Czech youth as heroes who were ordered to leave their families at home and go and fight all around Europe.²¹⁰

On March 13th, Edvard Beneš delivered a speech about the success of The Czechoslovak Field Battalion in Czechoslovakia. Some parts of the speech were in the Czech language, some were in Slovak, presumably to mark the importance of the participation of both the nations in the Battle. The speech of Edvard Beneš, however, included a claim that “another kind of terror will follow when the Soviet Union wins the war.”²¹¹ This expression of fear concluded the last broadcasts devoted to the Battle of Sokolovo. When the Germans captured Kharkov on March 16th – which was seen as the beginning of the collapse of the whole German front in the East because the Wehrmacht lost many soldiers and much of its

²⁰⁶ Jan Hyrman, “The port of Dunkirk in WWII,” accessed June 1, 2018, https://web.archive.org/web/20110714154719/http://www.nasenoviny.com/DunkirkEN1944_45.html

²⁰⁷ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday March 10th, 1943, 5:45 p.m.

²⁰⁸ Šrámek, Jan. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday March 10th, 1943, 5:45 p.m.

²⁰⁹ Šrámek, Jan. *BBC Broadcasting*. Saturday March 10th, 5:45 p.m.

²¹⁰ Fraenkl, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Sunday March 11th, 5:45 p.m.

²¹¹ Beneš, Edvard. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday March 12th, 5:45 p.m.

military equipment²¹² – the contribution of the Czech and Slovak soldiers was ignored completely.

As it was expected, rather few broadcasts were devoted to the Battle of Sokolovo. The first broadcast was transmitted no sooner than on the third day of the Battle and the end of the Battle was not mentioned at all. As it was a military event, it was foreseen that *military propaganda* would be used. However, the elements of this type of propaganda²¹³ were not present in the broadcasts. Encouragement of the civilians was present only in the broadcasts devoted to the youth²¹⁴, soldiers were not encouraged to act at all. The enemy (the troops of the Wehrmacht) were not demoralized, but the Czechoslovak soldiers were warned against their power. Compared to the number of direct appeals which appeared in the broadcasts whose topic was devoted to the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, no appeals to the soldiers in the Battle of civilians were present in the broadcasts.

The Battle of Sokolovo was the first opportunity for The Czechoslovak Field Battalion to fight, and they succeeded. However, they were not praised by the BBC for doing so, nor were the victims commemorated. Moreover, the end of the Battle was ignored completely. The BBC did not offer much information about the Battle of Sokolovo, but it must be taken into account that to transmit news from the battlefield to London and then to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was not easy. Moreover, it took quite a lot of time. As there were also broadcasts from the Soviet Union to the Protectorate, it can be assumed that this broadcasting informed people about the Battle of Sokolovo. What, however, leads to the allegation that the Czechoslovak government-in-exile did not consider the Soviet Union as a real ally, was the aforementioned opinion expressed by Edvard Beneš and especially its timing as it was delivered when the Soviet Union was dealing with the troops of the Wehrmacht in their area. We can come to the conclusion that the BBC broadcasts about the Battle of Sokolovo were really different from the broadcasts connected with Reinhard Heydrich and that very few elements of propaganda appeared in them. The fact that there was rather little information about the Battle can be at least partly connected with a non-existing possibility of direct transmitting from the battlefield to London.

²¹² Šrámek, Jan. *BBC Broadcasting*. Friday March 16th, 5:45 p.m.

²¹³ The aim is to demoralize enemy and to encourage soldiers and civilians (see subchapter 1.3 Propaganda in media).

²¹⁴ see reference 58

5.4 Moravian-Ostrava Offensive

The fourth event which is focused on and analysed was, similarly to the Battle of Sokolovo, connected with the Soviet Red Army and The First Czechoslovak Independent Field Battalion. However, this event took place in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The Moravian-Ostrava Offensive started to be planned at the end of 1944 when the Eastern Front advanced to the Ukraine. However, the Soviet Red Army and The First Czechoslovak Independent Field Battalion did not manage to reach the area until March 10th 1945 as the Wehrmacht troops were blocking their way in Slovakia. This blockade gave the Nazis in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia time to prepare barricades in Ostrava in order not to give up the city and its mineral wealth to the Soviet Army. The Soviet Army, led by the general Andrey Yeryomenko, crossed the frontier in Český Těšín and continued to Ostrava from the north and liberated cities and villages through which it was passing. The troops of the Soviet Army were invading villages surrounding Ostrava from April 27th 1945, and on April 30th they finally reached the city centre which was liberated on May 1st. Approximately 24,000 soldiers died during the operation.²¹⁵ Even though people in Ostrava actively participated in fights for their city, there were only eight victims among civilians.²¹⁶ This operation, like the Battle of Sokolovo, was coordinated by the Soviet Union, so we can anticipate that the attitude of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile towards the Soviet Union would be reflected in the broadcasts.

Ostrava was one of the industrial centres of the Protectorate, also called “the steel heart of Europe.”²¹⁷ Besides its mineral wealth, which was mentioned above, it was also the seat of many industrial enterprises. At the end of 1944 Adolf Hitler claimed the economic value of Ostrava for the Third Reich to be the main reason for paying the highest attention to defend the city.²¹⁸ Nevertheless, at the beginning of May 1945, the loss of the Third Reich was inevitable and even the possession of the riches of Ostrava would not have changed that. More likely, the Nazis were afraid of losing the city because of its strategic position on the route of the Soviet Army to Prague; and some troops which conquered Ostrava then actually continued to the capital of the Protectorate.

Although the start of the Moravian-Ostrava Operation officially dates back to early March, nothing about it was mentioned in the BBC broadcasting until March 26th. Pavel

²¹⁵ Václav Peša, *Ostravská operace Rudé armády* (Ostrava: Profil, 1970), 13.

²¹⁶ Peša, *Ostravská operace Rudé armády*, 42.

²¹⁷ Peša, *Ostravská operace Rudé armády*, 35.

²¹⁸ Peša, *Ostravská operace Rudé armády*, 9.

Tigríd spoke retrospectively about the successful campaign of the Red Army which managed to liberate a third of the Czechoslovak territory from the German occupation.²¹⁹ The historic roots of friendly Soviet-Czechoslovak relations were highlighted with the hope that Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and western European countries would maintain their cooperation after the Second World War. People in Moravia, especially steel workers and coal miners were ordered to open the entrance to Moravia for the Soviet Army.²²⁰ It was claimed that the lesser the number of the Germans was, the easier the Operation would be, so people were asked to kill as many Germans as possible. The process of the liberation was in its early stages, but a detailed look into the future was offered – people were ensured that after the War, the new government would guarantee a new political system, legal order and the system of press.²²¹ Reasons for fighting were presented in two broadcasts. One can assume that the Czechoslovak government-in-exile anticipated victims among civilians as it was declared that “sacrifices are the best investment into the future.”²²² Until that moment, the Soviets had been dying which was seen as something inadmissible and people were appealed to “not to let the others die for their nation.”²²³

It is important to mention the fact that on April 4th, the Soviet Army liberated Bratislava, the capital city of the fascist Slovak State. This meant the end of the state which was established after the Munich Agreement. From that day on, the vast majority of the broadcasts was devoted to the liberation of the Slovak State, while only rarely were the BBC broadcasts devoted to the Moravian-Ostrava operation. The liberation of the Slovak State was described as “definitely not easy as the German resistance is tough.”²²⁴ The liberated area was referred to as Slovakia and it was expected to be joined to the Czech lands immediately after the liberation of Prague. The broadcast from April 6th informed about the arrival of the President Edvard Beneš in Košice. He was presented as the saviour without whom the Allies would lose the Second World War and who was welcomed by everyone. Beneš told the BBC that he was “more than happy that the Slovaks in Košice had nothing in common with Josef Tiso and his helpers.”²²⁵ On the following days, the decisions of the newly established first home Government in Košice and their government programme, called the Košice government

²¹⁹ Peša, *Ostravská operace Rudé armády*, 14.

²²⁰ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Sunday, March 26th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²²¹ Tigríd, Pavel. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, April 5th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²²² Ripka, Hubert. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, April 2nd, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²²³ Ripka, Hubert. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, April 2nd, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²²⁴ Dr. Kejdu. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, April 4th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²²⁵ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Saturday, April 7th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

programme, were commented on. The members of the Government in Košice were acknowledged for the democratic spirit of the government programme and for their vision of the future collaboration of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom.²²⁶

As it was mentioned in the paragraph above, only little information about the Moravian-Ostrava Offensive, was mentioned by the BBC. The attempts of the Germans to kill Czech citizens were compared to “calling a doctor when the patient is already rotting”²²⁷ or to the “dying beast which is the worst.”²²⁸ The Red Army was in the borderlands where the Germans who used to be the Czechoslovak citizens lived. These Germans once betrayed the nation and, consequently, it was essential to be guard against them. On April 16th, the citizens were informed about the presence of the American army on the soil of western Bohemia and the Red Army on the soil of eastern Moravia. The victory was seen as definite, but people were asked to help both armies, to work together, and to destroy the Wehrmacht troops.²²⁹

The liberation of Opava, which was a result of the Moravian-Ostrava Offensive, was celebrated by the BBC as a great achievement of the military unit. Opava was known to be an important junction and despite the fact that defending the place was hard, the Germans did not succeed.²³⁰ People of all professions were called to go on strike alert, the shops had to be closed in order to leave the Germans without food.²³¹ Together with the orders, the audience was told to be aware of the bombs which were likely to be planted by the Germans in the area. The broadcast from May 2nd, when Ostrava was liberated, can be considered as fairly surprising. This achievement was summarized only in six sentences and without any deeper emotions. Instead, the broadcast repeatedly mentioned how hard it was to liberate Slovakia.²³²

In the broadcasts about the Moravian-Ostrava Operation, *military propaganda* was anticipated to be used, the same as it was anticipated in the broadcasts about the Battle of Sokolovo.²³³ Despite not anticipating the soldiers listening to the radio, the civilians who lived in the area through which the front was advancing may have been given more orders about how to help the Army. Orders to kill the Germans and to build barricades around cities

²²⁶ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Friday, April 14th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²²⁷ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Sunday, April 16th, 1945, 5:45

p.m.

²²⁸ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Friday, April 21st, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²²⁹ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, April 30th, 1945, 5:45

p.m.

²³⁰ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Tuesday, May 1st, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²³¹ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, May 2nd, 1945, 5:45

p.m.

²³² The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, May 2nd, 1945, 5:45

p.m.

²³³ The aim is to demoralize enemy and to encourage soldiers and civilians (See the subchapter 1.3 Propaganda in media.).

were the only instructions given to the civilians. People were encouraged by the prospect of the victory which was expected to come soon. The propaganda worked with the demoralization of the enemy as the Germans were called by the words with negative connotations. The past outrageous deeds of the Germans were not remembered, but the civilians were told to be aware of the last attempts of the Germans to save their lives.

The soldiers of the Soviet Army were the first who started with the liberation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, it was then expected that their arrival would be celebrated by the BBC. Nevertheless, the broadcasts did not pay much attention to the Operation. They focused on political negotiations in Košice instead and the city of Košice was regarded as the most important place for the future of the Czechoslovak nation. Some members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, including the President Edvard Beneš, were then present in Košice. Hence it does not seem surprising that those members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile who did not leave London yet continued to inform about the acts of the group of politicians they were a part of. Although the politicians who were in London during the Second World War were accused of being against the Soviet Union, no words of criticism that would have been addressed to the country or to the Red Army appeared in the broadcasts about the Moravian-Ostrava Operation. The only aspects of the broadcasts which could lead to the allegations that the Czechoslovak government-in-exile wanted to harm the Red Army was the small amount of time devoted to the Moravian-Ostrava Operation together with the lack of words of celebration when the cities of Ostrava and Opava were liberated.

Speaking about all the five analysed events, elements of political propaganda (which was clarified in 1.3 subchapter) was probably the most apparent in the BBC broadcasts referring to the Moravian-Ostrava Operation. Within the framework of the broadcasts about the fights in Ostrava and Opava, the broadcasters focused much more on the situation in Košice, where the politicians were negotiating and doing everything they could to re-establish the independent and democratic Czechoslovak Republic. The fact that the members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile were praising themselves can be seen as efforts made to persuade the audience that the members of this government had been with people in better times before the Second World War, they then stayed with the nation during the war conflict and they would finally return to their home country and would be with their nation in future better times again.

5.5 The Prague Uprising

In April 1945, when the defeat of Nazi Germany was inevitable, the people of Prague started with the preparations for the last days of the Second World War. After negotiations with the Mayor of Prague, the Revolutionary Committee was established. The Prague Uprising began on May 5th 1945 when the power over the capital was given to the Revolutionary Committee. Symbols of Nazi Germany and signs written in German were being destroyed. German civilians and soldiers were being arrested. The Nazis and the members of the Waffen-SS who had not left Prague yet responded to the situation by opening fire in the historical city centre in the afternoon. For the next two days, armed members of the Revolutionary Committee, members of resistance groups who had survived the war and also unarmed civilians continued to fight against their enemies. The Germans in Prague surrendered in the evening on May 8th, one day before the Soviet Armed Forces arrived in Prague and liberated the city.²³⁴ The number of casualties on the side of the rebels was 2,898.²³⁵ People were informed about the situation in Prague by the Czech Radio and by the BBC which broadcasted publicly. The radio thus had a significant role in the Uprising.

In the early morning of May 5th, the beginning of the Uprising was announced with the following sentence combining Czech and German: “Je právě sechs hodin.” [It is now six o’clock.]²³⁶ Then it was broadcasted only in Czech. At 12:10 p.m., the Waffen-SS invaded the building and the reporters asked for help and called upon people to build barricades. On May 6th, the rebels arrived in an army tank. However, the explosion of a bomb damaged the building so much that a new transmitter was necessary to be installed. The search for it was unsuccessful and the Radio broadcasted from the chapel in the centre of the Hussite Church, until the Soviet Armed Forces liberated Prague.²³⁷ The fact that people reacted to the appeal of the Czech Radio the minute they were asked to act proved the importance of the radio for the people of the Protectorate in the period of the Second World War. We can also admire the reporters for their courage to continue in the broadcasts even if that meant risking their lives.

The broadcast about the first day of the Prague Uprising celebrated the loss of Nazi Germany and the end of the German aggressions. The members of the Wehrmacht who had

²³⁴ Archiv hlavního města Prahy, “Pražské povstání květen 1945: boje o radniční budovy,” accessed June 1, 2018, <http://www.ahmp.cz/povstani/>

²³⁵ “Publikace, kterou historiografie potřebovala: padli z pražských barikád 1945,” accessed June 1, 2018, <http://www.vhu.cz/publikace-kerou-historiografie-potrebovala-padli-z-prazskych-barikad-1945>

²³⁶ “Čtyři dny bitvy o Český rozhlas,” accessed June 1, 2018, http://www.rozhlas.cz/bitvaorozhlas/bitva/_zprava/ctyri-dny-bitvy-o-cesky-rozhlas--1392993

²³⁷ “Čtyři dny bitvy o Český rozhlas,” http://www.rozhlas.cz/bitvaorozhlas/bitva/_zprava/ctyri-dny-bitvy-o-cesky-rozhlas--1392993

not left Prague yet were, however, deemed to be potential threats as they were anticipated to defend themselves to the last moment, albeit knowing that they were alone. The BBC informed about the situation in the Protectorate and claimed that everyone would be safe as the National Committee would check the security of the Czech patriots against the German population. People were urged not to believe the Nazis who started to spread false information in order to confuse the Czech people.²³⁸ The first broadcast was rather informative, while in the second broadcast, people were called directly:

“We are calling our Czechoslovak Prague whose people have risen to a heroic liberating fight. They are encouraged by the Czechoslovak armed forces. Long live our fighting Prague, long live the Czech people who are regaining their freedom. Death to the German invaders!”²³⁹ More concrete information about the situation in the Protectorate and about their tasks was transmitted on May 6th. People were informed that the Americans and the Soviets were advancing towards Prague from both sides. Neither the Americans nor the Soviets were given preference, both armies were praised for liberating cities and villages in all parts of the Czech Republic. People were informed that Edvard Beneš would arrive in Prague soon and that the best present for him would be a liberated city. The soldiers of the Wehrmacht who were outside Prague were expected to try to reach the capital city. The growing number of the soldiers of the Wehrmacht would complicate the Uprising, so people were asked to block the entrance to the city. Young people were called in particular to fight for their future and to join the newly established National Council of Youth.²⁴⁰ Even though it seems unlikely that the BBC was listened to by the Germans, they were addressed directly: “Let every German be aware of this. We repeat once more: all cruelties and brutal actions against the Czech population will be punished!”²⁴¹

The will of the Germans to continue in their resistance efforts was condemned, but it was not underestimated: “It is absolutely necessary that all positions controlled by our people should be held with doubled vigilance, determination and stubbornness. Maintain the fight, hold positions until the Germans are captured or made harmless to the last.”²⁴² The warning against the Germans was addressed to the whole nation, not only to the citizens of Prague. People were ensured that they were celebrated and greeted all around London. They were acclaimed for not having surrendered to the humiliation and the martyrs and their final fight

²³⁸ Haasz-Kysucký. *BBC Broadcasting*. Saturday, May 5th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²³⁹ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Saturday, May 5th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²⁴⁰ Tigrid, Pavel. *BBC Broadcasting*. Sunday, May 6th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²⁴¹ Hornek, Jiří. *BBC Broadcasting*. Sunday May 6th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²⁴² The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, May 7th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

was devoted to everyone who laid down their lives for their nation.²⁴³ During the Second World War, people were referred to as “the Czechs” or “the people of the Protectorate”. In the broadcasts about the Prague Uprising, they started to be called “the Czechoslovaks” again. The cooperation of the Czechs and the Slovaks during the Prague Uprising meant that these two nations had to be united again.²⁴⁴

The hatred towards the Germans was ongoing and that was emphasized mainly in the direct appeals on people who were continuously reminded of the atrocities of the Germans. When the Czechoslovak government-in-exile was informed that so far 60 people died during the Uprising, the acts of the Germans were said to “surpass in moral perversity all their crimes against humanity and international law.”²⁴⁵ They were condemned for not being able to confess their defeat. On the other side, this was not seen as a complete surprise as the Germans behaved like animals from the earliest history of their nation. Their punishment was therefore inevitable: “Go on killing the Germans! Death to the Germans! The Germans will be bloodily defeated!”²⁴⁶

On May 8th, the effort was made to seek the cooperation of people. Men, women, children, people of all political beliefs were told to work together and to think of everyone who had been killed by the Germans. It was claimed that the victory was just about to come, that London could hear the sound of the fighting and the Czechoslovak government-in-exile promised that they would return immediately to the liberated country and begin with the reconstruction of Prague.²⁴⁷ The victory was celebrated on May 9th and the words of acknowledgement were addressed to everyone who somehow had contributed to the fights during the Prague Uprising. The highest honour was paid to the “glorious Red Army” and the units of Marshal Koniev who reached Prague. People all around the country were called “heroic fighters” and they were admired for defeating the “German bandits”. At the same time when the Red Army was acknowledged, Ota Ornest, who was broadcasting on that day, mentioned the military deeds of the Anglo-American armies in the west of the country. The cooperation of the Allied countries was deemed to be the celebration of the victory of the fighting unity of Allied nations.²⁴⁸ On May 10th, two days after the German capitulation, some members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile together with the President Edvard Beneš arrived in Prague. The BBC informed about their arrival, telling the people what to shout in

²⁴³ Tigrid, Pavel. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, May 7th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²⁴⁴ Dr. Kejdu. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, May 7th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²⁴⁵ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, May 7th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²⁴⁶ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, May 7th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²⁴⁷ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Tuesday, May 8th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²⁴⁸ Ornest, Ota. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, May 9th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

the streets of the Protectorate: “Glory to our President! Long live the Czechoslovak Government! Long live the fighting and victorious Czechoslovak people! Long live our allies! And long live our free and beautiful Czechoslovak Republic!”²⁴⁹

The extreme hatred against the Germans was much significantly expressed in comparison with the broadcasts from the period of the Moravian-Ostrava Operation. The contrasts in the ways how the people of Prague and the Germans were depicted is similar to David Welch’s theory, according to which propaganda divided the world into *our world* and *the world of the others*.²⁵⁰ The broadcasts were focused principally on depicting the Germans as beings about whom everything was wrong and evil. What was condemned the most was their persistent will to fight and their having no moral qualities. The people of Prague, members of *our world*, were openly incited to kill all Germans. Besides this instigation, people were addressed continuously and they were thanked for what they had done in the past.

The broadcasts which were transmitted during the Prague Uprising were more or less the last broadcasts of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, which means that their role in the Second World War was reckoned to be finished. One could expect or assume that the government-in-exile would evaluate their London activities. This assumption was wrong as the Czechoslovak government-in-exile mentioned themselves only in connection with the arrival in their home country, and they proclaimed that they were in hearts still with those who were fighting on the barricades in Prague. In place of remembering their past, they expressed their will in the reconstruction of the country and of the nation. We can come to the conclusion that elements of diplomatic and political propaganda were prevailing in the BBC broadcasts about the Prague Uprising,

This subchapter presented broadcasts devoted to five selected events. It can be claimed that the main aim of all the broadcasts was to give the audience hope and to present the events differently than the official media in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia did. Referring to the aforementioned text, we can come to the conclusion that the BBC broadcasts about the Battle of Sokolovo included, for the reasons given, the smallest number of the elements of propaganda. The broadcasts about the Moravian-Ostrava Operation were full of elements of political propaganda, however, these elements were not connected with the

²⁴⁹ The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, May 10th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

²⁵⁰ See the subchapter 1.3 Propaganda in media.

Operation itself. The BBC broadcasts about Reinhard Heydrich's arrival and assassination and then those about the Prague Uprising are quite similar concerning their formats, the difference about *our world* and *the world of the others* is prominently stressed in them.

6 Collation of the theoretical part with the analysed data

This chapter refers to the seven maxims of propaganda mentioned in the theoretical part of the thesis and collates them with the analysed data obtained from the archive. Propaganda is generally characterized by these seven maxims, so it seems important to analyse in the following sections whether the BBC broadcasters observed or did not observe them.

6.1 Did the BBC broadcasts make use of repetition? (maxim no. 1)

From the beginning of the Second World War, the Czechoslovak-government-in-exile emphasized and constantly repeated the belief that the victory of the Allies would come.²⁵¹ (Jan Masaryk, expressed this belief on the seventh day of the War).²⁵² The conviction of the victory was emphasized mainly on the days which were somehow significant for the nation. For example, in the broadcast addressed to the listeners on New Year's Day in 1941, Hubert Ripka, who worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that "The victory will come sooner than everybody thinks."²⁵³ Two years later, on March 15th 1943, on the day when the beginning of the Nazi occupation was commemorated, it was said that: "...the brutal occupation of the Czech lands opened the eye of the whole world and it would punish Germany."²⁵⁴ The fact that the members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile were revealing their activities planned for the time period after returning to their homeland can be considered as a way of convincing people that the victory would, indeed, come one day. The only time period in which the victory was seen as rather uncertain, or almost impossible, were the days after the arrival of Reinhard Heydrich in Prague.²⁵⁵

In the broadcasts, constant calls for moral and physical fight reappeared. The calls, however, were changing in their character during the War. At the beginning of this global conflict, the members of the Czechoslovak-government-in-exile presented themselves as those who would fight as well. For instance, in 1940, the Minister of Social Affairs, František Němec, declared: "The freedom of our state! This is our goal, this is what we will fight for.

²⁵¹ Jan Masaryk expressed this belief on the seventh day of the Second World War.

²⁵² See the subchapter 2.1 *The characteristic features of the BBC radio broadcasting in the Czech language during the Second World War.*

²⁵³ Ripka, Hubert. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, January 1st, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

²⁵⁴ Slávik, Juraj. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, March 15th, 1943, 5:45 p.m.15th

²⁵⁵ See the subchapter 5.1 *The arrival of Reinhard Heydrich.*

And if it is necessary, we will die for it!”²⁵⁶ The first person plural was used to evoke the active participation of the London-based politicians in the fight. In the ongoing years, however, those who were ordered to fight were the people living in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, whereas the Czechoslovak-government-in-exile were “only” thinking of those who stayed in the Protectorate and were sending them words of encouragement.

The relationship with and attitude towards the Soviet Union was another frequently appearing and repeated issue. It is interesting to observe how the attitude to this world power developed within the broadcasts. For instance, on January 3rd 1941, the Soviet Union was predicted to be a problematic future partner.²⁵⁷ Then, when the Battle of Sokolovo took place, Edvard Beneš himself expressed his sceptical opinion on the deeds of the Soviet Union.²⁵⁸ In the last year of the Second World War, however, the Soviet Union was praised for the contribution to the liberation of Czechoslovakia.²⁵⁹ In general, the Soviet Union was in the centre of interest and attention of the BBC broadcasts during the whole War. In contradiction to that, the United Kingdom was mentioned less frequently with the ongoing war years. In 1940, the United Kingdom was presented as the country whose culture is similar to that of Czechoslovakia and which would always be on the side of Czechoslovakia.²⁶⁰ Consequently, one could expect that at the end of the Second World War, words of thankfulness would be addressed to the United Kingdom – nevertheless, they were not.²⁶¹

On the basis of the aforementioned examples and referring to Chapter 5 we can make the conclusion that maxim no. 1 was definitely observed.

6.2 Did the BBC broadcasts work with colour? (maxim no. 2)

This question can be also answered positively, maxim no. 2 was also observed. It seems that the Czechoslovak government-in-exile paid a significant attention to structuring the components of their broadcasts. Almost all broadcasts consisted of introduction, body and conclusion. The expressed opinions were frequently supported by quotes of respected personalities, comparisons with and reflections on events from the history were made. Work with colour was the most apparent in the broadcasts in which enemies were depicted. The biggest enemies were the Nazis / the Germans. In the broadcasts which followed their

²⁵⁶ Němec, František. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, August 14th, 1940, 5:45 p.m.

²⁵⁷ Ripka, Hubert. *BBC Broadcasting*. Sunday, January 3rd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

²⁵⁸ See the subchapter 5.3 *The Battle of Sokolovo*.

²⁵⁹ See the subchapter 5.5 *The Prague Uprising*.

²⁶⁰ for instance: Němec, František. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, July 23rd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

²⁶¹ In the broadcasts from the period of the Prague Uprising, no words of thankfulness were present.

atrocities, all Germans were seen as enemies, only the Nazis were presented as the guilty ones. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter devoted to the analyses of broadcasts reflecting on significant events, the Nazis / the Germans and also their representing authorities were given names which emphasized their bad qualities. To sum up, it can be claimed that a careful structuring of broadcasts and using concrete examples of the acts of atrocities of the Nazis / the Germans probably contributed to making the audience agree with the information presented in the broadcasts.²⁶²

6.3 Did the BBC broadcasts work with a kernel of truth? (maxim no. 3)

In the BBC broadcasts, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile commented on statements addressed to people of the Protectorate by the Nazi authorities. The BBC presented these statements as being false and, consequently, the efforts were made to explain why they should be considered as false. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile focused mainly on the reasons which were given by the Nazi authorities as those justifying their reprisals.²⁶³ People were also told to be careful what to believe and what not to believe in.

Considering the contents of the BBC broadcasts retrospectively, we can come to the conclusion that those broadcasts worked with the kernel of truth most of the time. However, the period in which the Czechoslovak government-in-exile did not tell the truth to the audience was the time after Heydrich's assassination. The government denied their involvement in the assassination; they declared all the suspicions as false. Later it was proved, however, that the government actually had organized the assassination.²⁶⁴ Although that cannot be regarded as a typical lie, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile also withheld information about their activities abroad.

6.4 Did the BBC broadcasts build their propaganda around a slogan? (maxim no. 4)

The Czechoslovak government-in-exile was building the propaganda around slogans only to a limited extent. Rarely did the broadcasts include the phrases which had the features

²⁶² This is the aim of the second maxim of propaganda; see the subchapter *1.3.1 Successful and unsuccessful propaganda*.

²⁶³ See the subchapters *5.1 The assassination of Reinhard Heydrich* and *5.2. The arrival of Reinhard Heydrich*.

²⁶⁴ See the subchapters *5.1 The assassination of Reinhard Heydrich* and *5.2. The arrival of Reinhard Heydrich*.

recommended for slogans.²⁶⁵ Those phrases which can be regarded as slogans were principally directed towards the victory, for instance: “Victory is ours!”²⁶⁶ “Fight against your enemy!”²⁶⁷ Such phrases, however, did not appear in the broadcasts repeatedly. In the later years of the Second World War, longer and more complex sentences were rather used for the persuasion of the audience, as for example: “We will fight against our enemies and we will defend them, as we defended Heydrich.”²⁶⁸ Based on the analysis of the broadcasts, it can be stated that from the proposed seven maxims of propaganda, this maxim was observed the least.

6.5 Were the BBC broadcasts directed toward a specific objective? (maxim no. 5)

Having analysed the broadcasts, we can come to the conclusion that the principal aims of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile’s broadcasting were to persuade people to be active in their fight for freedom, to make people believe that the future of their country was more important than the lives of individuals and therefore the people had to be prepared to risk their lives and to intensify the hatred towards the Germans / the Nazis. The first and the third above mentioned objectives were present in the broadcasts from the beginning till the end of the Second World War. The objective of the fight for freedom is closely connected with the belief that the victory of the Allied countries would come eventually. It seems from the broadcasts that the members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile anticipated that the victory would be much more difficult to reach without the help of civilians.

The hatred towards the Germans / the Nazis was constant, the reason why they had to be hated were changing within the war years. At the beginning of the Second World War, the Germans / the Nazis deserved punishment for the Munich Agreement and also for what they had done to the Czechs and to the Slovaks in the past (the audience was reminded that even Kosmas in his chronicle, the oldest one of the Czech literature, warned his readers against the nations which were the ancestors of the Germans).²⁶⁹ When the Germans / the Nazis committed an atrocity, the hatred was directed towards those who were responsible for it.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ The features of a slogan are described in the subchapter *1.3.1 Successful and unsuccessful propaganda*.

²⁶⁶ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, December 5th, 1940, 5:45 p.m.

²⁶⁷ Ripka, Hubert. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, March 17th, 1940, 5:45 p.m.

²⁶⁸ Fraenkl, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, April 19th, 1940, 5:45 p.m.

²⁶⁹ Kodíček, Josef. Saturday, December 14th, 1940, 5:45 p.m.

²⁷⁰ During the reprisals after the arrival of Reinhard Heydrich and his assassination.

Finally, in the last days of the War, all the Germans / the Nazis who were still in the Czech lands were deemed to deserve being killed.²⁷¹

The objective of persuading the audience that lives of individuals could be risked was the most apparent in the broadcasts which followed Reinhard Heydrich's arrival and then his assassination. People were told that one day they would be praised for what they did and had done. At the same time, names of concrete victims appeared in the broadcasts, together with the claims that they had not died in vain and that others had to fight to honour their memory.

The three aforementioned main objectives of the BBC broadcasts clearly show that the BBC broadcasts were directed toward specific objectives.

6.6 Did the BBC broadcasts conceal motives? (maxim no. 6)

Motives are to be concealed when the audience must not know that its members are being manipulated. The question is whether the manipulation of the audience was actually the aim of the BBC broadcasting. Apparently, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile wanted to persuade the audience that everything presented was true and right and that they were open about all presented issues. Manipulation was declared as being refused. When the government learnt that after Reinhard Heydrich's arrival the official media of the Protectorate accused London and its propaganda of manipulating people, it was declared: "The Czechoslovak government-in-exile do not manipulate people. London does not make any propagandistic efforts."²⁷² This statement can be considered as concealing a motive. As it was presented in the preceding theoretical part, the guidelines of the British wartime propaganda were exactly given and they had to be followed in the broadcasts.²⁷³ Nevertheless, the broadcasters did not admit this fact.

6.7 Did the BBC broadcasts use appropriate timing? (maxim no. 7)

On the days which were somehow important for the nation, such as public holidays or the days when historical events were commemorated, people were asked to do anything which would bring back the better past. Every year on March 15th, when the Munich Agreement was

²⁷¹ During the Prague Uprising.

²⁷² The Czechoslovak Government-in-exile Broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Thursday, October 2nd, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

²⁷³ See the subchapter 2.1 *The characteristic features of the BBC radio broadcasting in the Czech language during the Second World War*.

commemorated, the injustice of this agreement was repeatedly emphasised. On the dates of the birthdays of the Czechoslovak Presidents Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (March 7th) and Edvard Beneš (May 28th) special broadcasts were transmitted, the same happened on September 14th (to commemorate Masaryk's death). In the broadcasts devoted to Masaryk, it was emphasized that it was necessary to fight for his honour and for the democracy he had established in Czechoslovakia.²⁷⁴ On May 28th, congratulations addressed to Beneš were transmitted. A special congratulation was extended after Reinhard Heydrich's assassination. Then it was claimed that this deed was the best present Beneš could receive.²⁷⁵

Concerning the events analysed in this thesis, the best timing was applied in broadcasts which followed Reinhard Heydrich's assassination.²⁷⁶ The broadcasts reacted promptly to all events which were consequent to the assassination. On the contrary, the worst timing was probably in the broadcasts devoted to the Moravian-Ostrava Operation – only little information about this offensive was presented in them.²⁷⁷ It is, though, necessary to mention the fact that the timing substantially depended on the amount of the news delivered from the Protectorate to London.²⁷⁸ At the end of the War, there were very few transmitters left, and possibly, many of the people who knew how to operate those transmitters had already passed away. Therefore, it is possible that London did not receive sufficient information about the Moravian-Ostrava Operation.

Making the final conclusions about the ways in which the BBC worked with the propaganda, we can state that the BBC broadcasts observed the seven maxims listed in the theoretical part of the thesis. The most apparent feature of the broadcasting was the repetition (maxim no. 1). Principally, the audience was constantly addressed and reminded what to think of certain issues, what to do and how to behave. Simultaneously, the audience was repeatedly reminded of the coming victory. Maxim no. 7 was also strongly observed, broadcasts were directed to specific objectives. On the other hand, maxim no. 4 (propaganda is to be built around slogan) seems to be the least needed and thus the least observed one.

²⁷⁴ Beneš, Edvard. *BBC Broadcasting*. Sunday, September 14th, 1940, 5:45 p.m.

²⁷⁵ See the subchapter 5.2 *The assassination of Reinhard Heydrich*.

²⁷⁶ See the subchapter 5.2 *The assassination of Reinhard Heydrich*.

²⁷⁷ See the subchapter 5.4 *Moravian-Ostrava Offensive*.

²⁷⁸ See the subchapter 2.2 *The BBC radio broadcasting and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia*.

7 Project Day – “The BBC radio broadcasting in Czech during the Second World War & Propaganda”

October 28th 2018 is the day when the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the independent Czechoslovak Republic will be celebrated. It is to be anticipated that besides political and cultural institutions, Czech (and possibly also Slovak) schools will be involved in the festivities. During the past century, the Czechs and the Slovaks had to face different kinds of terror – the terror of the Second World War and that of the communist regime were the worst. The end of the absolute power of the Communist party was celebrated but then another kind of problems appeared. That problematic situation resulted in the separation of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. It is likely that pupils and students of basic and secondary schools will be reminded not only of the date of October 28th but also of other important events of the last one hundred years. The ravages and the victims who died for the country should never be forgotten and that is why the outlined project day is devoted to the events of the Second World War and why it seems convenient to propose such a project day held on the occasion of the above mentioned 100th anniversary.

As it was mentioned in the Introduction, this diploma thesis not only analyses the reflection of the Second World War’s events in media, but it is linked with media and cross-curricular education and with English studies as well. This chapter proposes a way in which all these spheres can be connected and, simultaneously, can become included in the accompaniment framework of the above mentioned celebrations. “Project Days” – the days focusing only on one specific event and/or issue – are now really popular in Czech schools. These specific events and/or issues are usually considered within a cross-curricular framework. Without doubts, media education is one of the cross-curricular topics,²⁷⁹ it is mainly connected with subjects such as history or social sciences.

The commemoration of the deeds of Czech and Slovak people, the role played by the radio during the Second World War and the principles of propaganda are the main topics of the project day outlined in this chapter. The date suggested for implementing the plan for the project called *The BBC radio broadcasting in Czech during the Second World War & Propaganda* should be scheduled in the period around October 28th 2018.²⁸⁰ The proposed period duration of the project are four in-school hours preceded by a pre-phase in which

²⁷⁹ See subchapter 1.2 *People’s responses to media*.

²⁸⁰ The project day cannot be organized exactly on October 28th as it is a bank holiday in the Czech Republic.

students themselves will prepare certain presentations at their homes. The proposed project's activities are recommended for upper-secondary school students and their more detailed description follows below.

Pre-phase

Students will be divided into five groups. The task of each group will be to prepare a presentation about one of the events of the Second World War which were analysed in the submitted diploma thesis, which means that the students can choose from the following topics: Reinhard Heydrich's arrival in Prague, Reinhard Heydrich's assassination, the Battle of Sokolovo, the Slovak National Uprising, the Moravian-Ostrava Offensive or the Prague Uprising. The students will receive a drafted outline of the presentation which they will have to complete with the required facts.²⁸¹ The students will be permitted to use any accessible sources to look up the necessary information and facts.

The first part

The classroom in which the project activities will be carried out has to be equipped with a computer and a projector. The project day will begin with discussions about the students' attitudes to media and about the ways media influence them. The questions to be discussed were chosen from the *Studie mediální gramotnosti populace ČR* [Study on media literacy of the Czech population].²⁸² The purpose of the discussions is to make the educator aware of the students' attitudes related to the sphere of media, to deepen the students' knowledge about media and their impact and to deepen the students' ability of self-reflection. Last but not least, the students' speaking skills in English will be developed.

The second part

The aforementioned discussions will be followed by the educator's presentation about propaganda. The presentation includes the definition of the term of propaganda, it lists its objectives and styles as they were defined in the diploma thesis. The last but one slide of the

²⁸¹ See the Annex F for the draft.

²⁸² See the Annex G for the questions.

presentation will then show pictures which can be used for propagandistic purposes. The students will reflect on them and they will discuss how specifically the pictures can be used for propagandistic purposes. The focus group discussions about the propaganda appearing in today's media will follow.²⁸³

The third part

The third part of the project day will be devoted to students' presentations. The teacher is recommended to make the first and short presentation called *The BBC radio broadcasting in Czech during the Second World War*.²⁸⁴ The students will learn from that presentation that people in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia showed their courage constantly during the Second World War by listening to the BBC and by informing London about the situation in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Moreover, the students' attention should be focused also on their teacher's presentation skills. When the students finish their prepared presentations, the teacher is recommended to make short summarising comments on their presentation skills in English.

The fourth part

The transcripts of the broadcasts in English will be given to the students (divided into pairs) and their task will be to find the elements of propaganda in each report.²⁸⁵ This pair work will be followed by group discussions in which the students will express their opinions when answering the questions whether the BBC succeeded in working with propaganda or not. The final part of the project day will be devoted to discussions about possible impacts of the analysed broadcasts on the audience. It is also possible to draw the students' attention to the language used in the broadcasts.

²⁸³ See the Annex H for the presentation.

²⁸⁴ See the Annex I for the presentation.

²⁸⁵ See the Annex J for the transcripts of the broadcasts.

Summary

In the subchapter *1.2 People's responses to media*, the goals of media education were presented.²⁸⁶ The activities of the proposed project day are closely linked with the facts mentioned in that subchapter since these activities focus on critical perception of media texts and on searching for specific information presented in them. In the project work, the students will have to work with the transcripts of five BBC broadcasts, they will have to look up the required information. This approach should help them become better educated in the spheres of media.

Media education is one of the cross-curricular topics.²⁸⁷ This is why project day's presentations and activities are connected also with other school subjects. The opening discussion about media and about propaganda in today's media is connected with social sciences as the orientation in media improves the orientation in the current social issues. At the same time, preparing their presentations and listening to their classmates' presentations, the students will become better familiar with significant events of the 20th century and will thus get deeper knowledge of history. Moreover, their reading and presentation skills in English will be trained.

²⁸⁶ As it was stated in the subchapter *1.2 People's responses to media*, students should be taught how to think critically about searching for information in media, how to think about each component of media the system, about media texts as a whole, and also about accompanying texts and audio-visual materials.

²⁸⁷ See subchapter *1.2 People's responses to media*.

Conclusion

The aim of the submitted diploma thesis was to present principles of the BBC broadcasting in the Czech language during the Second World War. The resulting image is illustrated on the author's analysis of five events which happened in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and on the analysis of the ways in which the BBC worked with the maxims of propaganda. The selection of the five events was based on the fact that the selected events put the national consciousness and the national identity to test. Two basic assumptions were the reason for choosing the work with propaganda as another source to present principles of the BBC broadcasting. The first assumption was the generally well-known fact that people living in the Protectorate were constantly manipulated by the propagandistic efforts of Nazi Germany – the country had its Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. The propagandistic efforts were of various types (military, political, economic, diplomatic or escapist) and they were directed to all citizens. On the other hand, much less is generally known about the system of the BBC propaganda, except for the fact that the guidelines issued by the British Ministry of Information had to be followed. Therefore, the results of the analysis of the propagandistic efforts were expected to bring new knowledge about the BBC broadcasting.

Considering the facts about the events of the Second World War selected for the analysis in this diploma thesis and having analysed the contents of the transcripts of the broadcasts, it can be claimed that London received true information from the Protectorate immediately after something significant had happened. In the broadcasts devoted to Reinhard Heydrich's arrival and assassination, and then to the Battle of Sokolovo, the Moravian-Ostrava Offensive and the Prague Uprising, the constant appeal to people not to give up was made, and the vision of the better future was presented as the reason why the Czech nation had to fight all the time and why even a sacrifice such as dying for a better future was desirable. The broadcasters repeatedly and frequently emphasized the opinion that the nation as a unit is more important than individuals. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile believed that most of those people who lived in the Slovak State did not believe in the Nazi ideology and wanted the re-establishment of Czechoslovakia after the War.

From the types of propaganda suggested by Oliver Thompson, the *diplomatic*, *political* and *military* ones were the most apparent in the broadcasts. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile divided the warring sides into two groups. Nazi Germany and everyone

who collaborated with its totalitarian regime represented the group of enemies. Those who were considered to be friends were the Allied countries. Our analysis revealed that in the broadcasts, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile frequently repeated the reason why the friends had to be adored and why the enemies had to be hated. Real facts from the history and from the then era were presented in the broadcasts to support what was claimed. It was revealed in the broadcasts that the only Allied country towards which a rather complicated attitude was taken by the BBC was the Soviet Union. The promises of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile that all collaborators would be punished can be considered as a method of the *diplomatic* propaganda. Other types of propaganda were revealed in the BBC broadcasting in the Czech language. Elements of *political* propaganda were found in the broadcasts – a clear vision of the re-establishment of the democratic Czechoslovak Republic was presented in the broadcasts from the beginning of the Second World War until its end. However, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile did not inform the audience about activities of top politicians, no efforts were made to praise these politicians for their role in the war. Certain elements of *military* propaganda were found in the broadcasts, especially in those reflecting on military operations. All principles of *military* propaganda – to demoralize the enemy and to encourage soldiers and civilians – were found in the transcripts of the broadcasts. Concerning the style of propaganda, the BBC broadcasting can be seen as a typical example of *rational* propaganda. The analysis proved that the broadcasts were based on real facts which were highlighted when it was deemed necessary. The information which was not convenient, however, was not mentioned. This was the case, for instance, when the Czechoslovak government-in-exile concealed their role in Reinhard Heydrich's assassination or when the government's members did not agree on particular issues. Our analysis can lead to the conclusion that the propagandistic efforts of the BBC differed from the Nazi ones principally in style. The BBC tried to be as objective as possible. On the other hand, the way in which the Nazi propaganda presented the Jews was based on Hitler's subjective thoughts and attitudes. Therefore, the Nazi propaganda can be deemed more *emotional*. From the seven maxims of propaganda presented in the theoretical part of the thesis, the maxim of repetition was observed the most and it was also linked with the *diplomatic* propaganda as differences between friends and enemies were repeatedly stressed during the whole war.

The literature on the subject of the BBC broadcasting is not wide and the existing works focus on information of a rather general character.²⁸⁸ This is why this thesis is of high

²⁸⁸ This is true also about the three referred theses which were written on the similar topic as this submitted one.

value, given the fact that authentic materials – transcripts of the broadcasts – were processed in the analysis. The conclusions presented in the thesis are based on what was presented and claimed in the analysed broadcasts, and they are made not only on the basis of the knowledge of the social, political and historical context. The analysed transcripts of the broadcasts are now available for further processing. The biggest impact of such use would be in the sphere of media education. Prospective findings made during the learning and teaching processes may lead to new insights concerning the radio broadcasting. Specific activities enabling such insights are proposed in the practical part under the heading: “Project Day”. These activities are principally intended to be used to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic. However, they can be implemented in the proposed block or separately at any other occasion to commemorate the deeds of the brave Czechs and Slovaks which they carried out during the Second World War.

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Transcripts of the BBC broadcasts of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile

Broadcasts from 1940 to 1945

All transcripts are stored in the Archive of the Czech Radio in Prague.

Appendices

Content

- Appendix A ... Picture of the BBC Broadcasting House at Portland Place
- Appendix B ... Picture of Edvard Beneš in the BBC studio
- Appendix C ... Picture of Edvard Beneš with Czechoslovak soldiers
- Appendix D ... Picture of a meeting of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile
- Appendix E ... Picture of the summary of the languages the BBC broadcasted in
- Appendix F ... Draft for the presentation of the events
- Appendix G ... Questions for discussion
- Appendix H ... Propaganda – presentation
- Appendix I ... Outline of the lecture
- Appendix J ... Transcripts of the broadcasts

Appendix A



The BBC Broadcasting House at Portland Place²⁹⁰

²⁹⁰ Unknown. *The BBC Broadcasting House at Portland Place*. In *London Calling the World*. London: British Council, 1943.

Appendix B



Edvard Beneš in the BBC studio²⁹¹

²⁹¹ Auerbach, Erich. *Edvard Beneš in the BBC studio*. In *London Calling: Czechoslovak Government in Exile 1939-1945*. Praha: Czech Photo, o.p.s., 2005.

Appendix C



Edvard Beneš with Czechoslovak soldiers²⁹²

²⁹² Auerbach, Erich. *President Benes with Czechoslovak soldiers*. In *London Calling; Czechoslovak Government in Exile 1939-1945*. Praha: Czech Photo, o.p.s., 2005.

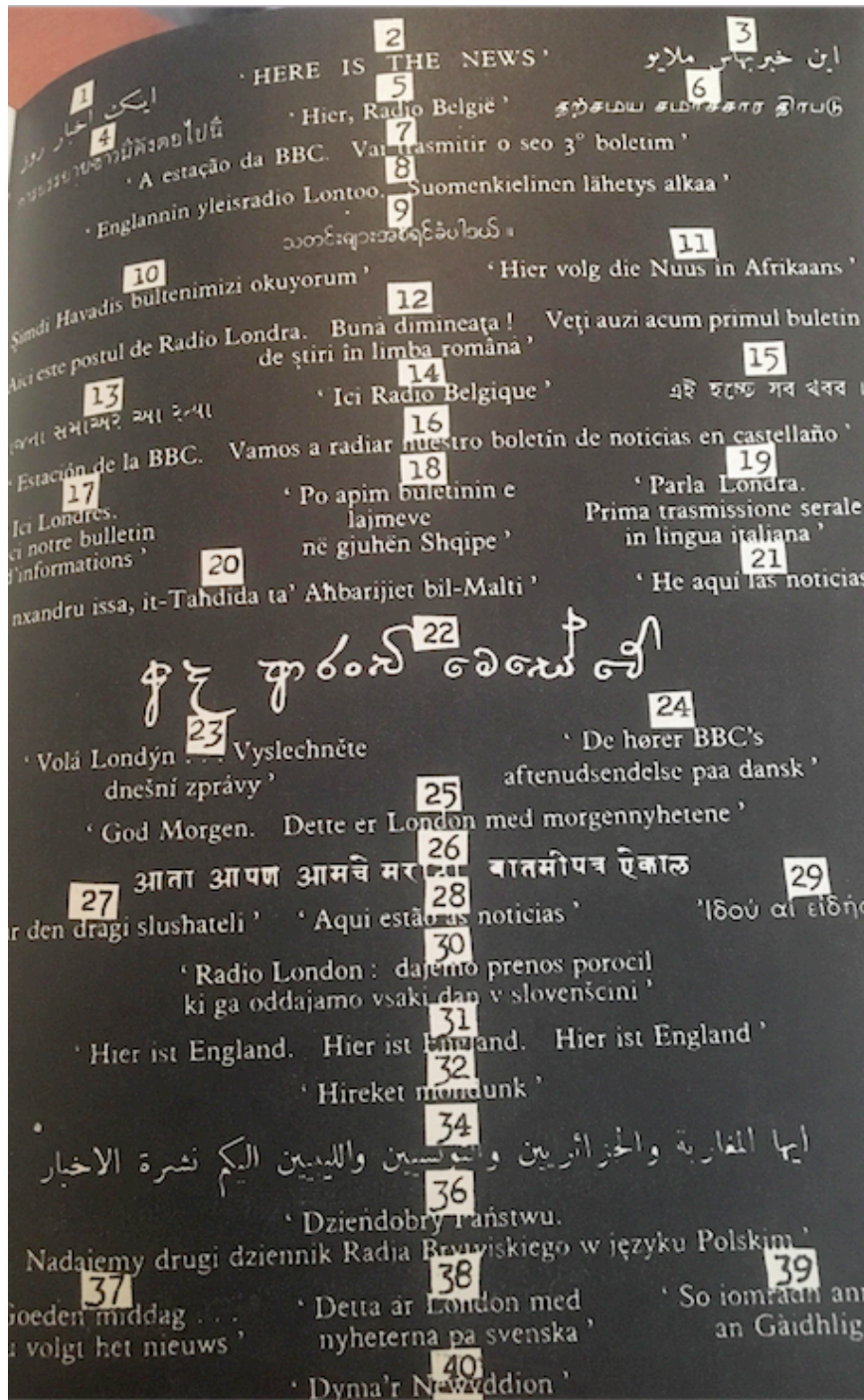
Appendix D



Meeting of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile (Jan Masaryk is informing about the UNRRA conference attendance)²⁹³

²⁹³ Auerbach, Erich. *UNRRA*. In *London Calling; Czechoslovak Government in Exile 1939-1945*. Praha: Czech Photo, o.p.s., 2005.

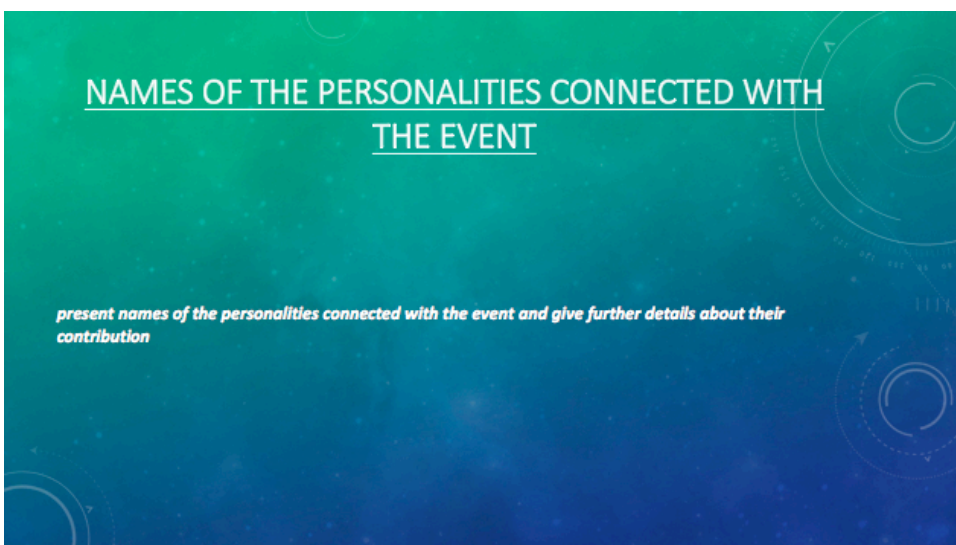
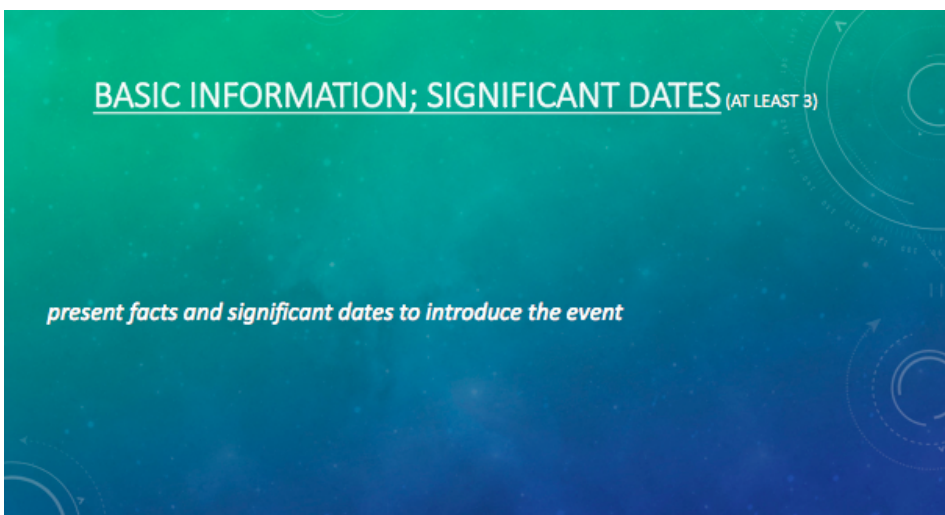
Appendix E



Summary of the languages the BBC broadcasted in²⁹⁴

²⁹⁴ Unknown. *Summary of the languages the BBC broadcasted in*. In *London Calling the World*. London: British Council, 1943.

Appendix F



PICTURES

show at least two pictures connected with the event and describe them

Appendix G

Questions for discussions about students and media²⁹⁵

The purpose of these discussions is to make the educator aware of the students' attitudes linked with the sphere of media, to deepen the students' knowledge about media and their impact and to train the students' ability of self-reflection.

- 1) Do you believe in what is presented by media?
- 2) Which type of media do you use every day?
- 3) Which type of the media you usually use would you miss the most if it were not available?
- 4) What do you like and what do you not like about contemporary television programmes?
- 5) What do you like and what do you not like about contemporary radio programmes?
- 6) How many hours a week do you spend on the Internet? Which electronic devices do you use when being on the Internet?
- 7) What do you like and what do you not like about the Internet?
- 8) Do you think that media have an impact on you?
- 9) Which type of media has the biggest impact on you?
- 10) Do you check whether the information presented in media is true?

²⁹⁵ The source for the questions was the following: "Studie mediální gramotnosti populace ČR," accessed June 15, 2018, https://www.rrtv.cz/cz/files/monitoring/MG2015_zaverecna%20zprava_prvni_faze.pdf. Some questions are verbatim, some have been adapted.

Appendix H

PROPAGANDA

What is propaganda?

“a form of communication that attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist” – *Victoria O'Donnell*

“the spreading of ideas, information, or rumour for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person; and ideas, facts, or allegations spread to further one's cause or to damage an opposing cause” – *Encyclopaedia of American Journalism*

Objectives of propaganda

- *political* = to gain and keep political power
- *economic* = to sell more products
- *military* = to demoralize enemy and encourage soldiers and civilians
- *diplomatic* = to make people love friends and hate enemies
- *didactic* = to educate people
- *religious* = to spread ideology
- *escapist* = to divert people's attention

Styles of propaganda

rational = facts that help with the manipulation are highlighted

quasi-rational = associations are used to support weak arguments

emotional = subjective thoughts are presented

The Nazi propaganda I.



The Nazi propaganda II.



Propaganda in media today



Focus group discussion

Based on what you have just learned about propaganda, do you think that propaganda is present in today's media? If you think so, present concrete examples.

Appendix I

The BBC radio broadcasting in Czech during the WWII

General information

- *History of the BBC*
- the first television service in the world
- 44 languages during the Second World War
- broadcasting in Czech from September 6th 1939 to 2005

The BBC radio broadcasting in the Czech language

- fifteen minute blocks (3-7 every day)
- news, entertaining programmes (drama plays, sketches, music programmes)
- broadcasters: journalists of the Czech Section of the BBC + members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile
- followed the guidelines of the British wartime propaganda issued by the Ministry of Information: *Call to Arms, to Effort, to Self Sacrifice; What is at Stake; The Way to Victory.*

The BBC radio broadcasting and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

- the document *The courts regulations measures*: listening to foreign radio stations meant the sentence to jail or death; punishment to those who spread information from the broadcasts
- the BBC broadcasted on short waves = short wave listening components had to be removed -> a special coil which substituted them

Bi-directional communication flow

- London needed information about the situation in the Protectorate, then this information + the information from London was transmitted to the Protectorate
- flow from the Protectorate: *black transmitters* operated by members of the resistance = officially banned, the Nazis wanted to destroy them
- the transmitter Libuše was found nearby the village of Ležáky after the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich -> the annihilation of the village

Whatever would happen, the BBC would never leave people alone.

Conclusion

- daily service from the beginning to the end of the Second World War
- two groups of broadcasters: reporters + politicians
- sentence to jail or death for listening to the BBC
- bi-directional communication flow

Appendix J

Transcripts of the broadcasts will be distributed to the students on separate worksheets.

Broadcast which followed the arrival of Reinhard Heydrich²⁹⁶



The whole world knows – and you yourselves know it best – that the arrest of the Prime Minister of the so-called Protectorate Government, General Elias, the proclamation of martial law and the appointment of the head executioner of the Greater German Reich, the murdered Heydrich as your protector, is intended to inaugurate in our country a period of terror even more bestial than was the terror of the Junker Baron von Neurath. You are to be still more ruthlessly robbed of your property, still more cruelly compelled to work for the benefit of your slave-drivers, still more maliciously murdered, still more foully humiliated in your human dignity. The name Heydrich, connected as it is with the martyrdom of so many thousands of enslaved people, represents a programme. For that is what they are concerned with. They need your industrial resources, your hands, in order to strengthen their war machine, which in the end is intended to exterminate your yourselves, and they know that the Czechoslovak nation will not voluntarily commit suicide. They therefore wish you to do so.

Which elements of propaganda are present in this transcript?

If there are any words you do not know, underline them and find their meaning in the dictionary / ask your teacher.

²⁹⁶ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Wednesday, October 1st, 1941, 5:45 p.m.

Broadcast which followed the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich²⁹⁷



Murderous terror has been of no avail. The promises of bribes of millions of crowns have been of no avail. Threats of further slaughter have been of no avail. The Czech people have stood firm as if it were of granite. The enemy has been dealt by the Czech people, the profoundest blow that he has so far received on the internal front. The enemy in this partial but not insignificant struggle has been struck on the head by Czech inflexibility and is retreating in confusion.

If we say that the enemy has been hit on the head, then we mean it literally. Already at the time when after a fourteen-day hunt for two men, perhaps the greatest that has ever been instigate in history, the Nazis issued an ultimatum to the Czech people which ended yesterday, Thursday, it was clear that the Gestapo were at the end of its wits. They realised that the protection given to the attackers by the whole Czech nation was impenetrable.

Which elements of propaganda are present in this transcript?

If there are any words you do not know, underline them and find their meaning in the dictionary / ask your teacher.

²⁹⁷ Kodíček, Josef. *BBC Broadcasting*. Friday, June 19th, 1942, 5:45 p.m.

Broadcast from the period of the Battle of Sokolovo²⁹⁸



The unhappy date of 15th March will remain an outstanding milestone not only in the history of our nation or of the Czechoslovak Republic, but also in the history of this war. The commemoration of the Czechoslovak Republic and the brutal occupation of the Czech lands, opened the eye of the whole world. It showed beyond all doubt that Hitler's action at Munich was merely a pharisaical concealment of the true aims of Nazi imperialism which were laid completely here on the occupation of the Czech lands.

The Germans announced the capture of Kharkov to the sound of fanfares. But they did not disclose the high price which they had to pay for that success. If we look at the events at Kharkov in the clear light of facts, without misleading impressions and illusions, then it is soon that the German success is the outcome of an extremely hazardous and fundamentally defensive effort which is aimed at averting the collapse of the whole German front in the East.

Which elements of propaganda are present in this transcript?

If there are any words you do not know, underline them and find their meaning in the dictionary / ask your teacher.

²⁹⁸ Slávik, Juraj. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, March 15th, 1943, 5:45 p.m.

Broadcast from the period of the Moravian-Ostrava Offensive²⁹⁹



We again appeal to you that you should wherever you can, and with whatever possibilities and means you have at hand, enter the fight and support with all your forces the advancing liberating Red Army.

In the territories already liberated a new free army is being organised; it is linking up with our military units fighting under the command of General Svoboda for three years at the side of the Red Army. Our new army will at a suitable moment incorporate all territorial forces and air forces fighting on the western front at the side of the British, American and French armies. We are certain that our great Soviet Union ally will give us all the necessary aid to enable us to put into battle as quickly as possible our own strong military forces, who will prove themselves worthy of our final liberation by their own fighting. This is the chief and indispensable prerequisite for the restoration of our independent life and freedom.

Which elements of propaganda are present in this transcript?

If there are any words you do not know, underline them and find their meaning in the dictionary / ask your teacher.

²⁹⁹ Ripka, Hubert. *BBC Broadcasting*. Monday, April 2nd, 1945, 5:45 p.m.

Broadcast from the period of the Prague Uprising³⁰⁰



Hallo Prague! We are calling our Czechoslovak Prague whose people have risen to a heroic liberating fight in order to drive the German invaders out of the capital of our country. We call to the Czech people to rise in order to finish off once and for all the rule of the enemy and to return the management of our affairs into our own hands. We call upon all citizens of Prague, all Czech people, to unite in fight, to help with all their powers the fighting patriots. We greet the partisans, fighting units, national guards and National Committees in the Czech lands. The whole allied world is following with tension the heroic struggle of the people of Prague and all Czech people against the Nazi oppression, together with all Czechoslovaks they expect with confidence the final collapse of the defeated German remnants in the Czech lands. Czechoslovak armed forces send their cordial greetings and encouragement to their brothers who are fighting in Prague and other places on the home front, thus gaining freedom for our freedom.

Which elements of propaganda are present in this transcript?

If there are any words you do not know, underline them and find their meaning in the dictionary / ask your teacher.

³⁰⁰ The Czechoslovak government-in-exile broadcasting. *BBC Broadcasting*. Saturday, May 5th, 1945, 5:45 p.m.